

<http://www.marcion.info/>

Marcion

Marcion wrote the first canon of the New Testament in AD 140. For centuries Marcion has been maligned as a heretic, since the Church Fathers like Tertullian accused him of taking the razor to the Bible and cutting out several of the Pauline epistles; Acts, 1 & 2 Timothy and Titus. In addition the only Gospel in Marcion's Bible is two thirds of Luke. Actually that's it. One Gospel and ten Pauline epistles, which means no Revelations and no Old Testament.

Christians like to tell us that Marcion changed the Bible to suit his theology. However it appeared to me from the beginning that before Marcion there was no documented history of Christianity as we know it. So for example there are no reliable historical contemporary accounts of Paul, Peter, Luke, Mark or even the Jesus that we think of today. Likewise archaeological New Testament fragments have been dated starting around 190 AD, again consistent with the first New Testament being written 140 AD.

In addition Bible scholars who actually question things have come to the conclusion that some of the Pauline epistles were added later than whoever wrote the first ones. Their conclusions are consistent with Marcion's Bible being the original text.

Isu Chrestos

Even more important than the fact that Marcion's Bible was very short are the number of radical political differences between Marcion's Bible and our modern day Bible. Firstly the hero of Marcion's Bible was called Isu Chrestos - not Jesus. An important point here is you don't see "Jesus Christ" in second century texts. So in the Bible of Marcion of Sinope "Isu Chrestos" appears instead of "Christ" and "Jesus". Also in the archaeological fragments mentioned earlier the scribes used the letters "IS" wherever Jesus Christ now appears. The inscription "Isu Chrestos" can still be seen on the oldest surviving Christian "Synagogue" in Syria.

The next difference is that Isu Chrestos was a ghost. The first three chapters of Luke where "Jesus" was born are missing. When you think about it they are missing in two of the synoptic Gospels too. There were no Gospels of Luke, Mark, Matthew or John in the second century. There was only "Euangelion" - the "Good News" of Marcion's single Gospel.

The fact is that Paul spoke of "my gospel" singular and warned us of other gospels. Read Marcion. It all takes on a whole new meaning!

Marcion's Dualism

It was important for the Marcionites that Isu Chrestos was a ghost. They believed that the world (and our bodies) were created by Jehovah, and that the world which Jehovah had created, his

Angels and Archangels and the Mosaic law were a spiritual pitfall to be avoided. There weren't really any fallen angels in Marcion's theology. All angels were fallen, which is reasonably consistent with Gnostic teachings about the Divine Mother. Marcion does recognise the Divine Mother by the way (but not Mary - who makes no appearance).

Galatians was Marcion's most important book. Marcion's Galatians 4:24-26 states:

4:24 Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from the mount Sinai, which gendereth by the Law to the Synagogue of the Jews to bondage. The other gendereth higher than all Principalities, Virtues, Powers; even higher than any Lady ever named; not only in this Aeon but in the following one also, 4:26 which is the mother of us all.

Note: Most of the Marcion Bible was reconstructed simply by removing verses. Sections like the above, where verses needed to be rewritten are less common.

You are no doubt familiar with the following quote from the Bible. As you can see after reading the above example, it is original Marcionite text warning against Angels and Archangels:

"For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places."

I believe also that is why Satan became the devil. He wasn't really a demon in the context of the Old Testament. But after Marcion, someone demonized him, and we can thank Marcion for making that possible through his association with Jehovah. It is important to note however that there is no serious reference in Marcion's Pauline text to the Devil and Hell as in Revelations. There is a brief mention to Gehenna in Euangelion (ie. Luke) as follows:

12:5 But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into Gehenna; yea, I say unto you, Fear him.

Regarding Lucifer it could also be argued that Christian demology does not have firm roots in Judaism. Lucifer makes one appearance in the Old Testament ie. [Isaiah 14:12](#)

"How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations!"

The English translation of the [original Hebrew](#) text reads a little differently:

"How art thou fallen from heaven, O day-star, son of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, that didst cast lots over the nations!"

Verse 9 also refers to Hell, but the Hebrew text talks of the nether-world. More importantly Lucifer is not mentioned. The day-star may refer to Venus, and some scholars think that it refers to a Babylonian king. In any case it is a single reference amongst the entire Jewish scriptures, and not much to base a Lucifer myth on.

However that is not to say that Babylonian religion, worshipping Ishtar (Venus) and involving child sacrifice has not been with us from the time this text was written to the present. In fact it would not be unreasonable to assume that the authors of some of the New Testament texts (like Revelations) had a vested interest in replacing the names of the gods worshipped in real life "Satanic" practices and using Satan and Lucifer as a smokescreen. However the information found in the Old Testament still accurately describes the deities involved in the depraved occult activities of today. These were described in the Old Testament as Baal or Beelzebub (the sun god), Astoreth or Ishtar (Venus) and Molech.

The Marcionites believed that the God of Isu Chrestos was a higher God than Jehovah, and that consequently Isu Chrestos could not incarnate in human form. In contrast our souls were created by the God of Isu Chrestos. The Marcionites practiced a life of vegetarianism, celibacy and constant prayer. They believed that people that shunned the world in this way were free from the Mosaic Law which binds us. They believed that marriage was fornication.

Marcion and the Old Testament

When you read Marcion's Bible you will see that there are none of the references to the Old Testament Prophets, to Christianity being a new dispensation of Judaism, to Angels, Archangels and the Law of Moses. That is apart from those which are used as an example. Even the account of the Transfiguration where "Jesus" spoke to Moses and Elias, was placed very carefully by Marcion in order to point out their inferiority. It is actually through the later interpolations that Judaism and Christianity were entwined. This is not the case in Marcion's text. It is much simpler to read, and the meaning is much clearer.

Of course, if you don't know this already, the Old Testament pointers to Christianity like "A virgin shall conceive" and "They pierced my hands and my feet" simply aren't in the Jewish books from which the Old Testament was taken. This is very strange when you consider that otherwise the texts are very close.

So for example in the Old Testament we find in [Isaiah 7-14](#)

"Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel."

However let's have a look at an [English translation of the Hebrew Prophets](#). It is the original text isn't it? Why do Christians never mention this?

"Therefore the Lord Himself shall give you a sign: behold, the young woman shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel."

Let's have a look at the supposed reference to the crucifixion in [Psalm 22-16](#). In the Old Testament it says:

"For dogs have compassed me: the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me: they pierced my hands and my feet."

Now compare this with [Writings Psalm 22-17](#) translated from the original Hebrew:

For dogs have encompassed me; a company of evil-doers have inclosed me; like a lion, they are at my hands and my feet.

Notice how in the original Jewish text they parted his garments and casts lots. But guess what? None of that is mentioned in Marcion's Euangelion. See how they did it?

Conclusion

Books like the Torah and Marcion's eleven books were modified and cross referenced to create one religion - Judaeo-Christianity. However when the Jewish books and Marcion's books are read in the original they have nothing in common at all.

Most likely this was done partly or wholly because of the numerous religions in the Roman empire which were it's greatest threat to stability.

<http://www.marcion.info>

Who was Marcion?

Marcion was born in Sinope (now Sinop in Pontus on the Black Sea in Turkey) and was the son of a wealthy ship builder. According to the Catholic Encyclopedia he was the son of a Bishop and a Bishop himself. The complete story from the account by Tertullian who wrote "Against Marcion" was that he disgraced himself in an affair with a woman, and was forced to leave his home town. The Catholic Encyclopedia admits that Tertullian often accused his enemies of scandals. The question is "How much of this is true?". My guess is that by making Marcion and his father Bishops, that the Church existed before Marcion right? But we are saying that the Catholic Church stole Marcion's 11 books and crafted them into Christianity. Where is the evidence that Christianity or the New Testament existed before Marcion's New Testament Canon written in AD 140?

Who were the Marcionites?

Marcion started the Marcionites around 140 AD, and they lasted for about three centuries, alongside Roman Christianity and the followers of Apollonius of Tyana.

Marcion was a wealthy merchant and excellent administrator. It appears that the connection between commerce and Christianity is a long one. After all don't many top salesmen refer to the Bible as a good story which has sold many people?

The Marcionites were celibate, vegetarian and prayed constantly. The oldest Christian church still standing is the Marcionite Synagogue with the inscription "Isu Chrestos" in Syria.

Marcion's Bible

Marcion's New Testament consisted of Euangelion (meaning something along the lines of a rewarded for good news given to the messenger) which was two thirds of the Gospel of Luke, and Apostolikon which was 10 Pauline Epistles. These were a shorter Galatians and Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Laodiceans (which was Ephesians), Philippians, Philemon and Colossians.

The Marcionites regarded the Mosaic Law, Sabbaths, Holidays, Fasting, Angels, Archangels and even Jehovah as things to be avoided in order to make spiritual progress. Therefore most references to these things in the New Testament were either added later in order to water down his doctrine, and present Christianity as a New Dispensation of Judaism, or in some cases Marcion mentions Jewish Prophets and observances himself as a bad example. In some cases these have simply been turned around later by editors.

The main differences between the Gospel of Luke and Euangelion, is that Euangelion starts around chapter 4. Therefore there is no virgin birth and Marcion's Isu Chrestos is a phantom. However he is still crucified in the end and bleeds. Marcion's text has been the object of ridicule because of this. Interestingly Marcion was a true Christian Evangelist, and didn't care much about logic of this sort. It was simply a life to be practiced, and the good news was to be shared. This is clearly where Marcion was not a Gnostic (although until I learn more, I am guessing that Marcion was the father of Gnosticism also - after all Nag Hammadi is dated late 4th century) as the Gnostics believe in receiving revelation directly from God in a creative process.

Marcion's Original Text

None of Marcion's original Bible has survived. Fortunately the Early Church Fathers criticized Marcion's New Testamant so much, that just about every verse has been compared with the modern Bible. That is how we know very nearly what was in it.

Marcion (the heretic) was such an awful threat to the Early Roman Church. Considering that most scholars believe that Marcion probably had no idea about any of this, and that his text was most likely the original, what were they afraid of? Were they afraid that they would be caught out altering the Scriptures?

"Against Marcion" by Tertullian

Most of what we know about Marcion comes from what the early Church Fathers wrote against him. The first mention of Marcion was in *Apologia* by Justin Martyr, a contemporary of Marcion. A century later Polycarp's pupil Irenaeus describes a confrontation with Marcion in *Adversus Haereses* which was taken further by the choleric Tertullian in *Adversus Marcionem*.

The most important outcomes are that we know that the Roman Church hated Marcion, and saw his Canon as a threat. It is almost certain that these "saints" spread lies about Marcion. We know almost exactly what was in Marcion's Canon as a result of these exhaustive criticisms, and considering the bitterness of the Church against Marcion it may simply be because his New Testament Canon is the original, thereby exposing the Church's own interpolations of his work.

Note that most of what was written against Marcion was long after his death. It was only when his original Scripture was mutilated that they needed to explain why it was different from Euangelion and Apostolikon.

Marcion, the Stranger God and the Demiurge

Adolf von Harnack was a scholar of the history of Christian dogma a century ago, and the first to study Marcion thoroughly in modern times. He concluded that it makes little sense for Christians to retain the Old Testament.

In von Harnack's case this was because he regarded Marcion as the most important figure in the early church. I would go a step further and say that there was no Christianity resembling what we know today, that the New Testament never existed before Marcion, and that the original New Testament, the Euangelion and the Apostolikon was an outright rejection of the jealous God Jehovah, his law and all the unnecessary legalistic requirements like circumcision.

Marcion taught that the Archon, the Creator God or God of the Law who created our bodies and the world was of less importance than the unknowable Stranger God, the God who sent Isu Chrestos. It was essential for the Marcionites that Isu Chrestos was a ghost, as the true God was far too pure to take human form. The Marcionites saw Judaism as a very worldly religion, and Isu Chrestos came to replace legalism with mercy and love.

There are a lot of parallels with Gnosticism here. The Gnostics believed that there was creation before the creation of the physical world. Where were Gnostics before Marcion? The main source of Gnostic gospels was the Nag Hammadi library, but this was dated post Constantine. Marcion is not regarded as a Gnostic by most critics. The Gnostics relied heavily on a direct relationship with God, and personal revelations. Marcion differed not even slightly from modern Christians who strictly follow the book. Of course his book was without the Old Testament, and many of the other books in the New Testament which support the idea that Christianity is a new dispensation of Judaism.

"Satanic" Ritual Abuse

The text below is part of an article discussing a news item published by the Sydney Morning Herald which you can read here:

[Catholic Priest Satanic Ritual Abuse](#)

On Friday we revealed that the Catholic Church had accepted as substantially true revelations by an abuse victim that a Melbourne priest took part in satanic rituals where murders took place. Some Gotcha commentators were sceptical about the victim's experiences and questioned how they could be true. Now the victim wants to respond. Here is his side of the story in his own words.

"First of all, thank you to all the commenters for taking the time to read Gary Hughes' article on my situation and for giving your reactions. A number of issues have been raised and I would like to respond to them in turn. These issues as I see them are: - the time I took to bring forth the allegations; - the issue of missing persons not triggering police investigations; - whether these "memories" are recovered by hypnosis or other means; - what evidence can I produce to support these claims; - did the Church pay out only for the sexual abuse of that priest or did it include payment for the ritual abuse; - what caused the Church to acknowledge my claim; - and whether the priest was acting outside his role as a Catholic priest.

To take the last point first, very clearly the priest was acting against the teachings of the Catholic Church. (In this writing, when I refer to the "Catholic Church" or the "Church", I am referring to

the hierarchy in particular and to the full time employees to a lesser extent. I do not mean it to cover the laity, who turn up on Sunday and may even hold honorary positions.) In no way can the Church be seen to be endorsing this abusive and abhorrent behaviour. However, if any organisation wishes, or in the case of the Catholic Church demands, authority over their employees, then it must accept some responsibility for their behaviour, otherwise order disintegrates and corruption ensues. In law, this is covered under “Duty of Care”, I believe. The Catholic Church has been able to avoid this responsibility in the courts because it does not exist as a legal entity before the law, amazingly. This is doubly ironic when their persistent attitude of having quasi, if not outright, legal jurisdiction over this abuse issue and it’s investigation through their parallel process to the State police and court system is considered.

What caused the Church to accept my claim? An intriguing question, to be sure. The Vicar General in The Australian newspaper on Saturday said: “Because he was believable and we gave him the benefit of the doubt.” This is a little less than their investigator Peter O’Callaghan QC said at the time. He said that he “had no reason to disbelieve” me and, presumably, that is what he communicated to the Compensation Panel. In the end, I cannot answer for them. I will say that Mr. O’Callaghan and the Church authorities had plenty of warning that I may make the allegations formal. I don’t think that their decision could be characterised as impulsive or “knee-jerk”. Another intriguing question relating to this is whether or not any follow up investigation was done. This particular priest was known to have associations with other paedophilic priests and it would be reasonable for an investigator to question whether any of these or other priests were involved in the cult. Mr O’Callaghan didn’t ask me any questions along these lines, or any other lines for that matter, then or since.

Did the Church pay out only for the sexual abuse of that priest only or did it include payment for the ritual abuse? On the surface, it would appear to be for abuse including the ritual abuse, according to Mr O’Callaghan’s communications to me. But I would say that it would depend on what Mr O’Callaghan included in his report to the Compensation Panel. There does appear to be some disconnect between the acceptance of my claims of extreme abuse and the decision of the “Compensation Panel” to award 60% of the amount they were authorised to make. (Amnesty international has described Satanic Ritual Abuse as the worst example of human rights abuse there is.) But it may be a moot point anyway because “The Payment” as it is referred to in the signed agreement between myself and the Church is for my release of them from civil action for damages arising from the behaviour of that particular priest (who is unnamed in the Deed Of Release) characterized simply as “The Abuser”. It was not compensation. Elsewhere in their communications the payment is referred to as the “ex gratia payment” and in some places as “ex gratia compensation”. Legally there appears to be no responsibility taken for the abuse which would be implied if they described the payment as simply “Compensation”. So, in the end, strictly speaking they haven’t compensated me for anything save my right to sue them over this priest.

Were these “memories” recovered by hypnosis or other means? Were they repressed at any stage? It is very difficult to talk meaningfully about “memories” in this context because most people are unfamiliar with the term “abreaction”. An abreaction (a term coined by Freud) describes a cognitive perception that has got itself jammed in the middle of its electrical/chemical journey through the various brain cortexes on it’s way to becoming what we

would normally call a memory - a recollection of something that happened in the past and that is over, and thankfully so, if it was unpleasant. An abreaction is the replaying of that cognitive sensation as if it is happening now. Many of the physiological sensations and reactions that happened on the original occasion will manifest again. So smells can be smelt and pain can be felt. To give you an unpleasant example, I will sometimes get a sharp pain in my rectum that will lift me out of my seat. There are physiological markers that can be observed externally such as lowered skin temperature and/or raised heart rate, things that cannot be duplicated through acting. In other words, an abreaction is an experience, not a memory of an experience. Another related question is “is it possible to forget something that has such impact?” and if so, “can it be recovered later?”. This is rather simpler to deal with. You may remember that when Princess Diana was tragically killed in a car accident, her bodyguard was reported to have amnesia of the accident. There were no howls of “nonsense” (or worse) because we all seem to know someone, or know someone who knows someone, whom has had this very experience in a car accident. And what’s more, it’s common knowledge that recovery from this amnesia is also quite common though maybe less so. (For further information on this, I would refer the reader to the Advocates for Survivors of Child Abuse report (linked previously by Gary Hughes) and in particular the section on False Memory Syndrome Foundation). So with that introduction, I can say that I have always had some memories and experienced some abreactions but not enough to put it all together. One of these was an image of cannibalism. But I had no context for it. A flood of abreactions occurred directly after the caesarean birth of my third child at which I was present. The enduring image I have of that time is of baby covered in blood and afterbirth being lifted up. The child that was killed that is mentioned in the article on Friday was, in fact, an infant. The birth of my daughter was a massive trigger. The subsequent abreactions or recalled experiences occurred outside therapy. There was no hypnosis involved. I cannot abide it, in any case, as the priest used it on me to induce forgetfulness in me. There are other things involved here as well, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, or in my case, Complex Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, which is permanent amongst other things, and Dissociation. If you, the reader, would like to understand this important, and at times, fascinating area, you could Google the above terms to start with and read the ASCA document. A book I could recommend is “Ritual Abuse - What is it” by Margaret Smith, who is a research psychologist and a ritual abuse survivor.

What evidence of these claims can I produce? First and foremost, I am “Exhibit A”, if you like. I am the smoking gun. I have permanent physical and neurological injuries. My conditions are verifiable scientifically and the symptoms cannot be faked convincingly. My neurological conditions are only produced under extreme and sustained conditions. To refute my claims, it would at least be necessary to propose a possible alternative explanation for my condition.

The question of missing persons not triggering police investigations. Thousands of people go missing every year without a trace including children. In America a large number of children are reported missing every week. The child in the murders I mention was, as I said, an infant and I doubt very much whether there was any record of it being born. This is a common practice in cults. I was led to believe that the infant was mothered by one of the cult members, who was also subsequently murdered. I was also led to believe, subsequently, that I was the father, though this was impossible (although I didn’t think so at the time) because I had not reached puberty by then. There are also lots of ways to dispose of bodies. If you cannot think of any, you are not trying! Priests also have access to cemeteries and crematoriums. On reflection, I think you will

see it's not that difficult to avoid suspicion particularly if your association with the victim is clandestine. There is also the question of collusion by the police. Police corruption is a fact of life. No force is exempt from it. Gary Hughes' reporting is largely focused on this issue and there seems to be no shortage of stories. One of the commenters, Dyson Devine, mentioned Dr Reina Michaelson who has fought long and hard against sexual abuse and police corruption. If you visit her website you will find credible allegations of police involvement in Ritual Abuse at a Mornington kindergarten and it's cover-up. Dr Michaelson has published the fact that she has an audio tape of an interview with staff from the Office of Police Integrity where one of the officers says that they are not interested in pursuing an organised paedophile ring even if it is still in operation. To my knowledge this is still the case. Dyson also mentions Dr Michaelson's legal battle with a group known as the Ordo Templis Orientis (OTO). If you visit their website and affiliated sites, as Dyson and another commenter, Mary Wilson, said it is quite instructive as to "what is out there" in plain view. There is also a related problem for Satanic Ritual Abuse survivors in contacting the Victoria Police and that is their badge! It prominently features an upside down five pointed star. This inverted pentagram is only used elsewhere in Satanic symbolism. The upright pentagram is used in Satanism but also by a lot of other organisations and bodies. For instance, the Mormon Church, Freemasons and the US and the now defunct USSR military amongst many others. But the inverted pentagram is only seen in connection with Satanism and, unfortunately, the Victoria Police. If it was an innocent mistake by the founders of the Police Force, then it is a particularly unfortunate one. Satanic Ritual Abuse survivors are familiar with the cults including in their number many people who are in authority in civil life and so would find this badge/symbol particularly off-putting. If on the other hand, if it was not a mistake, it could go some distance in explaining the apparent paradox of the reluctance to pursue organised paedophile rings.

And finally, the time I took to bring forth the allegations. Most of this I have already answered, but I will add that 25 years ago, when the perpetrator was still alive, the dots were not sufficiently connected up for me to take action. Plus, think for a moment that if my allegations are outrageous now, how would they have sounded back then? I am disappointed, to say the least, that the perpetrator is now deceased. He would be in his seventies now. He died in his sleep when in his early fifties. As far as I know, there was no autopsy done but perhaps the Vicar General could establish that.

I have spent most of my life just trying to function. Fortunately, I am quite intelligent and have been able to get by, but usually in low paid jobs. It hasn't been a lot of fun. Coping with defending these allegations was out of the question. Even at the time when I came forward a few years ago, I was not up to it, really. I suffered much distress and dissociation throughout the process. I entered the formal side of the Churches system because Mr O'Callaghan said it would be difficult for him to continue to fund my therapy if I did not make a formal complaint and so formally enter the process that they had set up after my therapy had begun to be funded by a previous office of the church, which did not require "victims" to be vetted by a lawyer first. I hope I have addressed the main issues raised. If I haven't or there are other questions that need to be raised, please feel free to do so in the comments here and I will be happy to respond. Finally, I would like to especially thank those who have experienced Satanic Ritual Abuse and took the time to comment and to "Ken", who is a relative and supporter of an abuse survivor who spoke eloquently about the problems that survivors face, such as feeling inhibited about talking about

myself. I would also like to thank you, the reader, for reading this far and taking the time to interest and educate yourself in this very unlovely topic. If everybody were educated to it, I'm sure this abuse of vulnerable adults and children would cease. To that end I urge you to click on the link to the ASCA document and take the further time to read it and read it perhaps more than once."

James T.

First Bible

Who wrote the first Bible? Well according to the Catholic Encyclopedia the first Bible was the Euangelion and Apostolikon of Marcion of Sinope AD 140.

Marcionism appears to have been the "Christianity" which was the thorn in the side of the Roman Empire until the 4th century.

Marcionism, rather surprisingly is more like Protestant Evangelicalism than Catholicism. The Catholic religion was created by Constantine in the 4th Century. This involved grafting Judaism (to which Marcionism is diametrically opposed) onto Pauline Marcionism. Furthermore it appears that Johannine Christianity based on Talmudic esotericism incorporating Babylonian paganism was also added. This would include the Gospel of John with its Vedic references and Revelations with its emphasis on numerology, symbolism, demonology, Babylonian and perhaps Gnostic elements.

Johannism with its roots in the cult of Dagon would appear to be the core of Roman religion. For example the mitre worn by the clergy is actually the fish head of the god of the Phillistines who was called Dagon or Ioannes.

It is no accident that the Feast of St John and the ancient Feast of Ioannes fall on the summer solstice, 24th June. Note that Christmas is the opposite time of the year. Remember this Biblical quote involving another John (who baptised with water), "He shall increase and I shall decrease." Sounds like Sun worship to me. Yes it's all about the sun (Ra) increasing on the winter solstice. You will also recall that one baptised by water and the other by fire. This is part of Babylonian pagan religion. Ioannes came out the water dressed inside a fish to teach Babylonians technology and culture. Their new god was the Sun. The old baptised with water, the new with fire.

Note that Jonah also spent time in a "fish". Don't forget the Christian fish symbol either. It is clear to me that Pauline Marcionism (AD 140 and not before) represents the true origin of Protestant Evangelicalism. Johannism and Judaism had nothing to do with it.

There is a culture in the minds of Christians regarding first century Christianity. For example the Christians were fed to the lions. What does history say? The Christiani were Messianic Jews. This was associated with Titus' sacking of Jerusalem AD 70. A historical event, but within the historical context, Christians and crucifixes get no mention. Another word that arises in this context is the fact that these zealots had long hair. The Hebrew word is *netzorim* meaning a

growth, like hair or root as in root of Jesse. That is where we get "Nazarene". But is this historically connected with a Jesus of Galilee? It seems more likely that this was an interpolation. After all the Jewish religion had no association with the Gospel originally.

Note that the Marcionites worshipped Chrestos. Second century Marcionism (Chrestianity) was the true origin of Protestant Evangelicalism. The word Christos (annointed) was not used until much later. Anointing was and is a Pagan ritual.

Marcion's Galatians

This is a modern rendition of Galatians Chapter 2.

[Galatians Chapter 2](#)

1 Then after fourteen years I again went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus along also.

2 I went up in accord with a revelation, and I presented to them the gospel that I preach to the Gentiles - but privately to those of repute - so that I might not be running, or have run, in vain.

3 Moreover, not even Titus, who was with me, although he was a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised,

4 but because of the false brothers secretly brought in, who slipped in to spy on our freedom that we have in Christ Jesus, that they might enslave us -

5 to them we did not submit even for a moment, so that the truth of the gospel might remain intact for you.

6 But from those who were reputed to be important (what they once were makes no difference to me; God shows no partiality) - those of repute made me add nothing.

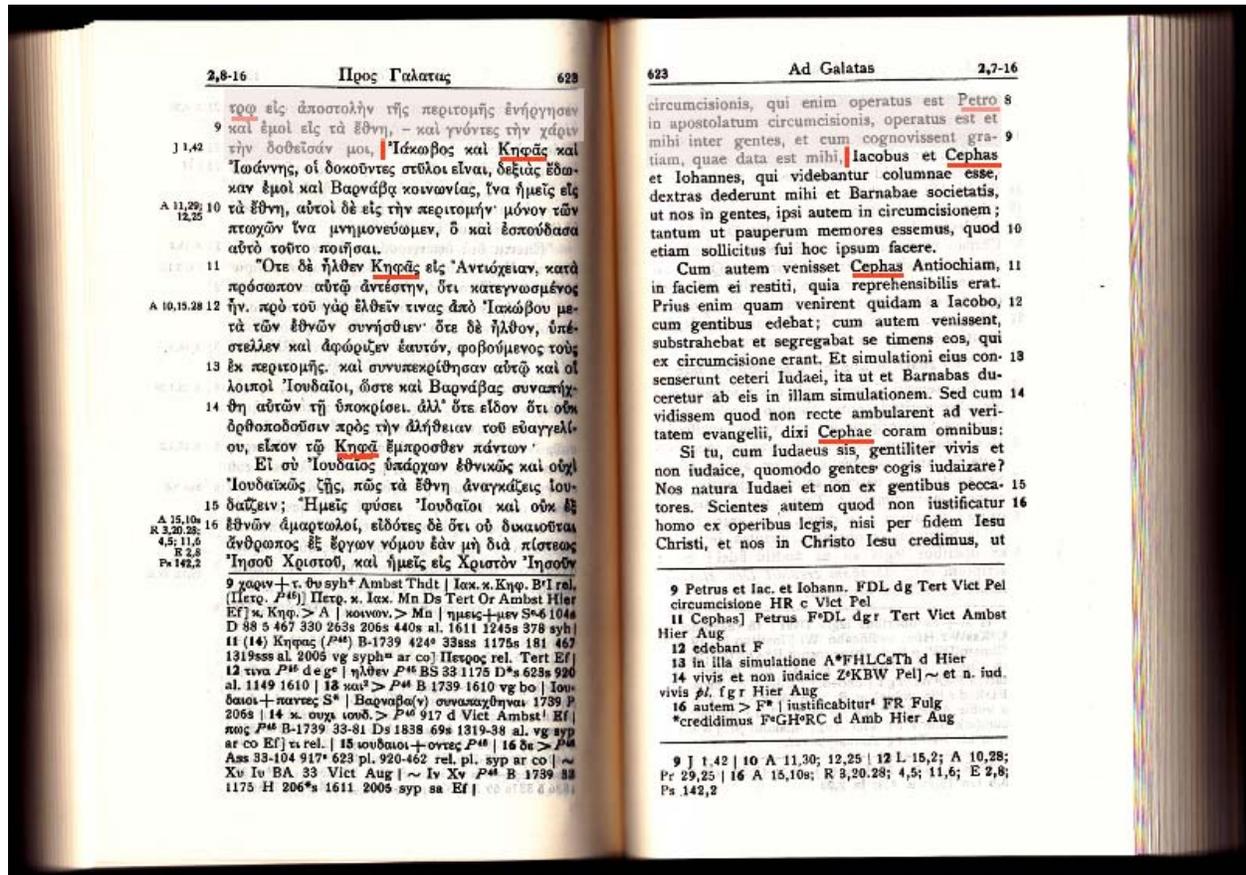
7 On the contrary, when they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised, just as Peter to the circumcised.

8 for the one who worked in Peter for an apostolate to the circumcised worked also in me for the Gentiles,

9 and when they recognized the grace bestowed upon me, James and Cephas and John, who were reputed to be pillars, gave me and Barnabas their right hands in partnership, that we should go to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised.

10 Only, we were to be mindful of the poor, which is the very thing I was eager to do.

There is much to be learned by comparing ancient texts. Let us also consider Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine, Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico Roma 1992 and the Bible of Marcion of Sinope AD 140.



9 τρω εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν
 9 καὶ ἔμοι εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, - καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν
 11,42 τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, **Ἰακώβος καὶ Κηφᾶς** καὶ
 11 **Ἰωάννης**, οἱ δοκούντες στύλοι εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδω-
 καν ἔμοι καὶ Βαρνάβη κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς
 A 11,29; 10 τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομὴν μόνον τῶν
 12,25 πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν, ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.
 11 "Οἷε δὲ ἦλθεν **Κηφᾶς** εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ
 πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀνέστην, ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος
 A 10,15,28; 12 ἦν. πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ εἰθεῖν τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου με-
 τὰ τῶν ἔθνων συνήσθην· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον, ὑπέ-
 στέλλεν καὶ ἀφώρizen ἑαυτὸν, φοβούμενος τοὺς
 13 ἐκ περιτομῆς, καὶ συνεπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ
 λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὥστε καὶ Βαρνάβας συναπή-
 14 θη αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει. ἀλλ' ὅτε εἶδον ὅτι οὐκ
 ὀρθοδοσοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελί-
 ου, εἶπον τῷ **Κηφᾶ** ἔμπροσθεν πάντων·
 15 Εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ἠπάρχων ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐκ
 Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆς, πῶς τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις Ιου-
 δαΐζειν; Ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ
 A 35,10; 15 ἔθνων ἁμαρτωλοὶ, εἰδότες δὲ ὅτι οὐ δικαιούται
 R 3,20,28; 4,5; 11,6 ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου εἶναι μὴ διὰ πίστεως
 R 2,8 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν
 R 142,2

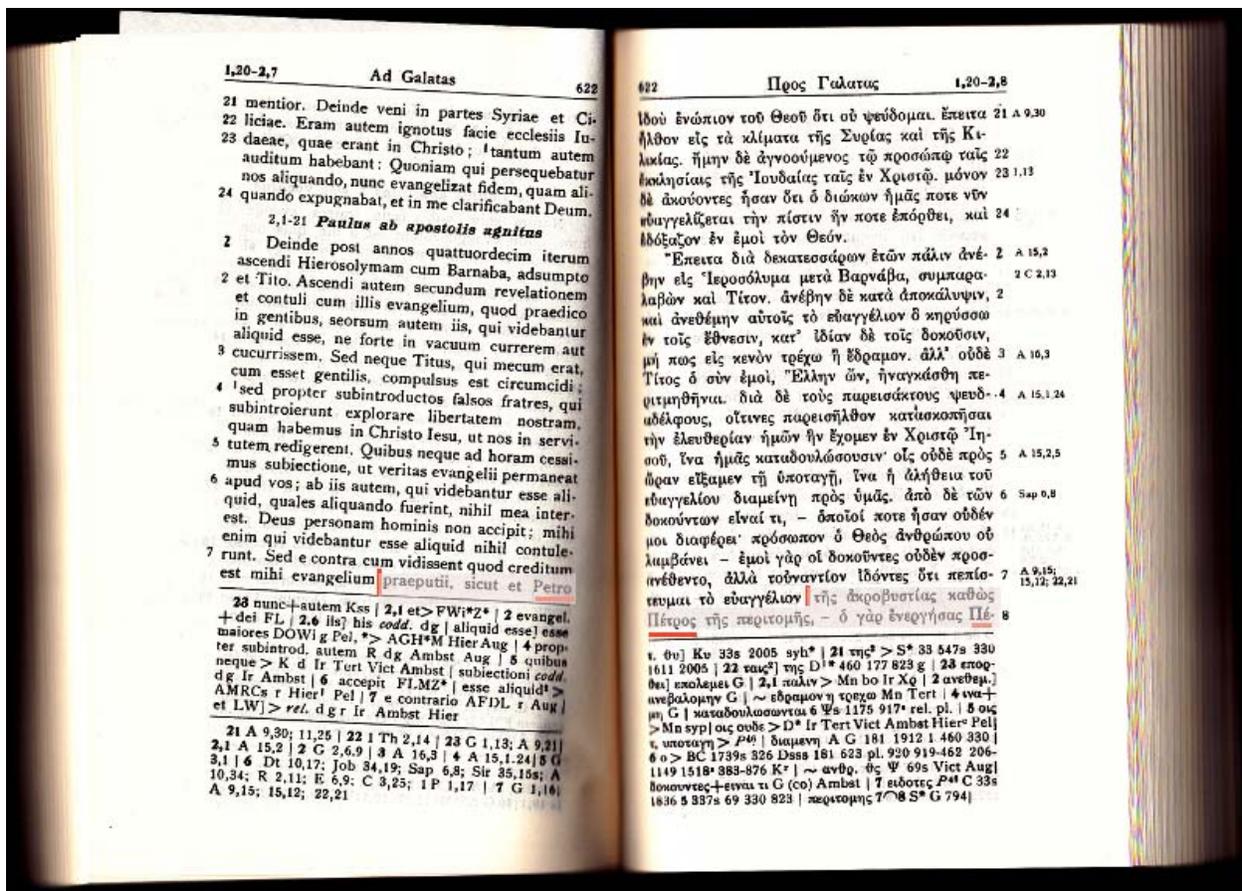
9 χαριν + r. θυ syh* Ambst Thdt | Ιακ. κ. Κηφ. B1 rel.
 (Πετρ. P46) | Πετρ. κ. Ιακ. Mn Ds Tert Or Ambst Hier
 EFJ κ. Κηφ. > A | κανων. > Mn | ημεῖς + μsn S-6 104a
 D 88 5 467 330 263a 206a 440a al. 1611 1245a 378 syh |
 11 (14) Κηφᾶς (P46) B-1739 424* 33ssa 1175a 181 467
 1319ssa al. 2005 vg syrh* ar co | Πετρος rel. Tert EFJ
 12 τινα P46 de ge | ἦλθεν P46 BS 33 1175 D* 623a 990
 al. 1149 1610 | 18 καὶ > P46 B 1739 1610 vg bo | Ιου-
 δαῖοι + παντες S* | Βαρναβα(ν) συναμαχθηνας 1739 P
 206a | 14 κ. οὐκ Ιουδ. > P46 917 d Vict. Ambst1 EFJ
 πος P46 B-1739 33-81 Ds 1838 69a 1319-38 al. vg syr
 ar co EFJ ti rel. | 15 Ιουδαῖοι + οντες P46 | 16 δε > P46
 Ass 33-104 917* 623 pl. 920-462 rel. pl. syr ar co | ~
 Xv Iu BA 33 Vict Aug | ~ Iv Xv P46 B 1739 38
 1175 H 206* 1611 2005 syr sa EFJ

circumcisionis, qui enim operatus est Petro 8
 in apostolatam circumcisionis, operatus est et
 mihi inter gentes, et cum cognovissent gra- 9
 tiam, quae data est mihi, **Iacobus et Ceph-
 as**
 et Iohannes, qui videbantur columnae esse,
 dextras dederunt mihi et Barnabae societatis,
 ut nos in gentes, ipsi autem in circumcisionem;
 tantum ut pauperum memores essemus, quod 10
 etiam sollicitus fui hoc ipsum facere.

Cum autem venisset **Cephas** Antiochiam, 11
 in faciem ei restiti, quia reprehensibilis erat.
 Prius enim quam venirent quidam a Iacobo, 12
 cum gentibus edebat; cum autem venissent,
 substrahebat et segregabat se timens eos, qui
 ex circumcisione erant. Et simulationi eius con- 13
 senserunt ceteri Iudaei, ita ut et Barnabas du-
 ceretur ab eis in illam simulationem. Sed cum 14
 vidissem quod non recte ambularent ad veri-
 tatem evangelii, dixi Cephae coram omnibus:
 Si tu, cum Iudaeus sis, gentiliter vivis et
 non iudaice, quomodo gentes cogis iudaizare?
 Nos natura Iudaei et non ex gentibus pecca- 15
 tores. Scientes autem quod non iustificatur 16
 homo ex operibus legis, nisi per fidem Iesu
 Christi, et nos in Christo Iesu credimus, ut

9 Petrus et Iac. et Iohann. FDL dg Tert Vict Pel
 circumcissione HR c Vict Pel
 11 Cephas] Petrus F0DL dg r Tert Vict Ambst
 Hier Aug
 12 edebant F
 13 in illa simulatione A*FHLcTh d Hier
 14 vivis et non iudaice Z*KBW Pel] ~ et n. iud.
 vivis M; fg r Hier Aug
 16 autem > F* | iustificabitur FR Fulg
 *credidimus F0GHRC d Amb Hier Aug

9 J 1,42 | 10 A 11,30; 12,25 | 12 L 15,2; A 10,28;
 Pr 29,25 | 16 A 15,10a; R 3,20.28; 4,5; 11,6; E 2,8;
 Ps 142,2



Marcion's Galatians Chapter 2

2:1 Then fourteen years after I went up to Jerusalem, and took Titus with me also.

2:2 And I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them that gospel which I preach among the Gentiles.

2:3 But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised:

2:4 However because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Chrestos Isu, that they might bring us into bondage:

2:5 To whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the gospel might continue with you.

2:6 But of these who seemed to be somewhat, (whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me: God accepteth no man's person:) for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me:

2:7 But contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel was committed unto me;

2:9 And when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me the right hands of fellowship; that I should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision.

2:11 But when Cephas was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed.

2:12 For before he came, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when he were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision.

2:13 And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation.

2:14 But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Cephas before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?

2:16 If you live by the law, God would have rebuilt what he had previously torn down, and so would have been found out to be transgressing the law.

2:18 For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor.

2:19 For I through the law am dead to the law, that I might live unto God.

2:20 I am crucified with Chrestos: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Chrestos liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who delivered me from the God of the Law, and gave himself for me.

2:21 I do not frustrate the grace: for if righteousness come by the law, then Chrestos is dead in vain.

Discussion

What can be seen by comparing Marcion's Galatians, modern Galatians and the 5th Century Latin Greek New Testament I bought from the Vatican for \$100 is as follows:

The modern version is like this:

On the contrary, when they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised, just as Peter to the circumcised for the one who worked in Peter for an apostolate to the circumcised worked also in me for the Gentiles, and when they recognized the grace bestowed upon me, James and Cephas and John, who were reputed to be pillars, gave me and Barnabas their right hands in partnership, that we should go to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised.

Marcion reads like this:

But contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel was committed unto me; And when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me the right hands of fellowship; that I should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision.

Did Marcion use the Razor or did Constantine Interpolate?

Comparison of Marcion's text with the modern text shows that the modern Bible has this extra bit:

to the uncircumcised, just as Peter to the circumcised for the one who worked in Peter for an apostolate to the circumcised worked also in me for the Gentiles, and when they recognized the grace bestowed upon me.

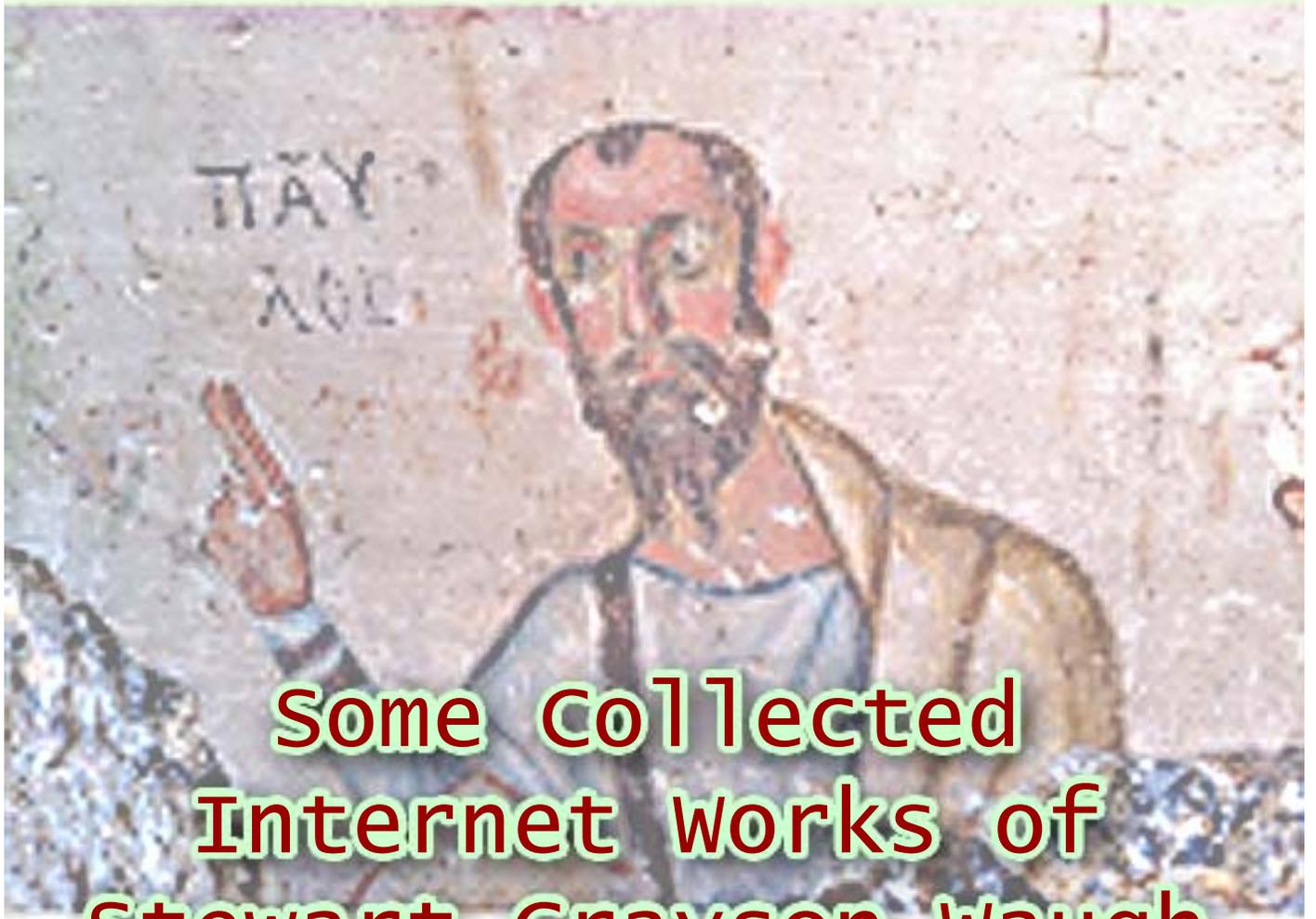
Conclusion

Examination of the above images shows that the extra part is also the only place where Peter is used in the 5th Century text. Elsewhere Cephas is used. That suggests that this section was added later by a different author. This is excellent evidence to support that Marcion's text was indeed the original.

Frank Reitzenstein

The First Edition of the New Testament

Apostolikon



Some Collected
Internet works of
Stewart Grayson Waugh

A Critical Reconstruction of the Complete Text of
the Ten Letters of Paul In Marcionite Form

Harvested & Compiled by
Michael S. DeBurger

Stewart Grayson Waugh

Marcionite Galatians Interliner

Reconstruction by Stuart G. Waugh

29 June, 2013

- 1:1 Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου
Paul an Apostle not from men nor through man
ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν,¹
but through Jesus Christ who raised himself from the dead
- 1:2 καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας
And all~ those~ brothers~ with~ me to the churches of Galatia:
- 1:3 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ² ³
Grace to you and peace from God our father and (the) Lord Jesus Christ.
- 1:6 Θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε
I marvel that you are so quickly turning (away)
ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον,
from the one having called you by (his) grace to another Gospel,
- 1:7 οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο [κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου],⁴ εἰ μὴ τινές εἰσιν οἱ ταρασσόντες ὑμᾶς
There is not another [according to my Gospel], except there are those agitating you
καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι εἰς ἕτερον ⁵ εὐαγγέλιόν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
and desiring to change to another Gospel of Christ
- 1:8 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίσῃται
But even if we or an angel from heaven preaches a Gospel
παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.
contrary to that which we preached to you, let him be cursed.
- ⁶ 1:9 εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. ⁷
if anyone preaches a Gospel to you contrary to that which you received, let him be cursed.
- ⁸ 1:11 Γνωρίζω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον·
For I make known to you, brothers, the Gospel I have been preaching, that it is not according to man.

¹ The omission of καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς is testified to by Tertullian: Tertullian, AM 5.1.3: *Ipse se, inquit, apostolum est professus et quidem non ab hominibus nec per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum*. That Marcion read αὐτὸν instead of αὐτὸν, which is confirmed explicitly by Origen, Commentary on Galatians PL 26.

² Tertullian attests this verse in AM 5.5.1-2 this verse *gratiam et pacem ... a Deo Patre nostro et Domino Iesu*. Common to all Paul

³ Verses 1:4-5 are Catholic insertions, the concepts of giving himself for sins plus LXX quotes from Ezra 18:16, 4 Maccabees 18:24

⁴ The addition of κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου from DA 1.6 is unmistakable. οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου, εἰ μὴ τινές εἰσιν οἱ ταρασσόντες ὑμᾶς καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιόν τοῦ Χριστοῦ and which Rufinus later adds «*Si enim Siluanus et Timotheus et Paulis euangelistae sunt, dicit autem ipse Paulus: Quod euangelizauimus uobis, uerisimile uidetur recipi debere, plures esse euangelistas, sed unum esse euangelium*» this crept in from a Marcionite scribe emphasizing Marcion's single Gospel versus the differing and multiple Catholic Gospels, borrowing from Romans 2:16; in my opinion, this happened sometime after the text which Tertullian saw was written (207AD), and before Dialogue Adamantius was written (~290 AD). I see no reason for the Catholic redactor to have removed it, as it appears in Catholic use for Romans 16:25, 1 Timothy 1:11, 2 Timothy 2:8. So I place it in brackets. Note Tertullian reads ὁ ἄλλο πάντως οὐκ ἔστιν for οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο but which is right is not entirely clear, so I leave the Catholic text.

⁵ The reading εἰς ἕτερον for τὸ without manuscript support, and may represent Marcionite scribal gloss, but this is less certain. Tertullian twice writes *aliud euangelium* in AM 5.2.5 and DA 1.9 εἰς ἕτερον but Rufinus *peruertere* = μεταστρέψαι τὸ

⁶ It is likely ὡς προειρήκαμεν καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν λέγω· (“as we previously said, and now I say again,”) was not in Marcion,

⁷ This verse is found as part of the antithesis quoted by Mani in a fictional discourse from Hegemonius *Acta Archelai* Book XL *Si qui uobis ad nuntiaverit praeterquam quod accepistis, anathema sit*

⁸ Verse 1:10 was a later Catholic with the theme of Paul being a slave of Christ against the Marcionite belief of freedom in Christ

- 1:12 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτό οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.^{9 10}
 For I received it not from man, nor was I taught (it), but through a revelation of Jesus Christ
- 1:15 Ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ
 But when was pleased the one having set me apart from my mother's womb and having called [me] through his grace
- 1:16 ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί, ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,
 to reveal his son in me, that I might preach him among the gentiles,
 εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι,¹¹
 I did not immediately consult (with) flesh and blood,
- 2:1 Ἐπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα συνπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον.¹²
 Then after fourteen years I went up to Jerusalem with Titus accompanying me.
- 2:2 ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν: καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,¹³
 And I went up according to a revelation and brought along the Gospel preached to the Gentiles.
- 2:3 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί, Ἕλλην ὢν, ἠναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι·
 But Titus who was with me, being Greek, was not compelled to be circumcised.
- 2:4 διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους, οἵτινες παρεισῆλθον κατασκοπῆσαι
 Because false brothers secreted in, who slipped in to spy on
 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν,¹⁴
 the freedom we have in Christ, that they might enslave us,
- 2:5 οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ, ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμείνῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς.¹⁵
 Not for an hour did we yield in subjugation that the truth of the Gospel might remain with you.
- 2:6 ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναί τι, – ὅποιοι ποτε ἦσαν οὐδὲν μοι διαφέρει·
 But from the ones seeming to be something – of what kind they once were matters nothing to me:
 πρόσωπον [ὁ] θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει – ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο,
 the face of person God does not accept – for me those seeming (to be something) added nothing
- 2:7 ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἰδόντες ὅτι πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον¹⁶
 But on the contrary having seeing I had been entrusted with the Gospel
- 2:9 καὶ γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, οἱ δοκοῦντες στύλοι εἶναι,
 And realizing the grace having been given to me, those seeming to be pillars,
 δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη,¹⁷
 they gave the right hand to me of fellowship, that I might take these things to the gentiles

⁹ Verses 1:11-12 contents are confirmed by Irenaeus in *Adversus H* 3.13.1 concerning Marcionite theology saying, "With regard to those (*the Marcionites*) who allege that Paul alone knew the truth, and that to him the mystery was manifested by revelation" **Eos autem qui dicunt, solum Paulum veritatem cognovisse, vni per revelationem manifestatum est mysterium**

¹⁰ Verses 1:13-14 were Catholic insertions, asserting Paul's Jewish background and harmonizing to Acts, intruding upon the argument

¹¹ After much consideration, verse 1:17 was not original, Damascus is drawn from Acts 9:1-25 story following Paul's vision

¹² Verses 1:18-24 are not in the original. They were added to conform to Acts of the Apostles with Paul as the persecutor and getting instruction after his revelation from Peter (Cephas) and the Jerusalem Church, against the Marcionite version. In verse 2:1 **πάλιν** 'again' was added by a scribe since the Catholic editor added a trip to Jerusalem earlier than the 14th year in the original. **μετὰ βαρναβᾶ** is a catholic addition to bring Barnabas of Acts 13-15 into the picture.

¹³ The second part of verse 2:2 (**κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, μὴ πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον** 'but privately to those of repute, lest somehow I should be or did run for nothing') the Catholic editor added to show Paul's compliance to the Jerusalem council.

¹⁴ Marcion read **Χριστῷ** for **Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ** without manuscript support, but the form is common in Marcion.

¹⁵ Marcion deletes **οἷς** 'to whom' giving a more forceful statement. Although only D* gives support this appears to be original

¹⁶ The rest of verse 2:7 and all of 2:8 were added by the Catholic editor to support the dual missions of Paul and Peter. There is the additional textual problem of Peter instead of Cephas appearing here as nowhere else in Paul betraying this is a later insertion.

¹⁷ The rest of verse 2:9 and all of 2:10 were added by the Catholic editor to conform to Acts, bringing Barnabas in again, and supporting the dual mission, where Paul admits lower status than the Jerusalem (Catholic) council. The names of **Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης** were also not present in the original.

- 2:10 **μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν**, ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.
Only that I remember the poor, as I was also eager to do this very thing.
- 2:11 Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν **Κηφᾶς, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην**, ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν. ¹⁸
And when Cephas came, I stood against him to his face, because he had condemned (himself).
- 2:12 πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν **συνήσθιεν**. ¹⁹
For before coming he was eating with the Gentiles.
ὅτε δὲ ἦλθον, ὑπέστειλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν **φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς**.
But when he came he drew he drew back and separated himself, fearing those of the circumcision.
- 2:13 καὶ συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἰουδαῖοι. ²⁰
and joining with him in hypocrisy the rest of the Jews
- 2:14 ἀλλ' ὅτε εἶδον ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,
But when I saw they did not walk upright with the truth of the Gospel,
εἶπον τῷ Κηφᾷ **ἔμπροσθεν πάντων**, Εἰ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐκ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆς,
I said to Cephas before all, 'If you being a Jew, ~live as a Gentile and not as a Jew,
πῶς τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις Ἰουδαίειν;
how do you force Gentiles to live as Jews?' ²¹
- 2:16 **οὐ δικαιῶνται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως**. ²²
A man in not justified by works of Law, but through faith.
- 2:18 **εἰ γὰρ ἃ κατέλυσα ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ**, παραβάτην ἑμαυτὸν συνιστάνω. ²³
For if what I destroyed these things again I build, then I demonstrate myself a transgressor.
- 2:19 ἐγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον ἵνα θεῷ ζήσω: Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι
For I through the Law died to the Law that I would live to God. With Christ I have been crucified.
- 2:20 ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός· ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκί,
And it is no longer I living, but Christ living in me; and that (life) which I live now in the flesh,
ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ **ἀγοράσαντός** ²⁴ με καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.
by faith I live, that the son of God, the one having redeemed me also gave himself up on my behalf.
- 2:21 οὐκ ἀθετῶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ· εἰ γὰρ διὰ νόμου δικαιοσύνη, ἄρα Χριστὸς δωρεὰν ἀπέθανεν.
I did not set aside the grace of God; for if righteousness [is] through the Law, then Christ died for nothing.
- 3:1 Ὡ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται, τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανεν,
O mindless Galatians! Who bewitched you?
οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος;
Before your eyes Jesus Christ was written to see as Crucified;

¹⁸ The words **εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν** (support 1319) were added to harmonize with Acts 15:23ff as Paul's destination after James ruling in Jerusalem concerning Paul's mission.

¹⁹ The Catholic editor added **τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου** 'certain ones from James' to soften the condemnation of Peter. That this was added is evidenced by **ἦλθεν** (B p⁴⁶ κ D* F G 33 330) which was only corrected to **ἦλθον** to match the addition later.

²⁰ I decided there was no reason to delete **καὶ** (B p⁴⁶ 6 1739) and its addition is probably after the Catholic redaction. The phrase **ὥστε καὶ βαρναβᾶς συναπήχθη αὐτῶν τῇ ὑποκρίσει** 'so that Barnabas was led astray by their hypocrisy' was part of the Barnabas addition to the text, filling in for Acts to give reason for Paul to split with him.

²¹ The Catholic editor added 2:15-16a **Ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἀμαρτωλοί· εἰδοτές [δὲ] ὅτι** 'we by nature are Jews and not of the Gentile sinners; [and] knowing that' to again assert the Jewish heritage of Paul.

²² The Catholic editor added 2:16c-17 with emphasis on sin.

²³ This verse is quoted in full as part of the antithesis quoted by Hegemonius *Acta Archelai* Book XL ***Si ea quae destruxi iterum***

aedifico, praevaricatorem me constituo; This is a secondary source, as the opponent in focus is Mani, but this book reports fictional a disputation in which Mani quotes extensively contradictions (Antithesis) of New against Old Testaments, the Serpent (Marcion) as his ally, implying the source is the Marcionite texts. This work is thought to date from 340-345, originally in Greek.

²⁴ Marcion reads **ἀγοράσαντός** 'redeemed' against the main revision's **ἀγαπήσαντός** 'loved.' There is no manuscript support for the reading. The difference is just three letters (ΟΡΔ for ΔΠΗ) but illustrates the theological tendencies of each.

- 3:2 τοῦτο μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν ἀφ' ὑμῶν· ἐξ ἔργων νόμου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλάβετε ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως;
This only I want to learn from you; from works of Law you received the spirit, or from hearing faith?
- 3:3 οὕτως ἀνόητοί ἐστε, ἐναρξάμενοι πνεύματι νῦν σαρκὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθε;
So mindless you are; having begun in spirit, now in flesh you are being perfected?
- 3:4 τοσαῦτα ἐπάθετε εἰκῆ; εἶ γε καὶ εἰκῆ.
So many things did you suffer in vain? If indeed in vain
- 3:5 ὁ οὖν ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἢ ἐξ ἀκοῆς πίστεως; ²⁵
The one who brought you the spirit and working the power in you, (is it) by works of Law or by hearing faith?
- 3:11 Μάθετε ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται· ^{3:10} ὅσοι γὰρ ὑπὸ νόμον, ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσίν·
Learn that the just by faith will live For those under (the) Law, are under a curse
- 3:12 ὁ δὲ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς. ²⁶
But the one having done these things (of the Law) will live by them.
- 3:13 Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξήγορασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, ὅτι, ²⁷
Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law becoming a curse on our behalf, because
'Ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου, ²⁸
'Cursed are all those hung from a tree.'
- 3:14 ἵνα τὴν εὐλογίαν ²⁹ τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.
That the promise of the spirit we might receive through faith.
- 3:26 Πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ ἐστέ τῆς πίστεως· ^{3:15} [ἔπι] ³⁰ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω·
For you are all sons of faith; [As] according to man I speak;
- 4:3 ὅτε ἤμεν νήπιοι, ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἤμεθα δεδουλωμένοι·
when we were infants we had been enslaved under the elements of the world;
- 4:4 ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. ³¹
But in the fullness of time, God sent forth his son,
- 4:5 ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν. ³²
That those under the Law he might redeem, that we might receive adoption as sons.
- 4:6 Ὅτι δὲ ἐστε υἱοί, ἐξαπέστειλεν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν κρᾶζον, Ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ. ³³
And because you are sons, (he) sent forth his spirit into our hearts crying, "Abba, Father!"

²⁵ Verses 3:6-9 were added to bring the theology of the God of Abraham, a clear demarcation between Catholic and Heretic.

²⁶ The Marcionite version of verses 3:10-12 was much shorter, and in a different order. Epiphanius quotes as shown 3:11 then 3:10
Μάθετε διότι δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται· ὅσοι γὰρ ὑπὸ νόμον, ὑπὸ κατάραν εἰσίν· ὁ δὲ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.

²⁷ Marcion did not have γέγραπται 'it is written'. There is no reason to delete it, so it is likely original though lacks mss evidence.

²⁸ LXX Deuteronomy 21:23 quoted in antithesis κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου.

²⁹ The reading εὐλογίαν 'blessing' for ἐπαγγελίαν 'promise' (*Adversus Marcionem* 5.3.11, *benedictionem spiritualem*) support of Western manuscripts D F G it^{d,s} and p⁴⁶ 88 489 927 Ephrem. This is hard to explain if Marcion's text is earlier, as the first clause of 3:14 was not present it is more likely the text was modified *after* the Catholic revision to harmonize with 3:15-18.

³⁰ All of 3:15-4:2 was not in Marcion, except these versions of 3:26 and 3:15; The exact wording is suspect due to Tertullian's terseness and loose translation (*omnes enim filii estis fidei* for verse 3:26, ἐστε τῆς πίστεως for θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ). Whether Tertullian shortened 'sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus' to 'sons of faith' is settled to my satisfaction in the mapping of 'sons of faith' to the argument in the preceding verses about faith as received from the spirit, not Law. There is no qualifying "through Christ" either before or after. I have bracketed ἐπι because it is not clear that it was present. But the order of 3:15a after 3:26 is clear by the context of 4:3ff following.

³¹ *At ubi tempus expletum est misit deus filium suum.* "In the fullness of time God sent forth his son." (*Adversus Marcionem* 5.8.7)

³² Dialogue Adamantius 1.19 reads ἐλήφθημεν 'we have received' against ἀπολάβωμεν 'we might receive' adoption as sons. Most likely this is a later Marcionite scribal improvement to conform to verse 4:6. There is no manuscript support. Compare Ephesians 1:5.

³³ Against Clabeaux's argument that Tertullian's quote is loose, deleting *Deus* (θεὸς) 'God' supported by B 1739 Cop^{-sah} and *fillii* (τοῦ υἱοῦ) 'the son' supported by p46, to conform to Joel 3:28 which he quotes following, I find this unconvincing. Again the material before does not qualify sonship with God or Christ as in verse 3:26 above. Since it is missing in both verses it is original.

4:8 [εἰ οὖν] τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὐσι θεοῖς ἐδουλεύσατε· ³⁴

[Therefore if] to those who by nature are not Gods you were enslaved.

4:9(b) πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεῦσαι θέλετε; ³⁵

How do you turn again to the weak and poor elements to which again you want to be their slave?

4:10 ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτούς, ³⁶

You observe (special) days and months and seasons and years,

4:11 φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς μή πως εἰκῆ κεκοπίακα εἰς ὑμᾶς.

I fear that somehow I have labored for you in vain.

4:12 Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, ὅτι κἀγὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, δέομαι ὑμῶν. οὐδέν με ἠδικήσατε·

I beg you, become as I (am) brothers, because I became as you (were). You've done me no injury.

4:13 οἴδατε δὲ ὅτι δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον.

And you know that through weakness of flesh I preached the Gospel to you from the first.

4:14 καὶ τὸν πειρασμὸν ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου οὐκ ἐξουθενήσατε οὐδὲ ἐξεπτύσατε,

And (in) your temptation (you) neither despised nor loathed of me in the flesh,

ἀλλὰ [ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ] ἐδέξασθέ με, ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. ³⁷

but you received me [as an Angel of God,] as Christ Jesus.

4:15 ποῦ οὖν ὁ μακαρισμὸς ὑμῶν;

Where then is your blessedness?

μαρτυρῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰ δυνατὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν ἐξορύξαντες ἐδώκατέ μοι.

For I testify that if (it were) possible you would have torn out your eyes and given them to me

4:16 ὥστε ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν γέγονα ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν;

So I have become your enemy (by) speaking the truth to you?

4:17 ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς οὐ καλῶς, ἀλλὰ ἐκκλείσει ὑμᾶς θέλουσιν, ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε·

They are zealous of you not (for) good, but they desire to exclude you that you may be zealous of them.

4:18 καλὸν δὲ ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῷ πάντοτε καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρεῖναι με πρὸς ὑμᾶς

But (it is) good to always be zealous for a good thing – and not only my presence with you.

4:19 τεκνία μου, οὓς πάλιν ὠδίνω μέχρις ³⁸ οὗ μορφωθῆ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν·

My children, of who again I feel birth pains until Christ is formed in you;

4:20 ἤθελον δὲ παρεῖναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄρτι καὶ ἀλλάξαι τὴν φωνήν μου, ὅτι ἀποροῦμαι ἐν ὑμῖν.

And I desire to be present with you now and change my voice, because I am perplexed about you.

³⁴ With Herman Detering and Daniel Mahar I delete 4:7-8a based on the slave-heir motif connecting back to the heir material of 3:29-4:2. I am less certain of Tertullian's *Si ergo his qui non natura sunt dei servitis* which translates to *Εἰ οὖν* but have no better solution. As with Clabeaux I do not trust Tertullian's paraphrasing, also with Clabeaux (see #4 App B) I read (~θεοῖς ἐδουλεύσατε) D F G OL:I vg Gothic which is probably incorrect, but I show it here; *δουλευτέ* is an over reading Tertullian, wrong form.

³⁵ Verse 4:9a and 4:8a were additions to change the emphasis to pagans not knowing God, similar to Romans 1:19:-2:1

³⁶ Although Detering and Mahar include *καὶ σάββατά, ὡς οἶμαι, καὶ δεῖπνα καθαρὰ καὶ νηστείας καὶ ἡμέρας μεγάλας*, as does Harnack, as part of this verse in the Marcionite form, I enclose it in double brackets. If it crept into the Marcionite text it was a later development long after the original text was redacted to the Catholic form. I am not certain it was in Marcion's text before Tertullian. Clearly *ut opinor* is Tertullian's own comment (*Adversus Marcionem* 5.4.6 *et sabbata ut opinor et coenas puras et ieiunia et dies magnos*) allowing him to specify the Sabbath and the preparations the fasts and the High days to segment allowing him to bring up Isaiah 1:13-14, Amos 5.27, and Hosea 2:11 to show the creator God rejected them as well. Clearly no Catholic editor would have had a problem with such a statement, so they would not have removed it. Thus, even if in the text was not original, much like *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου* in verse 1:7, if Marcion's text had it, it had to be from a later Marcionite scribal insertion.

³⁷ The phrase *ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ* 'an angel of God' is suspect. The Catholic editor, like Luke shows an affinity for Angels not shared by Marcion. Tertullian suspected that verse 1:8 the angel from heaven was a jab by Marcion against Apelles' Philumina. It seems to me more likely the original was *ἀλλὰ ἐδέξασθέ με, ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν* 'but you received me as Christ Jesus.' This bold statement went too far for the Catholic editor, who elsewhere always tones down Paul's claim to direct revelation from Jesus Christ.

³⁸ *Filii mei quos parturio rursus*. "Ye are my children, of whom I travail again in birth." (*Adversus Marcionem* 5.8.6)

4:21 Λέγετέ μοι, οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι, τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε;

Tell me, you who desire to be under the Law, do you not hear the Law?

4:22 εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν, ἓνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης καὶ ἓνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας. ³⁹

For if Abraham had two sons, one from the maidservant, but the other from the free woman.

4:23 ἀλλ' ὁ ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας δι' ἐπαγγελίας. ⁴⁰

But the one from the maidservant was born according to the flesh, and the one from the free (woman) through promise.

4:24 ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα· αὗται γὰρ εἰσιν δύο διαθήκαι, μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινά εἰς δουλείαν γεννῶσα, ⁴¹

These things are allegorical; for these are the two covenants, one from Mount Sinai gives birth ~to slavery,

4:26(a) ἡ δὲ ^{1:21} ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς γεννῶσα, [καὶ] δυνάμεως [καὶ] ἐξουσίας καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος

but the other, gives birth ~far above all rulers, [and] powers, [and] authority, and all names

ὀνομαζομένου, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι, ^{4:26(c)} ἣτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν. ⁴²

that have been named, not only in this age but also in the coming (one), who is our mother:

⁴³ 4:31 διό, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐσμὲν παιδίσκης τέκνα ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.

Therefore brothers, we are not children of the maidservant but of the free (woman).

5:1 Τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠγευθέρωσεν· στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε.

For freedom Christ freed us; therefore stand firm and never again be held to the yoke of slavery.

5:2 Ἴδε ἐγὼ Παῦλος λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐὰν περιτέμνησθε, Χριστὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ὠφελήσει.

Behold I Paul say to you that if you are circumcised, Christ will profit you nothing.

5:3 μαρτύρομαι δὲ πάλιν παντὶ ὅτι ἀνθρώπῳ περιτεμνομένῳ ⁴⁴ ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι.

And I again testify that a man who has been circumcised is a debtor to the whole Law.

5:4 κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε, τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσατε.

You were estranged from Christ, who ever by Law are being justified, you fell from grace.

5:5 ἡμεῖς γὰρ πνεύματι ἐκ πίστεως ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης ἀπεκδεχόμεθα.

For we (through) the spirit by faith eagerly await the hope of righteousness.

5:6 ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε περιτομή τι ἰσχύει οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη. ⁴⁵

For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision is of any force nor is uncircumcision but faith working through love.

5:7 Ἐτρέχετε καλῶς· τίς ὑμᾶς ἐνέκοψεν [τῇ] ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι;

You were running well; who hindered you not to be persuaded by the truth?

5:8 ἡ πεισμονὴ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς. ^{5:9} μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα δολοῖ. ⁴⁶

This persuasion is not from the one calling you. A little leaven deceives the whole lump.

³⁹ Marcion's text does not appeal to the OT (Tertullian AM 5.4.8) the text read εἰ γὰρ 'for if' for γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι 'for it is written that' that usually connotes an actual OT (LXX) quote to follow, and none does here, but later in 4:27ff. Thus Marcion's text is original.

⁴⁰ Marcion deletes μὲν with p⁴⁶ B Vg, Clabeaux rates this as correct pre-Marcionite text against UBS (*Adversus Marcionem* 5.4.8)

⁴¹ The Synagogue of the Jews according to the Law here is a direct Marcionite reference to the Catholic Church – as with the Cathars a millennium later. The Catholic editor changed this to ἣτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ 'who is Hagar' and continued through 4:25 with inheritance.

⁴² Verse 4:26 has Ephesians 1:21 intertwined with it. Curiously Ephrem of Syria, who does not know Marcion's text, also attests this variant. The traditional view is this variant was inspired by ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ 'above is Jerusalem' of the Catholic version. I instead think the Ephesians 1:21, which was missing from Marcion's text of Laodiceans (Ephesians) and reads like an interpolation there between 1:20a and 1:22, belongs instead here, where the theology fits squarely with Marcion. The Catholic text refers to a Jerusalem which is idealized as in heaven, a theme not existent until long after the City was destroyed by the Romans in the aftermath of Bar Kochba (132-135AD), while prior to that the concept was of restoring Jerusalem not displacing it to the heavens.

⁴³ Galatians 4:27-30 were added by the Catholic editor to bring the passage into agreement with the theology of inheritance through the promise to Abraham, quoting Isaiah 54:1 (verses 27) and Genesis 21:10 (verse 30). These were not in the original nor Marcion.

⁴⁴ Epiphanius twice quotes this verse in Marcion with ὅτι ἀνθρώπος περιτεμνομένος for παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ περιτεμνομένῳ ὅτι, no other witnesses are extant. This reading (past tense) is however preferable in context of the verse. Clabeaux does not comment.

⁴⁵ There are many problems with these verses from a Marcionite perspective. The concept of falling from grace does not fit Marcionite theology well. Verse 5:6 is well attested in Marcion (Tertullian) but is surprising, as it is clearly Catholic, treating circumcision equal with non-circumcision, and faith through Love.

⁴⁶ Clabeaux rates this variant as correct, δολοῖ for ζυμοῖ (Epiphanius/Marcion D* Gothic Basil), the later suggested by Matthew 13:33

- 5:10 ἐγὼ πέποιθα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν κυρίῳ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο φρονήσετε·
I am confident in you in the Lord that you will not think otherwise;
ὁ δὲ ταρασσὼν ὑμᾶς βαστάσει τὸ κρίμα, ὅστις ἐὰν ᾖ. ⁴⁷
but the one agitating you will bear the judgment, whosoever he may be.
- 5:11 ἐγὼ δέ, ἀδελφοί, εἰ περιτομὴν ἔτι κηρύσσω,
But I, brothers, if I still proclaim circumcision,
τί ἔτι διώκομαι; ἄρα κατήργηται τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ.
why am I being persecuted? Has the stumbling block of the cross been set aside?
- 5:12 ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόβονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς.
I just wish those who agitate you would castrate themselves.
- 5:13 Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε, ἀδελφοί· μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῆ σαρκί,
For you were called to freedom, brothers; only not the freedom for endeavoring to the flesh,
ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοις.
but through the love serve as slaves to one another.
- 5:14 Ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ἐν ὑμῖν πεπλήρωται, Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. ⁴⁸
For the entire Law in you has been summed up, "Love your neighbor as yourself."
- 5:15 εἰ δὲ ἀλλήλους δάκνετε καὶ κατεσθίετε, βλέπετε μὴ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀναλωθῆτε.
but if you bite and devour one another, lest you are destroyed by one another.
- 5:16 Λέγω δέ, πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελέσητε.
But I say, walk by the spirit and the desires of the flesh will not be completed in you.
- 5:17 ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκός,
For the desires of the flesh are against the spirit, and the spirit is against the flesh,
ταῦτα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντίκειται, ἵνα μὴ ἂ ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε.
for these oppose one another, so that whatever you desire, these things you are not able to do.
- 5:18 εἰ δὲ πνεύματι ἄγεσθε, οὐκ ἐστὲ ὑπὸ νόμον.
But if by the spirit you are led, you are not under (the) Law.
- 5:19 φανερὰ δὲ ἐστὶν τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, ἅτινά ἐστιν πορνεία, ἀκαθαρσία, ἀσέλγεια,
But manifest are the works of the flesh, which are fornication, impurity, licentiousness,
- 5:20 εἰδωλολατρία, φαρμακία, ἔχθραι, ἔρις, ζῆλος, ⁴⁹ θυμοί, ἐριθίαι, διχοστασίαι, αἰρέσεις,
idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strife, jealousy, anger, selfishness, divisions, sects,
- 5:21 φθόνοι, ⁵⁰ μέθαι, κῶμοι, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις,
envy, drunkenness, carousing and things like these,
ἃ προλέγω ὑμῖν καθὼς προεῖπον ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. ⁵¹
which I foretold as I said before that those practicing such things will not inherit the kingdom of God.
- 5:22 Ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐστὶν ἀγάπη χαρὰ εἰρήνη, μακροθυμία χρηστότης ἀγαθωσύνη, πίστις
But the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness faith,

⁴⁷ DA 2.5 and 2.15 ὁ ταρασσὼν ὑμᾶς βαστάσει τὸ κρίμα ὅστις ἂν ᾖ

⁴⁸ Epiphanius and Tertullian (*Tota enim, inquit, lex in vobis adimpleta est: Diligesproximum tuum tamquam te*) both read Marcion as ὑμῖν for ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ ('in one word') which Clabeaux rejects but Detering accepts as original. D* F G OL:DI Ephrem vg also support. It fits the context of 5:13 better than the Catholic which crept in from Romans 13:9-10. A rare instance where I side against Clabeaux

⁴⁹ It is difficult to say whether Marcion read ἔρεις, ζῆλοι for ἔρις, ζῆλος, (Epiphanius), but I side against. Atticism are for the most non-existent in Marcion, ruling out ἔρεις, while ζῆλοι is a correction to match form. Basically no translatable difference

⁵⁰ Clearly φόννοι 'murders' for φθόνοι 'envy' is incorrect. I judged the Catholic original against Epiphanius.

⁵¹ Epiphanius Panoranion 42: Φανερὰ δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, ἅτινά ἐστι πορνεία ἀκαθαρσία ἀσέλγεια εἰδωλολατρεία φαρμακεία ἔχθραι ἔρεις ζῆλοι θυμοί ἐριθεῖα διχοστασία αἰρέσεις φθόνοι μέθαι κῶμοι, ἃ προλέγω ὑμῖν καθὼς καὶ προεῖπον, ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν.

- 5:23 *πραύτης, ἐγκράτεια: κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος.*
meekness, self-control; against such things there is not a Law.
- 5:24 *οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν τοῖς παθήμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις.*
But those of Christ have crucified the flesh with its passions and its lusts.
- 5:25 *εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι, πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν.*
If we live by the spirit, we should also walk with the spirit.
- 5:26 *μὴ γινώμεθα κενόδοξοι, ἀλλήλους προκαλοῦμενοι, ἀλλήλοις φθονοῦντες.*
Let us not be conceited, provoking one another, envying one another.
- 6:1 *Ἀδελφοί, ἐὰν καὶ προλημφθῇ ἄνθρωπος ἐν τινι παραπτώματι,*
Brothers, and if a man is overtaken in some offense,
ὕμεῖς οἱ πνευματικοὶ καταρτίζετε τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν πνεύματι πραύτητος,
you spiritual ones restore this one in a spirit of meekness,
σκοπῶν σεαυτὸν, μὴ καὶ σὺ πειρασθῆς.
watching out for yourself lest you be tempted also.
- 6:2 *Ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε καὶ οὕτως ἀναπληρώσατε τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.*
Bear one another's burdens and thus you will fulfill the Law of Christ.
- 6:3 *εἰ γὰρ δοκεῖ τις εἶναι τι μὴδὲν ὄν, φρεναπατᾶ ἑαυτὸν.*
For if anyone thinks he is something, being nothing, he deceives himself.
- 6:4 *τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμαζέτω ἕκαστος,*
Let each prove himself by his own work,
καὶ τότε εἰς ἑαυτὸν μόνον τὸ καύχημα ἔξει καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἕτερον.
and then he will be able to boast in himself alone and not in the (some) other.
- 6:5 *ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον φορτίον βαστάσει.*
For each will bear his own load.
- 6:6 *Κοινωνεῖτω δὲ ὁ κατηχούμενος τὸν λόγον τῷ κατηχοῦντι [ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς].* ⁵²
Let the one being instructed in the word share with the one instructing [in all good things]
- 6:7 *Πλανᾶσθε, θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται. ὃ γὰρ ἂν σπείρῃ ἄνθρωπος, ταῦτο καὶ θερίσει.* ⁵³
You are deceived; God is not mocked. For whatsoever a man sows, that also he will reap.
- 6:8 *ὅτι ὁ σπείρων εἰς τὴν σάρκα ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς θερίσει φθοράν,*
Because the one sowing to his flesh of the flesh will reap corruption,
ὁ δὲ σπείρων εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος θερίσει ζωὴν αἰώνιον.
but the one sowing to the spirit of the spirit will reap life eternal.
- 6:9(a) *τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ ἐνκακῶμεν,*
And in doing well let us not become weary,
- 6:10 *καὶ ὡς καιρὸν ἔχωμεν, ἐργαζώμεθα τὸ ἀγαθόν, 6:9(b) καιρῷ δὲ ἰδίῳ θερίσομεν.* ⁵⁴
And as we have opportunity, we should work the good, and in its own time we will reap.
- 6:11 *Ἴδετε πηλίκους ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ.*
See with what large letters I wrote to you with my own hand.

⁵² Marcion may have lacked *ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς* 'in all good things' according to Harnack's reading of Jerome, and considering the concept of communal property inherent in the phrase. I enclose in brackets.

⁵³ There are three variants here. The first is deletion *μὴ* (no support) which changes the passive tone of 'do not be deceived' to a more bold Pauline statement 'you are deceived.' Marcion- DA support of B F G 69 1175 *ἂν* for *ἐὰν* and p⁴⁶ D* F G *ταῦτα* for *τοῦτο*

⁵⁴ Marcion's 6:9-10 read *καὶ* for *μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι. ἄρα οὖν* and transposed *καιρῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ θερίσομεν* after 6:10a. 6:10b introducing the household of faith brings in communal living, while 'not fainting' is Catholic. Despite lack of Mss support, Marcion looks original.

- 6:12 ὅσοι θέλουσιν εὐπροσωπῆσαι ἐν σαρκί, οὗτοι ἀναγκάζουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι·
Those who want to make a good showing in the flesh these would compel you to be circumcised;
[τῷ σταυρῷ] τοῦ χριστοῦ διώκους, ⁵⁵
they are persecutors [of the cross] of Christ.
- 6:13 οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι αὐτοὶ νόμον φυλάσσουσιν ἀλλὰ θέλουσιν ὑμᾶς περιτέμνεσθαι,
For neither those who are circumcised keep the Law themselves but they desire that you be circumcised,
ἵνα ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρα σαρκὶ καυχῆσονται.
that in they may boast in your flesh.
- 6:14 ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ [κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ] Χριστοῦ ⁵⁶
May it not be that I boast, except in the cross of [our lord Jesus] Christ,
δι' οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται καὶ γὰρ κόσμῳ.
through whom to me the world has been crucified, and I to the world.
- ⁵⁷ 6:17 Τοῦ λοιποῦ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω·
(For) the rest, let no one give trouble to me,
ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω. ⁵⁸
For I bear the marks of Christ in my body.
- 6:18 Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί· ἀμήν.
The grace of our lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brothers; amen.

⁵⁵ Marcion read τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διώκους for μόνον ἵνα τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴ διώκονται

⁵⁶ I speculate the original read only 'Christ' (2147, trace in F* 1836) rather than 'our Lord Jesus Christ' from the concluding verse 6:18

⁵⁷ the Catholic redactor added Verses 6:15-16 harmonizing the two camps to live under the God of Israel, an anathema to Marcion

⁵⁸ Marcion reads Χριστοῦ for Ἰησοῦ with support P Ψ 075 1175 1319 1573 2464, as well as x D F G 056 that read Lord Jesus Christ.

This is difficult to determine which is original, since there is reason for both Catholic and Marcionite scribes to make a change.

Marcionite 1 Corinthians Interliner (Rev 3)

Reconstruction by Stuart G. Waugh

29 June, 2013

- 1:1 Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ, [καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφός,]
Paul an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God [, and the brother Timothy]:
- 1:2 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ¹ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, τοῖς ἁγίοις σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς οὔσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ,²
To the church being in Corinth, the saints with all those who are throughout Achaia:
- 1:3 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη³ ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.⁴
Grace to you and peace from God our father and Lord Jesus Christ.
- 1:4 Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ δοθείσῃ ὑμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,
I give thanks to my God always concerning you, for the grace of God has been given to you in Christ Jesus.
- 1:5 ὅτι ἐν παντὶ ἐπλουτίσθητε ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ γνώσει,
That in everything you were enriched in him, in all words and all knowledge,
- 1:6 καθὼς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐβεβαιώθη ἐν ὑμῖν,
Even as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in you,
- 1:7 ὥστε ὑμᾶς μὴ ὑστερεῖσθαι ἐν μηδενὶ χαρίσματι,
So that you are not lacking in any gift,
ἀπεκδεχομένους τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·
awaiting the revelation of our lord Jesus Christ.
- 1:8 ὃς καὶ βεβαιώσει ὑμᾶς ἕως τέλους ἀνεγκλήτους ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ [Χριστοῦ].⁵
Who also will strengthen you to the end, blameless in the hour of our lord Jesus [Christ].
- 1:9 πιστὸς ὁ θεὸς δι' οὗ ἐκλήθητε εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.
Faithful the God through whom you were called into fellowship of his son Jesus Christ our lord.
- 1:10 Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
Now ~ I exhort you, brothers, through the name of our lord Jesus Christ,
ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες, καὶ μὴ ἦ ἐν ὑμῖν σχίσματα,⁶
that the same thing all of you speak, and not have divisions among you.
ἦτε δὲ κατηρτισμένοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ.
But may you be united in the same mind, and the same thought.
- 1:11 ἐδηλώθη γάρ μοι περὶ ὑμῶν, ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης ὅτι ἔριδες ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσιν.
For it was shown to me about you, by those of Chloe that there are ~ quarrels among you.

¹ After reviewing 11:16 it became clear that ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ is an expansion by the Catholic editor as 11:16 shows the Church Paul is addresses and the Church of God are separate entities. Thus τοῦ θεοῦ is a later expansion (see note 94 below). If there was a title to the Marcionites it was likely the church of the Saints ἐκκλησία τῶν ἁγίων as in 14:33 ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων (also Psalms 149:1).

² Reconstruction based upon 2 Corinthians and Marcionite Latin prologue. Both mention Achaia and Timothy; 2 Corinthians: καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ σὺν τοῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσιν τοῖς οὔσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ and the Latin prologue *Corinthii sunt Achaei ... scribens eis ab Epheso per Timotheum* while I am not convinced that Timothy is original, I have enclosed it in brackets. Sosthenes Σωσθένης is not mentioned. Also I removed κλητὸς as with Romans 1:1 as a later addition harmonizing to Acts 13:2 (note A D 1506^{MT} and 2 Corinthians also lack). 2 Corinthians closely resembles the Latin prologue.

³ AM 5.5.1 Praestructio superioris epistulae ita duxit, ut de titulo eius non retractaverim, certus et alibi retractari eum posse, communem scilicet et eundem in epistulis omnibus. Quod non utique salutem praescribit eis quibus scribit, sed "*gratiam et pacem*", non dico.

⁴ AM 5.5.2 Haec cum "*a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu*" annuntians communibus nominibus utatur.

⁵ B p⁴⁶ omit Χριστοῦ strikes me as similar AM5.22 rendering the "grace to you and peace" without Χριστοῦ no reason to delete

⁶ Compare 1 Corinthians 11:8-9, and AM 5.8.3 Saepe iam ostendimus haereses apud apostolum inter mala ut malum pon

1:12 λέγω δὲ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἕκαστος ὑμῶν λέγει,
Now I say this, because each of you says,

ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ.
I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos, and I am of Cephas

1:13 μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός;⁷ μὴ Παῦλος ἐσταυρώθη ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἢ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου ἐβαπτίσθητε;
Is Christ divided? (Surely) Paul was not crucified for you? Or were you in the name of Paul baptized?

1:14 εὐχαριστῶ ὅτι οὐδένα ὑμῶν ἐβάπτισα,⁸ 1:15 ἵνα μὴ τις εἴπῃ ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα ἐβαπτίσθητε.⁹
I give thanks that I baptized none of you, lest anyone say you that in my name baptized.

1:17 οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλὲν με Χριστὸς βαπτίζειν ἀλλὰ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι,
For Christ did not send me to baptize but to preach the Gospel,
οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου, ἵνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
not by wisdom of words, lest be emptied the cross of Christ.

1:18 Ὁ λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστίν,
For the word of the cross to those perishing is ~ foolishness,

τοῖς δὲ σφζομένοις ἡμῖν δύναμις θεοῦ ἐστίν.¹⁰
But to those of us being saved it is the power of God.

1:19 γέγραπται γάρ, Ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω.¹¹
For it is written, (Isaiah 29:14, LXX)

"I will destroy the wisdom of the wise and the understanding of the intellectuals I will disregard"

1:20 ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεὺς; ποῦ συζητητὴς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου;
Where's the wise [man]? Where's the scribe? Where's the sophist of this ~ age?

οὐχὶ ἐμώρανεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ κόσμου;¹²
[Did] not God ~ make foolish the wisdom of the world?

1:21 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔγνω ὁ κόσμος διὰ τῆς σοφίας τὸν θεόν,
For since by the wisdom of God, the world through its own wisdom did not know God

εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τῆς μωρίας τοῦ κηρύγματος σῶσαι τοὺς πιστεύοντας.¹³

⁷ DA 1.8 ἤκουσται μου, φησὶν, ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης ὅτι ἐριδες εἰσιν ἐν ὑμῖν· ὃς μὲν γὰρ ὑμῶν λέγει· ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, ἐγὼ δὲ κηφᾶ. μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός; - verse. 1:11 Marcion, 629, Syr, Ephraim, Cop OL:I read εἰσιν ἐν ὑμῖν for ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσιν; Clabeaux rates secure and incorrect. Rufinus (DA) reads *perlatum est enim mihi*, inquit, *de vobis ab his qui sunt Chloes quia contentiones sunt in vobis, et alius dicit: Ego sum Paulis, alius: Ego Apollo, alius: Ego Caphae, Diuisus est Christus?* This only reflects – ἀδελφοί μου lacks support. Unmentioned by Clabeaux, without support, but I think correct– ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ as it makes no sense that there would be such a sect against those of Paul (Marcionite), Apollos (speculatively Appelles or Cerinthius), and Cephas (Catholic) representing known camps, and unlike those you are baptized in Christ name, but not Paul, et al (verse 1:13b) – this point is made clear in AM 3.12.4 quoting Galatians 3:27, ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε· and Romans 6:3 ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν;

⁸ B p⁴⁶ n* 1739 6 424^{c2} omit τῷ θεῷ which was added for piety, while εἰ μὴ Κρίσπον καὶ Γάϊον was added by the Catholic editor to conform with Acts 18:for Κρίσπον and Γάϊον is suggested by Acts 19:29, 20:4, while Baptism by Paul in Acts 16:14-15, 33, 18:8, 19:5 (versus Baptism of John, 19:3-4)

⁹ Verse 1:16 was added by the Catholic editor, ἐβάπτισα δὲ καὶ τὸν Στεφανῶ οἶκον here and 16:15, 17, 24, inspired by Acts, despite the illogic of the sequence, being that his Baptism would ironically be Saul's agreement with his stoning.

¹⁰ AM 5.5.5 *Ait crucem Christi stultitiam esse perituris, virtutem autem et sapientiam dei salutem consecuturis*. "The cross of Christ," he says, "is to them that perish foolishness; but unto such as shall obtain salvation, it is the power of God and the wisdom of God." Apparently reading + σοφία lacks support, probably added by a scribe with 1:17 in view

¹¹ AM 5.5.5 *Scriptum est enim, Perdam sapientiam sapientium et prudentiam prudentium irritam faciam*. Eriphanius: γέγραπται γάρ, Ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω.

The LXX reads κρύψω here ἀθετήσω slight variant, the LXX means God will hide/sheath the intellectuals, here he'll disregard it.

¹² AM 5.5.7 Hoc sequentia confirmabunt, *cum dicit, Nonne infatuavit deus sapientiam mundi?*

It pleased God [to] through the foolishness of the proclamation to save those faithful.

1:22 ἐπειδὴ Ἰουδαῖοι σημεῖα αἰτοῦσιν καὶ Ἕλληνες σοφίαν ζητοῦσιν,¹⁴
Since the Jews ask for signs and the Greeks seek wisdom,

1:23 ἡμεῖς δὲ κηρύσσομεν Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, Ἰουδαίοις μὲν σκάνδαλον ἔθνεσιν δὲ μωρίαν,¹⁵
But we proclaim Christ having been crucified, to the Jews an offense, to the Gentiles foolishness,

1:25 ὅτι τὸ μωρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ σοφώτερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν,¹⁶
Because the foolishness of God [is] wiser than than men,

καὶ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ θεοῦ ἰσχυρότερον τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
And the weakness of God [is] stronger than men,

17 1:27 ἀλλὰ τὰ μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεὸς ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τοὺς σοφοὺς,¹⁸
But the foolish things of the world God choose, that he might shame the wise,

καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεὸς ἵνα καταισχύνῃ τὰ ἰσχυρά,¹⁹
And the weak things of the world God choose, that he might shame the strong things,

1:28 καὶ τὰ ἀγενῆ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός
And the low-born of the world and the things that are despised God choose,

τὰ μὴ ὄντα, ἵνα τὰ ὄντα καταργήσῃ,
the things which are nothing, that those being something might be brought to nothing.

1:29 ὅπως μὴ καυχῆσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ
So that not any flesh may ~ boast,

1:31 ἵνα καθὼς γέγραπται, Ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω.²⁰
That as it has been written, 'The one boasting let him boast ~ in the lord.' (Jeremiah 9:24, 9:23 LXX loosely)

2:1 κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί,
And I having come to you, brothers,

ἦλθον οὐ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν λόγου ἢ σοφίας καταγγέλλων ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ.
came not according to exalted words or announcing wisdom to you the mystery of God.

2:2 οὐ γὰρ ἔκρινά τι εἰδέναι ἐν ὑμῖν εἰ μὴ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τοῦτον ἐσταυρωμένον.
For I choose not to know anything except Jesus Christ and this one (his being) crucified.

¹³ AM 5.5.7 *Quoniam in dei sapientia non intellexit mundus per sapientiam dominum, boni duxit deus per stultitiam praedicationis salvos facere credentes.* Boni duxit Deus, ἐδόκησεν ὁ Θεός AM 2.2.5 *Mundi autem habentes spiritum, non agnoscentes in sapientia dei per sapientiam deum*; this phrase is much looser in AM 2.2.5

¹⁴ AM 5.5.8 *Quoniam Iudaei signa desiderant,* qui iam de deo certi esse debuerant, *et Graeci sapientiam quaerunt,* qui suam scilicet, non dei, sapientiam sistunt. Marcion p46 F G 323 syr^P OL:KDI Vg^{var} Clement – καὶ (Clabeaux rates secure, correct against UBS)

¹⁵ AM 5.5.9 Etiam quod *scandalum Iudaeis* praedicat Christum

¹⁶ AM 5.5.9 *Quid est autem stultum Dei sapientius hominibus,* nisi crux et mors Christi? *Quid infirmum Dei fortius homine,* nisi nativitas et caro Dei? AM 2.2.5 *Sed nos scimus stultum dei sapientius hominibus, et invalidum dei validius hominibus.* Tertullian is inconsistent in his translation here, except not including “est”

¹⁷ Verse 1:26 was added by the Catholic editor along with 1:24, and 1:30. In 1:24 the called can be either Jew (Catholic) or Greek (Heretic) before. In vers 1:26 they are ordinary intelligence rather than wise, ὅτι οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοὶ and that is according to the flesh *κατὰ σάρκα*, which is not standard use by Marcion's Paul. Further they neither power ful nor well born. There is a clear misunderstanding of verse 1:28 of low-born things. Also the Catholic *πολλοὶ* is used;

¹⁸ AM 2.2.5 *Sed nos scimus stultum Dei sapientius hominibus, et invalidum Dei validius hominibus.*

¹⁹ AM 5.5.9 *nec iam stulta mundi elegit Deus ut confundat sapientiam, nec infirma mundi elegit Deus ut confundat fortia*

²⁰ AM 5.5.10 *ne gloriatur omnis caro, ut, quemadmodum scriptum est, Qui gloriatur, in domino gloriatur* (where is v30? SGW)

DA 1.22 ὅπως μὴ καυχῆσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ· ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃ ἐγενήθη σοφία ἡμῖν ἀπὸ θεοῦ, δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἁγιασμός καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις, ἵνα καθὼς γέγραπται· Ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω. I am reasonably convinced DA is quoting a Catholic edition, as the verse is missing from Tertullian and it has some Lucan non-Marcionite features, such as *τε καὶ* and the verse stands to clarify 1:29a, 1:31 in a Catholic sense of redemption and uses wisdom in a manor different from the verses around. It is possible DA picked up verses 129b-1:30 through correcting scribes.

Epiphanius reads ἵνα καθὼς γέγραπται, Ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω

2:3 *κἀγὼ ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἐν τρόμῳ πολλῶ ἐγενόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς,*
And I in weakness and in fear and and in much ~ trembling came to you,

2:4 *καὶ ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖς σοφίας* ²¹ *ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως,*
and my word and my proclamation not in persuading wisdom but in demonstration of spirit and power,

2:5 *ἵνα ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν μὴ ᾗ ἐν σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ.*
that your faith may not be in the wisdom of men but in the power of God.

2:6 *σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις,* ²²
But wisdom we speak among the perfected,

σοφίαν δὲ οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου οὐδὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργουμένων. ²³
but wisdom not of this age nor the rulers of this age, those (who are) being annulled

2:7 *ἀλλὰ λαλοῦμεν θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ, τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην,*
but we speak God's wisdom in mystery, that was hidden,

ἣν προώρισεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς δόξαν ἡμῶν, ²⁴
which God preordained before the ages for our glory;

2:8 *ἣν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἔγνωκεν·*
which none of the rulers of this age had known,

εἰ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν, οὐκ ἂν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν. ²⁵
for if they had knew, they would not have crucified the lord of glory.

²⁶ 2:10 *ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπεκάλυψεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος· τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάντα ἐραυνᾷ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ.*
But to us God revealed (them) through the spirit; for the spirit searches all things, even the depths of God.

2:11 *τίς γὰρ οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ;*
For who of men knows the things of a man except the spirit of a man that is in him?

οὕτως καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδεὶς ἔγνωκεν εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ. ²⁷
So also the things of God no one has known except the spirit of God.

2:12 *ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου ἐλάβομεν ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ,*
Now we have not received the spirit of the world, but the spirit from God,

ἵνα εἰδῶμεν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χαρισθέντα ἡμῖν·
that we may know the things gifted to us from God.

2:13 *ἃ καὶ λαλοῦμεν οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις*
These also we speak not in words taught by human wisdom

ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος, πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες.
but taught in (the) spirit, with spiritual things interpreting spiritual things.

2:14 *ψυχικὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος,* ²⁸

²¹ UBS bracketed *λόγοις* on the strength of p46 F G 630 deleting; I removed it as secondary

²² AM 5.6.1 Igitur per haec omnia ostendit cuius *dei sapientiam loquatur inter perfectos*

²³ Eriphanius *τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργουμένων*

²⁴ AM 5.6.2 sed de significantiis obumbrata, in quibus sapientia dei delitescibat, inter perfectos narranda suo in tempore, proposita vero in proposito dei ante saecula

²⁵ AM 5.6.6 Sed quia subicit de gloria nostra, *quod eam nemo ex principibus huius aevi scierit, ceterum si scissent nunquam dominum gloriae crucifixissent*, argumentatur haereticus quod principes huius aevi dominum, alterius scilicet dei Christum, cruci confixerint, ut et hoc in ipsum recidat creatorem. Tertullian reads *οὐδέποτε* for *οὐκ* with Ephrem OL:KDI Vg (Clabeaux suspects a pious scribe)

²⁶ Verse 2:9 is unattested in Marcion, a quotation from Isaiah 64:4 which breaks the flow and does not fit the argument in place, rather it is a proof text to tie the content to the Old Testament; clearly an orthodox interpolation.

²⁷ A reference seems to be made in AM 2.2.4 Sic magis debuit, *quasi cognoscat aliquis quae sint in deo nisi spiritus dei* 'as if anyone knew what is in God, except the Spirit of God'

- But a natural man does not receive the things of the spirit,
 μωρία γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστίν, καὶ οὐ δύναται γινῶναι, ὅτι πνευματικῶς ἀνακρίνεται·
 for they are foolishness to him, and he is not able to know them, because they are interpreted spiritually;
- 2:15 ὁ δὲ πνευματικὸς ἀνακρίνει [τὰ] πάντα, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀνακρίνεται.
 Now the spiritual (man) discerns all [things], but he is discerned by know one.
- 2:16 τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου, ὃς συμβιβάσει αὐτόν;²⁹ ἡμεῖς δὲ νοῦν Χριστοῦ ἔχομεν.
 For who knew the mind of the Lord, who will instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ.
- 3:1 καὶ γὰρ, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἠδυνήθην λαλῆσαι ὑμῖν ὡς πνευματικοῖς ἀλλ' ὡς σαρκίνους, ὡς νηπίους ἐν Χριστῷ.
 And I, brothers, was unable to speak to you as spiritual men but as carnal men, as infants in Christ.
- 3:2 γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρωμα, οὐπω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἔτι νῦν δύνασθε,
 I gave you milk to drink, not solid food, for you were not yet able, but neither are you now able,
- 3:3 ἔτι γὰρ σαρκικοί ἐστε.³⁰ ὅπου γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν ζήλος καὶ ἔρις,
 for you are still carnal. For since among you is jealousy and strife,
 οὐχὶ σαρκικοί ἐστε καὶ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον περιπατεῖτε;
 are you not carnal and according to man walking?
- 3:4 ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ τις, ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου, ἕτερος δέ, ἐγὼ Ἀπολλῶ, οὐκ ἄνθρωποι ἐστε;
 For whenever anyone says, 'I am of Paul,' and another, 'I of Apollos,' are you not of man?
- 3:5 τί οὖν ἐστίν Ἀπολλῶς; τί δὲ ἐστίν Παῦλος; διάκονοι δι' ὧν ἐπιστεύσατε, καὶ ἐκάστῳ ὡς ὁ κύριος ἔδωκεν.
 What then is Apollos? And what is Paul? Teachers through whom you believed, and as to each the lord gave.
- 3:6 ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, Ἀπολλῶς ἐπότισεν, ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς ἠῤῥξανεν·
 I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave growth;
- 3:7 ὥστε οὔτε ὁ φυτεύων ἐστίν τι οὔτε ὁ ποτίζων, ἀλλ' ὁ αὐξάνων θεός.
 so that neither he planting is anything nor the one watering, but the one giving growth, God.
- 3:8 ὁ φυτεύων δὲ καὶ ὁ ποτίζων ἓν εἰσιν, ἕκαστος δὲ τὸν ἴδιον μισθὸν λήμψεται κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον.
 Now the one planting and the one watering are one, and each receives their own reward according to their labor
- 3:9 θεοῦ γὰρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί· θεοῦ γεώργιον, θεοῦ οἰκοδομὴ ἐστε.
 For God we are co-workers; God's husbandry, God's building you are.
- 3:10 κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων θεμέλιον ἔθηκα,
 According to the grace of God given to me as wise architect, I laid a foundation,
 ἄλλος δὲ ἐποικοδομεῖ. ἕκαστος δὲ βλέπετω πῶς ἐποικοδομεῖ·
 and another builds on it. But each one, let him be aware how he builds upon (it).
- 3:11 θεμέλιον γὰρ ἄλλον οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι παρὰ τὸν κείμενον, ὃς ἐστίν Χριστός.³¹
 For another foundation no one is able to lay beside the one being laid, who is Christ.
- ³² 3:16 οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν;³³
 Do you not know that you are a sanctuary of God's and the spirit of God dwells in you?

²⁸ AM 2.2.6 *Quodsi a primordio homo animalis, non recipiens quae sunt spiritus*; reading – τοῦ θεοῦ with Clement V 25.5; VI 166.3; 330 440 1506 1827 2400 2815

²⁹ Isaiah 40:13 LXX, τίς ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος ἐγένετο ὃς συμβιβᾷ αὐτόν not cited, would be typical Pauline

³⁰ DA 1.9/810c γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρωμα, οὐπω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἔτι νῦν δύνασθε, ἔτι γὰρ σαρκικοί ἐστε.

³¹ AM 5.6.10 *Nam quod architectum se prudentem affirmat ... Et numquid ipse tunc Paulus destinabatur, de Iudaea, id est de Iudaismo, auferri habens in aedificationem Christianismi, positurus unicum fundamentum, quod est Christus?* Tertullian may be paraphrasing, for he reads – Ἰησοῦς with C* 365 618 1319 1505 1573 1738 2147 2495

³² Verses 3:12-15 were not in Marcion, Tertullian confirms that test by fire is an attribute of the Creator God in AM 5.6.11

³³ AM 5.6.11 *Nescitis quod templum Dei sitis, et in vobis inhabitet Spiritus Dei?*

3:17 εἴ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φθεῖρει, φθερεῖ τοῦτον· ³⁴

If anyone attempts to destroy the sanctuary of God, this one will be destroyed;

ὁ γὰρ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἅγιός ἐστιν, οἵτινές ἐστε ὑμεῖς.
for the sanctuary of God is holy; which is you.

3:18 Μηδεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἐξαπατάτω· εἴ τις δοκεῖ σοφὸς εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ,
Let no one deceive himself; if anyone amongst you thinks they are wise in this age,

μωρὸς γενέσθω, ἵνα γένηται σοφός. ³⁵
let him become foolish, that he may become wise.

3:19 ἡ γὰρ σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου μωρία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐστίν· ³⁶ γέγραπται γάρ,
For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God; for it has been written,

ὁ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν· ³⁷
'He catches the wise in their own cleverness;'

3:20 καὶ πάλιν, Κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν σοφῶν ὅτι εἰσὶν μάταιοι. ³⁸
and again, 'The Lord knows the reasoning of the wise that they are vain.'

3:21 ὥστε μηδεὶς καυχάσθω ἐν ἀνθρώποις· πάντα γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστίν, ³⁹
So let no one boast in men; for all things are yours,

3:22 εἴτε Παῦλος εἴτε Ἀπολλῶς εἴτε Κηφᾶς εἴτε κόσμος εἴτε ζωὴ εἴτε θάνατος εἴτε ἐνεστῶτα εἴτε μέλλοντα·
Whether of Paul or Apollos or Cephas or the world or life or death or present things or future things;

πάντα ὑμῶν, ^{3:23} ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ, Χριστὸς δὲ θεοῦ. ⁴⁰
all things are yours, and you are Christ's, and Christ is God's.

⁴¹ 4:5 (b) ὃς καὶ φωτίσει τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκότους καὶ φανερώσει τὰς βουλάς τῶν καρδιῶν·
Who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness and make manifest the reasons of the hearts;

καὶ τότε ὁ ἔπαινος γενήσεται ἐκάστῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. ⁴²
and then the praise to each one will be from God.

4:9(b) ὅτι θεάτρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις. ⁴³
that we became ~ a spectacle to the world and angels and men.

4:14 οὐκ ἐντρέπων ὑμᾶς γράφω ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ὡς τέκνα μου ἀγαπητὰ νουθετῶ[v]·

³⁴ AM 5.6.12 Tertullian paraphrases, mentions no variants: **Quodsi templum Dei quis vitiaverit, vitiabitur**, utique a Deo templi. ὁ θεός was added by the Catholic editor.

³⁵ AM 5.6.12 Stulti estote, **ut sitis sapientes**.

³⁶ AM 5.6.12 **Sapientia enim huius mundi stultitia est penes deum**. Inexplicable variant ἐστι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ for παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐστίν with Ephrem syr^p 547 629

³⁷ Eriphanus **γέγραπται γάρ, ὁ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν**. AM 5.6.12 Si nihil nobis et ad hunc sensum pristina praeiudicaverunt, bene quod et hic adstruit: **Scriptum est enim, Deprehendens sapientes in nequitia illorum**; Job 5:13 very loosely quoted

³⁸ AM 5.6.12 **et rursus, Dominus scit cogitationes sapientium, quod sint supervacuae**; Eriphanus **καὶ πάλιν, κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι εἰσὶν μάταιοι**. Reads **ἀνθρώπων** for **σοφῶν** adjusted to LXX Psalms 93:11 (94:11 MT) with 056 33 1 205 209 489 630 927 1245 1506 1646^c 1735 186 1874, reading both are 326 1837; thus incorrect. Wisdom is topic in 3:18-20

³⁹ AM 5.6.13 **Ergo, inquit, nemo gloriatur in homine**, DA 2.19 **ὥστε μηδεὶς καυχάσθω ἐν ἀνθρώποις· πάντα γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστίν**,

⁴⁰ AM 5.6.12 Habes in praeteritis, **Omnia vestra sunt, sive Paulus, sive Apollo, sive Cephas, sive mundus, sive vita, sive mors, sive praesentia, sive futura**. DA 2.19 reads **εἴτε Παῦλος εἴτε Κηφᾶς εἴτε κόσμος εἴτε ζωὴ εἴτε θάνατος εἴτε ἐνεστῶτα εἴτε μέλλοντα· πάντα ὑμῶν, ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ, Χριστὸς δὲ θεοῦ**. DA reads – **εἴτε ἀπολλῶς** with 1734 but against AM 5.6.12

⁴¹ Verses 4:1-5(a) are not attested in Marcion, Tertullian skips over them quietly. These are concerned with judgement (κρίν*), and authority of the church, and also concern an office of steward to protect the right mystery doctrine **οικονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ**. Also much of the vocabulary is from the Pastoral strata **ὑπηρέτας, λογιζέσθ***

⁴² AM 5.7.1 **Et occulta tenebrarum ipse illuminabit**, utique per Christum, qui Christum illuminationem repromisit, se quoque lucernam pronuntiavit, scrutantem corda et renes. **Ab illo erit et laus unicuique a quo et contrarium laudis**, ut a iudice. (Very loosely quoted)

⁴³ AM 5.7.1 **Spectaculum facti sumus mundo et angelis et horninibus**. Apparently only 4:5(b) and this fregment stood, the rest of 4:1-13 was added by the Catholic redactor

Not (so as) to shame you I write these things, but as admonishing my beloved children;

4:15 (b) ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐγέννησα. ⁴⁴
for in Christ Jesus through the Gospel I begot you.

4:16 παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, μιμηταὶ μου γίνεσθε. ⁴⁵
Therefore ~ I encourage you, be imitators of me.

4:18 ὡς μὴ ἐρχομένου δέ μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐφουσιώθησάν τινες·
And as to my not coming to you, some were puffed up;

4:19 ἐλεύσομαι δὲ ταχέως πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐὰν ὁ κύριος θελήσῃ,
But I will come to you shortly, if the lord wills,
καὶ γνώσομαι οὐ τὸν λόγον τῶν πεφουσιωμένων ἀλλὰ τὴν δύναμιν·
and I will get knowledge, not from words of those puffed up, but from their power;

4:20 οὐ γὰρ ἐν λόγῳ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει.
For not in words is the kingdom of God, but in power.

4:21 τί θέλετε; ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἢ ἐν ἀγάπῃ πνεύματι τε πραΰτητος;
What do you want? (that) with a rod I should come to you, or in love and spirit of gentleness?

5:1 Ὅλως ἀκούεται ἐν ὑμῖν πορνεία, [καὶ τοιαύτη πορνεία ἣτις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν] ⁴⁶
Commonly it is heard among you fornication, [and such fornication which is not even among the Gentiles]
ὥστε γυναῖκά τινος τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχειν. ⁴⁷
so that one takes up with his father's wife.

5:2 καὶ ὑμεῖς πεφουσιωμένοι ἐστέ, καὶ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἐπενθήσατε,
And you have been puffed up, and not rather lamenting,
ἵνα ἀρθῇ ἐκ μέσου ὑμῶν ὁ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο πράξας;
that should be taken from your midst the one having done this thing?

5:3 ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ἀπὼν τῷ σώματι παρὼν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι,
For indeed I, being absent in the body but being present in the spirit,
ἤδη κέκρικα ὡς παρὼν τὸν οὕτως τοῦτο κατεργασάμενον
I have already judged, as being present, the one having so done this thing.

5:4 ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου [ἡμῶν] Ἰησοῦ,
In the name of the [our] lord Jesus,
συναχθέντων ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πνεύματος σὺν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ,
for not in words is the kingdom of God, but in power of our Lord Jesus,

5:5 παρέδωκα τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός,
I delivered up this person to Satan for the destruction of the flesh,
ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου. ⁴⁸

⁴⁴ AM 5.8.6 In evangelio, enim inquit, ego vos generavi also eluded to in AM 5.7.2 with 4:14, 15b immediately after 4:9 with praesertim ad filios scribens, quos in evangelio generaverat,

⁴⁵ Verse 4:17 was added by the Catholic editor to build the myth of Timothy to support the Pastorals, as also in Acts 16:1-3. There is no other purpose. In Acts there is clear reference to the Greek (Pauline/Amrcionite) and Jewish (Catholic) split with Timothy.

⁴⁶ Deleted καὶ τοιαύτη πορνεία ἣτις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν as a Catholic addition. The phrase is not really necessary and it implies that Paul and his congregation consider being gentile bad, the polar opposite of his position. It does fit the Catholic view of Jewish priority, very similar to verse 12:2-3

⁴⁷ AM 5.7.2 Non defendo secundum legem creatoris displicuisse illum qui mulierem patris sui habuit.

⁴⁸ AM 5.7.2 Sed cum eum damnat dedendum satanae, damnatoris dei praeco est. Viderit et quomodo dixerit, In interitum carnis ut spiritus salvus sit in die domini DA 2.8/825e παρέδωκα τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ DA 2.21/833b παρέδωκα τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον (Note in DA twice Markus says παρέδωκα for παραδοῦναι against Adamatius in

that the (his) spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.

5:6 οὐ καλὸν τὸ καύχημα ὑμῶν. οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ;
Your boasting is not good. Do you not know that a little leaven, leavens all the mixture?

5:7 ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, ἵνα ἦτε νέον φύραμα, καθὼς ἐστε ἄζυμοι·⁴⁹
Purge out the old leaven, that you may be a new mixture, as you are unleavened.

καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός.⁵⁰
For indeed our paschal [lamb] was sacrificed, Christ.

⁵¹ 5:13(b) ἐξάρατε τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν.⁵²
Remove the evil man from among yourselves.

6:13(b) τὸ [δὲ] σῶμα οὐ τῇ πορνείᾳ ἀλλὰ τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ ὁ κύριος τῷ σώματι·⁵³
[But] the body is not for fornication but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body.

6:14 ὁ δὲ τὸν κύριον ἤγειρεν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξεγερεῖ⁵⁴ διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ.
but the one who raised up the Lord also will raise us up through his power.

6:15 οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν μέλη Χριστοῦ ἐστίν;⁵⁵
Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ?

ἄρας οὖν τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιήσω πόρνης μέλη; μὴ γένοιτο.⁵⁶
Having taken up the members of Christ should I make them prostitutes? May it not be.

6:16 [ἢ] οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ὁ κολλώμενος τῇ πόρνῃ ἐν σῶμά ἐστιν; ἔσονται γάρ, φησίν,
[Or] do you not know that the one joining himself to a prostitute is one body?

οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.⁵⁷
For it says the two into one flesh will be.

6:17 ὁ δὲ κολλώμενος τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν πνευμᾷ ἐστίν.
But one joining himself to the Lord is (one) in the spirit.

6:18 φεύγετε τὴν πορνείαν· πᾶν ἀμάρτημα ὃ ἐὰν ποιήσῃ ἄνθρωπος ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν,
Flee fornication! Every sin whichever a man may do is outside the body,

ὁ δὲ πορνεύων εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἀμαρτάνει.
But the one fornicating sins against their own body.

6:19 ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐστίν,

2.5/8.24a-b ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀπὸν τῷ σώματι, παρὼν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι, ἦδη κέκρικα ὡς παρὼν τὸν οὐτῶ τοῦτο κατεργασάμενον, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, συναχθέντων ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πνεύματος, σὺν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ, παραδοῦναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον.) There is no Mss. Support; however compare 1 Timothy 1:20 which appears to be dependent on this specific usage ὧν ἐστίν Ὑμέναιος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὓς παρέδωκα τῷ Σατανᾷ, ἵνα ... "of whom are Hymenaeus and Alexander, whom I delivered up to Satan that ..."; the usage is quite different in 1 Corinthians 11:2, 11:23, and 15:3

⁴⁹ AM 5.7.3 *Expurgate vetus fermentum, ut sitis nova conspersio, sicut estis azymi.*

⁵⁰ Eriphanius καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη χριστός DA 2.18/868a [τὸ] πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη χριστός AM 5.7.3 *Sic et pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*

⁵¹ Tertullian's argument necessitates the removal of 5:8-13a, 6:1-13a; these concern a later time, and interrupt the argument here.

⁵² AM 5.7.2 et *aufferri iubens malum de medio* creatoris frequentissimam sententiam commemoraverit (loosely quoted); The Greek text is from Deuteronomy 17:7 LXX ἐξάρατε τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν which is not cited in typical Pauline/Marcionite style, which Tertullian apparently didn't recognize.

⁵³ AM 5.7.4 *Corpus, inquit, non fornicationi sed domino, et dominus corpori,*

⁵⁴ AM 5.7.4 Qui *dominum suscitavit, et nos suscitabit.* Marcion reads –θεὸς καὶ leaving vague who raised the Lord. Similarly in the Apostolikon as in Galatians 1:1 ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐγειραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν and 2 Corinthians 4:14 which is almost certainly based on this verse, εἰ δότες ὅτι ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σὺν Ἰησοῦν ἐγερεῖ. The Catholic editor added θεὸς for clarification (bracketed words of 2 Cor 4:14 based on AM 5.11.15). Marcion was not Modalist per se, but his Christ raised himself.

⁵⁵ AM 5.7.4 Et bene quod aggerat, *Nescitis corpora vestra membra esse Christi?*

⁵⁶ AM 4.34.5 *Scilicet nec tuum apostolum sinere coniungi prostitutae membra Christi*

⁵⁷ Eriphanius reads Οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ὁ κολλώμενος τῇ πόρνῃ ἐν σῶμά ἐστιν; ἔσονται γάρ, φησίν, οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

Or do you not know that your bodies are a sanctuary of the holy spirit in you,

οὐ ἔχετε ἀπὸ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐστε ἑαυτῶν;

whom you have from God, and (that) you are not your own?

6:20 ἡγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς· δοξάσατε δὴ τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν. ⁵⁸
For you were purchased for a price; glorify then God in your bodies.

7:1 περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατε, καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἄπτεσθαι·
But concerning the things you wrote, (it is) good (for a) man not to touch ~ a woman;

7:2 διὰ δὲ τὰς πορνείας ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐχέτω, καὶ ἐκάστη τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα ἐχέτω.
But because of fornication let each have his own wife, and each (woman) have her own husband.

7:3 τῇ γυναικὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀποδιδότω, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ.
To the wife let the husband render his conjugal duty, and likewise the wife to the husband.

7:4 ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει ἀλλὰ ὁ ἀνὴρ·
The wife does not have authority over her own body but rather the husband.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει ἀλλὰ ἡ γυνή.

And likewise also the husband does not have authority over his body but rather the wife..

7:5 μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήτι ἂν ἐκ συμφώνου πρὸς καιρὸν,
Do not deprive each other, unless by agreement for a time,

ἵνα σχολάσητε τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἦτε,
that you may devote (yourselves) to prayer and you may be together again,

ἵνα μὴ πειράζη ὑμᾶς ὁ σατανᾶς διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὑμῶν.
lest Satan tempt you because of your lack of self-control.

7:6 τοῦτο δὲ λέγω κατὰ συγγνώμην, οὐ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν.
But this I say according to concession, not according to command.

7:7 θέλω δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἶναι ὡς καὶ ἐμαυτόν·
But I wish all men to be as myself;

ἀλλὰ ἕκαστος ἴδιον ἔχει χάρισμα ἐκ θεοῦ, ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὁ δὲ οὕτως.
But each man has his own gift from God, one this, and another that.

7:8 λέγω δὲ τοῖς ἀγάμοις καὶ ταῖς χήραις, καλὸν αὐτοῖς ἐὰν μείνωσιν ὡς κἀγώ·
But I say to the unmarried men and the widows, it is good for them if they also remain as I am.

7:9 εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεῦνται, γαμησάτωσαν, κρεῖττον γάρ ἐστιν γαμῆσαι ἢ πυροῦσθαι. ⁵⁹
But if they do not have self control, let them marry, for it is better to marry than to be consumed with passion.

7:10 τοῖς δὲ γεγαμηκόσιν παραγγέλλω, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ ὁ κύριος, γυναῖκα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς μὴ χωρισθῆναι
But to those having married I charge, not I but the lord, the wife not to be separated from her husband.

7:11 - ἐὰν δὲ καὶ χωρισθῇ, μενέτω ἄγαμος ἢ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καταλλαγῆτω - ⁶⁰
- but if indeed she is separated, let her remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband -

⁵⁸ AM 5.7.4 **Empti enim sumus pretio magno**. AM 5.7.5 Ergo et Christus habuit quo nos redimeret, et si aliquo **magno** redemit haec corpora, in quae eadem committenda fornicatio non erit, ut in membra iam Christi non nostra, utique sibi salva praestabit quae **magno** comparavit. Iam nunc quomodo honorabimus, quomodo tollemus deum in corpore perituro? (Clabeaux, Marcion must have read ἄρατε for δὴ with ἄρα witnessed syr^H and ἄρα γε 1505* 1611 it is easy to see it become ἄρατε from **APATE** to **APATE**)

⁵⁹ AM 5.7.6 This section indicates that Tertullian knows of verses 7:7-9 and sees no controversy in their content, meaning they are substantially the same as the Catholic version he knows: Sequitur de nuptiis congređi, quas Marcion constantior apostolo prohibet. Etenim apostolus, etsi bonum continentiae praefert, tamen coniugium et contrahi permittit et usui esse, et magis retineri quam disiungi suadet. Plane Christus vetat divortium, Moyses vero permittit.

⁶⁰ AM 5.7.7 Et bene quod aggerat, Atquin et Christus cum praecipit **mulierem a viro non discedere, aut si discesserit mancre innuptam aut reconciliari viro?**

καὶ ἄνδρα γυναῖκα μὴ ἀφίεναι. ⁶¹
and the husband not divorce his wife.

⁶² 7:25 περὶ δὲ τῶν παρθένων ἐπιταγὴν κυρίου οὐκ ἔχω,
Now concerning the virgins, I have not a commandment of the Lord,

γνώμην δὲ δίδωμι ὡς ἡλεημένος ὑπὸ κυρίου πιστὸς εἶναι. ⁶³
but I give an opinion as mercy by the Lord to the Faithful.

7:26 νομίζω οὖν τοῦτο καλὸν ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην, ὅτι καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ οὕτως εἶναι.
I consider then this to be good because of the present necessity, that that it is good for a man to so be.

7:27 δέδεσαι γυναικί, μὴ ζήτηί λύσιν· λέλυσαι ἀπὸ γυναικός, μὴ ζήτηί γυναῖκα.

If you are bound to a wife, do not seek separation; if you have been separated from a wife, do not seek a wife.

7:28 ἐὰν δὲ καὶ γαμήσης, οὐχ ἥμαρτες· καὶ ἐὰν γήμη ἢ παρθένος, οὐχ ἥμαρτεν.
But if indeed you marry, do not sin; and if a virgin marries, she did not sin.

Θλίβιν δὲ τῆ σαρκί ἐξουσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῶν φείδομαι.
But affliction in the flesh such ones will have, but I am trying to have you abstain.

7:29 τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἀδελφοί, ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἐστίν· ⁶⁴
But this I say, brothers, the season has shortened;

τὸ λοιπὸν ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες ᾧσιν, ⁶⁵
from now on, that also those having a wife, may be ~ as not having,

7:30 καὶ οἱ κλαίοντες ὡς μὴ κλαίοντες, καὶ οἱ χαίροντες ὡς μὴ χαίροντες, καὶ οἱ ἀγοράζοντες ὡς μὴ κατέχοντες,
and those weeping as not weeping, and those rejoicing as not rejoicing,

καὶ οἱ ἀγοράζοντες ὡς μὴ κατέχοντες,
and those are buying as those without possession,

7:31 καὶ οἱ χρώμενοι τὸν κόσμον ὡς μὴ καταχρώμενοι· παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.
and those taking from the world as not taking from (it); For the present form of the world ~ is passing away.

7:32 θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀμερίμνους εἶναι. ὁ ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου, πῶς ἀρέση τῷ κυρίῳ·
But I want you to be carefree. The unmarried man cares for things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord;

7:33 ὁ δὲ γαμήσας μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, πῶς ἀρέση τῇ γυναικί,
But one who is married cares for the things of the world, who he may please his wife.

7:34 καὶ μεμέρισται. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἢ ἄγαμος καὶ ἡ παρθένος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου,
And he is divided. And the the unmarried ~ woman and the virgin care for the things of the Lord,

ἵνα ἡ ἄγια καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι·
that she may be holy in the body and the spirit;.

ἡ δὲ γαμήσασα μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, πῶς ἀρέση τῷ ἀνδρί.
but the married woman cares for the things of the world, how to please her husband.

7:35 τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν σύμφορον λέγω, οὐχ ἵνα βρόχον ὑμῖν ἐπιβάλω,
Now this for your own profit (benefit) I say, not that I cast a noose upon you,

⁶¹ Verses 7:12-17 are concerned with matters from a much later time. The discussion is about marriage with non-Christian spouses, and whether the children produced in such marriages are considered members of the Church, and how to handle divorces. This is in direct contradiction to verse 7:11 where divorce is prohibited, revealing a later doctrine consistent with Orthodoxy.

⁶² Verses 7:18-24 are a combination of Pauline pastiches (Galatians 5:6, 16, 1 Corinthians 6:20) with later theological interpretations, designed to address the issue of Jewish and non-Jewish Christians reconciling, per the debate in Acts 15:1-2. All these are secondary.

⁶³ ἡλεημένος represents a hapax legomen in Marcion's Paul, and the phrase ἐπιταγὴν κυρίου οὐκ ἔχω is theologically and stylistically a problem, being inconsistent with Marcion's Paul. I consider much of 7:25-40 suspect, but I have no grounds to remove

⁶⁴ AM 5.8.7 Quia **tempus in collecto est**.

⁶⁵ AM 1.29.4 **ut et qui uxores habent sic sint quasi non habeant** 'that those who have wives be as though they do not have'

ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ εὖσχημον καὶ εὐπάρεδρον τῷ κυρίῳ ἀπερισπάστως.
but for what [is] honorable and constant devotion to the Lord in an undivided way.

7:36 εἰ δέ τις ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ νομίζει,
But if anyone thinks ~ to behave improperly toward his virgin (fiancé),
ἐὰν ἢ ὑπέρακμος καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι, ὃ θέλει ποιεῖτω, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει, γαμείτωσαν.
if she is overripe, and thus it has to be, let him do what he desires, he does not sin, let them marry.

7:37 ὃς δὲ ἔστηκεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐδραῖος, μὴ ἔχων ἀνάγκην,
But he who has stood firm in his heart, not having need,
ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔχει περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος, καὶ τοῦτο κέκρικεν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ καρδίᾳ,
but has power over his concerning his own desires, and this he has determined in his own heart,
τηρεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον, καλῶς ποιήσει·
to keep her, his woman (fiancé) a virgin, he does well.

7:38 ὥστε καὶ ὁ γαμίζων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον καλῶς ποιεῖ, καὶ ὁ μὴ γαμίζων κρεῖττον ποιήσει.
So then both the one marrying his virgin (fiancé) does well, and the one not marrying does better.

7:39 Γυνὴ δέδετα ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ζῆ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς·
A wife has been bound for so long a time as husband lives;
ἐὰν δὲ κοιμηθῆ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ᾧ θέλει γαμηθῆναι, μόνον ἐν κυρίῳ.⁶⁶
but if her husband ~ should pass away, she is free to marry whomever she desires, only in the Lord..

7:40 μακαριωτέρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐὰν οὕτως μείνη, κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην· δοκῶ δὲ καγὼ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἔχειν.⁶⁷
But blessed is she if she remains so, according to my opinion; and I consider I also have the spirit of God.

8:4 περὶ τῆς βρώσεως οὖν τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων, οἶδαμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἶδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ,⁶⁸
Therefore concerning the eating of idolatrous sacrifices, we know than an idols nothing in the world,
καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς θεὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς.
and that there is no God except the one.

8:5 καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν λεγόμενοι θεοὶ εἴτε ἐν οὐρανῷ εἴτε ἐπὶ γῆς,⁶⁹ ὥσπερ εἰσὶν θεοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ κύριοι πολλοί,
For also there are many called gods either in heaven or on earth, even as there are many gods and many lords,

8:6 ἀλλ' ἡμῖν εἷς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν,⁷⁰
but to us [there is] one God the father of whom [are] all things and we in him,
καὶ εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ.⁷¹
and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and we through him.

⁷² 9:7 τίς στρατεύεται ἰδίῳις ὀψωνίοις ποτέ; τίς φυτεύει ἀμπελῶνα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐσθίει;

⁶⁶ AM 5.7.8 Gerte praescribens **tantum in domino** esse nubendum,

⁶⁷ Verses 8:1-3 focus on wrong knowledge (Gnostics) heretics of later era. Also pastoral vocabulary **γνώσις, οικοδομεῖ** is present.

⁶⁸ AM 5.7.9 Tertullian accounts for the whole of verse 8:4 when he mentions that Marcion brings up food offered to idols, then quotes the middle portion of the verse: De idolis enim coepit de idolothytis disputaturus: **Scimus quod idolum nihil sit.**

⁶⁹ AM 3.15.2 dicente apostolo, **Nam et sunt qui dicuntur dii sive in caelo sive in terris.** perhaps – **εἴπερ** (no support, vg, **nam et si sunt**); AM 5.7.9 Sed, **Et si sunt qui dicuntur dei, sive in caelis sive in terris,** apparet quomodo dixerit; non quasi vere sint, sed quia sint qui dicantur, quando non sint.

⁷⁰ AM 5.7.9 Creatorem autem et Marcion deum non negat; ergo non potest videri apostolus creatorem quoque inter eos posuisse qui dei dicantur et tamen non sint, quando, et si fuissent, **nobis tamen unus esset deus pater.** "To us there is but one God, the Father."

⁷¹ Verses 8:7-13 were added by the Catholic editor, concerned with issues of idol sacrifices, which concluded in 8:4-6. It is concerned with differing opinions in the later church. Pastoral words **οικοδομηθήσεται, συνειδήσις, ἀσθενοῦσαν, σκανδαλίζει** plus **εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα**

⁷² Verses 9:1-6 are not attested in Marcion. There is reason to suspect the entire section as a Catholic addition, or at least parts of it. In 9:1 οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἑώρακα refers to Acts 9:3-17 of Catholic Saul seeing Lord Jesus. In 9:5 we have a reference to Paul having a wife as does Cephas (Peter); perhaps this could be an Apellean position or reference where Catholics preists marry but Marcionite preists don't and Apelles broke from Marcion in part over the marriage issue – this also runs counter to 7:7 on Paul's abstinence. Verse 9:6 is further Catholic assimilation of Paul with the Barnabas as a silent partner from Acts 13:2ff, just as he was

Who serves as a soldier at any time by his own wages? Who plants a vineyard and does not eat its fruit?

ἢ ⁷³ τίς ποιμαίνει ποιμνὴν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γάλακτος οὐκ ἐσθίει; ⁷⁴

Or who shepherds a flock and does not drink the milk?

9:8 μὴ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ταῦτα λαλῶ, ἢ καὶ ὁ νόμος ταῦτα οὐ λέγει;

Not according to man I speak these things, or also the Law says these things?

9:9 ἐν γὰρ τῷ Μωϋσέως νόμῳ γέγραπται, οὐ κημῶσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα. μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ θεῷ;

For in the Law of Moses it was written, **do not muzzle an Ox threading**. It's not the oxen that matters to God.

9:10 ἢ δι' ἡμᾶς πάντως λέγει; δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγράφη, ὅτι ὀφείλει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριάν, ⁷⁵

Rather because of us all he says? For because of us it was written, that one plowing ought to plow on hope,

καὶ ὁ ἀλοῶν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τοῦ μετέχειν.

and one threshing on hope partakes.

9:11 εἰ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν τὰ πνευματικὰ ἐσπείραμεν, μέγα εἰ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν τὰ σαρκικὰ θερίσομεν;

If we sowed to you the spiritual things, [is it] a great thing if we will reap material things?

9:12 εἰ ἄλλοι τῆς ὑμῶν ἐξουσίας μετέχουσιν, οὐ μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐχρησάμεθα τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ταύτῃ,

If others have this right [over] you, rather do we not [more]? But we made no use of this power,

ἀλλὰ πάντα στέγομεν ἵνα μή τινα ἐγκοπὴν δῶμεν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ⁷⁶

but all things we endure, lest any we should give hinderance to the Gospel of Christ.

9:13 οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ τὰ ἱερά ἐργαζόμενοι [τὰ] ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσθίουσιν,

Do you not know that those performing the temple services eat [the things] of the temple,

οἱ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ παρεδρεύοντες τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ συμμερίζονται;

those attending the alter have their share with the alter?

9:14 οὕτως καὶ ὁ κύριος διέταξεν τοῖς **τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλουσιν ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν**. ⁷⁷

added in Galatians 2:1, 9, 13; also possibly harmony with Acts 18:3, Paul as a tent maker by profession. 9:4 is out of place, as with verse 9:5 it is aimed to run counter to the encratic stance of Marcionites with respect to food. In 9:3 the word ἀπολογία which is found in Acts 19:33, 22:1, 24:10, 25:8, 16, 26:2, 24, the Catholic additions to Romans 1:20, 2:1, 15 and 2 Timothy 4:16, 1 Peter 3:15 (Philippians 1:7, 17 the usage is Paul's defense of the Gospel, which is still suspicious) making it unlikely, combined with the unique ending to 'examining' ἀνακρίνουσιν is strong evidence of more Catholic intrusion. The vocabulary in 9:2 also reveals another Catholic word σφραγίς, lends weight that the entire paragraph of 9:1-6 as being added to the Marcion's version by the Catholic editor.

⁷³ Per Clabaeux, the deletion of ἢ is a stylistic improvement, despite Mcn B 1739 D F G support (against κ p46 A C*); so stays in

⁷⁴ For 9:7, AM 5.7.10 **Ex labore suo unumquemque docens vivere oportere satis exempla praemiserat militum pastorum rusticorum;**

⁷⁵ DA 1.22/8.17b-c: τίς ποιμαίνει ποιμνὴν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γάλακτος οὐκ ἐσθίει; μὴ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ταῦτα λαλῶ, ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ νόμος ταῦτα οὐ λέγει; ἐν γὰρ τῷ Μωϋσέως νόμῳ γέγραπται: οὐ φημῶσεις βοῦν ἀλοῶντα. μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ θεῷ; ἢ δι' ἡμᾶς πάντως λέγει; δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγράφη ὅτι ὀφείλει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἀροτριάν. Rufinus: **Quis pascit gregem et ex lacte eius non manducet? Numquid secundem hominem dico, an et lex haec dicit? In lege Moysi scriptum est: Non infrenabis os boui trituranti. Numquid de bubus cura est deo? An propter nos utique dixit? Propter nos enim scriptum est quia debet qui arat sub spre arare.**

AM 3.5.4 cum etiam haereticorum apostolus ... **ipsam legem** indulgentem bubus terentibus os liberum, **non de bubus** sed de nobis

interpretetur; AM 5.7.10 "Sheppard" mentioned concerning 9:7, then **Ex labore suo unumquemque docens vivere oportere satis exempla praemiserat militum pastorum rusticorum;** sed divina illi (5) auctoritas deerat. Legem igitur opponit creatoris ingratis, quam destruebat; sui enim dei nullam talem habebat. Bovi, inquit, terenti os non obligabis, et adicit, **Numquid de bubus** pertinet ad dominum? etiam de bubus propter homines benignum? **Propter nos enim scriptum est**, inquit (5.7.11 **Propter nos enim scriptum est**.) Epiphanius 1 Co 9:9, 8 Instead of **καὶ ὁ νόμος ταῦτα οὐ λέγει** he says **εἰ καὶ ὁ νόμος Μωϋσέως ταῦτα οὐ λέγει**. But this is a comment not a quote, Μωϋσέως is not the text here, but rather the next sentence; 1 Co 9:9 **μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ θεῷ;**

Variants, 9:7b – ἢ support B C D F G Ψ 104 330 630 999 1505 1611 1827 1854 2147 2400 2412 2464 2495; 9:7c – τῆς ποιμνῆς support p⁴⁶[also D* F G 323 796 945 1352 1448 1827 1241^s – αὐτῆς] Greek (not reflected in Rufinus) 9:8 + οὐχὶ support K L P 056 most minuscules; 9:9 – φημῶσεις for κημῶσεις support all except the best, B D* F G 1739; 9:10 Rufinus deviates from the Greek text reflecting **ὅτι ὀφείλει ὁ ἀροτριῶν ἐφ' ἐλπίδι ἀροτριάν** (**debet qui arat sub spre arare**; vulgate's **debet qui arat sub spre arare**) probably a Latinism of Byzantine reading

⁷⁶ 'the Gosepl of Christ' is Marcionite terminology; the catholic redactor of Romans wrote 'the Gospel of God' (Romans 1:1)

⁷⁷ AM 5.7.11 Tertullian refers to the contents of 9:13-14: ergo et legem allegoricam secundum nos probavit, et de evangelio viventibus patrocinantem, "therefore both the law is in accordingly allegorical concerning us, and concerning the Gospel by which we make our living defending (Preaching)"; this looks like a reference to Luke 10:7-8, hinting the Apostolikon is after the Gospel

So also the Lord appointed those proclaiming the Gospel from the Gospel to get their living.

9:15 ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ κέχρημαι οὐδενὶ τούτων. οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ ταῦτα ἵνα οὕτως γένηται ἐν ἐμοί·
But I have not made use of any of these things. I do not write these things that it might be so with me;

καλὸν γάρ μοι μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ – τὸ καύχημά μου οὐδεὶς κενώσει. ⁷⁸
For [it is] better rather for me to die than no one will make empty my boasting.

9:16 ἐὰν γὰρ εὐαγγελίζωμαι, οὐκ ἔστιν μοι καύχημα· ἀνάγκη γάρ μοι ἐπίκειται·
For if I preach the gospel, there is nothing [for] me to boast; for it is necessarily placed upon me;

οὐαὶ γάρ μοι ἐστὶν ἐὰν μὴ εὐαγγελίσωμαι.
for woe to me if I should not preach the gospel.

9:17 εἰ γὰρ ἐκὼν τοῦτο πράσσω, μισθὸν ἔχω· εἰ δὲ ἄκων, οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευμαι.
For if I willingly do this, I have reward; but if unwillingly, I have been entrusted with stewardship.

9:18 τίς οὖν μοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ μισθός; ἵνα εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀδάπανον θήσω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον,
What then is my reward? That preaching the gospel I may make the Gospel without cost,

εἰς τὸ μὴ καταχρήσασθαι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ μου ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.
so as not to make full use of my power in the gospel.

9:19 ἐλεύθερος γὰρ ὢν ἐκ πάντων πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἐδούλωσα, ἵνα τοὺς πλείονας κερδήσω·
For being free from all men, to all men I enslave myself, that I might gain more;

9:20 καὶ ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδήσω·
And I became to the Jews as a Jew, that I might gain Jews;

τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον κερδήσω·
to those under the law as under the law, that I might gain those under the law;

9:22(b) τοῖς πᾶσιν γέγονα πάντα, ἵνα πάντως σώσω. ⁷⁹ 9:23(a) πάντα δὲ ποιῶ διὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. ⁸⁰
to all men I became all things, that by all means I might save. All things I do because of the Gospel.

9:24 οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν,
Do you not know that those running in a race all indeed run (race),

εἷς δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον; οὕτως τρέχετε ἵνα καταλάβητε.
But one receives the prize? So run that you may obtain it.

9:25 πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν,
And everyone competing in all things exercises self-control, so that they may receive a perishable wreath

ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφθαρτον.
but we for an imperishable.

⁷⁸ AM 5.7.11 Hoc ad gloriam suam retulit, quam negavit quemquam evacuaturum

⁷⁹ AM 5.3.5 ut apostolo consonent profitenti **factum se Iudaeis Iudaeum ut Iudaeos lucrifaceret, et sub lege agentem propter eos qui sub lege agerent, sic et propter superinductos illos, et omnibus novissime omnia factum ut omnes lucraretur.** AM 4.3.3 Et tamen cum ipse Paulus **omnibus omnia fieret, ut omnes lucraretur,** AM 1.20.3 postmodum **et ipse usu omnibus omnia futurus, ut omnes lucraretur, Iudaeis quasi Iudaeus, et** eis qui **sub lege tanquam in lege**. This is a surprising gaff by the Catholic editor to leave Paul's statement that 'to the Jews I became as a Jew' and 'to those under the Law I became as one under the Law' completely obliterating the Catholic fiction from Acts and additions to the Apostolikon that Paul was a Jew. The Latin only clearly deletes-τινὰς in 9:22 (support D F G Latin), which in form only agrees with the Catholic Romans 11:14 (and similarly Jude 22-23) and runs counter to the concept of trying to save all. That the verse quoted is a continuous argument against the presence of 9:22-23a about those not under the Law and the weak, and also the qualifying phrase of Paul not being under Law, a redundancy anyway. Additionally the verses are a continuation of 9:19 ἐλεύθερος γὰρ ὢν ἐκ πάντων πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἐδούλωσα where Paul declares that he is free of all man, but he willingly accepts his enslavement ἵνα τοὺς πλείονας κερδήσω to gain more. There is no sacrifice in not being under Law, showing that verse 9:21 doesn't fit. The 9:22(a) is less certain, but I also removed it since it was not attested by Tertullian.

⁸⁰ The phrase ἵνα συγκοινωνὸς αὐτοῦ γένομαι downplays Paul's stature with respect to his preaching. It is from the Catholic editor. The word is compound of the pastoral nature (see Romans 11:17, Revelations 1:9, 18:4) and is not attested in Marcion, only found in suspect passages such as Ephesians 5:11 and Philippians 1:7, 4:14. I left standing the first part of the verse as transitional.

- 9:26 ἐγὼ τοίνυν οὕτως τρέχω ὡς οὐκ ἀδήλως, οὕτως πυκτεύω ὡς οὐκ ἀέρα δέρων·
So I therefore run not run with uncertainty, so I box not as beating the air;
- 9:27 ἀλλὰ ὑποπιάζω μου τὸ σῶμα καὶ δουλαγωγῶ, μὴ πως ἄλλοις κηρύξας αὐτὸς ἀδόκιμος γένωμαι.
But I mistreat my body and make it my slave, lest to others preaching I should disqualify myself.
- 10:1 Οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί,
For I do not want you to be ignorant, brothers,
ὅτι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πάντες ὑπὸ τὴν νεφέλην ἦσαν καὶ πάντες διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διῆλθον, ⁸¹
that all our fathers were under the cloud and all passed through the sea,
- 10:2 καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωϊσῆν ἐβαπτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσει ⁸²
and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea
- 10:3 καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν βρῶμα ἔφαγον, ⁸³
and all ate the same spiritual food,
- 10:4 καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα· ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας,
and all drank the same spiritual drink; for they were drinking from the spiritual rock that followed [them],
ἡ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός, ⁸⁴
and the rock was Christ.
- 10:5 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτῶν ἠδύοκῃσε. ⁸⁵
But he found no pleasure with the majority of them.
- 10:6 ταῦτα δὲ τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν, εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς κακῶν, καθὼς κακεῖνοι ἐπεθύμησαν. ⁸⁶
These things happened as examples for us, for us not to desire evil things, as they also desired.
- 10:7 μηδὲ εἰδωλολάτραι γίνεσθε, καθὼς τινες αὐτῶν· ὥσπερ γέγραπται,
Neither should you become idolators, as some of them; as it has been written,
Ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πεῖν καὶ ἀνέστησαν παίξειν. ⁸⁷
The people sat down to eat and drink and stood up to play (dance). [LXX Exodus 32:6]
- ⁸⁸ 10:9 μηδὲ ἐκπειράζωμεν τὸν Χριστόν, καθὼς τινες αὐτῶν ἐπείρασαν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄφρων ἀπώλλυντο. ⁸⁹

⁸¹ AD 2.18 οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πάντες ὑπὸ τὴν νεφέλην ἦσαν, καὶ πάντες διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διῆλθον, Rufinus **Patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt, et omnes mare transierunt** Epiphanius Οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τὴν νεφέλην ἦσαν, καὶ πάντες διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διῆλθον, Epiphanius reads – πάντες but neither DA Greek not Rufinus Latin reflect this

⁸² AD 2.18 καὶ πάντες εἰς τὸν Μωϊσῆν ἐβαπτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσει, Rufinus **et omnes in Moysi baptizati sunt in nube et in mari**

⁸³ AD 2.18 καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ βρῶμα πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον, Rufinus **et omnes eandem escam spiritalem manducauerunt**, Epiphanius καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον βρῶμα, incorrectly transposing βρῶμα ἔφαγον (support A 33 330 1175 2400); DA Greek reads βρῶμα πνευματικὸν ἔφαγον for νευματικὸν βρῶμα ἔφαγον (support κ C* D F G K L Ψ 056 majority) Rufinus does not reflect this, agreeing instead with UBS and vulgate.

⁸⁴ AM 3.5.4 cum etiam haereticorum apostolus ... et **petram** potui subministrando comitem **Christum** adleget **fuisse**; AM 5.7.12 Ecce enim et in petram offendit caecus Marcion de qua bibebant in solitudine patres nostri. **Si enim petra illa Christus fuit**, Epiphanius καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα· ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας· ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός. DA 2.18 καὶ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ πόμα πνευματικὸν ἔπιον· ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας· ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἦν ὁ Χριστός, Rufinus **et omnes eundem potem spiritalem biberunt, bibebant enim de spiritali sequenti petra, petra autem erat Christus?** DA Greek has the variant – πόμα πνευματικὸν ἔπιον for πνευματικὸν ἔπιον πόμα (support D F G K L Ψ 056 *maj* OL:DI Ephraim Cop Arm Goth, against *p*⁴⁶ B κ A C P 1739 33) Epiphanius does not and Rufinus does not reflect this, agreeing with UBS and vulgate

⁸⁵ Epiphanius reads ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτῶν ἠδύοκῃσε, substituting – ἠδύοκῃσε for εὐδόκῃσε ὁ θεός, κατεστρώθησαν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (support for ἠδύοκῃσε B* A C Clement 104 507 1175 1448 1505 1611 1735 2495, none for deletion of clause). The longer version is a catholic edition emphasizing the role of God a punisher of wrongs, the Just God of the Jews, so clearly post-Marcion.

⁸⁶ AM 5.7.12 Nam et reliquum exitum populi decursurus praemittit, **Haec autem exempla nobis sunt facta**. Epiphanius ταῦτα δὲ τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν, πρὸς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς κακῶν, καθὼς καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεθύμησαν Two wrong variants, – πρὸς for εἰς no support – καὶ ἐκεῖνοι for κακεῖνοι support *p*⁴⁶ F G

⁸⁷ Epiphanius reads μηδὲ εἰδωλολάτραι γίνεσθε, καθὼς τινες αὐτῶν, ὡς γέγραπται· ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πειν καὶ ἀνέστησαν παίξειν. Note, variant – ὡς for ὥσπερ with C D* F G P several miniscules; LXX Exodus 32:6

Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them were tempted, and under by serpents were destroyed.

10:10 μηδὲ γογγύζετε, καθάπερ τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐγόγγυσαν, καὶ ἀπόλοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀλοθρευτοῦ.
Neither let us mummer, as some of them murmured, and were destroyed by the destroyer.

10:11 ταῦτα δὲ τυπικῶς συνέβαιναν ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ πρὸς νουθεσίαν ἡμῶν,
And these things happened to them as examples, but it was written for our admonition,
εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντηκεν.⁹⁰
to whom the end of the ages have come.

⁹¹ 10:14 διόπερ, ἀγαπητοί μου, φεύγετε ἀπὸ τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας.
Therefore, my beloved, flee from idolatry.

10:15 ὡς φρονίμοις λέγω· κρίνατε ὑμεῖς ὃ φημι.
As to thoughtful men I say; you judge what I say.

10:16 τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ;
The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a sharing of the blood of Christ?

τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶν;⁹²
the bread which we break, is it not partaking in the body of Christ?

10:17 ὅτι εἷς ἄρτος, ἐν σῶμα οἱ πολλοὶ ἐσμεν, οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν.
Because the one bread, we are many in one body, for we all partake in the one bread

10:18 βλέπετε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα· οὐχὶ οἱ ἐσθίοντες τὰς θυσίας κοινωνοὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου εἰσὶν;
Look at Israel according to the flesh; are not those eating the sacrifices partakers of the altar?

10:19 τί οὖν φημι; ὅτι εἰδωλόθυτόν τί ἐστὶν; ἢ ὅτι εἰδωλὸν τί ἐστὶν;
What then am I saying? That an idol sacrifice is anything? Or that idols are anything?

10:20 ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ θύουσιν, δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ.⁹³
Rather that which they sacrifice, is to demons and not God;
οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς κοινωνοὺς τῶν δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι.
I do not want you to become partakers with demons

⁸⁸ Epiphanius quotes verse 10:1-9 without 10:8; while possible HT on μηδὲ it is likely not in Marcion, since it implies Christ slew 23,000, and the story is not from Exodus which was quoted. In verse 10:9 destruction to the revelers comes by way of the serpent who represents Satan, who is one and the same as the creator God in the Marcionite cosmology.

⁸⁹ Epiphanius μηδὲ ἐκπειράζωμεν τὸν Χριστόν

⁹⁰ Epiphanius: ἕως ὅπου λέγει «ταῦτα δὲ τυπικῶς συνέβαιναν ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ ἡμῖν» καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. AM 5.7.14 Denique et in clausula praefationi respondet. **Haec autem quemadmodum evenerunt illis, scripta sunt ad nos commonendos, in quos fines aevorum decucurrerunt.** DA 2.18 (Adamantius says) ταῦτα μὲν τύπος συνέβαιναν ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ πρὸς νουθεσίαν ἡμῶν / **Haec autem omnia in typo contingebant illis, scripta autem sunt propter nos.** (Marcus retorts) ταῦτ' ἀτύπως συνέβαιναν ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ πρὸς νουθεσίαν ἡμῶν / **Haec sine typo contingebant illis, scripta autem ad commonitionem;** Tertullian seems to reflect the entire verse without variance, certainly the ending phrase which agrees with the vulgate. Epiphanius matches the critical text (A B 1739) except lacks πρὸς νουθεσίαν perhaps paraphrasing, as the others all reflect it. DA is difficult to evaluate, but it does appear to be an invention of the DA writer, first with τύπος for τυπικῶς with the majority, then an artificial antithetical ἀτύπως from Markus based upon the first error. That the text is based on Catholic majority is also reflected in Rufinus Latin translation adds πάντες to Adamantius' version. Conclusion, there are probably no variants in this verse, Adamantius is completely unreliable.

⁹¹ Verses 10:12-13 appear to come from the Catholic editor, as the subject has changed from Christ to God, and God is shown both to offer temptation and escape from this test. This is impossible for Marcion's God. In verse 10:12 the admonition is to 'you' singular and not to 'us' of the prior verses.

⁹² DA 2.20 τὸ δὲ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας, ἥδικα ἂν λέγη, τὸν τε ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν, τοῦ αἵματος σώματος τοῦ κυρίου εἶναι κοινωνίαν the Latin is lacking; and is a paraphrase, doesn't match any Greek mss. That Rufinus lacks this verse casts great doubt on its validity. The one variant that can be detected is κυρίου for Χριστοῦ support D* F G 1735; but there is no evidence this affects Marcion's text.

⁹³ Epiphanius Τί οὖν φημι; ὅτι ἱερόθυτον τί ἐστὶν ἢ εἰδωλόθυτον τί ἐστὶν; ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ θύουσι, δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ, Epiphanius reads – πάντες; The deletion ἢ ὅτι εἰδωλὸν τί ἐστὶν of is supported by *p*⁴⁶ A C* Ψ 6 33 1874 1881; No support to add ἱερόθυτον τί ἐστὶν ἢ This looks like two variants occurred, first εἰδωλὸν was transposed with εἰδωλόθυτον then ἱερόθυτον replaced εἰδωλὸν and the second ὅτι was dropped to make sense. The UBS text is almost certainly the same as the original Marcionite.

- 10:21 οὐ δύνασθε ποτήριον κυρίου πίνειν καὶ ποτήριον δαιμονίων,
You are not able to drink the cup of the lord and the cup of demons,
οὐ δύνασθε τραπέζης κυρίου μετέχειν καὶ τραπέζης δαιμονίων. ⁹⁴
You are not able to partake of the lord's table and the table of demons.
- 10:31 εἴτε οὖν ἐσθίετε εἴτε πίνετε εἴτε τι ποιεῖτε, πάντα εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ ποιεῖτε. ⁹⁵
Therefore whether you eat or you drink or whatever you do, all things do to the glory of God. ⁹⁵
- 11:3 θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἡ κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν, ⁹⁶ κεφαλὴ δὲ γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ, ⁹⁷
But I want you to know that Christ is the head of every man, and the head of a woman is the man,
- 11:4 πᾶς ἀνὴρ προσευχόμενος ἢ προφητεύων κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ·
Every man praying or prophesizing having anything over his head shame his head;
- 11:5 πᾶσα δὲ γυνὴ προσευχομένη ἢ προφητεύουσα ἀκατακαλύπτω τῇ κεφαλῇ καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς·
and every woman praying or prophesizing with her head uncovered shames her head;
ἐν γὰρ ἐστὶν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ ἐξυρημένῃ.
for it is one and the same as being shaved.
- 11:6 εἰ γὰρ οὐ κατακαλύπτεται γυνὴ, καὶ κειράσθω·
For if a woman is not covered, also let her be shaved;
εἰ δὲ αἰσχρὸν γυναικὶ τὸ κείρασθαι ἢ ξυρᾶσθαι, κατακαλυπτέσθω. ⁹⁸
and if it is shameful for a woman to be shaved, let her be covered.
- 11:7 ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν,
For a man indeed ought not to be covering the head,
εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων· ἡ γυνὴ δὲ δόξα ἀνδρὸς ἐστὶν. ⁹⁹
being the image and glory of God; be woman is the glory of man.
- 11:8 οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ἐκ γυναικὸς, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ ἐξ ἀνδρὸς·
For man is not of woman, but woman of man;
- 11:9 καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκτίσθη ἀνὴρ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα. ¹⁰⁰
for indeed man was not created because of the woman, but woman because of the man.
- 11:10 διὰ τοῦτο ὀφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους. ^{101 102}

⁹⁴ AM 5.7.14 Magnum argumentum dei alterius permissio omnium obsoniorum adversus legem. "A great argument for another god is the permission to eat of all kinds of meats, contrary to the law." Apparently the material from 10:22-30 was not in Marcion. There are pastoral compound words present as well, as pointed out by Munro p169, verse 10:23 οἰκοδομεῖ, 10:28 ἱερόθυτόν, 10:30 εὐχαριστῶ

⁹⁵ Verses 10:32-11:2 were added by the Catholic editor to bridge the inserted material. The concept of traditions παραδόσεις being received so that he could pass down by Paul is inconsistent with Marcion's depiction of Paul receiving his teaching by revelation.

⁹⁶ AM 5.8.1 Caput viri Christus est. "The head of man is Christ." Did Tertullian simply leave out *omnis* as unnecessary for his argument, or is παντὸς which was often added elsewhere, a Catholic addition to the text? I lean toward the former argument

⁹⁷ The phrase κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ θεός was not likely present in Marcion. There is a subject change from describing man from Chris and woman from man to describing the relationship of father and son. The phrase strikes me as having Arian origins

⁹⁸ AM 5.8.11 ceterum prophetandi ius et illas habere iam ostendit, cum mulieri etiam prophetanti velamen imponit "however they already have the right of prophesying, and shows that a veil imposed on a woman prophesying" - refers to 1 Corinthians 11:5-6

⁹⁹ AM 5.8.1 Vir enim non debet caput velare, cum sit dei imago Epiphanius Panoranion 42 ἀνὴρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κομᾶν, δόξα καὶ εἰκὼν θεοῦ ὑπάρχων DA 5.23 (Greek only, questionable validity as Marcionite) ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν, εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων; Epiphanius reads δόξα καὶ εἰκὼν for εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα no mss, support, ditto κομᾶν for κατακαλύπτεσθαι which Tertullian disagrees caput velare, so probably "long hair" was suggested by verse 14-15 and found it's way into Epiphanius

¹⁰⁰ AM 5.8.2 Si quia ex viro et propter virum facta est, Tertullian sums up verse 11 :9, not an exact quote

¹⁰¹ AM 5.8.2 Sed et quare mulier potestatem super caput habere debet?

¹⁰² τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ similar to 11:3 as clarification and inclusion of women (could have come in at the Apellean stage, pre-Catholic) The phrase "all things are of God" contradicts 11:7 where man is the image and glory of God, and seems a clarification to include women. In Marcionite/heretical theology the soul of man belongs to God, but the things of the world belong to the demiurge. This alerts us that the discussion of the relationship of woman to man has changed to that of the following verses with respect to God and nature itself, contradicting the strictly exegetical LXX explanation in the prior verses, so these more equal footing form a bridge

Because of this the woman ought to have power (authority) on the head because of the angels.

¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ^{11:17} Τοῦτο δὲ παραγγέλλων οὐκ ἐπαινῶ ὅτι οὐκ εἰς τὸ κρεῖσσον ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸ ἥσσον συνέρχεσθε.

But in giving this following charge I give no praise because it's not for the better but the worse that I come to you.

^{11:18} πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκούω σχίσματα ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν,
For first indeed when you come together in church, I hear divisions among you exist,

καὶ μέρος τι πιστεύω.
and partly I believe it.

^{11:19} δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αἰρέσεις ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι, ἵνα [καὶ] οἱ δόκιμοι φανεροὶ γένωνται ἐν ὑμῖν. ¹⁰⁵

For it is also necessary for sects among you, that [also] the approved ones may be manifest among you.

^{11:20} Συνερχομένων οὖν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστιν κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν·
Therefore your coming together in one place is it not to eat the Lord's Supper;

^{11:21} ἕκαστος γὰρ τὸ ἴδιον δεῖπνον προλαμβάνει ἐν τῷ φαγεῖν, καὶ ὃς μὲν πεινᾷ, ὃς δὲ μεθύει.
for each one takes first his own supper to eat, and one [goes] hungry, and one is drunk.

^{11:22} μὴ γὰρ οἰκίας οὐκ ἔχετε εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν; ¹⁰⁶
For do you not have homes in which to eat and drink?

καὶ κατασχύνετε τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας; [τί εἶπω ὑμῖν; ἐπαινέσω ὑμᾶς; ἐν τούτῳ οὐκ ἐπαινῶ.]
and do you shame those without? [What should I say to you? Will I praise you? I dont praise you in this.]

¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ^{11:33} ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου, συνερχόμενοι εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν ἀλλήλους ἐκδέχεσθε.

So then, my brothers, when coming together to eat wait for one another.

^{11:34} εἴ τις πεινᾷ, ἐν οἴκῳ ἐσθιέτω, ἵνα μὴ εἰς κρίμα συνέρχησθε.

If anyone hungers, let him eat in his home, lest you come together for judgment.

¹⁰³ Winsome Monroe, appendix B page 157 identifies the common theme between 1:14 οὐδὲ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ διδάσκει and Romans 1:26, where nature shows/teaches expected behavior. She also notes that κομῆ 'hair' is unique these two verses. The judgment in 1:13 refers to nature and a woman's hair, so must also be added – Marcion's Paul does not delegate, this is from a later era.

¹⁰⁴ Winsome Monroe identified φιλόνηκος 'strife/contentious' as a compound word from the Pastoral stratum, (also showing contact with Luke 22:24 – possibly related to contact in verses 11:24-25 contact with Luke 22:19-20) which along with the rest of the verse is concerned with heretical movements following contradicting traditions within the church concerning women, an issue largely later than Marcion. This is also out of place coming before the concept of heresy/division is broached in 11:18. The term συνήθειαν 'customs' is rare (John 18:39) and only occurs here and suspect verse 8:7, another Pastoral identifier. Finally the verse shows an interesting idea that o Paul's followers and the Church of God as separate entities; this has led to some amazing exegetical gymnastics about Paul using "we" means in an effort to avoid the more straight forward conclusion that the Catholic Church of ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ is distinct from the group Paul is thought to represent when this was written. This verse is evidence of expansion to ἐκκλησία to be ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ in the Pauline opening verse of 1 & 2 Corinthians and 1 & 2 Thessalonians thus identifying the Church. This is a subtle difference with the Marcionites, as with the Gospel, which the Catholics refer to as εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ (Romans 1:1) and Marcion's Paul refers to as εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ (Galatians 1:7, also 1:12; compare Mark 1:1). These subtleties seem silly to us today, but the Arain controversy led to very nasty persecution.

¹⁰⁵ AM 5.8.3 Saepe iam ostendimus haereses apud apostolum inter mala ut malum poni / We have often shown before now, that the apostle classes heresies as evil among "works of the flesh," (1 Corinthians 11:19) – english translation rather inaccurate

¹⁰⁶ ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονεῖτε defends the Church as an institution; καταφρονεῖτε is pastoral (Romans 2:4, 2 Peter 2:10)

¹⁰⁷ Verses 11:23-27, 30 are all part of a later post Marcion stratum. The concept of Paul receiving a tradition παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου as opposed to revelation (Galatians 1:12 παρέλαβον αὐτὸ οὐτε ἐδιδάχθην ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) is impossible in Marcion, even coming from the Lord. The tradition which follows in verse 11:24-25 is lifted entirely verbatim from Luke 22:19-20. While this material in Luke is attested in Marcion's Gospel (AM 4.40.4) it is unique that the Gospel would be quoted in Paul, and a rather later version at that; the reading includes ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον for καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως (all mss. except B p⁷⁵ & U 579) which indicates this came back into 1 Corinthians later. The other problem is this passage is concerned with sacrament in the Church, a concern independent of the early Christian feasts of the surrounding text. This point is apparent in 11:28 when the meaning of the sacrament as a method to separate orthodox from heretic is stated in terms of worthiness, an issue of prominence against Gnostics. In verse 11:26 the concern is with not only the meaning of the sacrament, but also the second coming of the Lord, a Catholic concept differing from Marcion. Finally verse 11:30 is rendered nonsensical without the second coming commentary in 11:26, as 11:21-22, 28-29, 31-34 are dealing with matters of immediacy. The flow is thus restored from 11:22 to 11:28

¹⁰⁸ While matching the Marcionite position where the world and creation is doomed to judgement (Romans 8:21). 11:28-32 discuss judgement for drinking and eating of food in the sense of the sacrament, and intrude upon the discussion of etiquette 11:20-22, 33-34.

Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ὡς ἂν ἔλθω διατάξομαι.

And the remaining matters whenever I come I will set in order.

12:1 **περὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν,** ¹⁰⁹

Now concerning spiritual things,

¹¹⁰ 12:4 διαίρεσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσὶν, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα·

There are different kinds of gifts, but the same spirit;

12:5 καὶ διαίρεσεις διακονιῶν εἰσιν, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς κύριος·

and there are different kinds of ministries, but the same Lord.

12:6 καὶ διαίρεσεις ἐνεργημάτων εἰσὶν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς θεός, ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.

And there are different kinds of works, but the same God, who works all things in all men.

12:7 ἐκάστῳ δὲ δίδεται ἢ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.

But the each is given the manifestation of the spirit for profiting.

12:8 **ᾧ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος δίδεται λόγος σοφίας,**

For to one through the spirit is given a word of wisdom,

ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγος γνώσεως κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα,

yet another a word of wisdom according to the same spirit,

12:9 **ἐτέρῳ πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι, ἄλλῳ δὲ χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ πνεύματι,**

to another faith by the same spirit, yet another gifts of healing by the one spirit,

12:10 **ἄλλῳ δὲ ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, ἄλλῳ [δὲ] προφητεία, ἄλλῳ [δὲ] διακρίσεις πνευμάτων,**

and yet to another the working of powers, [and] yet another prophecy, [and] to another discerning of spirits,

ἐτέρῳ γένη γλωσσῶν, ἄλλῳ δὲ ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν· ¹¹¹

to another kinds of tongues, and yet another interpretation of tongues.

12:11 πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, διαιροῦν ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ καθὼς βούλεται.

and all these work by the one and the same spirit, distributing to each one individually as he determines.

12:12 καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἓν ἐστὶν καὶ μέλη πολλὰ ἔχει,

For even as the body is one and has many members,

πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος πολλὰ ὄντα ἓν ἐστὶν σῶμα, οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός·

and all the members of the body though many are one body, so also Christ;

12:13 καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν,

for also in one spirit we were all baptized into one body,

εἴτε ἰουδαῖοι εἴτε Ἕλληνες εἴτε δοῦλοι εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ πάντες ἐν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν.

whether Jews or Greeks, whether slaves or free, and all were given one spirit to drink.

12:14 καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν μέλος ἀλλὰ πολλά.

For also the body is not one member but many.

12:15 ἐὰν εἴπῃ ὁ πούς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ χεὶρ, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος·

If the foot says, because I am not a hand, I am not of the body, not for this reason cease to be of the body

¹⁰⁹ AM 5.8.4 **Nunc de spiritalibus dico**

¹¹⁰ Verses 12:1b-3 intrude upon the narrative, characterising Paul's followers as formerly being ἔθνη 'gentiles' lead astray by idol worship and and stranger still the Holy Ghost as being able to curse **Ἀνάθεμα** Christ and that those speaking in the Spirit of God (tongues?) can do so, subjects far astray from the discussion at hand in vv 1,4ff of spitual gifts. Clearly post Marcion.

¹¹¹ AM 5.8.8 Tertullian compares Marcion's 1 Corinthians 12:8-10 (red) with Isaiah 11:1-3 (purple) **Alii, inquit, datur per spiritum sermo sapientiae:** statim et Esaias **spiritum sapientiae posuit. Alii sermo scientiae:** hic erit **sermo intellegentiae et consilii. Alii fides in eodem spiritu:** hic erit **spiritus religionis et timoris dei. Alii donum curationum, alii virtutum:** hic erit **valentiae spiritus. Alii prophetia, alii distinctio spirituum, alii genera linguarum, alii interpretatio linguarum:** hic erit **agnitionis spiritus.**

12:16 καὶ ἐὰν εἴπῃ τὸ οὖς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι ὀφθαλμός, οὐκ εἰμι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος,
and if the ear says, because I am not an eye, I am not of the body,

οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος·
not for this reason will it cease to be of the body

12:17 εἰ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ὀφθαλμός, ποῦ ἡ ἀκοή; εἰ ὅλον ἀκοή, ποῦ ἡ ὄσφρησις;
If the whole body was an eye, where is hearing? If whole was hearing, where is the smelling?

12:18 νυνὶ δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἔθετο τὰ μέλη, ἐν ἑκάστων αὐτῶν, ἐν τῷ σώματι καθὼς ἠθέλησεν.
But now God assigned the members, every one of them in the body as he placed them.

12:19 εἰ δὲ ἦν τὰ πάντα ἐν μέλος, ποῦ τὸ σῶμα; 12:20 νῦν δὲ πολλὰ μὲν μέλη, ἐν δὲ σῶμα.
And if all are one member, where is the body? But now [there are] many members, but one body.

12:21 οὐ δύναται δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς εἰπεῖν τῇ χειρὶ, χρεῖαν σου οὐκ ἔχω,
And the eye is not able to say to the hand, I have no need of you,

ἢ πάλιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῖς ποσίν, χρεῖαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔχω·
or again the head to the feet, I have no need of you;

12:22 ἀλλὰ πολλῶ μᾶλλον τὰ δοκοῦντα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενέστερα ὑπάρχειν ἀναγκαῖά ἐστιν,
but rather the many members of the body appearing to be weaker are necessary,

12:23 καὶ ἃ δοκοῦμεν ἀτιμότερα εἶναι τοῦ σώματος, τούτοις τιμὴν περισσοτέραν περιτίθεμεν,
and those of body we think to be dishonorable we clothe those with more abundant honor,

καὶ τὰ ἀσχήμονα ἡμῶν εὐσχημοσύνην περισσοτέραν ἔχει,
Place and our shameful parts have greater prominence,

12:24 τὰ δὲ εὐσχήμονα ἡμῶν οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχει.
but our comely members have no need.

ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς συνεκέρασεν τὸ σῶμα, τῷ ὑστεροῦντι περισσοτέραν δοῦς τιμὴν, ¹¹²
But God combined them for the body, the lacking members he gave them more abundant honor,

12:25 ἵνα μὴ ᾖ σχίσμα ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων μεριμνῶσιν τὰ μέλη.
lest there be division in the body, but the members should care the same (equally) for one another.

12:26 καὶ εἴτε πάσχει ἐν μέλος, συμπάσχει πάντα τὰ μέλη· εἴτε δοξάζεται [ἐν] μέλος, συγχαίρει πάντα τὰ μέλη.
And whether one member suffers, it suffers with all the members; or one member honored, all members rejoice.

¹¹³ 12:31 ζηλοῦτε δὲ τὰ **χαρίσματα** τὰ μείζονα. καὶ ἔτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῶν δείκνυμι. ¹¹⁴
But you earnestly desire the greater gifts. And yet I show you a way beyond compare.

13:1 ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ¹¹⁵
If in the tongues of men I speak and of angels,

ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, γέγονα χαλκὸς ἡχῶν ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον.
but love I do not have, I have become a brass sounding or a clanging cymbol.

13:2 καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω προφητείαν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν, ¹¹⁶ ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐθέν εἰμι.

¹¹² Epiphanius ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς συνεκέρασε τὸ σῶμα AD 2.19 ὁ θεὸς συνεκέρασεν τὸ σῶμα, τῷ ὑστεροῦντι περισσοτέραν δοῦς τιμὴν, Rufinus ; - ὑστεροῦντι for ὑστερουμένῳ support p⁴⁶ s^c D F G K L Ψ 056 1739 330 1982 maj Origin Chrys Thdrt (Latin not reflected). Clabeaux rates the active voice of Marcion as correct.

¹¹³ The entire digression of verses 12:27-30 introduces the later concept of the formal Church as the body of Christ (Ephesians 5:23, Colossians 1:24), and is concerned with the rank order within the Church, even adding administrative roles ἀντιλήμψεις κυβερνήσεις indicating a much larger and more formal organization than when the Marcionite was formed. There is no rank but equality in 12:25-26

¹¹⁴ AM 5.8.9 Possum dicere, ipsum quod corporis nostri per multa et diversa membra unitatem charismatum variorum compagini adaequavit, "This, too, I may confidently say: he who has likened the unity of our body throughout its manifold and diverse members to the compacting together of the various gifts of the Spirit" (1 Corinthians xii.12-30, compared with Ephesians iv.16)

¹¹⁵ I was uncertain on this verse because tongues are not part of the poem but accepted 4:9 having καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις

And if I have prophecy and all the knowledge, but love I do not have, I am nothing.

13:3 *κἂν ψωμίσω πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου, καὶ ἐὰν παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου ἵνα καυχῆσωμαι,* ¹¹⁷
And if I give away all my possessions, and if I give over my body that I may boast,

ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι.
but love I do not have, I have gained nothing.

13:4 *ἡ ἀγάπη μακροθυμεῖ, χρηστεύεται, ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ περπερεύεται, οὐ φυσιοῦται,*
love is patient, love is kind, does not brag, is not puffed up

13:5 *οὐ παροξύνεται, οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακόν,* ¹¹⁸ *οὐ χαίρει ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, συγχαίρει δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ·*
is not provoked, does not reckon wrong, does not rejoice over unrighteousness, but rejoices with the truth;

13:7 *πάντα στέγει, πάντα πιστεύει, πάντα ἐλπίζει, πάντα ὑπομένει.*
all things it bears, in all things it has faith, in all things it hopes, all things it endures.

13:8 *ἡ ἀγάπη οὐδέποτε πίπτει· εἴτε δὲ προφητεῖαι, καταργηθήσονται· εἴτε γνῶσις, καταργηθήσεται.* ¹¹⁹
Love never fails; but whether prophecies, they will be abolished; or knowledge, it will be abolished.

13:9 *ἐκ μέρους γὰρ γινώσκομεν καὶ ἐκ μέρους προφητεύομεν·*
for in part we know and in part we prophecy;

13:10 *ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ τὸ τέλειον, τὸ ἐκ μέρους καταργηθήσεται.*
but when comes completion, the thing in part will be abolished.

13:11 *ὅτε ἤμην νήπιος, ἐλάλουν ὡς νήπιος, ἐφρόνουν ὡς νήπιος, ἐλογιζόμην ὡς νήπιος·*
When I was a child, I spoke like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child;

ὅτε γέγονα ἀνὴρ, κατήργηκα τὰ τοῦ νηπίου.
When I became a man, I abolished the things of the child.

13:12 *βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι' ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι, τότε δὲ πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον·*
For we see still through a mirror in enigma, but then face to face;

ἄρτι γινώσκω ἐκ μέρους, τότε δὲ ἐπιγνώσομαι καθὼς καὶ ἐπεγνώσθην.
yet I know in part, but then I will fully know even as also I was fully known.

13:13 *νυνὶ δὲ μένει πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη, τὰ τρία ταῦτα· μείζων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη.* ¹²⁰
But now remains faith, hope, love, these three things; and greatest of this is love.

14:1 *διώκετε τὴν ἀγάπην, ζηλοῦτε δὲ τὰ πνευματικά, μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα προφητεύητε.*
Pursue love, and eagerly desire spiritual things, even more that you may prophecy.

14:2 *ὁ γὰρ λαλῶν γλώσση οὐκ ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖ ἀλλὰ θεῷ· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀκούει, πνεύματι δὲ λαλεῖ μυστήρια·* ¹²¹
For those speaking in tongue not to men but speaks to God; for no one hears, but he speaks mysteries in spirit;

14:6 *Νῦν δέ, ἀδελφοί, ἐὰν ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς γλώσσαις λαλῶν, τί ὑμᾶς ὠφελήσω,*
But now, brothers, if I come to you speaking in tongues, what will I benefit you?

ἐὰν μὴ ὑμῖν λαλήσω ἢ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει ἢ ἐν γνώσει ἢ ἐν προφητείᾳ ἢ [ἐν] διδαχῇ;

¹¹⁶ *καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὄρη μεθιστάναι* is a clear reference to Matthew 17:20, 21:21

¹¹⁷ Most manuscripts read *καυθησομαι* 'to be burned' but this is almost certainly from a later era, and becomes redundant with giving up the body, losing the reason. The correct text *καυχῆσωμαι* is supported by B p46 & A 1739* 33

¹¹⁸ *οὐ ζηλοῖ* in 13:4 and *οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ, οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἑαυτῆς* in 13:5 may not have been part of the original poem, as they uniquely refer to personal behavior as opposed to the attributes of Love itself as the subject – behaving disgracefully only makes sense for people, not for an abstract concept. In the case of jealousy the ending form does not match. Removing these restores pairs of attributes

¹¹⁹ *εἴτε γλῶσσαι, παύσονται* 'or tongues, they will cease' doesn't fit structurally, and tongues are unmentioned in the rest of the poem.

¹²⁰ AM 5.8.9 *qui de dilectione quoque omnibus charismatibus praeponenda apostolum instruxerit principali praecepto, "and on the subject of the superiority of love above all these gifts, He even taught the apostle that it was the chief commandment"* (compare 1 Corinthians 12:31, 13:1, 13)

¹²¹ Verse 14:3-5 were added by the Catholic editor and deal with Prophecy for the edification of the church. 14:2, 6 speak of tongues

Except that I speak to you either with revelation or with knowledge or with prophecy or [with] teaching.

14:7 ὅμως τὰ ἄψυχα φωνὴν διδόντα, εἴτε αὐλὸς εἴτε κιθάρα, ἐὰν διαστολὴν τοῖς φθόγγοις μὴ δῶ,
Even lifeless things make sounds, whether a flute or harp, if they do not give a distinction in the notes,

πῶς γνωσθήσεται τὸ αὐλούμενον ἢ τὸ κιθαριζόμενον;
Place how will we know what the flute or harp is playing?

14:8 καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν ἄδηλον σάλπιγξ φωνὴν δῶ, τίς παρασκευάσεται εἰς πόλεμον;
For if also a trumpet gives an unclear call, who will prepare himself for battle?

14:9 οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῆς γλώσσης ἐὰν μὴ εὔσημον λόγον δῶτε, πῶς γνωσθήσεται τὸ λαλούμενον;
So also unless you by your tongue give intelligible words, how will what is being said be known?

ἔσεσθε γὰρ εἰς ἀέρα λαλοῦντες.
For you will be speaking in the air (wind)

14:10 τοσαῦτα εἰ τύχοι γένη φωνῶν εἰσιν ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄφωνον·
So it is that there are many kinds of languages in the world, and not one is meaningless;

14:11 ἐὰν οὖν μὴ εἰδῶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φωνῆς, ἔσομαι τῷ λαλοῦντι βάρβαρος καὶ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ βάρβαρος. ¹²²
So if I do not know the meaning of the voice, I will speak as to a foreigner and the speaker a foreigner to me.

14:18 εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ, πάντων ὑμῶν μᾶλλον γλώσσαις λαλῶ· ¹²³
I thank God that I speak in tongues more than all of you;

14:19 ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ θέλω πέντε λόγους τῷ νοί μου λαλῆσαι, ¹²⁴
but in church I want to speak five words with my mind,

ἵνα καὶ ἄλλους κατηγήσω, ἢ μυρίους λόγους ἐν γλώσσει. ¹²⁵
rather than ten thousand words in a tongue.

14:21 ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται ὅτι Ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις καὶ ἐν χεῖλεσιν ἐτέρων λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, ¹²⁶
In the Law it is written that, "In other tongues and with lips of others I will speak to this people,

καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως εἰσακούσονται μου, λέγει κύριος.
even so they will not hear me," says the Lord.

¹²⁷ 14:26 Τί οὖν ἐστίν, ἀδελφοί; ὅταν συνέρχησθε, ἕκαστος ψαλμὸν ἔχει, διδαχὴν ἔχει,
What is it (to be) then, brothers? When you come together, (and) each one has a psalm, has a teaching,

ἀποκάλυψιν ἔχει, γλῶσσαν ἔχει, ἐρμηνείαν ἔχει· πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν γινέσθω. ¹²⁸
has a revelation, has a tongue, has an interpretation, let all (these) things be for edification.

14:27 εἴτε γλώσσει τις λαλεῖ, κατὰ δύο ἢ τὸ πλεῖστον τρεῖς, καὶ ἀνά μέρος, καὶ εἰς διερμηνευέτω·

¹²² Verses 14:12-17 were added by the Catholic editor to tame the use of tongues in church. Sveral words are identified as the pastoral strata by Winsome Monroe. The focus si on the church as an institution, and new initiates role. It interrupts the flow of Paul's discussion of tongues as noise, flowing directly into his claim of speaking more than others,

¹²³ Eriphanus πάντων πλέον ὑμῶν λαλῶ γλώσσαις support Ψ for – πλέον ὑμῶν λαλῶ γλώσσαις for ὑμῶν μᾶλλον γλώσσαις λαλῶ

¹²⁴ Eriphanus Πεπλανημένως ὁ Μαρκίων μετὰ τὸ ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ θέλω πέντε λόγους τῷ νοί μου λαλῆσαι προσέθετο διὰ τὸν νόμον (Marcion, after ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ θέλω πέντε λόγους τῷ νοί μου λαλῆσαι adds διὰ τὸν νόμον) this variant is improbable. Clabeaux sides with H.J. Frede that this is a visual error caused by a misreading of τῷ νοί μου

¹²⁵ Verse 14:20 was added by the Catholic editor, a stray topic concerning right and wrong thinking pertaining to later heresy.

¹²⁶ Eriphanus ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται ὅτι ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις καὶ ἐν χεῖλεσιν ἐτέροις λαλήσω πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον AM 5.8.10 Et si quod in lege scriptum esset commemorat, in aliis linguis et in aliis labiis locuturum creatorem, cum hac commemoratione charisma linguarum confirmat, nec hic potest videri alienum charisma creatoris praedicatione confirmasse, 'When he mentions the fact that "it is written in the law," how that the Creator would speak with other tongues and other lips, whilst confirming indeed the gift of tongues by such a mention, he yet cannot be thought to have affirmed that the gift was that of another god by his reference to the Creator's prediction' Note only variant ἐτέροις for ἐτέρων has support p⁴⁶ D² F G maj syr^P Cop Arm Goth Eth Origin OL:DI vg attempts to match LXX Isaiah 28:11

¹²⁷ Verses 14:22-25 are concerned with how to behave with non-believers coming into the church, an issue of a later time.

¹²⁸ AM 5.8.11 'edat aliquem psalmum, aliquam visionem, aliquam orationem' an allusion to 1 Corinthains 14:26

If anyone in a tongue speaks, accordingly two or at the most three, and in turn, and letting one interpret;

14:28 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἦ διερμηνευτής, σιγάτω ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἑαυτῷ δὲ λαλείτω καὶ τῷ θεῷ.

but if there is not an interpreter, let him be silent in the church, and let him speak to himself and God.

14:29 προφηῆται δὲ δύο ἢ τρεῖς λαλείτωσαν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι διακρινέτωσαν·

And two or three prophets [then] let them speak, and let the others discern.

14:30 ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλῳ ἀποκαλυφθῇ καθημένῳ, ὁ πρῶτος σιγάτω.

but if [something] is revealed to another sitting by, let the first be silent.

14:31 δύνασθε γὰρ καθ' ἓνα πάντες προφητεύειν, ἵνα πάντες μανθάνωσιν καὶ πάντες παρακαλῶνται,

For you are all able to prophesy one by one, that all may learn and all may be encouraged.

14:32 καὶ πνεύματα προφητῶν προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται, ¹²⁹

and the spirit of the prophets are subject to the prophets;

14:33 οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀκαταστασίας ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ εἰρήνης. Ὡς ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων, ¹³⁰

for he is not the God of confusion, but of peace. As in all churches of the saints,

14:34 αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν, οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπεται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν·

Let the women in Church be silent, for they are not allowed to speak;

ἀλλὰ ὑποτασέσθωσαν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει. ¹³¹

but let them be submissive, as also the Law says.

14:35 εἰ δέ τι μαθεῖν θέλουσιν, ἐν οἴκῳ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας ἐπερωτάτωσαν,

But if they desire to learn anything, in [their] home let them ask their husbands,

αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἐστὶν γυναικὶ λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.

for it is a shame for a woman to speak in Church.

14:36 ἢ ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθεν, ἢ εἰς ὑμᾶς μόνους κατήντησεν;

or did the word of God come forth from you, or did it only reach you?

14:37 Εἴ τις δοκεῖ προφήτης εἶναι ἢ πνευματικός,

If anyone thinks to be a prophet or a spiritual man, let him know fully the things I write to you that

ἐπιγινωσκέτω ἃ γράφω ὑμῖν ὅτι κυρίου ἐστὶν ἐντολή·

let him know fully that the things I write to you are a command of the Lord;

14:38 εἰ δέ τις ἀγνοεῖ, ἀγνοεῖται.

But if anyone does not recognize this, they are not [to be] recognized.

14:39 ὥστε, ἀδελφοί [μου], ζηλοῦτε τὸ προφητεύειν, καὶ τὸ λαλεῖν μὴ κωλύετε γλώσσαις·

So then, [my] brothers, earnestly desire to prophesize, and do not forbid speaking in tongues;

14:40 πάντα δὲ εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν γινέσθω.

But let all things be done honorably and according to order.

15:1 Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, ¹³²

Now I make known to you, brothers, the Gospel which I preached to you,

¹²⁹ AM 4.4.5 *et spiritus prophetarum prophetis erunt subditi*

¹³⁰ Note ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων 'the churches of the Saints' is the Marcionite name for the Church

¹³¹ Epiphanius Αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ σιγάτωσαν, οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπεται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ ὑποτασέσθωσαν, καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει. *Mulieres in ecclesia taceant. Non enim permittitur eis loqui sed subditas esse, sicut et lex dixit.* Marcion reads – ἐκκλησίᾳ for ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις (*ecclesia* for *ecclesiis*) 119 330 2400 syr^P Cop Eth OL:KI, similar for ἐπιτρέπεται which makes me suspect a common corrupted anti-Marcionite source for Panoranion and Adamantius texts. Tertullian mentions in passing AM 5.8.11 *Aequae praescribent silentium mulieribus in ecclesia, ne quid discendi duntaxat gratia loquantur ... ex lege accipit subiciendae feminae auctoritatem*; The plural was somehow changed to singular in the Marcionite text, which Clabeaux rates incorrect.

¹³² Epiphanius P42 "on the raising of the dead" γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν

- ὁ καὶ παρελάβετε, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐστήκατε,
which you received, in which you also have stood,
- 15:2 δι' οὗ καὶ σῶζεσθε, τίνι λόγῳ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν **εἰ κατέχετε**, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ εἰκῆ ἐπιστεύσατε.
if you hold fast the word which I preached to you, unless in vain you believed.
- 15:3 **παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις**, ¹³³ ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν
For I handed on to you, in the very first things, that Christ died for our sins,
- 15:4 **καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη, καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ**, ¹³⁴
and that he was buried, and that he was raised on the third day,
- 15:11 **εἴτε οὖν ἐγὼ εἴτε ἐκεῖνοι, οὕτως κηρύσσομεν καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστεύσατε**. ¹³⁵
Therefore whether I or they, so we preach and so you believe.
- 15:12 Εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς κηρύσσεται ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγήγερται,
And if Christ is proclaimed raised from the dead,
πῶς λέγουσιν ἐν ὑμῖν τινες ὅτι ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν;
how do some of you say there is not resurrection of the dead?
- 15:13 εἰ δὲ ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται·
And if the dead are not resurrected, neither has Christ been raised;
- 15:14 **εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται**, κενὸν ἄρα [καὶ] τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν, ¹³⁶
and if Christ is not raised, our preaching is [also] in vain, also in vain is your faith,
- 15:16 **εἰ γὰρ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται**·
for if the dead are not raised, neither has Christ been raised;
- 15:17 **εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, ματαία ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν**, ἔτι ἐστὲ ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν. ^{137 138}
and if Christ has not been raised, your faith is futile, you remain in your sins.
- 15:18 ἄρα καὶ οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ ἀπόλωντο.
Then also those having fallen asleep in Christ are destroyed.
- 15:19 εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ἐν Χριστῷ ἠλπικότες ἐσμὲν μόνον, ἔλεεινότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμὲν.
And if in this life we have only hoped in Christ, we are to be pitied more than all.
- 15:20 Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν, ¹³⁹
But now Christ has been raised from the dead,
- 15:21 **ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου θάνατος, καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν**. ¹⁴⁰
For since through man came death, also through man came resurrection of the dead;
- 15:22 **ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται**. ¹⁴¹

¹³³ Western non-interpolation (Latin b Ambrosiaster Irenaeus^{lat} Tertullian) "that which I also received" ὁ καὶ παρέλαβον was almost certainly not in Marcion, as it implies a teacher-student relationship, clearly rejected by Marcion (see Galatians 1:11-12, 15-17a)

¹³⁴ AM 3.8.5; **Tradidi enim, inquit**, vobis inprimis, **quod Christus mortuus sit pro peccatis nostris, et quod sepultus sit, et quod resurrexerit tertia die**. 'For I delivered, he says, to you first of all, that Christ died for our sins, and that he was buried, and that He rose again the third day'; DA 5.6 Epiphanius P42 **ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἐγήγερται τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ** and ~ **τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ** support F G K L P Ψ 049 maj, but not reflected in Tertullian; both accounts delete – **κατὰ τὰς γραφάς** (probably also delete verse 5ff)

¹³⁵ AM 1.20.4 **sicut et alibi, Sive ego**, inquit, **sive illi, sic praedicamus**. AM 4.4.5 **Sive ego, inquit** Paulus, **sive illi, sic praedicamus**; Epiphanius P42 **οὕτως κηρύσσομεν καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστεύσατε**

¹³⁶ 1 Corinthians 15:15 was added by the Catholic editor clarifying that it was God who raised Christ **κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἤγειρεν τὸν Χριστόν** which is not addressed in Marcion's version (compare Galatians 1:1, 1 Corinthians 6:14, 2 Corinthians 4:14). Also the concept of being a false witness to God **ψευδομάρτυρες τοῦ θεοῦ** is a pastoral concern as in (Acts 13:9, post Marcionite Romans 9:1, 2 Corinthians 11:13, Galatians 1:20, 1 Timothy 2:7). It also breaks **εἰ δὲ** of the structural pattern of 15:12-17, thus it is secondary.

¹³⁷ Epiphanius P42 καὶ ὅτι **"εἰ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, μάταιον"** καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς 'and so on'

¹³⁸ AM 5.9.2 **Mortuorum resurrectionem quomodo**; "concerning the raising of the dead" alludes to verses 15:12-19

¹³⁹ **ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων** is a Catholic addition, concerned with recent dead; **ἀπαρχή** is a term not found in Marcion

¹⁴⁰ AM 5.9.5 **Quia per hominem mors, et per hominem resurrectio**; left out "from the dead" **mortuorum** = **νεκρῶν**

For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all will be made alive.

¹⁴² 15:25 δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἄχρι οὗ θῆ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ. ¹⁴³
For it is necessary for him to reign until he has put his enemies under his feet.

15:26 ἔσχατος ἐχθρὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος·
[the] last enemy being abolished [is] death;

¹⁴⁴ 15:29 Ἐπεὶ τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν; εἰ ὅλως νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, ¹⁴⁵
Otherwise what will they do, those being baptized on behalf of the dead? If the dead really are not raised,
τί καὶ βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν;
why indeed are they baptized on behalf of them? ¹⁴⁶

15:35 ἀλλὰ ἐρεῖ τις, Πῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί; ποίῳ δὲ σώματι ἔρχονται; ¹⁴⁷
but some will say, 'How are the dead raised? And with what kind of body do they come?'

15:36 ἄφρων, σὺ ὃ σπείρεις οὐ ζῶοποιεῖται ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ·
Foolish man, what you sow is not made alive unless it dies;

15:37 καὶ ὃ σπείρεις, οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὸ γενησόμενον σπείρεις
and what you sow, you sow not the body will become

ἀλλὰ γυμνὸν κόκκον εἰ τύχοι σίτου ἢ τινος τῶν λοιπῶν·
but a bare grain perhaps of wheat or some other;

15:38 ὁ δὲ θεὸς δίδωσιν αὐτῷ σῶμα καθὼς ἠθέλησεν, καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν σπερμάτων ἴδιον σῶμα. ¹⁴⁸
but god gives to it a body as he wanted, and to each of the seeds [its] own body.

15:39 οὐ πᾶσα σὰρξ ἡ αὐτὴ σὰρξ, ἀλλὰ ἄλλη μὲν ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλη δὲ σὰρξ κτηνῶν,
Not all flesh is the same flesh, but another of men, and another flesh of animals,

ἄλλη δὲ σὰρξ πτηνῶν, ἄλλη δὲ ἰχθύων.
and another flesh of birds, and another of fishes.

15:40 καὶ σώματα ἐπουράνια, καὶ σώματα ἐπίγεια·
And [there are] heavenly bodies, and earthly bodies;

ἀλλὰ ἕτερα μὲν ἡ τῶν ἐπουρανίων δόξα, ἕτερα δὲ ἡ τῶν ἐπιγείων.
but different is the glory of the heavenly, and different of the earthly.

15:41 ἄλλη δόξα ἡλίου, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα σελήνης, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα ἀστέρων·
[there is] another glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars;

ἀστὴρ γὰρ ἀστέρος διαφέρει ἐν δόξῃ. ¹⁴⁹

¹⁴¹ AM 5.9.5 Quodsi **sic in** Christo vivificamur **omnes sicut mortificamur in Adam**, quando in Adam corpore mortificemur, sic necesse **est in Christo** corpore **vivificemur**. Tertullian clearly paraphrases 1 Corinthians 5:22

¹⁴² 15:23-24 are pastiches added by the Catholic editor.

¹⁴³ AM 5.9.6 Cum dicit, **Oportet enim regnare eum, donec ponat inimicos eius sub pedes eius**; Tertullian – **omnes (πάντας)** Ψ1424; and also AM 5.9.13 **ubiecti utique pedibus ipsius**

¹⁴⁴ Verses 15:27-28 were added by the Catholic editor establish rank of Christ as subject to the father, an issue Marcion never addresses. Verse 15:26 is derived from 2 Timothy 1:10, except that it pushes back death abolition to the Parousia.

¹⁴⁵ AM 5.10.1 Quid, ait, **facient qui pro mortuis baptizantur, si mortui non resurgunt?**

¹⁴⁶ Verses 15:30-34 intrude upon the discussion of Baptism of the dead. The concern is with Martyrdom and bringing in the Paul myth narrative about constant danger, words lifted it seems from Aprocraphyl 2 Esdras 7:89, with the story fighting wild beast in Ephesus from the Acts of Titus VIII (see 2 Timothy 4:17), which Hippolytus commented on in his commentary on Daniel iii.29. Also a fragment of Menander Thais in verse 15:33 “bad company ruins good morals”, and Isaiah 22:13 in 15:32. Verse 15:32 This fragment appears to be from an apocryphal Acts now lost. None was in the original.

¹⁴⁷ AM 5.10.2 **Sed dicent quidam, Quomodo mortui resurgent? quo autem corpore venient?** (**Quomodo ... venient** repeated in 5.10.3)

¹⁴⁸ AM 5.10.4 Denique si proponit exempla **grani tritici, vel alicuius eiusmodi, quibus det corpus deus prout volet, si unicuique seminum proprium ait esse corpus**, (not an exact quote)

for star differs from star in glory.

15:42 Οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις ¹⁵⁰ τῶν νεκρῶν. σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ, ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ·
So also with resurrection of the dead. It is sown as perishable, raised as imperishable;

15:43 σπείρεται ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ, ¹⁵¹ ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ· σπείρεται ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δυνάμει·
it is sown in dishonor, raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, raised in power;

15:44 σπείρεται σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν. εἰ ἔστιν σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἔστιν καὶ πνευματικόν. ¹⁵²
it is sown a natural body, raised a spiritual body. If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual.

15:45 οὕτως καὶ γέγραπται, Ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν·
So also it was written, "The first man Adam became a living soul;"

ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιῶν. ¹⁵³
the last Adam a life giving spirit.

15:46 ἀλλ' οὐ πρῶτον τὸ πνευματικόν ἀλλὰ τὸ ψυχικόν, ἔπειτα τὸ πνευματικόν. ¹⁵⁴
But the first is not spiritual but natural, afterward the spiritual.

15:47 ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός, ὁ δεῦτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. ¹⁵⁵
The first man is made of the dust out of the earth, the second man out of heaven.

15:48 οἷος ὁ χοϊκός, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ χοϊκοί, καὶ οἷος ὁ ἐπουράνιος, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπουράνιοι. ¹⁵⁶
As the man of dust, Such also are the men of dust, and as the heavenly man, such also the heavenly;

15:49 καθὼς ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ, φορέσωμεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανοῦ. ¹⁵⁷
As we bore the image of the of the man of dust, we must bear the image of the heavenly man.

15:50 Τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν θεοῦ κληρονομησαὶ οὐ δύναται, ¹⁵⁸
But this I say, brothers, that flesh and blood are not able to inherit the kingdom of God,

οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν κληρονομεῖ.
neither does the perishable inherit the imperishable.

15:51 ἰδοὺ μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω· πάντες οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα,

¹⁴⁹ AM 5.10.4 ut *aliam quidem carnem hominum, aliam vero pecudum et volucrum, et corpora caelestia atque terrena, et aliam gloriam solis, et lunae aliam, et stellarum aliam,*

¹⁵⁰ AM 5.10.2 *Sic et resurrectio, inquit*

¹⁵¹ AM 5.10.6 sed caro *seminatur in corruptela* ; a clear reference to verse 15:43

¹⁵² AM 5.10.2 Cuius ille ordo in dissolutione, *eius et hic in resurrectione corporis, scilicet sicut et granum*

¹⁵³ DA 2.18 *ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος, Ἀδὰμ, εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, ὁ ἔσχατος, κύριος, πνεῦμα ζωοποιῶν* / *Factus est primus homo, Adam, in animam uiuentem, nouissimus autem, dominus, in spiritum uiuificantem*; AM 5.10.7 *Factus primus homo Adam in animam vivam, novissimus Adam in spiritum vivificantem*; licet stultissimus haereticus noluerit ita esse, *dominum* enim posuit novissimum pro novissimo *Adam*. Tertullian, DA 2.18 (below) reports Marcion read *κύριος* for *Ἀδὰμ* which lacks support, but likely change to conform to the same substitution in verse 15:47. IMO this reading is the result of Marcionite scribes who failed to understand the contrast between the first man (Adam) being breathed by the creator God in Genesis 2:7 *ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν* and the last man who is raised in Christ and is now spiritual, so literally interpreted it as Christ being the last man.

¹⁵⁴ AM 5.10.6 *Non primum quod spiritale*

¹⁵⁵ DA 2.18 ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός, ὁ δεῦτερος, *κύριος* ἐξ οὐρανοῦ; AM 5.10.9 *Primus, inquit, homo de humo terrenus, secundus dominus de caelo*. Quare secundus, si non homo, quod et primus? Aut numquid et primus dominus, si et secundus?

Tertullian reports Marcion read *κύριος* for the 2nd *ἄνθρωπος* but apparently not a variant to him, as he explains it away, thus agreeing with Marcion, *κ^c A D^c K P Ψ 81 104 614 1739mg Byz Lect syr^{p, h, pal} goth arm al*. Again comparing Genesis 2 :7 God to Marcion's

¹⁵⁶ AM 5.10.10 Cum enim dicit apostolus, *Qualis qui de terra*, homo scilicet, *tales et terreni*, homines utique, ergo et qualis qui de caelo homo, *tales et qui de caelo homines*; a broken up reading of the verse, so not exact wording

¹⁵⁷ AM 5.10.10 *Sicut portavimus, inquit, imaginem terreni, portemus et imaginem caelestis*; Tertullian, Marcion read *φορέσομων* for *φορέσομεν* with *p⁴⁶ κ A C D F G K L P maj Both Thdrt Clem Orig Epi OL:KDI vg*, the UBS holds out with B, Clabeaux rates correct. He also rates - *καὶ* as correct with Ephrem, OL:KDI.

¹⁵⁸ AM 5.10.11 *Hoc enim dico, fratres, quia caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt* 5.10.15 *Caro et sanguis regnum dei non consequentur*, similarly DA 5.26/Rufinus *caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt* which Clabeaux thinks is merely another OL:I witness. Marcion reads - *οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν* for *κληρονομησαὶ οὐ δύναται* support F G 1907 Boh Ophites apud Marcarium Chrys OL:DI, also - *γὰρ* for *δε* support D F G OL:DI

Behold I speak a mystery to you; we will not all sleep, but all will be changed,

15:52 ἐν ἀτόμῳ, ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλπιγγι·
in a moment, in the wink of an eye, in the last trumpet;

σαλπίσει γάρ, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται ἀφθαρτοί, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγῶμεθα. ¹⁵⁹
for a trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we will be changed.

15:53 δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν. ¹⁶⁰
for it is necessary for this perishable to put in the imperishable and this mortal to put on the immortal.

15:54 ὅταν δὲ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται ἀθανασίαν,
But when this perishable nature puts on the imperishable and this mortal puts on the immortal,

τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος, Κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος. ¹⁶¹
then will come to pass the word written, "Death is swallowed up in victory." (Isaiah 25:8)

15:55 ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ νίκος; ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; ¹⁶²
"Where, O death, is your victory? Where, O death, is your sting?" (Hosea 13:14 LXX)

15:56 τὸ δὲ κέντρον τοῦ θανάτου ἡ ἀμαρτία, ἡ δὲ δύναμις τῆς ἀμαρτίας ὁ νόμος·
But the sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the Law;

15:57 τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις τῷ δίδοντι ἡμῖν τὸ νίκος διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ¹⁶³
but thanks be to God, the one giving us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.

15:58 Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί, ἐδραῖοι γίνεσθε, ἀμετακίνητοι,
So then, my beloved brothers, be steadfast ones, be immoveable ones,

περισεύοντες ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ κυρίου πάντοτε, εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ κόπος ὑμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν κενὸς ἐν κυρίῳ.
abounding in the work of the Lord always, knowing that you labor in the Lord is not in vain.

16:23 ἡ χάρις [τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ] μεθ' ὑμῶν. ¹⁶⁴
The grace [of the lord Jesus] be with you.

¹⁵⁹ AM 5.10.14 **Resurgent enim mortui incorrupti**, illi scilicet qui fuerant corrupti dilapsis corporibus in interitum. **Et nos mutabimur**

¹⁶⁰ AM 5.10.14 **O portet enim corruptivum hoc**, tenens utique carnem suam dicebat apostolus, **induere incorruptelam, et mortale hoc immortalitatem**

¹⁶¹ Epiphanius P42 ὅταν δὲ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται ἀθανασίαν, τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος: κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος AD 2.18 τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος, κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος:

¹⁶² AM 5.10.16 Si autem tunc fiet verbum quod scriptum est apud creatorem, **Ubi est, mors, victoria tua** vel contentio tua? **Ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus?**

¹⁶³ AM 5.10.16 Nec alii **deo gratias** dicit quod **nobis victoriam** utique **de morte** referre praestiterit, quam illi a quo verbum insultatorium **de morte** et triumphatorium accepit. (1 Corinthians 15:56-57)

¹⁶⁴ Chapter 16, except for the standard Pauline sign off, is entirely constructed with a pastiche of Pauline phrases, including the post-Marcionite Romans 16. The purpose appears to be tie the Epistles of Paul with Acts. The sign off is reconstructed and appears to follow the form of apocryphal Romans 16:20 (curiously a WNI missing from D*vid, F, G, d, f, g, m, bodl Ambrosiaster Pelagiusms).

Marcionite 2 Corinthians Interliner

Reconstruction by Stuart G. Waugh

14 June, 2013

- 1:1 Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ¹ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ [καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφός]
Paul an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God [, and the brother Timothy]
τῆ ἐκκλησία² τῆ οὔση ἐν Κορίνθῳ, σὺν τοῖς ἀγίοις πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐα,
to the churches that are in Corinth, with all the saints that are in all of Achaia
- 1:2 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.³
Grace to you and peace from God our father and Lord Jesus Christ
- 1:3 Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,⁴
I give thanks to the God of our Lord Jesus Christ,
ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν⁵ καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως,
the father of compassion and God of all encouragement,
- 1:4 ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖν τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει
The one encouraging us with respect to all our afflictions so as to enable us to encourage all those afflicted
διὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως ἧς παρακαλούμεθα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.
through the encouragement by which we ourselves are encouraged by God.
- 1:5 ὅτι καθὼς περισσεύει τὰ παθήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς,
That as the sufferings of Christ abounds in us,
οὕτως διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ περισσεύει καὶ ἡ παράκλησις ἡμῶν.
so though Christ abounds also our encouragement.
- 1:6 εἴτε δὲ θλιβόμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παραπαθημάτων καὶ σωτηρίας·
Now whether we are being afflicted, [it is] for your encouragement and salvation;
εἴτε παρακαλούμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμῶν παρακλήσεως
or if we are being encouraged, [it is] for your encouragement
τῆς ἐνεργουμένης ἐν ὑπομονῇ τῶν αὐτῶν παθημάτων ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς πάσχομεν.
producing in [you] endurance of the same sufferings which we also suffer.
- 1:7 καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς ἡμῶν βεβαία ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
And our hope for you is firm,
εἰδότες ὅτι ὡς κοινωνοὶ ἐστε τῶν παθημάτων, οὕτως καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως.⁶
knowing that as you are sharing in the sufferings, so also of the encouragement.
- ⁷ 1:20 ὅσαι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαι θεοῦ, ἐν αὐτῷ τό Ναί.⁸

¹ DA 2.12 Markus states Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

² After reviewing 1 Corinthians 11:16 it became clear that ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ is an expansion by the Catholic editor as 11:16 shows the Church Paul is addresses and the Church of God are separate entities. Thus τοῦ θεοῦ is a later expansion (see note 94 below). If there was a title to the Marcionites it was likely the church of the Saints ἐκκλησία τῶν ἁγίων as in 14:33 ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων (also Psalms 149:1). The rest of 1:1 is attested in the Latin Marcionite prologue to 1 Corinthians

³ AM 5.5.2 Haec cum "a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu" annuntians communibus nominibus utatur

⁴ AM 5.11.1 benedictus tamen deus domini nostri Iesu Christi reading – et Pater / καὶ πατήρ which has no manuscript support, but fits the pattern we see where Marcion does not emphasize God the Father (compare Marcion Galatians 1:1 – καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς)

⁵ AM 5.11.1 "the Father of mercies"

⁶ Eriphanius P42 ὅτι καθάπερ κοινωνοὶ ἐστε τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὕτως καὶ τῆς δόξης

⁷ Verses 1:8-19 appear to be a block insertion by the Catholic editor, weaving in bits like Sylanus, Timothy, and Acts 19:21

⁸ DA 2.18 (Adamatius) ὅσαι γὰρ ἐπαγγελίαι θεοῦ, ἐν αὐτῷ τό Ναί

For as many promises of God [there are], in him [is] the 'Yes;'

διὸ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ Ἀμήν τῷ θεῷ⁹ πρὸς δόξαν δι' ἡμῶν.
so also through him the Amen to for the glory of God through us.

- 1:21 ὁ δὲ βεβαιῶν ἡμᾶς σὺν ὑμῖν εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ χρίσας ἡμᾶς θεός,
But the one establishing us with you in Christ and having anointed us [is] God,
- 1:22 ὁ καὶ σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς καὶ δούς τὸν ἄρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν.
the one also having sealed us and having given earnestly the spirit in our hearts.
- 2:14 Τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις τῷ πάντοτε θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ
But thanks to God, the one always leading us ~ in Christ in triumph
καὶ τὴν ὄσμην τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ φανεροῦντι δι' ἡμῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ·
and the fragrance of his knowledge manifesting through us in every place;
- 2:15 ὅτι Χριστοῦ εὐωδία ἐσμὲν ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις,
because we are an aroma ~ of Christ among those being saved and among those perishing.
- 2:16 οἷς μὲν ὄσμη ἐκ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον, οἷς δὲ ὄσμη ἐκ ζωῆς εἰς ζωὴν.¹⁰
to the latter a fragrance of death to death, but to the former life to life.
- ¹¹ 3:2 ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡμῶν ὑμεῖς ἐστε, ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν,
You are our letter, having been written in our hearts,
γνωσκομένη καὶ ἀναγνωσκομένη ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων,
being known and read (comprehended) by all men,
- 3:3 φανερούμενοι ὅτι ἐστὲ ἐπιστολὴ Χριστοῦ διακονηθεῖσα ὑφ' ἡμῶν,
it is being manifested that you are a letter [from] Christ having been cared for by us.
ἐγγεγραμμένη οὐ μέλανι ἀλλὰ πνεύματι θεοῦ [ζῶντος],
not written with ink but with the spirit of the [living] God,
οὐκ ἐν πλαξίν λιθίναις ἀλλ' ἐν πλαξίν καρδίαις [σαρκίνας].¹²
not on tablets of stone but on tablets of hearts [of flesh].
- 3:7(b) καινῆς διαθήκης, οὐ γράμματος ἀλλὰ πνεύματος· τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ἀποκτείνει, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ.¹³
the new covenant, not of letter but of spirit; for the written letter kills, but the spirit gives life.
- 3:7 Εἰ δὲ ἡ διακονία τοῦ θανάτου ἐν γράμμασιν ἐντετυπωμένη λίθοις ἐγενήθη ἐν δόξῃ,
Now if the ministry of death in written letter having been carved in stones came with glory,
ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον Μωϋσέως
so that the sons of Israel are not able to gaze into the face if Moses.
διὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ τὴν καταργουμένην,
because of the glory of his face, which is fading,

⁹ Eriphanius Ὅσα γὰρ ἐπαγγελία θεοῦ, ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ναί· διὸ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμήν τῷ θεῷ

¹⁰ DA 2.15 reads Τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις τῷ πάντοτε θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τὴν ὄσμη τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ φανεροῦντι δι' ἡμῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ· ὅτι Χριστοῦ εὐωδία ἐσμὲν ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, τοῖς μὲν ὄσμη ἐκ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον, τοῖς δὲ ὄσμη ἐκ ζωῆς εἰς ζωὴν. Eriphanius reads verse 2:15 – τῷ θεῷ with K. Typical of Marcion, he saw no need to mention the relationship of Christ to God. It's a clarification that fails, as the perishing don't smell the aroma, and they are the target, so it misses.

¹¹ The words καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τίς ἰκανός ... συστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἢ ἐξ ὑμῶν were added by the Catholic editor to moderate for the more casual believes, with emphasis worthy teachers. Letters of commendation are an awkward transition, betray the insertion.

¹² Verse 3:4-6(a) were inserted by the Catholic editor, the concept of Christ mediating to God simply isn't realated to the material about the letter of life on hearts and death on tablets from Moses. The discussion of competent ministry is from the pastoral era.

¹³ AM 5.11.4 Therefore "the New Testament" will appertain to none other than Him who promised it---if not "its letter, yet its spirit;" Sic *et testamentum novum* non alterius erit quam qui illud repromisit; *etsi non littera, at eius spiritus*; (3:6) hoc erit novitas. Denique qui *litteram tabulis lapideis* inciderat,(3 :4)

3:8 πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἢ διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος ἔσται ἐν δόξῃ;
How rather will not the ministry of the spirit be in glory?

3:9 εἰ γὰρ ἡ διακονία τῆς κατακρίσεως δόξα, πολλῶ μᾶλλον περισσεύει ἡ διακονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης δόξῃ.
For if the ministry of condemnation has glory, much rather the ministry of righteousness abounds in glory.

3:10 καὶ γὰρ οὐ δεδόξασται τὸ δεδοξασμένον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει εἵνεκεν τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης δόξης
For indeed that being glorified has not been glorified in this respect, on account of the surpassing glory.

3:11 εἰ γὰρ τὸ καταργούμενον διὰ δόξης, πολλῶ μᾶλλον τὸ μένον ἐν δόξῃ. ¹⁴
For if that [which] is fading away [came] with glory, much more the thing remaining [is] in glory.

3:12 Ἔχοντες οὖν τοιαύτην ἐλπίδα πολλῇ παρρησίᾳ χρώμεθα
Therefore having such hope, with much boldness we act.

3:13 καὶ οὐ καθάπερ Μωϋσῆς ἐτίθει κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ¹⁵
And not like Moses [who] put on a veil over his face

πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου.
so that the sons of Israel were not able to see the end of the thing fading away.

3:14 ἀλλὰ ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα αὐτῶν. ¹⁶
But their minds (thoughts) were hardened.

ἄχρι γὰρ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας τὸ αὐτὸ κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης μένει,
for before the present day the same veil at the reading of the old covenant remains,

μὴ ἀνακαλυπτόμενον ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ καταργεῖται. ¹⁷
not being unveiled, because in Christ it is being abolished..

3:15 ἀλλ' ἕως σήμερον ἡνίκα ἂν ἀναγινώσκηται Μωϋσῆς κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κεῖται. ¹⁸
But until today whenever Moses is being read a veil lies over their heart;

3:16 ἡνίκα δὲ ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς κύριον, περιαιρεῖται τὸ κάλυμμα. ¹⁹
but whenever one turns to [the] lord, the veil is taken away.

3:17 ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν· οὗ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, ἐλευθερία. ²⁰
Now the lord is the spirit; and where the spirit of [the] lord [is], [there is] freedom.

3:18 ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου κατοπτριζόμενοι
Now we all, having had our faces unveiled, see the glory of [the] lord reflected [as] in a mirror,
τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος. ²¹

¹⁴ AM 5.11.5 He alludes to Moses' veil, covered with which "his face could not be steadfastly seen by the children of Israel." Since he did this to maintain the superiority of the glory of the New Testament, which is permanent in its glory, over that of the Old, "which was to be done away,"

Commemorat et de velamine *Moysi, quo faciem tegebat incontemplabilem filiis Israel* Si ideo ut claritatem maiorem defenderet novi testamenti *quod manet in gloria*, quam *veteris* quod *evacuari habebat*,

¹⁵ AM 5.11.5 showing that the veil which was on the face of Moses was a figure of the veil which is on the heart of the nation still; because even now Moses is not seen by them in heart, just as he was not then seen by them in eye. Figuram ostendit fuisse *velamen faciei in Moyse velaminis* cordis in populo, quia nec nunc apud illos perspicitur Moyses corde, sicut nec facie tunc.

¹⁶ AM 5.11.5 But then he says, "But their minds were blinded" of the world; At cum dicit, Sed *obtunsi sunt sensus* mundi. This reading looks like verse 4:4 with *ἐτύφλωσε* for *ἐπωρώθη* but with no manuscript support Tertullian simply wrote *obtunsi* for *obtusi*

¹⁷ AM 5.11.5 veteris quod evacuari

¹⁸ AM 5.11.5 Of Israel he says, "Even unto this day the same veil is upon their heart;" De *Israele* enim dicit, Ad hodiernum *usque velamen idipsum in corde eorum*; Tertullian reads – *ἡνίκα ἂν ἀναγινώσκηται Μωϋσῆς* (whenever Moses is being read)

¹⁹ AM 5.11.7 *Cum vero converterit ad deum, auferetur velamen* (note, Tertullian writes *deum* for *dominum*, not manuscript support)

²⁰ For the same concept of freedom in Christ compare Galatians 5:1 *Τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠγευθήρωσεν*

²¹ AM 5.11.8 So he says that "we now with open face" (meaning the candor of the heart, which in the Jews had been covered with a veil), "beholding Christ, are changed into the same image, from that glory" (wherewith Moses was transfigured as by the glory of the Lord) "to another glory." By thus setting forth the glory which illumined the person of Moses from his interview with God, and the

are being transformed [into] the same image, from glory to glory, even as from [the] lord, [who is] the spirit.

²² 4:3 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔστιν κεκαλυμμένον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν, ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ἔστιν κεκαλυμμένον,
But if indeed our Gospel has been hidden, among those perishing it is hidden.

4:4 ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσεν τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων
In whom the God of this age (world) blinded the minds (thoughts) of non believers

εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀυγάσαι τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ. ²³
so not to shine forth the light of the Gospel of Christ's glory, who is the image of God.

4:5 οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς κηρύσσομεν ἀλλὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν κύριον, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ δούλους ὑμῶν διὰ Ἰησοῦν.
For we do not preach, except for Christ Jesus the lord, and we are your slaves through Jesus.

4:6 ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὁ εἰπὼν, Ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψει, ὃς ἔλαμψεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν
For it is the God who said, "Let light shine out of darkness," who shone in our hearts

πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ. ²⁴
for the shining of knowledge of his glory in the face of Christ.

4:7 Ἔχομεν δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν, ²⁵
Now we have this treasure in earthen vessels,

ἵνα ἡ ὑπερβολὴ τῆς δυνάμεως ἧ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἡμῶν·
that the excellence of the power may be God's and not ours.

4:8 ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐ στενοχωρούμενοι, ἀπορούμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξαπορούμενοι,
On every [side] being oppressed but not being crushed, being perplexed but not despairing,

4:9 διωκόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι, καταβαλλόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπολλύμενοι,
being persecuted, but not forsaken, being cast down but not destroyed,.

4:10 πάντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες,
always ~carrying with me the death of Jesus in our bodies.

ἵνα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν φανερωθῇ ²⁶

veil which concealed the same from the infirmity of the people, and by super-inducing thereupon the revelation and the glory of the Spirit in the person of Christ "even as," to use his words, "by the Spirit of the Lord"
Dicit *ergo nos iam aperta facie*, utique cordis, quod velatum est in Iudaeis, *contemplantes* Christum eadem *imagine transfigurari a gloria*, qua scilicet et Moyses *transfigurabatur a gloria domini, in gloriam*. Ita corporalem Moysi illuminationem de congressu domini et corporale velamen de infirmitate populi proponens, et spiritalem revelationem et spiritalem claritatem in Christo superducens, *tanquam a domino*, inquit, *spirituum*

²² Verses 4:1-2 intrude upon the narrative about viel of Moses that hides the Gospel, giving a digression against heresy, waring against those who falsifying of the word of God, *δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ*, and claiming the truth is manifested *τῇ φανερώσει τῆς ἀληθείας*. The worry hear concerns the gnostics of the late 2nd century interpreting the prior verses as against God of Moses

²³ AM 5.11.9 "in whom the God of this world" Hanc Marcion captavit sic legendo: *In quibus deus aevi huius*, then adds: We (Catholics) discriminate against so we say: By God, then, of this age has blinded the minds of unbelievers; Nos contra sic distinguendum dicimus: *In quibus deus*, dehinc: *aevi huius excaecavit mentes infidelium*; DA 2.21 (Markus) ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσε τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων *πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαυγάσαι αὐτῶν τὸν φωτισμὸν* Rufinius *In quibus*, inquit, *deus huius saeculi excaecavit mentes infadelium, ut non fulgeat illuminatio euangelii*. Note, Rufinus support no variants with *εἰς* (ut) against the Greek *πρὸς*: also AM 5.11.12 Persona autem dei *Christus* dominus. Unde et apostolus supra, *Qui est imago*, inquit, *dei*

²⁴ Eriphanus *Οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς κηρύσσομεν, ἀλλὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν κύριον, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ δούλους ὑμῶν διὰ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὁ εἰπὼν ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψει*, DA 2.19 (but it's Adamantius speaking) ὁ θεὸς, ὁ εἰπὼν ἐκ σκότους φῶς λάμψει, ὃς ἐλάμψεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν *πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ* *Deus, qui dixit de tenebris lucem fulgere, illuminavit in cordibus uestris lucem scientiae gloriae eius in persona Christi*; Adamantius – Ἰησοῦ with B A 33, αὐτοῦ (eius) ^ τοῦ θεοῦ (Dei) with p⁴⁶ C D* F G 326 1837, ὑμῶν ^ ἡμῶν with C 1505 1611 1881 2495 which is definitely incorrect. Tertullian AM 5.11.11 "For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to the light of the knowledge in the face of Christ."

Quoniam deus, qui dixit ex tenebris lucem lucescere, reluxit in cordibus nostris ad illuminationem agnitionis suae in persona Christi

²⁵ AM 5.11.14 *autem eiusdem habeatur thesaurus in fictilibus vasis*

²⁶ AM 5.11.15 *Ut et vita Christi manifestetur in corpore nostro* "That the life also of Christ may be manifested in our body." The full quotation includes reference to the first half of the verse (twice): *in qua et mors Christi circumfertur*, *in qua et eminentia virtutis consecratur*. Sed enim proponit, *Ut et vita Christi manifestetur in corpore nostro*, scilicet sicut *et mors eius circumfertur in corpore*.

that also the life of Jesus may be manifested in our bodies

4:11 αἰεὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες, εἰς θάνατον παραδιδόμεθα διὰ Ἰησοῦν,
for always we, the living ones, are being given over to death because of Jesus,

ἵνα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φανερωθῇ ἐν τῇ θνητῇ σαρκὶ ἡμῶν.
that also the life of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh.

4:12 ὥστε ὁ θάνατος ἐν ἡμῖν ἐνεργεῖται, ἡ δὲ ζωὴ ἐν ὑμῖν.
So then death works in us, but life in you.

4:13 ἔχοντες δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως, καὶ ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν, διὸ καὶ λαλοῦμεν, ²⁷
But having the same spirit of faith, and we believe, and therefore we speak,

4:14 εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σὺν Ἰησοῦ ἐγερεῖ καὶ παραστήσει σὺν ὑμῖν.
knowing that the one who raised the lord Jesus also will raise us with Jesus and present [us] with you..

4:15 τὰ γὰρ πάντα δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἡ χάρις πλεονάσασα διὰ τῶν πλειόνων
For all things are because of you, that the grace, having increased through the many,
τὴν εὐχαριστίαν περισσεύσῃ εἰς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ.
may increase the thanksgiving to the glory of God..

4:16 Διὸ οὐκ ἐγκακοῦμεν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος διαφθείρεται,
Therefore we do not lose heart, but if indeed our outward man is decaying,
ἀλλ' ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν ἀνακαινοῦται ἡμέρα καὶ ἡμέρα. ²⁸
yet our inward [man] is being renewed day by day.

4:17 τὸ γὰρ παραυτίκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν
For the lightness of our present affliction from excess to excess
αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης κατεργάζεται ἡμῖν,
works out for us measuring of eternal glory,.

4:18 μὴ σκοποῦντων ἡμῶν τὰ βλεπόμενα ἀλλὰ τὰ μὴ βλεπόμενα·
we [are] not looking at thing seen but things not seen;
τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα, τὰ δὲ μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια.
for the things seen are temporary, but the things not seen are eternal.

5:1 Οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους καταλυθῇ,
For we know that if our earthly house of our tabernacle is destroyed,
ἔχομεν οἰκίαν ἀχειροποίητον αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.
we have a house not made with hands eternal in the heavens.

5:2 καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ στενάζομεν τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπενδύσασθαι ἐπιποθοῦντες,
For indeed in this we groan, longing to be clothed in our dwelling from heaven,

5:3 εἴ γε καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὐρεθησόμεθα.

Note, Marcion reads Χριστοῦ for Ἰησοῦ in both places, D* D² F G reads Χριστοῦ and all but the best (B p⁴⁶ & A C P 1739 33) read Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ but that makes it clear this reading is wrong Western reading. For the second only D* F G & read Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
²⁷ Eriphanius ἔχοντες δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν, διὸ καὶ λαλοῦμεν and Eriphanius explicitly cites ἐξέκοψεν δὲ τὸ "κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον" 'he amputated from according to that which is written', a concept alien to Marcion's Paul to follow any written word, as his Gospel is from revelation. He later in his explanation of the citation mentions that ἐπίστευσα διὸ καὶ ἐλάλησα (Pslam 115:1 LXX) which was not cited in the quote is also missing.

²⁸ AM 5.11.16 He says, too, that "our outward man perishes," not meaning by an eternal perdition after death, but by labors and sufferings, in reference to which he previously said, "For which cause we will not faint." Now, when he adds of "the inward man" also, that it "is renewed day by day,"

exteriorem quidem hominem nostrum corrumpi dicens, et non quasi aeterno interitu post mortem, verum laboribus et incommodis, de quibus praemisit adiciens, *Et non deficiemus*. Nam et *interiorem hominem nostrum renovari de die in diem*

if indeed having been unclothed we will not be found naked.

5:4 **καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄντες ἐν τῷ σκῆνῃ στενάζομεν βαρούμενοι, ἐφ' ᾧ οὐ θέλομεν ἐκδύσασθαι ἀλλ' ἐπενδύσασθαι,** ²⁹
For indeed we who are in the tabernacle groan, burdened, in that we do not want to be unclothed but clothed,

ἵνα καταποθῆ τὸ θνητὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς. ³⁰
that the mortal may be swallowed up by the life.

5:5 **ὁ δὲ κατεργασάμενος ἡμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο θεός, ὁ δούς ἡμῖν τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος.** ³¹
but the one having made us for this thing is God, the one having given to us the earnest of spirit.

5:6 **Θαρροῦντες οὖν πάντοτε καὶ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐνδημοῦντες ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐκδημοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου·**
Therefore being confident always and knowing that being at home in the body we are away from the lord.

5:7 **διὰ πίστεως γὰρ περιπατοῦμεν, οὐ διὰ εἶδους·**
for by faith we walk, not by sight;

5:8 **θαρροῦμεν δὲ καὶ εὐδοκοῦμεν μᾶλλον ἐκδημῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐνδημῆσαι πρὸς τὸν κύριον.** ³²
but we are confident and pleased rather to be away from our home in the body and at home with the lord.

5:9 **διὸ καὶ φιλοτιμούμεθα, εἴτε ἐνδημοῦντες εἴτε ἐκδημοῦντες, εὐάρεστοι αὐτῷ εἶναι.**
Therefore also we aspire, whether being at home or away from home, wanting to be well pleasing to him.

5:10 **τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ,**
For it is necessary for all of us be revealed before the judgment seat of Christ,

ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον. ³³
that each may be recompensed for the things done in the body for things he did, whether good or bad..

³⁴ 5:16 **Ὡστε ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐδένα οἶδαμεν κατὰ σάρκα·**
So that from now [on] we know no one according to the flesh;

εἰ καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν κατὰ σάρκα Χριστόν, ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκέτι γινώσκομεν.
and if we had known Christ according to the flesh, but we no longer know [him thus].

5:17 **ὥστε εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν (τὰ πάντα) καινά.** ³⁵
So that if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creature; the old has passed away, behold he has become new!

7:1(b) **καθαρίσωμεν [οὖν] ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος,** ³⁶

²⁹ AM 5.12.1 Terreni domicilii nostri non sic ait <habere nos domum aeternam, non manu factam, in caelo,> quia quae manu facta sit creatoris intereat in totum dissoluta post mortem. Haec enim ad mortis metum et ad ipsius dissolutionis contristationem consolandam retractans etiam per sequentia manifestius, <cum subicit ingemere> nos de isto tabernaculo corporis terreni, <quod de caelo est superindui cupientes>; <siquidem et despoliati non inveniemur nudi>, id est recipiemus quod despoliati sumus, id est corpus. Et rursus: <Etenim qui sumus in isto tabernaculo corporis, ingemimus quod gravemur, nolentes exui sed superindui>.

Tertullian has to make the comment **quia quae manu facta sit creatoris intereat in totum dissoluta post mortem** concerning verse 5:1 quote precisely because Marcion did not have **οικοδομῆν ἐκ θεοῦ** (aedificationem ex Deo) which must have been added by the Catholic editor to highlight that the Creator God builds (edifies) the eternal home, something not accepted by the Heretics.

³⁰ AM 5.12.3 Tertullian revisits verse 5:4 stating **uti devoretur mortale hoc a vita**

³¹ AM 5.12.4 Tertullian paraphrasing **et arrabonem nos spiritus dicit a deo habere**

³² AM 5.12.4 Tertullian paraphrasing **et abesse a domino, quamdiu in carne sumus, ac propterea debere boni ducere abesse potius a corpore et esse cum domino**

³³ DA 1.16 (Adamantius) paraphrases **ἕκαστος παρὰ Χριστοῦ κομίζεται εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον** 'everyone receives from Christ either good or evil' But Tertullian quotes in full AM 5.12.4 'And we said that we must all appear (manifestari) before the judgment seat of Christ to such an extent that it may receive every one of the things that has allowed it through the body, whether good or evil.' **Atque adeo omnes ait nos oportere manifestari ante tribunal Christi, ut recipiat unusquisque quae per corpus admisit sive bonum sive malum.**

³⁴ There are problems with vocabulary and with the content of 5:11-15, which intrude upon the discussion of transforming from the ways of the flesh to that of the spirit, in its digression about various tangential topics. Much of this conflicts with Marcionite teaching.

³⁵ DA 2.16 (Markus) **εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις, τὰ πάντα καινά;** AM 5.12.6 "If therefore any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old; things are passed away; behold, all things are become new" **Si qua ergo conditio nova in Christo, vetera transierunt, ecce nova facta sunt omnia** (Marcion incorrectly reads + **τὰ πάντα** all but best B p46 x C D* D1 F G 1739 Clement)

³⁶ AM 5.12.6 He enjoins us "to cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and blood" Si etiam iubet ut **mundemus nos ab inquinamento carnis et sanguinis**, note Marcion apparently reads **αἵματος** for **πνεύματος**, without manuscript support.

[Therefore] let us cleanse ourselves from the defilements of the flesh and blood,

11:2 (b) ἤρμωσάμην γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ παρθένον ἅγιον παραστήσαι τῷ Χριστῷ.³⁷
for I have betrothed you to the one man (groom) (as) a holy virgin to present (you) to Christ;

11:3 φοβοῦμαι δὲ μή πως, ὡς ὁ ὄφεις ἐξηπάτησεν Εὐάν ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτοῦ,³⁸
But I fear lest as the serpent deceived Eve in his cunning,

φθορῆ τὰ νοήματα ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπλότητος [καὶ τῆς ἀγνότητος] τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστόν.
your thoughts should be corrupted from the simplicity [and the purity] which [is] to Christ.

11:4 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσει ὃν οὐκ ἐκηρύξαμεν,
For if indeed comes another who proclaims [a] Jesus whom we did not proclaim,

ἢ πνεῦμα ἕτερον λαμβάνετε ὃ οὐκ ἐλάβετε, ἢ εὐαγγέλιον ἕτερον ὃ οὐκ ἐδέξασθε, καλῶς ἀνέχεσθε.
or you receive another spirit that you had not received, or another Gospel you did not accept,

11:13 οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ψευδαπόστολοι, ἐργάται δόλιοι, μετασχηματιζόμενοι³⁹ εἰς ἀποστόλους Χριστοῦ.
For such ones are false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into apostles of Christ.

11:14 καὶ οὐ θαῦμα, αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Σατανᾶς μετασχηματίζεται εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός.⁴⁰
And [it is] not amazing, for ~ Satan himself transforms himself into an Angel of light.

11:15 οὐ μέγα οὖν εἰ καὶ οἱ διάκονοι αὐτοῦ μετασχηματίζονται ὡς διάκονοι δικαιοσύνης,
It [is not] a great thing if also his ministers transform themselves into ministers of righteousness;

ὧν τὸ τέλος ἔσται κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν.⁴¹
of whom the end shall be according to their works.

⁴² 12:7(b) διὸ ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι,
Wherefore, lest I should be too exalted,

ἐδόθη μοι σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί, ἄγγελος Σατανᾶ, ἵνα με κολαφίζῃ, ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρωμαι.
I was given this thorn to my flesh, an angel of Satan, so to beat me, lest I should be too exalted.

12:8 ὑπὲρ τούτου τρίς τὸν κύριον παρεκάλεσα ἵνα ἀποστῇ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.⁴³
As to this three times the lord I besought that depart from me.

12:9 καὶ εἶρηκέν μοι, Ἄρκεῖ σοι ἡ χάρις μου,⁴⁴
But he said to me, 'be content with my grace for you,'

13:1 Τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα.⁴⁵
This is the third time I am coming to you; by the mouth of two or three witnesses will be established every word

³⁷ Tertullian paraphrases in AM 5.12.6 Si et *virginem sanctam destinat* ecclesiam *adsignare Christo, utique ut sponsam sponso*; note: AM reads *sanctam* = ἅγιον 'holy', VG *castam* = ἀγνήν 'pure' with no manuscript support. Maybe this is a deliberate adjustment by Tertullian to signify the association of the holy church with virginity that Marcion ruined, or more generally that the church was virgin before the 2nd century heretics arose. However, ἀγνήν is Catholic vocabularly and found elsewhere only in 1 Peter 3:2, James 3:17.

³⁸ An allusion to Genesis 3:1ff, see 3:4. Note LXX Genesis 3:20 she is called Ζωή mother of all living μήτηρ πᾶς ὁ ζῶω, but 4:1 Εὐάν

³⁹ AM 5.12.6 Si et *pseudapostolos dicit operarios dolosos transfiguratores* sui

⁴⁰ AM 5.12.7 Si *transfiguratur satanas in angelum lucis*, perhaps alluded to also in 3.8.3 *negatam* ab apostolo *lucis*, id est veritatis, et fallaciae, *id est tenebrarum, commisit communicationem*.

⁴¹ This statement is consistent with 2 Corinthians 5 :10

⁴² Verses 11:16-12:7a are not attested in Marcion

⁴³ An allusion to 12:7-8 in AM 5.12.8 Magis vero mirabor *dominum* optimum, *percutiendi* et saeviendi alienum, nec proprium saltem sed creatoris *angelum satanae colaphizando* apostolo suo *applicuisse*, et *ter* ab eo obsecratum non concessisse.

⁴⁴ Tertullian found it necessary to allude to Job i.12 *Aut numquid ipse est qui et in corpus Iob dedit satanae potestatem, ut virtus in infirmitate comprobaretur* without mention of 2 Corinthians 12:9 (*virtus in infirmitate perficitur*) because this phrase was missing that he knew in the Catholic text, so he uses his technique we see elsewhere of implying the Old Testament parallel with Marcion's text.

⁴⁵ AM 5.12.9 *in tribus testibus praefini ens staturum omne verbum*, and DA 2.18 Τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐπὶ στόματος δύο ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων σταθήσεται πᾶν ῥῆμα. Rufinus *Ecce hoc tertio uenio ad uos. In ore enim duorum et trium testium stabit omne uerbum*; note DA reads ἢ τριῶν μαρτύρων for μαρτύρων καὶ τριῶν with 1 1735; also transposing καὶ τριῶν before μαρτύρων with 075 33 1739 2464 6 630 629 vg. This is a late variant. And its not clear DA is even quoting from the Marcionite or Catholic text.

13:2 προείρηκα και προλέγω ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεῦτερον και ἀπὼν νῦν τοῖς προημαρτηκόσιν και τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν,
I foretold and said before, when present the second but absent now, those who previously sinned and all the rest

ὅτι ἐὰν ἔλθω εἰς τὸ πάλιν οὐ φείσομαι, ⁴⁶
that if I come again I will not spare,

⁴⁷ 13:10 διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα ἀπὼν γράφω, ἵνα παρὼν μὴ ἀποτόμως χρήσωμαι
Therefore I write ~ these things, that when I am present I will not [have to] treat you with severity,

κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἣν ὁ κύριος ἔδωκέν μοι, ^{48 49}
according to the power (authority) which the lord gave me.

13:13 Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν. ⁵⁰
The grace of the lord Jesus Christ be with you.

⁴⁶ Reference to 13:2 in AM 5.12.9 Quid **et non parsurum se peccatoribus comminatur**, lenissimi dei praedicator?

⁴⁷ Verses 13:3-9 are not attested in Marcion, also part of segment identified by Winsome Munro as pastoral layer with several antithetic parallels, e.g., δοκιμὴν ... ἀδόκιμοι, δυνάμει ... ἀσθενοῦμεν,

⁴⁸ Tertullian paraphrases 13:10 in AM 5.12.9 Immo **et ipsam durius agendi in praesentia potestatem a domino datam sibi affirmat**

⁴⁹ Verses 13:10b-12 appears to be Catholic additions. The pastoral term οἰκοδομήν / **aedificationem** (see Munro) is not found in Marcion. The usage here parallels exactly the usage in verse 10:8, part of the pastoral 'severe' letter. Munro identifies 10:6, 8-11, 13:1-10 as part the antithetical pastoral layer. The use of the word ἀσπάσασθε is only securely in the Catholic addition of Romans 16 and 1 Corinthians 16, and can be discounted from Marcion (DA 1.5 quotation of Colossians 4:10-11, 14 is not Marcionite text – see my notes). The Holy Kiss seems to be an additional ritual added later by the Orthodoxy. The other platitudes are likely scribal additions to the terse Marcionite endings.

⁵⁰ Most likely only the simplest ending form of the Pauline ending in verse 13: 13, which can be found in Colossians 4:18b of ἡ χάρις μεθ' ἡμῶν stood. That this same form is found in 1 & 2 Timothy which were based on the early Pauline collection

Marcionite Romans Interliner

1:1 Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ,¹ 1:7 πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν [ἐν Ῥώμῃ] τοῖς ἀγίοις,²
Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus to all those saints ~ [in Rome]

χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.³
Grace to you and peace from God our father and Lord Jesus Christ

1:8 Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου⁴ 1:9 (b) μνεΐαν ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι 1:10 (a) πάντοτε ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου.
I give thanks to my God making ~ mention of you always at my prayers

1:15 οὕτως τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον καὶ ὑμῖν εὐαγγελίσασθαι.⁵
So as accorded to me, I am eager also to preach ~ to you

1:16 Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἔστιν εἰς σωτηρίαν
For ~ not I am ashamed of the Gospel for ~ the power of God is it Salvation

παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι Ἰουδαίῳ καὶ Ἑλληνι.
To everyone believing Jew and Greek

1:17(a) δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν,⁶
For ~ in it ~ the righteousness of God is revealed from faith to faith

1:18 Ἀποκαλύπτεται γὰρ ὀργὴ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν
For ~ is revealed the wrath from the heaven upon the ungodliness

καὶ ἀδικίαν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατεχόντων,⁷
And unrighteous men who ensnare ~ the truth in unrighteousness

⁸ 2:2 οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τὸ κρίμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἔστιν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν⁹

¹ The evidence of Ephesians (see John Clabeaux, A lost Edition of the letters of Paul, pages 94-98, on Ephesians 1:1) tilts my opinion to favor Romans having a generic start, one as found in 2 Timothy, 1&2 Corinthians, Ephesians, and Colossians Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ. The terms δοῦλος 'slave' and κλητὸς 'called' are part of the Orthodox formula of obedience to the faith and hearing the word and being called to apostleship, and were added by the redactor here, and in 1:7 (κλητοῖς), 1 Corinthians 1:1 (κλητὸς except A D 1506^{ext}), Philippians 1:1 (δοῦλοι), and Galatians 1:10 (δοῦλος). Compare Galatians 2:4 Paul's defense of 'our freedom (ἐλευθερίαν) which we have in Christ' against they 'that might enslave (καταδουλώσουσιν) us'. More significantly in 4:26a ἡ δὲ ἄνω ... ἐλευθερία ἐστίν 'but the one [covenant] from above ... brings freedom' and finally Galatians 5:1 is decisive evidence against slave to Christ theology in Marcion. The Catholic redactor of Romans likely further adjusted διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ found elsewhere to εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ for a new beginning to the entire Pauline Corpus.

² Possible Western Non-Interpolation where G g 1739margin delete ἐν Ῥώμῃ 'in Rome' (D F have lacunae, but in D^c) and Ephesians 1:1 also testify to the possible absence of these words, here and in verse 1:15. They are bracketed as some Marcionite texts had this variant

³ Tertullian AM 5.5.1-2 mentions this phrase was common to all Marcion's collection 'Praestructio superioris epistulae ita duxit, ut de titulo eius non retractaverim, certus et alibi retractari eum posse, communem scilicet et eundem in epistulis omnibus. Quod non utique salutem praescribit eis quibus scribit, sed gratiam et pacem' ... 'Haec cum a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu annuntians'

⁴ The abbreviated form of the benediction follows \aleph^* 1270 deleting διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; Compare 1 Corinthians 1:4, Philippians 1:3, 1 2 Thessalonians 1:3, and especially Philemon 1:4 and Thessalonians 1:2, for the simpler formula I suspect the collection had when first edited.

⁵ The phraseology is Pauline, and nicely transitions the prayer with 1:16ff so I retained it. The longer Catholic version repeats τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ

⁶ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.2, 'Non enim me pudet evangelii, virtus enim dei est in salutem omni credenti, Iudaeo et Graeco, quia iustitia dei in eo revelatur ex fide in fidem', for 1:16-17 lacking 'primum' as also B G it-G Ephraim. Likely πρῶτον was a proto-Orthodox addition as in 2:9, 2:10 for the special status of Jews, a per 3:2, 9:4-5 et al. Habakkuk 2:4 LXX quote is an Orthodox addition not in Marcion. I additionally remove τε 'both' as Pastoral, even though this cannot be determined from the Latin, however 1243 \aleph^* delete τε.

⁷ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.2, 'Quoniam et iram dicit revelari de caelo super impietatem et iniustitiam hominum qui veritatem in iniustitia detineant', the Greek apparently lacking θεοῦ and also πᾶσαν I removed θεοῦ and replaced πᾶσαν with τὴν per Paul-Louis Couchoud

But ~ we know that the judgment of God is according to truth

2:12 ὅσοι ἀνόμως ἥμαρτον, ἀνόμως καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, καὶ ὅσοι ἐν νόμῳ ἥμαρτον, διὰ νόμου κριθήσονται.¹⁰
As many as without Law sinned, without Law also will perish; and as many in Law sinned, by Law will be judged.

2:13 οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ νόμου δίκαιοι παρὰ [τῷ]¹¹ θεῷ, ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ νόμου δικαιοθήσονται.¹²
For ~ not the hearers of Law [are] just, but the doers of Law will be justified

2:14 ὅταν γὰρ οὗτοι¹³ τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῶσιν
For ~ when those not having ~ [the] law by nature practice that of the law,
οὗτοι νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες ἑαυτοῖς εἰσιν νόμος·
Those not having law are to themselves a law

2:16 κρίνει ὁ θεὸς τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων¹⁴ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον [μου] διὰ Χριστοῦ.¹⁵
God ~ judges the hidden things of men, according to [my] Gospel through Christ

2:17 Εἰ δὲ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ἐπονομάζῃ καὶ ἐπαναπαύῃ νόμῳ καὶ καυχᾶσαι ἐν θεῷ
But ~ if you a Jew are named, and rest upon [the] law and boast in God

2:19 πέποιθάς¹⁶ σεαυτὸν ὁδηγὸν εἶναι τυφλῶν, φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει,
Having confidence in yourself, to be a guide to the blind, a light to those in darkness

2:20 παιδευτὴν ἀφρόνων, διδάσκαλον νηπίων^{17 18}
Instructor of fools, teacher of infants

ἔχοντα τὴν μόρφωσιν τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ.¹⁹
Having the embodiment of knowledge and truth in the law

2:21 ὁ οὖν διδάσκων ἕτερον σεαυτὸν οὐ διδάσκεις; ὁ κηρύσσων μὴ κλέπτειν κλέπτεις;
You ~ therefore teach others, yourself do you not teach? You who proclaim not to steal, do you steal?

2:22 ὁ λέγων μὴ μοιχεύειν μοιχεύεις;²⁰

⁸ Winsome Monroe makes the case for Romans 1:19-2:1 as a late Pastoral stratum material, and that 2:2 joined directly to 1:18 in the original

⁹ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.3, '**scimus autem iudicium Dei secundum veritatem esse**', the Greek οἶδαμεν δὲ τὸ κρίμα τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν εἶναι is at slight variance with the Canonical, likely due to Tertullian's contextual use, so I kept the Canonical

¹⁰ Epiphanius attests 2:12-13 in entirety with one late variant, adding τοῦ before νόμου (twice in 2:13), and lacking γὰρ in 2:12;

Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.4, attests 2:12 by allusion, **tam eorum qui in lege deliquerunt quam eorum qui sine lege**

¹¹ Despite Epiphanius attesting τῷ the evidence is not decisive given he adds τοῦ, so following the UBS in bracketing τῷ (I lean against)

¹² I agree with Detering that verse 2:13 seems inexplicable, yet here it is attested by Epiphanius as written. The text history must be complex.

¹³ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.4 paraphrases verse 2:14 **quia et hi legem ignorant et natura faciunt quae sunt legis, utique is deus iudicabit cuius sunt et lex et ipsa natura, quae legis est instar ignorantibus legem** apparently reading οὗτοι for ἔθνη which I think original

¹⁴ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.4 **Si enim iudicabit deus occulta hominum** apparently lacks ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὅτε κρίνει

¹⁵ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.5 **Secundum evangelium inquit per Christum** lacking Ἰησοῦ as does 1836; also Dialogue Adamantius 1.6 κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Dialogue Adamantius 1.6 refers to Romans 2:16 with μου while Tertullian quotes without supported by 69. The internal evidence is indecisive. It is possible μου is a harmony to Galatians 1:6-12, but it's just as likely Tertullian's paraphrase simply left out **meum**

¹⁶ It is unlikely to find τε in Marcion, as it is clearly a Lukan construct, but the textual evidence to remove is thin 330 1245 1881. It is translated "and/so" rather than both, perhaps it was δὲ but by early mechanical error became τε but I think unlikely. I removed it with hesitation.

¹⁷ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.6 **docents non furari et furantes**

¹⁸ Verses 2:17, 19-20(a) although unattested are required by the content of verses 2:20(b)-21ff

¹⁹ Epiphanius, PANARION, BOOK I, TOMI II, 42: ἔχοντα τὴν μόρφωσιν τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ

You who say not to commit adultery, do you commit adultery?

2:23 ὃς ἐν νόμῳ καυχᾶσαι, διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου τὸν θεὸν ἀτιμάζεις· ²¹
Who in [the] law boast, through the transgression of the law dishonor God

2:24 τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ δι' ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖται. ²²
For the name of God through you is blasphemed

2:25 περιτομὴ μὲν γὰρ ὠφελεῖ ἐὰν νόμον πράσσης·
For ~ Circumcision indeed profits if you practice ~ [the] law,
ἐὰν δὲ παραβάτης νόμου ᾖς, ἡ περιτομὴ σου ἀκροβυστία γέγονεν ²³
But ~ if you ~ transgress [the] law, your circumcision has become uncircumcision

2:26 ἐὰν οὖν ἡ ἀκροβυστία τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου φυλάσσει,
If therefore the uncircumcised keeps ~ the just requirements of the law
οὐχ ἡ ἀκροβυστία αὐτοῦ εἰς περιτομὴν λογισθήσεται;
[Will] not their ~ uncircumcision be accounted as circumcision?

2:27 καὶ κρινεῖ ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία τὸν νόμον τελοῦσα σὲ
And the [ones] by nature uncircumcised keeping ~ the law ~ will judge ~ you
τὸν διὰ γράμματος καὶ περιτομῆς παραβάτην νόμου. ²⁴
By ~ the transgression of the law by letter and [your] circumcision

2:28 οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ Ἰουδαῖος ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ ἐν σαρκὶ περιτομῆ, ²⁵
For ~ not he is the Jew outwardly, nor [is] the circumcision outwardly in flesh

2:29 (a) ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος, καὶ περιτομὴ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι, ²⁶
But the Jew [is] inwardly and circumcision [is] of heart in spirit not letter

3:19 Οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι ὅσα ὁ νόμος λέγει τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λαλεῖ,
And ~ we know that whatever the law says those in the law it speaks,
ἵνα πᾶν στόμα φραγῆ καὶ ὑπόδικος γένηται πᾶς ὁ κόσμος [~~τῷ θεῷ~~]. ²⁷
That every mouth may be stopped and the whole world may become indebted

3:20 διότι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας.
Because by works of Law all flesh ~ will not be justified before him, for ~ through Law [is] full recognition
of sin,

3:21(a) Νυνὶ δὲ χωρὶς νόμου δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ²⁸ 3:22(a) διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ εἰς πάντας τοὺς πιστεύοντας. ²⁹

²⁰ Unattested, 2:22(a) completes the structural form of 2:21, (μὴ κλέπτειν κλέπεις ... μὴ μοιχεύειν μοιχευείς) and parallel verse 13:9 below. However ὁ βδελυσσόμενος τὰ εἰδωλα ἱεροσυλεῖς is a clumsy tangential addition, idols and temple plundering motif doesn't fit here

²¹ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.6 **Et ideo vehitur in transgressores legis**

²² Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.7, **Propter vos nomen dei blasphematur**. I deleted ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καθὼς γέγραπται as unattested, and it relates to changing οὗτοι to ἔθνη in verse 2:14, 'ethnics' (Gentiles) never occurs in Marcion's Romans. (see Clement *Stromata* III.107.2)

²³ Epihanius: περιτομὴ μὲν γὰρ ὠφελεῖ ἐὰν νόμον πράσσης· ἐὰν δὲ παραβάτης νόμου ᾖς, ἡ περιτομὴ σου ἀκροβυστία γέγονεν

²⁴ Verses 2:26-27 not attested, but structure and content argue for inclusion, plus ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία τὸν νόμον is consistent with 2:14

²⁵ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.7, attests thus to 2:28, **eius et Iudaeus qui in occulto cuius et Iudaeus in aperto**

²⁶ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.7, attests thus to 2:29, **apud deum legis est facta circumcisio cordis, non carnis, spiritu, non littera**

²⁷ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.11, **et totum mundum deduxerat in reatum** 'And all the world brought down guilty' (καὶ ὄλον) **et omne os obstruxerat** 'And every mouth obstructed' (πᾶν στόμα φραγήσεται), are loose renderings by Tertullian, recalled out of order.

But ~ now apart from law a righteousness of God through faith [in] Christ to all those faithful

3:24 δικαιούμενοι δωρεάν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι διὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ·
Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption which [is] in Christ Jesus

3:27 Ποῦ οὖν ἡ καύχησις; ἐξεκλείσθη. διὰ ποίου νόμου; τῶν ἔργων; οὐχὶ ἀλλὰ διὰ νόμου πίστεως.
Where therefore [is] the boasting? It is excluded. Through what Law? Of works? No, but through Law of faith.

3:28 λογιζόμεθα γὰρ δικαιοῦσθαι πίστει ἄνθρωπον χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου.
For ~ we consider a man ~ to be justified by faith apart from works of Law

³⁰ 5:1 Δικαιωθέντες οὖν ἐκ πίστεως εἰρήνην ἔχωμεν ³¹ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ ³²
Therefore ~ having been justified by faith let us have ~ peace toward God through Christ

5:2 δι' οὗ καὶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχίκαμεν ³³ εἰς τὴν χάριν ταύτην ἐν ᾗ ἐστήκαμεν
Through whom indeed we have access into – this grace in which we stand

καὶ καυχώμεθα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ.
And [we] boast on hope of the glory of God

5:3 οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμεθα ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν, εἰδότες ὅτι ἡ θλίψις ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται,
And ~ not only that [so] but also we boast in tribulations, knowing that tribulation produces ~ endurance

5:4 ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ δοκιμὴν, ἡ δὲ δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα. 5:5(a) ἡ δὲ ἐλπίς οὐ κατασχύνει, ³⁴
And endurance mettle and mettle hope and hope will not dishonor us

5:6 ἔτι γὰρ Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανεν. ³⁵
For Christ, [when] we were still ~ weak, according to the time for the ungodly died

5:7 μόλις γὰρ ὑπὲρ δικαίου τις ἀποθανεῖται ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τάχα τις καὶ τολμᾷ ἀποθανεῖν

²⁸ 'although the law and the prophets bear witness to it,' μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν clearly doesn't fit the pre-Marcionite view and is it not attested in by Tertullian, nor independently by Clement (Paedagogus Book 1, Chapter 8, Romans 3:21-22): it is impossible Tertullian would not use the phrase against Marcion as Irenaeus does explicitly in *Against Heresies* 4.28.2. I read Tertullian as extending the deletion to *πεφανέρωται μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν δικαιοσύνη δε θεοῦ*, but I disagree with Detering's reading of *τότε νόμος νυνὶ* for *νυνὶ δὲ χωρὶς νόμου* as he fails to account for Tertullian's paraphrase and *χωρὶς* also appears in 3:28

²⁹ Tertullian *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.8 clearly joins the text 3:22a to 5.1, only reading 3:22 *nunc iustitia dei per fidem Christi* deleting *Iesu*, a variant only supported by B A – this variant might have arisen in B A and Marcion independently after the split; implying further *οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν διαστολή*, (Latin: *super omnes qui credunt non enim est distinctio*) is missing by asking *Quae est ista distinctio?*

³⁰ The phrase *γὰρ ἐστὶν διαστολή* also occurs in Romans 10:12 betraying its Catholic origins, so I delete it. Despite Herman Detering's opinion I favor deleting 3:23-24 as well. However I find 3:27-28 in the pre-Marcionite text, as they fit theologically and without linguistic issue.

³¹ Tertullian apparently reads Marcion *ἔχωμεν* "let us have" supported by \aleph^* A B* C D K L 33 81 d g vg syr^{-p, pal} cop^{-bo} arm eth; but the UBS committee went with *ἔχομεν* "we have" in a decision that might need reconsideration given the new context of 5:1 directly after 3:22(a) rather than after the completed argument about faith being reckoned to gentiles as heirs of Abraham. Thus *ἔχωμεν* may be a later scribal adjustment. Also see Dr. Arland J. Hultgren analysis at <http://www.luthersem.edu/course/NT2210.00.00.50.2008.09.00/documents/Romans5.1.pdf>

³² Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.9, again not 'our Lord Jesus Christ' only 'Christ' *Monet iustificatos ex fide Christi*, non ex lege, *pacem ad deum habere* 'let us have justification through faith in Christ, not by law, peace with God' ... notice the symmetry with 3:22a and 5:1

³³ I follow the possible Western non-Interpolation attested by B D G 0220 four OL Coptic (south) in deleting *τῇ πίστει*, as 'by faith' is likely an editorial addition to conform to the theology of the promise to Abraham. The words are bracketed by the UBS 4.0 committee.

³⁴ Verses 5:2(b) to 5:5(a) is a unit on boasting in *ἐλπίδι* 'hope' so I include this unit. However, 5:5 (b) is an editorial addition on the Holy Spirit

³⁵ Epiphanius, PANARION, BOOK I, TOMI II, 42: *ἔτι γὰρ Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανεν*

For ~ scarcely on behalf of a righteous one anyone will die, for on behalf of a good one hastily anyone indeed dares to die

5:8 συνίστησιν δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς, ὅτι ἔτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν.

But God demonstrates his own love to us. Though we still were sinners, Christ died on our behalf.

5:9 πολλῶ οὖν μᾶλλον δικαιωθέντες νῦν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ σωθησόμεθα δι' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς. ³⁶

Much more surely having ~ then been justified now by his blood we will be saved through him from the wrath

5:10 εἰ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ ὄντες κατηλλάγημεν τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ,

For ~ if being enemies we were reconciled to God through the death of his son, much more surely

πολλῶ μᾶλλον καταλλαγέντες σωθησόμεθα ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ·

much more surely having been reconciled will we be saved in his life.

5:11 οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐν τῷ θεῷ

And ~ not only (so), but also boasting in God

διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δι' οὗ νῦν τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐλάβομεν·

through our Lord Jesus Christ through through whom now we received ~ reconciliation

³⁷ 5:20 νόμος δὲ παρεῖσθληεν, ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα: οὗ δὲ ἐπλεονασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία ὑπερεπερίσσευσεν ἡ χάρις, ³⁸

But ~ [the] law entered that offense ~ should increase, but ~ where sin ~ increased, grace ~ increased more

5:21 ἵνα ὡσπερ ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ,

That just as sin ~ reigned in death,

οὕτως καὶ ἡ χάρις βασιλεύσῃ διὰ δικαιοσύνης εἰς ζωὴν ³⁹ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ [τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν].

So also grace might reign righteousness in Life, through Jesus Christ [our Lord].

6:1 Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; ἐπιμένωμεν τῇ ἁμαρτία, ἵνα ἡ χάρις πλεονάσῃ;

What then will we say, should we continue in sin that grace may increase?

6:2 μὴ γένοιτο. οἵτινες ἀπεθάνομεν τῇ ἁμαρτία, πῶς ἔτι ζήσομεν ἐν αὐτῇ;

May it not be, we who died to sin, how still do we live in it?

6:3 ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν ⁴⁰ εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν;

³⁶ Verse 5:9 stands apart out from the surrounding verses of 5:6-8, 10-11 because it speaks of justification by Christ concept by his blood as expiation for sin, so intrudes upon the reconciliation is the theme. Blood expiation is not mentioned except in Colossians 1:20 for Marcion. Tertullian makes no pause here to mention it, which is not easily explained given his effort in AM 5 to show Paul's Christ was corporal.

³⁷ Origen Commentary on Romans, 5.6 (III, 119) *Si quidem, antequam lex per Moysen daretur, nemo peccasset, volentes accusare legem ex his apostoli verbis Marcion et ceteri haeretici occasionem capere viderentur, tamquam haec fuerit causa datae legis, ut peccatum, quod ante legem non fuerat, abundaret.* "If, before the law was given by Moses, nobody had really sinned, then Marcion and the heretics, which want to accuse the law, obviously would have cause for it due to these words of the Apostle. They could argue, the law had been therefore given, so that the sin, which was not yet there before the law, becomes powerful." This argues for exclusion of verses 5:12-19;

³⁸ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.10: *Lex autem ... subintroivit ut abundaret delictum ... ut superabundaret ... gratia.* Note, Tertullian appears to agree with the Vulgate reading *delictum* for *peccatum* but lacking Greek support I accept *ἀμαρτία* – sgw

³⁹ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.10: *ut ... regnaverat peccatum in mortem ita et gratia regnaret in iustitia in vitam per Iesum Christum.* Note, Tertullian deletes 'eternal' *aeternam*, restoring symmetry (reigned in death ... reign in life), so I delete *αἰώνιον* without mss support

⁴⁰ I follow p⁴⁶ B 1827 (also 104 326 460 1735 1837) in deleting *Ἰησοῦν* as this appears to be an orthodox corruption to counter Adoptionist

Or are you ignorant that, as many were baptized into Christ, into his death [they] were baptized?

6:4 συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον, ἵνα ὡσπερ ἠγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν,
Therefore ~ we were buried with him through the baptism into death, that just as was raised Christ from the
dead ones,

⁴¹ οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν.
so also we in newness of life may walk

6:5 εἰ γὰρ σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐσόμεθα·
For ~ if we have ~ grown together in the likeness of his death, yet [so] also of the (his) resurrection we shall
be

6:6 τοῦτο γινώσκοντες ὅτι ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος συνεσταυρώθη,
This knowing that our ~ old humanity was crucified with [him],
ἵνα καταργηθῇ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας, τοῦ μηκέτι δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ;
that may be made ineffective the body of sin, [that] no longer [should] we ~ serve sin

6:7 ὁ γὰρ ἀποθανὼν δεδικαίωται ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας.
For the one having died has been justified from sin

6:8 εἰ δὲ ἀπεθάναμεν σὺν Χριστῷ, πιστεύομεν ὅτι καὶ συζήσομεν αὐτῷ,
But ~ if we died with Christ, we believe that also we will live with him

6:9 εἰδότες ὅτι Χριστὸς ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν οὐκέτι ἀποθνήσκει, θάνατος αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι κυριεύει.
Knowing that Christ having been raised from the dead ones dies ~ no more, death Lords it over him no more

6:10 ὁ γὰρ ἀπέθαμεν, τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθαμεν ἐφάπαξ· ὁ δὲ ζῆ, ζῆ τῷ θεῷ.
For ~ that he died, to sin he died once, but ~ he lives, he lives to God

6:11 οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς λογίζεσθε ἑαυτοὺς [εἶναι] ⁴² νεκροὺς μὲν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ζῶντας δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.
And ~ so you account yourselves [to be] dead ones indeed to sin, but ~ living to God in Christ Jesus

6:12 μὴ οὖν βασιλεύτω ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ὑμῶν σώματι εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν αὐτῇ, ⁴³
Not therefore let reign sin in your ~ mortal bodies, so as to obey them

6:13 μηδὲ παριστάνετε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν ὄπλα ἀδικίας τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ,
Neither present the your ~ members [as] tools of unrighteousness to sin

ἀλλὰ παραστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ὡσεὶ ἐκ νεκρῶν ζῶντας καὶ τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν ὄπλα δικαιοσύνης τῷ θεῷ.
but present yourselves to God as from dead ones living and your members tools of righteousness to

God

6:14 ἁμαρτία γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐ κυριεύσει· οὐ γὰρ ἐστε ὑπὸ μόνον ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ χάριν. ⁴⁴
For ~ sin you will not lord it over, for ~ not you are under law but under grace

6:15 Τί οὖν; ἁμαρτήσωμεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐσμὲν ὑπὸ μόνον ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ χάριν; μὴ γένοιτο.

⁴¹ I believe διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρός 'through the glory of the father' intrudes on the comparison, was added to clarify God raised Christ

⁴² The best witnesses are evenly split on including (B x* C 1506 1739 1881 Ψ) and excluding (p⁴⁶ D* F G A 2344 33?) εἶναι and the verse is not recorded in anti-Marcionite literature, so lacking additional evidence I'll stick with the UBS and bracket it – Metzger doesn't comment.

⁴³ Possible Western Non-Interpolation p⁴⁶ D G it^{d*} g Speculum *al* read αὐτῇ 'them' for ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ 'their lust' read by B x A C* 1739 some others, later manuscripts conflated them. The Western reading IMO was the Marcionite the Alexandrian the Catholic addition

⁴⁴ Dialogue Admanatius 1.27, 820e but only in Rufinus, reading ἡμῶν 'us' for ὑμῶν 'you' (pl.) support from X* but this is clearly incorrect

What then, may we sin, because we are~ not under Law but under grace? May it not be.

6:16 οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ᾧ παριστάνετε ἑαυτοὺς δούλους εἰς ὑπακοήν, δοῦλοι ἐστε ᾧ ὑπακούετε,
Do you not know that to whom you present yourselves slaves for obedience, [his] slaves you are whom you obey

ἤτοι ἁμαρτίας εἰς θάνατον ἢ ὑπακοῆς εἰς δικαιοσύνην; ⁴⁵
whether sin [resulting] in death or obedience [resulting] in life

6:20 ὅτε γὰρ δοῦλοι ἦτε τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἐλεύθεροι τῆς τῆ δικαιοσύνης. ⁴⁶
For ~ when slaves you were of sin, free ones you were to righteousness

6:21 τίνα οὖν καρπὸν εἶχετε τότε; ἐφ' οἷς νῦν ἐπαισχύνεσθε, τὸ γὰρ τέλος ἐκείνων θάνατος. ⁴⁷
Therefore ~ what fruit had you then? Over which [things] now you are ashamed, for the result of those things [is] death.

7:1 Ἥ ἀγνοεῖτε, ἀδελφοί, γινώσκουσιν γὰρ μόνον λαλῶ,
Or are you ignorant brothers, for ~ to those knowing Law I speak

ὅτι ὁ νόμος κυριεύει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ζῆ;
that the Law lords it over the man over such time [as] he lives?

7:2 ἡ γὰρ ὑπανδρος γυνὴ τῷ ζῶντι ἀνδρὶ δέδεται νόμῳ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ,
For ~ the woman ~ married to the living husband has been bound by law; but ~ if dies the husband
κατήργηται ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀνδρός.
[she] has been released from the Law of the husband

7:3 ἄρα οὖν ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρός μοιχαλὶς χρηματίζει ἐὰν γένηται ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ·
So then [while] lives the husband an adulteress she will be called if [she] joins to another ~ husband
ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, τοῦ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὴν μοιχαλίδα γενομένην ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ.
but ~ if dies the husband, free [she] is from the Law, not is she an adulteress having been joined to another ~ husband

7:4 ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐθανατώθητε τῷ νόμῳ διὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
So that my brothers, also you were put to death to the law through the body of Christ
εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ἑτέρῳ· τῷ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερθέντι, ⁴⁸ ἵνα καρποφορήσωμεν τῷ θεῷ.
For you ~to be joined to another, the one from [the] dead ones having been raised, that we may bear fruit to

God

7:5 ὅτε γὰρ ἦμεν ἐν τῇ σαρκί, τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου ἐνηργεῖτο ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν,
For ~ when we were in the flesh, the passions of sins through the Law were working in our members,

εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ·
so as to bear fruit to death;

7:6 νυνὶ δὲ κατηργήθημεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἀποθανόντες ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα,
But ~ now we were released from the Law having died in (to that) which we were being held,

⁴⁵ I exclude verses 6:17-19 since they deal with obedience from the heart "committed to the pattern of teaching" which is clearly Pastoral, then to enslavement to righteousness, not freedom in righteousness, and to weakness of flesh, lawlessness and other Pastoral themes.

⁴⁶ Dialogue Admanatius 1.27, 820e

⁴⁷ I exclude verses 6:22-23 for much the same reason I excluded verses 6:17-19, alien concepts like free gift, wages of sin, eternal life

⁴⁸ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.12: "**Mortuos enim nos inquit legi.**" Ergo "**corpus Christi**"... "**ex mortuis resurrexisse**"

ὥστε δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐν καινότητι πνεύματοις καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γράμματοις.
so as to serve in newness of spirit and not in oldness of letter.

7:7 Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; ὁ νόμος ἁμαρτία; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ οἶδα εἰ μὴ διὰ νόμου· ⁴⁹
What then will we say? [Is] the law sin? May it never be! But sin I do not know except through law

τὴν ⁵⁰ γὰρ ἐπιθυμίαν οὐκ ᾔδειν εἰ μὴ ὁ νόμος ἔλεγεν, Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις. ⁵¹
For ~ coveting I was not knowing except the Law was saying, not shal you covet

7:8 ἀφορμὴν δέλαβοῦσα ἡ ἁμαρτία διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς ⁵²
Opportunity but having taken sin through the commandment

κατειργάσατο ἐν ἐμοὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν· χωρὶς γὰρ νόμου ἁμαρτία νεκρά.
produced in me every coveting; for ~ apart from the law sin [is] dead

7:9 ἐγὼ δὲ ἔζων χωρὶς νόμου ποτέ, ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς ἡ ἁμαρτία ἀνέζησεν,
And ~ I was living without Law once, but ~ having come (from) the commandment sin revived

7:10 ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπέθανον καὶ εὐρέθη μοι ἡ ἐντολὴ ἢ εἰς ζωὴν, αὕτη εἰς θάνατον·
but ~ I died, and was discovered by me the commandment for for life, this [was] for death

7:11 ἡ γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφορμὴν λαβοῦσα διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἐξηπάτησέν με καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἀπέκτεινεν.
For sin opportunity taking through the commandment deceived me and through it killed [me].

7:12 ὥστε ὁ μὲν νόμος ἅγιος καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ ἀθία καὶ δικαία καὶ ἀγαθή. ⁵³
So the law is holy and the commandment holy and just and good

7:13 Τὸ οὖν ἀγαθὸν ἐμοὶ ἐγένετο θάνατος; μὴ γένοιτο·
Then ~ the good to me became death? May it never be!

ἀλλὰ ἡ ἁμαρτία, ἵνα φανῇ ἁμαρτία, διὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μοι κατεργαζομένη θάνατον, ⁵⁴
But sin, that it may be shown [as] sin, through the good to me working death

ἵνα γένηται καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἁμαρτωλὸς ἡ ἁμαρτία διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς.
That ~ sin ~ might become exceedingly sinful through the commandment

7:14 οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὁ νόμος πνευματικός ἐστιν, ⁵⁵ ἐγὼ δὲ σάρκινός εἰμι πεπραμένος ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.
For ~ we know the law is spiritual but ~ I am ~ flesh having been sold under sin

7:15 ὁ γὰρ κατεργάζομαι οὐ γινώσκω· οὐ γὰρ ὁ θέλω τοῦτο πράσσω, ἀλλ' ὁ μισῶ τοῦτο ποιῶ.
For ~ what I work I do not know, for ~ not what I want this I do, but what I hate this I do

7:16 εἰ δὲ ὁ οὐ θέλω τοῦτο ποιῶ, σύμφημι τῷ νόμῳ ὅτι καλός.
But ~ if what not want this I do, I agree with the Law that [it is] good

7:17 νυνὶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγὼ κατεργάζομαι αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ ἡ οἰκοῦσα ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτία.
But ~ now I ~ no longer work it, rather the sin ~ dwelling in me

⁴⁹ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.13: "Quid ergo dicemus? quia lex peccatum? absit" ... "Sed ego delictum non scio nisi per legem" per Couch, Marcion reads οἶδα for ἔγνω Tertullian confirms Quid ergo dicemus? quia lex peccatum? absit. Erubescite, Marcion. Absit.

⁵⁰ F G 1506 omit τε as I do also, since this is a Lukan favorite word. The counter is τε was dropped as a Latinism by F G, however D reads it

⁵¹ I considered dropping this phrase as Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις is not in Marcion's reading of 13:9, but more likely 13:8 was a harmony, an addition given away by being the only οὐκ commandment while the rest are οὐ commandments, and the phrase is required by argument that follows.

⁵² Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.14: peccatum per praecepti occasionem = 'sin taking occasion by the commandment'

⁵³ Dialogue Adamantius 2.20, 870b, Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.14: Lex sancta, et praeceptum eius iustum et bonum. Eriphanius, Panarion 42: ὥστε ὁ μὲν νόμος ἅγιος καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ ἀθία καὶ δικαία καὶ ἀγαθή.

⁵⁴ Dialogue Adamantius 2.20, 870c

⁵⁵ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.13.15: Si autem et spiritalem confirmat legem

- 7:18 οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ οἰκεῖ ἐν ἐμοί, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου, ἀγαθόν·
For ~ I know that not dwells in me, that is in the flesh of me, [anything] good
τὸ γὰρ θέλειν παράκειται μοι, τὸ δὲ κατεργάζεσθαι τὸ καλὸν οὐ·
For ~ the to will is present with me, but to work the good [is] not
- 7:19 οὐ γὰρ ὃ θέλω ποιῶ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ ὃ οὐ θέλω κακὸν τοῦτο πράσσω.
For ~ not the ~ good I want to do, but what I do not want this ~ evil I practice
- 7:20 εἰ δὲ ὃ οὐ θέλω [ἐγὼ] τοῦτο ποιῶ, οὐκέτι ἐγὼ κατεργάζομαι αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ ἢ οἰκοῦσα ἐν ἐμοί ἀμαρτία.
But ~ if what I do not want I this do, I ~ no longer work it, rather the sin ~ dwelling in me
- 7:21 Εὐρίσκω ἄρα τὸν μόνον, τῷ θέλοντι ἐμοὶ ποιεῖν τὸ καλὸν, ὅτι ἐμοὶ τὸ κακὸν παράκειται·
I find then the Law, the one wanting me to do the good, [but] that to me the evil is present
- 7:22 συνήδομαι γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον,
For ~ I delight in the Law of God with respect to the inner man
- 7:23 βλέπω δὲ ἕτερον μόνον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου ἄντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου ⁵⁶
But ~ I see a different law in the members of me warring against the law of the mind of me
καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντά με ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἀμαρτίας τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου. ⁵⁷
And capturing me by the Law of sin being in my members
- 7:25(b) ἄρα οὖν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τῷ μὲν νοῷ δουλεύω νόμῳ θεοῦ τῇ δὲ σαρκὶ νόμῳ ἀμαρτίας. ⁵⁸
So then I ~ myself with one mind serve [the] Law of God, but the flesh [serves the] Law of sin
- 8:1 Οὐδὲν ἄρα νῦν κατάκριμα τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ·
Therefore [is] now ~ no ~ condemnation to those in Christ Jesus
- 8:2 ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
For~ the Law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus
ἠλευθέρωσέν σε ⁵⁹ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου.
freed you from the Law of sin and of death
- 8:3 τὸ γὰρ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου ἐν ᾧ ἠσθένει διὰ τῆς σαρκός,
For ~ what was impossible by Law, in that it was weak through the flesh
ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἀμαρτίας ⁶⁰
God his own son having sent in [the] likeness of flesh of sin
καὶ περὶ ἀμαρτίας κατέκρινεν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκί,
And concerning sin, he condemned the sin in the flesh

⁵⁶ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.1: **et illam fecit legem peccati habitantem in membris suis et adversantem legi sensus**

⁵⁷ The personal plea here draws comparison to **ρύσεται** in 2 Corinthians 1:10, and **ἐρρύσατο** in 2 Timothy 3:11, and also 4:17-18 which are all part of a later Catholic harmony of the Pauline letters with Acts, while 2 Peter 2:7 talks of God rescuing Lot; only **ἐρρύσατο** in Colossians 1:13 shares a semblance of the rescue theme of any parallel, but from the sons of darkness, not from a doomed physical body as in verse 7:24. The benediction in 7:25(a) is similarly intrusive upon the text, both deflect from the argument of death living in flesh, but life in spirit, so I exclude them. The concept of captured in 7:23 inspired the rescue theme (see Galatians 1:4), contra Marcion's usual sold-purchase motif as in 7:14.

⁵⁸ *Dialogue Adamantius* V.27 (866c-d) quotes apparently from Marcion's Apostolikon 7:25b-8:2 except **ἄρα γὰρ** for **ἄρα οὖν** - a reading I reject since it occurs nowhere, while **ἄρα οὖν** occurs 11 times in Paul, including several known Marcionite readings - as and I think it valid contra Clabeaux. Nothing would give Marcion pause in 7:21-8:9a, 10-11 so I have accepted it; 8.9b is addressed in a following footnote.

⁵⁹ Marcion (*Dialogue Adamantius* V.27) apparently read **ἡμᾶς** "us" supported by Ψ against **σε** "you" of the main recension B x 1739* (F G **σαι**) However the UBS is correct. Marcion's reading is a correction to **ἡμῖν** in verse 8:4, while the majority text corrected to **με** of 7:24

⁶⁰ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.1: **Hunc si pater misit in similitudinem carnis peccati**; typically Detering over reads **πατήρ** for **ὁ θεός**

- 8:4 ἵνα τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου πληρωθῇ ἐν ἡμῖν ⁶¹ τοῖς μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα.
That the just requirements of the law may be fulfilled in us, the ones not according to flesh walking but according to spirit
- 8:5 οἱ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς φρονοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος.
For ~ those according to flesh being [the] things of flesh think [about], but ~ those according to the spirit things of the spirit
- 8:6 τὸ γὰρ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς θάνατος, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος ζωὴ καὶ εἰρήνη·
For ~ the mind of the flesh [is] death, but ~ the mind of the spirit [is] life and peace
- 8:7 διότι τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν, τῷ γὰρ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐχ ὑποτάσσεται, οὐδὲ γὰρ δύναται·
Because the mind of the flesh [is] enmity toward God, for ~ the Law of God it is not subject, for ~ either can it be
- 8:8 οἱ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ὄντες θεῷ ἀρέσαι οὐ δύνανται. ⁶² 8:9(a) ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ἀλλὰ ἐν πνεύματι, ⁶³
But ~ those ~ being in the flesh ~ are not able to please God But ~ you are ~ not in [the] flesh but in spirit
- 8:10 (b) τὸ μὲν σῶμα νεκρὸν διὰ ἁμαρτίαν τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωὴ διὰ δικαιοσύνην. ⁶⁴
though ~ the body [is] dead because of sin, but ~ the spirit [is] life because of righteousness
- ⁶⁵ 8:11(b) ὁ ἐγείρας Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ζωοποιήσει καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν ⁶⁶
The one having raised Christ from dead ones will make alive also the mortal bodies of you
διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ὑμῖν.
Through indwelling his spirit in you
- 8:12 Ἄρα οὖν, ἀδελφεί, ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν οὐ τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆν,
So then brothers, debtors we are not to the flesh according to the flesh to live
- 8:13 εἰ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆτε, μέλλετε ἀποθνήσκειν· εἰ δὲ πνεύματι τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανατοῦτε, ζήσεσθε.
but ~if according to flesh you live, you will die; but ~if [by] spirit the practices of the body you put to death, you will live
- 8:14 ὅσοι γὰρ πνεύματι θεοῦ ἄγονται, οὗτοι υἱοὶ θεοῦ εἰσιν.
For ~ many by [the] spirit of God are led, these sons of God are.
- 8:15 οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον ἀλλὰ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας ἐν ᾧ κρᾶζομεν, Ἀββα ὁ πατήρ ⁶⁷
For ~ not you received a spirit of slavery again to fear, but you received a spirit of sonship in which we cry, "Abba" father

⁶¹ Eriphanius, Panarion 42: ἵνα τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου πληρωθῇ ἐν ἡμῖν.

⁶² Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.10.11: *qui autem in carne sunt Deo placere non possunt*

⁶³ An interpolation begins here defining the indwelling Spirit in polemic terms, intruding upon the argument flow of death in the flesh and life in the spirit and is part of the inheritance argument of 8:15b-18 and has the Spirit of the those not in Christ motif of later concern: I delete then εἴπερ πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν. εἰ δὲ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ. εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν,

⁶⁴ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.4: *Item si corpus quidem mortuum propter delictum, ... spiritus autem vita propter iustitiam*

⁶⁵ The initial phrase of this verse, εἰ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, was inserted by Catholic editor to change the certainty of being brought to life by making it dependent upon having the right spirit, a Lukan theme.

⁶⁶ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.5: *Qui suscitavit Christum a mortuis, vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra*

⁶⁷ Verses 8:16-17 appear to be an interpolation concerning the inheritance motif of the Catholic editor. These verses are splattered with Pastoral compound words carrying Catholic motifs such as *συμμαρτυρεῖ* 'bearing witness,' *συγκληρονόμοι* 'co-heirs,' *συμπάσχομεν* 'we suffer with,' *συνδοξασθῶμεν* 'we may be glorified with,' and borrowed themes from elsewhere, e.g. "children of God" and *κρᾶζομεν* borrowed from Galatians 4:5 but changed from the Spirit crying out to us as a plea, showing its secondary nature, as also for *ἐν ᾧ κρᾶζομεν, Ἀββα ὁ πατήρ*.

- 8:19 ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαταδοκία τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται.
For ~ the anxious expectation of the creation the unveiling the sons of God is eagerly expecting
- 8:20 τῆ γὰρ ματαιότητι ἡ κτίσις ὑπετάγη, οὐχ ἐκούσα ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα ⁶⁸
For ~ to vanity the creation was subjected, not willing, but by way of the one having subjected [it]
- 8:22 οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν·
For ~ we know that all the creation groans together and travails in birth pain together until now
- 8:23(a) οὐ μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες,
And ~ not only [so], but also ourselves the first fruits of the spirit having
- ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, ⁶⁹
We also ourselves in ourselves groan eagerly expecting ~ sonship
- 8:33 τίς ἐγκαλέσει κατὰ ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ; ⁷⁰ θεὸς ὁ δικαιοῶν·
Who will bring a charge against the chosen of God? God is the one justifying
- 8:36(b) Ἔνεκεν σοῦ θανατούμεθα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, ⁷¹
For the sake of you we are being put to death all the day
- 9:30 Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν;
What shall we say?
- ὅτι ἔθνη ⁷² τὰ μὴ διώκοντα δικαιοσύνην κατέλαβεν δικαιοσύνην, δικαιοσύνην δὲ τὴν ἐκ πίστεως,
That those not pursuing righteousness attained righteousness, rather a righteousness by faith;
- 9:31 Ἰσραὴλ δὲ διώκων μόνον δικαιοσύνης εἰς μόνον οὐκ ἔθασεν.
But Israel pursuing a righteousness of Law did not arrive at [the] Law
- 9:32 διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ ἔργων· προσέκοψαν τῷ λίθῳ τοῦ προσκόμματος,
Why? Because it was not by faith, but as by works; they stumbled (over) the stone of stumbling
- 10:2 μαρτυρῶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὅτι ζήλον θεοῦ ἔχουσιν ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν· ⁷³
For ~ I bear witness to them that zeal for God they have, but not according to knowledge
- 10:3 ἀγνοοῦντες γὰρ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν [δικαιοσύνην] ⁷⁴ ζητοῦντες στήσαι,
For ~ being ignorant of the righteousness ~ of God, and their own [righteousness] seeking to establish
- τῆ δικαιοσύνη τοῦ θεοῦ οὐχ ὑπετάγησαν·
To the righteousness of God they did not submit
- 10:4 τέλος γὰρ νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι. ⁷⁵

⁶⁸After much struggle with my own dissection of verses 8:18-25 I concluded that Herman Detering's analysis of Origin and Hippolytus commentaries concerning Balisedes (http://www.radikalkritik.de/Roemerbrief_1b.pdf #58) is probably correct, that verses 8:19-20a, 22 were present and verse 8:21 was added to conform to Catholic expectation, creating a bit of a mess. So 8:15b-18 were added, hope and glory are a Catholic themes. This results in a series of "γὰρ" verses: 13 εἰ γὰρ, 14 ὅσοι γὰρ, 15 οὐ γὰρ, 19 ἡ γὰρ, 20 τῆ γὰρ, 22 οἶδαμεν γὰρ

⁶⁹The last phrase of the verse τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν was probably added for Catholic exegesis, ἀπολύτρωσιν is elsewhere associated with expiation of Christ's blood for the forgiveness of sin (Romans 3:24, 1 Corinthians 1:30, Ephesians 1:7, 14, 4:30, Colossians 1:14, Hebrews 9:15, 11:35, the word never occurs in Marcion

⁷⁰Eriphanius, Panarion 42: τίς ἐγκαλέσει κατὰ ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ

⁷¹Dialogue Adamantius 1.21, 817a, we are informed by Megathius that Paul (of Marcion) never explicitly quotes the OT immediately following this verses quotation, so I feel fairly secure deleting καθὼς γέγραπται ὅτι despite a lack of support, I keep only the first phrase

⁷²As in verse 2:14 I think originally οὗτοι may have stood in place of ἔθνη before the Catholic revision of Marcion's Gospel

⁷³Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.6 for verse 10:2-4: sed apprehendo *testimonium perhibentem* apostolum Israeli, 'quod zelum dei habeant,' sui utique, 'non tamen per scientiam.' Deum enim, inquit, 'ignorantes, et suam iustitiam sistere quaerentes, non subiecerunt se iustitiae dei; finis etenim legis Christus in iustitia[m] omni credenti.'

⁷⁴Tertullian's reading appears to favor including δικαιοσύνην in agreement with p⁴⁶ F G and most mss, against B A D P 1739 365 1506, but I think this is not secure, and may only point to the early variance of adding the word

For ~ end of law Christ [is] [resulting] in righteousness to everyone believing

11:33 Ὡ βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας θεοῦ· ⁷⁶ ὡς ἀνεξεραύνητα ⁷⁷ αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ.

O [the] depth of riches and of wisdom of God; How unsearchable the ways of him

11:34 Τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου; ἢ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο; ⁷⁸

For ~ who knew [the] mind of [the] Lord? Or who became his counselor?

11:35 ἢ τίς προέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ;

Or who previously gave to him, and will be repaid to him?

⁷⁹ 12:4 καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι πολλὰ μέλη ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ μέλη πάντα οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει πρᾶξιν. ⁸⁰

For ~ as in one body many members we have, the and members all not the same have action

12:5 οὕτως οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν σώμα ἔσμεν ἐν Χριστῷ, τὸ δὲ καθ' εἷς ἀλλήλων μέλη.

So [we] the many are ~ one body in Christ, and each one members ~ of one another

12:6 ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα, εἴτε προφητείαν ἐν τῇ προφητεία, ⁸¹

And ~ having gifts according to the grace having been given to us differing, whether prophecy (in the prophesizing)

12:7 εἴτε διακονίαν ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ, εἴτε ὁ διδάσκων ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ,

Or ministry in the ministry or the one teaching in teaching

12:8 εἴτε ὁ παρακαλῶν ἐν τῇ παρακλήσει· ὁ μεταδιδούς ἐν ἀπλότητι, ὁ ἐλεῶν ἐν ἰλαρότητι. ⁸²

Or the one encouraging in the encouragement, the one contributing with generosity, the one merciful in cheerfulness

12:9(b) Ἀποστυγοῦντες τὸ πονηρὸν, κολλώμενοι τῷ ἀγαθῷ, ⁸³

Abhorring the evil, clinging to the good

12:10 τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι, ⁸⁴ τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι,

With brotherly love to one another affectionately in honoring one another leading [the way]

12:11 (b) τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες, τῷ καιρῷ δουλεύοντες, ⁸⁵ 12:12 (a) τῇ ἐλπίδι χαίροντες, τῇ θλίψει ὑπομένοντες, ⁸⁶

⁷⁵ Eriphanius, Panarion 42: τέλος γὰρ νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι.

⁷⁶ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.9: **O profundum divitiarum et sapientiae dei, et investigabiles viae eius!** and 5.14.10 **O profundum divitiarum et sapientiae dei** again delting **et scientiae** (καὶ γνώσεως); structurally this is clearly an addition though lacks support

⁷⁷ Tertullian deletes τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι reading ὡς ἀνεξεραύνητα αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ for Marcion (correct)

⁷⁸ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.10: thus Isaiah xl.3 was present (and he asks why it wasn't erased) *Id Esaias*: ... 'Quis enim cognovit sensum domini, aut quis consiliarius eius fuit? quis porrexit ei, et retribuetur illi?' *Qui tanta de scripturis ademisti, quid ista servasti*

⁷⁹ The terminology in verses 12:1-3 includes Pastoral and Lukan themes (σωφρονεῖν "sober-minded", μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰσῶνι τούτῳ "do not conform to this age", θυσίαν ζῶσαν ἁγίαν εὐάρεστον "living sacrifice, holy, well-pleasing", τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ "the will of God", ἐμέρισεν μέτρον πίστεως "apportioned measures of faith" and λογικὴν λατρείαν "spiritual service") that are not developed in subsequent material, so I delete as a Pastoral layer for these verses. This follows Detering's similar reasoned exclusion of Galatians 1:4-5 from Marcion.

⁸⁰ Winsome Monroe, *Authority in Paul and Peter*, pp 56-67, identifies verse 12:4-8, 11b-12b, 13:11-14 as an original pre-pastoral structure, the presence, in Marcion of 12:9-19, 13:8b-10 shows this structure was modified long before the Pastoral elements of 13:1-7 and editing occurred

⁸¹ Winsome Monroe, *Authority in Paul and Peter*, speculates κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως replaced ἐν τῇ προφητεία which I show here

⁸² Winsome Monroe, *Authority in Paul and Peter*, points out ὁ προϊστάμενος ἐν σπουδῇ does not fit structurally, as I follow here by deleting

⁸³ Tertullian, *A. M.* 5.14.11: **Odio, inquit, habentes malum, et bono adhaerentes** = ἀποστυγοῦντες τὸ πονηρὸν, κολλώμενοι τῷ ἀγαθῷ, with no mention of avenging, leading me to conclude the first part of the verse Ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος was added later, part of the Pastoral layer.

⁸⁴ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.11: **Amore fraternitatis invicem affectuosi** = τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι

- In Spirit burning, in the time serving, in hope rejoicing, in tribulation enduring,
- 12:14(b) ⁸⁷ εὐλογεῖτε καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθε. ⁸⁸ 12:15 χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων, κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων. ⁸⁹
 Bless and do not curse rejoice with rejoicing ones, weep with weeping ones
- ⁹⁰ 12:16(b) μὴ τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονοῦντες ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπαγόμενοι. μὴ γίνεσθε φρόνιμοι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς. ⁹¹
 Not the high things minding, but to the humble things submit to, do not become wise in yourself
- 12:17 μηδενὶ κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδιδόντες, ⁹² προνοοῦμενοι καλὰ ἐνώπιον πάντων ἀνθρώπων·
 To no one evil against evil returning Taking forethought good things before all men
- 12:19 (a) μὴ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδικοῦντες, ⁹³ 12:18 εἰ δυνατόν τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνεύοντες· ⁹⁴
 Not taking vengeance ~ yourself If possible as to from yourself, with all men living in peace
- 12:21 μὴ νικῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀλλὰ νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν.
 Be not conquered by the evil, but conquer the evil ~ with the good
- 13:8(b) Ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν τὸν πλησίον μόνον πεπλήρωκεν. ⁹⁵
 for ~ the one loving the neighbor fulfills ~ [the] law
- 13:9 τὸ γὰρ Οὐ φονεύσεις, Οὐ μοιχεύσεις, Οὐ κλέψεις, ⁹⁶
 For you shall not commit adultery, you shall not murder, you shall not steal,
 καὶ εἰ τις ἕτερα ἐντολή, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. ⁹⁷
 And if any other commandment, in this ~ word it is summed up, you shall love your ~ neighbor as yourself
- 13:10 ἡ ἀγάπη τῷ πλησίον κακὸν οὐκ ἔργάζεται· πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη. ⁹⁸
 The love to the neighbor, evil does not work; [is] a fulfillment therefore of law love
- 13:11 Καὶ τοῦτο εἰδότες τὸν καιρὸν, ὅτι ὥρα ἤδη ὑμᾶς ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθῆναι, ⁹⁹
 And this, knowing the time, that [the] hour already [is] for you out of sleep to be awakened

⁸⁵ Winsome Monroe, *Authority in Paul and Peter*, pp 62-63, identifies verse 12:11b-12a as part of an earlier structure noted above; I make one speculative adjustment, καιρῷ for κυρίῳ (support D* F G 5 it^{d*}.^g Origin^{lat} Cyprian Ambrosiaster Jerome *al*) as this reading makes sense on multiple points; first in the original structure the next two statements find parallels (“in spirit burning ... in hope rejoicing” and “in time serving ... in tribulation enduring”) both which are temporal focused; and καιρῷ immediately precedes καιρὸν in verse 13:11 providing conclusion

⁸⁶ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.11: **Spe gaudentes ... Pressuram sustinentes**. Not only is προσευχῇ προσκαρτεροῦντες not attested by Marcion, Winsome Monroe demonstrates that this phrase is part of some Pastoral strata, pp 62-63, note 114, *Authority in Paul and Peter*

⁸⁷ I omit the first clause εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας ὑμᾶς as do Western witnesses F G, while D appends, and B p⁴⁶ 1739 6 424^C 2147 Clement *Stromata* iv.99.2 omit ὑμᾶς indicating considerable instability in the clause. Monroe’s blanket exclusion of 12:9-21, 13:8-10 as Pastoral is weakened without this phrase. The verses attested in Marcion are more Pacifist than the Subjagationist material overlaid it.

⁸⁸ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.11: **Benedicite, et nolite maledicere**

⁸⁹ The poetic form of 12:15 convinces me it was part of the inserted material in the early structure Monroe identified, as a μετὰ pair

⁹⁰ The phrase τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς ἀλλήλους φρονοῦντες is a bridge along with Μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετε εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν sandwiching the secondary pre-Marcionite inserts. The material before this, 12:9b, 12:12b-14a, along with 12:19b-21 is a third Pastoral layering

⁹¹ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.12: **Non altum sapientes, sed humilibus assentantes, ne sitis apud vos sapientes**

⁹² Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.12: **Malum pro malo nemini retribuieritis**

⁹³ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.12: **Nec vosmet ipsos ulciscentes**

⁹⁴ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.13: **Pacem cum omnibus hominibus habetote**

⁹⁵ Epiphanius, Panarion 42: Ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν τὸν πλησίον μόνον πεπλήρωκεν - note πλησίον for ἕτερον as in ms 1735, also Galatians 5:14

⁹⁶ Dialogue Adamantius greek deletes Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις in agreement with Clement *Stromata* IV.10.2 and 1734, but the order is Οὐ φονεύσεις, Οὐ κλέψεις, Οὐ μοιχεύσεις while Rufinus order is **Non occides, non adulterabis, non furaberis** and he adds false testimony and honoring Father and Mother, all later additions. I think all these might be just a local variation in Adamantius

⁹⁷ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.13: **principali praecepto eius conclusit: Diliges proximum tanquam te**

⁹⁸ Dialogue Adamantius 2.17, 831e, Romans 13:9-10, 'you shall not murder, you shall not commit adultery, you shall not steal, and if there be any other commandment, it is comprised (ἀνακεφαλαιοῦμενον) in this word: you shall love your neighbor as yourself. Love works no evil to one’s neighbor. Love therefore is the fulfillment of the Law.

⁹⁹ Winsome Monroe, *Authority in Paul and Peter*, pp 56-67, identifies 13:11-14 as an original pre-pastoral structure, so followed here

νῦν γὰρ ἐγγύτερον ἡμῶν ἢ σωτηρία ἢ ὅτε ἐπιστεύσαμεν.
For ~ now [is] nearer our salvation than when we believed

13:12 ἡ νύξ προέκοψεν ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἤγγικεν.
The night [has] advanced and ~ the day has drawn near.

ἀποθώμεθα οὖν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκότους, ἐνδύσώμεθα δὲ τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ φωτός. ¹⁰⁰
Let us put away therefore the works of the darkness, and ~ let us put on the weapons of light.

13:13 ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ εὐσχημόνως περιπατήσωμεν, μὴ κόμοις καὶ μέθαις, μὴ κοίταις καὶ ἀσελγείαις, μὴ ἔριδι καὶ ζήλῳ,
As in [the] day uprightly let us walk, not in orgies and drunkenness, not in immorality and debauchery, not in strife and jealousy

13:14 ἀλλὰ ἐνδύσασθε τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς πρόνοιαν μὴ ποιεῖσθε εἰς ἐπιθυμίας. ¹⁰¹
But put on the Lord Jesus Christ and the flesh forthought do not give for [its] lusts.

¹⁰² 14:10(b) πάντες γὰρ παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ¹⁰³
For ~ all will stand before the judgment seat of Christ,

14:12 ἄρα ἕκαστος ἡμῶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δώσει. ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵
So each one of us concerning himself will give ~ account

[[16:24 ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.]] ¹⁰⁶
[[The grace of the lord be with all of you]]

¹⁰⁰ Monroe includes δε to fit the pre-pastoral structure, with support from B A C* D P 1739 330 1506 1881 Clement

¹⁰¹ Verses 14:1-3 parallel 1 Corinthians 13:7-13 which concerns Valentinian (the strong, “valens” and weak ἀσθενοῦντα) comes from the same strata, long after Marcion. Verses 14:4-6 extend the theme of judgement within the Christian community by different sects. Verse 4:6 is made clear about those not eating μὴ ἐσθίων and those eating are to the lord, so its Christain versus Christian, a condition that would not exists until well after Marcion, and it looks very much like the gnostic controversy. Verse 4:10(a) recapitulates the insertions of 4:1-9

¹⁰² Verses 14:7-9 intrude upon the eating and drinking them, include unique ἐὰν τε construction, and the Catholic theme of Christ as ruler/Lord of the living and the dead, found only outside the Apostolikon except here, namely Acts 10:42, 2 Timothy 4:1, 1 Peter 4:5, Revelation 11:18, 20:12-13 where the concept is tied to the judgement to be carried out on the dead as well as the living. These verses adjust the reading of 14:10.

¹⁰³ Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.14: **Bene autem quod et in clausula tribunal Christi comminatur** reports Marcion with "Christ" XY for "God" ΘΥ (note B κ* A C* D F G 1506 1739 read "God", all others agree with Marcion). But the UBS is correct, the original was "God." Marcion is amongst the oldest witnesses for the harmony to 2 Corinthians 5:10

¹⁰⁴ The addition of τῷ θεῷ 'to God' by most witnesses who lack "God" ΘΥ (p⁴⁶ B F^C G 1739) in 14:10 shows the relationship of these two variants. The common reason for reading 'God' in either case is the insertion of Isaiah 45:23 by the proto-Orthodox redactor. Scribes wanted to show that God was the judge, some retaining Christ as the one sitting in the judgment seat with God the one to answer to, but most replacing Christ with God as the one sitting in the judgment seat. This change has no impact for the Marcion but is significant to the proto-Orthodox.

¹⁰⁵ Compare 1 Corinthians 8:7-13 with Romans 14:13-23, which has Valentinian controversy in mind (see Irenaeus AH 1.6.3). This is also wrapped up in the Catholic theme of judgement, from a later time.

¹⁰⁶ Only F G OL:f,g support this reading. Other Western and miniscules support with Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ added. This is very weak, but since G does not ever write, despite space after 14:23 for verses 16:25-27, I think it's worth considering. This is not a special letter in the Marcionite Apostolikon, so the long ending makes no sense, and instead a Marcionite ending is more probable. It is possible there was no ending, hence the double brackets.

Marcionite Philippians Interliner

Reconstruction by Stuart G. Waugh

18 August, 2013

- 1:1 Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ [καὶ Ἐπαφρόδιτος ὁ ἀδελφός] πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Φιλίπποις·¹
Paul an apostle of Christ Jesus and [the brother Epaphroditus]: to all the saints, those being in Philippi.
- 1:2 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.²
Grace to you and peace from God the father of our lord Jesus Christ.
- 1:3 Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνηεῖα ὑμῶν
I give thanks to my God at every remembrance of you.
- 1:4 πάντοτε ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν, μετὰ χαρᾶς τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος,
always in all my prayers on behalf of all of you, with joy making the prayers,
- 1:5 ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν.³
at your partaking in the gospel from the first day until now.
- 1:12 Γινώσκεις δὲ ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ μᾶλλον εἰς προκοπὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐλήλυθεν,
But I want (will) you to know, brothers, that due to my situation greater progress for the gospel has come,
- 1:13 ὥστε τοὺς δεσμούς μου φανεροὺς ἐν Χριστῷ γενέσθαι πᾶσιν,⁴
so that my imprisonment manifest in Christ became known to all,
- 1:14 καὶ τοὺς πλείονας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν κυρίῳ πεπειθότας τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου
and many of the brothers, persuaded in the lord (by) my imprisonment,
περισσότερως τολμᾶν ἀφόβως τὸν λόγον λαλεῖν.
more boldly (and) without fear speak the word.
- 1:15 Τινὲς μὲν καὶ διὰ φθόνον καὶ ἔριν, τινὲς δὲ καὶ δι' εὐδοκίαν τὸν Χριστὸν κηρύσσουν·
Some indeed also because of envy and strife, but some because of good will (choice) proclaim the Christ;
- 1:16 οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἀγάπης,⁵
the latter out of love,
- 1:17 οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἐριθίας τὸν Χριστὸν καταγγέλλουσιν, οὐχ ἄγνῳς, οἰόμενοι θλίψιν ἐγείρειν τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου.⁶
but those out of intrigue proclaim Christ, not from purity, thinking to cause distress in my imprisonment.

¹ The Marcionite greetings and endings were rather simple and standard in the Apostolikon. The Catholic editor substituted καὶ Τιμόθεος δοῦλοι for ἀπόστολος of in order to elevate Timothy to an equal with Paul and promote the Pastoral Epistles to Timothy. The addition of bishops and ministers σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνις (plural no less) show the church was much larger and more hierarchical when the Catholic editor wrote. These positions were of concern in the Pastoral letters. ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ was a superfluous pious addition to ἀγίοις. The Latin Marcionite prologue states the letter is send through Epaphroditus *per Epaphroditum* which suggests it may have read καὶ Ἐπαφρόδιτος ὁ ἀδελφός after Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ rather than καὶ Τιμόθεος δοῦλοι before those words, and his name was moved by the Catholic editor to 2:25. The evidence is rather weak, as we have no way to ascertain the level of revision which the prologues underwent before they were discovered. There I enclosed the words in brackets as uncertain.

² AM 5.5.2 Haec cum "a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu" annuntians communibus nominibus utatur

³ The Latin Marcionite prologue includes *hi accepto verbo veritatis persteterunt in fide* "They persisted in the faith after the word of truth was accepted" which along with *hos apostolus conlaudat* "The apostle praises them" supports the presence of verse 1:5-6

⁴ The phrase ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς was added to show that Christianity reached into the household of Caesar, as with 4:2-3, 23 where the late 2nd or early 3rd century mythical legend of Flavius Clemens (52-95 CE) who lived long after the Paul of Acts. Also the writer appears to have taken Paul's imprisonment literally and in Rome much like the writer of the Marcionite Latin Prologue

⁵ The phrase εἰδότες ὅτι εἰς ἀπολογία τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ κεῖμαι was added by the Catholic editor after Apologies like Justin's appeared

⁶ Tertullian paraphrases verses 1:14-17 in AM 5.20.1 *quod alii ex fiducia vinculorum eius audentius sermonem enuntiant, alii per invidiam et contentionem, quidam vero et per sermonis existimationem, plerique ex dilectione, nonnulli ex aemulatione, iam aliqui et ex similitate Christum praedicant*. Additionally the Marcionite prologue mentions Paul's imprisonment *scribens eis a Roma de carcere* although there is the suggestion from the wording he is in the Mamertine prison known simply as *carcere*.

- 1:18 **τί γάρ;** πλὴν ὅτι παντὶ τρόπῳ, εἴτε προφάσει εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ, Χριστὸς καταγγέλλεται, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χαίρω. ⁷
For what? But that in every way, whether in pretext or in truth, Christ is proclaimed, and in this I rejoice;
ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρήσομαι,
but also I rejoice.
- 1:19 οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν
For I know that this for me will result for my deliverance (salvation)
διὰ τῆς ὑμῶν δεήσεως καὶ ἐπιχορηγίας τοῦ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
through your prayers and supplying of the spirit of Jesus Christ
- 1:20 κατὰ τὴν ἀποκαραδοκίαν καὶ ἐλπίδα μου, ὅτι ἐν οὐδενὶ αἰσχυνθήσομαι
according to my earnest expectation and hope, that in nothing I will be shamed
ἀλλ' ἐν πάσῃ παρρησίᾳ ὡς πάντοτε καὶ νῦν μεγαλυνθήσεται Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ σώματί μου,
but in all confidence as always and now Christ will be magnified in my body,
εἴτε διὰ ζωῆς εἴτε διὰ θανάτου.
whether through life or through death.
- 1:21 ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος. ⁸
For me living [is] Christ and dying is gain.
- 1:22 εἰ δὲ τὸ ζῆν ἐν σαρκί, τοῦτό μοι καρπὸς ἔργου, καὶ τί αἰρήσομαι οὐ γνωρίζω.
But if living in the flesh, this for me is the fruit of labor, and what I will choose I do not know.
- 1:23 συνέχομαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν δύο, τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι καὶ σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι,
But I am pressed together from both, having the desire to depart and be with Christ,
πολλῷ [γὰρ] μᾶλλον κρεῖσσον,
[for] this is very much better.
- 1:24 τὸ δὲ ἐπιμένειν τῇ σαρκὶ ἀναγκαιότερον δι' ὑμᾶς.
But to remain [in] the flesh is necessary on account of you.
- 1:25 καὶ τοῦτο πεπειθῶς οἶδα ὅτι μενῶ καὶ παραμενῶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν προκοπὴν καὶ χαρὰν τῆς πίστεως,
And this I am persuaded I know that I will stay and continue for all you for your progress and joy of the faith.
- ⁹ 1:29 ὅτι ὑμῖν ἐχαρίσθη τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, οὐ μόνον τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν,
Because you were granted this on behalf of Christ, not only this faith in him, but also to suffer on his behalf,
- 1:30 τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες οἷον εἶδετε ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ νῦν ἀκούετε ἐν ἐμοί.
the same struggle you have which you saw in me and now hear about me.
- 2:1 Εἴ τις οὖν παράκλησις ἐν Χριστῷ, εἴ τι παραμύθιον ἀγάπης,
Therefore, if any encouragement in Christ, if any consolation of love,
εἴ τις κοινωνία πνεύματος, εἴ τις σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοί,
if any fellowship of the spirit, if any affection and compassion,
- 2:2 πληρώσατέ μου τὴν χαρὰν ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ φρονῆτε, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγάπην ἔχοντες, σύνψυχοι, τὸ ἐν φρονοῦντες,
it makes my joy complete that you think the same thing, have the same love, joined in soul thinking as one,
- 2:3 μηδὲν κατ' ἐριθίαν μηδὲ κατὰ κενοδοξίαν
[doing] nothing according to rivalry, nothing according to empty conceit,

⁷ The Catholic editor added the phrase *εἰδότες ὅτι εἰς ἀπολογίαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου κεῖμαι*. This implies an existing corpus. The rest of verse 1:18 is attested in AM 5.20.1 *Nihil mea, inquit, sive causatione sive veritate Christus annuntietur*.

⁸ The loss and gain parallels verses 3:7-8 attested in AM 5.20.6, which vouchsafes its presence.

⁹ Verses 1:26-28 were added by later and betray that Paul has left the scene using the *παρουσίας* to describe Paul's future return. Verse 1:28 includes 'damnation' *ἀπωλείας* but Marcion's Paul uses *ὄλεθρον* (1 Corinthians 5:5, 1 Thessalonians 5:3, 2 Thessalonians 1:9)

ἀλλὰ τῆ ταπεινοφροσύνη ἀλλήλους ἡγούμενοι ὑπερέχοντας ἑαυτῶν,
but in humility esteeming one another above themselves,

2:4 μὴ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι σκοποῦντες ἀλλὰ [καὶ] τὰ ἐτέρων ἕκαστοι.
not everyone looking at things for themselves but [also] looking at things for others.

2:5 τοῦτο φρονεῖτε ἐν ὑμῖν ὃ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ,
[Let] this thinking be in you which was also in Christ Jesus

2:6 ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ,
who ~existing in the form of God, did not regard to be equal with God a thing to grasp,

2:7 ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπου· καὶ σχήματι εὔρεθεις ὡς ἄνθρωπος
but poured himself out taking the form of a slave, in the likeness of man; and found in the appearance of a man

¹⁰ 2:8 ἐταπεινώσεν ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ. ¹¹
He humbled himself becoming obedient unto death, and a death by cross.

¹² 3:3 ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐσμὲν ἡ περιτομή, οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύοντες
For we are the true circumcision, who sacrifice to the spirit of God
καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ πεποιθότες,
and glory in Christ Jesus and have no confidence in the flesh.

3:4 καίπερ ἐγὼ ἔχων πεποιθήσιν καὶ ἐν σαρκί. Εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἄλλος πεποιθέναι ἐν σαρκί, ἐγὼ μᾶλλον·
even though I could have confidence in the flesh; if any others have confidence in the flesh, I have more;

3:5 σημεῖον περιτομῆς, ἐκ γένους Ἰσραὴλ, φυλῆς Βενιαμὴν, Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων, κατὰ νόμον Φαρισαῖος,
The mark of circumcision, by race of Israel, tribe Benjamin, Hebrew of Hebrews, according to law a Pharisee,

3:7 [ἀλλὰ] ἅτινα ἦν μοι κέρδη, ταῦτα ἡγήμαι διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ζημίαν.
[but] what things were gain to me, these things I account through Christ a loss.

3:8 ἀλλὰ μὲνοῦνγε καὶ ἡγοῦμαι πάντα ζημίαν εἶναι ¹³
But even more so I consider all things to be a loss

Διὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς γνώσεως Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μου,
on account of the excellence of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my lord,

δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα ἐζημιώθην, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι σκύβαλα, ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω ¹⁴
on account of all things I suffered loss, and I consider them garbage, that I may gain Christ

3:9 καὶ εὔρεθῶ ἐν αὐτῷ, μὴ ἔχων ἐμὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ νόμου ἀλλὰ τὴν διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ,
be found with him, not having my own righteousness from the law but through faith in Christ,

τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει, ¹⁵

¹⁰ Tertullian paraphrases verses 2:6-7 in AM5.20.3 *cum dicit quod in effigie dei constitutus non rapinam existimavit paritari deo, sed exhausit semetipsum accepta effigie servi, non veritate, et in similitudine hominis, non in homine, et figura inventus homo, non substantia, id est non carne.* Clabeaux thinks Tertullian reads ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν (*cum dicit quod* for *qui cum* of the vulgate) but I just think it only Tertullian's loose phrasing. The one correct variant is ἀνθρώπου for ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος with p46 syr^J cop Origen

¹¹ Tertullian discusses verse 2:8 in AM5.20.5 *Sic et deus inventus est per virtutem, sicut homo per carnem, quia nec morti subditum pronuntiasset non in substantia mortali constitutum. Plus est autem quod adiecit, Et mortem crucis.*

¹² Verses 2:9-3:2 were inserted by the Catholic editor to match his theology of adoption and obedience, and also to bolster the Timothy and Ephraoditus legends

¹³ AM 5.20.5 *Quae autem retro lucri duxerat, quae et supra numerat, gloriam carnis, notam circumcisionis, generis Hebraei ex Hebraeo censum, titulum tribus Benjamin, pharisaeae candidae dignitatem, haec modo detrimento sibi deputat, non deum, sed stuporem, Iudaeorum.* This attests 3:4 but not the phrase Εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἄλλος πεποιθέναι ἐν σαρκί, ἐγὼ μᾶλλον, which has to be considered suspect on the grounds that Paul is only speaking about himself. However it explains the otherwise inexplicable digression into his ethnic tribe which Tertullian confirms. Verse 3:6 is apparently missing to Tertullian, and conforms to Acts 7:58-8:3, 9:1-2, 21. I make only on change to the wording in 3:5 – σημεῖον περιτομῆς for περιτομῆ ὀκταήμερος on *notam circumcisionis*

¹⁴ AM 5.20.6 *Haec ac si stercora existimat prae comparatione agnitionis Christi*

¹⁵ AM 5.20.6 *habens iustitiam non suam iam quae ex lege, sed quae per ipsum, scilicet Christum, ex deo*

- the righteousness of God upon the faith,
- 3:10 τοῦ γινῶναι αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ [καὶ] κοινωνίαν [τῶν] παθημάτων αὐτοῦ,
knowing him and the power of his resurrection [and] fellowship of his suffering,
συμμορφιζόμενος τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ,
being conformed to his death,
- 3:11 εἴ πως καταντήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν.
if somehow I may obtain the resurrection from the dead.
- 3:12 Οὐχ ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον ἢ ἤδη τετελείωμαι, διώκω δὲ εἰ καὶ καταλάβω,
Not that I obtained or have already been perfected, but I desire if indeed I may grasp,
ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ κατελήμφθην ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ [Ἰησοῦ].
that for which also I was grasped by Christ [Jesus].
- 3:13 ἀδελφοί, ἐγὼ ἐμαυτὸν οὐπω λογίζομαι κατειληφέναι·
Brothers, I do not consider myself to have grasped;
ἐν δέ, τὰ μὲν ὀπίσω ἐπιλανθανόμενος τοῖς δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος,
but one thing, forgetting the things behind and reaching out for the those things before,
- 3:14 κατὰ σκοπὸν διώκω εἰς τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς ἄνω κλήσεως τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.
According to the goal for pursuing the prize called up from God in Christ Jesus.
- 3:15 Ὅσοι οὖν τέλειοι, τοῦτο φρονῶμεν· καὶ εἴ τι ἐτέρως φρονεῖτε, καὶ τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἀποκαλύψει· ¹⁶
Therefore as far as perfection, this is known; also if things are known otherwise, this also God will reveal to you
- 3:16 πλὴν εἰς ὃ ἐφθάσαμεν, τῷ αὐτῷ στοιχεῖν.
however into which we attained, let us walk the same.
- 3:17 Συνμιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, ἀδελφοί, καὶ σκοπεῖτε τοὺς οὕτω περιπατοῦντας καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμᾶς· ¹⁷
Be imitators together with me, brothers, and observe those who walk according those who have our mark;
- 3:20 ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει, ἐξ οὗ καὶ σωτῆρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ¹⁸
For our citizenship is in heaven coming forth, from which also a savior we patiently wait lord Jesus Christ,
- 3:21 ὃς μετασχηματίζει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ¹⁹
who will transform our body's humble state conforming with the body of his glory
κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα. ²⁰
according to the work of his power even to subject all things to himself.
- 4:23 Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν.
The grace of the lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit.

¹⁶ The concept of God giving a revelation (*ἀποκαλύψει*) fits Marcion's Paul, especially in view of verse 3:20 (*ἐν οὐρανοῖς*) which seems to always be near New Testament revelations.

¹⁷ Verses 3:18-19 were added by the Catholic editor. They identify and condemn Gnostic type heretics as enemies of the cross.

¹⁸ AM 5.20.7 he says, "Our conversation is in heaven" *Noster, inquit, municipatus in caelis*

¹⁹ AM 5.20.7 If, again, Christ in His advent from heaven "shall change the body of our humiliation, that it may be fashioned like unto His glorious body," *Quodsi Christus adveniens de caelis transfigurabit corpus humilitatis nostrae conformale corpori gloriae suae*

²⁰ Philippians 4:1-22 are a creation of the Catholic editor: includes the Flavius Clemens legend (4:2-3, 22); an unknown Roman mystery cult initiation (4:12, covers 4:10-13); pastiches (e.g., 4:20 copies 4 Maccabees 18:24, Galatians 1:4-5; 4:18 from Ephesians 5:2; 4:14 from multi verses); reference to the two Thessalonians epistles (4:16-17) and references to Acts of the Apostles (e.g., 4:15)

Catholic additions

1:1 καὶ Τιμόθεος δοῦλοι . . . ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ . . . σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις·
and Timothy slaves . . . in Christ Jesus, . . . with the bishops and ministers.

1:6 πεποιθῶς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁ ἐναρξάμενος ἐν ὑμῖν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν
being confident in this very thing, that the one who began good work in you

ἐπι τελέσει ἄχρι ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·
will complete until the day of Jesus Christ;

1:7 καθὼς ἐστὶν δίκαιον ἐμοὶ τοῦτο φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν διὰ τὸ ἔχειν με ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμᾶς,
Even as it right for me to think this on behalf of all of you because you have me in your hearts

ἐν τε τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπολογία καὶ βεβαιώσει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου
both in my bonds and in the defense and vindication of the gospel

συνκοινωνούς μου τῆς χάριτος πάντας ὑμᾶς ὄντας·
all of you having partaken in my grace;

1:8 μάρτυς γάρ μου ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἐπιποθῶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν σπλάγγνοις Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ.
For ~God is my witness (for) how I yearn for you all in my affections of Christ Jesus.

1:9 καὶ τοῦτο προσεύχομαι, ἵνα ἡ ἀγάπη ὑμῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον περισσεύῃ ἐν ἐπιγνώσει καὶ πάσῃ αἰσθήσει
And this I pray, that your love yet more and more may increase in deeper knowledge and all perception.

1:10 εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τὰ διαφέροντα, ἵνα ἦτε εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἀπρόσκοποι εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ,
For you to approve the things of importance, that you may be sincere and blameless until the day of Christ,

1:11 πεπληρωμένοι καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης τὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς δόξαν καὶ ἔπαινον θεοῦ.
having been filled the fruit of righteousness, which comes through Jesus Christ for the glory and praise of God

1:13(b) ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς
in the whole of the praetorian guard and the rest

1:16(b) εἰδότες ὅτι εἰς ἀπολογίαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου κεῖμαι
knowing that I am appointed for the defense of the gospel

1:26 ἵνα τὸ καύχημα ὑμῶν περισσεύῃ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς παρουσίας πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς,²¹
So that your confidence ~in me abounds in Christ Jesus through my coming to again to you.

1:27 Μόνον ἀξίως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολιτεύεσθε,
Only conduct your civil affairs worthily in the gospel of Christ,

ἵνα εἴτε ἐλθὼν καὶ ἰδὼν ὑμᾶς εἴτε ἀπὼν ἀκούω τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν,
that whether having come or your having been seen or being absent the things I hear about you,

ὅτι στήκετε ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι, μιᾷ ψυχῇ συναθλοῦντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου
that you stand in one spirit, with one soul striving together for the faith of the gospel.

1:28 καὶ μὴ πτυρόμενοι ἐν μηδενὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντικειμένων, ἧτις ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἔνδειξις ἀπωλείας,
and not being frightened in anything by those opposing, which is evidence of their destruction,

ὑμῶν δὲ σωτηρίας, καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ θεοῦ·
but your salvation, and this from God;

2:9 διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα,
Wherefore also God exalted him and gave him the name above every name,

2:10 ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων
that at the name Jesus every knee should bend, in heaven and under the earth,

²¹ The association of [παρουσίας](#) with the day of the lord and his coming leaves the impression that Paul is already dead

2:11 καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς.²²
and every tongue should confess, that the lord Jesus Christ is the Glory of God the father.

2:12 Ὡστε, ἀγαπητοί μου, καθὼς πάντοτε ὑπηκούσατε,
Therefore, my beloved, as always you obeyed,

μὴ ὡς ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ μου μόνον ἀλλὰ νῦν πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ μου,²³
not as in my coming only but now much more in my absence.

μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάζεσθε·
with fear and trembling accomplish your salvation;

2:13 θεὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας.
for it is God who is at work in you both his desire and work for his pleasure.

2:14 πάντα ποιεῖτε χωρὶς γογγυσμῶν καὶ διαλογισμῶν,
Do all things without murmuring and disputing,

2:15 ἵνα γένησθε ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀκέραιοι, τέκνα θεοῦ ἄμωμα μέσον γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης,
that you become blameless and unmixed, unblemished children of God among a perverse generation

ἐν οἷς φαίνεσθε ὡς φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ,
among whom you shine as lights in the world,

2:16 λόγον ζωῆς ἐπέχοντες, εἰς καύχημα ἐμοὶ εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ,
holding to the word of life, for my boasting in the day of Christ,

ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον οὐδὲ εἰς κενὸν ἐκοπίασα.
that I did not run in vain nor labor (toil) in vain.

2:17 ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, χαίρω καὶ συναίρω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν·
But if also poured out upon this sacrifice and service of your faith, I rejoice and share my joy with you all;

2:18 τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ὑμεῖς χαίρετε καὶ συναίρετέ μοι.
and this also I urge you to rejoice and share your joy with me.

2:19 Ἐλπίζω δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Τιμόθεον ταχέως πέμψαι ὑμῖν, ἵνα καὶ ἐγὼ εὐψυχῶ γνοῦς τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν.
But I hope in the lord Jesus to send Timothy to you shortly, that I also be encouraged learning of your situation.

2:20 οὐδένα γὰρ ἔχω ἰσόψυχον, ὅστις γνησίως τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν μεριμνήσει·
For I have no other equal in soul, who is genuinely anxious about your situation;

2:21 οἱ πάντες γὰρ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ζητοῦσιν, οὐ τὰ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ.
for all the others seek after their own things, not the things of Christ Jesus.

2:22 τὴν δὲ δοκιμὴν αὐτοῦ γινώσκετε, ὅτι ὡς πατρὶ τέκνον σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐδούλευσεν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.
But his knowledge is approved, that as a child to the father with me he served for the gospel

2:23 τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἐλπίζω πέμψαι ὡς ἂν ἀφίδω τὰ περὶ ἐμὲ ἐξαυτῆς·
Therefore in this I hope to send him, as soon as I see to these things;

2:24 πέποιθα δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως ἐλεύσομαι.
and I trust in the lord that I also will be coming shortly.

2:25 Αναγκαῖον δὲ ἠγησάμην Ἐπαφρόδιτον τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συνεργὸν καὶ συνστρατιώτην μου,
But I deemed it necessary to send first Eraphroditus my brother and coworker and fellow soldier,

ὁ ὅστις ἀπόστολος καὶ λειτουργὸς τῆς χρείας μου, πέμψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
who also is your messenger (apostle) and minister (servant) to my need.

²² The second half of the creed, the bestowing of names has an Adoptionist tone, betraying its being a later addition.

²³ The *παρουσία* and *ἀπουσία* pair indicate that Paul has departed from the living, so we are dealing with the second another .

2:26 ἐπειδὴ ἐπιποθῶν ἦν πάντας ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀδημονῶν διότι ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἠσθένησεν.
For I was desiring all of you and troubled because I heard that he was sick.

2:27 καὶ γὰρ ἠσθένησεν παραπλήσιον θανάτου·
For indeed (he) was sick almost until death;

ἀλλὰ ὁ θεὸς ἠλέησεν αὐτόν, οὐκ αὐτόν δὲ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμέ, ἵνα μὴ λύπην ἐπὶ λύπην σχῶ.
and but God had mercy on him, not on him only but me also, that I not have sorrow upon sorrow.

2:28 σπουδαιοτέρως οὖν ἔπεμψα αὐτόν, ἵνα ἰδόντες αὐτόν πάλιν χαρῆτε κἀγὼ ἀλυπότερος ᾦ.
Therefore I have most eagerly sent him that seeing him again you may rejoice and I may be free of pain.

2:29 προσδέχεσθε οὖν αὐτόν ἐν κυρίῳ μετὰ πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἐντίμους ἔχετε,
Therefore receive him in the lord with all joy and hold those men in honor,

2:30 ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἔργον Χριστοῦ μέχρι θανάτου ἤγγισεν παραβολευσάμενος τῇ ψυχῇ,
for the work of Christ he came close almost to death risking the soul,

ἵνα ἀναπληρώσῃ τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα τῆς πρὸς με λειτουργίας.
and complete that which was deficient in my service (ministry).

3:1 Τὸ λοιπόν, ἀδελφοί μου, χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ. τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν ὑμῖν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ὀκνηρόν, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀσφαλές.
The rest, my brothers, rejoice in the lord, to write the same thing indeed is not sluggish, but confirms you.

3:2 Βλέπετε τοὺς κύνας, βλέπετε τοὺς κακοὺς ἐργάτας, βλέπετε τὴν κατατομήν.
Beware the dogs, beware the evil doers, beware the mutilators.

3:6 κατὰ ζήλος διώκων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενος ἄμεμπτος.
according to zeal I persecuted the church, according to righteousness in the law having become blameless.

3:18 πολλοὶ γὰρ περιπατοῦσιν οὓς πολλάκις ἔλεγον ὑμῖν, νῦν δὲ καὶ κλαίων λέγω,
for many walk of whom I frequently spoke to you, even now also weeping I say,

τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
they are enemies of the cross of Christ,

3:19 ὧν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια, ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν, οἱ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονοῦντες.
whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly and glory in their disgrace, their minds set on earthly things.

4:1 Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ἐπιπόθητοι, χαρὰ καὶ στέφανός μου, οὕτως στήκετε ἐν κυρίῳ, ἀγαπητοί.
Therefore, my beloved brethren and whom I long for, my joy and crown, so stand firm in the lord, beloved.

4:2 Εὐδοίαν παρακαλῶ καὶ Συντύχην παρακαλῶ τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν κυρίῳ.
I encourage Euodia and I encourage Syntyche to think the same in the lord.

4:3 ναὶ ἐρωτῶ καὶ σέ, γνήσιε σύνζυγε, συνλαμβάνου αὐταῖς,
Yes I also ask you, genuine companion, to assist them together,

αἵτινες ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθησαν μοι μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου
whoever in the gospel strived together with me and Clement and the of my fellow workers

ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς.
whose names are in the book of life.

4:4 Χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ πάντοτε· πάλιν ἐρῶ, χαίρετε.
Rejoice in the lord always; again I (say), rejoice.

4:5 τὸ ἐπεικὲς ὑμῶν γνωσθήτω πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς.
Let your gentleness be known to all men. The lord is near.

4:6 μηδὲν μεριμνᾶτε,
In nothing be anxious,

ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει μετ' εὐχαριστίας τὰ αἰτήματα ὑμῶν γνωρίζεσθω πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

but in everything in prayer and seeking with thanksgiving let the things your request be known before God.

4:7 καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν φρουρήσει τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ νοήματα ὑμῶν
And God's peace which surpasses all comprehension will guard your heart and your thoughts

ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.
in Christ Jesus.

4:8 Τὸ λοιπόν, ἀδελφοί, ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ, ὅσα σεμνά, ὅσα δίκαια, ὅσα ἀγνά,
To the rest, brothers, whatever things are true, whatever is honorable, whatever is righteous, whatever is pure,

ὅσα προσφιλῆ, ὅσα εὐφημα, εἴ τις ἀρετὴ καὶ εἴ τις ἔπαινος, ταῦτα λογίζεσθε·
whatever is pleasing, whatever is commendable, if any is virtuous and if any is commendable, reckon these;

4:9 ἃ καὶ ἐμάθετε καὶ παρελάβετε καὶ ἠκούσατε καὶ εἶδετε ἐν ἐμοί, ταῦτα πράσσετε·
the things both learned and received and heard and seen in me, practice these;

καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔσται μεθ' ὑμῶν.
and the God of peace be with you.

(I need to research pagan cults and Gnostic sects to figure out where this came from)

4:10 Ἐχάρην δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ μεγάλως ὅτι ἤδη ποτὲ ἀνεθάλατε τὸ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φρονεῖν,
But I rejoice greatly ~in the lord that now finally you sprouted up on behalf of concern for me,

ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐφρονεῖτε ἠκαιρεῖσθε δέ.
but upon which indeed you lacked opportunity.

4:11 οὐχ ὅτι καθ' ὑστέρησιν λέγω, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔμαθον ἐν οἷς εἰμι αὐτάρκης εἶναι·
That not according to poverty I speak, for I have learned in what (ever) I am content (sufficient) to be;

4:12 οἶδα καὶ ταπεινοῦσθαι, οἶδα καὶ περισσεύειν·
I know both to be humbled, and I know to be prosperous;

ἐν παντὶ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν μεμύημαι, καὶ χορτάζεσθαι καὶ πεινᾶν καὶ περισσεύειν καὶ ὑστερεῖσθαι
in every and all I have learned the mystery of both filled and hungry, both having abundance and wanting;

(I need to research pagan cults and Gnostic sects to figure out where this came from)

4:13 πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με.
I can do ~all things by the one empowering me.

4:14 πλὴν καλῶς ἐποιήσατε συνκοινωνήσαντές μου τῇ θλίψει.
Nevertheless you did well partaking together in my affliction.

4:15 Οἶδατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, Φιλιππηῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας,
And you also know, Philippians, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I went out from Macedonia,

οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία ἐκοινώνησεν εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς μόνοι,
not one church (assembly) shared with me in matter (account) of giving and receiving (funds) except you only,

4:16 ὅτι καὶ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δις εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν μοι ἐπέμψατε.
as indeed in Thessalonica both once and twice ~you sent for my needs.

4:17 οὐχ ὅτι ἐπιζητῶ τὸ δόμα, ἀλλὰ ἐπιζητῶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν πλεονάζοντα εἰς λόγον ὑμῶν.
Not that I see a gift, rather I seek the fruit increasing to your word (account).

4:18 ἀπέχω δὲ πάντα καὶ περισσεύω· πεπλήρωμαι δεξάμενος παρὰ Ἐπαφροδίτου τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν,
But I have all things and in abundance; I am filled having received from Epaphroditus this from you,

ὄσμην εὐωδίας, θυσίαν δεκτὴν, εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ.
a fragrant aroma, an acceptable sacrifice, well pleasing to God.

4:19 ὁ δὲ θεός μου πληρώσει πᾶσαν χρείαν ὑμῶν κατὰ τὸ πλοῦτος αὐτοῦ ἐν δόξῃ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.
And my God will fill all your needs according to his wealth en the glory of Christ Jesus.

4:20 τῷ δὲ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ἡμῶν ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.
And to the God and our father [be] the glory into the ages of the ages; amen.

4:21 Ἀσπάσασθε πάντα ἅγιον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοί.
Greet all the saints in Christ Jesus. All the brothers with me greet you.

4:22 ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας.
All the saints ~greet you, but especially those in Caesar's household.

Marcionite Laodiceans Interlinear

Reconstruction by Stuart G. Waugh

7 March, 2014

Πρὸς Λαοδικέας ¹
To the Laodiceans

- 1:1 Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ τοῖς ἀγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ²
Paul an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God to those saints who are also faithful in Christ Jesus,
- 1:2 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ³
Grace to you and peace from God our father and Lord Jesus Christ
- 1:3 Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ⁴ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
Blessed [be] the God of our Lord Jesus Christ,
ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογία πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ, ⁵
the one having blessed us with every spiritual blessing in the heavens in Christ,
- 1:9 γνωρίσας ἡμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ ἣν προέθετο ἐν αὐτῷ
having made known to us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure which he preset in him
- 1:10 εἰς οἰκονομίαν τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν, ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ,
for stewardship in the fullness of time, summing up all things in Christ,
τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ⁶
the things in heaven and the things on the earth.
- ⁷ 1:12 εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης αὐτοῦ τοὺς προηλπικότας ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ. ⁸
For we will praise his glory, those who first hoped in Christ;
- 1:13 ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον [τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν],
in whom also you have heard the word of truth, the gospel [of your salvation],
ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἁγίῳ, ⁹
in whom also having believed in you were sealed with the holy spirit of promise,

¹ AM 5.17.1 *Ecclesiae quidem veritate epistulam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodiceos*; making clear Marcion's superscript read *Πρὸς Λαοδικέας* (*ad Laodiceos*) which also Epiphanius Panarion 11.8.40 is aware of when cites for Ephesians 4:5-6 quote as *Πρὸς Λαοδικέας*. The Marcionite Latin Prologue of Colossians (*Colossenses et hi sicut Laudicenses sunt Asiani. et ipsi praeventi erat a pseudoapostolis, nec ad hos accessit ipse apostolus, sed et hos per epistulam recerrigit*) and Colossians 4:16 (καὶ ὅταν ἀναγνωσθῆ παρ' ὑμῖν ἡ ἐπιστολή, ποιήσατε ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ Λαοδικέων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγνωσθῆ, καὶ τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικίας ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναγνῶτε) also suggest reading was original *Πρὸς Λαοδικέας* and *Πρὸς Ἐφεσίους* is secondary.

² While it's possible Marcion read *ἐν Λαοδικία*, the evidence suggest he simply read – *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* with P⁴⁶ B* 6 424^c 1739 Origen. Clabeaux demonstrates the strong relationship between the Western text of Romans 1:7 and the reading – *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* here. 330 – Ἰησοῦ

³ AM 5.5.2 Haec cum "a deo patre nostro et domino Iesu" annuntians communibus nominibus utatur (1739 deletes verse)

⁴ Ephesians 1:3a was drawn directly from 2 Corinthians 1:3, *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* marks the beginning of Catholic material. Marcion's 2 Corinthians lacks *καὶ πατὴρ* (AM 5.11.1) as he did not emphasize the relationship. P⁴⁶ omits the passage, much as 69 1735 2344 omit the same passage in 2 Corinthians 1:3; both are certainly homoioteleuton, not support

⁵ Ephesians 1:4-8 cover later catholic themes of being unblemish *ἀμόμους* (compare 1 Peter 1:9), redemption *ἀπολύτρωσιν*, the phrase "before the foundation of the world" *πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου* (compare 1 Peter 1:20, Matthew 13:35 and Psalms 78:2, 25:34, and Revelation 13:8, 17:8) which relates to verse 1:11, 1:14. Verse 1:7 is from Colossians 1:7, but contextually out of place, a doxology without explanation, and expanded to include Christ's blood – unimaginable that Tertullian would miss such a target.

⁶ AM 5.17.1 quotes verses 1:9-10 *secundum boni existimationem, quam proposuerit in sacramento voluntatis suae, in dispensationem adimpletionis temporum* (ut ita dixerim, sicut verbum illud in Graeco sonat) *recapitulare* (id est ad *initium redigere* vel ab initio recensere) *omnia in Christum quae in caelis et quae in terriis*. Tertullian reads – *ἐν αὐτῷ* with Syr^P Chrysostom as redundant

⁷ Verse 1:11 refers to predetermined (Abrahamic) inheritance *ἐκκληρώθημεν προορισθέντες* strong Jewish Catholic theme

⁸ AM 5.17.3 cum dicit, *Ut simus in laudem gloriae nos qui praesperavimus in Christum?* Reads – *αὐτοῦ* with D* F G OL:d (incorrect)

⁹ AM 5.17.4 *In quo et vos, cum audissetis sermonem veritatis, evangelium, in quo credidistis et signati estis spiritu promissionis eius sancto*. Clabeaux doesn't comment, but Tertullian clearly reads – *τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν* (Vulgate *salutis vestrae*)

- 1:17 ἵνα ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης,
that the God of our lord Jesus Christ, the father of glory,
δόξη ὑμῖν πνεῦμα σοφίας καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως ἐν ἐπιγνώσει αὐτοῦ, ¹⁰
may give you a spirit of wisdom and revelation in the fuller knowledge of him
- 1:18 πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας ¹¹ τίς ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις, ¹²
having enlightened the eyes of the heart what is the wealth of his inheritance in the saints,
- 1:19 καὶ τί τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας
and what us the surpassing greatness of his power to those believing
κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ.
according to the wrought might of his strength,
- 1:20 ἦν ἐνήργηκεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ καθίσας ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ
which he exerted in Christ raising him from the dead and seating (him) on his right hand
- 1:22 καὶ πάντα ὑπέταξεν, ¹³ καὶ αὐτὸν ἔδωκεν κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,
and all things he subordinated, and gave him as head over all things to the church
- 1:23 ἣτις ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ¹⁴ τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν πληρουμένου.
which is his body, the fullness of him who fills all with all.
- 2:1 Καὶ ὑμᾶς ὄντας νεκροὺς [τοῖς παραπτώμασιν καὶ] ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν,
And you being dead [in your trespasses and] in your sins,
- 2:2 ἐν αἷς ποτὲ περιεπατήσατε κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος,
in which once you walked according to the age of this world, according to the ruler of the power of the air,
[τοῦ πνεύματος] τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας· ¹⁵
[of the spirit] who is now works in the sons of disbelief;
- 2:3 ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἀνεστράφημέν ποτε ¹⁶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν
in which also we all conducted ourselves once in lust of our flesh,
ποιοῦντες τὰ θελήματα τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν διανοιῶν, καὶ ἡμεθα τέκνα φύσει ὀργῆς ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποί· ^{17 18}
doing the desires of the flesh and thoughts, and we are by nature children of the wrath as also are the rest.
- 2:10 αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἐσμεν ποίημα, κτισθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ [Ἰησοῦ] ^{19 20}
For we are his masterpiece, having been created in Christ [Jesus]

¹⁰ AM 5.17.5 Sed et *pater gloriae* ... Ab illo *spiritus sapientiae*. "The God of our Lord Jesus Christ" ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, is a Marcionite concept to distinguish him from the Jewish God of the Law and creator, and is stated in a way that does not place Christ in a subordinate position. The rest of the verse is derived from Colossians 1:9 "by revelation" ἀποκαλύψεως.

¹¹ Tertullian paraphrase in AM 5.17.5 Ille dabit *illuminatos cordis oculos* qui etiam exteriores oculos *luce ditavit*. Tertullian appears to read – ὑμῶν with P⁴⁶ B 33 1739 for Marcion *cordis oculos* against the vulgate *oculos cordis vestri*

¹² AM 5.17.6 Apud illum sunt et *divitiae haereditatis in sanctis* qui *eam haereditatem*.

¹³ Tertullian has a complete quote without 1:20b-21 in AM 5.17.6 *Ille in operatus est in Christum valentiam suam, suscitando eum a mortuis, et collocando eum ad dexteram suam, et subiciendo omnia*; The rest of the verse was likely not present. Tertullian quotes Psalms 110:1 (109:1 LXX) and 8:7 *Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius*, something he would have done after quoting ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ were the phrase there to prove Marcion's God must be the creator, as he states, *infertur quae recognoscuntur in creatore. quae ramus iam creatorem*. Marcion doesn't quote OT passages as proof text, the usage contradicts Luke 20:41-44, so I delete

¹⁴ Compare ἣτις ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ with Colossians 2:17 τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

¹⁵ AM 5.17.7 quotes 2:1-2 *illos delictis mortuos in quibus ingressi erant secundum aevum mundi huius, secundum principem potestatis aeris qui operatur in filiis incredulitatis*. Tertullian reads – τοῦ πνεύματος without support.

¹⁶ AM 5.17.9 *in quibus et nos omnes conversati sumus*.

¹⁷ AM 5.17.9 *Fuimus natura filii iracundiae, ..., Sicut et ceteri*. Tertullian reads ~ φύσει τέκνα with A D G L P 60 OL:DI Vulgate Coptic Syriac Armenian Ephrem Origen. This is incorrect and reflects a local variant found in Latin translation, so not Marcionite

¹⁸ Verses 2:4-9 are not attested in Marcion. The vocabulary is markedly different, Catholic. Verse 2:6 puzzles me, presents the concept of those reading have already been raised into heaven καὶ συνήγειρεν καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ

¹⁹ AM 5.17.11 *sumus factura, conditi in Christo*; see also 5.17.15 *Ipsius enim factura sumus, conditi in Christo*

²⁰ I deleted ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς ... ἐν αὐτοῖς περιπατήσωμεν; not attested in Marcion, Catholic themes of preselection, good works.

2:11 Διὸ μνημονεύετε ποτὲ ὑμεῖς τὰ ἔθνη ἐν σαρκί, ²¹

Therefore, remember once you were gentiles in the flesh,

οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀκροβυστία ὑπὸ τῆς λεγομένης περιτομῆς ἐν σαρκὶ χειροποιήτου,
those being called uncircumcision by those being called circumcision in the flesh done by hand,

2:12 ὅτι ἦτε τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ χωρὶς Χριστοῦ,
that you were at that time without Christ,

ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ξένοι τῶν διαθηκῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας,
having been alienated from the citizenship of Israel and strangers of the covenant of promise,

ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες καὶ ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ.
not having hope and without God in the world.

2:13 νυνὶ δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ὑμεῖς οἳ ποτε ὄντες μακρὰν ἐγενήθητε ἐγγὺς ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ²²
But now in Christ Jesus you, who were once far off, have been brought near by the blood of Christ.

2:14 Αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμώτερα ἐν ²³
For he is our peace, who made the two one

καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσας, τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν τῇ σαρκί, ²⁴
and broke down the dividing wall of the partition, the hostility in the flesh,

2:15 τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασιν καταργήσας,
having annulled ~ the law of the commandments in ordinances,

ἵνα τοὺς δύο κτίσῃ ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς ἓνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον ποιῶν εἰρήνην, ²⁵
that the two he might create in himself into one new man making peace,

2:16 καὶ ἀποκαταλλάξῃ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἀποκτείνας τὴν ἔχθραν ἐν αὐτῷ.
and he might reconcile the two into one body to God ²⁶ through the cross, killing the hostility in himself.

2:17 καὶ ἐλθὼν εὐηγγελίσατο εἰρήνην ὑμῖν τοῖς μακρὰν καὶ εἰρήνην τοῖς ἐγγύς·
And coming he preached peace to you far off, and peace to those near;

2:18 ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ ἔχομεν τὴν προσαγωγὴν οἱ ἀμώτεροι ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. ²⁷
because through him we have access to both in one spirit to the father.

²¹ AM 5.17.12, P42, and DA 2.18 all read – μνημονεύοντες for μνημονεύετε and also Epiphanius and Tertullian reads ~ ὑμεῖς ποτὲ with P⁴² maj D κ Sy^H Eph Sa^H but *Dialogue Adamantius* 2.18 agrees with UBS reading ὅτι ποτὲ ὑμεῖς. Clabeaux think – Διὸ is probably *in initio*. The UBS reading is likely correct although many Marcionite manuscripts read Μνημονεύοντες ὑμεῖς ποτε

²² Epiphanius reads with UBS ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, Tertullian reads *in Christo* only, while both Greek and Latin of Adamantius delete the phrase entirely. On the split evidence, Ἰησοῦ must be considered original. Tertullian, Adamantius, and Epiphanius with Ephrem all read – ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ for ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Because αὐτοῦ is a localized variant even in Marcion, I use τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

²³ Epiphanius, *Panarion* 42.11.8, quotes in full verses 2:11-14 up to ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμώτερα ἐν. There are four possible Marcionite text variants: 2:11 – ὅτι; 2:11 ~ ὑμεῖς ποτε; 2:11 – ἐν σαρκί; 2:13 – αὐτοῦ for τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.17.12, however reads 2:11 with ἐν σαρκί (*nationes in carne*) intact.

²⁴ Tertullian *Adversus Marcionem* 5.17.14 reads, "Itaque ipse est, inquit, pax nostra, qui fecit duo unum, Iudaicum scilicet populum et gentilem, quod prope et quod longe, soluto medio pariete inimicitiae, in carne sua. Sed Marcion abstulit Sua." Tertullian thus explicitly states that Marcion lacks αὐτοῦ, which fits in that Christ had not flesh to Marcion (OL:I variant)

²⁵ AM 5.17.15 *Ut duos conderet in semetipso ... in unum novum hominem, faciens pacem*; Tertullian D G maj have – ἐαυτῷ for αὐτῷ

²⁶ Verses 2:21-3:7 were added by the Catholic editor

²⁷ Dialogue Adamantius 2.19 states, 'to the Ephesians writes the apostle, "And when he came, he preached peace to you who are far off; and to those who were near. For through him we both have access by one spirit to the father"; 'Εφεσίοις δὲ ἐπιστελλῶν ὁ ἀπόστολος φησὶ καὶ ἐλθὼν εὐηγγελίσατο εἰρήνην ὑμῖν τοῖς μακρὰν καὶ τοῖς ἐγγύς, ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ ἔχομεν τὴν προσαγωγὴν οἱ ἀμώτεροι ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. (Rufinus) Ephesiis quoque scribens apostolus ait: *Et ueniens euangelizauit pacem his qui longe et his qui prope*, quia *per ipsum habemus accessum utrique in uno spiritu ad patrem*. But this is very suspect because: a) it is spoken by Adamantius; b) he refers to the text it comes from as Ephesians not Laodiceans. However with Tertullian AM 5.17.16 who also deletes the second εἰρήνην with K L Ψ majority Syriac ^{P,H} Ephriam some VG. Clabeaux rates this variant incorrect, a stylistic improvement removing redundancy.

- 2:19 ἄρα οὖν οὐκέτι ἐστὲ ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι
Therefore then you are no longer strangers and aliens
ἀλλὰ ἐστὲ συνπολίται τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ θεοῦ,
but you are fellow citizens of the saints and members of God's household,
- 2:20 ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ²⁸ ὄντος ἀκρογωνιαίου αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ [Ἰησοῦ]. ²⁹
built upon the foundation of the apostles, he being the cornerstone himself, Christ [Jesus].
- ³⁰ 3:8 ἐμοὶ τῷ ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ πάντων [ἁγίων] ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις αὕτη,
To me less than the least of all [saints] was given this grace,
- 3:9 φωτίσαι πάντας τίς [ἡ οἰκονομία] τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου
to enlighten all about [the fellowship of] the mystery having been hidden
ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων τῷ θεῷ τῷ τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι, ³¹
from ~the God of the ages, the one having created ~ all things,
- 3:10 ἵνα γνωρισθῇ νῦν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις
that (it) might now become known to the rulers and powers in this heavens
διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἢ πολυποίκιλος σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ, ³²
through the church the multifaceted wisdom of God,
- 3:11 κατὰ πρόθεσιν τῶν αἰώνων ἦν ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν,
according to the plan of the ages which he made in Christ Jesus our lord,
- 3:12 ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ προσαγωγὴν ἐν πεποιθήσει διὰ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ. ³³
in whom we have boldness and access in confidence through faith in him.
- 4:5 εἷς κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα,
One lord, one faith, one baptism,
- 4:6 εἷς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν. ³⁴
one God the father of all, the one over all and through all and in all.
- 4:8 διὸ λέγει, Ἀναβάς εἰς ὕψος ἠχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν, ἔδωκεν δόματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ^{35 36}
Therefore it is said, "Having ascended on high he made captivity captive, he gave gifts to men."
- 4:25 Διὸ ἀποθέμενοι τὸ ψεῦδος λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστος μετὰ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, ³⁷
So putting away lying, let each of us speak truthfully with our neighbor,

²⁸ Tertullian AM 5.17.16 "The heretic erased "and the prophets;" *Abstulit haereticus, Et prophetarum (καὶ προφητῶν)* also AM 4.34.6

²⁹ Tertullian *Adversus Marcionem* 5.17.16 quotes verses 2:17, 19-20, *Hoc itaque annuntiante pacem eis qui prope et eis qui longe, accessum consecuti simul ad patrem, iam non sumus peregrini nec advenae, sed concives sanctorum, sed domestici dei* (utique eius a quo supra ostendimus alienos fuisse nos et longe constitutos), *superaedificati super fundamentum apostolorum. ... fundamenta aedificatio nostra constaret in Christo*. Marcion seems to read – Ἰησοῦ.

³⁰ Verses 2:21-3:7 are part of the Catholic layer, build on pastiches of Philemon 1:1, Matthew 5, 1 Corinthians, etc.

³¹ AM 5.18.1 De manibus haeretici praecedentis non miror si syllabas subtrahit, cum paginas totas plerumque subducit. Datam inquit sibi apostolus *gratiam novissimo omnium, illuminandi omnes quae dispensatio sacramenti occulti ab aevis in deo qui omnia condidit*. Rapuit haereticus In praepositionem, et ita legi facit: *Occulti ab aevis deo qui omnia condidit*. Sed emicat falsum. Tertullian makes it clear that Marcion reads – ἐν before τῷ θεῷ with \aleph^* 614 2412 OL:I^{var}; compare 1 Corinthians 2:7-8 in Marcionite form (see AM 5.6.2, 5.6.6) Dialogue Adamantius 2.20 quotes Ephesians 3:8-9 passage in full with ἐν before τῷ θεῷ, however it is Admantius speaking.

³² AM 5.18.2 Infert enim apostolus, *Ut nota fiat principatibus et potestatibus in supercaelestibus per ecclesiam multifaria sapientia dei*.

³³ Verses 3:13-4:4 are part of the Catholic layer, which Tertullian makes no mention, picking up in AM 5.18.4 with verse 4.5. The transition from verse 3:12 is abrupt however, suggesting there may have been a bridge phrase I dropped in the skipped verses

³⁴ Epiphanius Panarion 11.8.40 *Εἷς κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα, εἷς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν*; Epiphanius of course argues the Apostle means *διὰ τε νόμου καὶ προφητῶν καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀποστόλοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθεξῆς*

³⁵ AM 5.18.5 "of captivity, he says, *he led captivity captive*" Captivam, inquit, *duxit captivitatem*. The quote is from Psalms 67:18 LXX; note the Catholic editor's verses 4:9-10 were inspired by *Ἀναβάς εἰς ὕψος* and drawn from Romans 10:6-7

³⁶ Verses 4:9-24 are not attested in Macrion, concern hierarchy and correct teaching against heretical

³⁷ AM 5.18.6 *Deponentes mendacium loquimini veritatem ad proximum quisque*

ὅτι ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλων μέλη.
because we are members of one another

4:26 ὀργίσεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε· ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδυέτω ἐπὶ [τῷ] παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν, ³⁸
Be angry, but do not sin; do not let the sun set on your anger,

5:11 καὶ μὴ συνκοινωνεῖτε τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἀκάριοις τοῦ σκότους, ³⁹ μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐλέγχετε.
do not have fellowship with the works of unfruitful darkness, but rather even expose them.

5:12 τὰ γὰρ κρυφῆ γινόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶν καὶ λέγειν,
For the things being done in secret by them it is shameful even shameful to speak of,

5:13 τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐλεγχόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς φανεροῦνται,
but everything being exposed becomes visible by the light.

5:14 πᾶν γὰρ τὸ φανερούμενον φῶς ἐστίν.
For everything becoming visible is light.

διὸ λέγει, "Ἐγειρε, ὁ καθεύδων, καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοὶ ὁ Χριστός." ⁴⁰
Therefore it says, "Arise sleeping one, and rise up from the dead, and Christ will shine on you."

⁴¹ 5:18 καὶ μὴ μεθύσκεσθε οἴνῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ἀσωτία, ⁴² ἀλλὰ πληροῦσθε ἐν πνεύματι,
And do not become drunk with wine, in which is debauchery; but filled in spirit,

5:19 λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς [ἐν] ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς,
everything speaking to one another [in] psalms and hymns and spiritual songs,
ἄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ, ⁴³
singing and making melody in your hearts to the lord,

5:20 εὐχαριστοῦντες πάντοτε ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί. ⁴⁴
giving thanks always for all things in the name of our lord Jesus Christ to God the father.

5:22 αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ, ⁴⁵
Wives (cleave) to their husbands as to the lord,

5:23 ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν κεφαλὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ὡς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς κεφαλὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ⁴⁶
because a husband is the head of the wife, as also Christ is the head of the church,

5:25 Οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπᾶν τὰς γυναῖκας, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν,
Husbands, love your wives, as also Christ to the church

5:28 ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ. ⁴⁷
the one loving his wife loves himself.

5:29 οὐδεὶς γάρ ποτε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα ἐμίσησεν ἀλλὰ ἐκτρέφει καὶ θάλπει αὐτήν,
For nobody ever hates his own flesh, but nourishes and cherishes it,

³⁸ AM 5.18.6 *et Irascimini et nolite delinquere ... sol ut non occidat super iracundiam vestram*

³⁹ AM 5.18.6 *Nolite communicare operibus tenebrarum* very loosely stated

⁴⁰ AM 5.18.7 *spiritualia autem nequitiae ... In caelis* TBD Ephiphanius P42.11.8 Διὸ λέγει· ἐγειρε ὁ καθεύδων καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοὶ ὁ Χριστός

⁴¹ Verses 5:15-17 belong to the pastoral layer, antithetical pairs μὴ ὡς ἄσοφοι ἀλλ' ὡς σοφοί and μὴ γίνεσθε ἄφρονες, ἀλλὰ συνίετε

⁴² AM 5.18.7 *Et potum dabatis sanctis meis vinum*

⁴³ AM 5.18.7 *Et psalmis et hymnis deo canere docere illius*

⁴⁴ Verses 5:21 is part of the pastoral layer, demanding submission, in the name of Christ

⁴⁵ AM 5.18.8 *mulieres viris subiectas* (paraphrased).

⁴⁶ AM 5.18.8 paraphrases verse 5:22 *Ceterum mulieres viris subiectas*, reading – ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ, so I bracketed the words as uncertain.

AM 5.18.8 also quotes 5:23 *Quia vir, inquit, caput est mulieris*. Verses 5:23b-24 αὐτὸς σωτὴρ τοῦ σώματος ... are Catholic layer.

⁴⁷ AM 5.18.8 *Carnem suam diligit qui uxorem suam diligit, sicut et Christus ecclesiam* Tertullian plays great liberty with the text here. Nevertheless it is clear that 5:25(b)-28(a) was an insertion concerning Christ paschal sacrifice as cleansing. Verses 5:25 and 5:28 were conflated. On incorrect reading is – ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα for ὡς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα. The body seems not to be part of the argument.

καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.
as also Christ to the church.

⁴⁸ 5:31 ἀντὶ τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.
Because of this a man will leave his father and mother, and the two will be one flesh.

5:32 τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν· ⁴⁹ ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ⁵⁰
This mystery is great; but I speak as to Christ and the church.

⁵¹ 6:1 Τὰ τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑμῶν, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν δίκαιον. ⁵²
Children, obey your parents, for this is right.

6:4 Καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ κυρίου. ⁵³
And parents, nurture them in training and admonition of the lord.

6:11 ἐνδύσασθε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ὑμᾶς στήναι πρὸς τὰς μεθοδίας τοῦ διαβόλου·
Put on the whole armor of God against for you to be able to stand against the schemes of the devil;

6:12 ὅτι [οὐκ] ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη [πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ] πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, ⁵⁴
because our wrestling is [not against blood and flesh, but] against the rulers, against the authorities,

πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου, ⁵⁵ πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις. ⁵⁶
against the cosmic powers of this darkness, against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavens.

6:13 διὰ τοῦτο ἀναλάβετε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ,
Therefore take up the whole armor of God,

ἵνα δυνηθῆτε ἀντιστῆναι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ πονηρᾷ καὶ ἅπαντα κατεργασάμενοι στήναι.
that you will be able to withstand on the day of evil and having done all to stand,

6:14 στήτε οὖν περιζωσάμενοι τὴν ὀσφὺν ὑμῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης,
Stand therefore having girded your waist with truth and having put on the breastplate of righteousness,

6:15 καὶ ὑποδησάμενοι τοὺς πόδας ἐν ἐτοιμασίᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης,
and having put shoes on your feet with firm footing of the gospel of peace,

6:16 ἐν πᾶσιν ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως,
and with all things having taken up the shield of faith,

⁴⁸ AM 5.18.13 *spiritalia autem nequitiae ... In caelis*

⁴⁹ Tertullian, AM 5.18.9 *Propter hanc relinquet homo patrem et matrem, et erunt duo in carne una: sacramentum hoc magnum est?*

Ephraim P42 reads ἀντὶ τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα ... καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν such that both read – καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ with 6 1739 Origen Cyprian. Clabeaux thinks it is homoeoarcton on καὶ. Tertullian however thinks nothing of it, and the support of family 1739 suggests the longer form was to conform to Exodus 2:24.

⁵⁰ Tertullian, AM 5.18.10 Sed ego autem dico, inquit, *in Christum et ecclesiam* supporting – εἰς before τὴν ἐκκλησίαν with B K OL:K Coptic Valentinus apud Irenaeum Clement Origen Epiphanius. Clabeaux (pages 99-100) rates this correct against the UBS which brackets the word, elevating the church. Additionally AM 5.3.4 Tertullian also indicates – εἰς, et suggerens Ephesiis quod in primordio de homine praedicatum est relicto *patrem et matrem et futuris duobus in unam carnem*, id se *in Christum et ecclesiam* agnoscere

⁵¹ Verse 5:33 is a pastoral addition, emphasizing submission of wives to husbands. Not a concern addressed anywhere in Marcion

⁵² Tertullian, AM 5.18.10 *Obaudiant et parentibus filii*. Reading – ἐν κυρίῳ Marcion agrees with B D* G It^{d,e} Clement Tertullian Cyprian Ambrosiaster. This is correct as this is a direct command without qualification.

⁵³ Tertullian, AM 5.18.11 reports that Marcion deleted the clause with "this is the first commandment with a promise" and the he makes clear also the LXX quote of Deuteronomy stating: *Nam etsi Marcion abstulit, Hoc est enim primum in promissione praecceptum*, lex loquitur, *Honora patrem et matrem, et, Parentes enutrite filios in disciplina et correptione donaini*. Deuteronomy 5:16 the source of 6:2-3, the sentiment is flipped in Mark 7:10 which pairs Deuteronomy with Leviticus 20:9 underscoring the position is a Catholic understanding of the OT God promising through the Law. Tertullian took liberty with the text reading *Parentes (οἱ γονεῦσες)* for *οἱ πατέρες (Patres)* and *filios (τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν)* for *αὐτὰ (ilos)* due to his digression into 6:2-3 not found in Marcion.

⁵⁴ AM 5.18.11 *Sed adversus munditenebras luctatio si nobis*. Tertullian very loosely refers to Ephesians 6:12 "but if our struggle is against those holding us in the world"

⁵⁵ AM 5.18.12 *Porro cum supra quidem induere nos iubeat armaturam in qua stemus ad machinationes diaboli*, iam ostendit diaboli esse quae diabolo subiungit, *potestates et munditenebras tenebrarum istarum, quae et nos diabolo deputamus*. Ephesians 6:11, 6:12

⁵⁶ AM 5.18.13 *spiritalia autem nequitiae ... In caelis*

ἐν ᾧ δυνήσεσθε πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ [τὰ] πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι·
and by which you will be able to quench ~ all the flaming darts of the evil one;

6:17 καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου δέξασθε καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὃ ἐστὶν ῥῆμα θεοῦ. ⁵⁷
also take ~ the helmet of salvation and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God.

⁵⁸ 6:19 καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα μοι δοθῇ λόγος ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματός μου,
and now for me, that may be given to me the word in opening my mouth,

ἐν παρρησίᾳ γνωρίσαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,
in boldness to make known the mystery of the Gospel,

6:20 ὑπὲρ οὗ πρεσβεύω ἐν ἀλύσει,
Now on behalf of which I am an ambassador in chains,

ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ παρρησιάσωμαι ὡς δεῖ με λαλῆσαι. ⁵⁹
that in it I may be bold as it is necessary for me to speak.

6:24 Ἡ χάρις μεθ' ὑμῶν. ⁶⁰
Grace be with you.

⁵⁷ AM 3.14.4 quotes Ephesians 6:14-17 *praecingentem lumbos nostros veritate et lorica iustitiae, et calciantem nos praeparationem evangelii pacis, non belli, adsumerc iubentem scutum fidei, in quo possimus omnia diaboli ignita tela extinguere, et galeam salutaris, et gladium spiritus, quod est, inquit, dei sermo.*

⁵⁸ Verse 6:18 belongs to the pastoral layer, with admonition to prayer and petition, with a reference to watching for things to pass.

⁵⁹ AM 5.18.14 paraphrases 6:19-20 *qui in catenis iam constitutus ob libertatem praedicationis constantiam manifestandi sacramenti in apertione oris*

⁶⁰ The longer signoff is not likely to have been in Marcion. Speculatively I have adopted Colossians, which fits the terse Marcionite form.

The Antithesis and the relationship of Matthew 5:3-48 to Marcion

Stuart Waugh, 8 August 2013



Matthew, book of Kells

I left off my analysis of Matthew dependence upon the Antithesis, after showing a pair of blocks in Chapter 5 that match the Marcionite wording from the Antithesis. But now I will examine the entirety of the chapter and show verse by verse the dependence upon Marcion as source, explaining every phrase.

Matthew structure differs dramatically from the other Synoptic Gospels. Several years ago, back in the early 1990s, I spent a considerable amount of time trying to understand the Synoptic Gospels without a clue to the theology involved. Being an engineer by profession, I liked purely mechanical solutions, since at least in theory you could construct a model that explained the development. Of course this didn't get me anywhere because without a thorough understanding of the theological developments there was no way to distinguish between early and late material.

This situation is compounded in view by an atmosphere of sophomoric theories and silliness bred from ignorance of those in the field. I decided they were all nuts, and undisciplined, or rather unwilling to cross pollinate with higher critics and gain insights, and so were hopelessly locked in a useless battle pitting one flawed theory against another. Today however knowing Marcion's text and theological and historical events which shaped the New Testament, I now have the tools to break down Matthew's unique structure and explain in the context of known history, not fiction.

Matthew's structure is unique among the Synoptic Gospels. The sequences of stories, while on the micro level follows pattern of the others, is in the large picture scrambled. Even the so called Q document stories and sayings do not follow the sequence of Luke. The rather obvious conclusion is Matthew structured his gospel differently because his emphasis was other than telling a linear story. His blocks served another purpose. And the block I am concerned with is the Sermon on the Mount, which itself consists of three sections: the first in chapter 5 builds around Luke's blessings and sayings in 6:20-36, adding elements from elsewhere in Luke, commenting all the while on Marcion's antithesis as we will demonstrate; chapter 7 is built upon the sayings of Luke 6:37-49 with a few sayings from the central section; while chapter 6 is focused on piety, collecting a variety of sayings from Luke's central section. My focus here is on the first section, chapter 5, and specifically how it was built on Marcion's antithesis.

The Synoptic Gospel Problem

This is my ten thousand foot view of the Synoptic problem, and how it is best explained. ^[1] First we really have four Synoptic Gospels, since Marcion (Gospel of the Lord) can be almost entirely reconstructed - none publicly available are critical scholarship quality, and I have only partially done so on a per need basis for my other work. [The solution that works best](#) to explain all the evidence is this

1. an ür-Gospel, let's call it "L" is written with the basic sequence
2. a variant ür-Gospel of an early "L" is written with additional material (e.g., 4000 loop), call it "M"
3. Marcion's Gospel is written using "L" as a backbone, stories and sayings from Marcion's camp are added
4. Matthew is written using "M" and Marcion's Gospel, and for chapter five Marcion's Antithesis as sources
5. Mark is written conflating "L" and "M"
6. Luke is written using Marcion's Gospel as a base, plus Matthew and other sources, replaces Marcion
7. Catholic additions here and there to all three Synoptic Gospels into the 3rd century

note: Matthew and Luke also made extensive use of the LXX as a source

These are the dates that best fit

1. ür-Gospel "L" no earlier than 120 CE, no later than 135 CE, has references to events early in 2nd century
2. ür-Gospel "M" no earlier than 140 CE, due to reference to Hadrian's statue in Aelia Capitolina
3. Gospel of the Lord likely dates 135-145 CE, it is after "L" and also after Law having ended in Judea
4. Matthew has to be after "M" and Gospel of the Lord, while Antoninus was Emperor, so 150-160 CE
5. Mark can be no earlier than M, so 145-175 CE, seems to have been known only after Matthew
6. Luke built on Marcion, Ebionite, and Matthew Gospels, before Irenaeus, so 165-175 CE

note: Mark is isolated from the rest of the Synoptic development, built on two ür-Gospels, nothing else.

The dating and order is based on internal dependence and first solid verification of the books. Irenaeus, probably writing around 190 CE, and Justin who probably wrote a few years before Irenaeus, probably 180-185 CE, are the only solid 2nd century witnesses. The dating of these men earlier and of others relies on unreliable and often fraudulent writings and unsupported speculation. I am sticking to more solid dates here.

Sources of Matthew Chapter 5:

The basic take away from the outline I gave above is that Matthew and Mark have a common underlying ür-Gospel source which I call "M." So whenever I talk about Matthew using Mark's reading I am actually referring to the lost source which underlies Matthew and Mark.

The next point I wish to make is determining the order of dependence the best approach is to use a concept from Textual Criticism when you have multiple variants, as is the case in the Synoptic Gospel verses, which is to ask the question which reading best explains the others. The most interesting application of this concept for Matthew's Sermon is the Salt saying. The saying occupies different locations in each of the three synoptic gospels, so it's original placement is in doubt - Mark's placement seems right however, but that is another story. Going through the analysis will be instructive into how this concept works looking at the three accounts

Matthew 5:13

You are the salt of the earth; but if the salt becomes tasteless, how will it become salty again?

It is no longer good for anything except to be thrown out for men to trample upon.

Ἦμεῖς ἐστέ τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς· ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας μωρανθῇ, ἐν τίνι ἀλισθήσεται;
εἰς οὐδὲν ἰσχύει ἔτι εἰ μὴ βληθὲν ἔξω καταπατεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Mark 9:50 ^[2]

Salt is good; but if the salt becomes unsalted, how will you season it?

Have salt in yourself.

Καλὸν τὸ ἅλας· ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας ἀναλον γένηται, ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτύσετε;
ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλα.

Luke 14:34-35 ^[3]

Salt then is good; but if even salt becomes tasteless, how can it season?

Neither for soil nor for manure is it suitable, they throw it out.

Καλὸν οὖν τὸ ἅλας· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἅλας μωρανθῇ, ἐν τίνι ἀρτυθήσεται;
οὔτε εἰς γῆν οὔτε εἰς κοπρίαν εὐθετόν ἐστιν, ἔξω βάλλουσιν αὐτό.

The initial impression looking at the three versions is that Mark's version seems the most primitive, it appears lacks any religious connotations, a folksy saying that could have come from any Mediterranean culture. The construction is also the simplest *Καλὸν τὸ ἅλας* has a poetic symmetric to *τὸ ἅλας ἀναλον*, and fits the punch line in keeping the salt theme, "have salt in yourself" *ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλα*, as a way of saying, 'so be an interesting person.' The only element that looks to be a Mark addition is *αὐτό*, which changes the question from "how can it (the salt) season" to "how can you season with it?" This was probably added with the answering suggestion in mind, personalizing the act. But this is a misreading; the original had the salt as the object not the reader. That *αὐτό* is missing from the two accounts in Luke and Matthew built upon this suggest also that it was not in the original saying.

Luke's version has several markers to show that it was derivative from Mark's version. The *οὖν* was added in

context to the prior verses 14:27, 33 on bearing the cross, indicating the saying has been moved and adjusted for a commentary on those verses. Luke changes "becomes unsalted" ἀναλον γένηται to "tasteless" μωρανθῆ so to demonstrate that the salt has become worthless. This fits his analogy that those who cannot renounce all they have in verse 14:33 are no suitable for spreading or tending to the Christian movement, and thus the conclusion, "neither is it suitable for soil nor manure," so "they throw it out" ἔξω βάλλουσιν αὐτό. The folksy saying has been paraphrased –a characteristic seen often in Marcion's Antithesis– and the punch line dropped to keep the focus on the prior verses.

Matthew inherits "tasteless" μωρανθῆ from Luke's version. He betrays that he built upon Luke's concept of being suitable for neither earth/soil nor manure/fertilizer, so is no longer good for anything except being thrown out (ἔξω καταπατεῖσθαι) for men trample over (ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων). The development on Luke's version is pretty obvious, going from no good for soil or fertilizer (obviously not since its salt), but has use then for roads since even useless salt wont let weeds grow on the road.

But Matthew also shows use of Mark's version. The punch line in Mark, ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἄλα, has been transformed into that most iconic and colorful saying, "You are the salt of the earth" Ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ τὸ ἄλας τῆς γῆς. It has gone from advice to not be boring, to a declaration that believers are the ones who season the world in flavor. Matthew's question, "how will it become salty again" ἐν τίνι ἀλισθήσεται, makes sense with Mark's set up "but if the salt becomes unsalty" ἀν δὲ τὸ ἄλας ἀναλον γένηται, since Luke's version would seem naturally ask about recovering taste not saltiness. Thus Matthew's version can best be explained as building upon Luke and Mark, while Luke is derivative of Mark, missing the additional elements in Matthew. The original read as in Mark, only deleting αὐτό.

The construction in Matthew, moving the punch line to the start, and transforming it into a declaration of a characteristic of being a true Christian, lets us know the iconic saying in verse 5:15, "You are the light of the world" Ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου, is also a phrase invented by Matthew. ^[4] I have my doubts about οὐ δύναται πόλις κρυβῆναι ἐπάνω ὄρους κειμένη, but verse 5:16 is derived from Luke 11:33-37, and 5:15 can be seen as personalizing the Lamp saying in the same manner as the Salt saying in the prior verse.

A final note, the version in Luke is not attested in Marcion, so the result of this analysis is instructive in confirming its presence and location in Marcion is identical to the version we received in Luke.

On Seeing God, Matthew 5:8:

Among the expanded blessings of Matthew verse 5:8 as shown here

Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῆ καρδία, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται.

On the surface this seems a tame enough, but it elicited a considerable and strong reply from the Marcionites. In the pseudo-Clement Recognitions 3.29, Simon Magus takes objection to this blessing, as contradicting Torah Law, specifically Exodus 33:20 ^[5]

You (Peter) said now that God is visible to no one ... then (you say) those who are pure in heart shall see God; which statement is contrary to the law, for there it is written that God said, 'None shall see my face and live.'

This objection comes directly from the Antithesis, as Tertullian states in AM 2.27.4-5, which juxtaposes a paraphrase of Luke 10:22 (Matthew 11:27) against Exodus 33:22

With regard, however, to the Father, the very gospel which is common to us will testify that He was never visible, according to the word of Christ: "No man knows the Father, save the Son." For even in the Old Testament He had declared, "No man shall see me, and live."

Ceterum patrem nemini visum etiam commune testabitur evangelium dicente Christo, Nemo cognovit patrem nisi filius. ^[6] Ipse enim et veteri testamento pronuntiarat, Deum nemo videbit et vivet.

What confirms that this objection was by Marcionites, and not just the much later Manicheans who Simon Magus is championing, becomes clear when we realize that the Marcionites also objected to Matthew 5:17, which we need to examine first before resolving

Fulfill or Abolish the Law? Matthew 5:17:

Matthew 5:17 is a direct response to Marcion and his claim that Christ ended the Law (Romans 10:4), stating bluntly,

Do not think that I came to abolish the Law or the prophets; I did not come to abolish but to fulfill
Μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφῆτας· οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι

Like the declarations of "salt of the earth" and "light of the world" to introduce sayings in 5:14 and 5:15, this declaration announce Matthew 5:18, which itself was constructed from Luke 21:33 / Mark 13:27 / Matthew 24:35, (also Luke 16:17 in Marcionite from) by changing *λόγοι μου* to *τοῦ νόμου* not only to show that Christ fulfills the Law but also that the whole Torah Law will be in force, as informed in verse 5:19. This is a direct attack on the Marcionite position as Irenaeus relates in *Omnium Haeresium Refutio* 1.27.2

But **Jesus** being derived from that father who is above the God that made the world, and coming into Judea in the times of Pontius Pilate the governor, who was the procurator of Tiberius Caesar, was manifested in the form of a man to those who were in Judea, **abolishing the prophets and the law**, and all the works of that God who made the world, whom also he calls Cosmocrator.

Iesum autem ab eo Patre, qui est super mundi fabricatorem Deum, venientem in Iudaeam temporibus Pontii Pilati praesidis, qui fuit procurator Tiberii Caesaris, in hominis forma manifestatum his qui in Iudaea erant, dissolventem prophetas, et Legem, et omnia opera eius Dei qui mundum fecit, quem et Cosmocratorem dicit.

And there was a considerable reaction to Matthew 5:17. Tertullian comments four times about the Marcionite objection to Matthew 5:17, in AM 4.9.10-15, 4.12.14, AM 4.36.6, and AM 5.14.14 below

"*I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfill it.*" The man, however, averred that He did not utter this saying at all; for he held that when we find that He did abrogate that same law, we are bound to give heed, above all other considerations, to the thing which He actually did. whether Christ did or did not say, "*I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfill it?*" In vain has (our man of) Pontus labored to deny this statement.

Si vero evangelium Christi hoc praecepto adimpletur, Christi autem non est creatoris, quo iam contendimus? Dixerit Christus an non, Ego non veni legem dissolvere sed implere, frustra de ista sententia neganda Pontus laboravit.

And again by Hegemonius commenting on the Manichean's position in Acta Archelai 40

When I heard such a sentiment propounded, I repeated to the people that sentence of the Gospel in which our Lord Jesus Christ said of Himself:

"*I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfill it.*"

The man, however, averred that He did not utter this saying at all; for he held that when we find that He did abrogate that same law,

Ego audiens dicebam ei sermonem euangelicum, quomodo dixit dominus noster Iesus Christus: Non veni solvere legem, sed ad implere.

Ille vero ait nequaquam eum hunc dixisse sermonem; cum enim ipsam inveniamus eum resolvisse legem

This is repeated in DA 2.15 when Adamantius says of the Marcionite Marcus

But why must we prolong the discussion? It is least clear that the Savior came to fulfill the Law; Marcus' people assert that he came to destroy it.

καὶ τί δεῖ μὴ κύνειν τὸν λόγον; φανερῶς γοῦν τοῦ σωτῆρος πληρῶσαι ἐλθόντος τὸν νόμον, οὗτοι καταλύειν φάσκουσι.

Sed qui necesse est sermonem nimium dilatare singula replicando, cum manifestissime saluator non, ut isti dicunt, soluere legem uenit sed adimplere

These accounts leave no question that the Marcionites rejected the concept of Christ fulfilling Torah Law. It appears that this objection even found its way into the Antithesis, ^[7] as Marcus replies in AD 2.15

The Judaizers wrote this,

I did not come to destroy the Law, but to fulfill it.

But Christ did not speak this way. He says,

I did not come to fulfill the Law but to destroy it.

τοῦτο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἔργασαν,

τὸ οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι·

οὐκ οὕτως δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Χριστός, λέγει γάρ·

οὐκ ἦλθον πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον ἀλλὰ καταλῦσαι.

Hoc illi scripsurent qui iudaizabant, hoc est:

Non veni solvere legem sed adimplere.

Christis autem non ut dixit, sed ita dicit:

Non veni adimplere legem sed solvere.

The interaction between Matthew chapter 5 and the Marcionites has been fairly well established. They were the target of the verses, and they responded furiously, such that all the witnesses granted the position was not one on which the Marcionites would accept debate.

On Seeing God, returning to Matthew 5:8:

Matthew 5:8 created quite a theological problem where Christians can see God, that is the Old Testament God of the Law and yet not violate the Law of Moses, and specifically Exodus 33:20. Irenaeus dances around it in *Against All Heresies* 4.20.5-12, ^[8] giving any manner of possibilities for seeing God such as visions. Irenaeus though makes it clear his response is directly to the Marcionite Antithesis as he states 4.20.5 citing Matthew 5:8 and Exodus 33:20, by splitting (!) God into a visible part, and an invisible part

The prophets, then, indicated beforehand that God should be seen by men; as the Lord also says, "*Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.*" But in respect to His greatness, and His wonderful glory, "*no man shall see God and live,*" for the Father is incomprehensible;

Praesignificabant igitur prophetae quoniam videbitur Deus ab hominibus; quemadmodum et Dominus ait: *Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt. Sed seeundum magnitudinem quidem ejus, et mirabilem gloriam, nemo videbit Deum, et vivit; incapabilis enim Pater.*

Origen in *Contra Celsus* introduces the concept of seeing with your heart and not your eyes as means to get around the problem. What is very clear, is that while Tertullian simply sees the verse as an example of the Marcionites disagreeing with him about what the Lord did or did not say, for Origen and Irenaeus this created a major theological problem, as they held the Old Testament as accurate on this point, forcing them to defend an embarrassing position.

However for the mid-3rd Century the Jewish Christian writer of the pseudo-Clement *Recognitions* had an answer, in 3.21 by turning to Matthew 22:30,

"God is seen by the mind, not by the body; by the spirit, not by the flesh. Whence also angels, who are spirits, see God; and therefore men, as long as they are men, cannot see Him. But after the resurrection of the dead, *when they shall have been made like the angels*"

This concept in Matthew 22:30, carried directly into Ebionite thought (a hint perhaps about the Gospels origin), but can be seen as a development of the Pauline theology concerning resurrection of the dead on 1 Corinthians 15. It's a bit convoluted, but it's a way of thinking about seeing God in a new eternal body, and the old mortal body has already perished. Not quite the way Irenaeus or Origen looked at it.

This declaration is not a mistake, if Mark's placement is correct for the Salt saying, Matthew then in the verse 18:10 which sits in its place makes the exact same statement about seeing God, this time it's the "little ones" with a warning against heretics thinking themselves better than followers of Matthew's position

See (that) you do not look down upon one of these little ones

For I say to you that their angels in heavens

continually see the face of my father, who is in the heavens.

Ὅρατε μὴ καταφρονήσητε ἐνὸς τῶν μικρῶν τούτων·

λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς

διὰ παντὸς βλέπουσι τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς.

Matthew's statement in verse 8:10 has additional implication in verse 5:8, namely that there are Christians who are not pure in heart (οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ): suggesting heretics, who in Matthew 8:11-2, will find they cannot sit at the table of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven (καὶ ανακλιθῆσονται μετὰ αβραάμ καὶ ἰσαακ καὶ ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν), and will be thrown out of that heaven into the outer darkness (οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβληθήσονται εἰς τὸ σκοτὸς τοῦ ἐξωτέρου). The parallel to fate described in Jude 13 is striking, derives from the same heavenly cosmology.

wandering stars for whom the nether gloom of darkness has been reserved for ever

ἀστέρες πλανῆται οἷς ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηται.

The Blessings:

Having demonstrated Matthew's sources it is time to go back and look at the first ten verses of the Sermon of the Mount, 5:3-12, and see how they are an expansion of the list of the Beatitudes from the Marcionite Gospel, as in Luke 6:20-24.

Luke's blessings can be divided into two parts, the three short blessings (6:20-21) and the longer one on persecution (6:22-23). The relationship of the first three blessing of Luke against Matthew 5:3-9 shows an expansion in each case. The first blessing in Luke 6:20 is simply "Blessed are you poor, for yours is the kingdom of God," which also starts Matthew, but with two significant changes. The first is the kingdom is changed from God to heaven, which is more than just the literal depiction of the location of the kingdom in the skies, but most important it is the only heaven, not the third heaven of Marcion's God above the sky and the second of the Creator's heaven – a subtle but important distinction. Second, Matthew says "poor in spirit" adding τῷ πνεύματι. This is a strange and failed transformation. In Luke/Marcion the statement is a turnabout in social status, with the sentiments of 1 Corinthians 1:27 "God has chosen the weak things of the world to shame the strong things" (τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου ἐχέλεχάτο ὁ θεὸς ἵνα κατασχῶν τὰ ἰσχυρά) with the transformation to heavenly bodies from shamefulness to glory as depicted in 1 Corinthians 15:42-43, 47. In Matthew this train of thought is lost, that the poor elements of a human body become the rich elements in heaven. Matthew attempts instead to speak in terms of the spirit, meaning to convey that heaven is not for those who seem to be something but for the ordinary parishioner, the one who has not great works, and whose spirit is a mixed bag. The nonsense of it is that those without strong faith can reach heaven, and that was probably not what Matthew intended.

Two additional small blessings are appended, those who mourn being comforted, and importantly the meek inheriting the earth. While the former is similar to Luke 6:21 ("weep" to "laugh," μακάριοι ἐν οἷς ἐκείνη πεινῶντες τῇ νῦν, ὥρα ὅτι ἐθεράπευσεν χορτασθήσεσθε) the latter shows a clear distinction from Marcion, where unlike the statement in Colossians 3:2 in which believers are to set their minds on heave and not things on earth (τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε, μὴ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) as well as many other passages that make clear the things of earth are not worth having, Matthew sets earth as a place worthy of the saintly, a viewpoint shared with the Jewish Christian frame of reference shown in Revelation.

The second of the Luke/Marcion blessings, "Blessed are you that hunger now," was extended in Matthew 5:6 with, "and thirst for righteousness" (καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην) to make a point that zealotry for the Torah Law which is in focus (see Matthew 5:17ff above). And this thirst for righteousness finds a counter echo in the Marcionite text of Romans 9:31-32, 10:2-4, where righteousness is a foolish thing to seek after on its own, the trap of the Jewish Christians, but rather is obtained by faith. So Matthew has transformed the Luke/Marcion turnabout of fortune to an itemized reward system, a delineated class structure for Christians.

Three additional small blessings, the merciful who will gain mercy, the pure of heart who will see God, and the pacifists who will be called sons of God. The pure of heart we discussed above, so just a quick look at the other two which brought no controversy. Unlike Luke 6:21 where there is a turn about in fate, so that weeping from sorrow becomes laughter and happiness, and the hungry get sated, we see in Matthew a payback in kind, as the merciful (*οἱ ἐλεήμονες*) get mercy (*αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται*); it lacks the profundity of the Luke's examples. So what we have here is simply category checking off, good things for good people. Finally the pacifists (*οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί*) are not named but "called," meaning invited, to be sons of God (*υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται*) in the same sense that the Catholic version of Romans 1:1 Paul is called to be an apostle (*κλητὸς ἀπόστολος*). This signifies a selection, betraying a subtle theological difference from the Marcionite.

Finally Matthew 5:10-12 deals with persecution and is built directly upon Luke 6:22-23 in Marcionite form (e.g., AM 4.14.14-17 indicates that Marcion lacked "and when they exclude you" *καὶ ὅταν ἀφορίσωσιν ὑμᾶς*, while AM 4.15.1 only attests the last phrase about persecution in 6:23, making the presence of reward uncertain), expanded and modified to fit Matthew's sensibilities. Working backwards, in 5:12 "as also their fathers did to the prophets" *κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐποίουν τοῖς προφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν*, was changed to a more generic "for so men persecuted the prophets" *οὕτως γὰρ ἐδίωξαν τοὺς προφήτας* to remove the stigma Marcionites attached to Jews and thus Jewish Christians, who admire the Torah, as Matthew's objection was just as strong as the Marcionites was against the concept of Christ upholding the Law. When Luke's addition about being excluded is removed from the text of 6:22, there really are no other significant content differences between Matthew 5:11-12 and Luke 6:22-23, notwithstanding the lack of attestation of rejoicing and gaining a reward in heaven in Marcion's account - it's simply indeterminable.

But Matthew 5:10 has no parallel, it is a new construction from Matthew. It is a new category of persecution, those who are persecuted for righteousness, which in Matthew means upholding the Law, something Marcion's Paul in Galatians equates with Circumcision (a subject covered in depth in my blog on [Paul and Hadrian](#)) perhaps indicating a class with Roman authorities over the issue. But it could also simply be a second version of "blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness" in verse 5:6, who are also being given a place in heaven. What indicates however, since righteousness is listed twice in the blessings, is how important that zealotry for the Torah is for Matthew, as can be seen in verses 5:17-20.

The Pairs, Old and New

We finally come to the main course. There are five counter points to Marcion in Matthew Chapter five, each consisting of an Old Testament paraphrase from the Antithesis with a new statement from Jesus that replaces or enhances it, with follow material to clarify the points. These counter points consist of verses 5:21-26, 5:27-32, 5:33-37, 5:38-42, and 5:43-48.

For Marcion the mission of the Antithesis is clearly and accurately stated by Tertullian in AM 4.6.1

For it is certain that the whole aim at which he has strenuously labored even in the drawing up of his *Antitheses*, centers in this, that he may establish a diversity between the Old and the New Testaments, so that his own Christ may be separate from the Creator, as belonging to this other god, *and* as alien from the law and the prophets.

Certe enim totum quod elaboravit etiam Antitheses prae struendo in hoc cogit, ut veteris et novi testamenti diversitatem constituat, proinde Christum suum a creatore separatum, ut dei alterius, ut alienum legis et prophetarum.

But as we shall see Matthew has very much the opposite in mind in his pairings, as he declared in 5:17 above, he aims to support the law and prophets.

'You Shall Not Kill' and the Method for Excommunication

The first counter Antithesis point from verses 5:21-26 declares:

You have heard it was said by the ancients, 'Do not kill,' and whoever kills, will be subject to judgment. But I say to you that everyone who is angry with his brother will be subject to judgment;
Ἦκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, Οὐ φονεύσεις· ὃς δ' ἂν φονεύσῃ, ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει.
ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει·

The opening phrase "Do not Kill" Οὐ φονεύσεις is almost from the Antithesis, with the wording adjusted to fit Matthew's needs. Reference to the Old Testament Scriptures as Ὁ προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς γενέσεως of the Antithesis (see below) is adjusted to Ἦκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη, but in the first instance to show its higher stature as the first mention of the ten commandments τοῖς ἀρχαίοις was added. And in reply Jesus simply says γὰρ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι since Matthew personalized instead of following the third person ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀγαθὸς ὢν, λέγει of Dialogue Adamantius. So a formula is established, and onto the content.

Marcion did not oppose the Decalogue commands, as is clear from Romans 13:9 and Luke 18:20, rather he presented and juxtaposed the positive command "love your neighbor as yourself" from Leviticus 19:18 as summing up (ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται) or fulfilling (πεπλήρωται) in the Law, as shown in Luke 10:25, Romans 13:8, 10, and Galatians 5:14, and corresponding to the idea in Galatians 5:22-23 that there is no Law against doing good. The emphasis is thus shifted from fear of the bad to striving for the happiness of the good.

Unlike the juxtaposing of liberating or reforming statement against the negative of the Old Testament, in order to show that Christ is fulfilling the Law, Matthew shows here a more strident interpretation. Here he applies even being angry, which we see from the subsequent verses implies disobedience and strife with church officials, that is your brother (τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ),^[9] and also implies similar rank or recognized as such. So it is an ecclesiastical offense in sight.

That explains the follow on decrees, which includes an unknown insult of Syriac or Aramaic origin "Raca" (Ρακά) verse 5:22, which seems to imply a very serious ecclesiastical challenge like calling them a hypocrite. Nothing lesser seems strong enough to merit the calling of a council "Sanhedrin" (συνεδρίῳ) of bishops, ministers, and maybe elders to have a hearing; this simply isn't something you are going to do if some idiot in the congregation calls another member a name. But it is revealing in another way. It is the first proscription for excommunication of heretics, and it is for causing strife. The case of simple name calling, like the term fool (Μωρέ), and notably not to a brother, so corresponds to quarrels among the congregation, simply says you'll be judged, it doesn't call for a trial.

Verses 5:23-26 are more generalized. They are archeologically interesting in telling us about the early practices of Christians. The mention of gifts before the altar makes it clear this is not different than other Roman cults of the period, except that there probably wasn't a large temple available, so it would have looked like any local neighborhood place of worship, a simple interior room with some altar, probably with some decorations. The comments about settling with your opponent (ἀντιδίκῳ) as you travel (ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ) -that is metaphorically through life not going from one place to another- to avoid getting tangled in the legal system is also a revealing statement; this indicates Christians had disputes which could land in the Roman courts with potentially unpredictable results. This looks like the first effort by the church to settle disputes in house, which eventually becomes a parallel legal system in the west.

'You Shall Not Commit Adultery'

Verses 5:27-28 follow the same formula for this Decalogue command against adultery as in verse 5:21 for murder, with Jesus presenting a more stringent rendering of the Torah Law, as opposed to the positive reform the Marcionite Antithesis presents. Verses 5:29-30, which are a doublets of 18:8-9 on offending eyes and hands, occasioned by the lust in your heart from looking at a woman, are a digression from the divorce theme which are not worth evaluating further, except it does confirm that Matthew was looking at chapter 18 making in constructing this chapter from where he grabbed the salt saying of verse 5:14 above.

The interesting thing about verses 5:31-32 is the introduction "it was said" (Ἐρρέθη δέ) with respect to a husband issuing a certificate of divorce (ἀποστάσιον) appears to reference Deuteronomy 24:1-4 (LXX βιβλίον

ἀποστάσιον) where divorce is allowed for "indecenty." Here that indecenty is defined as adultery. So Matthew has gone against Luke 16:18 and the Marcionite prohibition against divorce. The Marcionites saw divorce as creating adultery, but Matthew reverses that ruling and gives higher standing to the exception from the Law by placing it in the Sermon on the Mount at the start of Jesus' mission. (Note, this provision certainly made it easier for Roman Citizens and Freemen to accept Christianity, as it conformed better to Roman custom and law)

On Vows

Unlike the two prior pairings this pairing on vows in Matthew 5:34-37 seems to actually be fully compatible with the Marcionite Antithesis. The saying "Do not break your vows, but you will repay the lord of your vows" (Οὐκ ἐπιорκήσεις, ἀποδώσεις δὲ τῷ κυρίῳ τοὺς ὄρκους σου) is an inexact paraphrase of Deuteronomy 23:21 (see also Number 30:2) which is consistent with the character of the Antithesis. Matthew again uses ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις form indicating his source is not the LXX, which in Chapter 4 (4:4, 6, 7, 10) he used γέγραπται to introduce it. Further an Antithetical pair is in the picture when Jesus responds, "but I say to you do not swear at all" (ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὁμόσαι ὄλως) and instead suggests doing something based on 2 Corinthians 1:20 in verse 5:37 "Let your word yes be yes and no be no" (ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν ναὶ ναί, οὐ οὐ). This I suggest is the original Antithesis

Matthew, rather than inverting Marcion's Antithesis instead inserts four "neither ... for that" (μήτε .. ὅτι) clauses, which outline his cosmological view. Not by the heavens, that is the skies, for God's throne is there -the Jewish God, as Marcion's High God is above the Heavens-, and so on. The one which interests me here is "Not by Jerusalem, for that is the city of the great King." There is only one great King, and that is Caesar. And Jerusalem was named *Aelia Capitolina*, which translates to the Capital of Aelius, Hadrian's family name (Caesar Publius *Aelius* Traianus Hadrianus Buccellanus Augustus), which was shared by his successor Antoninus Pius (Caesar Titus *Aelius* Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius), a situation which lasted from 135 until 161 CE, narrowing the window for Matthew's composition. ^[10]

'Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth'

The "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth" is the first of two verified Antithesis pairs found in Matthew, something which so astonished me when I discovered it that I wrote [a quick blog post in March](#) without much analysis.

We see Dialogue Adamantius 1.15 presents a paraphrase of Exodus 21:24 / Leviticus 24:20 / Deuteronomy 19:21 juxtaposed against a paraphrase of Luke 6:29 as shown here

It says in the Law, '*Eye for Eye and tooth for tooth,*'
but the Lord, because He is good, says in the Gospel,
'*If anyone should slap you on the cheek, turn the other one to him.*'
Ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λέγει· ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος,
ὁ δὲ κύριος, ἀγαθὸς ὢν, λέγει ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ·
ἐάν τις σε ῥάπιση εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα, παράθες αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην.
In lege scriptum est: Oculum pro oculo, dentem pro dente.
Dominus autem, qui bonus est, dicit in euangelio:
Si quis te percusserit in dexteram maimillam, praebe ei et alteram.

And Matthew 5:38-39 has the same

You have heard that it was said, '*Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth.*'
But I say to you not to oppose the evil one,
but whoever strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him also the other;
Ἦκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη Ὅφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος.
ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ·
ἀλλ' ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην·

Allowing for voice and variance (e.g., Western support *σπαγόνα σου* for *δεξιὰν σπαγόνα* which is rated uncertain) we are looking at Matthew having taken nearly verbatim this Antithesis pair, even including reading *ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος* against the LXX *ὀδοῦς ἀντὶ ὀδοῦς* (all three verse). The odds are long the source was anything else.

We have confirmation from Tertullian 2.18.1 that the Law of retaliation "eye for eye, tooth for tooth, stripe for stripe" (*oculum pro oculo, dentera pro dente, et livorem pro livore*) is part of the Antithesis in respect to the provision of taking vengeance. But he defends it by citing Deuteronomy 32:35 as used in Romans 12:19 to claim that it is restricted to God (*Mihi defensam, et ego defendam, dicit dominus*). He never addresses the turning of the cheek, which is not to say it wasn't before him, simply that he was defending the Old Testament with other Old Testament quotes.

The follow on verses 5:40-42 on also turning over your tunic and lending to those who ask, is Matthew's adaptation of Luke 6:29-30, indicating he is aware of the New Testament source of Antithesis pair. There is no difference with the Marcionite position on this issue.

'Hate Your Enemy'

Lastly we come to the smoking gun proving beyond any doubts that Matthew has been using Marcion's Antithesis. In Dialogue 1.12, Adamantius Megathius presents the Antithesis pair, paraphrasing Leviticus 19:18 LXX, which adds the phrase "and you shall hate your enemies" (*καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου*) which is not to be found in any manuscript or source.

The one who is Lord of the Law says,

'You shall love him who loves you and you shall hate your enemy.'

But our Lord, because he is good, says

'Love your enemies, and pray for those who persecute you.'

Ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κύριος λέγει·

ἀγαπήσεις σεις τὸν ἀγαπῶντά σε, καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου·

ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀγαθὸς ὢν, λέγει·

ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ εὐχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωχόντων ὑμᾶς.

In lege deus dicit:

Diligite diligentem te, et odio habebis inimicum tuum.

Noster autem bonus dominis dicit:

Diligite inimicos uestros, et orate pro eis qui persecuntur uos.

And in Matthew 5:43-44 we not only see the same juxtaposing of a paraphrased Leviticus 19:18 with Luke 6:27-28, but allowing for voice and small variance, both the same wording of the Luke paraphrase and the same addition to Leviticus 19:18 about hating your enemy

You have heard that it was said,

'Love your neighbor and hate your enemy.'

But I say to you,

'Love your enemies and pray for those persecuting you,'

Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη

Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου.

ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν,

ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.

This cannot be a coincidence. Either Marcion built his Antithesis upon Matthew, or Matthew built this chapter upon Marcion's Antithesis. The former was demonstrated impossible with the Salt saying, demonstrating that Matthew had knowledge and dependence upon Marcion's Gospel but Marcion has no knowledge of Matthew. (Note, the same cannot be said of Luke's Gospel.)

The remainder of the block, verses 5:45-48, again attack the Marcionite position, making clear the God of Jesus is the Jewish God. In 5:45 God is said to make the sun rise on good and evil, and rain on the righteous and

unrighteous, a paraphrase of some unknown LXX verse(s), making clear he is the Lord of the world. The same opposed by Marcion's Paul in 2 Corinthians 4:4 (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου) and Laodiceans 2:2 (τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐχουσίας τοῦ ἄερος). This verse is demonstrated as a point of contention in the pseudo Clement Homilies 18.2 where Peter confirms it is the God of Creation and Simon responds that such a statement shows the Creator is inconsistent with himself, an Antithesis point

I then affirm that the man who bestows goods is good, just as I see the Framer of the world doing when he gives the sun to the good, and the rain to the just and unjust.”

ἐγὼ φημι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν παρεκτικόν, οἷον ὡς αὐτὸν ὁρῶ ποιοῦντα τὸν δημιουργόν, παρέχοντα τὸν ἥλιον ἀγαθοῖς καὶ κακοῖς καὶ τὸν ὑετὸν δικαίοις καὶ ἀδίκους.

And Simon said: “It is most unjust that he should give the same to the just and the unjust.”

καὶ ὁ Σίμων ἔφη· Τοῦτο ἀδικώτατον ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ δικαίοις καὶ ἀδίκους παρέχει.

Finally 5:48 closes the chapter declaring in the same super Torah fashion of verse 5:20, asking Christians to be perfect like their father in heaven. This one ups 1 Corinthians 4:6 and 11:1 where Paul asks followers to imitate him (as he also Christ), and seems to have inspired the Catholic editor to write in Ephesians 1:1 "Therefore be imitators of God, as beloved children" (γίνεσθε οὖν μιμηταὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς τέκνα ἀγαπητά); a proposition that is beyond all in being strict and demanding.

The Antithesis

Marcion's work known as the Antithesis (per 1 Timothy 6:20 ἀντιθέσεις) has not survived. However a number of the phrases in it have survived, in the form of the testimony of Terullian in *Adversus Marcionem* (c. 207-213 CE), in the statements of Marcus and Megathius in the first two books of Dialogue Adamantius (c.290 CE), as well as the anti-Manichean works known as the pseudo Clement Recognitions (only the Latin version of Rufinus survived, c. 390 CE) and Homilies from roughly the middle of the 4th century, and chapter 40 of *Acta Archelai* (4th century, Epiphanius reproduced sections of *Acta Archelai* in Panarion c. 375-76 CE). To that list of sources, I also propose that Matthew Chapter 5, also provides a testimony to the content of the Antithesis.

The exact form the book took is unknown, even of how the opposing verses were present. Matthew introduces the Old Testament first with "You have heard it said that" Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη (Matthew 5:21, 27, 33, 38, 43); Dialogue Adamantius also introduces the Old Testament first in the Antithetical pairs, but with the phrase "The prophet of the God of creation" Ὁ προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς γενέσεως (DA 1:10, 1:11, 1:13, 1:16, 1:19, 1:20). Matthew then follows with Jesus' declaration "But I say to you that" ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι (Matthew 5:22, 28, 34, 39, 44); Dialogue Adamantius similarly gives his New Testament response with "but our lord who because he is good" ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀγαθὸς ὢν (DA 1:10, 1:11, 1:12, 1:13, 1:16, 1:20). The striking resemblance in form is further support that Matthew is responding specifically to the Antithesis in chapter 5. Matthew 5:34-37 at the very least provides reconstruction of an additional pair, while 5:21-26 and 5:27-32 offer hints there were a set of Decalogue Antithetical pairs although their reconstruction is at best problematic.

While the pairing of statements, juxtaposing the Old against the New, stand out, there are other structure in both chapter five of Matthew and in the Antithesis. We can see from Simon's dialogue about the creation of Man and the breathing of his spirit, that a considerable portion of the Antithesis was composed of a similar exegesis of the Old Testament.

What is clear is that Matthew chapter 5 is a new source, which if used carefully, can help us reconstruct the Marcionite Antithesis. As we have shown here at least one new exegetical pair has been identified, and the form of the pairs now has an additional source beyond Megethius statements in Dialogue Adamantius. We have also gained some insight into the source, time frame and purpose for Matthew Sermon on the Mount. Hopefully others will find this exercise useful.

Footnotes

^[1] I am not going to supply any evidence now, it is a rather complicated argument with dozens of examples. But I place merely for perspective, so I ask you to suspend judgment.

^[2] Mark 9:50(b) "and be at peace with one another" (καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις) is not part of the saying. It fills the role of marking the end of a Jesus saying section begun in 9:39, as a segway follows.

^[3] Luke 14:35(b) "Those having ears to her let them hear!" (Ὁ ἔχων ὄτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω) is not part of the saying, but rather added by Luke, post Marcion, to mark that Jesus' speech begun in 14:27 is concluded, and also to accentuate the focus on the saying being an interpretation of Luke 14:27 and 33.

^[4] The RSV footnotes show Philippians 2:15 as a possible source for Matthew 5:14, but this verse is a Catholic interpolation into Paul, so it's the other way around ἐν οἷς φαίνεσθε ὡς φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ was inspired by Matthew - note γενεὰς σκολίας καὶ διεστραμμένης "wicked and perverse generation" is not a Marcionite idea, but it is consistent with later Catholic theology.

^[5] Rufinus (d. 410 CE) translated the Clement Recognitions into Latin around 390 CE. The Recognitions and Homilies appear to have been written in Syria by Ebionite Christians in the 4th century to counter the Manichean movement. From the Hegemonius *Acta Archelai* XL we have confirmation that the Manicheans had contact with the Marcionites and made use of the Antithesis to attacking Orthodox Christianity its chief rival in the Roman Empire. Simon Magus' comments in the pseudo Clement literature agrees in almost every point with Antithesis, providing us with a rich source along with Tertullian *Adversus Marcionem* and Hegemonius *Acta Archelai* XL. I have not been able to find a copy of the Recognitions in Latin, and have only the English translations to go by, so I cannot vouchsafe the content.

^[6] *Nemo cognovit patrem nisi filius* attests the to Greek οὐδεις ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός. This paraphrase of Luke 10:22 is identical to Megethius quoting the Antithesis in DA 1.23 οὐδεις ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱόν τις γινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ / *Nemo nouit Patrem nisi solus filius, enque filium quis nouit nisi pater*. The same substitution of ἔγνω for γινώσκει is made by Simon Magus in Homilies 18.4 Οὐδεις ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, ὡς οὐδὲ τὸν υἱόν τις οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ καὶ οἷς ἂν βούληται ὁ υἱός ἀποκαλύψαι confirming the pseudo-Clementines quote from the Antithesis when Simon is speaking. (Also Recognitions 2.47)

^[7] *This is evidence that at least the Antithesis continued to be modified after Marcion, suggesting not all changes in the Marcionite text reported by the Heresiarch to what we have in our versions was done by Catholic editors, some may have come from Marcionite followers adjusting the challenges they faced.*

^[8] Much of the fourth book of Irenaeus Against All Heresies appears to be dedicated to refuting Marcion and his followers points and theology.

^[9] The term brother is not generic to all Christians in the New Testament. It denotes one of some distinction and office. Apostles or bishops (ἐπισκόποις), deacons (διακόνους), and elders (πρεσβυτέρους) qualified, while general members of the assembly did not. This is not terribly different than today, where cardinals, bishops, monks, and ministers refer to each other as brothers.

^[10] Epiphanius confirms in Weights and Measures 14 that Hadrian named the city after himself writing

And he gave to the city that was being built his own name and the appellation of the royal title; for as he was named Aelius Hadrian, so he also named the city Aelia.

τῇ οἰκοδομουμένη πόλει τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ὀνόματος τὸν χρηματισμόν. Ὡς γὰρ ὠνόμαστο Αἴλιος Ἀδριανός, οὕτω καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠνόμασεν Αἰλίαν.

Thus dating Matthew may be easier than other books, as there are several stakes in the ground. The arrival of Marcus Aurelius who dropped Aelius from his name upon ascending the throne on March 8th, 161 CE marks a terminus for composition. Verse 24:15 talks about the desolation sacrilege from Daniel 9:27 standing in the holy place (τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως ... ἐστὸς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ) although it could be referring to the temple of Jupiter (Zeus) itself in comparison to Epiphaneus Antioches' placing a statue of Zeus in the Temple, it is almost certainly referring to Hadrian's equestrian statue, which was placed front of the temple to Jupiter, allegedly on the very spot of the Holy of Holies was in the Jewish temple.

However archeological analysis decisively proves the Temple Mount was not part of Aelia Capitolina; the stories of Roman construction there are post-Bar Kokhba polemics. Even so, it seems less probable that Hadrian, who did not seek honors for himself, would have placed it there, thinking it an offense to Jews in much the same way he refused the title Parthicus as an offense to the Parthians. Mote likely Antoninus Pius placed it there, as part of his campaign to have the Senate deify Hadrian, his predecessor. So a date after 138CE is most probable for its erection. But this statement in Matthew 24:15 is shared with Mark 13:14, so is part of the common "M" source, so a few years must be added pushing the earliest date past 140 CE. Mark's version says it is standing where it shouldn't, which seems more distant, looking back from an even later time (surprisingly). Also Matthew's use of the Antithesis this suggests the writing was after Marcion launched his independent Church, which is commonly dated 143-144 CE. The widest possible band for composition would be 144-161 CE, with the most likely window 150-160 CE.

Bar Kokhba never took Jerusalem in the first place, as very few coins of his reign were found there (most likely a handful of souvenirs snatched by Roman soldiers), but there are to be found elsewhere throughout Judea to the south, but not as far as the coast. This would fit with the description of the war, that Bar Kokhba avoided set piece battles and forced the Romans to break up their legions into smaller units to become nimble and fight a guerrilla style war. With the Roman legion X Fretensis stationed in Aelia Capitolina, an assault to try and take the city seems improbable. Whatever, there is no trace of a Jewish presence, so Matthew's dating could stretch to as early as 132 CE if the temple to Jupiter anywhere in Aelia Capitolina itself is considered the desolating sacrilege.

HERMANN DETERING: THE ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS – EXPLANATIONS ¹

1. Gal 1,1²

| | | |
|---|-------------------|-----|
| #1) Gal 1,1 | – καὶ θεοῦ πατρός | cor |
| Marc 5.1.3; Orig. in Hieronymus GalComm (PL 26 [1845] 313A, 4-7); Epistle to the Laodiceans = Clabeaux #1) App B | | |
| #2) Gal 1,1 | αὐτὸν > αὐτὸν | cor |
| Orig. in Jerome (GalComm, PL 26 [1845] 313 A,4-7) | | |

¹ Translation based on the Revised version of 17. December 2003. Translated by Frans-Joris Fabri.

² Key to the apparatus criticus

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| # ID-Nr) Passage | Marcionite variant of the Orthodox Catholic Version, testified or reconstructed [omission = (-) addition = (+) substitution or transposition = (>)] | Decision: – cor (correct) – nlq (non liquet) – incor (incorrect) |
| Ancient Historical Record - Modern scholars (in case of conjectures) | | |

Quotations:

- Works in German: quotations are translated by FJF. For the original German quotations see the corresponding places in IV ERLÄUTERUNGEN;
- Quotations from the Bible are generally taken from the Revised Standard Version;
- Church Fathers, especially Tertullian (Roberts/Donaldson), from the English translations on Peter Kirby's site: <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/>

Textual Evidence for and Reconstruction of the Marcionite Text.

#1) The omission of καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς is testified to by Tertullian: Tertullian, Marc 5.1.3: »Ipse se, inquit, apostolum est professus et quidem non ab hominibus nec per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum«.

The variant corresponds, as HARNACK, 68*, noticed, to the prologue of the (Marcionite) Epistle to the Laodiceans: »Paulus apostolus non ab hominibus neque per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum, fratribus«. Here a comparison of the prologue of Galatians in its (probable) Marcionite form as quoted by Tertullian and Origen (s.b.) with the prologue of Laodiceans (translated to the Greek by HARNACK, 139*f.).

Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ
δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ οἱ σὺν
ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς
Γαλατίας,
χάρις ὑμῖν ...

Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ
δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ,
χάρις ὑμῖν ...

#2) That Marcion had αὐτὸν instead of αὐτόν, is confirmed by Origen. Origen (GalComm, PL 26 [1845] 313 A,4-7):

»*Sciendum quoque in Marcionis Apostolo [Apostolico] non esse scriptum 'et per Deum patrem', volentis exponere, Christum non a Deo patre, sed semetipsum suscitatum, ut est illud, 'Solvite templum hoc, et ego in triduo suscitabo illud', necnon et illud [alibi], 'Nemo tollit animam meam a me; sed ego pono eam a meipso. Potestatem habeo ponendi eam et rursus potestatem habeo sumendi illam.*«

HILGENFELD, 439: »Though from this does not follow –as is usually stated– a variant ἐαυτόν instead of αὐτόν, since Marcion could have surmised ΑΥΤΟΝ to have a rough breathing mark, the omission of καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς does follow, at least for the version known to Jerome«.

Which is the Original Text?

According to HARNACK, 68*, Marcion is responsible for the modification, and his version is »typical for Marcion's doctrines about God and Christ «; i.o.w., according to HARNACK, Marcion's *modalism* caused the modification. Marcion wanted to say explicitly, that Christ had not been raised by God, but had raised *himself* (corresponding to Joh 2,19; 10,18). BLACKMAN, too, sees »a significant Marcionite omission«, 81, as in his opinion the verse in this form is »indicative of Marcion's modalistic christology« 44. The erasure »gives expression to his theory that Christ raised himself from dead, and did by no

means for anything depend on the Creator«, 44. Nevertheless the Marcionite version seems to be the original one, for the following reasons:

1) *There was no need for Marcion to discard* καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς. Against HARNACK'S and BLACKMAN'S opinion that by the omission, Marcion had wanted to emphasize Christ's independence from the Creator-God, one has to draw attention to other places in the Marcionite *Corpus Paulinum*, in as far as it is quoted by Tertullian, where the idea of a *resurrection achieved by God* is by no means suppressed.

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| a) Rom 8,11 | ὁ ἐγείρας Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, <i>qui suscitavit Christum a mortuis</i> , Marc 5.14. |
| b) I Cor 6,124 | ὁ δὲ θεὸς καὶ τὸν κύριον ἤγειρεν, <i>qui dominum suscitavit</i> , Marc 5.7. |
| c) Eph 1,20 | ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, <i>suscitando eum a mortuis</i> , Marc 5.17. |

Already ZAHN, 496, made the remark, that the »erasure [of καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς] (was) not necessary for Marcion.«, though it »excellently« fitted his Christology. cf. BAARDA, 244, who quite rightly asks: »If Marcion were a modalist in the strict sence of the word, he apparently did not revise other passages in which Paul spoke of God having raised Christ from the dead. Why then would he have demonstrated his modalism so explicitly in Gal 1:1 and not elsewhere?«

Moreover, with καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς Marcion would not inevitably have thought of the Creator-God, as BLACKMAN has it, he easily could have interpreted the passage – if then it had been there – as a reference to the Father of Jesus Christ, meaning the Marcionite Good God.

2) *Linguistic Problems: the Preposition διὰ in Gal I,1*: strictly speaking, the preposition διὰ with gen., if neither understood in *local, temporal* or *modal* sense (Bl.-D. § 233, ThW II, 65), nor as introducing an urgent request, *instrumentally* indicates a »mediator« and can then be expressed e.g. by

»through mediation of«. Because of the preceding δι' ἀνθρώπου, this translation might seem to suggest itself but, due to the καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς it cannot be upheld. LIETZMANN, 227: »Since in the second phrase διὰ necessarily refers to both Jesus and God, it cannot have the meaning 'through mediation of' in δι' ἀνθρώπου: so the change of preposition is only for rhetorical plerophory...« Not so SCHLIER 27f.³

If one does not *a priori* consider καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς to belong to the original version of the text but sees it as an addition by a later editor, even here the preposition may very well be considered to have its usual meaning and consequently, – in contrast to the preceding δι' ἀνθρώπου – may be translated as »through mediation of Jesus Christ«. In the editor's work the doctrinal bias often takes precedence over accurate language. (cf. eg. what has been said about Gal 4,6).

3) *Problems of Doctrine*: a) In the canonical version the calling of the apostle is not only by Christ, but, καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς, by God as well. As rightly stated i.a. by SCHMITHALS, *Das kirchliche Apostelamt*, 15f, this is contrary to most of the other places in the Pauline Letters, in which *Christ* is seen as the only originator of the call: [Rom 1,4f]; I Cor 1,1 (Παῦλος κλητὸς ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ, not διὰ Θεου); II Cor 1,1; I Thess 2,7; cf. Eph 1,1; Col 1,1; II Cor 11,13; I Cor 1,17; I Cor 9,1. From this SCHMITHALS, 15f infers: »Marcion omits καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς, obviously because of the correct observation that Paul usually ascribes the calling of the apostles to Jesus alone.« – The more adequate conclusion would very likely be that the Marcionite text be the more original one.

b) The twofold negative form οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου explicitly refutes the *human* origin of Paul's apostleship. All of the formal construction and the intrinsic logic strongly request Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς to be an absolute *divine* power contrary to the sphere of the human. Actually this idea is not consistently accomplished in the canonical version. The fact that the

³ Already Jerome (GalComm, PL 26 [1845] 313 A,4-7) unintentionally read ἀπο θεοῦ πατρὸς into the text instead of διὰ θεοῦ πατρὸς, which was in it. First he quotes the passage thusly: Paulus, qui neque ab hominibus, neque per hominem, sed a Deo Patre (= ἀπο θεοῦ πατρὸς) per Jesum Christum missus est. Then he reproaches Marcion for having erased the words *et per Deum Patrem*.

insertion καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς places the Father on Jesus Christ's side, by no means emphasizes the latter to be divine as well, but, quite the contrary: instead of the association, the *difference* is accentuated between the one who raised from among the dead and the one who was raised. All in all, the emphatically stressed antagonism between the human and the divine spheres, prepared by the beginning of the verse, is weakened by the addition of »and the Father, who raised him from the dead« by subordinating Jesus Christ to the Father. As already VAN MANEN, 456 ff., stated, the insertion καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς weakens the original clear-cut idea of the divine appointment of the apostle by toning down the οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου.

Conclusion: The result of our textual critical investigation is that, compared with the canonical version, the Marcionite variants (#1 und #2) turn out to be the more ancient and the more original ones. As shown by the analysis of both *formal linguistic* details and *doctrinal content*, the addition to the text or its modification, missing in Marcion's version, did doubtlessly not belong to the original text. The differences observed rather suggest they be the work of a later editor.

2. Gal 1,4.5

#3) Gal 1,4.5
Van Manen

– 4.5.

cor

Textual evidence

The passage is not mentioned in any of the extant works on the Marcionite Apostolicon.

About the Problem of the Original Text

For both formal reasons of language and style and of dogmatic contents the passage seems not to be part of the original text:

Context

The extension of the greetings after the benediction formula χάρις ὑμῖν κτλ. is unique: cf. Rom 1,7; I Cor 1,3; II Cor 1,2; Eph 1,2; Phil 1,2; Col 1,2; I Thess 1,1; II Thess 1,2; Philm 1,3; cf. BENGEL to the place.: »Gratiae et appreciationi nusquam alibi Paulus talem periphrasin addit«.

For the part that juts out, no immediate *referent* can be found in the actual contents of Gal (as e.g. indicating a topic or a special occupation with the situation in the community), which might explain the irregularity in a non-artificial way (against SCHLIER, 31; OSTEN-SACKEN, 121; to these, s.below).

Particularities of Form and Language.

a) The term ἐξέληται (subj. aor. med. of ἐξαίρέω) is a hapaxlegomenon in the *Corpus Paulinum*. The term occurs 4 times in Acts (7,10. 34; 12,11; 23,27; 26,17) and 3 times in 1Clem (39,9; 52,3; 56,8 = quotes from LXX); this suggests an origin from the Septuagint. There, in fact, ἐξαίρέω as translation for hebr. נצַל (meaning »to save, to get out of«) occurs exceedingly often (155 times altogether, of which 16 in the Psalms).

b) 1,5 contains a *doxology* – the only doxology in Galatians and the only doxology in the entire *Corpus Paulinum* to close a prologue. SCHLIER, 35: »A praise of God like that one, closing the prologue, does not occur in the other letters of the apostle«; SCHLIER explains by the fact that the thanksgiving-formula in Galatians is missing, and says it was replaced by the doxology. This, however, remains a mere assumption.

Within the *Corpus Paulinum* doxologies only occur at Rom 1,25; 9,5; 11,36; II Cor 11,32; Eph 3,21; Phil 4,20; I Tim 1,17; II Tim 4,18 (Hebr 13,21). All of these (with the exception, of course, of the three last mentioned) flowed from the catholicizing editor's pen.

Gal 1,5 just like Rom 16,27, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν, is a »a Jewish phrase through and through « (SCHMITHALS, *Römerbrief*, 416f). This – as did already the word ἐξαίρέω – gives away the Jewish-synagogal origin of the passage. cf. LXX: 4 Macc 18,24 (verbatim: ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν).

Doctrinal Inconsistencies

According to BULTMANN, *Theologie*, 297, in Gal 1,4 appears the *redeemer motif*, used by Paul to describe Christ's work of salvation – besides other ones, e.g. the Jewish idea of atonement or the motif of the scapegoat sacrifice. Yet his explanation: »the ἐνεστῶς αἰῶν namely, is the aeon under the Law, as such under the powers of sin and death as well«, fails to deal with the actual wording of Gal 1,4, since ἐξαίρέω in its medial form means »'to get sb. out of, free from sth.'« not »to redeem« (s.above), for which in the Pauline letters ἀγοράζω or ἐξαγοράζω are always used (Gal 2,20 MRez; 3,13; 4,5; I Cor 6,20; 7,23; [Eph 5,16; Col 4,5]). SCHOEPS, *Paulus*, 249, on the other hand, correctly

puts the phrase in a *context of atonement*, and remarks that »being handed over to death because of our sins« may be seen as very much resembling »Abraham's expiatory sacrifice «.

The theology of atonement that appears in 1, 4 contrasts the other christological and soteriological ideas. Two different series of christological and soteriological ideas are juxtaposed without really being compatible:

Gal 1,4

1. *Christ gave himself for our sins* – τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν

2to »*set us free*«*from the present evil age* – ὅπως ἐξέλθῃται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος ποινηροῦ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν

Gal 3,13; 4,5.6

1. *Christ redeemed us from the law*– Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρρα

2. *so that we might receive adoption* – ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν

3. *through the Spirit*– ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν

These diverging series of concepts, which in the Pauline Letters are frequently found interwoven or set one on top of the other in different layers, should not hastily be harmonized. First of all, one should try to get them apart.

Cf. VAN MANEN, 506: »Though he [the author] talks about Christ as παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ he does not add τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν. His Christ's intention was not 'to set us free from the present evil age', but 'to redeem us from the curse of the law', 3,13 (cf. 4,4), with the result that we –not at a much later time but immediately– may receive the fruit of his death on the cross: 'the promise of the Spirit through faith', 3,14, and so we, as children of the free woman, no longer living under the law, from now on, may see ourselves as sons... 3,26; 4,5; 6,21-31; 5,1«

Conclusion: Here the editor against Marcion inserts into the text the main ideas of the Judaeo-Catholic *Soteriology* und *Eschatology*: the *futurological* eschatology as the messianic-apocalyptic expectation of redemption from the present aeon is set up in contrast or connected to the Marcionite-gnostic eschatology of the present; and so is the Judaeo-Christian *concept of atonement* (Christ's death as forgiveness of *sins*) to the Marcionite-Gnostic *concept of redemption* (Christ's death as redemption from the reign of the *Law*); cf. BULTMANN, *Theologie*, 295ff.

The anti-marcionite tendency shows itself once more in the words κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν: the θεός πατήρ of 1,3 has now become θεός καὶ πατήρ to make it perfectly clear, that the God of the OT and the »Father« of the Christians truly are not two, but *one* (VAN MANEN, 506). κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ without the explicit καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν (indicating anti-Marcionite polemics) is further found in I Petr 4,19 and 1 Esr 8,16.

3. Gal 1,6

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|-------|
| #4) Gal 1,6 | εἰς χάριν > ἐν χάριτι | incor |
| VAN MANEN con. grounded on Marc 5.2.4 Dam./Ruf 1.6 | | |
| #5) Gal 1,6 | – Χριστοῦ | cor |
| Marc 5.2.4 Dam./Ruf 1.6 = Clabeaux #1), App A | | |

References to the Marcionite Text:

Tertullian Marc 5.2.4: »*Mirror vos tam cito transferri ab eo qui vos vocavit in gratiam ad aliud evangelium*«; to the contrary: Tertullian, De praescr. 27,3: »Tenent correptas ab apostolo ecclesias: O insensati Galatae, quis uos fascinavit? et: Tam bene currebatis, quis uos impediit? ipsumque principium: *Mirror, quod sic tam cito transferemini ab eo qui uos uocavit in gratia, ad aliud euangelium*«. Megethius only quotes (Adamant., Dial. I, 6) as found in Rufin, not following the Greek text: »*Mirror quod sic tam cito transferimini in aliud evangelium*«. HARNACK, 68*, reconstructs: ἐν χάριτι εἰς ἕτερον. The variant ἐν χάριτι, recommended in *De praescr 27* might, as VAN MANEN, p. 459f, rightly states, already be an assimilation to the canonical text.

As all exegetes concede, the meaning of the *canonical variant* is not clear: LIETZMANN, 229, hesitates to choose from three possibilities: 1) ὁ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι could »have the meaning of ‘who called you to the grace’, as shown for I Cor 7, 15; if so, the contrast with the Judaizing Christians’ mistaken ‘Christianity of the works’ is expressed in the strongest terms.«. 2) ἐν can be seen as *instrumental*, then the translation would be »who called you by means of his grace« (cf. Rom 3,24; 5,15; 11,6 u.ö. 3) As a third possibility, one can »interpret ἐν as about the state of mind one is in, ‘who called you in graciousness’«, cf. II Thess 2,16 (said of God); Col 3,16; 4,6 (said of humans). This lack of clarity seems to be the main reason for still more variants having come up:

ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ (P⁵¹ S A B Maj SyrP Boh Goth Arm Vg),

ἐν χάριτι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (D 326 1241^c min pc syr^{H*}),
 ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ (sa Chry.),
 ἐν χάριτι θεοῦ (7 327 336 Orig^{lat} Thdt)

s. CLABEAUX, 83, as well.

According to VAN MANEN, the assumption εἰς χάριν be the Marcionite variant, is to be favoured for the following reasons: unlike in the canonical text the contrast of χάρις with ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον is clearly emphasized in Marcion by the preposition εἰς. By the comparison of: *Turning towards grace* (εἰς χάριν) on the one hand, *Turning to another Gospel* (εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον) on the other hand, the antagonism of the Pauline Gospel and Judaist propagation of Christ is most strongly accentuated. »Grace is ... but another word for our 'Pauline Gospel', 'the Gospel of the non-circumcision', and the *other* Gospel is – as according to Tertullian, *Marc* 1.20, Marcion, but also Tertullian himself and Jerome, understood quite well – our 'Jewish Christianity, 'the Law« (VAN MANEN, 460f). Obviously, the Catholic editor wanted to weaken or obfuscate this antinomy by the unclear and ambiguous (s. above) ἐν. According to VAN MANEN, one cannot exclude the possibility either that it was Marcion, who changed the text for *clarification*, but this is less probable (cf. *Paulusbriefe ohne Paulus?* 467).

Contrary to that, ZAHN, 496, almost certainly rightly saw the variants offered by Tertullian and other Latin authors as »only different assumptions and translations of the alone testified to original εἰς χάριτι«. Moreover Van Manen's recommended Marcionite variant would be tainted with very poor style, something we would hardly assume the author of the letter, an able stylist, (εἰς χάριν εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον), ever to be blamed for.

To #5) CLABEAUX, 83f, made the correct remark: »It is surprising that any modern edition of the New Testament would include Χριστοῦ in this verse, even in brackets as the Nestle-Aland has it.'Εν χάριτι with no additions is the source of all the other readings. The various additions represent attempts to make the phrase ἐν χάριτι more precise. The phrase χάρις Χριστοῦ never occurs in the letters of Paul... It is unreasonable to take the earliest evidence so lightly, especially when it is supported by strong rational criteria.'Εν χάριτι should stand in Gal 1,6 with no additions«.

4. Gal 1,7

| | | |
|-------------|-------------------------|-----|
| #6) Gal 1,7 | ὁ ἄλλο πάντως οὐκ ἔστιν | nlq |
| Marc 5.2.5 | > ὁ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο | |

#7) Gal 1,7
Dial I,6

+ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου

cor

Textual evidence:

#6) The wording of the Marcionite text is well testified to. Tertullian even cites the beginning twice, the 2nd quote immediately following the 1st, Marc 5.2.5: »*Nam et adiciens quod aliud evangelium omnino non esset, creatoris confirmat id quod esse defendit*«. Tertullian, after using the quote as evidence for the Pauline Gospel to have come *from the Creator-God*, quotes OT passages concerning the promise of the Gospel, and then quotes 1.6 again with the intention so to reduce *ad absurdum* the Marcionite statement, the Gospel be *evangelium dei novi*: »*est autem evangelium etiam dei novi, quod vis tunc ab apostolo defensum; iam ergo duo sunt evangelia apud duos deos, et mentibus erit apostolus dicens quod aliud omnino non est, cum sit et aliud, cum sic suum evangelium defendere potuisset, ut potius demonstraret, non ut unum determinaret*«. If there were a Gospel of the new God, there would be two gospels and this would make the apostle a liar, as he asserts there be no other one.

#7) The phrase κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου, absent in Tertullian, was, according to HARNACK, inserted »in order to emphasize the Pauline Gospel as the authentic form of the Gospel of Christ«. It is nevertheless testified to in Dial. 1.6, where Megethius quotes as follows: οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου, εἰ μὴ τινές εἰσιν οἱ ταραύσσοντες ὑμᾶς καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. In his translation Rufin seems to ignore the κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου (for whatever reasons) and reads instead: «Si enim Siluanus et Timotheus et Paulis euangelistae sunt, dicit autem ipse Paulus: *Quod euangelizauimus uobis*, uerisimile uidetur recipi debere, plures esse euangelistas, sed unum esse euangelium». An accurate translation of kata, to. euvaggelion mou would have given better proof of this.

A bit higher up (line 5 f.), Megethius had already explicitly stated: Ὁ ἀπόστολος οὐκ εἶπε· κατὰ τὰ εὐαγγελία μου, ἀλλά· κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου. Ἴδε πῶς λέγει ἐν εἶναι. Rufin: *Apostolus non dixit: Secundum euangelia mea, sed secundum euangelium meum*. In line 10ff, too, Megethius retorts: λέγει γὰρ· οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου, εἰ μὴ τινές εἰσιν οἱ ταραύσσοντες ὑμᾶς καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. This again is missing in Rufin.

The high probability of κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου being part of the Marcionite Apostolicon can hardly be shown in a better way, even *against Tertullian*.

VAN MANEN'S and O'NEILL'S Attempts at Reconstruction

VAN MANEN, 461ff, draws attention to Chrysostomos on Gal 1,7 (T.X. p.667), where Marcion refers to Paul, in order to prove that there be only *one* Gospel: ἐπελάβετο τῶν εἰρημένων εἰπὼν ὅτι Ἴδοὺ καὶ Παῦλος εἶπεν οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον. VAN MANEN, 461, would like to derive from the quote that Marcion —much like the Peschittha, which does not explicitly express the ἄλλο— »after εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον simply read: ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν —without ἄλλο.« For, according to VAN MANEN, »if he had read ἄλλο, he could not have said: “There is no ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον” but at the utmost: “The so called ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον is nevertheless *not another one*...”« This would open the way for the thesis, that »there is no need to accept four or ‘all of the’ gospels, as did the Catholics, but just one , as did Marcion and his supporters«.

VAN MANEN emphasizes the fact, that »Tertullian discusses v. 6 and v.7 under the assumption that at least Marcion, but perhaps he himself as well, used to read here something about the *being extant* of the ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον and not about its ἄλλο εἶναι«. So VAN MANEN could assume, that Marcion simply read εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν.

Comparing this wording with the canonical text, VAN MANEN hasn't any doubt about his reconstructed Marcionite variant as having to be preferred as the original one over the incomprehensible and difficult canonical text. According to VAN MANEN ἄλλο might have been added by a Catholic revisor, who wanted to make it clear that the preaching of the other (Judaist) gospel, opposed by Paul, was in fact not different in respect of contents.

VAN MANEN's explanation, however, must fail because of the unmistakable wording of the text referred to by both Tertullian and the other witnesses (s. already ZAHN, 496f). Even if the Chrysostomos-quote is evidence for the use of Gal 1,7 by Marcion and the Marcionites to polemize against the Catholics and their four gospels, there is no doubt whatsoever that both Tertullian and Jerome (in his commentary, Vallarsi VII, 380B) read »quod *aliud* omnino non est«.

VAN MANEN was not the only one to try and rule out ἄλλο as a gloss in his reconstruction of the original version of Gal. So did O'Neill, 22-23. His starting point is the grammatical difference between ἕτερον (*quantitative* meaning) and ἄλλο (*qualitative* meaning). To O'NEILL »the true solution seems to be that ἄλλο was originally a gloss against ἕτερον. The glossator was pointing out that Paul would have expressed his sentiments more clearly, in saying that the other gospel they had turned to was not really gospel at all, if he had used ἄλλο for ἕτερον. Paul seems to have appreciated the difference (cf.

Gal. 5,10 and 2 Cor. 11.4: ἄλλον Ἰησοῦν ... ἢ πνεῦμα ἕτερον), but his point would have been spoilt, not made, if he had used ἄλλο for ἕτερον in this context«. In view of the number and importance of the authors who quote the text –all of them having ἄλλο– this argument, too, remains questionable.

So finally two questions are still to be answered:

a) how the two variants, the canonical and the Marcionite one, should be understood, and

b) which of them is the more original one.

Concerning a), in my opinion, there might be here (#6 combined with #7) a *paradoxon*, which cannot be interpreted correctly but in a Marcionite way: To the Marcionite, the *other gospel* is at the same time the gospel of the *other, that is, the Stranger God* (just like the »strange Gnosis« to the Gnostic is the Gnosis of the Stranger God)⁴ Since the gospel preached by Paul's Judaist opponents is, of course, not the one of the other, the stranger God, but that of the detested Jewish Creator and Lawgiver God, the author of Galatians can say in a paradoxically pointed way: The gospel preached by the Judaists may (seen from the outside) be another, a second gospel; it is not, however, a truly »other« one (in Marcionite understanding: as gospel of the »other« God), in my sense of the word, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου.

With regard to #6, there is hardly any way left to decide, whether we have here the original Marcionite version or an addition by Tertullian (HANS VON SODEN assumed the latter, cf. HARNACK 68*. The fact, that the Catholic editor did not eliminate the revealing ἄλλο, is probably caused by his missing the main (Marcionite) point of the sentence. #7, on the other hand, was eliminated by the editor, because the mention of the *one Pauline Gospel* (understood as written Gospel) could be and actually was used by the Marcionites —as shown in Chrysostomos and, above all, in Dial I,6— for their rejection (dangerous for the Catholics) of the four Gospels

⁴ Cf. Harnack, 267* »Because this is unexpected and strange«, — the arrival of the »Stranger« — »the Marcionites themselves called their knowledge a 'strange' message of joyt«, with ref. to Clem, Strom. III, 3,12 Οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος τὴν ξένην ὡς φασὶ γινώσκειν εὐαγγελίζεσθαι.

5. Gal 1,8.9

| | | |
|---|--|-----|
| #8) Gal 1,8 Marc 5.2.5 | + ἄλλως | nlq |
| cf. Clabeaux #2), App B: ἄλλως for παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν | | |
| #9) Gal 1,8 Dial I,6 | – ὑμῖν | nlq |
| #10) Gal 1,8 | εὐαγγελίσηται > εὐαγγελίζηται | nlq |
| Marc 5.2.6 Dial I,6. = Clabeaux #2), App A incor | | |
| #11) Gal 1,9 | εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται ἀνάθεμα ἔστω > ὡς προειρήκαμεν καὶ ἄρτι πάλιν λέγω· εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. | nlq |
| HARNACK, 69*, based on Dial I,6 and Marc 5.2.5 | | |

Significantly Divergent Quotes from the the Marcionite Text:

#8) #9): ἄλλως without ὑμῖν is excellently verified, above all by the works of Tertullian. Tert. *Marc 5.2.5*: »*Licet angelus de caelo aliter evangelizaverit, anathema sit*« ... *Sed et si nos aut angelus de caelo aliter evangelizaverit*«.

1,8 is further quoted by Tertullian in the following places, though in them Tertullian does not explicitly refer to the Marcionite Apostolicon:

De praescr. 6,5 (F. REFOULE, Sources Chrétiennes 46, 1957): *Itaque etiamsi angelus de caelis aliter euangelizaret, anathema diceretur a nobis.*

De praescr. 29,7: Ad eius doctrinae ecclesiam scriptum est, immo ipsa doctrina ad ecclesiam suam scribit: *Et si angelus de caelo aliter euangelizauerit citra quam nos, anathema sit.*;

De carne Christi (ἄλλως + ὑμῖν) :

6: *Etiamsi angelus de caelis aliter evangelizaverit vobis quam nos evangelizavimus, anathema sit;*

24, where Tertullian believes the Angel to be an allusion to the revelations of Philumene⁵ (since these had been mediated by an angel): *Etiamsi angelus de caelis aliter evangelizaverit vobis quam nos, anathema sit.*

#10) εὐαγγελίσηται instead of εὐαγγελίζεται :

Dial I,6 (Z.19): ἀλλὰ κἄν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελισηται ὑμῖν παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα vobis (anathema sit + Rufin);

Epiphanius Refut 16 (Dindorf, Vol II. 379):): κἄν τε ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος εὐαγγελίσηται ὑμῖν παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

Thereagainst, Dial I,6 (lines 6f.), just before the above quote, reads (Megeth.): εἴ τις ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίσηται παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. (Rufin omits παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν: »*Si uobis quis aliter euangelizaverit, anathema sit*«)

The Discussion of the Passage in Tertullian, Marc 5.2.6:

Tertullian had tried to show, that the assumption of two gospels coming from two different gods, was refuted by the words of Paul in 1, 7, where he emphasizes his statement that the other gospel, preached by the heretics was no gospel at all. Paul then would be a liar, saying there were no other gospel — though there be one. Tertullian, however, concedes that Marcion might have an answer to this objection (trying to give evidence for two different gospels) by quoting 1,8f. Paul's words there: »*Licet angelus de caelo aliter evangelizaverit, anathema sit*« might be interpreted as Paul having known that the Creator God, too, had a gospel of his own (quia et creatorem sciebat evangelizaturum). According to Tertullian, however, Marcion here, too, gets caught in his own argument. For it would not be possible for a person who had just denied the existence of two different gospels to argue that way (Duo enim evangelia confirmare non est eius qui aliud iam negarit). By *placing himself in front*, Paul expressed his opinion quite clearly: »*Tamen licet sensus eius qui suam praemisit personam: Sed et si nos aut angelus de caelo aliter evangelizaverit*«. Paul says this to emphasize. If he himself does not preach another gospel, surely no angel will do so. His mentioning an angel has the only purpose to show that where even an angel and and apostle aren't

⁵ Prophetess and companion of Apelles, one of Marcion's pupils.

believed, a fortiori human persons should not be believed. Paul so by no means wanted to connect the angel with a gospel of the Creator God.

The passage shows that, while discussing the quote, Tertullian still wants to defend the fundamental thesis: *no other Gospel!* For Paul there aren't two different gospels, but only the *one* Gospel of the Creator- and Redeemer God; neither can 1,8 be used as a rejoinder: the angel in 1,8 who might possibly preach another gospel, is not contrary to this since Paul does not —as obviously was the opinion of the Marcionites— mention him as being a *representative of the Creator God*, but only uses the angel *as a general example* of the idea, that belief in the Gospel that is preached must not depend on the person who preaches it; cf. HILGENFELD, 472: »If the falsification that had been inserted consisted of the acceptance of the Creator God and his Law, Marcion of course would eagerly welcome the warning against the preaching of an angel (of the Creator God). He couldn't but see the original falsification of the Gospel as a machination by the Creator God«.

Reconstruction of the Marcionite Text

Though Tertullian's polemics show clear traces of the rather badly refuted Marcionite point of view — so e.g. HARNACK 283* rightly uses the quote as roof of the fact, that the Marcionites knew not only 2 Christs, but 2 Gospels as well⁶ –, the Marcionite Text of Gal 1,8-9 does not. In view of the great number of divergent pieces of textual evidence and citations, one has to rely for its reconstruction on nothing but speculation and guesswork. So e.g. the question why Tertullian in the above discussed *Marc 5.2.5*, at first only mentions the *angelus* and only later – where he thinks he needs it for his argument – adds *nos*, is not answered. Likewise in the dark remains the reason why he mentions just one *angelus* in all the other places mentioned (though admittedly there he does not use the Marcionite version of the Pauline letters). After all, in my opinion, the reconstruction proposed by HARNACK, which connects the two quotations of Adamantus and Megethus and includes Tertullian's *aliter*, still seems to be the most plausible one.

⁶ „The Jewish Christ, too, will bring a Gospel (Marc V,2 to Gal 1,18), but no message about a ‚regnum caeleste’...“

VAN MANEN's Attempt at Reconstruction

But, of course, with VAN MANEN, 465, we may ask, whether v. 9 belonged to the original version, since the author of Gal. nowhere else uses εὐαγγελίζεται with the accusative case. VAN MANEN therefore assumes, that Epiphanius (Refut. 16) had conserved the original Marcionite version. It reads: κἄν τε ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος εὐαγγελίσηται ὑμῖν παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. By explicitly mentioning heaven (ἐξ οὐρανοῦ), which did not occur at all in Epiphanius (= Marcionite text), the Catholic editor had wanted to exclude all reminiscence of gnostic spiritual realms.— But, above all, the majority of the other authors who have the quote, and especially Tertullian, oppose VAN MANEN's assumption. Tertullian surely sometimes is quite careless with citations (e.g. in one place *de caelo*, in another *de caelis*). We would, nevertheless, have to answer the question why he quotes from the Catholic text (*angelus de caelo*) in his work against Marcion as well, since there he intends to fight the heretic with his own weapons, i.e. based on the Marcionite text, and this without a clue as to why he has an exception of his regular usage here. —According to ZAHN, 497, VAN MANEN's attempt at reconstruction is based »on a quote from Ep., carelessly composed out of Gal 1,8.9... which has nothing whatsoever to do with Mrc.«

In respect of #8), #9), #10) and #11), we can't but answer the question, whether the (reconstructed) Marcionite text is nearer to the original version than the canonical one, by a *non liquet*, since a critical comparison of style is of not great help here, either. In my opinion, plausible criteria to decide on one of the two versions being more original can hardly be found. Nevertheless, in view of the importance of several authors that give the quotes, HARNACK's reconstruction seems to me to get nearest to the Marcionite version. There is no way of deciding on the originality of one of the versions since the different variants don't give a clue, either to doctrine or to style.

6. Gal 1,10

#12) Gal 1,10

+ (θεόν) τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου

nlq

Textual Evidence

According to HARNACK, though 69* V. 10 is »without textual evidence«; one cannot draw from this fact the conclusion that Marcion did not know v. 10 at

all. The question, however, remains whether his version was identical with the later canonical one.

Because of the problems this text raises, I would like to propose a conjecture:

If we understand πείθειν as »persuade, try and convince someone«, the result is a nonsensical proposition: one can »convince« humans, but not God., all attempts of exegetes at distilling a statement from this that makes sense, are artificial and, in my opinion, in vain. So e.g. SCHLIER, 42: »... no, he does not talk humans over, one might rather say, he talks God over by proclaiming the curse against the forgers of the Gospel, he wants to gain God's favour. «.

Because of the difficulties this sentence raises, BOUSSET, 37, (whose explanation, that the opponents had reproached Paul of being able to convince *even God* by his artifices, might possibly best of all have a claim to plausibility) rightly draws the conclusion: »One would by far prefer to get rid of these words once and for all«.

Neither has Radical Criticism been able to solve the problems this sentence causes. VAN DEN BERGH VAN EYSINGA'S assumption, the author might have used II Cor 5,11 as a model for a rather unsuccessful imitation (*Pro domo* 193), is not very convincing in respect of the author's literary skills and because in II Cor 5,11 πείθειν τὸν θεόν is nowhere to be found.

The other possible translation of πείθειν by »to make s.o. favourably disposed to oneself«, is not accepted by exegetes, because with it, the resulting problems seem to be even bigger. One will have to concede, however, that obviously »these two rhetorical questions« must be seen »as being parallel, so that ἀνθρώπους πείθειν must be taken in the same sense as ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν«, BULTMANN, *ThW VI* 2-3, Art. πείθω. From this in my opinion correct insight, we would have to take the logical step of translating πείθειν corresponding with ἀρέσκειν by »to make s.o. favourably disposed to oneself«, (and not by »persuade, try and convince someone«, (against BULTMANN). But even then, the question remains unanswered what the *meaning* of that sentence may be.

I think the problem can be solved by assuming that here, too, the Marcionite (= the original) text had a somewhat different wording from the reworked Catholic canonical one, namely θεόν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, instead of just θεόν, meaning the Marcionite *Demiurge* (cf. II Cor 4,4). Then the sentence would become comprehensible at once: »Paul« defends himself against the reproach he lived to please human people. He, who wants to dispose people favourably to himself and wants to live pleasing them, lives—in Marcionite understanding—to »the God of this Aeon«. Moreover, the assumption that the original author of Gal 1,10 had the θεόν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου in mind, is confirmed by a careful look at the context. He has just cursed even an *angel*

(of the Creator God), in case he would preach another Gospel than the one he preached himself. Now he asks the rhetorical question: Is anybody who wants to please human people and »the God of this Aeon«, capable of doing this?

With this explanation, only one question would remain unanswered: why was τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου erased by the Catholic editor only here and not in other places as well, e.g. in I Cor 1,20. 2,6.8; II Cor 4,4; Col 2,2 ?

7. Gal 1,13.14 (Paul as Persecutor)

#13) Gal 1,13.14.

-13.14

cor

Textual Evidence

The passage does not occur in any of the texts that refer to the Marcionite Apostolicon.

1,13-14 is a later insertion: to prove that he were not dependent on the other apostles the author had in 1,12 mentioned a special revelation by Jesus (ὁ ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), which is not at all referred to in 1,13-14. Conversely, 1,15.16f, a further explanation and direct continuation of 1,13-14 (ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ), immediately follows the contents of 1,12. The insertion is introduced in a quite laborious way, in so far as the editor reminds his readers of circulating traditions about »Paul« (cf. Eph 3,2).

B. BAUER, *Kritik I*, 14: »For you have heard of my former life in Judaism«, he says in V. 13,— ‘heard of’ – that sounds as coming from strangers without Paul’s own impact and notification— ‘heard of’, as of some strange story, which they might possibly not have heard of yet as well.«.

Even more serious than the »frosty and forced stylization« —though one might think the pseudepigraphic author capable of it— are the particularities of language in this passage. Already VAN MANEN, 506-507, O’NEILL, 24-27, and WIDMAN, 189f,f drew attention to them:

1. ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ: According to VAN DEN BERGH VAN EYSINGA, 33, the letter to the Galatians contains quite a few interior problems. Following DELAFOSSE, he notices the different use of the term ἐκκλησία: once in plural, 1,22, once in singular, 1,13. In the singular form he sees a »terme qui fait penser à l’Eglise chrétienne unique du II^e siècle.«

Likewise VAN MANEN assumes the term ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ to give away another hand than the one that produced 1,22 (ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ). Correct is that, contrary to v. 23, in v. 13 the term is not

used for a local congregation, but for the entire Ecclesia, and that »Paul«, as O'NEILL, 26 remarks, »almost always uses the word to refer to a local congregation« (I Cor 15,9 is, together with the entire passage 15,1-11, rightly seen by O'NEILL as a »later credal summary«).

Nevertheless, to me VAN MANEN's allusion to 1,22 seems mistaken, since that passage, too, when looked at carefully, turns out to be a later insertion and, contrary to VAN MANEN's assumption, all the same to be written by the same hand that wrote 1,13. O'NEILL here had the better insight. He discards both 1,13-14 and 1,22-24 as later glosses.

2. Ἰουδαϊσμός (1,13.14), συνηλικιώτης (1,14) and πατρικός (1,14) are, as O'NEILL rightly noticed, hapaxlegomena; likewise the term ἀναστροφή further occurs only in (non-Pauline) Eph 4,22, I Tim 4,12 and Hebr 13,17. Moreover: »The enclitic ποτέ occurs three times here, once more in Galatians (at 2,6), and only nine times elsewhere in the Pauline corpus, excluding Ephesians and the Pastorals (where it occurs seven times). The style of the section is even and steady, unlike the style of Paul. The sentences consist of 20, 19, 12, and 20 words respectively. καὶ joins distinct clauses with verbs in the indicative three times (1.13,14,24), which is rather frequent in comparison with the five times in the rest of the epistle (1.17, 18; 3,6 O.T.; 5,1; 6,2). The imperfect occurs seven times in this section, and only eight times elsewhere in the epistle (1.10 twice; 2,6; 2,12 twice; 3,23; 4,3, 29). Two of the imperfects are periphrastic, and we are told that the periphrastic construction was on the increase«.

3. The word πορθεῖν, Gal 1,13, too, elsewhere in the Paulina only occurs in 1,23 ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτε νῦν εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πίστιν ἣν ποτε ἐπόρθει. O'NEILL draws attention to this, but without pointing out that the term —with the exception of Paul— elsewhere only occurs in Acts. In Acts 9,21, Luke reports the astonished reaction of those, that were listening to the preaching of (the converted) Paul: ἐξίσταντο δὲ πάντες οἱ ἀκούοντες καὶ ἔλεγον· οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πορθήσας εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο. That's a parallel to 1,23 ὁ διώκων ἡμᾶς ποτε νῦν εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πίστιν ἣν ποτε ἐπόρθει!

In my opinion, this is where we find the key to the problem: the dubious passage was obviously inserted on the basis of Acts (and its image of Paul). Obviously, by this insertion the Paul of the original letter to the Galatians was to be reconciled with the Paul of Acts —a catholicizing tendency we can observe in TERTULLIAN as well, i.e. to try and turn everything compatinle with the orthodox point of view.

Correct VAN MANEN, 507: »Probably on this occasion, our Catholic revisor thought it desirable to remind his readers of the fact that Paul, now staunchly opposing a life under the

Law, had been a thoroughbred Jew before, in the traditions described in Acts 9, 21 and 22,3«

8. Gal 1,15

| | | |
|-----------------------------|--|-------|
| #14) Gal 1,15 Dial IV,15 | ὄτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν [ὁ θεὸς] | nlq |
| #15) Gal 1,15 VAN MANEN | εἰς τὴν χάριν > διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ | incor |

#14) Dial IV, 15 (line 25f): ὄτε δὲ, φησίν, εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου. Missing in Rufin. HARNACK, 69*: “But there is no guarantee for this quote to be from Marcion’s Bible.”

#15) There is no textual evidence for this phrase. The citation Dial IV,15 ends with μητρός μου.

VAN MANEN’S conjecture, 507f, is to read εἰς τὴν χάριν instead of διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ. In respect of Tertullian’s (Marc 5.2.4.) recommended variant for Gal 1,6 (*qui vos vocavit in gratiam*) this is consistent indeed. Since there is no support by any textual evidence, however, VAN MANEN’S conjecture remains highly insecure.

9. Gal 1,18-24 (First Trip to Jerusalem)

| | | |
|---|---------|-----|
| #16) Gal 18-24 Marc 5.3.1; Haer 3.14.3 | – 18-24 | cor |
|---|---------|-----|

I. Evidence for the passage 18-24 not being included in Marcion:

Tertullian, **Marc 5.3.1**: »*Denique ad patrocinium Petri ceterorumque apostolorum ascendisse Hierosolymam post annos quatuordecim scribit, ...*«.

Irenäus, **Haer 3.14. 3**: Deinde post XIII annos ascendit Hierosolymam cum Barnaba, adsumens et Titum = Fourteen years later he went up to Jerusalem, together with Barnabas, taking Titus along with him, too.

From this follows, that neither Tertullian nor Irenaeus read *πάλιν*, in Gal 2,1; i.o.W., that Paul in their text obviously mentioned but *one* trip to Jerusalem;

differently VAN MANEN, 510, who assumes, Tertullian had *omitted* Paul on purpose, to combine the two trips to Jerusalem and reduce them to *one only* (see ann. to 2,1.); HARNACK, 70* states: »18-24 ... is completely ignored by Tert. If this passage had not been missing completely (probably so), Marcion needs must have corrected it. Surely, the first trip to Jerusalem was not mentioned«.

ZAHN, 497: » Since Tr. links this up to Acts 15 and from there goes to Gal. 2, Gal 1,18-24 probably was absent totally or in a greater part.«

VAN MANEN thinks 1,18-21 is original, and he, as well as O'NEILL, discards only 22-24 as interpolated. (s. footnote to 1,13-14). For their argument: s. II.c)

MCGUIRE, 55, discards 18-22 referring to Irenaeus and Tertullian:

» Irenaeus, in his late 2nd century work *Against Heresies*, appears to quote the usual reading of Gal. ii, i-“went up again to Jerusalem“-but makes no specific reference to the Pauline visit described in i, 18f. Tertullian, in his *Prescription against Heretics*, even alludes to Paul's having gone to Jerusalem to meet Peter but it soon becomes apparent that the author is simply reading his own interest in Peter into the account of the meeting with Peter, James and John. Treating Acts ix, 26f as the account of Paul's first visit to Jerusalem, he seems to apply both Gal. ii, 1-10 and *an account similar to i, 18f* to the second visit. Moreover, in this instance Tertullian is writing primarily for orthodox consumption; in his early 3rd century anti-Marcionite treatise, where he must meet hostile readers on their own ground, he refers to Paul as going up (not „up again“) to Jerusalem *after fourteen years* „so great had been his desire to be approved and supported by those whom you [Marcion] wish on all occasions to be understood as in alliance with Judaism!“ Obviously Marcion's text of Galatians did not include the account of a previous visit „after three years“ and Tertullian, if indeed he had ever seen such a reading, was not inclined to take it seriously. «.

II. How are 1,18 and 2,1 connected?

In verse 2,2, ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν· καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, the pronoun αὐτοῖς does not refer to anything, since one has to go back as far as 1,17 to understand that it obviously means the πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους . SCHLIER, 66, however, and most of the other exegetes do not apply the pronoun to these, but to the more nearby εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα in 2,1: »Αὐτοῖς, according to a known usage of the pronoun, is said of the inhabitants of a town which was mentioned before«. Since Paul did not present his Gospel to *all* of Jerusalem's *inhabitants*, but only to the leaders of the Jerusalem congregation, the explanation is not of great help. SCHLIER'S and LIETZMANN'S idea, the pronoun referred to »the undefined members of the Christian Church in Jerusalem«, is after all but a stopgap explanation.

O'NEILL, 27: »This reading seems very strained. The particle *δέ* loses all its adversative force, and would require to be translated 'and also privately', which is scarcely possible«. In respect of this and further problems, O'NEILL finally draws the conclusion to drop *αὐτοῖς* (with Codex Ψ) entirely and to regard it as an interpolation.

In my opinion, however, the only possible and at the same time the most simple solution is: not *αὐτοῖς*, which is given by the majority of the authors that cite the text, but 1,18-24 clearly is an interpolation, which interrupts the original connexion between 1,17 and 2,1. VAN MANEN'S assumption, the original Marcionite text had already mentioned two different trips to Jerusalem by the apostle, cannot but fail because of 2,2.

III. Particularities of Language, Problems of Content as Argument against the Originality of the Passage 18-22

a) The much discussed verb *ἱστορήσαι*, 1,18 (cf. KILPATRIK, *Galatians* 1,18 *ἱστορήσαι Κηφᾶν*) is hapaxlegomenon and elsewhere only occurs [as v.l.] in the speech on the aeropagus in Acts 17,23.

b) *οὐ ψεύδομαι* 1,20: The formula is found in Rom 9,1; II Cor 11,31 and I Tim 2,7. Apart from I Tim 2,7, where the set phrase is taken over from Rom 9,1; II Cor 11,31 or Gal 1,18, *οὐ ψεύδομαι* is found in —more or less extensive— editorial insertions. This is especially the case in Rom 9,1 —a place which is interpolated together with the entire passage Rom 9-11, absent in Marcion— likewise II Cor 11,31. It's surely no coincidence, that the averment *οὐ ψεύδομαι* is found here again in a place, where once more a notification from Acts (the escape from Damascus, Acts 9,22-25) is inserted in a Pauline letter.

c) O'NEILL, 25: »The verse 23 *πίστις* is used of the Christian religion, as in Acts 6,7, and the only possible parallels in Paul are at 3.23-5, 6.10 and Rom. 1,5, all passages that are of doubtful authenticity«.

d) After in 1, 17, with greatest emphasis, the author of Gal had just asserted that he had *not* immediately gone to Jerusalem after his conversion, one expects a somewhat greater temporal distance than just *3 years!* 2,1 with the notification of *14 years* is much more plausible as a continuation of 1,17.

e) BRUNO BAUER, 16: »If he [Paul] stayed in Jerusalem for two weeks, spent time with Peter and James, and if the presence of the other apostles in the sacred city was as self-evident as expressed by his solemn oath, it would have been impossible for him not to meet them «.

IV. Explanation for the Insertion

O'NEILL, 26, explains the insertion of 22-24 this way: »The author possessed Judean traditions about Paul, the persecutor who became the champion of the faith, and he inserted them into Galatians at the appropriate points in the story. His source was Judean as opposed to Jerusalemite, so that he has to explain that, although they used to say 'He who once persecuted us', they did not know him by sight«.

In my opinion, however, the passage is another attempt at bringing the story of Acts and the biographical details about the apostle in Galatians into line as far as possible. This undertaking was not an easy one, but not a totally hopeless one, either, since Acts had not exactly defined the period between conversion and first trip to Jerusalem, and 9,23 only mentions ἡμέραι ἱκαναί. On the other hand, one could neither understand by these the 14 years of Gal 2,1, nor could the trip to Jerusalem be dated all too soon after the conversion, since the author of Gal 1, 16 had explicitly stated, that he had *not immediately* (εὐθέως) contacted those, who had already been apostles before himself. Thusly finding himself between Scylla and Charybdis, the editor decided for a period of 3 years, probably thinking by doing so still to be to some extent in agreement with the Lukan ἡμέραι ἱκαναί, and to not explicitly contradict the emphasized statement of Gal 1,17, that Paul had *not immediately* contacted those in Jerusalem. (he would have done so, if he had taken Luke's wording ἡμέραι ἱκαναί). The opinion that Gal 1,18 refers to Acts 9,23, and that the 3 years are a specification of Luke's ἡμέραι ἱκαναί, was already brought forward by LOMAN, *Nalatenshap* 118f., though he sees it as given by the author of Gal and not by a revisor.

An harmonization of the diverging biographical details in Gal and Acts about the apostle was of greatest importance for Catholic Christianity, as shown in Iren Haer 3.13.3: »If, then, any one shall, from the Acts of the Apostles, carefully scrutinize the time concerning which it is written that he (Paul) went up to Jerusalem on account of the forementioned question, he will find those years mentioned by Paul coinciding with it. Thus the statement of Paul harmonizes with, and is, as it were, identical with, the testimony of Luke regarding the apostles.«.

Tertullian, too, clearly shows his interest in the details of Galatians and Acts being in agreement with each other. In Marc 5.2.7, he emphatically states that Paul reports what happened after his conversion exactly in the same way as does Acts (»Exinde decurrens ordinem conversionis suae de persecutore in apostolum scripturam Apostolicorum confirmat«). If then Acts were in agreement with Paul's own statement, Marcion obviously had to refute Acts, since it didn't preach any other god but the Creator God of the O.T..

To Tertullian, the conformity of the statements in Galatians and in Acts is unquestionable proof of the fact, that the Paul of Galatians preached the same God as Acts, i.e. the Creator God and his Christ: »Now, it is not very likely that these should be found in agreement with the apostle, on the one hand, when they described his career in accordance with his own statement; but should, on the other hand, be at variance with him when they announce the (attribute of) divinity in the Creator's Christ-as if Paul did not follow the preaching of the apostles when he received from them the prescription of not teaching the Law (qui formam ab eis dedocendae legis accepit)«.

To all this, see COUCHOUD, 23f, as well:

It seemed very much to the point to modify certain historical facts to bring them into line with the correct dogma. Hence another group of corrections were introduced, the most important of which are to be found in the Letter [24] to the Galatians where they aimed at rebutting or weakening Paul's independence.

Gal. 2 : 1: "Fourteen years later I went up to Jerusalem". The Catholic revisor writes "I went up *again* (pa,lin)....". In this fashion he reveals himself to be the author of the verses 1 : 18–20 where an alleged earlier journey of Paul to Jerusalem is reported: "Then after three years, I went up to Jerusalem to get acquainted with Peter and stayed with him fifteen days. I saw none of the other apostles-- only James, the Lord's brother. I assure you before God that what I am writing you is no lie".

Inventing this first trip the editor wants to prove, against the text, that Paul did not delay entering into contact with the heads of the Jerusalem Church. His fiction is more timid than that of the editor of *Acts* (9 : 26–30), who informs us that Paul was introduced by Barnabas to the Apostles, a short time after his conversion, and then guided by them in the streets of Jerusalem and preaching there together with them.

V. Possible Objections

Against the above given explanation one might object: Why does the editor heavily emphasize the fact that he hasn't seen *anyone but* Peter and James, since his interest is said to have been in connecting Paul as closely as possible with those in Jerusalem? Moreover, why doesn't his insertion follow even more accurately the depiction of Acts?

Keeping in mind the editor's task, these questions can adequately be answered: We have to consider: in 1,17, Paul had explicitly denied to have been in contact after his conversion with those, who were apostles before himself. The editor now could erase this statement, –or reinterpret it. As a skilled editor, who did not want to write a new text but to alter the extant one, he chose the second way. So he reinterpreted 1,17 in the sense, that Paul had seen Peter and James, yet not the other apostles. Because of the context, this was a concession he could not dispense with. Though this splitting up results in a rather artificial construction (as already B. BAUER noticed: did then the

other apostles happen to be on a journey? did Paul consciously avoid meeting them?), Paul nevertheless was set into the Jerusalem tradition. Paul had seen Peter and James and had been with Peter for two weeks! — that should be enough to prove (to the Marcionites) that the Paul of Galatians had not any more than the Paul of Acts received a special revelation and consequently was not the subject of divine revelation in his own right. May then the report in Galatians not fully be in agreement with Acts (9, 27), where Paul is conducted to the apostles (the author surely meant ,all of the apostles’) by Barnabas. It is the logical result of the special task undertaken in this place by the editor: one way or the other, he had to pervert the meaning of 1,17 to get Paul in contact with the other apostles after all. And his depiction does not really contradict Acts: by his construction he managed to explain why, in 1, 17, Paul nevertheless could say he had not gone up to Jerusalem to those, who had already been apostles before himself (in fact, he had not gone to all of the apostles!) — and, the all important project, he had managed to confirm the Catholic point of view.

10. 2,1-4 (*The Second Trip to Jerusalem*)

| | | |
|------------------------|---|-----|
| #17) 2,1 Marc 5.3.1 | – πάλιν | cor |
| #18) 2,1 Marc 5.3.1 | – μετὰ Βαρναβᾶ | cor |
| #19) 2,2 Marc 5.3.1 | – κατ’ ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἕδραμον | cor |

Textual Evidence:

Tertullian, **Marc 5.3.1**: Denique ad patrocinium Petri ceterorumque apostolorum *ascendisse* Hierosolymam post annos quatuordecim scribit, ut conferret cum illis de evangelii sui regula, ne in vacuum tot annis cucurrisset aut curreret, si quid scilicet citra formam illorum evangelizaret; **Marc 4.2.5**: propterea Hierosolymam *ascendit* ad cognoscendos apostolos et consultandos, ne forte in vacuum cucurrisset, id es ne non secundum illos credidisset et non secundum illos evangelizaret; cf. **Marc 1.20.2**: ... ab illo certe Paulo qui adhuc in gratia rudis, trepidans denique ne in vacuum cucurrisset aut curreret, tunc primum cum antecessoribus apostolis conferebat.; moreover: **De praescr. haer. 23,6f**: Atquin demutatus in praedicatorum de persecutore deducitur ad

fratres a fratribus ut unus ex fratribus, ad illos ab illis, qui ab apostolis fidem induerant. [7] Dehinc, sicut ipse enarrat, *ascendit* Hierosolymam cognoscendi Petri causa, ex officio et iure scilicet eiusdem fidei et praedicationis.

Marc 5.3.1 and other places clearly show that Tertullian did not (and neither did Irenaeus) read *πάλι*ν – obviously neither in the Marcionite, nor in his own Catholic Bible (to this, see the previous ann.).

VAN MANEN, 510, thinks, Tertullian omitted *πάλι*ν with a *biased purpose*. Yet that's improbable, since there was no reason for Tertullian to do so. On the contrary, as an advocate of the *interpretatio catholica* he had to be more interested in reconciling Galatians with the details in Acts, which mention *several* trips to Jerusalem achieved by the apostle. The quotes do *not* show that Tertullian found *ad patrocinium Petri ceterorumque apostolorum* in the Marcionite text — as already HARNACK, 70*, rightly noticed, this may be a commentary by Tertullian. HARNACK reconstructs: »Here the phrase read Ἐπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα and μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἕδραμον.«

Tertullian's Discussion of the Phrase in Marc 5.3.1

Obviously, the 2nd chapter of Galatians was of utmost importance in the discussion with Marcion. There is no other explanation for the fact, that Tertullian, working on passage 2,1-14 discusses almost every single line. Marcion and the Marcionites seem to have backed up »their view of Paul and the first apostles with this passage« (HILGENFELD, 440).

A striking feature of Tertullian's rendering 2,1-2 in *Marc 5.3.1* is that, more than in other places, Tertullian adds commentaries to and omits phrases from the text he quotes with a clear tendency, and that he so does without a basis even in the canonical version. By adding the remark, that Paul had betaken himself *ad patrocinium Petri ceterorumque apostolorum*, Tertullian immediately makes himself perfectly clear about his (Catholic) opinion on the relationship of Paul with the other apostles: it's a *client-patrons relation*. Tertullian's conspicuous unscrupulousness in here imposing his Catholic interpretative framework on the text, is most probably due to the fact that the Marcionite text itself did not offer much for the point of view defended by Tertullian — see as well the forced way, already noticed by HARNACK, of Tertullian's changing (against all textual evidence) ἀνεθέμην of ἀνατίθεσθαι τι = »to expound sth. to sb.«, into *conferret* of *conferre cum aliqua re* = »to compare sth. with sth.«; see the erasion of κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν, with the intention

to restrict Paul's independence —. Consequently, we have to start from the assumption that Tertullian also uses the *canonical* text for what immediately follows, contrary to his usual proceeding of having it out with Marcion on the basis of the Marcionite text. Hence it is highly questionable whether Marcion — as HARNACK thinks — read *ne in vacuum tot annis cucurrisset aut curreret* = μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἕδραμον in 2,2. More likely is the assumption, that Tertullian here looked at the canonical text and in it found the only adequate *commentary* on the (shorter) Marcionite version of Gal 2,1-2. I think, one should have this in mind when asking

Which was the Original Text?

There is indeed hardly any probability for the man, called by God through revelation, sovereign preacher of the Gospel free of the Law, whom we learnt to know in the first chapter, to have to be confirmed by those in Jerusalem in that up to that moment (14 years!), he had not run *in vacuum*.

VAN MANEN, 510: »... That fear and the fact that the man, who allegedly harboured it, had not sooner taken advantage of the opportunity to assuage his mind (1,18 [which, according to VAN MANEN, belongs to the original text]) hardly go together: he waited for as long a period of time as, would you believe it, 14 years (2,1) and even then did not go up to Jerusalem before he was forced to do so by an ἀποκάλυψις. It was the revelation that brought the trip about and not a desire to have examined there whether he might be wrong in his preaching (conscious of having received his Gospel through revelation, 1, 12, and cursing anyone who dared add something to his preaching 1, 6-9)«. VAN MANEN rightly calls the editor of the text »a worthy forefather of Tertullian's«, 510.

Together with μή πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἕδραμον the connected κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν hast to be removed. Actually, after the phrase οἱ δοκοῦντες, one expects an extension to make it understandable; see v.6 εἰναί τι or v.9 στῦλοι εἶναι. The fact that it is already here introduced as a *terminus technicus* shows that »the one who wrote οἱ δοκοῦντες already knew what would follow in v.6 and v.9 « and with this in mind could simply talk about τοῖς δοκοῦσιν. Yet only an editor could do so!

As already HARNACK noticed, μετὰ Βαρναβᾶ presumably does not belong to the Marcionite text either. In 2,9, Barnabas is not referred to, either. We may assume that Barnabas was added by the Catholic editor to harmonize the details in Acts to the way Galatians tells the event and in order to play down Paul's role at the Conference of the Apostles: that Paul was accompanied by Barnabas has the function of showing Paul as emissary of the Church of Antioch and not as taking part in his own right (Acts 9,27; 11,22; 11,30; 12,25; 13,1ff; 15,2.12.22.25.35). Improbable is the assumption that Barnabas was mentioned in the original text and then — lead by the opposed intent —

was *erased* by Marcion. As already HAENCHEN, *Apostelgeschichte*, 448f, noticed, the author of Galatians quite firmly speaks in 1st pers. sing. in 2,1ff: »The phrases ‘I went up to’, ‘I laid before’, ‘which I preach’, ‘lest I ...in vain’ sound as if they be about a mission achieved by Paul alone or at least with him being in the lead«.

In this context there really seems not to have been room for the Barnabas character!

Likewise COUCHOUD, 25:

„He [the Catholic editor] does not leave Paul in arrogant isolation. At his side he places Barnabas, whom he had already introduced: “gave me *and Barnabas* the right hand”. To this phrase he adds “*of fellowship, κοινωνίας*” to create a fellowship between Paul and the Apostles of Jerusalem. By the addition of Barnabas, the phrase “we’ll continue to remember” is incumbent on Paul and Barnabas, it ceases to be restricted to Paul and the notables. The passage has been utterly modified.“

11. Gal 2,4-5

| | | |
|--|--------|-----|
| #20) 2,4 Marc 5.3.3 | – δὲ | cor |
| s. Clabeaux #3) App A cf. Clabeaux #4), App A (— Ἰησοῦ) cf. Clabeaux #5), App A: (do not add μὴ)? | | |
| #21) 2,5 Marc 5.3.3 | + οὐδὲ | cor |
| s. Clabeaux #6), App A (do not delete οὐδὲ) | | |
| #22) 2,5 Marc 5.3.3 | – οἷς | cor |
| s. Clabeaux #7), App A (–οἷς) | | |

Textual Evidence

Tertullian, Marc 5.3.3: »*Cum vero nec Titum dicit circumcisum, iam incipit ostendere solam circumcisionis quaestionem ex defensione adhuc legis concussam ab eis quos propterea falsos et superinducticios fratres appellat, non aliud statuere pergentes quam perseverantiam legis, ex fide sine dubio integra creatoris, atque ita pervertentes evangelium, non interpolatione scripturae qua Christum creatoris effingerent, sed retentione veteris disciplinae ne legem creatoris excluderent. Ergo propter falsos inquit, superinducticios fratres, qui subintraverant ad speculandam libertatem*

nostram quam habemus in Christo, ut nos subigerent servituti, nec ad horam cessimus subiectioni. Intendamus enim et sensui ipsi et causae eius, et apparebit vitiatio scripturae. Cum praemittit, Sed nec Titus, qui mecum erat, cum esset Graecus, coactus est circumcidi, dehinc subiungit. Propter superinducticios falsos fratres, et reliqua, contrarii utique facti incipit reddere rationem, ostendens propter quid fecerit quod nec fecisset nec ostendisset si illud propter quod fecit non acidisset ... Necessario igitur cessit ad tempus, et sic ei ratio constat Timotheum circumcidendi et rasos introducendi in templum, quae in Actis edicuntur, adeo vera, ut apostolo consonent profitenti factum se Iudaeis Iudaeumut Iudaeos lucifaceret, et sub lege agentem propter eos qui sub lege agerent, sic et propter superinductos illos, et omnibus novissime omnia factum ut omnes lucraretur. Si haec quoque intellegi ex hoc postulant, id quoque nemo dubitabit, eius dei et Christi praedicatorem Paulum cuius legem quamvis excludens, interim tamen pro temporibus admiserat, statim amoliendam si novum deum protulisset«.

Context

Discussing 2, 1-2, Tertullian once again had put special emphasis on how much Paul desired to be examined and approved (*ab illis probari et constabiliri desiderat*) by those old-established Jerusalem Apostles, who Marcion reproached for their all too close alliance with Judaism. Now he emphatically states that Paul, by referring to the uncircumcised Titus, wanted to make clear that nothing else but the problem of circumcision (and e.g. not the question whether Christ belonged to the Creator God) was bringing about agitation, and this because of those persons that were called *falsos et superinducticios fratres* by Paul. They had not — as Marcion maintained — perverted the Gospel through faking Scripture (*interpolatione scripturae*) in a way that it classified Christ as belonging to the Creator God, but by insisting on a continuance of the *Law* of the Creator God. Tertullian quotes Marc 5.3.3 from the Marcionite version of Gal. to find Marcion himself guilty of faking Scripture: So when the Apostle (according to Marcion) continues saying: »Because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ, that they might bring us into bondage, to whom we gave place by subjection *not even* (οὐδέ) for an hour«, one should only attend to the clear sense of these words to find the perversion of the Scripture (by *Marcion*) apparent (which perversion in Tertullian's opinion, consists in Marcion's here adding οὐδέ). Tertullian refers to the context: When Paul first said: »*Sed nec Titus, qui mecum erat, cum esset Graecus, coactus est circumcidi*«, and then added: »*Propter superinducticios falsos fratres etc*« he conceded that he did that which he would not have done in other

circumstances. If there hadn't been any brought in false brethren, Paul wouldn't have had to give way to them. He gave way, because there were persons whose weak faith required consideration: as long as Paul's preaching hadn't been approved by the Jerusalem Apostles, the *libertas* of Christianity remained in danger of being again completely turned into the old *servitutum Iudaismi* by the *falsi fratres*. » He therefore made some concession, as was necessary, for a time; and this was the reason why he had Timothy circumcised, and the Nazarites introduced into the temple, which incidents are described in the Acts.«. Moreover, all this was in agreement with an Apostle who to the Jews became as a Jew, that he might gain the Jews, and lived under the law to save those that were under the law (I Cor 9,20f) — to save the brought in brethren as well. So anyone had to admit that Paul preached that God and that Christ whose law he allowed, owing to the times (*interim tamen pro temporibus admiserat*), what he would not have done if he had published a new god.

The Original Version

a) #21) + οὐδὲ

Despite Tertullian's laborious argument, there can be no doubt that the version of 2,5 he provides (with οὐδὲ) is the Marcionite variant and at the same time the *original* text. The majority of those that have the quote, e.g. all of the Greek manuscripts, the Syrian translation and Jerome, here read οὐδὲ (Exception: D* d, in Irenaeus, Victorinus, Ambrosiaster, Pelagius), so that SEMLER, LÖFFLER, BAUR, HILGENFELD and others were certain about its being the original version. HILGENFELD, 440: »The only divergence in the Marcionite text which is seriously rebuked by Tertullian as a *vitiatio scripturae*, namely οὐδὲ v.5, provides, however, proof for the opposite, i.e. that Marcion here had preserved the unadulterated text. Though Irenäus *adv. haer.* III, 13,3 is in full agreement with Tertullian on this negation to be omitted, there is no doubt that the then Catholic variant, as opposed to the Marcionite, is entirely wrong«.

The omission of οὐδὲ undoubtably shows that there was indeed Catholic *tendentious* tampering with the text. In this case, the intention was to eliminate the differences between Paul and the other apostles concerning circumcision. This, in turn, shows – a fact often unnoticed – that the way of describing the history of Early Christianity was of the greatest importance in the doctrinal discussion of the 2nd century, especially where the conflict between Catholics and Marcionites on the correct ideas about Paul was at stake. The conflict was not a problem of the past, but of the then present time: Which of the parties involved could more rightly refer to Paul for its doctrine. As the example

shows, bot parties were very much tempted to decide the conflict not only by theological discussions or by producing their own versions of the history of the Church (Acts of the Apostles), but just as well by massively interfering in the wording of the Pauline writings.

b) #22) – οἶς (2,5); #20) – δὲ (2,3)

According to Tertullian, Marcion obviously did not read οἶς before οὐδὲ nor δὲ after διὰ in v.3. Here, too, the Marcionite text might turn out to be the more original one: actually it is not easy to understand δὲ in this context. It might be explained by the Catholic editor's tendency to give his readers the opportunity to assume that Paul *did* have Titus circumcised, yet without having been forced to do so. After in this way having separated v.4 and v.3, the editor's task now only consisted in connecting v.4 and v.5 in such a way as to get a new coherence, which he achieved by inserting οἶς. Yet, according to VAN MANEN, only the version which had conserved οὐδὲ was modified in this way, not the one quoted by Tertullian, in which οὐδὲ had been deleted.

The passage from *Marc* 5.3 incidentally shows the importance for the Catholic party of such places like Acts 16,3 (Titus's circumcision), 21,26f (Paul and the Naziraeans) and the apparently Catholic insertion I Cor 9,20f in their discussion with the Marcionites about the correct interpretation of the Paul character.

12. Gal 2,6

| | | |
|----------|------------|-----|
| #23) 2,6 | + ? (Gap?) | nlq |
|----------|------------|-----|

Problems

According to a majority of commentators, the sentence is an anacoluthon; cf. BLAB-DEBR. — 467. LIETZMANN reconstructs the original structure of the sentence like this: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναί τι οὐδέν μοι προσαντετέθη· »The insertion after τι then overthrew the construction, so that he starts afresh with ἐμοὶ γὰρ«. LIETZMANN himself sees the difficulty caused by this: »The interjected phrase ὅποιοί ποτε — λαμβάνει declares the reputation of the original Apostles to be of no importance. That's actually noticeable, since the essential point in this context is that the δοκοῦντες, in opposition against the false brethren, supported Paul with their authority: how then can he declare at the same time this authority to be of no importance?« LIETZMANN explains: Paul »knows he has been called by Jesus and does not need approval of his Gospel by the original Apostles; this confirmation is — as we see — valuable

for him only in respect of human beings«. Yet this explanation does not solve the problem, it rather once more shows the decisive inadequacy of his attempted reconstruction.

Van Manen's Conjecture

In my opinion, VAN MANEN is nearer to the truth, where he interprets ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει as indicating a lasting tension between Paul and the δοκοῦντες. He assumes that this tension, which was probably caused by the δοκοῦντες demanding Titus to be circumcised (2,6, too, might have dealt with this problem, as shown by the remark ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες οὐδέν προσανέθεντο) was expressed in that (now omitted) phrase as well which possibly had contained angry and fierce remarks against the Jerusalem Apostles which the editor then deleted. Paulus might have reported that 'those who were reputed to be something', e.g. 'firmly demanded circumcision [of Titus]', maybe by enumerating their reasons and by telling how he pilloried them. With the phrase ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει Paul then had brought his attack against those of Jerusalem to an end.

VAN MANEN finds this conflict, the details of which were withheld from us by the Catholic editor, still reflected in Tertullian: obviously, to the latter, the events that occurred in Jerusalem and those in Antioch are identical. In respect to these, he says: »Nam et ipsum Petrum *ceterosque, columnas apostolatus*, a Paulo reprehensos opponunt quod non recto pede incederent ad evangelii veritatem (v. 14), ab illo certe Paulo qui adhuc in gratia rudis, trepidans denique ne in vacuum cucurrisset aut curreret (v.2), tunc *primum* cum antecessoribus apostolis

conferebat. Igitur si ferventer adhuc, ut neophytus, adversus Iudaismum aliquid in conversatione reprehendum existimavit,..«..

VAN MANEN draws attention to the fact that the conflict in Antioch was only between Paul and Peter, and that the *first* meeting with the pillars took place in Jerusalem. — Contrary to LIETZMANN, VAN MANEN so succeeds in explaining how the denigrating qualification of the Jerusalem Apostles in the short interjection ὁποῖοί ποτε ἦσαν οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει might have come about.

13. Gal 2,7b.8

#24) 2,7b.8

– τῆς ἀκροβυστίας καθὼς Πέτρος cor
τῆς περιτομῆς, ὃ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς
ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν

καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη

K – contra *De praescr.* 23,9

Textual Evidence

As far as I know, there is no unambiguous evidence for the Marcionite version in this place; cf. HARNACK, 71*: »6-9a (The introduction to the convention of the Apostles with the distinction of the εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας and τῆς περιτομῆς and the phrase γνόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι) are without any evidence and, if not in an entirely disfigured way, they cannot have been extant«. καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς is missing in the (Moscow) manuscript K (cf. O'NEILL, 37: »The phrase καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς is omitted by K«); VAN MANEN, 513.

The Original Text: Problems of Form, Language and Doctrine

1. As a parenthesis, 2,7b together with 2,8, obviously does not fit in the context — on the other hand 2,7a is very well followed by 2,9 – a first indication that obviously those two lines did not belong to the original version (cf. BARNIKOL, VAN MANEN, 513f.).

»The clumsiness of style« of the insertion, which is referred to by SCHLIER 77, A. 2, as an argument for the coherence of the text (?), is rather an argument *for* than against its being a gloss.

2. The phrase ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ is untypical, as shown by BARNIKOL, 290,. The verb ἐνήργησεν is not used with the dative case in other places in the Corpus Paulinum but connected with ἐν — so e.g. in Gal 3,5 (in Gal 5,6 – though this, too, is an editorial line – it is in absolute mode). In Phil 2,13 and II Cor 4,12 the term again is connected with ἐν, as in I Thess 2,13 and Col 1,29. »The evidence could not be any clearer: Paul writes ἐνήργειν ἐν ἐμοὶ; he never wrote ἐνήργειν ἐμοὶ« (BARNIKOL 290).

3. The name Πέτρος is found in Paul only in this place: cf. BARNIKOL, 287ff; SCHLIER 77, Ann. 2; and especially O'NEILL, 37, though in v.8, he only wants to discard the word Πέτρῳ:

»Paul always uses the name Κηφᾶς, except in Gal 2,7-8. Κηφᾶς appears in verse 9 as the second name in the list of the pillars (according to the most probable reading), and it is very difficult to see any motive for using a Greek form in the earlier part of the sentence, or for putting the man second in the list of three after giving him such prominence before. I conjecture that the phrase καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς, and the word Πέτρῳ were originally glosses to the text, designed to incorporate the view, which we find in Matthew's

Gospel, that Peter was the leader of the Jewish Church, into the picture presented by Galatians.«

4. In O'NEILL's opinion, the way Peter is pictured in the insertion is not in doctrinal agreement with the other statements of Galatians:

»The rest of Galatians does not support this picture. Not only does Cephas's name appear second in the list of the three pillars, but Cephas seems to have been subject to James in the eating with Gentiles (2.12). In the Acts of the Apostles as well, James has much more authority in the Jewish congregations than Peter«.

Likewise VAN MANEN, who additionally draws attention to 2,9 αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν. This clearly shows, that Peter actually was not entrusted with the Gospel for the circumcised *in any outstanding way*.

Moreover, Peter's pre-eminence contradicts Paul's statements in I Corinthians 1,12 ff. Typically enough, in the conflicts among the diverse parties that call upon Paul, Peter or Apollos, Peter is never mentioned as being in a pre-eminent position as the representative of the Jewish Christian minority (BARNIKOL 292).

The arguments of BARNIKOL, O'NEILL and VAN MANEN are convincing. SCHLIER, 77 A. 2, errs, where he refers to 2,9 against BARNIKOL's attempt to remove καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς as a gloss. This phrase actually reveals the contrast and not the agreement with 2, 7!

5. For the author of Galatians, there is but *one Gospel* (1,6-9) as opposed to several special gospels (BARNIKOL, 290).

Differently VAN MANEN, who thinks that at least the explanation ὅτι πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας belonged to the original version (BARNIKOL 289, A. 17): »The attribute: *of the uncircumcision* can be used, just like the elsewhere occurring τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ Ἐριστοῦ, τῆς βασιλείας, without referring to a contrary gospel« (VAN MANEN. 513). In my opinion, however, that's improbable.

6. Finally, a quote from Irenaeus *Haer.* III, 13,1 may give us a clue for the decisive motivation to insert the gloss:

»With regard to those (the Marcionites) who allege that Paul alone knew the truth, and that to him the mystery was manifested by revelation (*qui dicunt, solum Paulum veritatem cognovisse, cui per revelationem manifestum est mysterium*), let Paul himself convict them, when he says, that one and the same God wrought in Peter for the apostolate of the circumcision, and in himself for the Gentiles. Peter, therefore, was an apostle of that very God whose was also Paul; and Him whom Peter preached as God among those of the circumcision, and likewise the Son of God, did Paul [declare] also among the Gentiles.«

By the insertion the Catholic party wanted to prevent the Marcionites (or the Gnostics) — they of course are the *qui dicunt* — from referring exclusively to Paul's preaching (*solus Paulus*) to justify their doctrine. If Paul and Peter had taken part in the same mission, there could be no doubt that Paul had preached *the same* God as Peter and not another one, let alone a *deus novus*. The interpolation is, as BARNIKOL, 298, put it, the »classic expression« of the orthodox doctrine of the Church, reconciling the apostles Peter and Paul, as it can be found as well in I Clem 5,3-7 or in Ignatius's Letter to the Romans 4,3.

14. Gal 2,9.10

| | | |
|------------------------|--|-----|
| #25) 2,9 Marc 5.3.6 | – καὶ Βαρναβᾶ κοινωνίας | cor |
| #26) 2,10 | – μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν, ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι | nlq |
| contra: Marc 5.3.6 | | |

Textual Evidence

Marc, 5.3.6: »*Bene igitur quod et dexteras Paulo dederunt Petrus et Iacobus et Ioannes, et de officii distributione pepigerunt, ut Paulus in nationes, illi in circumcisionem, tantum ut meminissent egenorum, et hoc secundum legem creatoris, pauperes et egenos fovendis, sicut in evangelii vestri retractatu probatum est*«. Same order in D G d g Hieron., Ambrosiaster, Victorin (s. HARNACK 71*.)

Reconstruction of the Text

#25) Cf. HARNACK: »The text as given, without Barnabas but with the repeated 'I' (original text ἡμεῖς, namely Paul and Barnabas) and the pl. 'meminissent', can be understood only as not containing Barnabas (just so 2,1)...«. (s. 2, 1, too).

#26) Going beyond HARNACK (and Tertullian) one will have to ask whether the Marcionite text did not also differ from the canonical one in other places. Suspect are:

a) Tertullian's *Peter* for Κηφᾶς, and

- b) the sequence he testifies : *Petrus et Iacobus et Ioannes* and finally
 c) the reference to the collection, *tantum ut meminissent egenorum*.

a) As shown by the name *Peter* (not used in other places in the Paulina) instead of Κηφᾶς, Tertullian — deliberately or not— seems to follow the in the meantime common Catholic language usage rather than the text he had on hand (in 2,11 we find again Κηφᾶς);

b) Catholic thinking seems to be discernable as well in the order of names of the apostles with Peter's *pre-eminence*. That Marcion »to honour Rome« (!), as LIETZMANN, 236, assumed, placed »Peter in front«, surely may be considered as entirely out of the question. Tertullian here seems to quote freely.

c), Concerning the reference to the *collection for the poor*, which Paul here recalls, there is –in spite of Tertullian– reasonable doubt about its originality. In VAN MANEN's opinion, it's a note in the margin by a glossator which looks like an »innocent historical piece of information« and is suspicious especially because it interrupts the connection of 2,9 with 2,11. Those that consider the phrase to be original, have to explain, as shown by STECK, 108f., how Paul in Gal already can *recall* the collection, whereas Rom 16,25ff shows that the collection was brought to an end only then. If they don't want to draw the conclusion – as done by SCHRADER, *Der Apostel Paulus* I., 219 – that the letter to the Galatians was written later than the one to the Romans, they might, together with STECK, see it as a *Prolepsis* and get results which endanger the genuineness of the letter: »The author of Galatians, who is acquainted with the other Hauptbriefe, knows from these about the collection and its delivering in Jerusalem and he knows, too, what Acts in a similar way reports about Paul's taking care of the Saints in Jerusalem (11,25.26. 12,25. 24,17). Hence he writes that sentence, which in this place appears as a prolepsis, at least if one dates Galatians before the other Hauptbriefe«.

Yet, that note was probably written not by the author, but by an editor, who even more easily can be thought of as responsible for the prolepsis.

Tertullian connects the collection for the »Poor« in Jerusalem with a commandment of the God of the OT (*et hoc secundum legem creatoris, pauperes et egenos fovendis*), but from his argumentation we surely must not draw the conclusion that this was already the editor's intent as well. The latter apparently only wanted to harmonize the details given in Galatians with those in Acts (12,25; 24,17).

15. Gal 2,12

| | | |
|---|---------------------|-----|
| #27) 2,12 | – τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου | nlq |
| #28) 2,12 | ἦλθεν > ἦλθον | nlq |
| τινας à A B C D F G Ψ 33 339 451 2492 | | |
| ἦλθεν p ⁴⁶ s B D* F G 33 330 451 2492 d g r* Orig Cels 2.1 | | |

Textual Evidence

Origenes Cels. 2.1: ὅτι Πέτρος ἔτι θοβούμενος τους Ἰουδαίσμος παυσάμενος τοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἔθνῶν συνεσθίειν, ἐλθόντος Ἰακώβου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτὸν κτλ.

τινας s A B C D F G Ψ 33 330 451 2492 etc. τινὰ p⁴⁶ d g^c r*; ἦλθον A C D^c Ψ etc.; ἦλθεν p⁴⁶ s B D* F G 33 330 451 2492 d g r*

VAN MANEN” πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν Ἰακώβου μετὰ τῶν ἔθνῶν συνήσθιεν· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν ...

Instead of τινας ἀπο. Ἰακώβου VAN MANEN, 514 f conjectures Ἰακώβου, instead of ἦλθον he reads (e.g. with Cod. Vat.) ἦλθεν” »πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν Ἰακώβου μετὰ τῶν ἔθνῶν συνήσθιεν· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν ... Before James came, he [Peter] ate with the Gentiles. But when he [James] came... «To substantiate his argument, VAN MANEN refers to Origen *c. Cels.*, who mentions a visit by *James* alone. To VAN MANEN, this is the original picture, since Peter’s giving in could only be understood if the »person that had arrived in Antioch...« were » a man of great importance to whom Cephas looked up«. Consequently, VAN MANEN applies ἦλθεν, offered by some of the referents for the text (s. above) to James. The intent of this correction, had been to keep James out of the »tragedy« in Antioch. — Against VAN MANEN’S conjecture, one must object together with O’NEILL, 38,: »This reading can hardly have been correct, since then Paul would have been forced to confront James himself, or at least explain why he did not confront James«.

O’Neill: πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου μετὰ τῶν ἔθνῶν συνήσθιεν· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν...

O’NEILL, 37ff, deletes τινας and reads ἦλθεν instead of ἦλθον, which he applies to *Peter*. »Perhaps the clause πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου refers to a visit he made to James before coming to Antioch, but it is possible that it

conveys just the opposite impression and means that before he left James he used always to eat with Gentiles. James was strong enough to stand up to Jewish pressure, but Cephas was not; when he left James, Cephas succumbed«, 39. In my opinion, the reconstruction of the original text by means of historical conjectures without any piece of evidence, is here too dearly paid for.

PIERSON-NABER” πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἄθειν μετὰ τῶν ἔθνῶν συνήσθιεν· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν...

For a reconstruction of the Marcionite text I consider the following criterion to be decisive: The fact that Tertullian, one of the most important witnesses for the Marcionite text, describes Peter’s conduct as motivated only by fear of the circumcised — without mentioning those that belonged to James: *timens (Petrus) eos qui erant ex circumcissione*. We should safely assume that Tertullian would not have omitted the *τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου* if he had known about their presence. So this makes us doubt whether *τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου* belongs to the original or rather to the Marcionite version. Further confirmation is given by the best pieces of evidence for the text (p⁴⁶ ✱ !) which in this place read ἦλθεν instead of ἦλθον. Obviously, not *τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου*, but *Cephas* was the original subject of the phrase that is introduced by ὅτε.

Summarizing now all observations and assuming – as did already the Dutch classical philologist NABER, *Nuculae*, 385 and PIERSON-NABER in their *Verisimilia* 31 (see WECHSLER, 111f, too) – πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἔλθειν μετὰ τῶν ἔθνῶν συνήσθιεν· ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν κτλ. to be the original version, we can without difficulty explain the other variants offered:

a) ἦλθον: after the addition of *τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου*, one could easily lose sight of the fact that *Cephas* was the original subject of the ὅτε-phrase, whence ἦλθον.

b) *τινα*: contrary, those that kept ἦλθεν might have attempted to apply *τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου* to ἦλθεν by transforming it into singular form.

Finally we have to ask, *for what reason* the phrase *τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου* was inserted. Possibly, the (Catholic) editor here wanted to connect Gal 2,12 with the piece of information in Acts 15,1, which says that the Acts 15:1 *τινες κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας* had originated the agitation in Antioch by their demand for circumcision. Those rigorous Jewish Christians (whose leader in his opinion evidently was James) he assumed to be those that had put pressure on Peter in Antioch. By inserting *τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου* he succeeded in making not Peter,

who had in the meantime advanced to the position of patron saint of the Catholic community, but (the for Catholics not so important) James or James's supporters responsible for the incident in Antioch.

16. Gal 2,14; 15-17

| | | |
|----------------|--|-----|
| #29) 2,15-17 | –2,15-17, except 16 : οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως > οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἐὰν μὴ | cor |
| Marc 5.3.7 a.8 | διὰ πίστεως | |

I. Textual Evidence

Marc 5.3.7 a. 8.: »*Sed reprehendit Petrum non recto pede incedentem ad evangelii veritatem. Plane reprehendit, non ob aliud tamen quam ob inconstantiam victus, quem pro personarum qualitate variabat, timens eos qui erant ex circumcissione, non ob aliquam divinitatis perversitatem, de qua et aliis in faciem restitisset, qui de minore causa conversationis ambiguae Petro ipsi non pepercit. Sed quomodo Marcionitae volunt credi? De cetero pergat apostolus, negans ex operibus legis iustificari hominem, sed ex fide. Eiusdem tamen dei cuius et lex. Nec enim laborasset fidem a lege discernere, quam diversitas ipsius divinitatis ultro discrevisset, si fuisset. Merito non reaedificabat quae destruxit. Destruui autem lex habuit ex quo vox Ioannis clamavit in eremo: Parate etc. ...* — After having once more emphasized the fact that the discussion at the conference of the apostles had been exclusively about *questions of the Law* (i.e. not about the question of the *God of the Law* and his relationship with the God of Jesus Christ), Tertullian mentions an objection Marcion might bring forward: But Paul had censured Peter for not walking straightforwardly according to the truth of the Gospel! Tertullian concedes, but: on this occasion, too, Paul had blamed Peter solely for his inconsistency in the matter of eating, fearing them who were of the circumcision, but not on account of any perverse opinion touching another god *aliquam divinitatis perversitatem*. If Paul had not even spared Peter on the comparatively small matter of the Jewish dietary prescriptions, he would have »resisted face to face« others as well, if the question of another god had arisen. So the apostle must be permitted to go on writing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by faith. However, — and Tertullian directly

addresses Marcion: ‘by faith’ in *the same* God to whom the law also belonged! For he [now, obviously *apostolus* is no longer subject of the sentence but *God*, cf *ipsius* divinitatis] would have bestowed no labour on severing faith from the law, when the difference in his own divinity –if there had been any– would have of itself produced such a severance. Yet, Tertullian concedes to Marcion, that of course, *he* [again, only *God* can be the intended subject of the sentence] *did not build up again what he had overthrown* (*Merito non reaedificabat quae destruxit*). The *destructio* of the law, however, could only begin with John the Baptist, whose demand *Parate vias domini* is interpreted by Tertullian as if John had demanded to change the difficulties of the law into the facilities of the gospel. Tertullian then refers to Ps 2,3 and Hab 2,4. Especially the quote from Habakkuk showed that the Apostle was in perfect unison with the prophets (and therefore with the O.T. and the God of the O.T.) just like Christ was himself. — The context shows that in his controversy with Marcion, Tertullian above all wants to refute the suspicion, Paul’s conflict with the Jerusalem apostles, especially with Peter, had been about some other problem than the question of the validity of the law concerning dietary restrictions. But that exactly seems to be with the Marcionites emphatically stated: two points can clearly be deduced from Tertullian’s polemics: 1) for the Marcionites, in Paul’s conflict with Peter in Antioch, nothing less but the essential question of the *relation Redeemer-God/Lawgiver-God* was at stake. 2) in this place of the Pauline text, the Marcionites obviously had found one of their main arguments to rebut the (Catholic-Judaist) identification of the Lawgiver/Creator-God with the Redeemer-God. From the objection [*Deus*] *non reaedificabat quae destruxit* (mentioned by Tertullian and answered by him in a very articial way –or actually, as regards content, not answered at all), we get some idea what the argument might have been, which obviously the Marcionites found supported by Paul. One thing is evident: Marcion did not apply Paul’s statement in 2,18 to Peter (or fundamentally to those Christians that were about to return to the Law), but to *God*, i.e. to that God, who was just before said by Tertullian to be not only the God of Faith but

the God of the Law as well. Now, so Marcion’s or the Marcionites’ objection fought by Tertullian, this God could not (as God of the Law) rebuild what he himself (as Redeemer-God) had overthrown. (*non reaedificabat quae destruxit*).

This objection has a parallel in *Marc* 5. 4: here Tertullian, after discussing Gal 4,3ff, cites a similar argument of Marcion’s, which obviously embarrasses Tertullian. He postpones an answer to it. The Catholic doctrine that it was the same God who first imposed the Law and later abolished it, seems to have been dealt with by Marcion in a polemical way and surely not without a certain amount of malice: *Quae ipse constituerat, inquis [Marcion], erasit?*

Did then God abolish the prescriptions he had imposed himself? — and, if so, — that's how one has of course to continue Marcion's argumentation— what a curious God this is, doing such a thing, isn't it much more reasonable to assume a division within the divine and to distinguish a Creator- and a Redeemer God? — The two arguments, obviously used by the Marcionites to embarrass the Catholics and to show them the absurdity of their opinions, are in a somewhat different line: one question reads: *Quae ipse constituerat, erasit?* i.e. did God overthrow the law he had himself imposed? the other: *Quae ipse destruxit, reaedificabat?*, i.e. did he rebuild the law he had overthrown himself? Yet the intention is the same in both cases: the Catholic »Montheism«, the identification of Lawgiver- and Redeemer God is to be rebutted; the Marcionite separation of the Demiurge and Lawgiver on the one hand and the God an Father of Jesus Christ on the other hand, is to be confirmed.

But how came that bizarre Marcionite interpretation of 2,18, which can still be deduced from the passage mentioned by Tertullian, into being? The remarkable thing is that Tertullian does not contradict Marcion's argument with a reference to the wording of the preceding text, which hardly allows such an interpretation (i.e. to apply 2,18 to God), but that he only does so with a few (quite poor) theological remarks about John the Baptist a.s.o. Consequently, we'll have to assume that Tertullian, too, all in all accepted the version of the text used by Marcion for his argument, and that he, in his (Marcionite) text of Gal read something different from what we today are used to read in the canonical text, something that fell victim to the scissors of a editor reworking Galatians. What that text was like, we can only suspect. On the other hand, the text quoted by Tertullian with its odd interpretation of 2,18, gives us some piece of information to enable us to start an attempt to at least approximately reconstruct the way of reasoning in the Marcionite text of Galatians. Obviously, the sentence quoted by Tertullian, seems to have been the last part of a *tripartite argument*, two parts of which, the last one and the first, have been conserved in the canonical text whereas only the (though decisive) one *in the middle* is lost:

We might assume that the Marcionite Paul asked Peter — in perfect agreement with the canonical text— why he, though he himself living in the way of the gentiles, forced the gentiles to live like Jews (2,14). Yet, obviously the Marcionite text differed in a crucial place from the Catholic. Except for the fundamental statement, in which Paul declared that a man cannot be justified by works of the Law, but only by faith (*negans ex operibus legis iustificari hominem, sed ex fide*), the Marcionites now did not read any longer about the law, about Christ as an agent of sin a.s.o. (2,15-17), but about the *God of the Law*. And what they actually read in their Galatians cannot have been quite

flattering to him. Paul then seems to have added a polemical question to drive Peter into a corner: If you keep acknowledging the Law –Paul might have said to Peter –, your God obviously is one who rebuilds what [the Law] he overthrew. Then, the Marcionite Paul seems to have continued the way we read it in the canonical text as well (2,18): But if I build up again those things which I tore down, then I prove myself a transgressor (of the overthrown law). [i.o.w. God then were himself a transgressor of his own law, an odd specimen of a god!].

The complete thing then, is an aporetical argument, used by the Marcionite party to revile and reduce *ad absurdum* the Judaist return to the Law and consequently to the *one and only* God of the Law, who was identical with the Father of Jesus Christ. The return to the Jewish law is nothing but a return to the god of the law and that again is: turning to a god of arbitrariness, who first overthrows the law, only to rebuild it afterwards and in doing so to prove himself a transgressor of the law. What a god: that Catholic god!

On the whole, it is quite noticeable that Tertullian, where he discusses the entire passage (chapter 3 included), deals with it only in a very summarizing way and does not quote –but at very few places– the Marcionite text. We'll have to deduce from this fact, that it obviously gave him an uneasy feeling and that he, for good reasons, here preferred to abstain from a (though announced) detailed refutation.

It's quite possible that v.16 was conserved in the Marcionite text, as HARNACK assumes based on Marc v.3 *negans ex operibus legis iustificari hominem, sed ex fide*. Though one might assume as well that this is already an (inaccurate) quote of 3,11, since Tertullian deals with chapters 2 and 3 within the same passage (so e.g. VAN MANEN, 467), the fact that immediately thereafter Tertullian continues quoting v. 18 rather suggests that it is a remnant (adopted by the editor) of the original version which was replaced by 15–17. Remarkably, instead of ἐὰν μὴ the original version had ἀλλὰ (*sed*) and ἐκ πίστεως instead of διὰ πίστεως. Here again, the difference between the exclusive concept of faith of the Marcionites and the more conciliatory one of the Catholic editor comes to light (s.b.)

II. Peculiarities of Language and Problems of Content as Arguments against the Originality of Passage 2,15-17

What –based on Tertullian 5.3.7+8– has been said in I. about the original version of passage 2,15-18 and the assumed absence of 15-17 in the original Marcionite text, seems to be confirmed by a glance at the position of lines 15-17 in context. The passage 2,15-17 differs quite clearly in form and content

from both the preceding and the following part of chapter 2: whereas Paul's speech begins and ends in 1st person singular, 15-17 have 1st person *plural*; whereas the other parts of the speech show passionate emotion, 15-18 is in the matter-of-fact rational *lecture style*, as found in the well known passages of the letter to the Romans (3,4.6.31; 6,2.15; 7,7.13; 9,14; 11,1.11). Yet, that calm exposition in 15-17 does not by any means make it all clearer, the ideas are explained in a broader and more laborious way than in 2,12-14.17-21, and the essential reasoning is rather buried than elucidated by quotes from the O.T. Actually, the connection with the O.T. in 2,16 together with the typically Jewish idea of contrast between Jews and »sinners« from among the Gentiles: ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔθνων ἁμαρτωλοί (2,15) shows the stronger *Jewish atmosphere* of the passage. All this may give some kind of clue, that it is the already well-known Judaizing Catholic editor, who speaks in 15-17 (to all of this, cf. VAN MANEN 515-519 as well).

III. Motive for the Insertion 15-17 and Doctrinal Tendency

With the results of I. in mind, an adequate explanation can be given for the decision of the Catholic editor on the one hand to shorten the original text and, on the other hand to insert his short addition.. Whatever might be assumed to have been the content of the original text which was deleted by the editor and replaced by his insertion: in any case it can't have been confined to some harsh words about Peter — as shown not only by Tertullian, but also by the well known passage in the *Kl* (Hom XVII 14-19ff, s. S.) —. If our above mentioned assumption is correct, it contained an invective against the Catholic-Judaist God from a typically Marcionite point of view, i.e. from the standpoint of the Marcionite Two-God doctrine. This, of course, hardly pleased the Catholic editor, whence he probably erased the passages that expressed Paul's (Marcionite) standpoint in the most offensive way. Maybe he thought he was doing the good work of purifying the text of Galatians from a Marcionite revision. On the other hand, these erasures naturally had caused a gap that had to be closed. This job then was dealt with by the editor in a rather poor way, surely one of the reasons why his insertion became one of the darkest and most incomprehensible phrases in Galatians (O'NEILL, 42: »The attempts to show the connection between verse 17, the preceding verses, and the following verse are legion«). Trying to directly connect verse 14 with 17 (= replace the erasure of the 2nd part of the tripartite argument. -see above), the editor seems to have been lead by two particular intentions: a) to write nothing that might still point in any way at the fact that the conflict between Paul and Peter was about something different from a quarrel about the *inconstantia Petri* (cf. Tertullian) b) to invert the point of the Pauline-

Marcionite statement, i.e. God as transgressor of his own Law, and to apply what originally was said about *God* to Peter, or to anyone returning to the Law. The question remains, however, in how far this second task has been achieved successfully: does not the original *skopos* still show through the odd way of articulating in 2,18: εἰ γὰρ ἂν κατέλυσα ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ, παραβάτην ἑμαυτὸν συνιστάνω ? About a human being it can surely be said that he *observes* or *does not observe* the Law — but can he *tear it down* or *build it up again*? Surely, no one but God (or Christ, cf. Mt 5,17) can *annul* the Law.

Furthermore, the editor took the opportunity to explain a) that Law and Faith by no means needed to be considered as contradictory b) that the Pauline motto ‚justification through faith and not by works of the law’ had been in harmony already with the O.T. , and c) that there was no legitimation whatsoever for the reproach: Christ an agent of sin!, which was time and again brought forward by the Jewish side. Concerning a), the remarkable difference in wording between the Marcionite text of 2, 16 as given by Tertullian and the canonical text has already been drawn attention to. Instead of the (probably original) ἀλλὰ (Tertullian: *sed*), the editor writes ἐὰν μὴ, and by so doing suggests, that of course a man cannot be justified by works *alone*. (against SCHLIER, who 92, A.6 states: »Ἐὰν μὴ ... introduces an exclusive contrast «, —because then, the text would have ἀλλὰ). Instead of ἐκ πίστεως (ἐκ: 16b, 3.2.5; simply πίστεως: 3,2.5.11.12.14), he writes διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. All this, and likewise the peculiar and much discussed εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν shows the difference between the (Marcionite) exclusive doctrine of faith and the editor’s view which reconciles faith and the law. In his opinion, Christ had certainly not come to abolish, but to *fulfill* the law, cf. Mt 5,17: Μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφῆτας· οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι.

17. Gal 2,20

| | | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|-----|
| #30) 2,20 | ἀγοράσαντός με > ἀγαπήσαντός με | cor |
| Dial V,22 | | |
| #31) 2,20 | – καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἑμοῦ. | nlq |

#30) *Marcionite/Original Text*

Rufin offers *Dial* V,22 the elsewhere not evidenced: »qui redemit me« (cf. HARNACK, 72*; NESTLE-ALAND, in loco.). This seems to be the Marcionite variant and the original version as well. Marcion could have kept ἀγαπήσαντός με without reservation — to the Catholic editor, however, ἀγοράσαντός με was suspect since it is reminiscent of Marcionism (HARNACK 118; 132f; cf. I Cor 6,29; 7,23)): he just had to change 3 characters in order not to give the Marcionite *Theory of Redemption* any opportunity of appearing on the scene.

#31)

Possibly the editor for the same reason added καὶ παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἔμου, a phrase which in spite of the absence of the concept of sin (typical for the editor) reminds of 1,4, τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν,

18. Gal 3, 6-9

| | | |
|--|-------|-----|
| #32) 3,6-9 | – 6-9 | cor |
| Jerome, CommGal (PL 26 [1845] 352A, 2-4) | | |

Textual Evidence

Origenes in Jer. CommGal (PL 26 [1845] 352A, 2-4): »*Ab hoc loco usque ad eum, ubi scribitur: 'Qui ex fide sunt, benedicentur cum fidei Abraham' (v.9), Marcion de suo apostolo erasit*«. Tertullian, too, omits 6-9 (cf. HILGENFELD 440; according to HARNACK, 72*, however, Tertullian had some keyword of the original text 5,9 in mind, since he wrote: »*Proinde si in lege maledictio est, in fide vero benedictio*«; s. below).

Marcionite/Original Text

The evidence for the absence of this passage in the Marcionite *Apostolus* (especially Origen) is quite strong, so that it can be considered as a fact: HILGENFELD, 440: »III, 69 was missing, as Jerome in his discussion of the passage explicitly says, and his witness cannot be refuted by any means, since it is fully confirmed by Tertullian«. Consequently, only the problem of which is the *original text* remains: did Marcion shorten it or did the Catholics enlarge it? — Usually, the former is assumed and scholars think that Marcion shortened the text for *tendentious reasons*, i.e. that its connection

with the O.T. (Abraham) didn't fit in with his doctrine. Yet, the text might just as well have been enlarged by the Catholic party for the opposite *tendentious* motives, i.e. to connect Paul's preaching of his gospel with O.T. history. As shown by VAN MANEN, the question actually can only be answered by means of *literary critical* criteria. These reveal two facts:

a) The text contains *particularities of language*: 2 hapaxlegomena προῖδοῦσα (cf. Apg 2,25.31); προεσηγγείσατο (v. 8);

b) between 3,6 and the preceding verses there is no connection: 3,6 gives no answer to the question asked in 3,5; LIETZMANN, 240: »The step from an appeal to personal experience to reasoning by means of bible texts is mediated by nothing but the embarrassed filler καθώς«; cf. SCHLIER 127; STECK 51f. 2-5 talks about, »what experience taught about faith being of greater value than works of the law«. (VAN MANEN, 469); on the other hand, not until v.10 we again have reflections about the value of faith and the worthlessness of the law; considering further that, in spite of γὰρ in v. 10 this verse does not contain anything that might be seen as substantiating the preceding verse, one will have to agree with VAN MANEN, who felt the part in between to be an alien element with its reference to Abraham and the discussion of his importance for a faithful Christian. According to VAN MANEN, the passage was inserted by an editor, who wanted to recommend Galatians to the Catholic Christians of his time. In VAN MANEN'S opinion, the passage is a concession to the Jewish-Christian reader (among the Catholics), to whom Abraham was of essential importance and who used O.T. texts as evidence for the truth of Christianity. To me this seems to be correct. There are two more noticeable points:

1) the contents of Gal 3,6-9 are to a large extent identical with the exposition about Abraham as the father of faith in Rom 4,1-25: on Gal 3,6 (Habakuk quote) cf. Rom 4,3; 4,9; on Gal 3,7 (men of faith as sons of Abraham) cf. 4,11-12 (Abraham as father of the men of faith); on Gal 3,8-9 (fulfilment of the promise) Rom 4,16-17. Obviously, here *the same editor* as in Rom 4,1-25 is at work. Since in Rom 4,1-25 he had already in great detail explained his ideas about Abraham's importance as father of the men of faith, he thought it not to be necessary to say more here. He considers it to be sufficient to remind his Jewish-Christian readers of the essential ideas of the passage by means of a few key words;

2) apart from Rom 4,1-25, Gal 3,6-9 reminds of corresponding expositions in the work of Justin. In Dial 119,4 the Catholic Christian Justin tells his Jewish interlocutor why the *Christians* must be considered to be the very people of the promise:

»For this (Christianity) is that nation which God of old promised to Abraham ... For as he believed the voice of God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness, in like manner we having believed God's voice spoken by the apostles of Christ, and promulgated to us by the prophets, have renounced even to death all the things of the world. Accordingly, He *promises to him a nation of similar faith* (cf. Gal 3,7: ὅτι οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, οὗτοι υἱοὶ εἰσιν Ἀβραάμ), *God-fearing, righteous, and delighting the Father*; but it is not you, `in whom is no faith.'«

This passage in Justin shows two things

1. that the Abraham typology is a genuine *Catholic* theologumenon, and
2. that this theologumenon was of outstanding importance for the nascent Church that began to emancipate herself from the Jewish synagogue in which it was rooted. By using it to make herself the legitimate successor of God's people in the O.T. to which the old promise applied, she acquired the rich spiritual and literary heritage of Israel which she (unlike Marcion) did not want to do without. By holding to the O.T. heritage, she surely made it possible for many believers coming from the synagogue to keep to a large extent their previous identity. On the other hand, however, this was a clear rejection of the old Israel, which now would be considered to be repudiated by God («... so... it is not you») for as long as it kept to its old traditions or was not prepared to go the way offered by the Church. What is said by SCHOEPS in his book on Paul, 258, about the outline of Sacred History in Rom 9-11 applies to the Abraham typology as well, namely that here, too »in a quite arbitrary way and to the detriment of the Jewish people, Israel's history is typologized as prefiguring the nascent Church« (cf. especially SCHOEPS 247f).

The close doctrinal relationship between the Abraham typology in Gal 3,6-9 and Justin's statements quoted above tells us where we have to look for the editor of 6-9: in the same mental milieu of mid 2nd century to which also the Catholic Christian Justin belongs. Perhaps the remark of the radical theologian RASCHKE in his *Der Römerbrief des Markion nach Epiphanius*, 129, will be confirmed one

day: that we have to take into account the possibility that it was »a mind cast in the same mould as Justin's«, maybe even Justin himself who «out of the Gnostic [better: Marcionite] Paul produced the Catholic Paul of the Epistles «.

19. Gal 3,10-12

#33) 3,10-12

Μάθετε ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ

cor

πίστεως ζήσεται· ὅσοι γὰρ ὑπο

νόμον, ὑπο κατάραν εἰσιν· 12. Ὁ δὲ

ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά· ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιοῦτα Ὁ δὲ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Contrary to HARNACK, VAN MANEN considers not only 11a, but 10b, too, to be Marcionite. Yet he thinks the quote from Dtn 27,26 had not been introduced with γέγραπται (corresponding to the quote from Hab 2,4 which wasn't introduced with γέγραπται either).

Surely, all attempts to reconstruct which include more than the Epiphanius quote (HILGENFELD, VOLKMAR, VAN MANEN) may be methodically justified in as far as they are based on the observation that Epiphanius often quotes the Marcionite text but partially. On the other hand, all concepts of a longer Marcionite text can't of course be but quite hypothetical. In my opinion, it is improbable to the highest degree that the Marcionite text –as thought VAN MANEN– should have contained two quotes from the OT (Hab 2,4 and Dtn 27,26) in *one and the same* verse (v.10). Best of all, one would side with HARNACK who for his reconstruction only used Epiphanius (but was prepared to follow Tertullian in not discarding v. 11a).

The Original Text

Of course, the question whether the Marcionite or the canonical text is the original one, gets different answers from the above mentioned scholars. While HARNACK, HILGENFELD and VOLKMAR share the traditional view and favour the canonical text, VAN MANEN tried to demonstrate that Marcion had kept the original text and that the canonical text be the work of a Catholic editor enlarging the Marcionite text. As one of his pieces of evidence he draws attention to the sentence 3, 10, which is introduced with μάθετε, and, concerning contents and form, is connected very well with the exposition that was interrupted in 3,5:

a) the *correspondence* of μάθειν and μάθετε κτλ. shows that 3,10 is the *immediate continuation* of the exposition started in 3,1-5 and interrupted by 6-9;

b) on the other hand it is comprehensible that the Catholic editor had to erase μάθετε κτλ., since the original coherence of thought had been destroyed by the inserted lines;

c) likewise comprehensible from the viewpoint of a Catholic editor is the reason why the canonical text in 3,10 is about those that live ἐξ ἔργων νόμου and the Marcionite passage, as given by Epiphanius, talks about those that are ὑπὸ νόμου. That Catholic editor by this modification wanted to mitigate the rigidity of the original ὑπὸ νόμου in 3,10a.

So, according to VAN MANEN, 473, »the development of the canonical text out of Marcion's ... can be explained quite well, the reverse not at all«.

Though VAN MANEN'S attempt to reconstruct the Marcionite text has to be evaluated critically –as shown above–, his arguments for the originality of the Marcionite or against the canonical text should be considered. In my opinion, there is *one* decisive argument in favour of the greater originality of the Marcionite text. Since already 3,6-9 has been found out to be a disrupting *addition* which interrupts an otherwise coherent context, the Marcionite text given by Epiphanius offers a much more sensible continuation of the line of thought as established in 3,1-5 than does the canonical text. This is true, as shown by VAN MANEN, for both contents and form (s. the correspondence of 3,2: τοῦτο μόνον θέλω μαθεῖν ἀφ' ὑμῶν and μάθετε, 3,10).

HILGENFELD'S assumption, Marcion had in so doing (i.e. by modifying the original text) made an effort to construct a »tolerable connection with v.5« is at least correct in as far as the Marcionite text actually is coherent, whereas the canonical text of 3,1-10 in its present form, distorted by 6-9, is totally devoid of coherence —and for this very reason can hardly be original.

20. Gal 3,13

#34) 3,13

– γέγραπται

nlq

Marc 5.3.10; Epiph. Pan 42,11,8 (120,9)

Textual Evidence

Tertullian, Marc 5.3.10: »*Neque enim quia creator pronuntiavit: Maledictus omnis in ligno suspensus, ideo videbitur alterius dei esse Christus et idcirco a creatore iam tunc in lege maledictus*«. Pan 42.8.1 (103,26-28): διαστρέφων τὸ τοῦ ἀποστολοῦ ῥητόν, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, καί φησιν· εἰ ἡμεν αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἂν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἡγόρασεν Pan 42.11.8 (120,9) = 42.12.3 (156,13): ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ο κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου. — Megeth (Dial I,27): Παῦλος λέγει, Ὅτι Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασε' — Jerome on 3,13: »*Subrepat in hoc loco Marcion de potestate creatoris, quem sanguinarium, crudelem infamat et iudicem, asserens nos redemptos esse per Christum, qui alterius boni dei filius sit*«.

VAN MANEN, 473, has drawn attention to the remarkable fact that neither by Tertullian nor by Epiphanius the quote from the OT was introduced with γέγραπται. From this he rightly concluded that the term was absent in the Marcionite text — corresponding to the absence of the same word in Gal

3,10. Moreover, Tertullian's context shows that in Marcion's opinion, the statement *Maledictus omnis in ligno suspensus* was uttered by the Creator God (thought of little by Marcion) — and consequently was hardly considered to be taken from authoritative Scripture.

There is no way to decide which of the variants is the more original one, since both Marcion and some Catholic editor might have been tendentiously interested in either the erasure or the addition of γέγραπται.

21. Gal 3,14

| | | |
|-------------------------|--|-----|
| #35) 3,14 | ἐλάβομεν οὖν τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ πνεύματος διὰ τῆς πίστεως > ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ γένηται ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως. | cor |
| Marc 5.3.11 | | |
| Cf. Clabeaux #8) App A: | εὐλογίαν for ἐπαγγελίαν | |

Textual Evidence

Marc 5.3.11: »*Accepimus (oder: accipimus, M) igitur benedictionem spiritalem per fidem, inquit, ex qua scilicet vivit iustus, secundum creatorem*«.; εὐλογίαν instead of ἐπαγγελίαν is further given evidence by Ambst, s. NESTLE-ALAND to 3,24

Reconstructing the Marcionite Text,

most scholars rightly assume that Tertullian cites the Marcionite text accurately. HILGENFELD bemerkt, 441: »Surely, he did not omit either Abraham's benediction or the prophecy (ἐπαγγελία) on the coming of the Spirit accidentally, since he would not by any means have done without such weapons against the enemy of the patriarchs and the prophets. We can only assume that Marcion had really erased the topics mentioned (as in 3,6-9 the righteousness by faith and the benediction Abraham's) and consequently the complete verse had read: ἐλάβομεν οὖν τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ πνεύματος διὰ τῆς πίστεως«. By the way, the absence Abraham's and consequently of the first half of 3,14 is confirmed (and the absence of 3,6-9) indirectly by the fact

that Tertullian has knowledge of *only one* mentioning of the OT archpatriarch by Marcion; s. the commentary to Gal 4,22, where, according to Tertullian V,4 Marcion through dropping his prey (= mentioning Abraham) had removed his mask and shown himself to be a thief.

The Question: Which is the Original Text?

is often much too rashly answered in favour of the canonical version. Thereagainst, the Dutch radical critic VAN MANEN has shown that quite a few arguments rather speak for the greater originality of the Marcionite variant VAN MANEN, in support of his thesis, points out that the exposition opened with μάθετε is succinctly brought to its end in the Marcionite text whereas the canonical text, with its twofold ἵνα and a sudden change from 3^d p. sing. γένηται to 1st p. plur. λάβωμων contains problems of style. According to VAN MANEN, though Marcion might have had a plausible reason to omit 14a because Abraham is mentioned there, and to change ἐπαγγελίαν into εὐλογίαν because of its OT reminiscence, but, why would he at the same time have changed ἵνα λάβωμων into ἐλάβομεν οὖν? And why did some orthodox referents (Ambst) keep reading εὐλογίαν instead of ἐπαγγελίαν? According to VAN MANEN, the same Catholic editor may be responsible for both the insertions 3,14 a and 3,6-9.

VAN MANEN'S argumentation for the greater originality of the Marcionite text is plausible. Apart from the stylistic problems, drawn attention to by VAN MANEN, it's above all an analysis of contents that shows that the first half of 3,14 can hardly have belonged to the the original text. The chain of proof that takes up the question of 3,5 (The Spirit supplied by the Law or by Faith?) ends with the statement that the Christian receives the gift of the Spirit through faith. A repeated linking of this idea with the topic of Abraham –which already in 3,6-9 interrupted the context–, seems put on. Up to then, the important thing was to prevent a return to the Law by emphasizing faith and not the Law as the condition sine qua non to receive the Spirit. Hence the linkage of this idea to the topic of Abraham is undoubtedly of secondary interest and obviously intended i.a. to produce a connexion to the now following digression on Abraham (3,15-3,25).

To these careful considerations of VAN MANEN'S, ZAHN, 500 writes: » D* G d g Ambst, too, have εὐλογίαν instead of ἐπαγγελίαν. This means that Marc. did not create this variant but had found it. Consequently, Van Manen's considerations S. 474 are unfounded.« Theoretically it's not impossible that Marcion had found the variant εὐλογίαν for ἐπαγγελίαν. Against it, in my opinion, is the fact that Marcion's variant shows a clear contrast to the

Catholic doctrine of the promise (based on the OT). The reason for the broad spreading of Marcionite variants in Latin manuscripts, recently observed by CLABEAUX as well, might be that this group of manuscripts was closer to the original Marcionite text than to the later Catholic one..

22. Gal 3,15-25

#36) 3,15-25
Marc 5.3.11

– 15-25

cor

Textual Evidence

Tertullian, Marc 5.3.11: »*Sed et cum adicit: Omnes enim filii estis fidei, ostenditur quid supra haeretica industria eraserit, mentionem scilicet Abrahae, qua nos apostolus filios Abrahae per fidem affirmat, secundum quam mentionem hic quoque filios fidei notavit*«.

Context of Marc 5.3.11

Discussing v. 26, Tertullian seems to defend the thesis that Marcion had dealt with it very carelessly, since otherwise he wouldn't have kept the $\nu\iota\omicron\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, applied by Tertullian to the sons of Abraham, who are mentioned before. Tertullian, starting from the extant 3,26 combined with the absence of 3,15-25, thinks he now can draw the conclusion that the preceding passage had been a victim of Marcion's scissors or, i.o.w. of the *spongia Marcionis*. — On principle, Tertullian's methodical way is correct, as VAN MANEN noticed. Questionable though is, whether the premises his argument is based on are correct. That the »sons of faith« (v. 26) have to be applied to the »sons of Abraham's faith« is by no means self-evident to the degree Tertullian supposes it to be. Moreover, we have to take into account that there is no coherence of thought between 3,15-25 and 3,26, neither is there a »development« of thought (LIETZMANN, 241), but — as shown below — a discontinuity of form and content.

The Reconstruction of the Marcionite Text

is relatively easy. Without doubt, the Marcionite edition of Paul's epistles did not contain the passage.. HARNACK, 73*: »The longish exposition about the covenant, Abraham and the Law were absent«. As we have seen, the evidence is clearly provided by Tertullian who switches immediately over from 3,14 to

3,26 (s.above) and ironically refers to the *haeretica industria* which he blames for the omission of the passage 3,15-25. A little later, Tertullian comes back to it where he quotes verses 3,15-16 from his non-Marcionite edition of Galatians and exclaims (V,4): »Erubescat spongia Marcionis! Nisi quod es abundanti retracto quae abstulit, cum validius sit illum ex his revinci quae servavit«.

Which is the Original Text?

Though a majority of scholars agree with Tertullian that for the absence of 3,15-25 the *spongia Marcionis* be responsible, an accurate literary critical examination of the passage shows that all clues hint at a later interpolation of the Abraham-passage. The following arguments should be taken into account for a decision on the question, which one is the original text:

1. The context is disrupted between 3,25 and 26. *Form*, i.e. grammar, shows the gap 25-26 by the sudden change from 1st p. plural (»But now that faith has come, *we are* no longer under a custodian «) to the 2nd p. pl. (»for in Christ Jesus *you are* all sons of God, through faith«). A *difficulty of content*, so far hardly noticed, follows from the fact that being sons through faith (v. 26) not necessarily needs to be seen as contradictory to being *under a custodian* (s. B.BAUER, Gal 47, as well: »there is no interrelation, not a word about immature heirs before, no deduction, that only needed a finishing touch«). SCHLIER, 171, sees it as a dislocation of the metaphor: »One sees how the metaphor gets dislocated because of the topic. For it is precisely the sons who are under the pedagogue they are entrusted to by their fathers«. Some exegetes try to dissolve the tension by making the sons into »mature« sons (ALTHAUS, 31). Yet, nothing like that is in the text. On the contrary, the interrelation gets clearer by far, if, together with Marcion we read v.26 subsequent to v. 14, where the topic of receiving the Spirit through faith is dealt with. As shown by comparing with Rom 8,14, v. 14.26 is a genuine Pauline idea: those with faith are made into sons by *receiving the Spirit*.

2. The passage 3,15-25 contains a series of *particularities of language*:

Hapaxlegomena, terms and grammar constructions that occur only here:

ὄμως, v. 15, put in front (s. BL.-D. 450,2; SCHLIER, 143; JEREMIAS, ZNW 52, 1961, 127f), elsewhere only in the likewise interpolated passage I Cor 14,7;

κυροῦν, v.15, (= to make legally valid, to ratify) elsewhere only in II Cor 2,8, where, however, it is not used in this particular sense (= decide);

ἐπιδιατάσσεισθαι, v. 15, (= to add a clause to a testament, jur. *term. tech.* cf. O. EGER, ZNW 18, 1918, 92f.) hapaxlegomenon;

ἐρρέθησαν, v.16, aor. pass. of λέγω elsewhere only in the interpolated passage Rom 9,12 and 26;

προκυροῦν, v.17, (confirm before) and ἀκυροῦν v. 17, (to invalidate) only here (cf. Mt 15,6; Mk 7,13)

παράβασις, v. 19, (= transgression) elsewhere only in the interpolated passages Rom 2,23; 4,15; 5,14 (cf. I Tim 2,14; Hebr 2,2; 9,15).

χάρις + gen., v. 19, in a particular sense (= because of) elsewhere only Eph 3,1.14 (I Tim 5,14; Tit 1,5.11).

μεσίτης, v. 19.20, (= mediator) only here (cf. Tit 2,5; Hebr 8,6; 9,15; 12,24);

συγκλείειν, v.22.23, elsewhere only in the interpolated passage Rom 11,23;

φρουρεῖν, v. 23, elsewhere only in the interpolated passages II Cor 11,32 and Phil 4,7;

3. Between 3,15-25 and both the preceding and the subsequent text (apart from what has been discarded as an interpolation) there is a great *difference of style*. The author of 15-25 constructs his argumentation in a very diffuse way, a fact that caused great problems of how to interpret it; s. the relevant commentaries. In this context, LIETZMANN, 242, talks about Paul's »mental leaps« and draws attention to the missing connection of ideas between v. 15 und v. 16. Then again, in v.17, follows »another secondary idea – though one leading away from the following context – which appears in the construction of the sentence as the main idea and thusly makes it more difficult to grasp the development of the argument« (LIETZMANN 243). With v. 19 LIETZMANN, 244, feels compelled to either »assume a rather complicated thought, expressed in highly vague manner, as proved by the plethora of constrained attempts to explain it (SIEFFERT S. 209ff.) or an »error or a careless mistake by Paul«. In respect of content, too, v. 15ff., the so clumsily developed allegory appears to fail. Following LIETZMANN, SCHOEPS, 189, Ann. 5 remarks: »That this entire allegory, taken from rabbinic legal terminology, is misleading, because God has been made into a legator and the promise to Abraham into a legal testament, has already often been noticed«. As a whole, the entire argumentation in the passage 3,15-25 gives the impression of great clumsiness of style and thought, something we would hardly put in charge of the -where language is at stake- highly competent author of the letter, who, e.g. in the passage 3,1-14 of the original letter, gives proof of the fact that he writes in a brilliant style, and is able to argue in a clear and trenchant way.

4. Doctrinal Tensions

The passage 15-25 clearly shows a tendency to relativize or revoke the so trenchantly expressed exposition about justification through faith *alone* (10-14). The author of 15-25 tries to show that the *Law*, too, which in 10-14 was

only seen as a *curse* (3,10.13), were of some value in the History of Salvation.

In principle, this attempt to water down the original statements might have come from the author of 10-14. On the other hand, VAN MANEN, 476f, remarks that 15-25 cannot be seen by any criterion as only a supplementation or an explanation of 10-14, but that it rather *contradicts* that passage to some degree:

»First, without any reserve, the doctrine is that faith alone at all times is the basis of justification ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται«. Concerning the Law it said said: »ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιοῦται, v. 11 ... it's impossible to fulfill all its [the law's] commandments. Nevertheless, by its nature it has to demand absolute obedience from all those who want to live up to its commandments. It has to curse anybody who does not observe what it has stipulated, v.10. It can neither give nor lend life, except if what cannot be fulfilled be fulfilled, ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς, v. 12. So, to be *under the Law* is to live under the curse v.10; whence we can rightly speak of the *curse of the Law*, from which Christ has redeemed us, Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρρας τοῦ νόμου, v. 13. — On the other hand, in 15-25 we learn, ... that faith had not been at all times the only basis of justification. Though not explicitly expressed, it is tacitly given to understand that before the appearance of faith, πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν, v. 23, progress had been possible through the Law. It had the function of a pedagogue ... Though it could not offer mankind the best, *Life and righteousness*, εἰ γὰρ ἐδόθη νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι, ὄντως ἐκ νόμου ἂν ἦν ἡ δικαιοσύνη, v.21; it neither was a hostile power, but rather a kind helper, who, until the coming of Christ helped them to domesticate their desires and prevented them from transgressing, παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη, v.19«. According to VAN MANEN, we here once more hear the »Catholic editor pouring water into the pure wine, which was too strong in the opinion of many Jewish thinking people. He complies with their reservations as best he can. He annulates the crass contrast of Law and Faith which sees the former as a curse and the latter as a benediction«.

Whereas in VAN MANEN'S opinion, the doctrinal bias of the passage 15-25 were a *catholisizing one*, addressing Christians of Jewish origin, quite a few scholars think differently. Based on προσετέθη in Gal 3,19 ZAHN thought himself able to »sense a taste of Marcion's, or at least Valentine's doctrine« (cf. SCHLIER, 151, A. 4). Similarly, the idea of *Angels* as mediators of the Law, expressed in 19-20, is suspected by many exegetes to show a spiritual closeness to Gnosis and Marcionism. SCHOEPS, 190: »Admittedly this theory is not unknown elsewhere in the NT (Acts 7,38; Hebr 2,2). But the inferences, that were later taken from it in a Pauline spirit, are egregious: ... Simon Magus (Iren. adv. haer. I,23,3), then Cerinth (according to Pseudo-Dionysius), Cerdo and most blatantly Marcion simply put the Creator-God among the angels of Gal 3,19... As is generally known, one of these lawgiving angels was then identified by Marcion as *Jahwe*, the God of Israel, degraded to the status of a

demiurge«. While SCHOEPS obviously starts from the assumption that Paul's ideas might have affected Gnostics and Marcionites SCHLIER, 158, sees Paul himself already »on the way to a Gnostic understanding of the Law«. With a great many examples SCHLIER shows that there is a series of parallels to 19-20 in Gnosis. Eventually, the English O'NEILL, 52, goes even further than SCHLIER: in his opinion, Paul in that passage does not take up Gnostic ideas, but, on the contrary, lines 19.20 are a *Gloss*, inserted by an editor with a close affinity to Marcionism or Gnosis.

The scholars mentioned above mostly overlook that Gal 3,19-20, in spite of its quite obvious relationship with Gnosis or Marcionism, differs from them in one decisive point. Impossibly the sentence ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν, 3,20, which presupposes a clear declaration of adherence to (Jewish/Jewish-Christian/Catholic) *monotheism*, could have been spoken by a Gnostic or Marcionite. Yet, therewith the entire reasoning of 3,19-20, based on the presupposition that God is *one only*, is not possible in a gnostic/marcionite sense. All in all, we can draw the conclusion that VAN MANEN has quite rightly described the doctrinal bias in passage 15-25. The tendency is not — in spite of 19-20 — one of polemical intensified emphasis on the theses of 10-14, but of their attenuation and moderation.

Conclusion: for the reasons mentioned above, we can say that the question which is the original text, can definitely be answered in favour of the Marcionite text.

23. Gal 3,26

| | | |
|---|-------------------|-----|
| #37) 3,26 | – θεοῦ | cor |
| Marc 5.3.11 | | |
| Cf. Clabeaux #9) App A (υἱοὶ ἐστε τῆς πίστεως > υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως) | | |
| #38) 3,26 | – διὰ | cor |
| Marc 5.3.11 | | |
| #39) 3,26 | – ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ | cor |
| Marc 5.3.11 Clem Alex | | |

Textual Evidence

Tertullian V,3: »*Sed cum adicit: Omnes enim filii estis fidei, ostenditur quid supra haeretica industria eraserit, mentionem scilicet Abrahae, qua nos apostolus filios Abrahae per fidem affirmat, secundum quam mentionem hic quoque filios fidei notavit ..*«. (to the entire context s. the preceding note);

Hilarius, Hom. in Psalm 91, p. 345 of the Vienna edition; possibly Clemens Alex.: πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (s. below).

Reconstruction of the Marcionite Text:

Though the variant: πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε τῆς πίστεως is unambiguously testified by Tertullian as being Marcionite and is considered as such by the majority of critics, HARNACK, 51*, 73*, refuses to acknowledge the fact: he declares Tertullian's text to be »incorrect«: »... it is quite out of the question that Marcion should have modified the original text arbitrarily, for it is one of his main doctrines that we have become 'sons of the Good God' through faith. Why then would he have replaced it by 'sons of faith'? On the other hand, the variant can quite easily be explained as a slip of the pen (dittography) in Latin: 'filii fidei' instead of filii dei'; after that, of course, 'per fidem' got lost. Consequently, the text used by Tertullian was a Latin translation; this conclusion is inevitable«. HARNACK assumes πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως to be the Marcionite variant. — Against HARNACK, the reliability of the Marcionite text quoted by Tertullian need not be doubted at all, for the very fact alone that still in *the same* sentence (no more quoted by HARNACK, 73*) the expression *filii fidei* comes back (and cf. the following sentence: »et hic filios fidei«; HILGENFELD, 441)! Moreover, the explanation for Tertullian's error given by HARNACK (dittographie) is based on the contestable assumption, that Tertullian quote from a *Latin translation* of the Marcionite *Apostolus*. Though HARNACK'S question, for what doctrinal motive Marcion would have changed »sons of God« in »sons of faith« is a legitimate one, his conclusion, however, (since Marcion had no doctrinal reasons to change, *Tertullian must have quoted erroneously*) is not compelling, since it is not the only possible one. Even if Marcion had not modified the text — because, as nicely shown by HARNACK, he had no reasons for a correction —, Tertullian *need not necessarily have read him (Marcion) erroneously*, the more so as the repeated *filii fidei* shows, that he had read and understood him perfectly well. If so, we have to expect that the text was modified by the Catholic party (s. below). Consequently, one will have to side with the majority of critics and acknowledge πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε τῆς πίστεως to be the Marcionite text of 3,26. Finally, against HARNACK, there is the evidence in Hilarius and Clement of Alexandria. Both of them seem to unintentionally quote the Marcionite text, the former word for word, the latter in a way that there is an unmistakable reminiscence of the Marcionite text in his quote (the absence of the word θεοῦ).

In his search for the original version of the text of Galatians, O'NEILL, 54, comes very close to the Marcionite variant by erasing θεοῦ, τῆς and ἐν

Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ: »I can see no reason why either θεοῦ or ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ would be omitted by Marcion or the other referents, but every reason why they would, almost inevitably, have been added to an original text which read πάντες γὰρ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ἐστε διὰ τῆς πίστεως«. To be consistent, O'NEILL should have omitted διὰ, too, since Marcion had no more reason for its erasure than he had for the other parts. Thusly, O'NEILL stops halfway with his method of resolution.

Which is the Original Text?

After careful consideration, the Marcionite text given by Tertullian turns out to be the original one. As already shown in the preceding annotation, 3,26 is linked extremely well to (the likewise original) passage 10-14 in respect of *function* and *content*.

Cf. Van Manen, 480: »The argumentation [10-14] ended with the statement: 'therefore, we (redeemed from the curse of the Law by Christ) have received the blessing of the Spirit through faith.' The development of a new chain of thought, which at the same time has to secure the correctness of the last given statement, takes it up and starts with the affirmation: 'you are all (free from the curse of the Law and having received the blessing of the Spirit) sons of faith.'«

Moreover, VAN MANEN (as well as HARNACK, s. above) rightly asks the question why Marcion — provided the forgery of the text of the Pauline epistles was *his* work, as the majority of scholars suppose — should have changed the text in this place, since there is no (doctrinal) explanation for his doing so. That's why for VAN MANEN the conclusion is inevitable, that for this modification not Marcion, but the often mentioned Catholic editor is responsible. He felt uneasy about the sharp contrast of »sons of faith« and »sons of the Law« and therefore changed the former into »sons of God«, skilfully abrogating that way the antagonism –abhorred by Catholics- of νόμος and πίστις. — In my opinion, VAN MANEN'S arguments for the greater originality of the Marcionite text are convincing.

24. Gal 3,27-4,2

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|-----|
| #40) 3,27-4,2 Marc 5.3.12 u. 5.4.1 | – 3,27-28 | nlq |
| #41) 3,27-4,2 Marc 5.3.12 u. 5.4.1 | – 3,29-4,2 | cor |

| | | |
|----------------------|--|-----|
| #42) 3,27-4,2 | [ἔτι] κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω· > οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς | cor |
| Marc 5.3.12 u. 5.4.1 | | |

Textual Evidence

After quoting and commenting 3,26 (5.3.12), Tertullian follows up 5.4.1 with 4,2: »*Sub eadem Abrahae mentione, dum ipso sensu revincatur, Adhuc, inquit, secundum hominem dico; dum essemus parvuli, sub elementis mundi eramus positi, ad deservendum eis*«; in Marc 3.4 and 12 Tertullian quotes Gal 3,27: »*Quodsi Emmanuel Nobiscum deus est, deus autem nobiscum Christus est, qui etiam in nobis est (quotquot enim in Christum tincti estis, Christum induistis), tam proprius es Christus in significatione nominis, quod est Nobiscum deus, quam in sono nominis, quod est Emmanuel*«.

The Context of Marc 3.12.4

Starting point of the passage is the Emmanuel-prophecy of Isa. 7,14. According to Marcion, the OT place shows that the Christ prophesied by Isaiah, cannot be identical with the Christ whose arrival the Christians looked back on, since the latter had born another name and had never been engaged in warlike enterprises, either. Thereagainst Tertullian tries to show that in Hebrew the name Emmanuel meant »God with us« (*Nobiscum deus*); yet, since Christ, too, = »God with us« (*nobiscum Christus est, even in nobis* (follows a reference to Gal 3,27), Isaiah's OT Emmanuel needs must be a prophecy of (the NT) Christ. — Another interesting remark of Tertullian's is that even among the Marcionites there be Jews (*invenies apud Hebraeos Christianos, immo et Marcionitas, Emmanuelem nominare, cum volunt dicere Nobiscum deus;)!*)

Reconstruction of the Marcionite Text

The Discussion (HARNACK, HAHN, HILGENFELD, VAN MANEN): Tertullian's quote (5.4.1) seems to show that there was a gap between 4,2 and 3,26 and that 4,2 immediately followed 3,26. Nevertheless HARNACK, 73* assumes: »for 27-29 ... there is no evidence, yet they'll hardly have been absent«; for ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα ἐστέ, though, the argument seems not to be seen as valid; no more than HARNACK, 74*, wants to put up with the absence of 4,1-2: »1.2 ... are not testified to, but surely they were not missing and there was no reason for a correction «. In a remark he substantiates: »IV 1.2 cannot have been absent, since the Marcionite variant of v. 3 requires them«. Likewise

ZAHN, 500: » ετι κατα αυτωπον λεγω imperatively requires that already before, even immediately before, he had given an example or allegory, taken from natural human conditions, which is 4,1ff.« ZAHN thusly opposes HAHN (HILGENFELDT, Zeitschrift für historische Theologie, 1885, p. 442) and VAN MANEN, s. below. HILGENFELD, 442, too, notices that Tertullian skates over v.27.28, but at the same time he draws attention to the fact that Tertullian »had already (adv. M. III 17 [sic! but he probably meant 12]) dealt with« v. 27, and concludes that one »can assume the absence of v. 29 only because Tertullian, who had just reprimanded the omission of a mentio Abrahae, impossibly could have overlooked this one«. Subsequently, HILGENFELD opposes HAHN, 142, who doubted the presence of 4,1-2, too. In HILGENFELD'S opinion *adhuc* = ετι, quoted by Tertullian, imperatively presupposes the preceding verses, »because ετι refers to something preceding which was described in a figurative way only«, 442. — For the same reason as HILGENFELD'S, VAN MANEN, 481ff, thinks that v. 29 (reference to Abraham) did not occur in the Marcionite canon and was added by the same hand, that inserted the passage 15-25. — Against HILGENFELD, VAN MANEN gave an affirmative answer to the question asked by HAHN, whether 4,3 immediately followed 3,26. VAN MANEN in principle agrees with HILGENFELD in as far as indeed not everything that is not discussed by Tertullian needs must have been absent in Marcion (s. ALAND, *Text*, 180, too: »bewildered one sees in quite a few apparati critici Marcion mentioned as evidence, e.g. for an omission, for the only reason that Harnack does not mention evidence for the place in question«). Against HILGENFELD'S reference to *adhuc*, quoted by Tertullian, which »refers to something preceding «, namely 4,1-2, VAN MANEN has two objections: 1. *adhuc* need not be a quote, it might have ensued from the context of Marc 5.4.1; it neednot mean anything else but: »Moreover, he [Marcion] said«;⁷ 2.

⁷ ZAHN, 500, declares this to be an erroneous translation: » Manen' s desperate attempts to escape here are exhilarating. Ascribing to the powerful rhetor Tertullian the linguistic competence of a 1st grade grammar school pupil, Manen S. 482 verbatim declares, the words *adhuc* inquit may mean: still (i.e. he keeps on) he says (i.e. Marcion in his Apostolos) ‚I speak‘ etc. Those that might think this blooper a bit much are conciliated by the remark that, if *adhuc* (ετι) actually belonged to Mrc. “text of the apostle, it referred to the ‘sons of faith’ in 3,26”; this were a ‚figurative‘ expression

yet, should Tertullian have read it nevertheless, it does not necessarily refer to 4,1-2, but might just as well to 3,26 and the υἱοὶ τῆς πίστεως there mentioned, who were to be seen not less figuratively than the κληρονόμος ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους καὶ οἰκονόμους.

In VAN MANEN'S opinion, 27-29, too, is supposed to have been absent in Marcion. He does not see HILGENFELD'S reference to Marc 3.12 as evidential, since in this place Tertullian might be quoting from the Catholic edition of the Pauline epistles. Moreover, 3,29 contained the typical doctrine of the Catholic editor. The mention of κληρονόμος, referring back to — the undisputably interpolated — v. 3,29, be another argument against the originality of 4,1. Concerning 3,27-28, the reference to baptism in 3,27 be a much better substantiation for the υἱοὶ θεοῦ than for the υἱοὶ τῆς πίστεως. »The latter have not become so because they were baptized and had put on Christ, but because they, redeemed from the Law by Christ, had received the blessing of the Spirit from God; s. 3,13.14; 4,5.6«, 483.

Gal 3, 29: A survey of the discussion on passage 3,27-4,2 shows that an overall consensus is limited to v. 29: al scholars acknowledge that because of the mention of Abraham (cf. Tertullian V,4), this verse cannot have occurred in the Marcionite Apostolikon. There can indeed be no doubt that this verse was missing in the Marcionite version of the epistle to the Galatians. This insight is something like an »Archimedian crucial point« which will help us – as can be seen below– solve the problem of the existence of 4,1-2 in the Marcionite text .

just like the one in 4,1f. As if *κατα ανθρωπον* meant 'figurative' or as if 'sons of faith' were a concept taken from natural human conditions!«

- 1) For the use of *adhuc* as »moreover « or »in addition«, there are a lot of instances in Latin (s. Georges, Ausführliches Lateinisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch, 14. Aufl. Bd. I. 119.) — 2) The statement that ἔτι »refers to something preceding expressed figuratively«, is not VAN MANEN'S, but HILGENFELDT'S. 3) »sons of faith« can just as well be interpreted as »an expression taken from natural human conditions« as the figure: μὴ ἄδικος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐπιφέρων τὴν ὀργὴν used *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον* in Rom 3,5. By the way, form and atmosphere of ZAHN'S »refutation« may then speak for themselves.

Was 3,27-28 extant in the Marcionite Text? Against HAHN's and VAN MANEN's erasure of 27-28, v. 27 is quoted in Tertullian's Marc 3.1.2,4. There is reasonable doubt, however, whether the quote is actually taken from the Marcionite text, since Tertullian here has not yet engaged in the controversy with Marcion (=> in Marc 4.6.) about the correct interpretation of the Pauline letters (and the Gospel). Not until then the basic assumption will be that he is going to defeat Marcion with the latter's own weapons, i.e. with *his own* texts of the Pauline epistles (or of the Gospel) (Marc 4.6). Because there is no textual evidence, the question can be settled only by *literary-critical* means. Such a critical investigation shows that 27-28 and 3,26 are but extremely loosely connected. The entire thought has »only an external and accidental connection with those of the context«, and one does not really understand, »how Paul comes to it here«; see as well VAN MANEN's reasoning, who took 27-28 for an explication of (editorial) υἱοὶ θεοῦ. Concerning contents, 27-28 shows, as has often been noticed, unmistakable reminiscence of Rom und I Cor: v. 27 »straight out seems to be composed out of 2 verses of the epistle to the Romans «, namely Rom 6,3 (ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν = ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε) and Rom 13,14 (ἐνδύσασθε τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν), STECK 62; likewise v. 28 has a manifest reminiscence of I Cor 12,13 (καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν, εἴτε Ἰουδαῖοι εἴτε Ἕλληνες εἴτε δοῦλοι εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι) —the three places were extant in Marcion, too. Taking together both observations, all this might be an argument for 27-28 not being extant in the original (= Marcionite) text but instead being an enlargement by a later editor (orientated towards Rom 6,3, Rom 13,14 and I Cor 13,12). Admittedly, the possibility of 27-28 occurring nevertheless in the Marcionite apostolicon (because of Tertullian Marc 3.12) cannot be excluded completely.

Was 4,1-2 extant in the Marcionite Text? That 4,1 is connected to the κληρονόμοι of v. 3,29 (missing in Marcion, s. above) by the keyword κληρονόμος, might be considered as a first indication that 4,1 (and the connected verse 4,2), too, were missing in the Marcionite text of the letter to the Galatians. Not only are lines 4,1-2 dispensable for an understanding of 4,3ff (against HILGENFELD); quite a few contradictions and problems of coherence caused by 4,1-2 now preceding 4,3ff, even disappear:

Often e.g. the fact remains unnoticed that lines 4,1.2 differ from 4,3 ff *in contents* and that the idea developed in 4,1-2 changes to a considerable degree from 4,3.4 on. While in 4,1-2 the entire chain of thought is determined by the concepts of the κληρονόμος and the contrast: *immature* — *mature*, from 4,3 on the central thought is quite a different one: now it's no longer about the *heir*,

but now the focus is on the subjection of humankind under the power of the elements and its liberation by Christ; the resulting contrast is not: *immature* — *mature*, but *slave* — *son* (by receiving the quality of being son). The decisive *difference* —already drawn attention to by B. BAUER, 48,— between those two chains of thought is— above all

- that in 4,1-2 »the heirs are acknowledged to be children even while still minors«, whereas in 4,3ff they only *become children* and receive the quality of being children through Christ.⁸

Another point of difference is

- that the heir as a child only has the *appearance* of a slave in Gal 4,1-2, while the *υἱπιοι*, of 4,3, *are* in fact slaves.

O'NEILL, 56, too, draws attention to this difference — obviously following BAUER,: »In verses 1-3 [O'NEILL considers 4,1-2 and v. 3 — wrongly — as

⁸ Looking at the context, Bauer rightly remarks: „... there is no coherence, nothing had been said about minors as heirs; no deduction before to bring into focus... We won't ask him [the compiler] to deal with the fact —but rather forget it as he does- that up to here being child as a *benefit* was opposed to the subordinate status that preceded faith— i.e. we'll allow him to pretend and think as if up to here, too, the antagonism had only been about a *different value of the children*. We will further forgive, that the metaphor of the heir, who as a minor is under a custodian, is quite inappropriate, since God is the Father who does not pass away. Finally though, the compiler gets confused and gives himself away to a degree that we can't help him any more and his work crashes entirely. Whereas namely this new deduction begins *presupposing* the heirs, even when still minors, to be children, at the end of the argument (v.5 – 7), they only *become* children and *receive* the status of being children through Christ.“ And when at the end of this deduction they become *children*, *receive* that status, the antagonism of maturity and minority is no longer thought of, — what's even more: their elevation to the status of *heirs* in v.7 is said to be but an aftereffect of the elevation to their new status as children. In short, the conclusion of this deduction denies its introduction, doesn't know anything about it and the entire thing has long ago decomposed while the compiler still believes himself to be fully coherent. His confusion even grows to a degree that, the very moment he has declared the status of children (v.5) to be a present, he declares this *present* (v.6), which moreover he describes in changing unclear ways, to be the *necessary aftereffect* of the fact that the receivers of the present *be children from the outset*.“

belonging together; but this can be dispensed with here] the heir is held in subjection while he is a minor and is little different from a slave although lord of all. On the appointed day he becomes free. In verses 4-7 a slave is ransomed and adopted as a son. He is really a slave, not as good as a slave, because verse 7 explicitly states that only after adoption does he become heir. In verses 1-3 the enslaved man was always heir, despite his bondage«. — To illustrate:

*As long as the heir
is a child,
he is no better than a slave
until the date set by the father.*

*As long as we
were children,
we were slaves of the elements
until our adoption as sons.*

All this said, it has become clear that verses 4,1-2 cannot belong to the following passage 4,3ff and therefore will certainly not have been part of the Marcionite version, in which 3,29 was missing anyway. The entire passage 4,1-2 obviously seems not to have had any other function than to introduce 4,3ff, rather badly used by the editor to lead from his starting-point, the keyword κληρονόμοι in 3,29, to 4,3. He overlooked the fact that his expositions, intended to lead to 4,3ff, were hardly compatible with the metaphor used there and in principle belonged to a completely different context. By the inserted οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς a context is but very forcibly established — and it misses the mark i.a. because after such an introduction, a reader generally expects not another allegory but its *explanation* or *application*.

25. Gal 4,4

| | | |
|--------------|---|-----|
| #43) Gal 4,4 | – γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον | cor |
| Marc 5.4.2 | | |

Textual Evidence

Tertullian 5.4.2: »*Cum autem evenit impleri tempus misit deus filium suum*«.

The Reconstruction of the Marcionite Text

is relatively simple for Gal 4,4. There is a consensus of all scholars that the words γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον were missing in

Marcion's edition. The fact is unambiguously confirmed by Tertullian. He surely would not have omitted the words that showed Christ's *genuine human nature* to be true and that therefore could be used as an excellent argument against Marcion's docetism, *if* then he had found them in Marcion. HILGENFELD, 442: »This omission allows us to draw with absolute certainty the conclusion that those words were missing in Marcion«. — More difficult than the question for the content of the Marcionite text is the question:

Which of the two Texts is the Original one?

A great majority of scholars generally contented themselves in this context with a reference to Marcion's *docetism* and *antinomism*. Marcion was a docetist, consequently it was in *his* interest to shorten the Catholic text and to delete the being born of woman and likewise Christ being under the Law, which to him as an antinomist wasn't convenient either. That it might have been in the equally great interest of a 2nd century Catholic Christian to »catholize« controversial and disputed Paul by modifications of texts and doctrinal additions or corrections and in so doing to take him away from the grasp of the detested heretics, was generally completely left out of consideration. Not so, however, VAN MANEN, who –as we have seen time and again– in his thoroughgoing work on Marcion's Galatians, made quite a number of observations that give good reasons for a revision of the conventional opinion. According to VAN MANEN, the following speak for Marcion as the one having conserved the original text:

1) the *doctrinal* aspect of these statements which by no means intended to accidentally mention some historical facts, but were used to refute two widely spread opinions: 1. that Jesus had not *really* been a human being 2. that he had not been under the Law as a Jew by birth. Since –so VAN MANEN– one can hardly assume Paul having fought heresies — e.g. docetism — which came up only much later, γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός needs must have been inserted later, and at that by a 2nd century Catholic editor;

2) for reasons of content it is, according to VAN MANEN, equally hardly possible that *after* 3,10–14 the author still could have considered Christ as γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον, for: »There he had stated: *to be under the Law is to be under the curse*, v.10; Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law by becoming a curse for us which did not occur by his being born under the Law but by hanging from a tree, v.15 [sic! but here v.14 will have been intended] I.o.w., Christ, when dying on the cross, was not under the Law. Had he then still been under the Law, he –already under the curse or cursed himself before becoming a curse on the cross– wouldn't have been able to redeem others

from the curse of the Law«. Finally, according to VAN MANEN, the editor gives himself away

3) by the form of his statement. Already Theodoretos remarked to 4,4: οὐκ εἶπεν· ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν γένεσθαι ἐκ γυναικός, ἀλλὰ· γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός ἀπέστειλεν. Referring to the aorist of γενόμενον, VAN MANEN asks to the point: »Was Christ then there, in heaven, ‘born of woman, born under the law’? That’s how it reads there,..«.. And that’s why for VAN MANEN, the form is explicable only if one assumes it to be a later insertion.

Among VAN MANEN’S observations, especially the last one mentioned is worth to be taken into account, since 1) — because of today’s general early dating of Gnosis —, and 2) — because of the problems with Pauline Christology and with his interpretation of the Law — will hardly be acknowledged generally. 3), on the other hand, clearly shows how the later interpolater gives himself away by a clumsy construction in respect of language: by the addition of γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός, γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον (participle aor.; added for practical reasons with the intention of doctrinal clarification), he gives the impression (surely not intended) as if Christ had been born *before* he was sent on his mission by God. One can keep to this nonsense if, a priori excluding the possibility of an interpolation, one states against grammar rule, »that *part. aor.* does not here designate occurrences that precede the main action but concomitant ones, follows from the meaning of ἐξαπέστειλεν, which forbids to understand it as a mission or task given only after the entrance into the world and the subordination under the Law « (RIENECKER, 201).

26. Gal 4,6

| | | |
|--|---------------------------|-------|
| #44) Gal 4,6 Marc 5.4.4 | ἐσμεν > ἐστε | incor |
| #45) Gal 4,6 | ἀπέστειλεν > ἐξαπεστειλεν | nlq |
| #46) Gal 4,6 Marc 5.4.4; B, 1739 sa | – ὁ θεος | cor |
| #47) Gal 4,6 Marc 5.4.4, P 46 | – τοῦ υἱοῦ | cor |

Textual Evidence

Marc 5.4.4: »Itaque ut certum esset nos filios dei esse, misit spiritum suum in corda nostra, clamantem: Abba pater«.

Reconstruction of the Marcionite Text

HILGENFELD and HARNACK doubted whether Tertullian in this place quoted the Marcionite text correctly; HARNACK, 74*: »obviously at the beginning quoting in a free way«; accordingly HARNACK reconstructs: ὅτε (?) δὲ ἔστε υἱοὶ, ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν κρᾶζον· ἀββα ὁ πατήρ. Concerning the absent τοῦ υἱοῦ HILGENFELD, says 442: » in v. 6 Tertullian omits τοῦ υἱοῦ: and it will be difficult to decide whether he just shortens the quote or whether these words were really absent«. — For the first part of the quote (*Itaque ut certum esset nos filios dei esse*), one will certainly have to assume a less accurate way of quoting. Questionable however is whether this assumption is valid for the second part as well, and, if so, whether Marcion in agreement with the Catholic text read ὁ θεὸς and τοῦ υἱοῦ. We have to take into account that ὁ θεὸς, missing in Marcion, is absent in *Vaticanus*, in 1739, and in the Sahidic translation as well. Additionally, VAN MANEN draws attention to the fact that the idea of the *Spirit of the Son of God* (i.e. not of God himself) is unique in Galatians; VAN MANEN refers to 3,2.5.14; 5,18.22.25 and asks, 486: »Does it make sense that God first sends his Son and then the Spirit of his Son?«. — Since in my opinion the references mentioned give no proof we'll not see VAN MANEN'S hint as a decisive argument. We might, however, take into account Rom 8,14, too, where the quality of being son is closely connected to receiving the *Spirit of God* (»For all who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God «), but in Romans, too, there is the identification: God's Spirit = Christ's Spirit (8,9). — All in all, based on the textual evidence I'm inclined to assume that the Marcionite text did neither contain ὁ θεὸς nor τοῦ υἱοῦ. In my opinion, in 3,6 there is no evidence to be found for the Marcionite text to be more original than the Catholic version.

27. Gal 4,7

#48) Gal 4,7

– ὥστε οὐκέτι εἶ δοῦλος ἀλλὰ υἱός· cor
εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος διὰ θεοῦ.

Textual Evidence

4,7 is not quoted in any place, be it by Tertullian or another referent to the Marcionite text.

Reconstruction of the Marcionite Text

Though HARNACK, 75*, notices that there is no evidence for v. 7 he presupposes –without substantiation– its presence in the Marcionite version: »will not have been missing«. Anybody wishing to get more than just assumptions has to decide according to criteria of *textual criticism*. Its results are the following:

1. Contrary to the preceding verse, the author of 4,7 no longer uses 2nd pers. plur. (Ὅτι δὲ ἐστε υἱοί), but 2nd p. sing. (εἶ); cf. VAN MANEN 486. SCHLIER, 199, too, notices: »Surprisingly, the conclusion is again expressed in 2nd p. sing....« According to SCHLIER, by this the conclusion gets »more personal importance. The matter is of great concern to everybody individually«. Taking into account criteria of textual criticism, one will, however, get at conclusions quite different from SCHLIER'S.

2. There is a close connection with passage 4, 1-2, identified above as the work of an editor (and with the *Abraham*-passages, 3,6-9. 15-25, that concerning contents have a strong affinity to the κληρονόμος-topic and are secondary interpolations as well); cf. VAN MANEN 486.

Those two observations necessarily result in 4,7, too, being an editorial interpolation. Obviously in this place, the editor intends to connect 4,3-6 with 4,1-2 and consequently with his favourite topic, the κληρονόμος -question.

28. Gal 4,8

| | | |
|--|---|-----|
| #49) Gal 4,8 | Εἰ οὖν τοῖς τῇ φύσει οὔσιν θεοῖς δουλεύετε > ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες θεὸν ἐδουλεύσατε τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὔσιν θεοῖς· | cor |
| Marc 5.4.5 | | |
| Cf. Clabeaux, #4), App B (– θεοῖς ἐδουλεύσατε) | | |

Textual Evidence

Marc 5.4.5: »*Post has itaque divitias non erat revertendum ad infirma et mendica elementa. Elementa autem apud Romanos quoque etiam primae litterae solent dici. Non ergo per mundialium elementorum derogationem a deo eorum avertere cupiebat, etsi dicendo supra, Si ergo his qui non natura sunt dei servitis, physicae, id est naturalis, superstitionis elementa pro deo habentis suggillabat errorem, nec sic tamen elementorum deum taxans*«.

The Context of the Quote in Tertullian

Against Marcion, Tertullian first had brought together Gal 4,7: *misit spiritum suum in corda nostra, clamantem: Abba pater*, with the OT prophecy of the Spirit by the prophet Joel 2,28, in order to demonstrate that for Paul, too, the God of the OT (the Marcionite demiurge) is identical with the one of the New Covenant. »Now, from whom comes this grace, «he asks,» but from Him who proclaimed the *promise* thereof? Who is (our) Father, but He who is also our Maker? *Cuius gratia, nisi cuius et promissio gratiae? Quis pater, nisi qui et factor?*« — Therefore, after such affluence (of grace of the NT), Tertullian goes on, they should not have returned to weak and beggarly elements: *Post has itaque divitias non erat revertendum ad infirma et mendica elementa*. To understand the term *elementa* as here used, Tertullian reminds of the usage in Latin, where *elementa* can stand for *primae litterae*, i.e. for the rudiments of learning: *elementa autem apud Romanos quoque etiam primae litterae solent dici*. Later then he — and even some of our modern exegetes — correspondingly applies this to the *Jewish Religion of the Law* being the *elementary basis* of the New Covenant. He thus opposes explicitly the Marcionite interpretation of this place, as shown by the following sentence: Obviously, the Marcionites had asserted that the term ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα had been chosen by Paul as a *disparaging way of designating* creation or the power of the Creator-God to be στοιχεῖα with the only intention to turn humanity away from the God of these elements: *Non ergo per mundialium elementorum derogationem a deo eorum avertere cupiebat*. This means, the Marcionites had not interpreted the Galatians' turning to the στοιχεῖα — as did Tertullian — as a return to the origins of Jewish observance of the Law, but as a return to the detested Creator-God and his powers. Tertullian concedes some plausibility for this opinion, since “the apostle had said just before: Howbeit, then, ye serve them which *by nature are no gods*, he censured the error of that physical or natural superstition which holds the elements to be god; but at the *God of those elements* [the Creator-God] he aimed not in this censure.: *etsi dicendo supra, Si ergo his qui natura sunt dei*

servitis, physicae, id est naturalis, superstitionis elementa pro deo habentis suggillabat errorem, nec sic tamen elementorum deum taxans.

Reconstruction

HARNACK reconstructs: »Εἰ οὖν (γνόντες θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθέντες ὑπὸ θεοῦ), τοῖς τῆ φύσει οὖσι θεοῖς δουλεύετε, πῶς ἐπιστρέφετε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα, οἷς πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεύειν θέλετε; (beginning not certain, the end not explicitly evidenced)«. — Though there further is evidence for *his qui non natura sunt dei* as v.l., HARNACK's conclusion is correct. Most probably τοῖς φύσει οὖσιν θεοῖς was in the Marcionite text (against HILGENFELD, 442, VAN MANEN, 486). While the existence of other gods is implicitly presupposed in the Marcionite text, the Catholic editor apparently intends to exclude this entirely.

COUCHOUD, 17f, about the Catholic editor: „In respect of doctrine he is a monotheist of the Jewish variety and in strict opposition to Marcion's theses, that distinguish the Creator-God from the Stranger-God. He asserts that the Creator-God, the God of the OT, the God of the Christians is one and the same God and that there is no other one in the entire universe.

Admittedly, he has overlooked –maybe negligently– some places, as there are: *2 Cor.* IV, 4: ‚the god of this world‘, who is another god than God, and *1 Cor.* VIII, 5: ‚as indeed there are many gods‘. But he does not bear Paul to say to the Galatians (IV, 8): ‚if you are in bondage to the gods that are in nature, τοῖς ἐν τῆ φύσει οὖσι θεοῖς‘. He corrects: ‚Formerly you were in bondage to gods that by nature are no gods, τοῖς φύσει [18] μὴ οὖσιν θεοῖς‘, a very awkward trick where φύσει is almost bare of meaning.“⁹

When searching for the *original text*, the greater clarity and precision of the Marcionite text attracts attention. Because of ἀλλὰ at the beginning of the sentence, the Catholic text is more difficult to understand, for it is not quite clear what ἀλλὰ refers to. SCHLIER, 201, applies it »to διὰ θεοῦ, put at the end for emphasis: ‚But then you did not know *God*‘«. There is, however, a much simpler and less forcible explanation for this peculiar ἀλλὰ, if one assumes that we have here an interpolation of an editor looking back at his own insertion of

⁹ PAUL-LOUIS COUCHOUD: *The First Edition of the Paulina*, 1930. (= *La première édition de Saint Paul*) – translated by Frans-Joris Fabri, www.radikalkritik.de

v. 7 and wanting to avoid a repetition of εἰ δὲ. The conclusion then would be that in this place, too, the Marcionite variant be the more original one.

29. Gal 4,10

| | | |
|---------------|--|-----|
| #50) Gal 4,10 | + καὶ σάββατά, ὡς οἶμαι, καὶ δεῖπνα καθαρὰ καὶ νηστείας καὶ ἡμέρας μεγάλας | nlq |
| Marc 5.4.6 | | |

Textual Evidence

Marc 5.4.6: »*Sed quae velit intellegi elementa, primas scilicet litteras legis, ipse declarat. Dies observatis et menses et tempora et annos, et sabbata ut opinor et coenas puras et ieiunia et dies magnos. Cessare enim ab his quoque, sicut et circumcissione, oportebat ex decretis creatoris, qui et per Esaiam, Neomenias vestras et sabbata et diem magnum non sustinebo, ieiunium et ferias et cerimonias vestras odit anima mea; et per Amos, Odi, reieci cerimonias vestras, et non odorabor in frequentis vestris; item per Osee, Avertam universas iocunditates eius et cerimonias eius et sabbata et neomenias eius et omnes frequentias eius*«.

Reconstruction

The phrase introduced by Tertullian with *et sabbata*, is -by a majority of scholars- seen as an addition of Tertullian's. The inserted *ut opinor* might indeed suggest this. Against this, VAN MANEN, 487, following RÖNSCH, 445, tried to show that we here have the wording of the Marcionite version of Galatians. As pieces of evidence, he mentions the emphasized *ipse declarat* and the fact that Tertullian eagerly uses references to Isa. 1,14; Amos 5,21 and Hos 2,11 to prove that not only Marcion's God, but the God of the OT, too, condemned the observance of the special religious dates. The argument is plausible and — if correct — would be another piece of circumstantial evidence for the Marcionite text to be older than the Catholic version. It will hardly be assumed that it was Marcion who enlarged the text, since there are no reasons for his doing so. One may assume, though, that a Catholic editor shortened the text, because he was disgusted by the polemics it contained against the Sabbath and other Jewish dates.

30. Gal 4,23

| | | |
|--|-------|-----|
| #51) Gal 4,23 Marc 5.4.8 Clabeaux #10) App A | – μὲν | cor |
| #52) Gal 4,23 Harnack | + τῆς | cor |

Textual Evidence

Marc 5.4.8: »*sed qui ex ancilla carnaliter natus est, qui vero ex libera per repromissionem*«. Moreover: p⁴⁶ B f vg Pel.

CLABEAUX has the variant without μὲν in his list of *secure pre-Marcionite readings* and rightly marks it *correct*: »The word μὲν should be stricken from this verse in any modern edition of the Greek New Testament. The reading without is the *lectio difficilior (sed non sine sensu)*. The lack of μὲν presents a striking *asyndeton*, especially since δέ is present in the second half of the verse. A *horror asyndeti* would be the motive for the addition of μὲν« (86). Before CLABEAUX, VAN MANEN in his reconstruction of the original text of Galatians had already deleted μὲν as not belonging to it, VAN MANEN, 488, 531.

31. Gal 4,25-30

| | | |
|---|--|-----|
| #53) Gal 4,24 | + εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ [τὸν] νόμον γεννώσα εἰς δουλείαν, μιὰ δὲ ὑπεράνω πάσης αρχῆς γεννώσα, [καὶ] δυνάμεως, [καὶ] ἐξουσίας καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι· ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν· > εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἀγάρ. | cor |
| Marc 5.4.8 Epiph Schol 2 Orig in Jerome on 4,24 cf. Clabeaux #11) App B + Eph 1,21 | | |
| #54) Gal 4,25-30 | – 25-30 (except ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν·V.26) | cor |

Marc 5.4.8 Epiph Schol 2 Orig in Jerome on 4,24
cf. Clabeaux #12) App A (*do not add, V. 26*)

Textual Evidence

Tertullian, 5.4.8: »*Sed ut furibus solet aliquid excidere de praeda in indicium, ita credo et Marcionem novissimam Abrahae mentionem dereliquisse, nulla magis auferenda, etsi ex parte convertit. Si enim Abraham duos liberos habuit, unum ex ancilla et alium ex libera, sed qui ex ancilla carnaliter natus est, qui vero ex libera per repromissionem: quae sunt allegorica, id est aliud portendentia: haec sunt enim duo testamenta, sive duae ostensiones, sicut invenimus interpretatum, unum a monte Sina in synagogam Iudaeorum secundum legem generans in servitutem, aliud super omnem principatum generans, vim, dominationem, et omne nomen quod nominatur, non tantum in hoc aevo sed in futuro, quae est mater nostra, in quam repromisimus sanctam ecclesiam; ideoque adicit, Propter quod, fratres, non sumus ancillae filii sed liberae, utique manifestavit et Christianismi generositatem in filio Abrahae ex libera nato allegoriae habere sacramentum, sicut et Iudaismi servitutem legalem in filio ancillae, atque ita eius dei esse utramque dispositionem apud quem invenimus utriusque dispositionis delineationem*«. Epiphanius, Schol 2; ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας δια τῆς ἐπαγγελίας; Origenes in Jerome on 4,24: »*Marcion (et Manichaeus) hunc locum, in quo dixit apostolus 'Quae sunt allegorica' et cetera quae secuntur, de codice suo tollere noluerunt, putantes adversus nos relinqui, quod scilicet lex aliter sit intelligenda, quam scripta sit*«.

CLABEAUX, 3: Ephrem Syrus, Commentarii in Epistolas d. Pauli; cf. ZAHN, Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater, 298.

Harnack's Attempt at Reconstruction

In his reconstruction of the Marcionite text HARNACK 76* first follows the version given by Tertullian and translates:

24 ἄτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα·
αὗται γάρ εἰσιν αἱ δύο ἐπιδείξεις,
(ἐνδείξεις), μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους
Σινᾶ, εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν
Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τὸν νόμον γεννωσα

*quae sunt allegorica, [id est aliud
portendentia:] haec sunt enim duo
testamenta, [sive duae
ostensiones, sicut invenimus
interpretatum,] unum a monte*

εἰς δουλεία,

*Sina in synagogam Iudaeorum
secundum legem generans in
servitute,*

26 ἄλλη δὲ ὑπεράνω πάσης αρχῆς
γεννώσα, καὶ δυνάμεως, καὶ
ἐξουσίας καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος
ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ
αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ
μέλλοντι εἰς ἣν (ἄν?)
ἐπηγγειλάμεθα ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν,
ἣτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν.

*aliud super omnem principatum
generans, vim, dominationem, et
omne nomen quod nominatur, non
tantum in hoc aevo sed in futuro,
quae est mater nostra, in quam
repromisimus sanctam ecclesiam;*

Yet, HARNACK is sceptical about the wording of the Marcionite text as given by Tertullian; his scepticism particularly arises from the passage in which there seems to be a quote of Eph 1,21; since according to HARNACK, Marcion nowhere else had taken the liberty »of such a modification of the text with a transfer of a place in one letter to another one (Ephes. 1,21),« HARNACK cannot »free himself from the suspicion..., that the ... text given as in Tert. after all is not to be ascribed to M. himself«. HILGENFELD, too, thinks that v. 24 in Marcion did not read differently from our canonical text. Especially εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων were nothing but an explanatory comment of Tertullian's.

Van Manen's Attempt at Reconstruction

Like HILGENFELD and HARNACK, VAN MANEN, 489ff, states that the phrases *id est aliud portenda* and consequently *sive duae ostensiones, sicut invenimus interpretatum* -connected with the former- are Tertullian's. Contrary to HARNACK, however, VAN MANEN considers *in quam repromisimus sanctam ecclesiam* to be an addition by Tertullian as well. Concerning the wording of the other citations from Marcion's text by Tertullian, especially the quote from Ephesians, VAN MANEN thinks that HARNACK's and HILGENFELD's skepticism against the Marcionite text as given by Tertullian be groundless. VAN MANEN points out that as a rule, Tertullian's comments and explanations are indicated as such. Thusly, in VAN MANEN's opinion, the Marcionite text immediately after Σινῶ in agreement with the quote in Tertullian read εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κτλ..

ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα· αὐταὶ γάρ
εἰσιν δύο διαθήκαι, μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὅρους

*quae sunt allegorica, [id est aliud
portendentia:] haec sunt enim*

Σινᾶ, εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν
 Ἰουδαίων κατὰ νόμον εἰς δουλείαν
 γεννώσα,
 μιὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν δυναστείαν
 (δύναμιν, κυριότητα καὶ πᾶν ὄνομα
 ὀνομαζομένου, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι
 τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι)
 γεννώσα, ἣτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν·

*duo testamenta, [sive duae
 ostensiones, sicut invenimus
 interpretatum,]
 unum a monte Sina in synagogam
 Iudaeorum secundum legem
 generans in servitutum, aliud
 super omnem principatum
 generans, vim,*

*dominationem, et omne nomen
 quod nominatur, non tantum in
 hoc aevo sed in futuro, quae est
 mater nostra, [in quam
 repromisimus sanctam
 ecclesiam;]*

Presumptive Wording

In my opinion, HARNACK's translation — in addition to his sticking to *in quam repromisimus sanctam ecclesiam*, which surely is an addition or a comment of Tertullian's — is not convincing in the following places:

1. Instead of translating *testamenta* by ἐπιδείξεις or ἐμδείξεις (s. Rom 3,25; Phl 1,28), the term διαθήκαι, better corresponding to the NT linguistic usage, should have been used (cf. Rom. 9:4; 11:27; I Cor 11:25; II Cor 3,6.14; Gal. 3,15.17; Eph. 2:12 Heb. 7:22; 8,6 etc.)¹⁰.

¹⁰HARNACK has explained his argument in great detail, 52f*: Marcion had altered the text, „because he didn't want to allow two Covenants being mentioned here, as if there be a formal relationship between the acts of the Creator-God and those of the Good God, (in Luk. 22,20, too, M. erased the word ‚new' with ‚Covenant' because he did not know two Covenants), but only two ‚verifications'“. HARNACK's explanation is attractive. But, – independent of the question whether it was Marcion or the Catholic editor who changed the text – we have to draw attention to II Cor 3,6: καινῆς διαθήκης, οὐ γράμματος ἀλλὰ πνεύματος, where Marcion's version, even according to HARNACK, is identical with the Catholic one. Should we not here as well – if we accept HARNACK'S argument – expect a modification or an erasure (likewise II Cor 3,14)? On the other hand, it's a striking feature that an accumulation of the διαθήκης–notion occurs in the very passages which in our view belong to a Catholic edition: Rom 9,4; 11,27; Gal 3,15.17; probably I Cor 11,25 as well (Eph 2,12 is a particularly difficult problem). All in all, it's quite difficult here to arrive at a conclusion.

2. Instead of ἄλλη δὲ (in HARNACK's numeration v. 26) μιὰ δὲ should have been chosen to get a correct connection with μία μὲν of the first half of the phrase.

VAN MANEN's translation, in my opinion, is not quite correct in the following places: 1. He does not keep the order of words of *secundum legem generans in servitute*: instead of κατὰ [τόν] νόμον γεννώσα εἰς δουλείαν VAN MANEN translates κατὰ νόμον εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα. The question, whether before νόμον there was a definite article (HARNACK) or whether there was not (VAN MANEN), can, in my opinion, not be settled, since Latin has no definite articles. — Likewise the order of words in *aliud super omnem principatum generans* should have been kept: s. correctly HARNACK. — Whether in the Greek translation of *super omnem principatum generans, vim, dominationem* the first two terms — as in Eph 1,21 — should be connected by καὶ (see HARNACK) can i.m.o. not be decided on.

2. The translation of the quote 1,21 from Ephesians does not accurately take into account the wording of its corresponding place: therefore ὑπεράνω instead of ὑπὲρ.

I.m.o., the Marcionite text might have read:

ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα· αὗται γάρ
εἰσιν δύο διαθήκαι, μία μὲν ἀπὸ
ὄρους Σινᾶ, εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν
Ἰουδαίων κατὰ [τόν] νόμον γεννώσα
εἰς δουλείαν,

μιὰ δὲ ὑπεράνω πάσης αρχῆς γεννώσα,
[καὶ] δυνάμεως, [καὶ] ἐξουσίας καὶ
παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου, οὐ
μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν
τῷ μέλλοντι·
ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν·

*quae sunt allegorica, [id est aliud
portenduntia:] haec sunt enim duo
testamenta, [sive duae stensiones,
sicut invenimus interpretatum,]
unum a monte Sina in synagogam
Iudaeorum secundum legem
generans in servitute,
aliud super omnem principatum
generans, vim, dominationem, et
omne nomen quod nominatur, non
tantum in hoc aevo sed in futuro,
quae est mater nostra, [in quam
repromissimus sanctam
ecclesiam;]*

Discussing the question: Which is the Original Version?

one will with great certainty have to favour the Marcionite variant when taking into account the following criteria:

1. In v. 24 there is a *rupture of syntax*: As noticed already by LIETZMANN in his commentary, 251, »the interpretation beginning with μιὰ is not continued in this form« (cf. VAN MANEN, too). Corresponding to 4,24 μιὰ μεν, one would expect μιὰ δέ. Yet only the *Marcionite* variant (if only Tertullian's *unum-aliud* is translated correctly) has a logical link with that μιὰ μεν.

2. Between passage 25-30 (suspect of being an insertion) and the other parts of the letter *differences and particularities of language* can be found: in 4,25 and 26 the author talks about ἡ νῦν (25) or ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ (26). Instead, in 1,17.18, 2,1 the original author uses the term — predominant in LXX (s. BAUER, Wörterbuch, Sp. 737) — Ἱεροσόλυμα. Συστοιχῆν (= »to have the same cipher - character« (LIETZMANN, at the place), or »to be in the same sequence«, ThW VII, 669); 4,25, is a hapaxlegomenon.

3. IN v. 25.26 there is a *rupture of thought*. In v. 26; the Jerusalem above, ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, is called 'our Mother'. This is uncomprehensible, because the context is just not about a *present institution* we already belong to. The contrast developed in 25.26 is between ἡ νῦν and ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, the former indicating a present, the latter a *future* (eschatological) institution. But so the latter hardly can be said to be the »Mother« of those in faith. Obviously the editor in a further *eschatological* interpretation of the Sara-Hagar typos (4,22) (attached to 4,24) lost touch with the original skopos of 4,22ff and is now hardly able to connect these lines with the original ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν. Faith alone, πίστις, (which after all that has been discussed, is the only possible referent), can be said to be — now — and not only in a future world — »our Mother«.

4. Whereas the author in 4,26 uses *1. pers. pl.* (ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν), in 4,28 *2. pers. pl.* is used (ὕμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί, κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα ἐστέ); in 4,31 symptomatically *1. pers. pl.* reappears (διό, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐσμέν παιδίσκες τέκνα ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρως). Cf. O'NEILL 63.

5. In respect of the quoted phrase, the conclusion 4,31 does not appear to be compelling and rather seems to refer backwards to 4,26. From the O.T. quotes neither follows that the »Jerusalem above« be free, nor that it be our Mother. Cf. VAN MANEN, who – in contrast to the canonical text, in which a series of problems arise – cannot detect contradictions in the Marcionite version:

»One after the other the two metaphors are explained and then the conclusion from the reference to the Law, beginning in v.22, is summarized in short form. What Scripture says about Ismael and Isaac, must be explained allegorically. We have two metaphors, of which one refers to the Law, the other to Faith, in this letter opposed to the Law. The latter begins on mount Sinai and ends with the synagogue of the Jews. It produces slavery. Faith, on the contrary, elevates its sons above all imaginable powers; it allows them to be entirely free, not only in the present time, but in the future as well. Faith, πίστις, is our Mother. That's

why we, finally returning to the word of the Law, -which the argument was all about- are not sons of the slave, but of the free woman«. Van Manen therefore considers it a reasonable conclusion, »that the frequently mentioned Catholic editor of our letter thought the praise of faith at the expense of the Law too anti-Jewish for his intended readers; that he therefore shortened it considerably; that he tried to turn the metaphors to the fore to another direction, v.25,26; that he tried to support what he thought to have said well by means of a few quotes, v.27, 30; that he carefully enabled Jewish minded Christians to find consolation in the idea that they were and remained children of the promise, κατὰ Ἰσαὰκ, v.28«.

32. Gal 5,1

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----|
| #55) Gal 5,1 | ἡ ἐλευθερία > τῆ ἐλευθερία | cor |
| Marc 5.4.9 | | |
| #5), Appendix B, Clabeaux: ἡ for τῆ | | |

Textual Evidence

Marc 5.4.9: »*Qua libertate Christus nos manumisit, nonne eum constituit manumissorem qui fuit dominus?*« Tert Marc 5.4.9: »Et merito. Non decebat manumissos rursus iugo servitutis, id est legis adstringi, iam psalmo adimpeto...«

All scholars acknowledge that here Tertullian correctly gives the wording of the Marcionite text.

The question, however, whether the Marcionite text is the more original one, gets different answers. While HILGENFELD, HARNACK i.a. don't even deal with the problem, VAN MANEN, 492-493, after thoroughly comparing the variants, arrives at an answer to the positive: in his opinion, the Marcionite variant fits the context of the entire letter better, consequently the canonical text is easier to be explained out of the Marcionite than the other way round. »'For freedom Christ has set us free; stand fast therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery' is perfectly compatible with the ideas that Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law, 3,11; that Christians are called sons of the free woman, in contrast to the sons of the slave, that are under the Law and were born κατὰ σάρκα i.e. κατὰ νόμον εἰς δουλείαν, and are in the slavery of the Law, 4,23-31; and that therefore there is a sharp antagonism between on the one hand the Law and on the other hand the Gospel or Faith or Freedom. Stand fast for freedom, that consequently means as well: turn your back on the Law«.

According to VAN MANEN, the sharp opposition of *Law and Freedom*, indicated in 5,1, could easily be weakened by splitting up the verse in two parts: that way the importance of redemption through Christ was to be reduced and antinomist consequences excluded.

In my opinion, there is another piece of circumstantial evidence for VAN MANEN'S assumption to be correct: the peculiar use of the word *στήκειν*, elsewhere in Paul's letters only occurring in II Thess 2,15 (an interpolated passage as well). Whereas *στήκειν* in Rom 5,2; 14,4; [I Cor 15,1] 16,13; II Cor 1,24; Phil 1,27; 4,1; I Thess 3,8 appears as *στήκειν ἐν*, it is here, as in II Thess 2,15, used in the absolute (SCHLIER 230). Such a use of the word seems to be derived from the language of the Septuagint, which usually translates the (likewise absolute) Hebraic *צָיַן* (= to stand, e.g. before God; cf. Ex 14,13: »Fear not, stand firm, and see the salvation of the LORD, which he will work for you today«) by *στήκειν*. Since we have frequently noticed a Jewish-synagogal tint in the language of the Catholic editor, (LXX-influx), the peculiar use of the term *στήκειν* seems to give away his hand.

33. Gal 5,3.4

| | | |
|--|--|-------|
| #56) Gal 5,3 | μαρτύρομαι δὲ πάλιν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος περιτετημένος ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον πληρῶσαι. > μαρτύρομαι δὲ πάλιν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ περιτεμνομένῳ ὅτι ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι. | cor |
| Marc 5.4.9; Epiphanius Pan 42.11.8 (120,11f) = Pan 42.12.3 (156,21f) | | |
| #57) Gal 5,4 | καταργεῖτε τὸ σημεῖον τῆς δουλείας > κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ | incor |

Textual Evidence

Epiphanius Pan 42.11.8 (120,11f) = Pan 42.12.3 (156,21f); at the second place *περιτετημένος*; (HARNACK 77*): *μαρτύρομαι δὲ πάλιν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος περιτετημένος ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον πληρῶσαι.*

HARNACK, 77*, HILGENFELD, 443, and VAN MANEN, 493f, consider the text as quoted by Epiphanius the authentic Marcionite variant..

VAN MANEN is the only one to discuss the question, whether the Marcionite text or the canonical, i.e. the Catholic text is the original one. In his opinion, the Marcionite text, in which we have a *perfect tense* (περιτετημημένος) instead of a *present* (περιτεμνόμενος) and a *nominative* (ἄνθρωπος) instead of the *dative* (παντὶ ἄνθρωπῳ) is the older one. According to VAN MANEN, the reason for a modification probably was that later the Catholic side transferred what Paul had said concerning those that *had been circumcised* (perfect), to those, who were *going to have themselves circumcised* (the then present). Yet, originally only the *already circumcised* could have been intended. VAN MANEN, 493: »The surgery [i.e. circumcision] then did not take so much time as to enable people to fulfill the entire Law in the meantime«.

Another noteworthy peculiarity of the Catholic text is μαρτύρομαι with personal dative. This form is not found elsewhere in »Paul«; (δια-)μαρτύρομαι with dative, on the contrary, sometimes occurs in Luke, e.g. in Acts (15,8; 20,26). This again, i.e. the *style of the Septuaginta*, reminds us of the Catholic editor .

Finally, VAN MANEN draws attention to a statement of Tertullian's, which might suggest that Marcion's Paul had said something else which then fell victim to the editor's scissors: 5.4 reads: »De servitute igitur exemptos ipsam servitutis notam eradere perseverabat, circumcissionem«. Based on this quote in this context, VAN MANEN assumes that Marcion's Paul required those that had been circumcised to reverse the mark of circumcision. VAN MANEN thinks, the original text might have read κατηργεῖτε τὸ σημεῖον τῆς δουλείας instead of κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ. That's an appealing — though highly insecure!— assumption.

34. Gal 5,6

| | | |
|--------------|--|-----|
| #58) Gal 5,6 | – ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὔτε περιτομή τι ἰσχύει οὔτε ἀκροβυστία | nlq |
| VAN MANEN | ἀλλὰ πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη. | |

VAN MANEN, 523, had assumed 5,6 to be a Catholic insertion. His argument for that assumption is quite comprehensible, though there is no textual evidence to back it (but s. below) — which is why VAN MANEN only adduces it in Abschnitt III (*Wijzigingen, die niet door getuigen zijn gestaafd = Modifications not supported by textual evidence*): After 5,2-5 had emphatically shown that circumcision and faith are by no means compatible (eva.n perite,mnhsqe(Cristo.j u`ma/j ouvde.n wvfelh,sei), 5,6 is quite a

surprise for any reader. Those that might object with the argument that 5,6 did not at all address uncircumcised Gentile Christians that only now wanted to be circumcised or had just been circumcised, but rather (since birth) circumcised Jewish Christians, would have to take into account that there is nowhere a hint at such a distinction in the text itself— and that the original author most probably didn't have it in mind. The repetition of the particle *ga.r*, (used already in 5,5) is clumsy style, the more so, since there is nothing in the sentence that could be interpreted as a substantiation of what was said in 5,5.

A serious *objection*, however, against VAN MANEN'S conjecture might be the fact that Tertullian in Marc 5.4.10-11 seems to allude twice to Gal 5,6:

Denique si circumcisionem ab alio deo veniens excludebat, cur etiam praeputationem negat quicquam valere in Christo, sicut et circumcisionem? ... Et in nomine eius nationes credunt, illius fidei quam dicendo per dilectionem perfici sic quoque creatoris ostendit.

Though Tertullian's reference is a weighty argument against VAN MANEN'S assumption of 5,6 to be the work of an editor, we have, in defense of VAN MANEN, to draw attention to the fact that -as has been proved- Tertullian in other places as well deviates from his fundamental principle, namely to fight Marcion with his own weapons, i.e. with his own recension of the Paulina (cf. the annotations to Gal 2,2: Tertullian's »quote« *ne in vacuum tot annis cucurrisset aut curreret*) — be it because the edition of the Marcionite *Apostolus* used by Tertullian already contained some Catholic revisions, or be it because he had more or less frequently to deviate from his methodical basis for polemical (i.e. tendentious) reasons.

35. Gal 5,9

| | | |
|--|---------------|-----|
| #59) Gal 5,9 | δολοῖ > ζυμοῖ | cor |
| Epiph Pan 42.11.8 (120,13f) = 42.12.3 (157,1f) | | |
| Clabeaux #14) App A (cor) | | |

Textual Evidence

Epiphanius Pan 42.11.8 (120,13f) = 42.12.3 (157,1f): ἀντὶ τοῦ μικρὰ ζύμη ὄλον τοῦ φύραμα ζυμοῖ ἐποίησε δολοῖ.

From HILGENFELD, 443, to CLABEAUX, 86, 152 scholars time and again expressed their doubts whether the variant *δολοῖ* (to forge) instead of *ζυμοῖ* (to sour), evidenced as Marcionite by Epiphanius (but occurring elsewhere, too : D*; Goth Bas Const; lat; Lcf), really be a modification by Marcion, or whether contrariwise the Catholic text be the secondary one. We might indeed

have here a later harmonizing with I Cor 5,6 (οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ;). Why an ordinary transcriber should have changed ζυμοῖ into δολοῖ is quite difficult to explain. Moreover, the unmistakably negative δολοῖ is better integrated in the context than the ambivalent ζυμοῖ and might have been replaced by the later editor because of its wry overtone (VAN MANEN, 495).

36. Gal 5,14

| | | |
|--|--|-----|
| #60) 5,14 | [έν] ὑμῖν πεπλήρωται > έν ένι λόγῳ πεπλήρωται | cor |
| Marc 5.4.12; Epiph Pan 42.11.8 (120,15f) = 42.12.3 (157,9f) Clabeaux #15) App A (incor) | | |
| #61) 5,14 | – έν τῷ | cor |
| Marc 5.4.12 Epiph Schol 5 Clabeaux #17) App A (incor) | | |

Textual Evidence

Marc 5.4.12 : »*Tota enim, inquit, lex in vobis adimpleta est: Diliges proximum tuum tamquam te*«. Epiphanius, Pan 42.11.8 (120,15f) = 42.12.3 (157,9f): ὁ γὰρ πᾶς νόμος ὑμῖν πεπλήρωται· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

Context

Shortly before, Tertullian had cited Gal 5,10 — *qui autem turbat vos, iudicium feret*; Paul threatens those that trouble the communities with God's judgement. Polemically he asks by which God (*a quo deo?*) this judgement could possibly be pronounced? Surely not by Marcion's *optimus deus* since that God does not judge (*non iudicat*). But neither would the *creator* (= God of the Jews) condemn a maintainer of circumcision. Since (according to Marcion) there be no other to execute judgement, only he, who had determined on the cessation of the law, would be able to condemn the defenders of the law, and what, if he also affirmed the law in that portion of it where it ought (to be permanent)? Tertullian then cites the Marcionite version of 5,16: »*Tota enim, inquit, lex in vobis adimpleta est: Diliges proximum tuum*

tamquam te«. Then he he rejects the (apparently Marcionite) interpretation of the quote as if Paul had intended to say the Law had been fulfilled (*adimpleta*) and it no longer had to be fulfilled (*non adimplenda est*). If this were implied, Paul wouldn't have at the same time given the commandment to love one's neighbour as oneself. Tertullian does not interpret this commandment as a *dispendium*, but as a *compendium* of the *lex creatoris*. Therefore 'we must evermore continue to observe this commandment' (*Sed perseverandum erit semper in isto praecepto*).

Reconstruction

Based on the quotes from Epiphanius und Tertullian, it is generally assumed that Marcion in 5,14 omitted ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ (#60) and read (ἐν) ὑμῖν instead.

Not settled is the question whether the phrases ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ and ἐν τῷ (the latter used to introduce the quote) were *erased* in the Marcionite edition or *inserted* in a Catholic recension.

HARNACK, 78*, assumes that the the canonical Catholic text shows the original version and as to the genesis of the Marcionite text he sees the following alternative: »Had ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ accidentally been dropped after ἐν ὑμῖν in an old Marcionite issue and had the error slipped into Tert. and Epiph. that way? Or was it M. who wrote ἐν ὑμῖν (and ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ) contrasting it in thought with: 'Not in the Jews?' That's much more probable«.

VAN MANEN, on the contrary, considers the Marcionite text original since, in his opinion, the canonical version contains problems of *content* and *language*. The author, having preached in 5,3 that his fellow-believers were not obliged to »fulfill the entire Law«, would contradict himself by reinstating the *lex Creatoris* of old in 5,14 (in the sense of Tertullian's *compendium*). »Fulfillment« of the Law, as the author understood the term, meant »fill, add what is still missing «— just like in the original usage of the word. By no means the author had intended to summarize all stipulations of the Law in one short commandment (*compendium*), his intention had been to show — in defense of his strong request of those called to freedom to be each others' servants—, by which new Law the old commandments had been fulfilled.

In my opinion, VAN MANEN best of all does justice to both context and linguistic findings. Moreover, his explanation results in a relatively easy comprehension of the *genealogy* of the other variants:

1. The addition of ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ is explained by the intention of a Catholic editor to take the antinomist sting out of the sentence and to interpret the

fulfillment of the Law as its summary, i.e. as *compendium* in Tertullian's sense.

2. To make that result even more explicit, ἐν τῷ was later added. CLABEAUX, 152, recognizes #60), #61) as (pre-) Marcionite variant.

37. Gal 5,20.24

| | | |
|--|--|-----|
| #62) 5,20 | εἰδωλολατρίαι, φαρμακείαι > εἰδωλολατρία, φαρμακεία | nlq |
| Epiph Pan 42.12.3 (157,17-21) | | |
| #63) 5,20 | ἔρεις, ζῆλοι > ἔρις, ζῆλος | nlq |
| Clabeaux #7) App B: | ἔρεις > ἔρις | |
| Clabeaux #8) App B: | ζῆλοι > ζῆλος | |
| #)64 5,20 | φόννοι > φθόννοι | nlq |
| #)65 5,24 | Χριστοῦ > Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ | cor |
| Epiph Pan 42,11,8 (121,1f) = 42,12,3 (158,22f) and P 46 DFG 0122c M latt sy – cf. Harnack 78* | | |
| To 5,21 cf. CLABEAUX #10) <i>App B</i> (+ καί after καθῶς). | | |

Textual Evidence

In his Panarion 42.12.3 (157,17-21) Epiphanius knows of some other variants, apart from those mentioned above, but they are estimated not to be of much worth (s. below), e.g.: εἰδωλολατρίαι, φαρμακείαι instead of εἰδωλολατρία, φαρμακεία; φόννοι instead of φθόννοι —but differently Pan 42.11.8 (120, 17-21): εἰδωλολατρία, φαρμακεία, φόννοι— *Appendix B*, CLABEAUX #9: do not add φόννοι after φθόννοι).

Reconstruction

Whether Epiphanius in Gal 5,20 accurately cites the Marcionite text is a controversial issue. In the other places, the quotes from the Marcionite text seem to be correct. In my opinion, however, the question whether the latter or the canonical variant is the more authentic one, cannot be answered.

38. Gal 6,6

| | | |
|--|--------------------|-----|
| #66) 6,6 | – ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς | nlq |
| Orig in Jer., CommGal (PL 26 [1845] 429B, 11-15) | | |

Textual Evidence

Jer, CommGal (PL 26 [1845] 429B, 11-15): *Marcion hunc locum ita interpretatus est, ut putaret fideles et catechumenos simul orare debere et magistrum communicare in oratione discipulis, illo vel maxime elatus, quod sequatur in omnibus bonis.*

Reconstruction

Whereas most scholars assume that Marcionite and canonical version were identical in this place, VAN MANEN, based on the quote from Origen in Jerome, thinks Marcion did not have ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς. His reasoning: κοινωνεῖν (»take part in«; I Tim 5,26; I Petr 4,13; II Joh 11) be not κοινοῦν (= »share sth with s.o.«). The original author had not had in mind a *community of property*, but a *spiritual companionship* of the catechumen and his teacher. After having given the general rule in 6,4 and 5 that everybody should be able to stand on their own two feet, the author now formulates an exception of that rule: »Let him who is taught the word, live in companionship with him who teaches.« In this context there was no room for ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς, which interprets or could possibly interpret this companionship as one of joint property.

If VAN MANEN were right (his deliberations cannot be simply dismissed entirely), in this place, too, the Marcionite text would be the authentic one.

39. Gal 6,7

| | | |
|--------------|----|-----|
| #67) Gal 6,7 | μὴ | nlq |
| Marc 5.4.14 | | |

Textual Evidence

Marc 5.4.14: »*Erratis, deus non deridetur. Atquin derideri potest Marcionis, qui nec irasci novit nec ulcisci. Quod quod enim severit homo, hoc et metet*«.

The variant *πλανᾶσθε* is commonly acknowledged to be the Marcionite one.

VAN MANEN is the only one to discuss the question whether it –an not the canonical variant- might be the original version. VAN MANEN'S opinion is that the Marcionite variant harmonize better with the »terse, harsh tone« of (original) Paul, and therefore might »very well be the more original one«. *Μὴ πλανᾶσθε* be a watered down form. The editor had intended to alter the text into »a general admonition Catholic Christians could take advantage of«. — Though there is some degree of probability in these considerations, they are, on the other hand, i.m.o., not absolutely compelling.

40. Gal 6,9.10

| | | |
|-----------------|---|-----|
| #68) Gal 6,9 | – καιρῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ θερίσομεν μὴ ἐκλύομενοι | cor |
| #69) Gal 6,10 | καὶ > "Ἄρα οὖν | cor |
| #70) Gal 6,10 | καιρῷ δὲ ἰδίῳ θερίσομεν > πρὸς πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ | cor |
| Marc 5.14.14-15 | πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως. | |

Textual Evidence

Marc 5.4.14-15: »*Bonum autem facientes non fatigemur, et Dum habemus tempus, operemur bonum ... Tempore autem suo metemus*«.

Reconstruction

Though obviously Tertullian accurately cites the wording of the passage, HARNACK in his reconstruction, 79*, rearranges it, very likely just adopting the Catholic variant:

HARNACK 79*

TERTULLIAN MARC 5.4.14+15

6,9 τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ
ἐγκακῶμεν

14 *Bonum autem facientes non
fatigemur*

καιρῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ θερίσομεν

*et Dum habemus tempus, operemur
bonum ...*

6,10 ὡς ἔχομεν καιρον, ἐργαζώμεθα
τὸ ἀγαθόν

15 *Tempore autem suo metemus.*

VAN MANEN's reconstruction, 500, on the other hand, follows Tertullian:

VAN MANEN

TERTULLIAN MARC 5.4.14:

6,9 τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ
ἐγκακῶμεν

*Bonum autem facientes non
fatigemur*

6,10 καί ὡς καιρον ἔχομεν,
ἐργαζώμεθα τὸ ἀγαθόν.

*et Dum habemus tempus,
operemur bonum ...*

καιρῷ δὲ ἰδίῳ θερίσομεν.

15. *Tempore autem suo metemus.*

VAN MANEN'S reconstruction and his translation to the Greek are to be preferred, since they are the more accurate ones.

The Question which is the Original Variant

must be settled by means of criteria of language/style and of contents. Problems and tensions appear in the canonical text –not to be found in the Marcionite version–, that provide a clue as for it being secondary compared with the latter:

1. μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι (v. 9) comes unmotivated and is a hapaxlegomenon in the *Corpus Paulinum* (in the NT elsewhere only Mt 15,32; Mk 8,3, Hebr 12,3.5); cf. SCHLIER, 278;

2. in the canonical text the hint at the *harvest* is *anticipated* and doesn't make sense until the end of the passage, i.e. in v. 10.

For the reasons mentioned, VAN MANEN, 500, i.m.o. rightly considers the Marcionite variant to be the more original one.

41. Gal 6,13

| | | |
|---|---------------------------------|-----|
| #71) Gal 6,13 | περιτεμνόμενοι > περιτετμημένοι | cor |
| Epiph Pan 42.11.8 (121, 3) = 42.12.3 (159,3f) | | |
| = #11) Clabeaux, App B (»cor«) | | |

Textual Evidence

Epiphanius reads Gal 5,3 as περιτετμημένος (= perfect; see the annotation); but in Gal 6,13 he has, with the majority of referring manuscripts (Pan 42.11.8 (121, 3) = 42.12.3 (159,3f)) περιτεμνόμενοι (= aorist).

Reconstruction and Evaluation

Whereas HARNACK, CLABEAUX and NESTLE-ALAND²⁶ favour this variant (based above all on some more important referring manuscripts), VAN MANEN, 500, because of Gal 5,3, assumes an erroneous reading by *Epiphanius* and an original περιτετμημένοι (perfect) in Marcion. — The question, what Marcion read in this place, is not answerable i.m.o., and consequently neither is the question, which was the authentic version.

42. Gal 6,15-16

| | | |
|------------------|--------|-----|
| #72) Gal 6,15-16 | -15-16 | nlq |
| [Marc 5.4.15] | | |

Textual Evidence

Marc 5.4.15: »*Sed et mihi, famulo creatoris, mundus crucifixus est, non tamen deus mundi, et ego mundo, non tamen deo mundi. Mundum enim quantum ad conversationem eius posuit, cui renuntiando mutuo transfigimur et invicem morimur. Persecutores vocat Christi. Cum vero adicit stigmata Christi in*

corpore suo gestare se (utique corporalia competunt), iam non putativam, sed veram et solidam carnem professus est Christi, cuius stigmata corporalia ostendit.«

As shown by this quote, Tertullian apparently did not know Gal 6,15-16. In Tertullian's text, the (tendentious) quoting and interpreting of verse 14 are followed by the remark that Paul (at the end of his letter) addresses the *persecutores* (»*Persecutores vocat Christi*«), which –what way ever the remark may be interpreted– (cf. Harnack 79*) cannot but refer to the content of 6,17.

There is no evidence in the other referring manuscripts either for Marcion knowing of verses 15-16.

The Original Version

That 6,15-16 be indeed an addition to the original (Marcionite) text, is backed up by the fact that the content of 6,15 does not match the preceding text. Tendency and nature of the interpolation remind of 5,6. Like in that place the sentence is connected by means of the particle γὰρ, though there is nothing in it that could be seen as substantiating the preceding phrase. Concerning contents, the liberal attitude about circumcision, all of a sudden shown in 6,15, is not well comprehensible in the context of the overall polemical nature of the letter, as e.g. the disapproval of circumcision (5,2f) or the harsh attack of 5,12. 6,15 – like already 5,6 – probably is an adaptation and a combination of ICor 7,19/II Cor 5,17. Since we can assume I Cor 7,19 to be the work of a Catholic editor, we have subsequently to assume that the same editor tried to variegate his own text in 6,15 (but did so in a very clumsy way). Be it as it may, 6,15 is incomprehensible without I Cor 7,19/II Cor 5,17.—If 6,15 is an addition, verse 16, too needs must be editorial, since it is directly connected with the preceding verse. In any case, the fundamental rule the author of the verse is speaking about, cannot be derived from 6,14, it rather refers to 6,15 and the there expressed maxim.

6,17, on the other hand, follows 6,14 quite smoothly. The picture of the apostle crucified together with Jesus Christ and the mention of the στίγματα. (caused by the cross) go together quite well.

O'NEILL, too, in his »Recovery of Paul's Letter to the Galatians«, 71-72, considers 6,16 to be editorial because of its contents. »The phrase 'Israel od God' is a tell-tale sign that the words printed at the head of his note are a gloss. The implication is that there is a false Israel as well as a true Israel, and that they are two organized entities ...The gloss was added at a time when the Church and Israel were sharply distinguished, when Jews who believed could not longer remain within Israel because they could not recite the Test Benediction.« Most appealing is O'Neill's deliberation: »Perhaps, indeed, the gloss is a deliberate appropriation of another of the Benedictions, the nineteenth, which runs in the Babylonian

recension, ‘Give peace, happiness, and blessing, grace, loving kindness, and mercy upon us and upon all Israel your people...’ The gloss reflects an age when the Church, made up of Gentiles and Jews, saw itself as the true Israel, and this was an age much later than Paul’s.«

The assumption that 6,16 reminds of the 19th Benediction of the Babylonian recension of the Amidah (= prayer of the eighteen benedictions), is widely acknowledged; e.g. SCHLIER, 283: »Very likely the apostle was thinking of the 19th benediction of the Amidah.«

Since the Amidah is usually dated not until late 1st or early 2nd century CE, a dating of our gloss –in agreement with O’NEILL– to the 2nd century is nothing but a reasonable assumption. It cannot be excluded with absolute certainty, however, that the Amidah be dependent on earlier traditions.

43. Gal 6,17

| | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|-----|
| #73) Gal 6,17 | τοῦ Χριστοῦ > τοῦ Ἰησοῦ | nlq |
| Marc 5.4.16 — against: Dial V,22 | | |

Textual Evidence

Tertullian Marc 5.4.2.: »*Persecutores vocat Christi. Cum vero adicit stigmata Christi in corpore suo gestare se (utique corporalia competunt), iam non putativam. sed veram et solidam carnem professus est Christi, cuius stigmata corporalia ostendit*«.

HARNACK’S and VAN MANEN’S Reconstructions; Which Version is the Original?

HARNACK, 79*, has instead of τοῦ λοιποῦ the variant τῶν δ’ ἄλλων. In his opinion, Tertullian, too, read τῶν δ’ ἄλλων »... and understood those ἄλλοι to be Christ’s enemies (‘From among the others, namely Christ’s persecutors, let no man trouble me’)« HARNACK thusly can explain, how Tertullian arrives at his extraordinary statement »*Persecutores vocat Christi*«. As to τῶν δ’ ἄλλων, Harnack assumes that it is derived from the Latin translation of τοῦ λοιποῦ = »de ceteris«. —HARNACK’S deliberations may be correct. But then we nevertheless have to keep in mind that τῶν δ’ ἄλλων came into the text through the Latin translation of τοῦ λοιποῦ, and that by all means the latter variant might already have been Marcionite. In any case, »*Persecutores vocat Christi*« is a misunderstanding of Tertullian’s —if the text at this place did not

contain a passage which later fell victim to an editors scissors (a possibility never to be excluded once and for all).

Furthermore, HARNACK. 79*, without giving reasons, at this place follows Tertullian, i.e. instead of Ἰησοῦ he reads Χριστοῦ.

Likewise VAN MANEN, 500f, with the argument that the Marcionite variant στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ be more original than the Catholic one because at this place it's not the signs of the passion of Jesus –hardly to be found on Paul– but the signs of the apostle's passion that were meant. The latter demonstrated that he belonged to Christ »as stigmata on slaves or soldiers demonstrate whose property or warriors they are«. The modification be probably intended to remind –against docetic heretics– of the doctrine that Jesus had not simulated his suffering on the cross, but that his had been a passion in a real human body. If VAN MANEN'S argument were correct, we would still have to ask the question how Tertullian in that quote, in spite of all those considerations, can use *stigmata Christi* as evidence for an antidocetic opinion of the apostle. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ be more clearly antidocetic than στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. So, after all, a later editor might have hanged τοῦ Χριστοῦ into τοῦ Ἰησοῦ with the intention of giving the text a more markedly antidocetic turn.¹¹

Apart from all such deliberations (which, however just as well might have inspired Marcion to alter the text out of his contrasting doctrinal interest), we have i.m.o. to point out above all the fact that the name 'Jesus' does nowhere in Galatians occur *in absolute*, but only in conjunctions like Christ Jesus or Jesus Christ: 1,1; 1,3; 1,21; 1,24; (2,16); 3,1; (3,14); (3,26); 3,28; 4,14; (5,6); (5,24); 6,14; 6,17; 6,18.

¹¹ According to ZAHN, 504, VAN MANEN »occupies himself with futile considerations whether the Catholic Ἰησοῦ or the Marcionite Χριστοῦ be the original version« It's a fact very much to be deplored, that the great scholar had nothing more to say to the subject!

Literature

- ALTHAUS, P./ H. W. BEYER-P.: Der Brief an die Galater, NTD, ⁹1962.
- BAARDA, T.: Marcion's Text of Gal 1,1, VigChr 42, 1988, 236-256.
- BARNIKOL, E.: Der nichtpaulinische Ursprung des Parallelismus der Apostel Petrus und Paulus (Gal 2,7-8) 1931 = The Non-Pauline Origin of the Parallelism of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Galatians 2:7-8, in: JHC, Volume 5/2, Fall 1998, 285-300 (here quoted from) .
- BAUER, B.: Kritik der paulinischen Briefe. Erste Abtheilung: Der Ursprung des Galaterbriefes.
- BAUER, W.: Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, 1963, ⁵1971.
- BAUR, F.CHR.: Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi, 1845, 1866, 1867.
- BENGL, J.A.: Gnomon, Auslegung des Neuen Testaments in fortlaufenden Anmerkungen, II. Briefe und Offenbarung, ⁷1960
- BERGH VAN EYSINGA, G.A. VAN DEN: Pro Domo, in: NTT, 1923.
- BLACKMAN; E.C.: Marcion and his influence, 1948.
- BLASS, F.-DEBRUNNER, A.-REHKOPF, F.: Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch, ¹⁵1979.
- BULTMANN, R.: Theologie des Neuen Testaments, 1953, ⁹1984.
—Art. πείθω, ThW VI 2-3.
- CLABEAUX, J.J.: A Lost Edition of the Letters of Paul. A Reassessment of the Text of the Pauline Corpus Attested by Marcion, CBQ. MS 21, 1989.
- COUCHOUD, P.L.: La première édition de Saint Paul, RHR , 1926, 242-263.
- DELAFOSSÉ, H.: Les écrits de Saint Paul III, Christianisme 13,17,23,28, 1926-1928.
- DETERING, H.: Paulusbriefe ohne Paulus? Die Paulusbriefe in der holländischen Radikalkritik, 1992.
—: Der gefälschte Paulus, 1995.
—: The Dutch Radical Approach to the Pauline Epistles, JHC, Fall 1996, Vol. 3, No. 2, 163-193.
- HARNACK, A.V.: Marcion. Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott. Eine Monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der katholischen Kirche. Neue Studien zu Marcion, 1921, ²1924 =1960.
- HILGENFELD, A.: Das Apostolikon Marcion's, ZHTh, 1855, 426-484.
- HOFMANN, J.: Marcion, on the Restitution of Christianity: An Essay on the Development of Radical Paulist Theology in the Second Century, 1984.
- H. LIETZMANN, Galaterbrief, HNT, 1910.
- KILPATRIK, G.D.: Galatians 1,18 ἱστορήσαι Κηφᾶν (in: New Testament Essays, Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson, 1893-1958, ed. by J.B. Higgins, 1959.)
- LÖFFLER, J.F.C.: Marcionem Pauli epistolas et Lucas euangelium adulterasse dubitatur, 1788.
- MANEN, W.C.VAN: Marcions brief van Paulus aan de Galatiërs, ThT 21, 1887, 382ff, 451ff.
- MCGUIRE, F.R.: Did Paul write Galatians? in: Hibbert Journal 66, 1967-68 , 52-57.
- O'NEILL, J.C.: The Recovery of Paul's Letter to the Galatians, 1972.
- OEPKE, A.: Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater, ThHK, 1930.

- OSTEN-SACKEN, P.V.D.: Paulus und die Wahrheit des Evangeliums. Zum Umgang des Apostels mit Evangelium, Gegnern und Geschichte in Galater 1-2; in: Die Heiligkeit der Tora, 1989.
- PERSON, A., NABER, A.A.: Verisimilia. Laceram conditionem Novi Testamenti exemplis illustrant et ab origine repetierunt, 1886.
- SCHLIER, H.: Der Brief an die Galater, KEK VII, ¹²1962.
- SCHMID, U.: Marcion und sein Apostolos: Rekonstruktion und historische Einordnung der Marcionitischen Paulusbriefausgabe, 1995
- SCHMITHALS, W.: Das kirchliche Apostelamt. Eine historische Untersuchung, FRLANT 79, 1961.
- : Der Römerbrief, 1988.
- SCHOEPS, H.J.: Paulus. Die Theologie des Apostels im Lichte der jüdischen Religionsgeschichte, 1959.
- SODEN, H.V.: Der lateinische Paulustext bei Marcion und Tertullian, FG f. A, Jülicher, 1927, 229-281.
- STECK, R.: Der Galaterbrief nach seiner Echtheit untersucht nebst kritischen Bemerkungen zu den Paulinischen Hauptbriefen, 1888.
- WIDMANN, M.: Literarkritische Untersuchung des Galaterbriefs, FS Stachel, 1987.
- ZAHN, TH.: Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons. Zweiter Band: Urkunden und Belege zum ersten und dritten Band. II/1.2, 1890/1892.
- : Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater, MeyerK ³1922.

3) Galatians 1:7 + κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου after οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο {B, C} **incorrect**
MSS Support: none Attestation: DA 1.6 (Meg)

Comment: The addition of κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου from DA 1.6 is unmistakable. οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου, εἰ μὴ τινές εἰσιν οἱ ταρασσόντες ὑμᾶς καὶ θέλοντες μεταστρέψαι εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιόν τοῦ Χριστοῦ and which Rufinus later adds «*Si enim Siluanus et Timotheus et Paulis euangelistae sunt, dicit autem ipse Paulus: Quod euangelizauimus uobis, uerisimile uidetur recipi debere, plures esse euangelistas, sed unum esse euangelium*» this crept in from a Marcionite scribe emphasizing Marcion's single Gospel versus the differing and multiple Catholic Gospels, borrowing from Romans 2:16; in my opinion, this happened sometime after The text which Tertullian saw was written (207AD), and before Dialogue Adamantius was written (~290 AD). I see no reason for the Catholic redactor to have removed it, as it appears in Catholic use for Romans 16:25, 1 Timothy 1:11, 2 Timothy 2:8. I place it in brackets.

4) Galatians 1:8 + εἰς ἕτερον for τὸ {A} **uncertain**
MSS Support: none Attestation: DA 1.6 (Meg), AM

The reading εἰς ἕτερον for τὸ without support and represent Marcionite scribal gloss, but this is not certain.

5) Galatians 1:17 delete verse {B} **correct**
MSS Support: none Attestation: none

Comment: Detering while removing verses 1:18-24 as an insertion to add a first visit to Jerusalem, but retains verse 1:17. But I can find no ground to retain it. Jerusalem is nowhere in sight before this verse, and lacks the symbolism of being a stand in for Roma that occurs in chapter 2. It is simply impossible for Marcion's Paul to have considered or accepted the concept of τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους, as he is the Apostle, who knows none before him. Verse 1:16 is a complete statement, Paul consulted no flesh and blood εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθήμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι, his revelation stands, Jerusalem is unnecessary. The term πάλιν in the last phrase is clearly from the redactor, a term barely used in Marcion. In fact the entire concept of going back up to Damascus ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Δαμασκόν is a reflection of the Catholic editor's effort to tie Paul into Acts 9:1-25. Without Damascus or Jerusalem in the picture, the symbolism of going into Arabia is meaningless, rather a story from a more detailed Acts of Paul that the editor has access to (e.g., King Aretas details from 2 Corinthians 11:30-33)

6) Galatians 2:9 – Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης {B} **correct**
– καὶ Βαρνάβα and – αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν
MSS Support: none Attestation: none

Comment: Tertullian talks around this point of the text, merely referring to it as the arraignment agreed to by Peter, James and John with Paul, as seen in the Catholic text, without quotation. Although we cannot be certain, this is typical of Tertullian to summarize missing text as if it were present or to state that its clear who Paul was referring to when he in fact makes no mention. That he is doing so here is shown when he names the three out of order both in AM 5.3.6 and AM 4.3.3.

But there are contextual issues with the Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης. First John and James are simply names that have no context without reference to Acts for James, even if they appear at all the calling lists, though we cannot be certain they were even present in Marcion. So the names Ἰάκωβος and Ἰωάννης are meaningless to Marcion's Paul, but do have meaning to the Catholic redactor, who knows James from Acts, and who likely knows the Apocalypse of John, and more importantly the tradition of John's fostering churches as referenced by Tertullian in AM 4.5.2 (*Habemus et Ioannis alumnas ecclesias*). Κηφᾶς poses an even greater difficulty, in that he is placed as both a pillar (2:6 τῶν δοκούντων εἶναί τι, 2:9 οἱ δοκοῦντες στύλοι εἶναι) but then is in some sort of opposition to them in 2:12ff with his wavering dietary stance and stated switch in politics to the side of the Jewish and therefore presumably the pillars. How can this be that Cephas was in opposition to the pillars he was

seated with in 2:4, 9 and now agreeing? The most likely solution is all three names were added to verse 2:9 later with the traditions of the later church in view.

Barnabas is part of the Acts legend, and as with *μετὰ βαρναβᾶ* in 2:1, *καὶ Βαρνάβα* was added as part of the harmonization to Acts 15:2ff, as Barnabas plays no role in Galatians.

Finally the addition of the Jewish Christian mission *αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομὴν* is again part of the Acts legend of the formation of the non-Pauline proto-orthodox church. Thus Paul, as a stand in for Marcion, after preaching for fourteen years with the blessing for his mission, so there was no excommunication as later church claimed.

7) Galatians 2:11 – *εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν* {B} **correct**
MSS Support: 1319 Attestation: none

Comment: The words *εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν* (support 1319) were added to harmonize with Acts 15:23ff as Paul's destination after James ruling in Jerusalem concerning Paul's mission. It represents a later myth.

8) Galatians 4:10 + *καὶ σάββατά, [ὡς οἶμαι,] καὶ δεῖπνα καθαρὰ καὶ νηστείας καὶ ἡμέρας μεγάλας* {D} **incorrect**
MSS Support: none Attestation: AM 5.4.6 (?)

Comment: Although Detering and Mahar include *καὶ σάββατά, ὡς οἶμαι, καὶ δεῖπνα καθαρὰ καὶ νηστείας καὶ ἡμέρας μεγάλας*, as does Harnack, as part of this verse in the Marcionite form, I enclose it in double brackets. If it crept into the Marcionite text it was a later development long after the original text was redacted to the Catholic form. I am not certain it was in Marcion's text before Tertullian. Clearly *ut opinor* is Tertullian's own comment (*Adversus Marcionem* 5.4.6 *et sabbata ut opinor et coenas puras et ieiunia et dies magnos*) allowing him to specify the Sabbath and the preparations the fasts and the High days to segment allowing him to bring up Isaiah 1:13-14, Amos 5.27, and Hosea 2:11 to show the creator God rejected them as well. Clearly no Catholic editor would have had a problem with such a statement, so they would not have removed it. Thus, even if in the text was not original, much like *κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου* in verse 1:7, if Marcion's text had it, it had to be from a later Marcionite scribal insertion.

To be blunt the evidence simply isn't strong enough to include this passage. It fails two of my criteria for inclusion as a Marcionite addition against the Catholic text, in that the attestation is not directly contiguous in Tertullian's quote of the verse, and secondly that there is no reason for the Catholic editor to have removed it.

9) Galatians 4:26-30 read *ἡ δὲ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς γεννώσα, [καὶ] δυνάμεως [καὶ] ἐξουσίας καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι, ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν* {A} **uncertain**
MSS Support: none Attestation: AM 5.2.4

Tertullian quotes the passage from 4:22-31 essentially verbatim. Making the passage nearly certain

For if Abraham had two sons, one of the slave woman and the other by a free, but he who was born according to the flesh of the bond maid, but he that of a free woman was by promise: which are allegorical, (and that is symbolic of something else): For these are the two covenants, (or a demonstration of the two, being interpreted, as we have found), one from mount Sinai bears children (into the synagogue of the Jews, according to the law) generating into slavery, and the other generating above all principality, power, dominion, and every name that is named, not only in the this age but also in that which is to come, which is the mother of us all, (into which he hath promised to them the holy Church, and therefore adds to it,) for this reason, brethren, we are not children of the bondwoman but of the free

Si enim Abraham duos liberos habuit, unum ex ancilla et alium ex libera, sed qui ex ancilla carnaliter natus est, qui vero ex libera per repromissionem: quae sunt allegorica, id est aliud portendentia: haec sunt enim duo

testamenta, (sive duae ostensiones, sicut invenimus interpretatum,) unum a monte Sina (*in synagogam Iudaeorum secundum legem*) generans in servitutem, aliud super omnem principatum generans, vim, dominationem, et omne nomen quod nominatur, non tantum in hoc aevo sed et in futuro, quae est mater nostra, (*in quam repromisimus sanctam ecclesiam*; ideoque adicit,) Propter quod, fratres, non sumus ancillae filii sed liberae

There are three additional phrases to the text to look at. The first is **in synagogam Iudaeorum secundum legem** (εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ [τὸν] νόμον) "into the synagogue of the Jews according to the Law" and what appears to be a parallel **in quam repromisimus sanctam ecclesiam** (*in quam repromisimus sanctam ecclesiam*) "into which he hath promised to them the holy Church". The third phrase is the inclusion of Ephesians 1:21 in the middle of the verse in place of ἄνω Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν "Jerusalem above is free."

The first two clauses actually are antithetical to one another, but neither is attested anywhere in the new Testament. The second phrase involves the promise to the Holy Church, but this is post-Marcionite theology, tied to the promise to Abraham. Since εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ [τὸν] νόμον stands antithetical to this non Marcionite theme of a Christian Church, it could not be original. But the question is was it in Marcion without counter? It is certainly not a position that would have been opposed by Marcion, but it is stronger language than Paul uses elsewhere to describe his opponents. This text may have been in the margin as lectionary, there is a certain sentiment that matches the fury of Johanne Gnostic views.

I delete ἄνω Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν despite the apparent quotation in AM 5.15.5 (**ipsam Hierusalem quae sursum est**), as this is a comment out of context from Tertullian in the text of 1 Thessalonians 1:15-17 with respect to the perfect Jerusalem above as part of heaven where saints are swept up too. This cannot be considered evidence of its presence in Galatians. The stylized view is not Marcionite, who did not see Jerusalem as a positive symbol. Clearly the phrase is of a later era, more akin to the theology of Revelation 3:12 (τῆς καινῆς Ἰερουσαλὴμ, ἣ καταβαίνουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) and most closely to Hebrews 12:22 (ἀλλὰ προσελήλυθατε Σιών ὅρει καὶ πόλει θεοῦ ζῶντος, Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐπουρανίῳ) which equates Mount Zion with the heavenly Jerusalem and the living God; always a reference to the Jewish God, a polemic response to the charge of ministry of death. By this time also Jerusalem was renamed Aelia Capitolina, and the Jews banished from Judea. The concept of a heavenly temple surely developed after it was clear a physical one could no longer be built, as the early years of Hadrian up to the revolt of Bar Kochba there had been hope to rebuild the temple. So this new concept must have developed sometime in the era of Antonius Pius through Commodus as it became clear Hadrian's Temple was there to stay.² Jerusalem is a stand-in then for Rome in Galatians 2:1

What stood in its place was Ephesians 1:21. Not only is it quoted in place here, but when Tertullian AM 5.17.6 quotes Laodiceans 1:19(b)-22(a) in total this verse is missing: **Ille in operatus est in Christum valentiam suam, suscitando eum a mortuis, et collocando eum ad dexteram suam, et subiciendo omnia** "wrought in Christ His mighty power, by raising Him from the dead, and setting Him at His own right hand, and putting all things under His feet." We see the Catholic editor did two things for Ephesians by moving the verse here; first he placed Christ in heaven and so made the church itself heavenly in verse 1:22. The movement was a way to preserve a verse which had acquired prestige in the Greek factions reconciled, and it freed up Galatians 4:26ff for a new interpretation, reversing the roles of the women, and defending the Jewish God in the role of father of Christ, tying to the LXX (Isaiah 54:1, Genesis 21:10) and inserting the concept of the promise to Abraham in place of the Marcionite theology of a new God that brought freedom from the Law, and the God of Moses.

10) Galatians 6:18 text as written

{B} uncertain

Comment: I left this verse as standing because it matches Philippians 4:23, and it's too much conjecture to say that it was the shorter form of Colossians 4:18 ἡ χάρις μεθ' ὑμῶν, even though I suspect it looked similarly brief

² Jerome (Hieronymus) his 398 CE Commentary on Matthew 24.15 [So when you see the standing in the holy place the abomination that causes desolation.]: or to the statue of the mounted Hadrian, which stands to this very day on the site of the Holy of Holies.

Notes: Differences in Catholic and Marcionite versions of 1 Corinthians

Catholic additions I discovered in the text from reading Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Adamantius testimony closely. I rank the likelihood A-C (A secure, B probable, C put in brackets) – my judgment call. (sgw, 6/30/13)

1) 1 Corinthians 1:1 – κλητὸς {B}

Also I removed κλητὸς as with Romans 1:1 as a later addition harmonizing to Acts 13:2 (note A D 1506^{txt} and 2 Corinthians also lack).

2) 1 Corinthians 1:2 reads same as 2 Corinthians 1:2 {B}

Reconstruction based upon 2 Corinthians and Marcionite Latin prologue. Both mention Achaia and Timothy; 2 Corinthians: καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ σὺν τοῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσιν τοῖς οὔσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ and the Latin prologue *Corinthii sunt Achaei ... scribens eis ab Epheso per Timotheum* while I am not convinced that Timothy is original, I have enclosed it in brackets in 1:1. Sosthenes Σωσθένης is not mentioned, coming from Acts 18:17 as harmony. 2 Corinthians 1:1-2 closely resembles the Latin prologue.

After reviewing 11:16 it became clear that ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ is an expansion by the Catholic editor as 11:16 shows the Church Paul addresses and the Church of God are separate entities. Thus τοῦ θεοῦ is a later expansion (see note 94 below). If there was a title to the Marcionite churches it was probably the church of the Saints ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν ἁγίων as in 14:33 ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων (also Psalms 149:1).

3) 1 Corinthians 1:11 – ἀδελφοί μου {B}

Delete because it is missing from both Rufinus and the Greek Adamantius (with 1:12 explanation below)

4) 1 Corinthians 1:12 – ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ {A}

DA 1.8 reads ἤκουσταί μου, φησίν, ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης ὅτι ἔριδες εἰσιν ἐν ὑμῖν· ὃς μὲν γὰρ ὑμῶν λέγει· ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, ἐγὼ δὲ κηφᾶ. μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός; - verse. 1:11 Marcion, 629, Syr, Ephraim, Cop OL:I read εἰσιν ἐν ὑμῖν for ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσιν; Clabeaux rates secure and incorrect. Rufinus (DA) reads *perlatum est enim mihi, inquit, de vobis ab his qui sunt Chloes quia contentiones sunt in vobis, et alius dicit: Ego sum Paulus, alius: Ego Apollo, alius: Ego Caphae, Diuisus est Christus?* This also reflects – ἀδελφοί μου. Also unmentioned by Clabeaux, without support, but I think correct to delete ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ as it makes no sense that there would be such a sect of Christ against those of Paul (Marcionite), Apollos (speculatively Apelles or Cerinthus), and Cephas (Catholic) which represent known camps, and unlike those, you are baptized in Christ name, but not Paul's, et al (per verse 1:13b); this point is made clear in AM 3.12.4 quoting Galatians 3:27, ὅσοι γὰρ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε and Romans 6:3 ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν. What is not clear is why the Catholic editor added “I am of Christ” which here is representing a sect, demonstrating he did not understand the text. Marcion's text is clearly more logical.

5) 1 Corinthians 1:14 read εὐχαριστῶ ὅτι οὐδένα ὑμῶν ἐβάπτισα, {A}

There are two parts removed. The first is τῷ θεῷ which the UBS committee placed in brackets as it is missing from B p⁴⁶ 8* 1739 6 424^{c2} and was added much later for piety. The ending phrase εἰ μὴ Κρίσπον καὶ Γάϊον was added by the Catholic editor to conform with Acts 18:1, 18:8 for Κρίσπον while Γάϊον is suggested by Acts 19:29, 20:4, and specifically baptism by Paul in Acts 16:14-15, 33, 18:8, 19:5 (versus baptism of John, 19:3-4)

6) 1 Corinthians 1:16 delete verse {A}

Verse 1:16 was added by the Catholic editor, *ἐβάπτισα δὲ καὶ τὸν Στεφανῶ οἶκον* here and 16:15, 17, 24, inspired by Acts, despite the illogic of the sequence it causes, being that his Baptism would ironically be Saul's agreement with his stoning.

7) 1 Corinthians 1:22 – καὶ

{A}

AM 5.5.8 *Quoniam Iudaei signa desiderant*, qui iam de deo certi esse debuerant, *et Graeci sapientiam quaerunt*, qui suam scilicet, non dei, sapientiam sistunt. Marcion p46 F G 323 syr^P OL:KDI Vg^{var} Clement – καὶ (Clabeaux rates secure, correct against UBS)

8) 1 Corinthians 1:24 delete verse

{A}

– αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς κλητοῖς, Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλλησιν, Χριστὸν θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ θεοῦ σοφίαν·

In AM 5.5.9 Tertullian quotes verse 1:23 flowing into 1:25 without mention to 1:24. Unlike the case below it is not a single quotation, so it is not as powerful a witness. However there are vocabulary and subject problems with the verse.

First we have the Catholic concept of being called *κλητοῖς* defined in Matthew 22:14 (“many are called but few are chosen”) and Revelation 17:14, also referenced in Jude 1:1, and occurring in Paul elsewhere only as clear Catholic interpolations; Romans 1:1, 1:7 as part of the Catholic version of Paul, 1 Corinthians 1:1, 1:2 with the same purpose -fatigue likely accounts for why the editor did not extend this past the first two books– and Romans 8:28 as part of a multiple verse interpolation about the spirit and intercession built on concepts of the 4th Gospel. This alerts us to look for a special role of called ones (which we will see in verse 1:26 and 1:30).

Second the *Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλλησιν* phrase, having both the ‘Jews’ and ‘Greeks’ as distinct camps now under a common church (reconciliation), and the Lukan *τε καὶ* form for ‘both’ (for Marcion’s usage with *καὶ* for ‘both’ see verse 10:32), that marks this as an insertion from a later time.

Further the concept of ‘Christ is God’s power and Wisdom’ intrudes upon the discussion at hand of Christ being crucified as a scandal to the Jews, and foolish to the Greeks, which is picked up again in 1:25 and 1:27

9) 1 Corinthians 1:26 delete verse

{A}

Again the vocabulary and interruption of narrative are giveaways that this verse has been inserted. Our called ones of verse 1:24, are now specified (*τὴν κλησιν ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί*) as being the average folk of the congregation who are neither wise (*οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοί*) nor powerful (*οὐ πολλοὶ δυνατοί*) nor born with standing (*οὐ πολλοὶ εὐγενεῖς*), and this according to the flesh *ὅτι κατὰ σάρκα*. Here we have a shift from Paul preaching into assigning grand roles to the congregation on Catholic terms. Further the use of ‘according to the flesh’ is not derogatory as in things of the physical world and belonging to the realm of the demiurge/Satan but rather as matter of fact statement of social condition. The editor writing *οὐ πολλοὶ εὐγενεῖς* clearly misunderstood the meaning of *ἀγενῆ τοῦ κόσμου* in 1:28, where the subject concerns the destruction of the works of the demiurge.

10) 1 Corinthians 1:29-30 read ὅπως μὴ καυχῆσθαι πᾶσα σὰρξ

{A}

First Tertullian, AM 5.5.10, quotes 1:29, 31 without 1:30 in a continuous quotation: *ne gloriatur omnis caro, ut, quemadmodum scriptum est, Qui gloriatur, in domino gloriatur* ‘that no flesh should glory, so that, as it is written, He that glorifies, let him glorify in the Lord.’

1:29b-1:30 intrudes upon the commentary against boasting except to the Lord. The Catholic editor first qualifies the boasting in the flesh as pertaining only before God by adding *ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ*, as the Marcionite reading appears to condemn all flesh. Verse 1:30 is an edification of God and Christ, equating Jesus as Wisdom and relating the reader to him. The use of the Lukan *τε καὶ* while bringing in additional concepts of sanctification

and redemption, not mentioned in the rest of this paragraph, are clear signs of the editors hand. The text attested by Tertullian does not require this verse, and there are strong theological reasons for the Catholic additions here, where he is referring back to the elect of verses 1:24 and 1:26, already demonstrated as additions above.

11) 1 Corinthians 2:9 delete verse

{A}

Verse 2:9 is unattested in Marcion, a quotation from Isaiah 64:4 which breaks the flow and does not fit the argument at hand, rather it is a proof text to tie the content to the Old Testament; clearly an orthodox interpolation.

12) 1 Corinthians 2:14 – τοῦ θεοῦ

{B}

AM 2.2.6 **Quodsi a primordio homo animalis, non recipiens quae sunt spiritus**; reading – τοῦ θεοῦ with Clement Stromata V 25.5; VI 166.3; 330 440 1506 1827 2400 2815; This could be an addition for clarification, or a Tertullian paraphrase.

13) 1 Corinthians 3:11 – Ἰησοῦς

{C}

AM 5.6.10 **Nam quod architectum se prudentem affirmat ... Et numquid ipse tunc Paulus destinabatur, de Iudaea, id est de Iudaismo, auferri habens in aedificationem Christianismi, positurus unicum fundamentum, quod est Christus?** Tertullian may be paraphrasing, for he reads – Ἰησοῦς with C* 365 618 1319 1505 1573 1738 2147 2495. Witnesses make this a probable Marcionite reading, and also an incorrect one.

14) 1 Corinthians 3:12-15 delete verses

{A}

These verses are focused the concept of the test of fire (ὁ πῦρ [αὐτὸ] δοκιμάσει) which is not to be found elsewhere in the NT except in the Catholic Epistles, 1 Peter 1:7 (διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου). The materials for the foundation, which are to be tested by fire, are listed in verse 3:12, as valuable gold (χρυσόν), silver (ἄργυρον), precious stones (λίθους τιμίους), and common wood (ξύλα), hay (χόρτον), and straw (καλάμην). James 5:3, in another verse about fire, speaks to of gold and silver (ὁ χρυσὸς ὑμῶν καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος κατίωται), where it comments on rust and so is directly related to the stored treasures in Matthew 6:19 (which itself is an expansion of Luke 12:33) which have no value in heaven (compare Acts 3:6, Matthew 10:9). This concept continues through 3:15 where one may be save oneself only through the fire (αὐτὸς δὲ σωθήσεται, οὕτως δὲ ὡς διὰ πυρός). These all imply meting justice in line with the Catholic/Jewish God. The

This point and the fact that these verse were missing is highlighted by Tertullian's comments in AM 5.6.11, after discussing verse 3:11 and before mentioning verse 3:16, in place of stating that the Apostle says something about fire, he talks about these verses content with regard to Catholic interpretation without quotation or mention of the apostle, something he does with other missing material. His emphasis on the earthly materials (**structorem se terreni**) is tied to sound and unsound doctrine and creator's judgment (**super quod prout quisque superstruxerit, dignam scilicet vel indignam doctrinam, si opus eius per ignem probabitur, si merces illi per ignem rependetur, creatoris est**). It is clear by Tertullian's wording that he is aware the material is missing, and so makes his point of it being implied by the context of the verses he quotes as in Paul.

Finally there is the matter of placement. Verses 3:4-11 concern the relationship of the ministries of Paul and Apollos, perhaps with regard to succession, and in no way sanction any others to be ministers or apostles. And so the general context of foundation as far as an individual's faith is not in context. If the material is in context of sound and unsound doctrine as Tertullian interprets, probably correctly, then it belongs to the later catholic strata, which was concerned with heretical teachings. In either case, it has no place here.

15) 1 Corinthians 3:17 – ὁ θεός

{A}

Tertullian AM 5.6.12 **Quodsi templum Dei quis vitiaverit, vitiabitur**, utique a Deo templi. It's hard to imagine Tertullian would pass up the chance to point out that Marcion's God is the destroyer here, unless the words were not there to make the point.

16) 1 Corinthians 4:1-4 delete verses t {A}
4:5(a) – ὥστε μὴ πρὸ καιροῦ τι κρίνετε, ἕως ἄν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος

These verse concern defining the role of officers of Christ, **ὕπηρετας Χριστοῦ**, which are steward of the mysteries of God, **οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ**, and that this role is subject to some unstated authority where they must be faithful, **πιστός τις εὐρεθῆ**, presumably to an unstated doctrine (compare Titus 1:7). Paul is implied to be one of these officers, who inexplicably submits to an unstated authority on this matter, in conflict with the tenor of original author. The stewardship of mystery is a later concept that appears in deuterio Pauline Epistles of Colossians 1:25, Ephesians 3:1-5 where it is tied to the Catholic Paul's mission to the Gentiles and tied to correct interpreting of scripture. (passing references to stewardship also in 1 Timothy 1:4, 1 Peter 4:10). The only stewardship that possibly was in Marcion's Paul is preaching the Gospel for free (see 1 Corinthians 9:16-18), without any mystery – perhaps the seed to the later developed concepts. (note Galatians 4:2 is a Catholic addition, but also relates to church guidance of doctrine.

Other vocabulary, such as **λογιζέσθ*** is not attested anywhere in Marcion, outside perhaps Romans 6:11, but does appear in the already identified redacted material of the Pauline letters (Romans 4:4, 24, 9:8, 2 Corinthians 10:7, 11) besides here and 1 Corinthians 13:5. That **ὑπηρετ*** occurs frequently in Luke-Acts (Luke 1:2, 4:20, Acts 5:22, 26, 13:5, 36, 20:34, 24:23, 26:11) give verses 4:1-2 multiple markers of a later hand.

Verses 4:3-5(a) are a digression into Paul's authority, and justification, with an unusual (for Marcion's Paul) discussion of being judged by other men, and finally that Paul will be judged by the Lord. This seems to simply be buttressing the claim of authority is beyond the challenge of the local congregation, as the great church claims to have the power of the Lord for judgment, concluding with all things judged in their time by the Lord.

17) 1 Corinthians 4:6-8 delete verse {A}
4:9 (a) – δοκῶ γάρ ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐσχάτους ἀπέδειξεν ὡς ἐπιθανατίους

Verse 4:6 starts with mention of Apollos, who somehow is elevated to a cohort of some form with Paul here, a position assumed from Acts 18:1ff but not part of this narrative. The compound word **μετεσχημάτισα** appears nowhere else in the NT. This appealing to Paul and Apollos as an example is to add authority to what follows

The verse continues **ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται** giving reference to written Scripture (Canon) that the readers are not to go beyond (i.e., interpret) which would not be a concern for Marcion's Paul at the time of the original writing, but is very much in view by later Pastoral writings and the Catholic redactor. This is followed by concern that free interpretations of Scripture can lead to conflict in the assembly, referenced by the prior passage.

Verse 4:7 continues the admonition against reading beyond the approved interpretation of Scripture asking how you can you have something not received **εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλαβες, τί καυχᾶσαι ὡς μὴ λαβόν**, presumably from the Apostolic tradition, and then asking how they can boast, that is what is the authority they have which is not received. In 4:8 follows this theme, but mocks the opponents as having false kingship. The vocabulary is also riddled with several compound words common with the pastoral strata **κεκοροσμένοι, ἐβασιλεύσατε**, and **συμβασιλεύσωμεν** betraying the Catholic editor's hand.

Finally this first part of verse 4:9a speaks of Apostles condemned to death, which seems to be a later reference to martyrdom.

18) 1 Corinthians 4:10-13 delete verses {A}

There are two objections here to this material being in Marcion's version. The first is the Catholic writer's tendency to make Paul self effacing and part of a larger group of Apostles, rather than the Marcionite Paul who is always assertive and authoritative. Also part of this is a Catholic tendency to elevate the ordinary members of the congregation. We see both of these in effect in verse 4:10 where Paul, using the plural we to refer to apostles like himself, rather as broader Christians in verse 4:9, and to call himself a fool **ἡμεῖς μωροὶ διὰ Χριστόν**, something inconceivable for Marcion's Paul.

We see in 4:11-12 a reference to Acts 18:3 and 2 Corinthians 11:23ff. And in 4:13 the Pastoral stratum complex compound word **δυσφημούμενοι** (see Winsome Monroe, Authority in Paul and Peter, app E. p 173). As with the interaction of 4:10 with 2 Corinthians 11:19 and 4:11 with 2 Corinthians 11:27, this indicates a later era. Again in 4:12 we have two complex compound words **λοιδορούμενοι εὐλογοῦμεν** from the Pastoral stratum. Exhorting is not secure as **παρακαλοῦμεν** is not attested in Marcion. Then the strange passage **ὡς περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου ἐγενήθημεν** which once again gives us a self deprecating Paul, who shows concern over his standing in the world that is inconsistent with the strong leader beyond question in the Marcionite text.

19) 1 Corinthians 4:15(a) – **ἐὰν γὰρ μυρίους παιδαγωγούς ἔχητε ἐν Χριστῷ, ἀλλ' οὐ πολλοὺς πατέρας** {A}

The term **παιδαγωγούς** 'tutors' only occurs in the Pastoral layer of the Pauline epistles, as Monroe observed. The other occurrence is not in Marcion, Galatians 3:24-25. Here as in Galatians the concept is of an approved cadre guiding the common membership to the right doctrine.

20) 1 Corinthians 4:17 delete verse {A}

The only purpose served by the verse is to establish a relationship between Paul and Timothy to justify the Pastorals. The same is true in Acts 16:1-3.

21) 1 Corinthians 5:1 – [**καὶ τοιαύτη πορνεία ἦτις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν**] {C}

Brackets: The phrase isn't really necessary, implying that Paul and his congregation consider being gentile bad, the polar opposite of his position. It fits the Catholic view of Jewish priority, similar to #39 below for vv 12:2-3

22) 1 Corinthians 5:5 – **παρέδωκα** for **παραδοῦναι** {A}

AM 5.7.2 Sed cum eum damnat dedendum **satanae**, damnatoris dei praeco est. Viderit et quomodo dixerit, **In interitum carnis ut spiritus salvus sit in die domini**

DA 2.8/825e **παρέδωκα τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός, ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῆ**

Rufinus: **Tradidi eiusmodi hominem satanae in interitum carnis, ut spiritus saluus fiat.**

DA 2.21/833b **παρέδωκα τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον**

Rufinus: Diende et apostolus boni dei quomodo tradit satanae homines? Dicit enim: **Tradidi eiusmodi hominem satanae in interitum**

Note in DA twice says **παρέδωκα** for **παραδοῦναι** (Rufinus **tradere**) first by Markus in 2.8 and later by Adamantius referring specifically to Markus' quote of Paul against what may be the Catholic text Adamantius refers to in 2.5/8.24a-b **ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀπὸν τῷ σώματι, παρὼν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι, ἤδη κέκρικα ὡς παρὼν τὸν οὐτῶ τοῦτο κατεργασάμενον, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, συναχθέντων ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πνεύματος, σὺν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ, παραδοῦναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον.**

There is no Mss. Support; however compare 1 Timothy 1:20 which appears to be dependent on this specific usage **ὃν ἐστὶν Ὑμέναιος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὓς παρέδωκα τῷ Σατανᾷ, ἵνα ...**"of whom are Hymenaeus and Alexander, whom I delivered up to Satan that ..." This is compelling evidence for **παρέδωκα** being original. The wording as direct action by Paul is consistent with the voice of the passage; he is coming with a rod and he

has made an judgment and he is taking action; essentially a formal excommunication for this guy – in the sense of “giving up and releasing” rather than physically “handing over”; the same word in 11:2, 23, 15:3 is used to mean “passing on” a teaching.

The Catholic editor was offended by the very idea of ‘his’ Paul personally handing anybody over to Satan, so he softened the passage by making it an order to the congregation as a whole, which makes no sense here, but does fit his general message that the local congregations are responsible for keeping standards (it’s a larger church).

23) 1 Corinthians 5:8-6:13 read only *ἐξάρατε τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν.* {A}
τὸ σῶμα οὐ τῆ πορνεία ἀλλὰ τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ ὁ κύριος τῷ σώματι.

The Marcionite version only had 5:13(b) and 6:13(b) less *δὲ* (added to allow the sentence to continue with the inserted material) in the original. In AM 5.7 Tertullian clearly ties verses 5:1-7 to 5:13 to 6:13ff without any intervening material. And the argument is coherent, discussing without interruption the issue of the entire assembly being stained by a single member carrying on with inappropriate sexual behavior, since all of the assembly are members of Christ’s body and their own bodies belong to him and not to carnal acts with prostitutes and such. This flows quite well into 7:1-11, 25-40 which is concerned with marital relations, dealing with lust, and the preference for celibacy.

(Note: Tertullian’s reference to Christ judging angels, an apparent reference to 1 Corinthians 6:3 in AM 2.9.7 is allusion not a quote of the Catholic text without thought or concern that it is not part of Marcion, so it is not evidence of it being in Marcion.)

The intruding material starts in 5:8 with a misunderstanding of the leaven analogy in Paul/Marcion. The concept is that even a little yeast will cause the dough to begin to rise or be puffed up (*φυσιοῦσθε* see 5:2) and spoil the entire batch, made explicitly clear in 5:6. In verse 5:7 a subtle dig is made implying the old leaven is Judaism and the new is unleavened in Christ’s sacrifice. The author of 5:8 ties the eating of unleavened bread to the fest (*ἐορτάζωμεν*) of Moses freeing Jews from bondage in Egypt as specified in Exodus 12:14-18, 13:3, and equating Passover with Christ’s sacrifice of the previous verse (see John 12:20). This point is taken up by Tertullian in AM 5.7.3, whose argument is based on 5:8, but clearing it is not present, since he doesn’t quote it instead of pleading for its conclusion based on the images from 5:7 (a common Tertullian practice).

Quare pascha Christus, si non pascha figura Christi per similitudinem sanguinis salutaris pecoris et Christi?

But why is Christ our Passover, if the Passover be not a type of Christ, in the similitude of the blood which saves, and of the Lamb, which is Christ?

This is followed with the strange concept of yeast bread made of malice and evil, which is compared to unleavened bread of purity and truth. The purity/truth concept has the language from a later time focused on fighting heresy.

In verse 5:9 we have reference to some other letter (*ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*) against associating with fornicators, but it is rather a pastiche of 2 Thessalonians 3:14 (*συναναμίγνυσθαι* replacing the expected *φυσιοῦσθε*). Verse 5:10 starts to associate swindling, the greed, and idolatry with fornication as evils, which is a larger concern than the subject at hand – a common Catholic editorial practice of adding vices to the list whenever a Pauline admonition is met – but with the strange caveat *οὐ πάντως* “not completely” speaking to a later era when the Christian community was larger and could almost stay within community for their needs, but not quite. Verse 5:11 again says not to mix (*συναναμίγνυσθαι*) with the same idol worshipers, swindlers and the greedy, but now adds the rowdy and drunkards to the list of folks not to have in eating company. The standards have shifted from keeping the assembly clean to personal behavior in common with the pastoral layers. 5:12-13a, speaks to Christians settling disputes through outside non-believing judges, a concern of a later era, throwing in the question about why there are not qualified judges within the ranks; again this speaks to a more numerous Christians community in a later era. Also thrown on top is the Catholic notion that God judges the non-believers, something that cannot be in Marcion, since judgment is left to the Jewish God of Law and

Creation (see Romans 14:4). Verse 6:1-3 picks up on the theme of outside judges for internal Christian disputes, something very different than the direct judgment of Paul/Marcion for the community in the attested verses. An additional theme of the saints judging the world, and even angels seems to be a reference to Luke 22:30/Matthew 19:18, perhaps also Jude 6; again the concept that the church, even through saints judges the world, runs counter to the Marcionite idea expressed in Romans 14:4 that the world and the angels who belong to the demiurge will be judged by their own master. Verses 6:4-8 elaborate on keeping disputes within the church, and not bringing in civil authorities. Verses 6:9-10 goes back to the evils but now throws in the effeminate and homosexuals to the list of those who cannot inherit the kingdom of God. Verses 6:11-12 mollify this somewhat, but are dependent upon the prior list of vices that people have cleansed themselves of (compare Acts 22:16). In verse 6:13a we have a different use of *κοιλία* ‘stomach’ here, which is never used in this common manner in Marcion, rather as the womb (Luke 11:27, 23:29, Galatians 1:15), such usage is more like Matthew 15:17 and Mark 7:19. The concept that God will destroy food and the stomach it goes in must belong to the Catholic God, since the wrath in Marcion is from the Jewish God. In all we are dealing with issues of a more mature church with a more diverse membership, and with Catholic themes.

24) 1 Corinthians 6:14 – *θεὸς καὶ* {A}

AM 5.7.4 *Qui dominum suscitavit, et nos suscitabit*

"The one who raised up the Lord, also will raise us up"

compare 2 Corinthians 4:14 *εἰ δότες ὅτι ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σὺν Ἰησοῦν ἐγερεῖ*

"knowing that the one who raised up Jesus also will raise us up with Jesus"

compare Marcion Galatians 1:1 *ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτόν ἐκ νεκρῶν*

"but through Jesus Christ who raised himself up from the dead"

2 Corinthians 4:14 was derived from 1 Corinthians 6:14 and is additional evidence that *θεὸς καὶ* was not present. Another argument for the deletion is Tertullian in AM 5.1.3 where the omission of *καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς* is testified backhandedly concerning the Apostle Paul's credentials *Ipse se, inquit, apostolum est professus et quidem non ab hominibus nec per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum*. It is telling that Tertullian does not include *et Deum Patrem* when describing the credentials. Further what follows is no discussion about which God the father who it is that Paul derives his credentials from, rather only from Christ. Thus Tertullian was aware of the absence of God the Father, and yet he makes no mention of Christ's self resurrection and how Marcion deleted the clause in Galatians 1:1 but failed to do so in 1 Corinthians 6:14. I must conclude this is because *θεὸς καὶ* was not present in the Marcionite 1 Corinthians 6:14.

Note, Marcion was not likely Modalist or Patripassionist rather he taught that Christ had the power to awaken himself from the dead, without relational consideration to God. The Catholic redactor (Ebionite IMO) simply clarified Galatians and 1 Corinthians, but left 2 Corinthians in its original form. Although this correction would become an Arian scriptural anchor since it shows the inferior position of Jesus to God, the purpose was merely to explicitly place God the father at the top of the God-head. These arguments are very much post-Marcion.

25) 1 Corinthians 7:12-17 delete verses {A}

Verses 7:12-17 are concerned with matters from a much later time. The discussion is about marriage with non-Christian spouses, and whether the children produced in such marriages are considered members of the Church, and how to handle divorces. This is in direct contradiction to verse 7:11 where divorce is prohibited, revealing a later doctrine consistent with Orthodoxy. More direct evidence from Tertullian (AM 5.7.8) on 1 Corinthians 7:39 directly prohibiting marriage with non-Christians, and he assures us that Marcion's Paul does not allow it:

Pusillum deum affirmas tuum, Marcion, quem in aliquo coangustat tempus creatoris. Gerte praescribens tantum in domino esse nubendum, ne qui fidelis ethnicum matrimonium contrahat, legem tuetur creatoris, allophylosum nuptias ubique prohibentis.

While declaring your God, Marcion, who is any way confined into the creator's time. Indeed, in prescribing marriage only the lord, that a believer may not marry a Gentile, defends the law of the creator, prohibiting all marriage with aliens

Over time the theme within the Church of allowing conditional divorce grew. By the time the Gospel of Matthew was written, the condition of adultery was an acceptable grounds for divorce (Matthew 5:31-32, 19:9). Similarly the argument is tied to Moses (19:7-8, referencing Deuteronomy 24:1-4).

26) 1 Corinthians 7:18-24 delete verses

{A}

This paragraph also intrudes upon the discussion of celibacy, lusts, and marriage as to how they pertain to devotion to the Lord or 7:1-11, 25-40. The subject is with circumcision (Jewish/Orthodox and Greek Christians) and literal state of being a free man or slave – as opposed to the spiritual enslavement of Marcion's Paul. This is underscored in 7:23 *τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε· μὴ γίνεσθε δοῦλοι ἀνθρώπων* where verse 6:20 *ἠγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς· δοξάσατε δὴ τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν* concerning being purchased for a price such that you need to keep the sanctity of the body clean for the Lord, is interpreted literally to deal with being freed from slavery so do not sell yourself again. While a most noble sentiment, this issue is clearly a much later development in the Church.

27) 1 Corinthians 8:1-3 delete verses

{A}

The false start into the concerns about idolatrous sacrifices, where *περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων* in verse 8:1 parallels *περὶ τῆς βρώσεως οὖν τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων* in verse 8:4, alerts us that we may be dealing with an insertion by the use of the same phrase. The author says all of us (readers) already have knowledge, but follows with the comment that knowledge “puffs up” (*φουσιῶ*) but love edifies (*οἰκοδομεῖ*). The focus then is against gnostic readings (*γνῶσις*) as not edifying (*οἰκοδομεῖ*), a word not in Marcion, and associated specifically with the Catholic Church. The next phrase makes it clear that those claiming reputed knowledge (*δοκεῖ ἐγνωκέναι*), much like in 1 Timothy 6:20 (*ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*), do not have the approved or required knowledge (*δεῖ γνῶναι*). Love of God here is associated with the right doctrine of the orthodox to the Jewish God as father of Christ, will be known by him (see Matthew 7:20-22, 25:11-12). The focus then is on gnostic heretics from an era well after Marcion's collection was circulated.

28) 1 Corinthians 8:7-13 delete verses

{A}

Verses 8:7-13 seems to be a continuation of the discussion of wrong knowledge we saw in verses 8:1-3. The issue of idol sacrifices concluded in Marcion with verse 8:4 but is revisited here. There are pastoral words, as identified by Munro, in the passage such as edification (8:10 *οἰκοδομηθήσεται*), and weak ones (*ἀσθενῶν*), as well as those which are elsewhere never found in Marcion, such as accustomed (*συνηθεία*, here and verse 11:16) meat (*κρέα*), the hapax legomena defiled (*μολύνεται*), which center on idol sacrifices and conscience.

Verse 8:7 worries about the corruption and defilement of the weak in conscience. The reference in 8:10 specifically associates those with "knowledge" freely eating idolatrous sacrificed meats, confirmed by Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 1.6.3, who names them as Valentinians. (See also Elaine Pagels, *the Gnostic Paul*, p 70-71)

Wherefore also it comes to pass, that the "most perfect" among them addict themselves without fear to all those kinds of forbidden deeds of which the Scriptures assure us that "they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God." For instance, they make no scruple about eating meats offered in sacrifice to idols, imagining that they can in this way contract no defilement. Then, again, at every heathen festival celebrated in honor of the idols, these men are the first to assemble;

Διὸ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀπειρημένα πάντα ἀδεῶς οἱ τελειότατοι πράττουσιν αὐτῶν, περὶ ὧν αἱ Γραφαὶ διαβεβαιοῦνται, τοὺς ποιοῦντας αὐτὰ βασιλείαν Θεοῦ μὴ κληρονομήσειν. ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἠγοούμενοι· καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἐορτάσιμον τῶν ἐθνῶν τέψιν εἰς τιμὴν τῶν εἰδώλων γινομένην προῶτοι συνίασιν.

Qua propter et in timorate omnia quae vetantur, hi, qui sunt ipsorum perfecti, operantur, de quibus Scripturae confirmant, quoniam qui faciunt ea, regnum Dei non hereditabunt. Etenim idolothyta indifferenter manducant, nihil inquinari ab his putantes, et in omnem diem festum ethnicorum, pro voluptate in honorem deorum factum, primi conveniunt;

There is no question that Marcion, with his encratic tendencies, and his very strict rules, which outright prohibited divorce, promoted celibacy (1 Corinthians 6:18 **φεύγετε τὴν πορνείαν**), and refused to allow his congregations to have even one impure member (1 Corinthians 5:5-6 **παρέδωκα τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός ... μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ**) could not allow the eating of food sacrificed to idols (1 Corinthians 10:14 **φεύγετε ἀπὸ τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας**). The position in verses 8:7-13 shows a moderation of that position, representing a much later era when Christians mingled more freely with the larger society, and there was more variety of beliefs within the congregation in direct contradiction to verse 10:21.

And that theological diversity is a clue to the verses origins. We are looking at an era when heretical Christians are being reconciled with the orthodoxy. The writer worries not so much about the theological views of the Gnostics, whom he seems to acknowledge as members, however grudgingly, but the impact that they might have on the casual members (**ἡ συνείδησις αὐτῶν ἀσθενῆς οὖσα μολύνεται**). He is calling on them (8:13) to refrain, even no longer eat meat using himself as an example (**οὐ μὴ φάγω κρέα**) into the age (**εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα** see 4 Maccabees 18:24), to protect the “weak” from scandal (**σκανδαλίσω**). Clearly this was at a minimum at least a generation after Marcion’s collection, to give sufficient time for all these forces to have overcome the more encratic and strong man tendencies of the Marcion’s era. The writer has to plead with groups inside the church to modify their behavior for the sake of others, a plea Marcion’s Paul could never be seen making.

The most striking thing about these verses is that Valentinians apparently are accepted within the church, and may have been one of the earliest reconciled. We may need to rethink how the church formed in the second century. This is evidence that the proto-orthodox heresiarchs likely developed as a reaction to reconciliation.

29) 1 Corinthians 9:1-6 delete verses

{A}

Verses 9:1-6 are not attested in Marcion. There is reason to suspect the entire section as a Catholic addition, or at least parts of it. In 9:1 **οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἑώρακα** refers to Acts 9:3-17 of Catholic Saul seeing Lord Jesus. In 9:5 we have a reference to Paul having a wife as does Cephas (Peter); perhaps this could be an Apellan position or reference where Catholics Priests marry but Marcionite Priests don’t, which is one issue why Apelles broke from Marcion in part over the marriage issue – this also runs counter to 7:7 on Paul’s sexual abstinence. Verse 9:6 is further Catholic assimilation of Paul with the Barnabas as a silent partner from Acts 13:2ff, just as he was added in Galatians 2:1, 9, 13; also possibly harmony with Acts 18:3, Paul as a tent maker by profession. 9:4 is out of place, as with verse 9:5 it is aimed to run counter to the encratic position of the Marcionites with respect to food. In 9:3 the word **ἀπολογία**, which is found in Acts 19:33, 22:1, 24:10, 25:8, 16, 26:2, 24, the Catholic additions to Romans 1:20, 2:1, 15 and 2 Timothy 4:16, 1 Peter 3:15 (Philippians 1:7, 17 the usage is Paul’s defense of the Gospel, which is still suspicious) making it unlikely to be original, combined with the unique ending to 'examining' **ἀνακρίνουσίν** is all strong evidence of more Catholic intrusion. The vocabulary in 9:2 also reveals another Catholic word **σφραγίς**, lends weight that the entire paragraph of 9:1-6 as being added to the Marcion’s version by the Catholic editor. (Note – possibly a stub of material was present)

Tertullian report essentially backs up this view, and the missing material after verse 8:6 could be considerable

30) 1 Corinthians 9:20(b) – **μὴ ὦν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον**

{A}

9:21-22(a) – **τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος, μὴ ὦν ἄνομος θεοῦ ἀλλ’ ἔννομος χριστοῦ, ἵνα κερδάνω τοὺς ἀνόμους· ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ἀσθενῆς, ἵνα τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς κερδήσω·**

9:22(b) – **τινάς**

9:23 – ἵνα συγκοινωνὸς αὐτοῦ γένωμαι.

The reading in 9:20(b) was part of the addition of 9:21-22(a), making it all one addition.

AM 5.3.5 *ut apostolo* consonent profitenti *factum se Iudaeis Iudaeum ut Iudaeos lucrifaceret, et sub lege agentem propter eos qui sub lege agerent, sic et propter superinductos illos, et omnibus novissime omnia factum ut omnes lucraretur*. This is a surprising gaff by the Catholic editor to leave Paul's statement that 'to the Jews I became as a Jew' and 'to those under the Law I became as one under the Law' completely obliterating the Catholic fiction from Acts and additions to the Apostolikon that Paul was a Jew. The Latin only clearly deletes *τινὰς* from 9:22 (support D F G Latin), which in form only agrees with the Catholic Romans 11:14 and runs counter to the concept of trying to save all (compare also Jude 22-23). That the verse quoted is continuous argues against the presence of 9:22-23a about those not under the Law and the weak, and also the qualifying phrase of Paul not being under Law, a redundancy anyway. Additionally the verses are a continuation of 9:19 *ἐλεύθερος γὰρ ὢν ἐκ πάντων πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἐδούλωσα* where Paul declares that he is free of all men, but he willingly accepts enslavement *ἵνα τοὺς πλείονας κερδήσω* to gain more. There is no sacrifice in not being under Law, showing that verse 9:21 doesn't fit. Finally in verse 9:23 the editor appended *ἵνα συγκοινωνὸς αὐτοῦ γένωμαι* as part of the theme of Paul's self denigration and submission to the Catholic fold, similar to 15:8 *ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων ὡσπερὶ τῷ ἐκτρώματι ὄφθη κάμοι* where Paul belittles himself in contrast to Marcion's authoritative Paul of Galatians 1:1, 6:17 and 1 Corinthians 4:21-5:5.

When the Catholic elements are removed a very coherent, succinct, and poetic statement for 9:19-23 emerges, where Paul gives up freedom to win those who are Jews and under the Law (i.e., the Catholic camp) to save all:

ἐλεύθερος γὰρ ὢν ἐκ πάντων πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἐδούλωσα, ἵνα τοὺς πλείονας κερδήσω·
καὶ ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδήσω·
τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον κερδήσω·
τοῖς πᾶσιν γέγονα πάντα, ἵνα πάντως σώσω.

*For being free from all men, to all men I enslave myself, that I might gain more;
And I became to the Jews as a Jew, that I might gain Jews;
to those under the law as under the law, that I might gain those under the law;
to all men I became all things, that by all means I might save.*

And he then reveals why he does this in the next verse

πάντα δὲ ποιῶ διὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. *All things I do because of the Gospel.*

31) 1 Corinthians 10:5 – *ἠὐδόκησε* for *εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός, κατεστρώθησαν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ* {A}

Epiphanius reads *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτῶν ἠὐδόκησε*, substituting – *ἠὐδόκησε* for *εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός, κατεστρώθησαν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ* (support for *ἠὐδόκησεν* B* A C Clement 104 507 1175 1448 1505 1611 1735 2495, none for deletion of clause). The longer version is a catholic edition emphasizing the role of God a punisher of wrongs, the Just God of the Jews, so clearly post-Marcion.

32) 1 Corinthians 10:8 delete verse {A}

Epiphanius quotes verse 10:1-9 without 10:8; while possible HT on *μηδὲ* it is likely not in Marcion, since it implies Christ slew 23,000 and the story is not from Exodus which was quoted. In verse 10:9 destruction to the revelers comes by way of the serpent, which to Marcionites was the Demiurge = Satan.

33) 1 Corinthians 10:22-30 delete verse {A}

In my first pass at reconstructing 1 Corinthians this material was included because I wrongly interpreted AM 5.7.14 as supporting the inclusion of 10:25, 27 (b). But in fact Tertullian was writing as an example of material expunged by Marcion that would have, from Tertullian's point of view, made a strong argument for a God other than the creator:

"A great argument for another god is the permission to eat of all kinds of meats, contrary to the law."

Magnum argumentum dei alterius permissio omnium obsoniorum adversus legem.

The first problem concerns verse 10:22, speaks of making the Lord jealous, *παραζηλοῦμεν* a word occurs in the Catholic interpolations of Romans 10:19, 11:14, 11:14. Further, jealousy is a property not of Marcion's God or Christ but of the Jewish God. That this is the Jewish God and not the Marcionite is clear in verse 10:26, when he is declared lord of the earth and everything in it (*τοῦ κυρίου γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς*). This is important because from it is derived the conclusion that all items in the market and all food are acceptable (verses 10:25, 27), which Tertullian felt would support another God, although these properties we see are derived from the Creator.

In verse 10:27 we also have as a normal situation of wanting to go to eat with unbelievers (*ἀπίστων*), indicating an acceptance as common place these interactions, and so a more worldly congregation than Marcion's Paul addressed, never mind that he would have found it unacceptable. Again the concept of conscience (*συνείδησιν*) which was associated with 'weak' Christians whom the Catholic writer is concerned about their inability to discern what is acceptable, as we saw in chapter 8, betrays the same editorial hand.

This issue of conscience comes back to judgment in 10:29 when Paul asks why his freedom is judged (*κρίνεται*) by others conscience, something Marcion's Paul would never worry about, since judgment comes not from his God. Finally there is the strange objection by Paul for his being blasphemed for taking part in grace. The best explanation that fits is there are differences of opinions in the community as what is an acceptable thing to give thanks for, indicating a diverse congregation in theology, as we see in the later gnostics.

Vocabulary objections show up in 10:23 the compound word 'edify' *οικοδομεῖ* was flagged by Munro (p 169) as part of the pastoral strata alerting us to its being a later addition. Others pastoral compound words flagged by Munro include 'idolatrous sacrifices' *ἱερόθυτόν* in 10:28 and 'giving thanks' *ὑχαριστῶ* in 10:30. Addition I should note that *παραζηλοῦμεν* (10:23) and *πλήρωμα* (10:26) are not found in Marcion.

34) 1 Corinthians 10:32-11:2 delete the verses

{A}

Verse 10:32 has two catholic themes: *ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ* "the church of God" rather than the Marcionite "church of Christ" and the reconciliation theme to not offend Jews (Catholics) or Greeks (Marcionite) or the church, an appeal to unity. Verse 10:33 talks of Paul pleasing men, which is an anathema to Marcion's Paul. But the most problematic phrase of all occurs in 11:2, where Paul speaks of traditions (*παραδόσεις*) he hands down, implying here that he received them. This is inconsistent with Marcion's Paul, who declares repeatedly that he received revelation, not tradition.

In general the material is bridging the inserted and the original, but without the inserted it sits incoherently.

35) 1 Corinthians 11:3— κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ θεός

{B}

The phrase *κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ θεός* was not likely present in Marcion. There is a subject change from describing man from Christ and woman from man to describing the relationship of father and son. It also breaks the symmetry of the entire section. The phrase seems to have Arian origins.

36) 1 Corinthians 11:11-12 delete verses

{A}

Although these verse seem to be a continuation of the prior conversation of verses 11:3-10 on the covering head and the relationship of women to man, we see it takes a decidedly different turn. First the phrase **τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ** "all things are of God" contradicts 11:7 where man is the image and glory of God, this clarification is to include women. In Marcionite and heretical theology the soul of man belongs to the high God, but the things of the world belong to the demiurge. But in verses 11:11-12 the relationship of man and woman, where each is paired, and then procreation is implied with **καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς**. These two verses serve the purpose of forming a bridge to the Catholic material which follows in 11:13-15 and so part of the digression that follows.

37) 1 Corinthians 11:13-15 delete verses

{A}

Winsome Monroe, Authority in Paul and 1 Peter, appendix B p157, makes the following observations about verses 11:14-15 linking these two verses to the pastoral strata in Romans 1:19-2:1

The word **φύσις** does not occur in the Pastorals, but appears in Rom 1:26 and 1 Cor 11:14 with connotations that are very similar. According to Rom 1:26 the outcome of idolatry is the abandoning of natural sexual relations (**τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν**) for the king that is contrary to nature (**παρὰ φύσιν**). According to 1 Cor 11:14 for a woman's head to be covered is what nature herself (**ἡ φύσις αὐτῆ**) teaches. Obviously, then, in both contexts, to err is to behave in such a way as to oppose or change nature, and right conduct is a behavior according to nature.

Verse 11:13 is another example of where Paul does not himself make a decree but instead passes on the judgment to the local assembly (**ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς κρίνατε**). We see the same concept at work where decisions are delegated as in verse 5:5 causing the Catholic editor to substitute **παραδοῦναι** for **παρέδωκα** that localizes judgment and decisions. The judgment in 1:13 refers to nature and a woman's hair, so must also be added.

38) 1 Corinthians 11:16 delete verse

{A}

Winsome Munro identified **φιλόνηκος** 'strife/contentious' as a compound word from the Pastoral stratum, (also showing contact with Luke 22:24 – possibly related to contact in verses 11:24-25 contact with Luke 22:19-20) which along with the rest of the verse is concerned with heretical movements following contradicting traditions within the church concerning women, an issue largely later than Marcion. This is also out of place coming before the concept of heresy/division is broached in 11:18. The term **συνήθειαν** 'customs' is rare (John 18:39) and only occurs here and suspect verse 8:7, another Pastoral identifier. Finally the verse shows an interesting idea that o Paul's followers and the Church of God as separate entities; this has led to some amazing exegetical gymnastics about Paul using "we" means in an effort to avoid the more straight forward conclusion that the Catholic Church of **ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ** is distinct from the group Paul is thought to represent when this was written. This verse is evidence of expansion to **ἐκκλησία** to be **ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ** in the Pauline opening verse of 1 & 2 Corinthians and 1 & 2 Thessalonians thus identifying the Church. This is a subtle difference with the Marcionites, as with the Gospel, which the Catholics refer to as **εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ** (Romans 1:1) and Marcion's Paul refers to as **εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ** (Galatians 1:7, also 1:12; compare Mark 1:1). These subtleties seem silly to us today, but the Arian controversy led to very nasty persecution.

39) 1 Corinthians 11:22 – **ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονεῖτε**

{A}

First **ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ** is the Catholic name for the church. The phrase defends the church as an institution, something not yet a concern when the original document was written. In addition the term **καταφρονεῖτε** is absent from Marcion except in reference to two masters in Luke 16:13. The words usage here maps closely to the Pastoral strata, as witness Romans 2:4, 1 Timothy 6:2, 2 Peter 2:10

40) 1 Corinthians 11:22(b)-32 delete verses

{A}

Verses 11:23-27, 30 are all part of a later post Marcion stratum. The concept of Paul receiving a tradition *παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου* as opposed to revelation (Galatians 1:12 *παρέλαβον αὐτὸ οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*) is impossible in Marcion, even coming from the Lord. The tradition which follows in verse 11:24-25 is lifted entirely verbatim from Luke 22:19-20. While this material in Luke is attested in Marcion's Gospel (AM 4.40.4) it is unique that the Gospel would be quoted in Paul, and a rather later version at that; the reading includes *ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον* for *καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως* (all mss. except B⁷⁵ & U 579) which indicates this came back into 1 Corinthians later. The other problem is this passage is concerned with sacrament in the Church, a concern independent of the early Christian feasts of the surrounding text. This point is apparent in 11:28 when the meaning of the sacrament as a method to separate orthodox from heretic is stated in terms of worthiness, an issue of prominence against Gnostics. In verse 11:26 the concern is with not only the meaning of the sacrament, but also the second coming of the Lord, a Catholic concept differing from Marcion. Finally verse 11:30 is rendered nonsensical without the second coming commentary in 11:26

The remaining verses 11:28-29, 31-32 concern with (*κρινόμε-*) judgment for eating and drinking the sacrament with the proper discernment for the body of Christ. Judgment by the Lord is introduced in contradiction to Marcionite teaching (note, the theology does include a nod to Marcionism with *ἵνα μὴ σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ κατακριθῶμεν*). This is a later development and intrudes upon the discussion of eating in the assembly without the proper etiquette, waiting until all are served first. The removal of 11:23-32 also restores flow of the discussion on etiquette from 11:20-22 to 11:33-34, underscored by restoring the proximity of *συνερχόμενοι* in 11:33 which is tied to *συνερχομένων* in 11:18, 20 and *συνέρχεσθε* in 11:17.

41) 1 Corinthians 12:1b-3 – *ἀδελφοί, οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν ... εἰ μὴ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ* {A}

The digression which intrudes on the discussion of spiritual things begins with the standard phrase *ἀδελφοί, οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν* 'brothers, I do not wish you to be ignorant' that is a pastiche of similar phrases in Paul. We see that verse 12:2 is out of place, as the discussion of idols concluded in verse 11:34. Also it brings up the concept of being gentile, *ἔθνη ἦτε*, as a former state implying Jewish (Christian) as the new state, which disqualifies it for Marcionite origin. Verse 12:3 talks about cursing Jesus and the Holy Spirit having that right (huh?), neither of which can be considered as a Marcionite theme, neither has much to do with spiritual gifts, and the poetic form in Greek doesn't include the verses. The opponent's theologies in view are certain Gnostic sects that separated Jesus from Christ (e.g., Cainites) and would curse Jesus, a later development than Marcion.

42) 1 Corinthians 12:27-30 delete verses {B}
12:28 – *ἀντιλήμψεις κυβερνήσεις* {A}
12:30 – *μὴ πάντες διερμηνεύουσιν*

The first hint that something is up are two additions to the list of order of rank within the church as gifts, in verse 12:28-that do not match the sequence of those who do not have those gifts.

| Verse 12:28 | Verses 12:29-30 | Ranks (English) |
|--|--|------------------------|
| <i>καὶ οὗς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ</i> | | |
| <i>πρῶτον ἀποστόλους</i> | <i>μὴ πάντες ἀπόστολοι</i> | (first) Apostles |
| <i>δεύτερον προφήτας</i> | <i>μὴ πάντες προφῆται</i> | (second) Prophets |
| <i>τρίτον διδασκάλους</i> | <i>μὴ πάντες διδάσκαλοι</i> | (third) Teachers |
| <i>ἔπειτα δυνάμεις</i> | <i>μὴ πάντες δυνάμεις</i> | have powers (miracles) |
| <i>ἔπειτα χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων</i> | <i>μὴ πάντες χαρίσματα ἔχουσιν ἰαμάτων</i> | have gifts of healing |
| <i>γένη γλωσσῶν</i> | <i>μὴ πάντες γλώσσαις λαλοῦσιν</i> | speaking in tongues |

To the above were added to more ranks which lack a negative parallel are placed above speaking in tongues, *ἀντιλήμψεις* those doing helpful deeds, and *κυβερνήσεις* administrators or rectors (literally from ships pilot), a term found in only two other places in the New Testament, Acts 27:11 and Revelation 18:17. The former terms *ἀντιλήμψεις* occurs nowhere else in the New Testament, and seems to be associated with those helping the administration of the church. These are roles associated with a larger church, where a more formal organization under the Bishop is required. So these must have been added at a later date.

In closing verse 12:30 *μὴ πάντες διερμηνεύουσιν* 'not all interpret' has been appended to the list of gifts not all have. But there is not corresponding gift that is ranked. This was probably adding in reference to 12:10.

However there are problems with even the original structure. First we have the *πρῶτον - δεύτερον - τρίτον - ἔπειτα* structure of hierarchy and order which contradicts the similar list in 12:9-11 where the gifts are not ranked, none better than another. And again this ranking is at odds with the analogy to different functions in the body of verse 12:25 but all are equal *τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων μεριμνῶσιν τὰ μέλη*. But now already we have an organized church that recognizes the office of Bishop, referred to here as Apostle per description of Acts 1:20 = Psalms 109:8 and Acts 1:25 (see Acts 1:15-26), which for Marcion was only his office, or as stated in 1 Corinthians that held by Paul, Apollos, and maybe Cephas, but no one else, and certainly not in every assembly (or church); none is in Corinth that Paul recognizes. The teacher role has been divided and is below that of Apostle in contradiction to 3:5 where Paul and Apollos are held as teachers (leaders of sects really) *τί οὖν ἐστὶν Ἀπολλῶς; τί δέ ἐστιν Παῦλος; διάκονοι δι' ὧν ἐπιστεύσατε* and Paul describes himself as an Apostle, in agreement with the concept of Acts 1:25 where an Apostle is teacher! *λαβεῖν τὸν τόπον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης καὶ ἀποστολῆς*.

Further the order of the list contradicts 12:8-10, even after removing the (even) later additions, we have a different set made of word of wisdom, faith, gifts of healing, working powers, prophecy, divination, tongues, interpreting (*λόγος σοφίας, πίστις, χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων, ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, προφητεία, διακρίσεις πνευμάτων, γένη γλωσσῶν, ἑρμηνεῖα γλωσσῶν*). So we have a different list, and a concern for order, and now the distinction of the Church as a hierarchical entity.

In addition we see that the verses are a digression into the hierarchy of the more developed, independent of the discussion of Christ's body of verse 12:26 as the assembly –of equal value–, and quite tangential, which is a later development spelled out in the deutero Pauline Ephesians 5:23 and Colossians 1:24.

All this indicates that all of verses 12:27-30 came later, with the five words identified above were an addition even to the Catholic editor.

43) 1 Corinthians 13:2 – *καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα* {A}
καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὄρη μεθιστάναι

This phrase was added in reference to Matthew 17:20, 21:21 from the Catholic books. The idea of knowing all mystery is not part of the discussion to this point, so had to come from outside by the editor.

44) 1 Corinthians 13:4 – *οὐ ζηλοῖ* {B}
1 Corinthians 13:5 – *οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ, οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἑαυτῆς*

The poem is about the properties of agape as an abstract concept. Behaving disgracefully and seeking things for your own desire are actions by humans, so must have been added by a later hand who didn't understand the subject was love, not people. The use *οὐκ* of instead of *οὐ* is also an indicator of addition. The words break the poems form established. The ending form of *οὐ ζηλοῖ* does not match. Removing these restores pairs of attributes as follows for this section

ἡ ἀγάπη μακροθυμεῖ, χρηστεύεται,
ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ περπερεύεται, οὐ φυσιοῦται,
οὐ παροξύνεται, οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακόν,
οὐ χαίρει ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ,
συγχαίρει δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ·
πάντα στέγει, πάντα πιστεύει,
πάντα ἐλπίζει, πάντα ὑπομένει.

45) 1 Corinthians 13:8 – εἴτε γλῶσσαι, παύσονται {A}

'or tongues, they will cease' doesn't fit structurally, and tongues are unmentioned in the rest of the poem.

46) 1 Corinthians 14:3-5 delete verses {B}

These verse represent a digression into prophesy with themes of ranking one skill above another; in this case prophesy placed above speaking in tongues. Besides the injection of ranking (μείζων δὲ ὁ προφητεύων ἢ ὁ λαῶν γλῶσσαις), while the other give away to lateness is in the vocabulary calling for edification (οἰκοδομήν*) four time in these three verse.

47) 1 Corinthians 14:12-17 delete verses {B}

Verses 14:13-17 are a digression from the topic of speaking in tongues, to discuss prayer's role. None of the first seventeen verses in chapter fourteen is attested, so we have to turn to other criteria to find what if anything was added by a later hand – what else is new.

The first problem with these verses is the use of *ιδιώτου* 'initiate' in verse 14:16, a term not found in Marcion. We have here in this verse concern about the impact of tongues, as seen by the worry about needing interpretation (14:13 *διερμηνεύη*) on a new initiate's ability to participate in prayer, *ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ιδιώτου πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ Ἀμήν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ*. This is clearly a concern of a larger church trying to absorb new recruits into the established congregation, and not part of the early Marcionite years. Further, again turning to Winsome Monroe's work on the Pastoral strata, this concern is surrounded by vocabulary of the pastoral strata such as *προσεύξομαι, εὐλογῆς, ψαλῶ, εὐχαριστία, οἰκοδομεῖται* and in verses 14:13-17. These terms for prayer, praise, singing, thanks, and edification for individuals, instead of the church, concerns the practice of more formal church services than would be expected at the writing of the original piece.

One other term in verse 14:14 *ἄκαρπός* is found with much greater frequency in the Catholic layers is being unfruitful (or fruitful).

When these verses are removed the material 4:2-12, and 4:18ff concerns tongues and consider the entire assembly as a unified single body for edification. The voice and theme consistency is restored.

48) 1 Corinthians 14:20 delete verse {A}

This verse is a stray element with language that appears focused on right and wrong thinking, a topic of the later anti-gnostic period. This is a sharp break in topic from the relative value of speaking in tongues against that of prophecy.

49) 1 Corinthians 14:22-25 delete verses {A}

The subject here is non-believers (*ἄπιστος*) coming into the church and how to behave. This is in direct contradiction with 2 Corinthians 6:14-15 where they are prohibited. As with 7:12-17 we are dealing with a later period where there is an established church and new members (*ιδιώται*) being brought in. This is used to back up an anti-tongues movement of the church in the later part of the 2nd century, when there was a feeling that the era of the Apostles and prophesy had passed. In 14:25 we have a repeat of 1 Corinthians 4:5, except that here it is paraphrased and judgment is brought in, which it is specifically not in 4:5-6. The word *ἐλέγχεται* 'convicted' in 14:24 (1 Timothy 5:20, Titus 1:9, 13, 2:15, Ephesians 5:11) betrays a pastoral theme of rebuking; In 14:25 a Lukan hand is clear with *πεσῶν* (Acts 5:5, 9:4, 10:25, 27:17, 29:29, Romans 11:11) is part of phrase lifted from Luke 5:12 *πεσῶν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον* combined with *προσκυνήσει* 'worshiping' (Luke 4:7, 8, 24:52, Acts 7:43, 8:27, 24:11, Hebrews 1:6, 16 verses in Revelation, 5 verses in Matthew – Note John 4:20-24 discusses the practice of

worshipping on the Samaritan mountain and Jerusalem not the fallen down and submitting of the others); also it sounds as fantastical as anything in acts that an outsider would ἀπαγγέλλων 'report/proclaim' that God is truly with the church. This entire passage cannot possibly have been in the Marcionite version.

50) 1 Corinthians 15:1-3 – ὁ καὶ παρέλαβον and– κατὰ τὰς γραφάς {A}
15:4b-10 – κατὰ τὰς γραφάς ... οὐκ ἐγὼ δὲ ἀλλὰ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ [ἦ] σὺν ἐμοί

The traditions of 15:4(b)-10 were placed by the Catholic redactor to lessen Paul's role, and to harmonize to Acts (Jesus appearing to Peter in 15:5, the elevation of James and the Apostles in 15:7, Saul/Paul persecuting the "Church of God" in verse 15:9, et al). The most that could remain forms a simple coherent statement

"Now I make known to you, brothers, the Gospel which I preached to you, which you received, in which you also have stood, through which also you are saved, if you hold fast the word which I preached to you, unless in vain you believed. For I handed on to you, in the very first things, that Christ died for our sins, and that he was buried, and that he was raised on the third day. Therefore whether I or they, so we preach and so you believe."

Note the theme of two distinct Christian camps in verse 15:11, I (Paul/Marcion) and they (implying Jewish Christians of the Catholic opponents).

The evidence for this reading as Marcion comes first from the fact that neither Epiphanius nor Tertullian made any mention of verses 15:5-10 being in Marcion. There is no need for these verses, which were inserted to affirm apostolic priority.

Additional testimony concerning the structure details of the Marcionite form comes from DA 5.6 which although not quoting Marcion also deletes ὁ καὶ παρέλαβον and both κατὰ τὰς γραφάς from the text. The κατὰ τὰς γραφάς is understandable, since the only text it could refer to is the Gospel of Luke (in Marcionite form), but this doesn't fit Paul's basic claim that what he presents comes from revelation not scripture.

Below are the testimonies for the original text

DA 5.6 Greek:

Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, ὃ καὶ παρελάβετε, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐστήκατε, δι' οὗ καὶ σώζεσθε, τίνι λόγῳ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν εἰ κατέχετε, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ εἰκῆ ἐπιστεύσατε. παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερται τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

Epiphanius P42 γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν

Epiphanius P42 ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἐγήγερται τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ

DA 5.6 Rufinus:

Notem autem uobis facio, fratres, euangelium. Quod euangelium? Quod euangelizauit uobis, quod et suscepistis, in quo et statis, per quod et salui efficiemini, qua ratione euangelizauit uobis si retinetis, nisi forte sine causa credidistis. Tradidi enim uobis in primis quia Christus mortuus est pro peccatis nostris secundum scripturas et quia sepultus est et quia resurrexit tertia die.

AM 3.8.5 *Tradidi enim, inquit, uobis in primis, quod Christus mortuus sit pro peccatis nostris, et quod sepultus sit, et quod resurrexerit tertia die.*

| | DA Greek | DA Rufinus Latin | Epiphanius P42 | Tertullian AM 3.8.5 | Marcion |
|------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------|
| 15:1 | – ἀδελφοί | + | + | (not witnessed) | + |
| 15:3 | – ὁ καὶ παρέλαβον | – ὁ καὶ παρέλαβον | (not witnessed) | – ὁ καὶ παρέλαβον | – |
| 15:3 | – κατὰ τὰς γραφάς | + | – κατὰ τὰς γραφάς | – κατὰ τὰς γραφάς | – |

| | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---|
| 15:4 | – κατὰ τὰς γραφάς | – |
|------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---|

The deletion of ὁ καὶ παρέλαβον in verse 15:3 is surprising since verse 11:23 uses the same formulation, Ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὁ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, when addressing the subject of Jesus' betrayal.

AM 3.8.5 Tradidi enim, inquit, vobis inprimis, quod Christus mortuus sit pro peccatis nostris, et quod sepultus sit, et quod resurrexerit tertia die.

'For I delivered, he says, to you first of all, that Christ died for our sins, and that he was buried, and that He rose again the third day'

DA 5.6 Epiphanius P42 ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἐγήγερται τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ and ~ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ support F G K L P Ψ 049 maj, but not reflected in Tertullian; both accounts delete – κατὰ τὰς γραφάς (probably also delete verse 5ff)

Epiphanius P42 "on the raising of the dead" γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν

Western non-interpolation (Latin b Ambrosiaster Irenaeus^{-Latin} Tertullian) "that which I also received" ὁ καὶ παρέλαβον was almost certainly not in Marcion, as it implies a teacher-student relationship, clearly rejected by Marcion (see Galatians 1:11-12, 15-17a)

The question here is, why place any weight on the testimony of DA 5 when Clabeaux had demonstrated thoroughly the unreliability of this chapter containing any Marcionite readings? There are two reasons, first the text is an independent witness, almost certainly from an earlier unknown anti-heretic work, that knows the text of 1 Corinthians 15 in an earlier form, which coincides exactly with the Marcionite text we know from Tertullian and Epiphanius. That the source might be Catholic implies that the additions to the text may have been ongoing even after the initial Catholic redaction of the Marcionite collection, something at times hinted at by the silence of Tertullian on obvious points that are presented in the modern text. The second reason is the claimed Marcionite passage of Luke 18:35-38, 39-43 in DA 5.14, which although carrying a very late HT on verse 39, and using the Lukan form παραχρῆμα instead of the expected εὐθέως (Rufinus however uses **statim** which more often reflects εὐθέως than παραχρῆμα in DA – but this could simply reflect corruptions in both the Greek text we have and also in the Greek text Rufinus translated), yet it also carries the Marcionite reading in 18:37 of deleting ὁ Ναζωραῖος indicating it likely came from an earlier anti-Marcionite tract – albeit in rather corrupted form (the only other potential Marcionite readings are the deletion of ὁ Ἰησοῦς in 18:40, and deleting the obvious Catholic/Lukan glorifying God passage starting with καὶ ἠκούσθη αὐτῷ δοξάζων τὸν θεόν in 18:43). The conclusion on DA 5 is that it serves as another text witness of the 4th century built on earlier texts that had some contact to the Marcionite texts. Thus the text can be used as a sort of category III type witness.

Note: The term παραχρῆμα 'in a word' was favored by Luke, and here and there (missing some due to fatigue) replaced the original term εὐθέως 'in an instant', such as in Luke 4:30, but preserved as εὐθὺς in Mark 1:30.

Additional Note: Robert Price, *Apocryphal Apparitions: 1 Corinthians 15:3-11 as a Post-Pauline Interpolation*, argues that even the phrase "and that he was buried, and that he was raised on the third day" was not part of the original formula, beyond my reduction. This may well be true in the pre-Marcionite form. However the text is consistent with the formula in Luke 9.22 attested in AM 4.21.7, making it clear that Marcion, while perhaps the earliest text, does not represent the earliest formula. But this is consistent with a proto-Gospel common to Mark and Marcion, an earlier tradition, an earlier Christianity.

51) 1 Corinthians 15:15 delete verse

{A}

1 Corinthians 15:15 was added by the Catholic editor clarifying that it was God who raised Christ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἤγειρεν τὸν Χριστόν which is not addressed in Marcion's version (compare Galatians 1:1, 1

Corinthians 6:14, 2 Corinthians 4:14). Also the concept of being a false witness to God [ψευδομάρτυρες τοῦ θεοῦ](#) is a pastoral concern as in (Acts 13:9, post Marcionite Romans 9:1, 2 Corinthians 11:13, Galatians 1:20, 1 Timothy 2:7). It also breaks [εἰ δὲ](#) of the structural pattern of 15:12-17, thus it is secondary.

52) 1 Corinthians 15:20 – [ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων](#) {B}

The term [ἀπαρχὴ](#) 'first fruits' never occurs in Marcion, but is reflected in the otherwise identified Catholic sections of Romans 8:23, 11:16, 16:5 and 1 Corinthians 16:15 as well as here in this verse and 15:23. There is the concern for those members who have died and yet the Parousia is not here. This is a later concern, and was added here because it seemed appropriate to be immediately before the material about Baptism of the Dead. The Marcionite concern however differs significantly, as Christ's God was unknown, so Baptism is necessary for the salvation of their ancestors, as the resurrection is new and "now" ([Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν](#)).

53) 1 Corinthians 15:23-24, 27-28 delete verses {A}

This was added to clarify that Christ would be subject to God, something never addressed by Marcion. It was no doubt a controversial pair of verses in the Arian debates. Verse 15:26 is derived from 2 Timothy 1:10, except that it pushes back death's abolition to the Parousia as the last enemy. This was no doubt to clarify that death will be abolished to make the baptism of the dead for a purpose, something the editor felt the Marcionite text did not make clear. Verse 15:24 was placed before 15:25 to parallel Ephesians 1:21-22 from reference to Psalms 8:6. In 15:23 we have a pecking order for the resurrection [ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι· ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός, ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ](#) combined with phrase grabbed from 1 John 2:28 (parallels in 1 Thessalonians 2:19, 3:13, 4:15, 5:23). The only order established in Marcion as stated in 1 Thessalonians 4:16 only specifies [οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστήσονται πρῶτον](#).

54) 1 Corinthians 15:30-34 delete verses {A}

Verses 15:30-34 intrude upon the discussion of Baptism of the dead. The concern is with Martyrdom and bringing in the Paul myth narrative about constant danger, plus the story fighting wild beast in Ephesus from the Acts of Titus VIII (see 2 Timothy 4:17), which Hippolytus mentions in his commentary on Daniel iii.29. Also a fragment of Menander Thais appears in verse 15:33 "bad company ruins good morals", as does Isaiah 22:13 in 15:32. This fragment appears to be from an apocryphal Acts now lost. None was in the original.

55) 1 Corinthians 16:1-24 read only [ἡ χάρις \[τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ\] μεθ' ἡμῶν](#) {A}

The 16th chapter of 1 Corinthians, with the exception of verse 16:23 (possibly minus the pious [τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ](#)) is entirely an invention of the Catholic redactor, very similar to the 16th chapter of Romans.

Here is a brief catalogue of Catholic harmonies and pastiches:

Verse 16:1 derives from the Latin prologue and Acts 24:17; it does confirm Galatians as head of the collection
Verse 16:2, refers to Acts 20:7 and 16:4 appears to have been written to explain 16:1 in context to 16:3.

Verse 16:3 is a Catholic addition, the concept of carrying letters of authority and bringing gifts to Jerusalem would have been an anathema to Marcion, as we read clearly in 2 Corinthians 3:1ff [ἢ μὴ χρῆζομεν ὡς τινεσς συστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἢ ἐξ ὑμῶν](#) which seems to have been written in direct contradiction to this verse.

Verse 16:5 is derived from Romans 15:26, with 2 Corinthians 9:4-5 and Acts 19:21 in view

Verse 16:6 is related to harmonizing the verses before and after to Acts

Verse 16:7 relates to Acts 18:21

Verse 16:8 has Acts 18:19 in reference

Verse 16:9 has Acts 19:19 in reference

Verse 16:10-11 has Acts 16:1-3 in mind, building the authority of 1 & 2 Timothy against those rejecting them

Verse 16:12 is a Catholic addition, where Apollos a rival is suddenly accepted, something that can only be explained as harmonization to Acts 18:24

Verse 16:13 is derived from Ephesians 6:10 and Psalms 31:24 (LXX 30:25), maybe Revelation 3:2

Verse 16:14 doesn't stand without verse 16:13, so it is nothing more than a pastiche of Pauline words.

Verse 16:15 is a copy of 1 Corinthians 1:10 Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί also Romans 16:17 parallels it. The name Stephen harkens to Acts

Verse 16:16 has pastoral theme and vocabulary ὑποτάσσησθε and συνεργοῦντι

Verse 16:17-18 refer to verse 16:5, contain pastoral vocabulary and call for recognition of certain men

Verse 16:19 is derived from Romans 16:5, Acts 18:2

Verse 16:20 is derived from Romans 16:16

Verse 16:21 is derived from 2 Thessalonians 3:17, Colossians 4:18

Verse 16:22 upon reflection, despite a wonderful ending ἦτω ἀνάθεμα. Μαρινα θα, while a nice rhyme it incorporates Aramaic, almost certainly ruling out the Marcionite origin. (Awesome writing by the editor.)

Verse 16:24 is missing from 1352, many variances in text tradition

Conclusion: Most likely only the simplest ending form of the Pauline ending in verse 16:23, which can be found in Colossians 4:18b of ἡ χάρις μεθ' ἡμῶν stood. That this same form is found in 1 & 2 Timothy which were based on the early Pauline collection, likely before the Catholic editions, is strong evidence that this is how the bulk of the Marcionite collection originally concluded. Pious scribes extended this with phrases like "Lord Jesus", "our Lord Jesus Christ", and finally the longest for with the spirit. Ironically the Spirit probably came into the Apostolikon from 2 Timothy 4:22 with a final combined formula ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν found in Galatians 6:18.

Errata: Verses not settled as of June 19th, 2013-06-20

- a) **1 Corinthians 7:25** ἡλεημένος 'mercy' doesn't occur in Marcion, also Paul qualifies as not papal bull (?)
- b) **1 Corinthians 14:26(b)** πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν γινέσθω 'edification' doesn't occur in Marcion, but AM 5.8.11 'edat aliquem psalmum, aliquam visionem, aliquam orationem' an allusion to verse 14:26, attesting to ψαλμὸν ἔχει, ἀποκάλυψιν ἔχει. There is a problem here, and the textual witnesses have many readings but none with προσευχ* complicating things.

Additional Reference for note #49 on 1 Corinthians 15:1-11, concerning DA 5 quoting Luke 18:35-43

DA 5.14 (Luke 18.35-38, 39-43)

ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἰεριχώ, καὶ τις τυφλὸς ἐπαίτων ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν. ἀκούσας δὲ ὄχλου διαπορευομένου ἐπυνθάνετο τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο. ἀπηγγέλη δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι Ἰησοῦς παρέρχεται, καὶ ἐβόησε λέγων· Ἰησοῦ, υἱὲ Δαυὶδ, ἐλεησόν με. σταθεὶς δὲ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀχθῆναι. ἐγγίσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτόν· τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· κύριε, ἵνα ἀναβλέψω. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν Ἰησοῦς· ἀνάβλεψον· ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέ σε, καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψεν.

Rufinus:

Factum est autem, cum appropriarent Iericho, et ecce quidam caecus mendicans sedebat secus viam. Audiens autem turbas praeterire, interrogabat quid hoc esset. Dictum est autem ei quia Iesus transit. Et exclamavit dicens: Iesu, fili David, miserere mei! Restitit autem Iesus et iussit eum adduci ad se. Cum autem uenisset, interrogavit eum dicens: Quid tibi vis faciam? At ille dixit: Domine, ut uideam. Et respondens Iesus dixit: uide! Fides tua te saluum fecit. Et statim uidit.

The above quote is an example of the vexing state of Dialogue Adamantius, especially part 5 where claims of Marcionite readings like this are present. Except for the HT on 18:42 and the Greek use of the Lucan word παραχρῆμα, which I think a correction to the Catholic text (*statim* in Rufinus' Latin reflects the more expected εὐθεῶς). The term παραχρῆμα 'in a word' was favored by Luke, and here and there replaced the original term εὐθεῶς 'in an instant' such as in Luke 4:30 (preserved as εὐθὺς in Mark 1:30)

Catholic Additions to 2 Corinthians

Catholic additions I discovered in the text from reading Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Adamantius testimony closely. I rank the likelihood A-C (A secure, B probable, C put in brackets) – my judgment call. (sgw, 6/15/13)

1) 2 Corinthians 1:1 – τοῦ θεοῦ

{B} Correct

The assemblies in Corinth τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ would not have received the title τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ as in our received text, as the churches of Marcion were more likely known as ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν ἁγίων as found in 1 Corinthians 14:33. The evidence is not strong, merely circumstantial, as Church of God elsewhere (Galatians 1:13, 1 Corinthians 1:1, 10:32, 15:9) is in interpolated verses from the Catholic editor (note Galatians 1:13 and 1 Corinthians 15:9 related to the Saul/Paul persecution of the Church in Acts) or in Catholic texts (e.g., Acts 20:28. Even in 1 Corinthians 11:22b the phrase ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονεῖτε is secondary since it already sees the Church as a formal institution, betrayed by the pastoral word καταφρονεῖτε (Romans 2:4, 2 Peter 2:10). Given the parallels it seems improbable that either 1 or 2 Corinthians 1:1 read ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.

2) 2 Corinthians 1:3 – καὶ πατήρ

{A} Correct

Evidence from Tertullian AM 5.11.1 *benedictus tamen deus domini nostri Iesu Christi*, reading – *et Pater* / καὶ πατήρ which has no manuscript support

Tertullian seems to know this variant because he mentions immediately after the above phrase "will be understood to be no other God than the Creator who blessed" *non alius quam creator intellegetur qui et universa benedixit*. There would be no need to make such a mention were καὶ πατήρ present. The same need to clarify who was "the God of Jesus Christ," would have led the Catholic editor to add the words. Marcion would not have deleted the words, since he'd have simply interpreted this as his God anyway.

3) 2 Corinthians 1:8-19 delete verses

{A} Correct

This block was added to personalize the letter and build the Paul story using a pastiche of Pauline phrase.

We see many parallels for the phrase in 1:8 Οὐ γὰρ θέλομεν ὑμᾶς ἄγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί (secure in 1 Corinthians 10:1 per Epiphanius, likely original 1 Thessalonians 4:13; but possibly a pastiche in 1 Corinthians 12:1b, and Romans 1:13; definitely a pastiche in Romans 11:25), to signal a digression. What makes this instance and Romans 1:13 stand out is that the digression is about personal travel and travail of Paul and not anything theological.

Note there are similar secure original Pauline use of ἄγνοεῖ* 'ignorant/ignore' (Romans 6:3 ἢ ἄγνοεῖτε, 7: 1 Ἡ ἄγνοεῖτε, ἀδελφοί, 1 Corinthians 14:38 εἰ δέ τις ἄγνοεῖ, ἄγνοεῖται), and these do not occur outside of Paul.

The personal condition of implied persecution in Asia continues into verse 1:9-11. But in verse 1:9 theme of God raising the dead, rather than Christ appears τῷ θεῷ τῷ ἐγείροντι τοὺς νεκρούς betraying away the Catholic editor's hand.

Verse 1:13 the Catholic editor writes οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα γράφομεν ὑμῖν ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ ἀναγινώσκετε ἢ καὶ ἐπιγινώσκετε, referring to this letter, and the New Testament already being treated as almost Canon, with the concern that interpretations beyond what is written down is occurring in the Church; a phenomena associated with the later development of Gnosticism. It should be noted that ἀναγινώσκω which means to read, in the sense of knowing and understanding, is primarily used in reference to reading the Law and Prophets in an attentive way (Matthew 12:3, 12:5, 21:42, 22:31-32, 24:15, Mark 12:26, 13:14, Luke 10:26, Acts 8:28-32, 13:15, 13:27, 2 Corinthians 3:15) and in others of certain books in the New Testament as Scripture (here, 1 Timothy 4:13, Revelation 1:3,

5:4), or arguably that particular Epistles should be read with attention like Scripture (Colossians 4:16, 1 Thessalonians 5:27, plus Acts 15:31 has a similar sense) and only once as a common letter in Acts 23:34. So the usage is clear in 1:13 that certain New Testament Epistles are carrying weight like Scripture, and so must already post date the earliest version of 2 Corinthians.

In verse 1:16-17 the reference to travel through Macedonia and then to be sent to Judea is derived from Acts 21:22, betrayed by the name dropping of Timothy in verse 1:19 to tie this letter to that legend. And the statement δι' ἐμοῦ καὶ Σιλουανοῦ καὶ Τιμοθέου (1:19) is fully dependent upon 1 & 2 Thessalonians 1:1 which is only possible after the Collection existed. Silvanus makes no appearance in Paul in the story line of this letter after this brief mention. But his addition, along with Timothy, follows the Catholic editor's pattern of making Paul but one of many Apostles. Further verse 1:19 makes clear this is the Catholic editor, because he refers to the teaching of Christ specifically as the son of God (ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ υἱὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς) which is out of character with Marcion's Paul (compare 2 Corinthians 4:5 οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς κηρύσσομεν ἀλλὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν κύριον) who simply doesn't find the need to explicitly qualify Jesus Christ as God's son, because there is no controversy for him over who the father is.

We can see the remaining verses in the block (1:11, 12, 14) are dependent upon the additional material covered above, while verses 1:17b-18 are trying to transition the material to verse 1:20 with personal use versus God's of 'Yes' and 'No.' In addition the Catholic editor's hand is betrayed in the these verses with compound words of the pastoral strata (1:11 συνυπουργούντων, 1:12 ἀνεστράφημεν).

4) 2 Corinthians 1:23-2:13 delete verses

{A}

The fifteen verses inserted here appear to be in order to harmonize the Pauline Epistles to the legendary travels in Acts, make mention of Titus, who plays a big role in this letter through the Catholic additions. This insert is a continuation of the insertion 1:8-19.

In 1:23 Paul uniquely calls upon God to be a witness for his soul, simply impossible for Marcion's Paul who never appeals to any authority but his revelation of Christ. In 1:24 the pastoral term συνεργοί which is meant to show Paul as one of many, is part of a general Catholic theme of playing down Paul's primacy. There is also an emphasis on standing by the (right) faith which is part of the later pastoral strata.

Verse 2:1 gives away that we are looking back in time by having Paul declare that he is not coming, that there are other stand-ins, a technique to confer status upon the current officials as a continuation of Paul's authority. The theme of grief and joy is part of this fiction, and runs through verse 2:5, becoming quite uncharacteristically melodramatic in verse 2:4 about writing of heart wrenching emotion 'through many tears' with δακρύων which is a hapax legomenon.

In 2:6 we see the Catholic theme of distributed authority, where punishment for an agitating individual, most likely a heretic in sight from 2:5, is here meted out by majority of the local leadership ἱκανὸν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ἢ ἐπιτιμία αὕτη ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων, but with the admonition in the following verse 2:7-8 that such action is limited by the higher authority implied by Paul. Instead they are told to reach out forgive and encourage χαρίσασθαι καὶ παρακαλέσαι, to show love κυρῶσαι εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην to try and pull back the wayward one. This situation contrasts dramatically with the picture in Marcionite 1 Corinthians 5:7 where Paul takes direct action 'I delivered up such a one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh' παρέδωκα τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός and where there is no amelioration ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, ἵνα ἦτε νέον φύραμα, καθὼς ἐστε ἄζυμοι and there can be no impurity in the congregation of Marcion's Paul. What appears to be going on here is not just a change in church policy, but in size and complexity of the organization that there can no longer be a single leader who can make all decisions; indicating a later era than with the Marcionite text.

Ironically in 2:11 the Catholic editor speaks of Satan and his schemes, but this usage is not like those attested in Marcion, strangely tied to proving obedience in all things of the follower in verse 2:7 ἵνα γνῶ τὴν δοκιμὴν

ὕμῶν, εἰ εἰς πάντα ὑπήκοοί ἐστε such that the lack of holding true doctrine is what opens the door to Satan, not the giving in to the flesh we see in 1 Corinthians 7:5, nor associated with the flesh as in 1 Corinthians 5:5, and 2 Corinthians 12:7. Nor is Satan associated with false apostles (Jewish or Orthodox Christians) in 2 Corinthians 11:4, 13-14, and implied in Galatians 1:8, so represents something different, a more general threat than the Marcionite presentation, meant for the whole congregation to consider.

Finally the last two verses we see the travelogue material with a reference to Acts 16:8 trip from Troas to Macedonia in verses 2:12-13, although with the correct Marcionite name for the Gospel (εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ), which includes an appeal to Titus, a clear endorsement of this brother and I would argue an advertisement for the Pastoral Epistle of the same name. Obviously Titus was written after Marcion's Paul, so that the material covered has been demonstrated to from a later era, so could not have been in Marcion.

5) 2 Corinthians 2:15 – τῷ θεῷ

{A} Correct

Support K, DA 2.15

Typical of Marcion there is no need to mention the relationship of Christ to God. A similar Catholic additions we see in Galatians 1:1 (καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς), Galatians 4:6 (ὁ θεὸς and τοῦ υἱοῦ), Romans 6:4 (διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς) Mark 1:1 (υἱοῦ θεοῦ), and the entire Romans creed of 1:2-4, all designed to clarify who God is and his higher status than Jesus; no doubt a response to Gnostic readings.

Evidence DA 2.15 Τῷ δὲ θεῷ χάρις τῷ πάντοτε θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τὴν ὁσμὴν τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ φανεροῦντι δι' ἡμῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ· ὅτι Χριστοῦ εὐωδία ἐσμὲν ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, τοῖς μὲν ὁσμὴ ἐκ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον, τοῖς δὲ ὁσμὴ ἐκ ζωῆς εἰς ζωὴν. Reads – τῷ θεῷ with K.

6) 2 Corinthians 2:16(b)-3:1 delete from καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τίς ἰκανός

{A} Correct

In my first pass I overlooked the problem with the word ἰκανός, maybe best translated (for consistency) into English 'sufficient measure' and most often used as an adverb associated with time ('after a measure of time') or crowds ('a measurable crowd') and once even for bail money (Acts 17:9 'paid a sufficient measure'), and perhaps similarly once in by Pilate to "satisfy" as in buying off the crowd releasing Barabbas (Mark 15:15 'pay measure to the crowd'). But it is the usage in 3:2 is 'measuring up' or as translated worthy or competent. This is the usage we see in John saying he doesn't measure up (not worthy) to tie Jesus' sandal (Luke 3:16/Matthew 3:11), and the Centurion's slave declaring himself not worthy. The usage in association with teaching doctrine is from the pastoral layers, as measuring up for elders 2 Timothy 3:2. It is completely out of character for Marcion's Paul to question his measuring up as here in 3:2, or even more ridiculously in 1 Corinthians 15:9 as saying he is the least worthy of the apostles. This usage is more closely aligned with the later Catholic editor's effort to bring Paul's stature as a teacher down a notch, even while playing up his legendary hero status, as a means to tame the Apostle of the gentiles/Greeks (i.e., the heretics). So the phrase καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τίς ἰκανός cannot have been in Marcion, the entire flow of this epistle assumes the worthiness of both Paul and the reader. This is from a different era with lower expectations, more accommodation for the causal believer.

The phrase following, claiming not to be like other preachers who "corrupt the word of God" (καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ) has a distinct pastoral feel, and includes the compound word and hapax legomena καπηλεύοντες. The claim to be speaking from sincerity (εἰλικρινίας) also concerns doctrinal orthodoxy. This insert concludes with another pastoral word, commendation (συνιστάνειν), and tied to the original material that follows by speaking of letters of commendation (συστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς) with the awkward 'or from you' (ἢ ἐξ ὑμῶν) in a failed attempt to match up with the letter on your heart that follows. The emphasis is not on the Gospel of Christ as Marcion's Paul defends, rather more like Acts and the Pastorals the word of God. These verses must have come from the Catholic editor.

7) 2 Corinthians 3:4-3:6(a) delete through ὃς καὶ ἰκάνωσεν ἡμᾶς διακόνους

{A} Correct

The concept of Christ as mediator to God is a Catholic construct, necessary because the Jewish God is a judge and so the role is necessary for reconciliation. But even so the passage would not meet with an objection from Marcion rather it has to be rejected on the grounds of lack of context to the subject of the writing on the tablets the Ten Commandments and writing of the spirit on believer's hearts. But it serves the Catholic editor as introduction to the question of worthy ministry in the New Testament (ἰκάνωσεν ἡμᾶς διακόνους), which as we have shown above is a concern from the pastoral letters era, when the orthodoxy was asserting its authority and regulating teaching.

8) 2 Corinthians 4:1-2 delete verses

{A} Correct

These two verses intrude upon the discussion of Moses and the Old Testament veiling the Gospel to those who are perishing in verses 3:13-18, 4:3ff, and how the Gospel shines light in the darkness (4:4). But 4:1 digresses tangentially into an appeal to Paul's ministry that is received as a result of mercy τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην καθὼς ἠλεήθημεν rather than from revelation so prominent to Marcion's Paul, and more directly it differs from the relevant description in verse 3:8 the ministry of the spirit in contrast to verse 3:7, the Jewish Christian ministry of death in letters in stones, that is the books of Moses ἡ διακονία τοῦ θανάτου ἐν γράμμασιν ἐντετυπωμένη λίθοις.

The very term mercy ἠλεήθημεν (ἐλέω) occurs surprisingly rarely in Marcion. Mercy is found only five times in the Gospel, twice in the triple tradition healing of the blind man, both spoken by the blind man (18:39, 41), similarly in healing of the ten lepers (17:13) it is they who ask for mercy (significantly only the Samaritan praised the right God of Jesus not the Jews), once again mercy is used to describe the Good Samaritan (10:37) by the lawyer (e.g., follower of the Law of Moses). The other usage in the Gospel is when the Rich Man (16:24) asks father Abraham for mercy and send Lazarus to cool his torment in Hades. What is significant in the Gospel is how Jesus never speaks the word, but others who ask for mercy, as with a Judge. There is no attested use in Marcion's text of Paul, and upon examination even 1 Corinthians 7:25 (ἠλεημένος is a hapax legomenon) and Ephesians 2:4 (ὁ δὲ θεὸς πλούσιος ὢν ἐν ἐλέει) look like additions to emphasize the merciful judge of the Jewish God, while Philippians 2:27 is part of the post-Marcionite travelogues – but again it is God selectively having mercy, which is a characteristic of the Jewish God. The usage in Romans 12:8 is very different, describing a characteristic of an idealized individual, so not terribly relevant.

When we look at the usage of Mercy in the clearly post-Marcionite Luke (1:50, 54, 58, 1:72), and Paul (Romans 9:15-16, 18, 23, 11:30-32, 15:9, Galatians 6:16, 1 Timothy 1:2, 14, 16, 2 Timothy 1:2, 16, 18, Titus 3:5) we see a clear pattern of association of Mercy with the Judicial Jewish God that Marcion opposes. This attribute is so important that in 1 Timothy 1:2, and 2 Timothy 1:2, it was added to the Pauline greeting benediction Grace, mercy and peace from God the Father εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς. This is selective mercy, as described in Luke 1:50 and most plainly in Romans 9:15ff (quoting Exodus 33:19) τῷ Μωϋσεῖ γὰρ λέγει, Ἐλεήσω ὃν ἂν ἐλεῶ. 1 Timothy 1:13 explains that ignorance of what you are doing is one reason God may give mercy. And it is perhaps 1 Timothy 1:13 that is in view when the Catholic editor wrote that Paul had received his ministry by mercy ἔχοντες τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην καθὼς ἠλεήθημεν. And this is important, because the argument the redactor is making is that the Jews can have mercy from God despite the veiling of the Gospel from Moses – something he also felt the need to qualify as “the reading of Moses.”

The target of the warning against wrong belief is shifted in verse 4:2 toward those who interpret the prior verses as meaning the Old Testament and Moses are not valid. The common orthodox complaints against Gnostic type opponents, as being dishonest and changing the meaning (λόγος) of the scriptures against what the orthodox know as the demonstrated truth, is clear in the proclamation μὴ περιπατοῦντες ἐν πανουργίᾳ μηδὲ δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ τῇ φανερώσει τῆς ἀληθείας. Such statements are impossible for Marcion's Paul.

9) 2 Corinthians 4:6 – αὐτοῦ for τοῦ θεοῦ

{A} Uncertain

Evidence: DA 2.19 (Adamantius)

ὁ θεὸς, ὁ εἰπὼν ἐκ σκοτῶν φῶς λάμπει, ὃς ἔλαμψεν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν πρὸς φωτισμὸν τῆς γνώσεως τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ

Deus, qui dixit de tenebris lucem fulgere, illuminavit in cordibus uestris lucem scientiae gloriae eius in persona Christi

Tertullian AM 5.11.11 *Quoniam Deus, qui dixit ex tenebris lucem lucescere, reluxit in cordibus nostris ad illuminationem agnitionis suae in persona Christi*

The text is somewhat contradictory, with Tertullian apparently missing τῆς δόξης against Adamantius. And Adamantius reads ὑμῶν (*ustris*) against Tertullian ἡμῶν (*nostris*) with only weak support and is definitely incorrect further indicating the terrible condition that Adamantius has come down to us.

And with Adamantius speaking in DA 2.19, we might conclude that τῆς δόξης is not fully secure. However this is not the case, as the absence of *gloriae* could be intentional in AM 5.11.11 by Tertullian because his purpose in reporting this reading is to support that Paul shows knowledge of the creator as God since God's shining of the light give knowledge of himself, *agnitionis suae*, in Christ (compare verse 2:14 *notitiae suae* / τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ).

Now for the variant αὐτοῦ for τοῦ θεοῦ, the support is mostly Western, so may not be original. However, the change to τοῦ θεοῦ from αὐτοῦ (ΤΟΥΘΥ for ΔΥΤΟΥ) could very easily be a case of the Catholic editor clarifying that it is the creator in whose glory is in the face of Christ.

10) 2 Corinthians 4:6 – Ἰησοῦ

{A} Correct

Support B A 33 1739* cop^{sa} arm Mcn-AD Tertullian Origen Ephraem Athanasius Chrysostom *al*

Note, reading Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ are D F G 6 206 630 1739 1758 1881 1898 it:d,g vg *al*

Marcion simply adds to an abundance of evidence to completely remove, and not simply bracket as the UBS does, this addition in the much later Catholic text.

Metzger states, p510

[The reading that best explains the origin of the others is Χριστοῦ others (cf. the same expression in 2.10), which has significant, but limited support. Pious scribes could not resist adding Ἰησοῦ before or after; if had been present in the text originally, no good reason can account for its absence from such manuscripts as A B 33 1739* as well as important version and patristic witnessed. B.M.M. and A.W.]

11) 2 Corinthians 4:10 – Χριστοῦ for Ἰησοῦ

(two places)

{C} Incorrect

Although Tertullian reads the second half of the verse in AM 5.11.15 *Ut et vita Christi manifestetur in corpore nostro* "That the life also of Christ may be manifested in our body," this is clearly incorrect, as we see below from the witnesses. The text in 4:11, and 4:14 refers to Jesus not Christ, a copiest probably looked to 4:6 here.

The full quotation includes reference to the first half of the verse (twice): *in qua et mors Christi circumfertur*, in qua et eminentia virtutis consecratur. Sed enim proponit, *Ut et vita Christi manifestetur in corpore nostro*, scilicet sicut *et mors eius circumfertur in corpore*. Note, Marcion reads Χριστοῦ for Ἰησοῦ in both places, D* D² F G reads Χριστοῦ and all but the best (B p⁴⁶ & A C P 1739 33) read Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ but that makes it clear this reading is wrong Western reading. For the second only D* F G & read Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

12) 2 Corinthians 4:13 – κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον Ἐπίστευσα διὸ ἐλάλησα

{A} Correct

Epiphanius Ἐχοντες δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πίστεως καὶ ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν, διὸ καὶ λαλοῦμεν and Epiphanius explicitly cites ἐξέκοψεν δὲ τὸ "κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον" 'he amputated from according to that which is written', a

concept alien to Marcion's Paul to follow any written word, as his Gospel is from revelation. He later in his explanation of the citation mentions that ἐπίστευσα διὸ καὶ ἐλάλησα (LXX Psalms 115:1, not reflected in the Masoretic), which was not cited in the quote is also missing - with some support from miniscules 618, 1738.

The phrase καὶ ἡμεῖς πιστεύομεν, διὸ καὶ λαλοῦμεν suggested the similar Psalms LXX text, likely starting in the margins. From there it's not hard to see how it could have migrated to the main text along with the phrase κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον from the Catholic editor.

13) 2 Corinthians 5:1 – οἰκοδομὴν ἐκ θεοῦ

{A} Correct

AM 5.12.1 Terreni domicilii nostri non sic ait **habere nos domum aeternam, non manu factam, in caelo**

Tertullian has to make the comment **quia quae manu facta sit creatoris intereat in totum dissoluta post mortem** concerning verse 5:1 quote precisely because Marcion did not have οἰκοδομὴν ἐκ θεοῦ (**aedificationem ex Deo**). The phrase is not necessary for the passage 5:1-4, which he quotes almost in full. The phrase was added by the Catholic editor to highlight and clarify that the Creator God builds the eternal home, something not accepted by the Heretics. Note, οἰκοδομὴν (**aedificationem**) is not attested in Marcion (Romans 15:2, 1 Corinthians 14:3, 5, 12, 26, 2 Corinthians 5:1, 10:18, 12:19, 13:10, Ephesians 4:12, 16, 29)

14) 2 Corinthians 5:11-15 delete verses

{B} Correct

There are problems with vocabulary and with the content of 5:11-15, which intrude upon the discussion of transforming from the ways of the flesh to that of the spirit, in its digression about various tangential topics using vocabulary not found in Marcion. The purpose is to tie the spiritual being to the death on the cross, for reasons that are not fully clear to me at the moment (I'll think about it).

Verse 5:11 uses the concept of the Fear of the Lord τὸν φόβον τοῦ κυρίου derives from the concept that Christ is the one who brings the wrath, as opposed to the Jewish God. The term used for revealed **πεφανερώμεθα** appears twice in this verse but is not found in Marcion, but is used in Hebrews 9:26 as the term for Christ's appearance at the wrath underscoring its association with the orthodox theology. The other two usages, Hebrews 9:8 (associated with the Holy Spirit), and in the Catholic addition to Romans 3:21-22 (**πεφανέρωται μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν δικαιοσύνη δὲ θεοῦ**) to tie the law and prophets to Catholicize the passage (Tertullian AM 5.13.8 quotes 3:21-22 **tunc lex, nunc iustitia dei per fidem Christi** without this phrase) is a second strike against this verse. The next verse continues out of character for Marcion's Paul with discussion on boasting and commendation. The appearance of sober-minded (**σωφρονοῦμεν**) is a term straight from the Pastorals (1 Timothy 3:2, Titus 1:8, 2:2, 4, 5, 12, 1 Peter 4:7; note I rate Romans 12:1-3 as a Catholic addition due to its vocabulary and the phrase **μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ** that maps to Galatians 1:4-5 which Herman Detering demonstrated as secondary) and is associated with conduct proscribed for elders. In verse 5:14-15 we have judgment (**κρίναντας**) concerning the death and resurrection of Christ as being for all, which while not at all objectionable to Marcion, simply is off topic with respect to moving from living in the flesh to being spiritual creations presentable to Christ.

15) 2 Corinthians 5:17 + τὰ πάντα

{A} Incorrect

DA 2.16 (Markus) εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις, τὰ πάντα καινά; AM 5.12.6 "If therefore any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old; things are passed away; behold, all things are become new" **Si qua ergo conditio nova in Christo, vetera transierunt, ecce nova facta sunt omnia**

– τὰ πάντα B p46 κ C D* D1 F G 1739 it:d,g,r vg syr^(p).pal cop^{sa, bo} arm eth^{ro} Clement Origen

This is both a secure Marcionite reading, and an incorrect one. Metzger concludes after evaluating the evidence that: *In view of the following τὰ δὲ πάντα, it was perhaps natural that copyists should enhance the meaning of καινά by prefixing or by adding τὰ πάντα.*

16) 2 Corinthians 5:18-11:2(a) delete up through ζηλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς θεοῦ ζήλω {B} **Correct**
Read only 7:1 καθαρίσωμεν [οὖν] ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος

This is the bulk of the inserted material into 2 Corinthians by the Catholic editor, essentially four and a half chapters wrapped around just a pair of Marcionite phrases.

a) verse 6:14-7:1(a) read only τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος

In attempting to reconstruct 2 Corinthians in Marcionite form I came across the problems of the fragmented text, specifically verse 6:14 where the phrase τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος is not mentioned in AM 5.12.5-7 which explicitly covers this section 2 Corinthians, but instead is found paraphrased, if it is not in fact an allusion to 2 Corinthians 11:13-14 in AM 3.8.3 (**negatam** ab apostolo **lucis**, id est veritatis, **et** fallaciae, **id est tenebrarum, commisit communicationem**), and in Dialogue Adamantius 2.20 (τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος, Rufinus: Et **quae esset societas lucis ad tenebras**). While the phrase τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος is securely attested in Marcion, the problem concerns the phrases surrounding, especially the reference to Belial.

James Tabor devotes a page on his website to the Corinthians Correspondence [1] which emphasizes the concept of 2 Corinthians being composed from four distinct documents/letters and a free floating fragment. While I have disagreement with some the specifics, I do find agreement in the labeling of the segment from 6:14-7:1 as "floating" in the Catholic version handed down to us, as clearly 6:11-13 should be joined with 7:2-4. But the Tertullian and Dialogue Adamantius clearly show that at least portions of verses 6:14 and 7:1 were in Marcion's collection, but there is no attestation of the text surrounding this "floating" fragment.

Examining the entire text of 6:14-15 it can be broken into five phrases

| | |
|--|---|
| Μὴ γίνεσθε ἑτεροζυγοῦντες ἀπίστοις· | Do not be mismatched with unbelievers; |
| τίς γὰρ μετοχὴ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀνομία, | for what partnership has righteousness and lawlessness. |
| ἢ τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος; | or what fellowship has light with darkness? |
| τίς δὲ συμφώνησις Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελίαρ, | but and what harmony of Christ with Belial |
| ἢ τίς μερὶς πιστῶ μετὰ ἀπίστου; | or what part has a believer with an unbeliever? |

The middle phrase "τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος" is attested in Marcion and carries with it the duality of light and darkness as opposite forces. But it is the surrounding text that gives it context. The first phrase is a command "Μὴ γίνεσθε ἑτεροζυγοῦντες ἀπίστοις" prohibiting the readers (e.g., faithful Christians) not to be partnered with those who are unfaithful (ἀπίστοις), no doubt implying marriage among other dealings. Who these unfaithful are is spelled out in the next phrase, asking what partnership (μετοχὴ) have righteousness and lawlessness (δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀνομία), that the unfaithful in question are those who do not follow that Law, that is the Mosaic Law. Who are these lawless unfaithful, whom the righteous need to be warned about having dealings with, even marrying, and sharing Christian fellowship with?

Verse 6:15 provides the clear answer. First the question is asked in what harmony (συμφώνησις) is Christ with Belial (Βελίαρ), a strange term that harkens primarily to Masoretic text Deuteronomy 13:13 [13:14 LXX] and the men of Belial, which is often incorrectly translated as "wicked" (λοιμός = pestilent, as in 1 Samuel 1:16, 25:17, 25, and 2 Samuel 2:12) in our modern English texts. Before continuing some explanation is required to understand the text.

In the Masoretic text the sons of Belial (בני בליעל) was variously translated to the sons of lawlessness "υἱός παράνομος" (Judges 19:22, 20:13, 1 Kings 21:10, 13, 2 Chronicles 13:7, 2 Samuel 20:1) or more literally "sons

(men) who hold contrary the law" (see Acts 23:3), or as in our case as lawless men "ἄνδρες παράνομοι or ἀνήρ παράνομος" (Deuteronomy 13:14, 2 Samuel 16:7).

The text of 2 Corinthians 6:15 clearly maps in this case to Deuteronomy 13:13 of the Masoretic text, where the writer is aware of the translation בלעל בני בלעל ἄνδρες παράνομοι by the LXX. The equation thus is that there is no harmony between Christ and that "one" contrary to the Law. And who that one is becomes clear reading the rest of Deuteronomy 13:13 [13:14LXX] where the men of Belial say 'Let us go and serve other gods whom you have not known' λέγω πορεύομαι καὶ λατρεύω θεός ἕτερος ὃς οὐ οἶδα (נלכה ונעבדה אלהים אחרים אשר לא ידעתם). So there it is, the author of verse 6:15 is not only familiar with Hebrew and Greek, he clearly sees Beliar as representing "θεός ἕτερος ὃς οὐ οἶδα" another God, unknown to you, the Marcionite (and Gnostic) God, not the Jewish God of the Law. So finally having made the association he concludes by asking what part can the faithful πιστῶ (i.e. orthodox Christian) have with an unfaithful ἀπίστου (i.e., heretical Christian), referring back to the opening phrase where righteousness is not associated with the unfaithful.

For completeness of the section, verse 6:16 makes clear there can be no compromise between this Christian God and idols, and then follows with quotes from Leviticus 16:12, Ezekiel 37:27, Isaiah 52:11, Ezekiel 20:3, and Samuel 7:8, 14, which buttress the incompatibility of the Christian/Jewish God and other practices. But salient is Isaiah 52:11 (verse 6:17) which refers to the faithful above with the Lord commanding them to separate themselves from the previously described unfaithful ἐξέλθατε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφορίσθητε and countering Belial, quotes Samuel that doing this he promises become a father to them.

So we see up through ταύτας οὖν ἔχοντες τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, αγαπητοί was necessarily written by the Catholic editor, as the promise referred to in 7:1(a) is stated in verse 6:17-18. It has become clear that only τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος might have been present in Marcion's text, the rest of 6:14-7:1(a) was written by a later Catholic editor. But there is the question of its placement

[1] As background here is a summary by Dr. James Tabor of the general view on the organization of 2 Corinthians:

Most scholars consider the Corinthian Correspondence (known to us as 1 and 2 Corinthians), to be a packet or collection of as many as a half-dozen letters. Paul himself mentions a previous letter he wrote to this community that we do not have (1 Cor 5:9), unless a fragment is preserved in 2 Cor 6:14-7:1 as indicated below). 1 Corinthians 9, as well as 10:1-22 seem to be insertions in of some type, since 8:1-13 is linked smoothly with 10:23-11:1 in both content and style. 2 Corinthians is even more fragmented. The following major sections appear to cohere, and are indicated in different colors to facilitate reading them together. The theories as to the order of these "letter" fragments vary and no one theory has prevailed.

- * Letter of Joy, Harmony & Reconciliation [1:1-2:13, 7:5-16]
- * Letter of Pleading and Defense [2:14-6:13; 7:2-4]
- * [6:14-7:1] floating
- * similar to 1 Corinthians 9-10:22, maybe piece from 1 Corinthians [8:1-9:15]
- * harsh materials, maybe "severe letter" he (Paul) mentions [10:1-13:14]

Note, I see a strong connection from 1:20-22 to 2:14-17, as well as a strong connection between 6:11-12, 7:2-4 and 7:5-16, so I definitely differ on the assignment of blocks. But I agree that Chapters 8 and 9 are a block – missing in Marcion – and that the floating material is another block. The floating material is where we will begin, precise because the only attested verse fragments in Marcion are contained within. That makes the attested verses so intriguing.

The command 'do not be mismatched with non-believers' Μὴ γίνεσθε ἑτεροζυγοῦντες ἀπίστοις contains a words not found elsewhere in the New Testament, the singularly occurring compound ἑτεροζυγοῦντες that is signature

of the pastoral layers. The Command concerning association with non-believers ἀπίστοις appears to have been influenced by 2 Corinthians 4:4 where the reference is to those who reject 'the light of the Gospel' τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου and its similarity to the passage in question τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος which follows. But the command has its roots in a later date, when the Church was grappling with Unions between believers and those of the larger society reflecting a more mature and diverse congregation, so it cannot possibly be original.

The second phrase, τίς γὰρ μετοχὴ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀνομία, closely resembles the flipped antithesis statements found in Matthew's Sermon on the Mount. Righteousness is declared to have no fellowship with "lawlessness" ἀνομία which is clearly associated with heretics who rejected the Mosaic Law. This has two affects, it associates the prior command, which could be translated "do not share fellowship with unbelievers," with the conflict between Catholic and heretical Christians, thus couching τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος in the familiar refrain of the heretics rejecting the Gospel and (the Jewish) God as the orthodox understood it.

This association is verified in 6:15 τίς δὲ συμφώνησις Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελίαρ where harkens to Deuteronomy 13:13 MT where the sons of Belial בני בליעל (LXX 13:14 = ἄνδρες παράνομοι or men contrary to the Law, as in Acts 23:3) who are said to state: λέγοντες πορευθῶμεν καὶ λατρεύσωμεν θεοῖς ἑτέροις οὓς οὐκ ᾔδειτε 'say, let us serve other Gods which you have not known.' This seems a direct target at the Marcionite God who is other than the Jewish God, and like the sons of Belial in the MT (see also Judges 19:22, 20:13, 1 Kings 21:10, 13, 2 Chronicles 13:7, 2 Samuel 16:7, 20:1 where בני בליעל is translated υἱὸς παράνομος or ἀνὴρ παράνομος in the LXX) reject the Mosaic Law. Also the opponents in verse 6:15 referred to in this verse and the prior as ἀπίστου who at odds with those who are 'righteous' δικαιοσύνη and 'believers' πιστῶ, making clear the pastoral voice against Gnostic and Marcionite opponents.

The conclusion I come to is that while the phrase τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος does seem have Marcionite origins, it does not seem to have a relationship to the Marcionite version of 2 Corinthians. Instead the answer is that it was more likely to be found in the Antithesis and then was flipped and reworked into Paul here.

b) verse 7:1(b) read – παντὸς and – σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος for σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος

Tertullian AM 5.12.6 reads *mundemus nos ab inquinamento carnis et sanguinis* against the vulgate *mundemus nos ab omni inquinamento carnis et spiritus* for Marcion text. First the absence of παντὸς (*omni*) from the Marcionite text is consistent with the belief that the flesh and blood itself is corrupt by nature of its origin from the creator. And spirit is not associated with the flesh, rather the blood is. And flesh and blood are not worthy for true revelation as Paul declares in Galatians 1:16 εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι. In DA 2.8 this separation is declared as Marcionite doctrine when Markus states 'we do not speak of either body (σῶμα) or soul (ψυχὴν) but of spirit (πνεῦμα), in harmony with what the Apostle says, "I have delivered up such a one over for the destruction of the flesh (εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός), in order that the spirit may be saved (ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῆ)," from 1 Corinthians 5:5. This opposition of flesh and spirit is echoed by Tertullian, AM 3.8.3, when declaring, "he (Marcion) confounds the truth of the spirit with the error of the flesh" *veritatem spiritus fallacia carnis*, in his usual tongue in cheek mocking manner.

The Marcionite text reflects the view that the flesh and blood of the body is impure and must be put aside to obtain saintly status, stating, 'let us cleanse ourselves from the filthiness of the flesh and blood.' This sentiment of being in the flesh as the source of sin is seen in Romans 7:5ff, and juxtaposed against the spirit, as Markus stated in DA 2.8, is seen in Romans 8:4-5. So it becomes clear that *σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος* is consistent with elsewhere in Paul and the Marcionite teachings. The change to *σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος* is part of the Catholic teaching that the Creator and the Creation are good, not corrupt, and so to be saintly we need to cleanse both body and spirit of impurities, as both can be clean, they are not opposed. In the same sense παντὸς was added to further clarify that there are many impurities we bring to the body and spirit in our disobedient ways from our free will. In the Marcionite text παντὸς makes no sense, as the concept is not to cleanse body and spirit, but to cleanse the spirit from the flesh as outlined in the passages of Romans 7 and 8.

Finally the question of how these verses and 11:2(b) fit together needs to be answered. Tertullian in AM 3.12.6 covers passages 5:17, 7:1(b), and 11:2 as a single subject each verse relating to the next with little or nothing in the way of intervening material, in a single flowing concept.

[6] *Si qua ergo conditio nova in Christo, vetera transierunt, ecce nova facta sunt omnia, impleta est Esaiiae prophetia. Si etiam iubet ut mundemus nos ab inquinamento carnis et sanguinis, non substantiam negat, sed opera substantiae capere regnum Dei. Si et virginem sanctam destinat ecclesiam adsignare Christo, utique ut sponsam sponso, non potest imago coniungi inimico veritatis rei ipsius. Si et pseudopostolos dicit operarios dolosos transfiguratores sui, per hypocrisin scilicet, conversationis non praedicationis adulteratae reos taxat. [7] Adeo de disciplina, non de divinitate dissidetur. Si transfiguratur satanas in angelum lucis,*

[6] *If there be therefore any new condition in Christ, old things have passed away, behold, all things have been made new; is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah. If also he says let us cleanse ourselves from the filthiness of the flesh and of the blood, he does not deny the substance, rather that the work of substance receives the kingdom of God. And when he presents the church as a holy virgin betrothed to Christ, of course, as a bride to the bridegroom, an image cannot be compared to the of an enemy of the its true nature. When the false apostles and deceitful workers transforming themselves like him, by their hypocrisy, finds them guilty of conversation not of adulterated preaching. [7] So true it is dealing with the study, it is not concerning the divinity of dissension. If Satan is transfigured into an angel of light,*

The problem then is where does the apparently free floating fragment of verse 6:14 belong. After much searching the Marcionite letters of Paul, I could find no suitable or logical place in the collection. But there is perhaps a clue to its placement in DA 2.20 where the fragment is tied to 1 Corinthians 10:16, when Adamantius asks the question if partaking (κοινωνία) of the blood and body (τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τοῦ σώματος) of Christ Jesus is wrong then the question τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος would be meaningless. What we see here is the question of the fellowship of light and darkness is tied to the body and blood, which is the essence of what the Catholic scribes understood σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος to mean in 7:1. Also the question is part of the fragment of 6:14-7:1 identified by most scholars as connected piece in 2 Corinthians.

Contextually it fits between 5:17 and 7:1 in the Marcionite text, because the flesh and blood are one nature which corresponds to darkness, and the armor of light (Romans 13:12) is put on when you cleanse your spirit of the flesh (Romans 13:14), as requested in 7:1. What is missing is the participle οὖν which we see in Romans 5:1 and perhaps migrated to the beginning of this verse in the received version.

c) The inserted material

The intervening material between the two blocks that was not part of Marcion requires a brief examination which I provide here. The material really belongs in two chunks, 5:18-6:10, and then 6:11-13, 7:2-11:1

Verses 5:18-21 is a section on reconciliation, a theme of the later era of the redactor when the two missions, Greek (heterodox) and Jewish (orthodox) were being brought under one structure due to the absorbing of heterodox congregations, which of course necessitated including the Pauline epistles, catholicized, in the first place. The terminology is orthodox, with reconciliation through Christ to God, with a clear subordination of Christ. Paul is speaking as one of many in 5:20 as an ambassador of God rather than as the Apostle of Christ; clearly a weakened position of the evangelist. Further it is the world and the church members who are reconciled, which is consistent with bringing in the formerly heretical congregations. Christ role as a go between or mediator, is a role that evolved long after Marcion. The time and place then is much later.

Verses 6:1-10 appears to be from the pastoral era. In verse 6:1 the compound word Συνεργοῦντες ('working together with') is only found elsewhere only in the apocryphal long ending for Mark (16:20), the post Marcionite Romans chapter 16 (16:3), and in the similarly post Marcionite chapter 16 of 1 Corinthians (16:16).

Verse 16:2 quotes the LXX Isaiah 49:8 but not in antithesis. Also in 6:2 we find *εὐπρόσδεκτος* 'acceptable' as in temple offerings to God, is a word found again in the expanded ending in Romans 15:16, 15:31, and in 1 Peter 2:5, showing a focus on Jewish Christianity that was the orthodox. In 6:4 the royal "we" are portrayed as ministers of God rather than ministers of Christ revealed that Marcion's Paul claims. What follows in 6:4-7 is a pastoral list of travails and virtues ending not only with the Catholic introduced Holy Spirit *ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ* which is not part of Marcion's soteriology, but also "love un-hypocritical" *ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀνυποκρίτῳ* implying another Christianity regarded as hypocritical – that is the Marcionite and Gnostic –, and finally *ἐν λόγῳ ἀληθείας, ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ* where we have the truth of the word being for the power of God not Christ. The final three verses of this passage through verse 6:10 are a series antithetical pairs. Verses 6:4-10 is a single poetic structure. The entire passage must be post Marcionite.

Verses 6:11-13, 7:2-4 form a single passage, part of a travelogue, possibly from some lost apocryphal acts, with flowery pleading for the Corinthians (6:11 borrows from Ezekiel 33:22) to have their hearts open as Paul and his company desire to come to Corinth, and the dangers and fears involved. These verses, after making mention of a prior travel to Macedonia, then flows into similarly vivid discussion of travails and the mention of Titus coming (verse 7:6) to bring encouragement to the them. In verse 7:8 reference to an epistle betrays the literary fiction involved, for what follows is a digression into grief and rejoicing, all of which is a general plea for the receiving of Titus (mentioned again by name in 7:13-14) through verse 7:16. As this is literary fiction we are dealing with, this can be seen as sanction for the Pastoral Titus letter, so the entire section is a late addition.

The entirety Chapter 8 continues on this travelogue myth and endorsement of Titus, with a global Catholic view of spreading the Gospel throughout the world, reaches its culmination in 8:18 where "With him (Titus) we are sending the brother who is famous among all the churches for his preaching of the gospel" *συνεπέμψαμεν δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*. This high praise for Titus (see also 8:23) appears to be an endorsement for the epistle of Paul entitled Titus, if we consider this a literary device, making the entire chapter written after that Pastoral letter, and long after Marcion's version.

Chapter 9 comes across as the concluding chapter –for the travelogue– not a middle chapter. As with 1 Corinthians 16:1-4 we have mention of on the contribution to the saints in 9:1, which is so very aware of its presence in other Catholicized versions of the Pauline letters that he actually states *περισσὸν μοί ἐστιν τὸ γράφειν ὑμῖν*. How can the writer not be aware of 1 Corinthians 16:1? The praise through verse 7 of Macedonia's abundance to prod them to give to the mission (19:7 *ἰλαρὸν γὰρ δότην ἀγαπᾷ ὁ θεός* a fund raiser's favorite verse) still has this apocryphal mission in mind, and an eye to the offering plate. This is followed with support from Psalms 112.9 in verse 9:9, and then a description of the glory such donations will bring causing thanks, which ends on the chapter with a doxology of thanks for the gifts with reference to God's indescribable gifts. Again, chapter 9 has a more mature church in view, which needs to fund its continuing operations, and presumably feed many more mouths than in the era of the Marcionite version.

Although 9:15 looked like a closing of the letter, it continues on in with chapter 10, with a new opening, an addition after the doxology, with a new appeal from Paul that has a very orthodox feel to it. The chapter can be viewed as looking back in time, a post Paul era (post Marcion) since it focuses on Paul not being present (10:1), which would have been the situation with the collection in the latter part of the 2nd century. Most telling is the awareness of the Pauline collection existing in the mention of the letters (10:9-11). It should also be noted that Winsome Munroe, *Authority in Paul and Peter, Appendix C p162-163*, identifies strong pastoral stratum with antithetic parallels in verses 10:6, 8-11. This is usually a good market of later material. The second half of the chapter (10:12-18) is a tendentious but focused on limiting the scope of Paul and thus his letters, and by extension the claims of primacy for his teaching by heretics.

17) 2 Corinthians 11:2(b) – ἅγιον for ἁγνήν

{A} **Correct**

Tertullian in AM 5.12.6 reads *sanctam* = ἅγιον 'holy,' against the Vulgate *castam* = ἁγνήν 'pure,' for Marcion's reading of the text. Although there is no manuscript support for this reading it seems to be the correct reading,

although this may never be certain. It should be noted that *ἀγνήν* would represent a hapax legomenon in Marcion. The only occurrences elsewhere in the NT of *ἀγνήν* are James 3:17 and 1 Peter 3:2. The usage in 2 Peter 3:2 is instructive, in that we see its association with the conduct of wives, paralleling the bride theme in 2 Corinthians 5:17, with fear and purity *τὴν ἐν φόβῳ ἀγνήν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν* that they may win over non-believing (*ἄνευ λόγου*) husbands. The usage of *ἀγνή* in James 3:17 is somewhat related, reflecting the view that the Wisdom from above begins pure, and from that proceeds other attributes preached, thus reflecting personal conduct tied in James 3:13.

The term *ἅγιον* should be preferred here as more consistent with Marcionite usage and theology, and *ἀγνήν* would have worked fine as well making it hard to see a reason to adjust the text. We see in Paul the term having the meaning of being "saintly," consistent with the greetings referring to the saints in Romans 1:7 and 1 Corinthians 1:2 (Marcionite form *ἄ-τοις* for *κλητοις*), 2 Corinthians 1:1, Ephesians/Laodiceans 1:1, Philippians 1:1, and Colossians 1:1, and always associated with the assembly. And the assembly is who is Paul is addressing. The theme of *παρθένον ἅγιον* is consistent with and closely parallels 1 Corinthians 7:34 where both the unmarried woman and the virgin *καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἢ ἄγαμος καὶ ἡ παρθένος* are to conduct themselves as holy in both body and spirit *ἢ ἀγία καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι*. In the Marcionite sense the flesh itself is corrupt, so must be sanctified, as it was never in a pure state from nature

Thus the contextual reason for the Catholic editor to have changed *ἅγιον* to *ἀγνήν* is explained by a need to clarify that the original state of the flesh and of the church is pure, tying into the same impulse that necessitated scribes to add *παντὸς* in verse 7:1, demonstrating that the flesh is not fundamentally by nature impure. These synchronized adjustments also strongly suggest 7:1(b) and 11:2(b) stood together without intervening text.

The one possibility that *ἅγιον* was not original would be explained by Tertullian gloss adjusting his reading of the text to emphasize that Marcion ruined the virginity of the Holy Church. But Tertullian makes no such point here, nor does he even allude to the idea, despite it being the widely held position of the orthodox. So it stands to reason that *ἅγιον* was in fact the text Tertullian read here.

18) 2 Corinthians 11:16-12:7(a) delete up to *καὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων* {A} **Correct**

This entire block of inserted material could be labeled foolish boasting. The voice and tenor is out of character for Marcion's Paul, but within there are several theological problems as well. In the first part (11:16-21) Paul boasts in the flesh in 11:18 to match his opponents. While ostensibly these are Jewish critics we see in Marcion's collection, a subtle switch in identity is going on here. Whereas in 1 Corinthians 9:20 Paul declares that to the Jews he became as a Jew (*ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδήσω* AM 5.3.5 **ut apostolo** consonant profitenti **factum se Iudaeis Iudaeum ut Iudaeos lucrifaceret**, also AM 1.20.3 **Iudaeis quasi Iudaeus**) as a gentile would, here in 2 Corinthians 11:22 he declares that he is in fact a Jew (*Ἑβραῖοί εἰσιν; καὶ γὰρ Ἰσραηλιεῖται εἰσιν; καὶ γὰρ*). The inconsistency is simply glaring, and it seems unlikely Marcion would accept a Hebrew as his hero. We have a different author, and one who's Paul is Saul of Tarsus, a Jew.

What follows is a greater effort to tie Paul to Acts, with mention of his labors and beatings to near death in 11:23 in parallel to that in Acts 16:23 when Paul confronts crowds. Then more mention of being beaten with rod in 11:25 parallels Acts 16:22, in 11:26 mention of a list of travails including dangers from his own countrymen as in Acts 14:5. Many other woes and through vers 11:29.

Verses 11:30-33 concerns the story from Acts 9:20-25 where Paul is supposedly let down over the walls in a basket to escape his imprisonment King Aretas' local ruler of Damascus. This is simply reference to the legendary Paul of myth which the redactor is aware, and seems to come from a version of the story that involves details not found in the Canonical Acts. (Note, I suspect the Canonical Acts had a few Apocryphal Acts to draw from in much the same way the very author of Luke admits he collated multiple sources. The basket incident may have been more colorful in a lost version that is hinted at here.)

Another passage beginning is mark by *Καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ* for verse 12:1-7 which discuss another miraculous fragment, perhaps from some lost apocryphal Acts that the early readers could well have been familiar with, which concerns some revelations (*καὶ ἀποκαλύψεις κυρίου*) of an unnamed person that happened fourteen years prior (*πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων*). We can immediately see a connection to Galatians 1:12, 2:1-2 in Marcionite form, where Paul after his revelation (*ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*) went up to Jerusalem (*Ἐπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα*) that seems to suggest a reference to his own revelation of Christ. But in the version here the details are more considerable, the revelation catching the man up in the third heaven (*ἀρπαγέντα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ*). It is an account that must have been controversial, as our author here states he doesn't know the nature of it or how or by what mechanism it occurred (*εἴτε ἐν σώματι εἴτε χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος οὐκ οἶδα*), so is avoiding taking a stand on the controversy. But he does go on to tell us in 12:4 that while caught in the third heaven he heard words inexpressible (*ἄρρητα ῥήματα*), importantly not logos, and the man cannot speak. While a wonderful story, unfortunately it betrays a legendary nature of a hero and not the present revelation of Marcion's Paul who never discussed the nature of his revelation.

The conclusion of the material sums up in 12:6 the Catholic redactor's purpose, that even while building up the legendary acts of Paul, he means to bring down the stature of his writings –and fails– when he says not to read more into what he (i.e., the Pauline Epistles) says, e.g. wrote, *μή τις εἰς ἐμὲ λογίσηται ὑπὲρ ὃ βλέπει με ἢ ἀκούει [τι] ἔξ ἐμοῦ*. The entire inflated legendary nature of all the material of the acts of Paul here are secondary and importantly from a later date.

19) 2 Corinthians 12:9(b)-21 delete *ἡ γὰρ δύναμις ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελεῖται* {A} Correct
το ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ καὶ πορνείᾳ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ ἧ ἔπραξαν

The large insertion of material, after the attested text, begins in 12:9(b) with a tangent to God's putting off Paul's thrice requested appeal to remove Satan from him, with an antithetical pair *δύναμις ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ* that suspiciously jumps to our attention. There is also the strange concept of Christ shepherding Paul, unique to the collection - the word *ἐπισκηνώση* is also hapax legomena. This is followed in 12:10 with a list of hardships no doubt face by missionaries concluding again with the antithetical pair of weak and strong *ὅταν γὰρ ἀσθενῶ, τότε δυνατός εἰμι* which Munro alerts us in her work. In 12:11 the downplaying of Paul is evident with his mention of being foolish, and more his mention of superlative apostles (*ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων*) – something Marcion's Paul would say– but incredibly without the attachment of being false ones! The mythical acts of apostles are clearly in sight in 12:12 when the writer talks of signs of an apostle being performed (*σημεῖα τοῦ ἀποστόλου κατειργάσθη*) in signs and wonder and power (*σημεῖοις τε καὶ τέρασιν καὶ δυνάμεσιν*) indicating the author of this section lives in an era where the Acts of Apostles, perhaps Canonical as well as Apocryphal, are his understanding of them; he knows the apostle as mythic consistent with the travelogue sections.

Verses 12:16-17 begins a defense of mission with a strange admission that with deception Paul wooed people (*ὑπάρχων πανοῦργος δόλῳ ὑμᾶς ἔλαβον*), something that only makes sense from the proto-orthodox view of Paul as heretic, whose followers they are correcting, so might be surprised by the content (hinted in 12:20 *κἀγὼ εὔρεθῶ ὑμῖν οἶον οὐ θέλετε*). The continued endorsement for Titus appears again in 12:18 saying he (IMO the epistle) walks in the same spirit with Paul (*οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι περιεπατήσαμεν*). Then Titus and Paul are defended in verse 12:19 with the term apology (*ἀπολογούμεθα*) in the very sense used by the Patristic writers which we first see in the later part of the second century (e.g., Irenaeus), and common in the Catholics and the Pastoral layers in Paul (see Acts 19:33, 22:1, 24:10, 25:16, 26:2, 24, Romans 2:15, 2 Timothy 4:16, 1 Peter 3:15, and in counter usage in Romans 2:1). What follows in verses 12:20-21 is a list of offenses that parallels lists like Romans 1:18-2:1 of the Pastoral stratum, which this section belongs.

This block we see was consciously added to the epistle by the mention of the third visit in verse 12:14 (*Ἴδού τρίτον τοῦτο ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἔλθειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*), which occurs in verse 13:1 immediately after this block.

20) 2 Corinthians 13:3-9 delete verses {A} Correct

Winsome Munro flagged only sections of 2 Corinthians having pastoral stratum antithetic parallels 10:6, 8-11, and 13:1-10, which contains these unattested verses. Monroe's method however uncovers no antithetic parallels, nor compound words of the pastoral layer in verses 13:1-2, rather she included them, and 10(a) because they appeared on first blush to be a complete unit. Munro however lumps all "severe" material into the pastoral layer, and in this case she picked up too much in 13:1-2, 10(a), which are attested by Tertullian, and the antithetical parallels are not present.

The first set of antithetical parallels in this passage deal with weakness in Christ and power in God for verse 13:3, 13:4 (two), and finally in 13:9. These antithetical statements are part of narrative that runs counter to Marcionite theology. Specifically in verse 13:4 there is the statement of God's power giving life (ζῆ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ) to Christ who was crucified in weakness (ἐσταυρώθη ἐξ ἀσθενείας), which shows that Christ did not have to power to raise himself from the dead which we see elsewhere in Marcion's Paul, especially Galatians 1:1 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν; elsewhere in Marcion the source of the resurrection is never stated explicitly, except as 'the one' and God the father is not mentioned AM 5.7.4 for 1 Corinthians 6:14 **Qui dominum suscitavit, et nos suscitabit** / ὁ δὲ τὸν κύριον ἠγειρεν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξεγερεῖ, 2 Corinthians 4:14, Romans 6:4, 8:11 (Note Romans 6:4 probably lacked διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς in the Marcionite version, but this is unattested, so cannot be safely cited). This is not a modalist position of Marcion, rather it seems the power to raise himself was with Christ. In the Catholic Paul, as we see in Romans 1:3-4, and Galatians 1:1, Jesus is raised by God the father and adopted when he resurrects him, as he is flesh and subject to God, a greater power. This Catholic relationship is reflected in these antithetical statements, where power is not from Christ but from God, which is the source of Paul's mission in these verses. This contrasts sharply with Paul's claims in the attested Marcionite text of deriving his power from Christ as stated in verse 13:10 ἐξουσίαν ἦν ὁ κύριος ἔδωκέν μοι text (AM 5.12.9 **potestatem a domino datam sibi affirmat**). In general this issue of God's power and Christ's weakness is part of the Catholic shift from the Gospel of Christ to the Gospel of God that I have outlined elsewhere.

The other set of Pastoral antithetical parallels deal with approved (δοκιμῆν) and unapproved (ἀδόκιμοι) faith, which already is a giveaway that we are dealing in a later era of competing hierarchical backed faiths, notably that of the gnostics. This is reflected in the treatment of unapproved faith in 2 Timothy 3:8 (ἀδόκιμοι περὶ τὴν πίστιν), identified as those who oppose the truth (οὗτοι ἀνθίστανται τῇ ἀληθείᾳ) which parallels the question of verses 13:5-8 (Ἐαυτοὺς πειράζετε εἰ ἐστὲ ἐν τῇ πίστει, ἑαυτοὺς δοκιμάζετε) concluding with the statement that since Paul and his unnamed coworkers are approved they cannot do anything against, only for, the truth (οὐ γὰρ δυνάμεθά τι κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας). The sentiment of these verses is echoed in Titus 1:16, and clarified in 1 Peter 1:7 that being proven in your faith after being tested you have the honor in the revelation of Christ. This very strong Catholic statement of a right faith tested is clearly post Marcion, so not part of his recension of the text.

21) 2 Corinthians 13:10(b)-12 delete verses

{A} Correct

Verses 13:10b-12 appears to be Catholic additions. The pastoral term οἰκοδομῆν / **aedificationem** (see Munro) is not found in Marcion. The usage strongly parallels to that of verse 10:6, which Munro also flagged for antithetical pairs and part of the pastoral layer. The use of the word ἀπάσασθε is only securely in the Catholic addition of Romans 16 and 1 Corinthians 16, and can be discounted from Marcion (DA 1.5 quotation of Colossians 4:10-11, 14 is not Marcionite text – see my notes on the unreliability of Adamantius when the Catholic champion is speaking – as Megathius does not acknowledge or respond to this, and continues seemingly unaware). The Holy Kiss seems to be an additional ritual added later by the Orthodoxy, perhaps similar to the ring kissing of bishops we see to this day. The other platitudes are likely scribal additions to the terse Marcionite endings.

22) 2 Corinthians 13:13 read Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν

{A} Correct

Most likely only the simplest ending form of the Pauline ending in verse 13: 13, which can be found in Colossians 4:18b of ἡ χάρις μεθ' ἡμῶν stood. That this same form is found in 1 & 2 Timothy, which were based on the early Pauline collection. Catholic redactor expanded μεθ' ἡμῶν to the more complex formula καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μετὰ πάντων. The phrase 'and the love of God' with 'and the fellowship of the holy spirit' clearly is later, giving the ending phrase a Trinitarian emphasis with κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ θεοῦ, and τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Trinitarianism did not appear until the very last quarter of the 2nd century.

Differences in Catholic and Marcionite versions of Laodiceans/Ephesians

Catholic additions I discovered in the text from reading Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Adamantius testimony closely. I rank the likelihood A-C (A secure, B probable, C put in brackets) – my judgment call. (sgw, 3/7/14)

- 1) **Ephesians Superscription** – Πρὸς Λαοδικέας for Πρὸς Ἐφεσίους {A} correct
Support: *Marcion*, Marcionite Latin Prologues
- 2) **Ephesians 1:1** – ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (or – ἐν Λαοδικίᾳ) {A} correct
Support: *Marcion*, P⁴⁶ N* B* 6 424^c 1739 Origen

Tertullian in AM 5.17.1 knows that the letter to the Ephesians circulated as Laodiceans in Marcion's collection.

Ecclesiae quidem veritate epistulam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodiceos; sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator. nihil autem de titulis interest. cum ad omnes apostolus scripserit dum ad quosdam.

We have it by the truth of the church that this epistle was sent to the Ephesians, not to the Laodiceans. But Marcion indeed wished to interpolate the title into it as if he were a most diligent investigator even in this matter. But concerning the titles there is nothing of interest, since when the apostle wrote to some he wrote to all.

Tertullian in complaining that the letter was sent to the Ephesians he mentions the superscript *ad Ephesios* we find in the Latin, against the Marcionite *non ad Laodiceos*, making it clear the Marcionite superscript was known to him as Πρὸς Λαοδικέας. Epiphanius refers that one of the Marcionite letters is addressed to the Laodiceans, πρὸς Λαοδικεῖς, when he quotes Ephesians 4:5-6.

This is also supported by the so called Marcionite Colossian Latin prologue, which read

Colossenses et hi sicut Laodiceses sunt Asiani. et ipsi praeventi erat a pseudoapostolis, nec ad hos accessit ipse apostolus, sed et hos per epistulam recorrigit. audierant enim verbum ab Archippo qui et ministerium in eos accepit. ergo apostolus iam ligatus scribit eis ab Epheso.

The Colossians, they too are Asians, just as the Laodiceans. And they themselves had been reached by pseudo-apostles, nor did the apostle himself approach them, but even them he corrects through an epistle. For they had heard the word from Archippus, who also accepted the ministry to them. The apostle therefore, already arrested, writes to them from Ephesus.

The presumption in the Colossian prologue is that an epistle to the Laodiceans immediately precedes it in the collection, which is precisely where Tertullian places the Ephesians epistle titled to the Laodiceans, as also does Epiphanius, although he titles it to the Ephesians. Further Colossians 4:16 also presupposes an epistle to the Laodiceans when it refers to the epistle as entitled to the Laodiceans.

καὶ ὅταν ἀναγνωσθῆ παρ' ὑμῶν ἡ ἐπιστολή, ποιήσατε ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ Λαοδικέων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγνωσθῆ, καὶ τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικίας ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναγνῶτε

And when this letter is read among you, see to it that it is also read in the Church in Laodicea, and that also the one to the Laodiceans is read among you

Note: Harnack attempted to reconstruct an original Laodicean prologue from the Colossian one, as follows:

Laudiceni sunt Asiani. hi praeventi erant a pseudoapostolis.... ad hos non accessit ipse apostolus.... hos per epistulam recorrigit....

The Laodiceans are Asians. They had been reached by pseudo apostles.... The apostle himself did not approach them.... He corrects through an epistle....

There is little doubt both that Marcion read [Πρὸς Λαοδικέας](#) and that this was the letter's first form, as testified by Colossians 4:16, when the Pauline collection was put together in ten letter form.

The second variant is closely, reading – [ἐν Ἐφέσῳ](#) is almost certainly the original. Extremely strong witnesses, P⁴⁶ [B* 1739](#) and Origen all testify to this reading. In addition Tertullian seems to be aware of it as well as he states, "There is nothing of interest in the title, since when the apostle wrote to some he wrote to all" [nihil autem de titulis interest. cum ad omnes apostolus scripserit dum ad quosdam](#). This seems to be an admission that there is no address for the letter, and that this early the concept of an encyclical letter was already in Tertullian's mind.

Clabeaux, *A lost Edition of the Letters of Paul*, pages 94-98, devotes considerable attention to these two readings, and the relationship between the Western text (G g 1739^{ms}) of Romans 1:7 and 1:15 and the Marcionite Laodiceans/Ephesians. This likely was the source of the original Ephesians 1:1 lacking an address. It is worth noting that Clabeaux rejects the idea the address could have been [ἐν Λαοδικίᾳ](#) as no manuscript left space after [τοῖς οὐρανοῖς](#) which would allow the insertion of an address. Both Marcionite readings Clabeaux rates are correct and original.

3) Ephesians 1:3 – [καὶ πατὴρ](#) {B} correct
Support: Marcionite 2 Corinthians 1:3 (AM 5.11.1)

Ephesians includes a large collection of pastiches from other Pauline Epistles. Even the opening verse appears to have been drawn from Colossians 1:1 and Romans 1:7, the latter in Western form. Ephesians 1:3a is copied from 2 Corinthians 1:3 [Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ](#). Marcion's 2 Corinthians lacks [καὶ πατὴρ](#) (AM 5.11.1 [benedictus tamen deus domini nostri Iesu Christi](#)) consistent with the general Marcionite lack of emphasize on the father-son relationship. Instead Marcion's Paul speaks of "the God of our Lord Jesus Christ" or "my (personal) God" as identification, as opposed to relationally to Christ. I have demonstrated elsewhere the catholic origins of most mentions of God as the father of Jesus (e.g. Galatians 1:1, Romans 1:3, 1 Corinthians 6:14, 2 Corinthians 2:15) as clarification both of the relationship to make clear that it was God who raised Jesus and not he on his own, and that Jesus was subordinate to God.

As to whether we should strike the entire verse from the Marcion's text is problematic. It is clear verses 1:4-5ff need to be stricken from the Marcionite text (see below), but there had to a transition to verse 1:9 required. To make a determination we need to first look at the vocabulary. There are two key words in the second phrase, "who in Christ blessed us with every spiritual blessing in the heavens" ([ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ](#)) that we need to examine; the first is blessing ([εὐλογέω](#)) and the second the heavens (or "heavenly places" [ἐπουράνιος](#)). The Catholic editor made frequent use of blessing in redacting Paul (Romans 1:25, 4:7, 9:5, 12:14a, 15:29, 16:18; 1 Corinthians 4:12, 14:16, 2 Corinthians 9:5, 6, 11:31; Galatians 3:8, 9), but it is used a few places in the Marcionite form shown here

Galatians 3:14 [ἵνα τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ πνεύματος λάβωμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως](#) *
1 Corinthians 10:16 [τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν](#)
2 Corinthians 1:3 [Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ](#)
Romans 12:14 [εὐλογεῖτε καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθε](#)

* Clabeaux's argument for [ἐπαγγελίαν](#) as original is incorrect, based on the fallacy that 3:14a and 3:15-18 being in Marcion's text, which they were not. The promise to Abraham is a post-Marcion Catholic element.

Romans 12:14b is part a antithetical pair on behavior, which is not relevant, 1 Corinthians 10:16 is the sacrament, and 2 Corinthians 1:3 is the eulogy to God that may have been copied into the first part of this verse in Ephesians. However, we do see in the second phrase from Ephesians 1:3 is essentially a realization of the request in Galatians 3:14, but has become fact rather than objective. It is later and dependent.

The reference to the heavens and heavenly places has only a few references in the Catholic additions to Paul. The only certain one is Romans 10:6-7, which speaks of the ascent of Christ into the heavens and his descent into the abyss. The thought is also present in Ephesians 4:10 also containing the fulfillment of prophecy, denoting a later Jewish Catholic theology shared with Romans 10:6-7. The only other reference I placed in the post Marcionite material was 2 Corinthians 12:2, which appears to have come from a lost apocryphal acts that constructs the fictional history of Paul – although in this case the third heaven reference does fit Marcionite theology. Note, 1 Thessalonians 1:10, also is Catholic, its' reference to heaven is only as where Christ is, after being resurrected explicitly by God. There is no development of theology as occurring in the heavens.

But in Marcion's text there is considerable development of the heavens. Many references are securely in Marcion which cover a myriad of concepts: The wrath is revealed from the heavens (Romans 1:18, – θεοῦ); Angels preach Gospels from the heavens (Galatians 1:8); we have a building (actually a body) not made with hands from the heavens (2 Corinthians 5:1-2); the second man / Lord, i.e. Christ, is from heaven (1 Corinthians 15:47, – κύριος for ἄνθρωπος); there are many God's in the heavens and on the earth (1 Corinthians 8:5); Powers are in the heavens (Ephesians/Laodiceans 3:10); The Lord Jesus and his angels are revealed from the heavens (2 Thessalonians 1:7); Christian citizenship in the heavens (Philippians 3:20); and the Lord descends from the heavens at the beckon of trumpet (1 Thessalonians 4:16). In addition the likely Marcionite passages in Colossians 1:20 speak of reconciliation in the heavens as well as earth, and in Ephesians 3:15 tell us every family in heaven (i.e., constellations, and planets) and on earth derive their names from God. The concept is not as abstract as we tend to think of it, as this is the actual sky and also space where we see the sun and moon and planets and stars, something I went over concerning chapter 15 of 1 Corinthians. So when we look at the concept in Ephesians 1:3 of receiving every blessing in the heavens, we see the same cosmology as the passages in Marcion, and not the streamlined presentation we see from the Catholic editor. As a result I am inclined to include the entirety of verse 1:3 in the Marcion, except deleting καὶ πατῆρ as also in 2 Corinthians 1:3.

Note: this is unusually conservative for me in striking material. But it does not clash with Marcionite theology.

4) Ephesians 1:4-8

delete verses

{B}

Support: none

Ephesians 1:4 includes the telltale Catholic phrase "us to be holy and unblemished in his (God's) sight" εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμόμους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ. This same concept is found in the Catholics, specifically 2 Peter 3:14, "to be found by Him spotless and blameless" ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀμόμητοι αὐτῷ εὐρεθῆναι. A concept derived from the Christ as the Paschal sacrifice, which is spelled out in 1 Peter 1:19, "but with precious blood, as of a lamb unblemished and spotless, the blood of Christ" ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμόμου καὶ ἀσπίλου χριστοῦ. This unblemished paschal association, this time with his blood is also seen in Hebrews 9:14, "how much more will the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without blemish to God" πόσω μᾶλλον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ χριστοῦ, ὃς διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου ἑαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν ἄμωμον τῷ θεῷ.

What is remarkably clear about the concept of blemished and unblemished (μῶμος {מֹמָם} / ἄμωμος) in the New Testament is the close association with heretical teachings. Those who follow heretical Christian teachings are said to be blemished. An example in Jude where heretics who reject Catholic authority in verse 8 (κυριότητα δὲ ἄθετοῦσιν) are in verse 12 the defiled persons hiding in the church taking bread with orthodox Christians (οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν σπιλάδες συνευωχούμενοι); this is the same concept of teaching others in error (i.e., heretical teachers) and by so doing defile themselves from their mouth in James 3:6 (ἢ γλῶσσα καθίσταται ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν, ἢ σπιλοῦσα ὅλον τὸ σῶμα). The concepts of defilement and blemishes are put together in the parallel to Jude in 2 Peters 2:13, where the heretics who despise authority in verse 2:10, (κυριότητος καταφρονοῦντας), are said to be "defiled and blemished" (σπίλοι καὶ μῶμοι). These heretic teachers are contrasted to those in Jude 23-24 who save some from the fire to be able "to have you standing unblemished before the presence of his glory" (στήσαι κατενώπιον τῆς δοξης αὐτοῦ ἀμόμους ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει). Moreover in 2 Peter 2:1 the "false teachers who secretly bringing in heresies" (ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι οἵτινες παρεισαχουσι αἰρέσεις) are revealed in 2 Peter 2:8 to be working against the Mosaic Law (ἀνόμοις ἔργοις), and in Jude 1:4

"they deny our only master and our lord Jesus Christ" (τὸν μόνον δεσπότην καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀρνούμενοι). This makes it abundantly clear that the heretics in question are of a gnostic or Marcionite sort, which denies the Law and also Jesus in the flesh.

The first half of verse 1:4 includes the phrase "before the foundation of the world" (πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου), which is also Catholic in origin. The same concept of foreknowledge before the foundation of the world is found in 1 Peter 1:20 (προεγνωσμένου μεν προ καταβολης κοσμου), and in Matthew 13:35 is tied to the Psalms 78:2 (77:2 LXX) as a point of derivation. The other instances of the phrase include Matthew 25:34, which includes the Catholic concept of inheritance before the foundation of the world, which in Revelations 13:8 and 17:8 speaks of those predestined for damnation as "not having their names written in the book of life" (οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς) and by extension those chosen in the book. The only other location for the phrase is in a verse in Luke 11:50, which Epiphanius explicitly states is not in Marcion.

Much like Philippians 1:10, 2:15, and especially 3:6, which combines being pro Mosaic Law and blameless (κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενος ἄμεμπτος), and the concept of God predestining Christians before the word was created, that the verse 1:4 originates from the later pastoral stratum several decades after Marcion, so could not have been present.

Verse 1:5 speaks to the predestined adoption (προορίσας ἡμᾶς εἰς υἰοθεσίαν), to be sons of God through Jesus Christ. This is an intermediate theology, which still derives adoption by an alien God, but it presupposes the very same foreknowledge which as spelled out as verse 1:4, and post Marcion. More clearly is has God acting through Christ to him (διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς αὐτόν) at his will, rather than Christ acting independently as Marcion's Christ does. When combined with the dependence on the prior verse it must also be excluded.

Verse 1:6 is simply heaping praise on the creator, extending the concept of God's grace through his beloved one (ἡγαπημένῳ), a concept which develops in the Gospel of John, at a time after Marcion's text. Verse 1:7 is a pastiche of Colossians 1:14 but adding the element of trespasses being forgiven διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, the paschal sacrifice of Christ, a post Marcionite development. Even if you removed the phrase of blood which Tertullian does not comment on, despite the lengthy two full chapters he devotes to Laodiceans and desire to show the carnality of Christ, which means it probably, was not present, you still have to exclude the verse as a digression. The material in 1:3 and 1:9ff speaks of the mystery of Christ revealed and addresses the heavens, but this digression speaks of redemption (ἀπολύτρωσιν) which is tied to another insertion about inheritance in 1:11 and 1:14. Verse 1:8

Note: That P⁴⁶ omits the first ten words of Ephesians 1:3. However textual critics believe that this is a homoioteleuton from the similarity of εὐλογητὸς ὁ with ὁ εὐλογήσας ὁ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (HMΩN KAI KY IHY XPY to KY HMΩN IHY XPY). The identical homoioteleuton is found in 2 Corinthians 1:3 for manuscripts 69, 1735, and 2344. It is an interesting

4) Ephesians 1:10

– ἐν αὐτῷ

{B} correct

Support: AM 5.17.1 OL:I Syriac^{-Peshitta} Chrysotom^{-variant}

Clabeaux ranks this incorrect, removed as redundant in the Marcionite text, or even by Tertullian, as Clabeaux detects some editing of the text by Tertullian. However Clabeaux's decision, like most cases I decide against him (which are few), is possibly wrong because Clabeaux's evaluation presupposes the verse which follows in the Catholic version is also present in the Marcionite. However verse 1:11 (discussed below) introduces the Catholic notion of the predestined inheritance by Christians of the promise to Abraham (i.e., replacement theology), which necessitated the qualifying statement "in him" to transition to the coming clause. Without the verse the qualification is not necessary, as would be the case in the Marcionite text.

Note: I find the same problem in Peter Head's analysis of Marcionite variants, because he also doesn't consider the higher critical arguments, presuming Catholic priority rather than consider that a post Marcionite Catholic writer would have had motive and opportunity to add theologically Catholic elements such as we find here.

5) Ephesians 1:11

delete verse

{B} correct

Support: *none*

The concept of claiming an inheritance (ἐκκληρώθημεν προορισθέντες) is a key element in Christian replacement of the Jews as God's chosen people, which permeates the Catholic or Jewish Christian layer on top of the Marcionite texts. The concept is that the God of the Jews has shifted his allegiance to a new tribe, that of the Christians, whom the creator predestined (κατὰ πρόθεσιν τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐνεργοῦντος). And this is "according to the counsel (desire) of his will" (κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ). The same catholic sentiment is found in Hebrews 6:17 (ἐν ᾧ περισσώτερον βουλόμενος ὁ θεὸς ἐπιδειχαι τοῖς κληρονόμοις τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τὸ ἀμετάθετον τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ) and specifically Acts 2:23 (also 4:28). This concept is not found in Marcion.

A brief digression is due. In the traditional view, with Paul evangelizing around 50 CE, it seems incredulous that he would be presenting replacement theology to congregations of Jews and Gentiles. This is clearly a concept that developed after the split of Jews and Christians, and when "Jewish" Christians who supported the Law and Prophets and saw Christians as the ones who now held God's favor. This is not only post Temple destruction, it is post Judea province being dissolved after Bar Kokhba, with Jews shamed.

6) Ephesians 1:12

– αὐτοῦ

{B} incorrect

Support: AM 5.17.3 D* F G OL:d

This is an example of a case where the Marcionite reading, attested in Tertullian with western Support, is clear an error, and so not part of the original text. Tertullian reads *Ut simus in laudem gloriae nos qui praesperavimus in Christum* which reflects the deletion of αὐτοῦ (eius). Clabeaux, who is normally extremely instructive, simply threw up his hands and categorized this variant as inexplicable, except that the text was uncontrolled. I believe this is an example of how the text evolved, with variants even before redactions; serious laying blow to the theory that after a redaction a new singular progenitor will start the process over. Clearly that is not how transmission occurred. This also points out that the text we have of Marcion reflects merely a handful of random manuscripts, and result in an eclectic text with as many errors as you would find in any other singular manuscript. There were undoubtedly manuscripts in the Marcionite vorlage with lacked this and other errors.

7) Ephesians 1:13

– τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν

{B} unknown

Support: AM 5.17.4

Tertullian in 5.17.4 quotes Marcion's version of Ephesians 1:13: *In quo et vos, cum audissetis sermonem veritatis, evangelium, in quo credidistis et signati estis spiritu promissionis eius sancto*. It is a complete citation that clearly read – τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν (Vulgate has *salutis vestrae*).

This is an example of a case which Clabeaux did address, despite a complete citation by Tertullian. Resources for examining the variants in manuscripts are scant for an amateur. (I would love for Willker to make a commentary on Paul like he has done on the Gospels). What little information I could gather indicates that the variant was not present in ⚭ p46 A B or a few others I looked at. But that is at best a random sampling, so I simply cannot comment on support or lack thereof.

In Marcion the Gospel is only referred to simply as "the Gospel," with opponents having "another Gospel of Christ" (εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιόν τοῦ Χριστοῦ) implying that like Mark 1:1 it is the Gospel of Christ (or "the Lord"; see also Romans 2:16). Paul also refers to it as my Gospel (Romans 2:16, Galatians 1:6) in Marcion. This would seem to rule out this reading, except that it Laodiceans has been demonstrated to have dependence upon Romans in Western form, and τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν may be derived from the concept in

Romans 1:16 where Paul says of the Gospel "for it is the power of God for salvation to everyone who believes" *δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἔστιν εἰς σωτηρίαν παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι*. However Tertullian's quotation is complete, which suggests that the words may have been added by an early scribe inspired by *πιστεύσαντες* with Romans 1:16 in mind. The concept is consistent with Marcion, and given the lack of support I place the words in brackets.

8) Ephesians 1:14-16 delete verses {B}
Support: *none*

The Catholic editor again returns to the theme of inheritance in 1:14, but this time with additional Catholic themes of possessing redemption (*εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιποιήσεως*) and praising the glory of God (*εἰς ἔπαινον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ*). Ephesians 1:15 is taken from Colossians 1:4, and 1:16 is taken from Colossians 1:3, 9. These pastiches are not necessary for the argument and were likely grafted into Ephesians to help the transition from 1:14 to 1:16. Verse 1:16 was grafted in with 1:18 (*τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις*) in view. Marcion would not have objected to verses 1:15-16, but I delete as intruding on the argument.

9) Ephesians 1:18 – [αὐτοῦ] {B} correct
Support: P⁴⁶ B 33 1739 (AM 5.17.5)

Tertullian in AM 5.17.5 very loosely quotes this verse, but seems to support the reading *illuminatos cordis oculos*, against the vulgate *inluminatos oculos cordis vestry*. The UBS bracketed *αὐτοῦ* based on the evidence of P⁴⁶ B 33 1739, but adding Marcion to the witness suggests *αὐτοῦ* should not even appear in brackets.

10) Ephesians 1:18(b) – *εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς τίς ἐστιν ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ* {B} correct
Support: *none*

The phrase is not mentioned in Tertullian's paraphrase of Ephesians 1:18. But more important the concept of God's calling (*τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ*) for Christians is absent from Marcion, but an identified part of the Catholic editors changes throughout the Apostolikon. This is most clear in Romans 1:1 in Catholic form where Paul is "a slave of Jesus Christ called to be an apostle" (*δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κλητός*). Marcion however emphasizes revelation, not calling. The hope for calling is thus from the same Catholic editor.

11) Ephesians 1:18(c) – *τῆς δόξης* {B} correct
Support: AM 5.17.6 (complete passage quotation)

Tertullian in AM 5.17.6 quotes the back third of this verse, *Apud illum sunt et divitiae haereditatis in sanctis qui eam haereditatem*, without *τῆς δόξης*. The "glory of the inheritance" is a unique phrase, really a nonsensical addition of praise. The Marcionite form of Paul, as we have seen in the prior reconstructions is concrete. The concept of "the wealth of his inheritance" *ὁ πλοῦτος τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ* is straight forward allegory to what is passed from fathers to sons. Compare also 2:7 "the wealth of his grace" *πλοῦτος τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ*.

11) Ephesians 1:20(b)-21 – *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι* {A} correct
Support: *Adversus Marcionem 5.17.6, Ephrem*

One of the more puzzling differences between the Marcionite text and the Catholic is the placement of the doxology found in Ephesians 1:20-21 to Galatians 4:26 in Marcion. In AM 5.17.6 Tertullian quotes 1:19-20, 1:22 in full:

Ille in operatus est in Christum valentiam suam, suscitando eum a mortuis, et collocando eum ad dexteram suam, et subiciendo omnia

And in AM 5.4.4 Tertullian quotes Galatians 4:22-31 with Ephesians 1:20-21 embedded, with agreement from Ephrem:

"For if Abraham had two sons, the one by a bond maid, the other by a free woman; but he who was of the bond maid was born after the flesh, but he of the free woman was by promise: which things are allegorized" (this another portent of things); "for these are the two covenants," or two demonstration, as we have found, being interpreted, "the one from the Mount Sinai," in the synagogue of the Jews, according to the law, "which engenders to bondage, the other engenders," "above all principality, and power, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but in that which is to come," "which is the mother of us all," in which we have the promise of (Christ's) holy church; by reason of which he adds in conclusion: "So then, brethren, we are not children of the bond woman, but of the free."

Si enim Abraham duos liberos habuit, unum ex ancilla et alium ex libera, sed qui ex ancilla carnaliter natus est, qui vero ex libera per repromissionem: quae sunt allegorica, id est aliud portendentia: haec sunt enim duo testamenta, sive duae ostensiones, sicut invenimus interpretatum, unum a monte Sina in synagogam Iudaeorum secundum legem generans in servitutem, aliud super omnem principatum generans, vim, dominationem, et omne nomen quod nominatur, non tantum in hoc aevo sed et in futuro, quae est mater nostra, in quam repromisimus sanctam ecclesiam; ideoque adicit, Propter quod, fratres, non sumus ancillae filii sed liberae

So it is very clear the verse in Marcion is in a different book altogether. If we accept Marcionite priority it would be easily understood that the (Jewish) Catholic editor would want to replace the Marcionite interpretation with one that instead puts the Jews in the special standing, and the gentiles through Hagar those in slavery.

The Marcionite reading for Ephesians does appear to be original as the passage in 1:21, while Marcionite in origin is but a digression here. The movement of the verse shows how the Catholic editor, despite his opposition to the Marcionite theology, wanted to preserve the text, which no doubt had some cache attached to it, but place it in a different setting. The goal, clear enough, was to usurp Marcionite and refocus the text, not to destroy it.

12) Ephesians 1:22 – ὑπὸ τοῦς πόδας αὐτοῦ {B} correct
Support: AM 5.17.6 (complete passage quotation)

Tertullian has a complete quote without 1:20b-21 in AM 5.17.6 *Ille in operatus est in Christum valentiam suam, suscitando eum a mortuis, et collocando eum ad dexteram suam, et subiciendo omnia*; The rest of the verse was likely not present. Tertullian quotes Psalms 110:1, 8:6 (109:1, 8:7 LXX) *Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius*, something he would have done after quoting ὑπὸ τοῦς πόδας αὐτοῦ from Ephesians 1:22 were the phrase present in Marcion's text to show that his God must be the also creator, as he states, *infertur quae recognoscuntur in creatore, quaeramus iam creatorem*. Tertullian frequently does this when an OT allusion or quote is not present in Marcion's text, as he tries to show that the surrounding text implies the same anyway. Also in Luke 20:41-44 Psalms 110:1 is quoted as antithesis, showing that the claims of Jewish Christians (i.e., their stand in, "the scribes") that Christ was the son of David, as seen in the Catholic version of Romans 1:1-6 is incorrect and contradictory to their own scriptures. Here the allusion to Luke 20:43/Psalms 110:1 is made to show the opposite, that the God of Christs is the Jewish God, so cannot possibly have been in Marcion.

13) Ephesians 2:2 – τοῦ πνεύματος {C} incorrect
Support: AM 5.17.7 (complete passage quotation)

Tertullian quotes 2:1-2 in full but missing τοῦ πνεύματος in a variant which Clabeaux doesn't comment. There is a good chance that "the spirit" was added by the Catholic editor to obscure the direct connection between what the Marcionites and Gnostics saw as the Creator God and "the ruler of the power of air" τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, perhaps to suggest that like Judas the spirit of Satan entered those who are not believers, ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας. But even with the words the effect of the reading is the same, so it most likely represents a local text error which Tertullian before him not a Marcionite reading, so I bracket the words to indicate not all Marcionite manuscripts may have had the words. It is probably incorrect

14) Ephesians 2:4-9

delete verses

{B}

Support: *none*

This passage begins in verse 2:4 with concept of God's mercy (ὁ δὲ θεὸς πλούσιος ὢν ἐν ἐλέει); but mercy (ἐλέει) is a word which never occurs in Marcion. In verse 2:5 we are said to be dead in our trespasses (ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασιν), but trespasses is a word not found in Marcion's Paul, but is associated with known Catholic interpolations (Romans 4:25, 5:15, 16, 17, 18; 11:11, 12; 2 Corinthians 5:19, Ephesians 1:7 are all not in Marcion; unattested are Romans 5:20, Galatians 6:1, Colossians 2:13).

Verse 2:6 is puzzling, as it contains the Gnostic notion of being dead in trespasses is spiritual, and being raised is spiritual, not physical. How else can we explain Christian believers being described raised from the dead (in trespasses) and raised with Jesus Christ and seated with him in the heavens (καὶ συνήγειρεν καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ)? –

Note: Forget analysis for a second and consider the implications. Our editor, while holding the Jewish God to be the father of Christ, sees the resurrection as spiritual, and seems in many ways to agree with the Marcionite Cosmology. Catholic then clearly is not what we think of today as Catholic.

– The focus is upon God raising up, not Christ raising up himself, making clear this is post Marcionite theology.

In verse 2:7 while we are informed that the raising up of Christ was a demonstration for the ages, In verse 2:8 we are introduced to the concept of salvation for the faithful is only by God's grace (τῇ γὰρ χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι διὰ πίστεως), rather than from faith in the Gospel. It is simply a gift of God (θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον). Finally verse 2:9 discusses boasting and that it must not be through works. While the topic is Marcionite, it's also clearly a pastiche, generally ascribed to 1 Corinthians 1:29, but actually closer to Romans 3:27. The concept has developed since Marcion, as a gift now tempers the concepts of salvation through faith only per Romans 3:27.

15) Ephesians 2:10(b) – ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς οἷς προητοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς ἵνα ἐν αὐτοῖς περιπατήσωμεν {B}Support: *none*

The phrase here is decidedly Catholic in origin. The theme of good works (ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς) runs counter to the Marcionite theme of salvation by faith. Moreover God preparing ahead of time (οἷς προητοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς) is a concept we have just encountered in the earlier Catholic insertions (1:4, 5, 11) which deal with predestined inheritance even before creation. This is an alien concept to Marcionites who saw God as acting in compassion for men, who were not his creation, and who instead only recently revealed himself through Christ. The additional concept of walking (ἵνα ἐν αὐτοῖς περιπατήσωμεν) for those works invokes the same language used in the later Catholic epistles to contrast good believers against heretics (give examples). Thus it's post-Marcion.

16) Ephesians 2:11 – Μνημονεύοντες ὑμεῖς ποτε for Διὸ μνημονεύετε ὅτι ποτὲ ὑμεῖς {C} **incorrect**

Support: Marcion (AM 5.17.12, P42.11.6, DA 2.18)

104 1311 OL:DI L – Διὸ;

G OL:DI – μνημονεύοντες for μνημονεύετε;

G OL:I – ὅτι;

P⁴² & D *majority* Sy^H Sa^H Ephrem OL:I ~ ὑμεῖς ποτε

This is a rare case where we have all three Marcionite witnesses quoting in total Ephesians 2:11-13. The Table below has the Greek UBS and Latin Vulgate against the Marcionite sources for the opening phrase of the passage. This tells us the passage was a major point of contention for both Marcionite and Catholic exegetes.

| Greek | | Latin | | | |
|--------------------|---------------|---------------|---------|------------|--------------------------------|
| UBS | Epiphanius | Adamantius | Rufinus | Tertullian | Vulgate |
| Διὸ μνημονεύετε | Μνημονεύοντες | μνημονεύοντες | Quia | Memores | propter quod memores estote |

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--|--|
| ὅτι ποτὲ ὑμεῖς τὰ ἔθνη ἐν σαρκί | ὑμεῖς ποτε τὰ ἔθνη, | ὅτι ποτὲ ὑμεῖς, τὰ ἔθνη, | vos aliquando gentes, | vos aliquando nationes in carne, | quod aliquando vos gentes in carne |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--|--|

There are basically two readings, with the received text being

"Therefore remember that once you were Gentiles in the flesh"

Διὸ μνημονεύετε ὅτι ποτὲ ὑμεῖς τὰ ἔθνη ἐν σαρκί

and the Marcionite

"Remember you were once Gentiles in the flesh"

Μνημονεύοντες ὑμεῖς ποτε τὰ ἔθνη ἐν σαρκί

Clabeaux breaks these into multiple variants. The first of which is – Διὸ, which may simply be *in initio* from the Marcionite sources. And this is a valid argument, for while Tertullian is reading directly from a manuscript (of mixed quality) for his Marcionite text, it is clear that Dialogue Adamantius was constructed from anti-Marcionite tracts, and it is likely also Epiphanius in Paul. The deletion of Διὸ is seen in only two 11th century miniscules but better in the Old Latin of 75, Marcus Victorinus, and Ambrosiaster. The second is – Μνημονεύοντες for μνημονεύετε and the third – ὅτι, are supported by Western G and the *Italian* Old Latin texts (D and I). Since G is a diglot and the Greek may have been influenced by the Latin. The fourth variant ~ ὑμεῖς ποτε enjoys more support with P⁴² & D *majority* as well as the Syriac, Armenian, and Ephrem joining the Old Latin I-type text. The common thread in all these is the Old Latin central Italian I-type.

Within the Marcionite witnesses are disagreements. Adamantius reads ὅτι ποτὲ ὑμεῖς against Tertullian and Epiphanius, while Tertullian reads ἐν σαρκί (*in carne*) against its deletion in Epiphanius and Adamantius. The conclusion is that while the Marcionite manuscripts before these heresiarchs had these western textual errors, the manuscripts disagree, indicating even these variants were local and not all were in all Marcionite manuscripts. For this reason the UBS is to be preferred as in fact the original Marcionite text. Note Clabeaux (page 110) correctly identifies the visual error in the Greek ΜΝΗΜONEYΕΤΕ as the root for all four variants.

Note I come to a similar conclusion in 2:13 with the deletion of Ἰησοῦ because Epiphanius agrees with the UBS ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ against Tertullian *in Christo* (ἐν Χριστῷ) and the deletion of all three words in Adamantius for both the Greek and Latin. The variant must have been localized, although found in L OL:I Irenaeus and Origen; what this shows is the vorlage of the Marcionites was as variant and uncontrolled as the Catholic text.

17) Ephesians 2:13 – ἀποτοῦ for τοῦ Χριστοῦ {C} **incorrect**
Support: Marcion (AM 5.17.12, P42.11.6, contra DA 2.18) Ephrem

The Marcionite text reported by Tertullian and Epiphanius in verse 2:13 reads "by his blood" ἐν τῷ αἵματι ἀποτοῦ against the received text "by the blood of Christ" ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ephrem also reflects this reading, but no manuscripts in either Latin or Greek. Dialogue Adamantius both the Greek and Rufinus' Latin reflect the received text against Tertullian and Epiphanius. However that evidence is weaker since the verse is quoted by Adamantius not his Marcionite opponent, and in many places the text of Adamantius is less reliable. But it is enough combined with the lack of support to consider the variant ἀποτοῦ as localized, not Marcionite.

18) Ephesians 2:14 – ἀποτοῦ {B} **correct**
Support: AM 5.17.14 (complete passage quotation)

Tertullian *Adversus Marcionem* 5.17.14 reads, "*Itaque ipse est, inquit, pax nostra, qui fecit duo unum, Iudaicum scilicet populum et gentilem, quod prope et quod longe, soluto medio pariete inimicitiae, in carne sua. Sed Marcion abstulit Sua.*" Tertullian thus explicitly states that Marcion lacks ἀποτοῦ, which fits in that Christ had not flesh to Marcion (OL:I^{variant}, Abrose, Jerome 3x, Quodvultdeus)

I go against Clabeaux here because **αὐτοῦ** was more likely added by the Catholic editor to show that Christ had flesh. Since it was part of the redaction, the old reading nearly disappeared. But its thrice quoting in Jerome as well as Tertullian's explicit statement, make it clear this was in fact original. There is no possible way Jerome would have deleted the pronoun as he was dealing with Manichean heretics who also denied the flesh – he may well have known the text with the deletion from the Manicheans in North Africa.

19) Ephesians 2:20 – **καὶ προφητῶν** {A} correct
Support: AM 5.17.16

Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.17.16, states, 'the heretic erased "and the prophets;" **Abstulit haereticus, Et prophetarum** (**καὶ προφητῶν**). This is pretty open and shut, as the words clearly are part of the Catholic redaction to extend the foundation of Christianity which the Marcionite claimed was built on the apostles to include the Jewish prophets and by extension make clear that the Jewish God and creator was Christ's also.

20) Ephesians 2:21-3:7 delete verses {B}
Support: AM 5.18.1

Immediately after ending the discussion of the foundation built on Christ, Tertullian launches into a complaint against Marcion claiming he "erased" quite likely all the material after verse 2:20 until we reach verse 3:8,

As our heretic is so fond of his pruning-knife, I do not wonder when syllables are expunged by his hand, seeing that entire pages are usually the matter on which he practices his effacing process.

De manibus haeretici praecedentis non miror si syllabas subtrahit, cum paginas totas plerumque subducit

While the focus here is Ephesians 3:9 when Tertullian says he "erases" but a single participle (see #22 below), there is an indication that there is nothing for Tertullian to comment on before verse 3:8. And examining the material there is reason to believe that is so with the vocabulary and sources.

In verses 2:21-22, we have the concept of the body being the spiritual temple for the lord which is a dwelling place for God. This is not inconsistent with Marcion and appears to have been inspired by 1 Corinthians 3:11, 3:16. However the context is lost here and the vocabulary is peculiar. The concept has gone from the individual dwelling to a group dwelling with the use of compound words to describe it (e.g., **συναρμολογουμένη, συνοικοδομεῖσθε**) which is more typical of that found in the pastoral layer.

Verse 3:1 is drawn from Philemon 1:1 presenting the myth of *Paulus vincetus in Carcere Mamertine* with the **Παῦλος ὁ δέσμιος τοῦ Χριστοῦ** introduction. And then references Paul's special mission to the gentiles from the Jerusalem commission, from the post Marcionite Acts. Verse 3:2 gives us the curious opening remark "if indeed you have heard" (**εἴ γε ἠκούσατε**) which is drawn from Matthew's counter antithesis material (compare **ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη** from Matthew 5:21, 27, 33, 38, 43). The verse as a whole seems drawn from the same source as Colossians 1:25, speaking of a special stewardship of God given to Paul (**τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς δοθείσης μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς**), which is tied here to the gentile mission. Verses 3:3-5 are drawn from the appendix to Romans, verses 16:25 (compare **κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου χρόνους αἰωνίους σεσιγημένου**), giving as authority for the mission based the revelation of the mystery. This mystery's revelation is tied to both the apostles and prophets (**ὡς νῦν ἀπεκαλύφθη τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ προφήταις**). The mystery is shown here to be hidden from men (**ὃ ἐτέραις γενεαῖς οὐκ ἐγνωρίσθη τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν**) rather than from the Creator God and the rulers and powers in the heavens we see 3:9-10. This is a deliberate effort to refocus what follows. Verse 3:6 again uses the theme we say in verses 2:20-21 above calling for the gentiles to be a joint body (**τὰ ἔθνη συνκληρονόμα καὶ σύνσωμα**) in the church and joint partakers in the (Abrahamic) promise (**συνμέτοχα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας**) in Christ. The authority refers again to two verses not in Marcion's Apostolikon, Romans 16:25 and 1 Corinthians 1:27, where the revelation is through the Gospel (**διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου**)

Finally verse 3:7 gives Paul's ministry and authority as a gracious gift from God rather than revelation from Christ, betraying the Catholic origins.

21) Ephesians 3:8-9(a) – τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὸ ἀνεξιχνίαστον πλοῦτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ {A}
Support: AM 5.18.1

Tertullian quotes continuously verse 3:-9 without this phrase. And in fact we can see that it refers to the myth of Paul's gentile mission, as ruled by the Jerusalem council. This reference shows contact with the travelogue elements in Paul which are present only in the Catholic and not in the Marcionite. The word form unsearchable (ἀνεξιχνίαστον) is not found in Marcion, part of the richer vocabulary of the Catholic editor we have seen in other epistles. This omission is probably part the immediate context Tertullian had in mind when compares the "removal" of ἐν of in verse 3:9 that follows, saying *De manibus haeretici praecedentis non miror si syllabas subtrahit, cum paginas totas plerumque subducit.*

22) Ephesians 3:9 – ἐν {A} correct
Support: AM 5.18.1 ⚡* 614 2412 OL:I^{variant} {ἀπὸ Latin a Ambrosiaster^{-variant} Augustine^{-variant}}

Clabeaux, because he does not accept Marcion priority, gives the bizarre explanation that the reading is a homoeteleuton with αἰώνων. This is an unusual stretch. But with Marcion priority it is clear that the reading was original reflected in the original hand of ⚡ and 614, and that ἀπὸ has the same meaning.

Dialogue Adamantius 2.20 quotes Ephesians 3:8-9 in full

ἐμοί , φησί, τῷ ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ πάντων ἁγίων, ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις αὕτη ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὸν ἀνεξιχνίαστον πλοῦτον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ φωτίσαι πάντας τίς ἡ οἰκονομία τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἐν τῷ θεῷ τῷ τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι.

Mihi, inquit, *minimo omnium sanctorum data est gratia haec, in gentibus euangelizare inuestigabiles diuitias Christi, illumonare omnes quae sit dispensatoei mysterii huius absconditi in saeculis in deo qui omnia creuit.*

One mistake Clabeaux makes is accepting Dialogue Adamantius as quoting the Marcionite scriptures in chapters 1 and 2 even when the Catholic champion Adamantius is speaking. But unless the Marcionite challenger replies, I have found that Catholic contamination is present in the verses. That is the case here. Adamantius prefaces the quote with "How shameless they are when Paul says that" (τῶς δὲ οὐχ αἰδοῦνται, λέγοντος Παύλου ὅτι), indicating that he is quoting for retort and not necessarily from the Marcionite bible. But Clabeaux is correct in taking Tertullian as the better source.

23) Ephesians 3:13-4:4 delete verses {B}
Support: none

This insertion begins with a reference to Paul's imprisonment, part of the travelogue layered into the Apostolikon by the Catholic editor. 3:14 Paul bows his knees to the father, a scene derived from Luke 22:41-42, but unique in the Pauline epistles.

3:15 ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται,
from whom every family in the heavens and on the earth is named,

The theology of verse 3:15 above surprised me to not be clearly in the Marcionite later. It could actually stand after verse 3:12 and before 4:4 sensibly, with Christ being the one every family (πᾶσα πατριὰ) is named. But, rather the verse seems to be derived with Ephesians 1:21 in mind where every name is named (παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου). The Catholic context it is God naming all the beings, so he may gift (δῶ) according to the wealth his glory (δόξης).

In verse 3:16-20 the Catholic layer's rich vocabulary of compound words not found in Marcion is present: 3:16 strengthened (κραταιωθῆναι); 3:17 making a home (κατοικῆσαι), rooted and founded (ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι); 3:18 strength to grasp together (ἐξισχύσητε καταλαβέσθαι); 3:19 the Lukan favorite color word τε that often means "both", surpassing (ὑπερβάλλουσαν), 3:20 super abundantly (ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ), and "we all ask" (αἰτούμεθα). The Catholic hierarchy shows through in verse 3:18 with ordinary followers (the readers) are asked to reach together with the saints (σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις). Overall the themes are not inconsistent with Marcion, but the vocabulary and emphasis on love in 3:17, 3:19 show they come from the Catholic editor. Verse 4:21 glorifies the church (δόξα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ), showing that it is no longer a mere rag tag set of assemblies as in Marcion's day but a formal built up organization. The reference to 4 Maccabees 18:24 (αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων αμην) that is shared with Galatians 1:5 (and Romans 16:27) secures this verse in the Catholic layer.

Verse 4:1 again refers to the legend of incarcerated Paul (ἐγὼ ὁ δέσμιος ἐν κυρίῳ), and has Catholic concepts of being worthy to walk (ἀξίως περιπατῆσαι) and being called (κλήσεως ἧς ἐκλήθητε and τῆς κλήσεως ὑμῶν). This calling shows up again in verse 4:4 (ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ὑμῶν). Verse 4:2 shares with Colossians 3:12-13 pastoral layer, humility and meekness (ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ πραύτητος) and bearing each other with love (μετὰ μακροθυμίας, ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀγάπῃ), bound together in peace (συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης). The "one body and one spirit" (ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα) represent a failed transition to the original material in verse 4:5-6, as body cannot possibly come before εἷς κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα, εἷς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων. It defies logic. The proclamation of One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and father of all fits far better after verses 3:10-12, and so all the material between, for both content and continuity of argument must be secondary

24) Ephesians 4:7

delete verse

{B}

Support: *none*

The phrase here would not have raised any objection from Marcion. However the word gift (δωρεᾶς) never occurs in Marcion, but is part of the secure vocabulary used by the Catholic editor (Romans 1:1, 5:15, 16, 17; 6:23; 1 Corinthians 16:3, 2 Corinthians 8:20, 9:5, 15; Ephesians 2:8, 3:7, Philippians 4:16, 17, see also Acts 2:38, 8:20, 10:45, 11:17; Hebrews 6:4, James 1:17, 1 Peter 2:10, Revelation 21:6, 22:17; *Note*: not attested are also Romans 3:24, 1 Corinthians 1:7, 7:7, 13:2 which I cannot securely place in the Catholic layer, except circumstantially at this time). The reference to giving grace according to the measure of gift seems to refer both to hierarchy in the Church and to 1 Corinthians chapters 12 and 13 about distribution. It sits here in Ephesians without explaining context, so is unlikely to have been either original or in Marcion.

25) Ephesians 4:9-24

delete verses

{B}

Support: *none*

This section begins in verses 4:9-10 with digression, inspired by the quote from Psalms 68:18 (67:18 LXX by Ἀναβάς εἰς ὕψος) and drawn from post-Marcionite Romans 10:6-7, about Christ ascending into heaven and descending into the abyss. In Romans the concern is about who had the power to allow him to ascend and descend, which the Marcionites had no concern, since Christ could do that himself.

Verse 4:11 is concerned with the hierarchical ranking within the church, a concern which makes sense only with a larger and more mature congregation than when Marcion was evangelizing. The order parallels 1 Corinthians 12:28 (and 12:29-30) where Apostles were first (πρῶτον ἀποστόλους), second prophets (δεύτερον προφήτας), with teachers third (τρίτον διδασκάλους). The difference in Ephesians is the placement of Evangelists (εὐαγγελιστάς) and Shepherds (ποιμένας) above teachers and the dropping of charismatic positions of miracle workers (δυνάμεις), healers (χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων), and those who can speak tongues (γλωσσῶν) found in the 1 Corinthians list. The elevation of preachers of the Gospel and organizers of the congregation indicate that a more formal structure is in place than you would expect in the nascent churches the earlier writer would have been concerned with.

Verse 4:12 concerns the building up (οικοδομήν) the church in the post Apostle era, where the more saintly have to be trained for ministry (πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων εἰς ἔργον διακονίας), an act which suggests a formal process, something you would hardly expect in the earliest years of the movement. Compare the Catholic insertion 2 Corinthians 8:3-5 concerning these post Apostle Saints' mission.

Verses 4:13 is concerned with heretical schisms in the church, evident in the call for unity of followers (οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς πίστεως) through knowledge (ἐπιγνώσεως) which apparently is different than many in the congregation know. This knowledge is focused also on τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, indicates something specific about the relationship of Christ is in view. Certainly this must be the Jewish Christian view that the God of the Law and prophets is the father and that the knowledge of the particulars of son (of David) is the focus. There is a reference to the need for maturity, which means doctrines not considered complete by Catholics. This continues in verse 4:14 stating "that no longer we should be infants" (ἵνα μηκέτι ὦμεν νήπιοι). The concepts of 1 Corinthians 3:1-3 have been turned, from knowing Christ to moving from heresy to orthodoxy. This is vouchsafed by the next phrase where "tossed by the waves" (κλυδωνιζόμενοι), much like Jude 13, carried by the winds of cunning heretical teaching (παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐν τῇ κυβίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων), who teach according to what the Catholic editor sees as scheming deception (ἐν πανουργίᾳ πρὸς τὴν μεθοδίαν τῆς πλάνης). The frame of reference is clearly the late 2nd century when Gnostic and Catholic doctrines are engaged, long after Marcion's era.

Verse 4:15 continues the pastoral differentiation, which shows up in the vocabulary. In verse 4:15 the same "children" (i.e., ordinary members of the assembly) are asked to grow up by holding the truth (ἀληθεύοντες), which again suggests untrue heretical teaching, may be present. There is also the derived concept, which takes a step further the concept of Christ as the head of the church, so that he is now the head of all things (τὰ πάντα, ὃς ἐστὶν ἡ κεφαλὴ Χριστός). Verse 4:16 contains another pastoral compound word and hapax legomena (συναρμολογούμενον) and another pair of other words shared only with the parallel Colossians 2:19 (συνβιβαζόμενον, αὔξησιν).

In verse 4:17 gentile "Christians" are said to walk with futility of mind (τὰ ἔθνη περιπατεῖ ἐν ματαιότητι τοῦ νοῦς αὐτῶν). This is clearly an attack on Christians opposed to the orthodox concept of the Jewish God as father, using the Jewish Christian concept of judicial testimony (μαρτύρομαι) as means to separate other Christians from the heretics in view. Verse 4:18 continues the attack on the heretics with word forms not found elsewhere in Paul; they "darkened" (ἐσκοτωμένοι) in their understanding (of Christianity), and ignorance (ἄγνοιαν – see Acts 3:17). Strangely the normal attack against Jews who reject Christianity, hardness of heart, is directed as the reason for the gentile heretics not conforming. The usual charges of indecent behavior, which are hurled against heretics common in the Catholic epistle is here in verse 4:19 (οἵτινες ἀπηλγῆκότες ἑαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ εἰς ἐργασίαν ἀκαθαρσίας πάσης ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ). Verse 4:20 simply states ordinary Christians to not do the same in (the name of) Christ, making it clear the target of the prior attack are heretical Christians.

Verse 4:21 has the peculiar introduction "if indeed you heard him" εἰ γε αὐτὸν ἤκούσατε is reminiscent of the anti-Marcionite antithesis sayings found in Matthew chapter five (5:21, 27, 33, 38, 43). There is also the concept of being taught the truth by Jesus, implying there are those who separate Christ from Jesus, a heresy that appeared well after Marcion. This seems to identify further the heretics in view. Verse 4:22 seems to imply that some of the Christians whom the author is speaking have converted to orthodoxy from heresy, and praises them for their change, saying they are

Verses 4:23-24 are transitioning back to the original material in 4:25, but still mention the concept of right and wrong thinking, by asking followers to be renewed in their minds (ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοῦς ὑμῶν). While putting on a new man is a theme found in Marcion, it is tied to God's creation (κατὰ θεὸν κτισθέντα) and so opposite of the concept in 3:9 where that God is the one things were hidden from (ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων τῷ θεῷ τῷ τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι). The perspective of that verse and the entire section is Catholic, concerned with fighting heresy and bringing conformity to orthodoxy in the membership.

26) Ephesians 4:27-5:10

delete verses

{B}

Support: *none*

This material all belongs to a later pastoral layer. The concern is with order in the community. Verse 4:27 gives reference the devil (*διαβόλω*) which may be drawn from verse 6:11, only here the concept is vague, as one allowing themselves to succumb to bad behavior. Verse 4:28 worries about stealing in the community and gives a suggested response of manual labor (*ἐργαζόμενος ταῖς [ιδίαις] χερσίν*), which suggests the criminal does not do so by occupation, and that the proceeds be "shared" (controlled by the church) with those in need. Suppression of heretical teaching is clearly in view in the admonishment in verse 4:29 against corrupt words (*πᾶς λόγος σαπρὸς ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκπορευέσθω*), a concern from an era well past Marcion. The right teaching is equated with edification for those hearing, or rather being taught. In verse 4:30 there is a reference to the holy spirit of God (*τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ θεοῦ*), a concept absent from Marcion. There is reference to the day of redemption (*εἰς ἡμέραν ἀπολυτρώσεως*), another concept outside Marcion. Verse 4:31 seems to be a call to abandon heresy and join the Catholic movement, as the word blaspheme/slander (*βλασφημία*) is associated with what seems like rancorous and bitter debate in the community (*πᾶσα πικρία καὶ θυμὸς καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ κραυγὴ*). Curiously this is specifically separate from evil which is appended as something else entirely (*σὺν πάσῃ κακίᾳ*).

Verse 4:32 shows Christ as subordinate to God and performing his forgiveness (*καθὼς καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν*) as opposed to 5:25 and 5:29 where Christ directly loves the Church without reference to God. The difference is subtle, but in Marcion there is never a need for Christ to have God invoke additional power beyond his own, while in the Catholic (and many Gnostic sects) God worked his power through Christ.

The muddled concept presented in verse 5:1 of imitating God (*γίνεσθε οὖν μιμηταὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*), which simply doesn't make sense since it's Christ who is the one who is anthropomorphic. In verse 5:2 the Catholic walking (*περιπατεῖτε*) theme appears, along with the sacrifice to God (*θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ*) and sweet fragrant aroma (*ὄσμην εὐωδίας*) borrowed from Philippians 4:18, but with Christ as Paschal sacrifice (Hebrews 7:27, 9:26, etc). That it is to God the father here contradicts the Marcionite concept that Christ gave himself up to ruler of the earth, or Demiurge, to purchase us from the creator. Of course the Catholic view is the Demiurge is God the father, as reflected here.

The focus shifts in verse 5:3-5 to a partial list of ills we find in the Catholic addition of Romans 1:19-2:1 and elsewhere, against fornication and impurity (*πορνεία δὲ καὶ ἀκαθαρσία πᾶσα*), indecency, foolish talk and rudeness (*καὶ αἰσχροῦ καὶ μωρολογία ἢ εὐτραπεία*), and against fornicators, and "impure" idolaters (*πᾶς πόρνος ἢ ἀκάθαρτος ἢ πλεονέκτης, ὃ ἐστὶν εἰδωλολάτρης*). These are all pastoral concerns for a larger congregation that includes initiates, second, and third generation members where rules are needed as opposed to the few problems one would see with zealous recent converts. This is a scenario that fits best a generation or two removed from the Marcionite text. Verse 5:6-7 again have heretical teaching in view, warning against "deceiving with empty word" (*ἀπατάτω κενοῖς λόγοις*). The fate of heretical teachers is wrath of God (*διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ ἔρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας*). There is no question the concept is derived from 2 Thessalonians 2:3ff, but applied here to heretics.

Finally verses 5:8-10 begin a transition back to the original text found in 4:46 and 5:11, focusing on the light and darkness theme. But these are commands (*καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε ... καὶ μὴ συνκοινωνεῖτε*) of a different form not matched here. The concept of fruit (*καρπὸς*) and truth (*ἀληθεία*) is found in Romans chapter 11, although here applied to the light and dark concept. Verse 5:10 betrays its intention by referencing back to the sacrifice above with the idea of being well pleasing to the lord (*δοκιμάζοντες τί ἐστὶν εὐάρεστον τῷ κυρίῳ*). All the concepts are alien to Marcion, but are consistent with the Catholic layer.

27) Ephesians 5:15-17

delete verses

{B}

Support: *none*citation: *none*

This insertion deals again with heretics. The admonition to walk carefully (*ἀκριβῶς πῶς περιπατεῖτε*) evokes the same language seen elsewhere in the Catholic layer to not follow heretical teaching. The two antithetical pairs make clear the choices between unwise and wise (*μὴ ὡς ἄσοφοι ἀλλ' ὡς σοφοί*) and between foolishness and understanding (*μὴ γίνεσθε ἄφρονες, ἀλλὰ συνίετε*) in understanding what is the will of the Lord. This reference to understanding the will makes it clear we are speaking about different Christian teachings. Further verse 5:16 which shares the admonition to redeem one's time (*ἐξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν*) found in the pastoral addition to Colossians 4:5, speaks of the current evil days, a concept that fits better the later 2nd century of the Antonine Plague than the optimism in the early Marcionite era.

28) Ephesians 5:21 delete verses {B}
Support: *none*

Verse 5:21 introduces an alien concept for Marcion, fear of Christ (*ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ*). The implication is that Christ is judging and can and will punish people. This fits Revelation and the Catholic view that God, including Christ, is both savior and reaper. That this is the incentive to be submissive to one another (*ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις*) indicates we are looking at the pastoral layer. Neither theme is found in Marcion

29) Ephesians 5:23b-24 delete *αὐτὸς σωτὴρ τοῦ σώματος ... τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν παντί* {B}
Support: AM 5.18.8

The concept of Christ as the savior of the body (*σωτὴρ τοῦ σώματος*) was meant to undermine the Marcionite and general Gnostic concept that only the spirit or soul was resurrected, and promote the Catholic view that body and spirit both arise. This concept allows the pastoral submission (*ὑποτάσσεται*) of wives to their husbands in everything while on earth, is paired with the church's submission to Christ. The point seems to be the official church is hierarchical, with an order that requires submission to authority, and that the Church itself derives its' authority by submission to Christ. This hierarchical church reference indicates we are dealing with an era long after Marcion, where the congregation is much larger and more structure is required.

30) Ephesians 5:25-28 5: 28 – *ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα* for *ὡς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα* {B} **incorrect**
5:25-28 read *Οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας* {B} **correct**
καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ
Support: D* Armenian OL:ID (for *ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα*) citation: AM 5.18.8

There are two distinct parts to this reading. The first is the addition of verses 5:25b-27 to the Marcionite form of the text, and the second is the seeming conflation of verses 5:25 and 5:28 with the variant – *σάρκα* for *σώματα*.

The insertion begins informing us that Christ gave himself up for the Church (*καὶ ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς*). We immediately run into a vocabulary issue; "delivered up" *παρέδωκεν* is found, excepting Luke 23:25 (AM 4.42) part of the triple tradition, is only found outside Marcion (Matthew 18:34, 25:14, 27:26; Mark 3:19, 15:15; John 19:16, 19:30; Acts 6:14, 7:42; Romans 1:24, 1:26, 1:28, 8:32; Ephesians 5:2; 2 Peter 2:4). Also uniquely we are told not that Christ gave himself up to ransom us, but for the Church (*τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*), a concept that develops after Marcion.

Verses 5:26-27 presents Christ as a purifying sacrifice, similar to that presented in Hebrews, who sanctifies (*ἀγίαση*) and cleanses (*καθαρίσας*) the Church washing the water in the word (*τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν ῥήματι*). This is a shocking statement that the Church is somehow not pure, and needs purifying; it suggests the impurity of heresy could be in view. The concept of the sacrifice as cleansing (*καθαρισμός*) has its closest parallel in the pastoral Titus 2:14, and the catholic Hebrews 9:22-23, 1 John 1:7. The Gospel of John assigns the cleansing with water to Jews (i.e., Jewish Christians) in John 2:6 and 3:15. Further the cleansing water is "in the word" or *ῥήμα*, which itself is a favorite Luke word (at least 28 times in Luke Acts not part of Marcion). When

the water removes, as in verse 5:27, blemishes (ἄμωμος) for presentation, we see it is a concept found also in Hebrews 9:14. All this is done so the glorious church can be presented to Christ himself (ἵνα παραστήσῃ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἔνδοξον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν), as a result of his paschal sacrifice. It's not only head spinning logic, but also far removed from the consolidation of marriage analogy with Christ's relationship to the church.

Note that Tertullian's attestation ends verse 5:25 with καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠγάπησεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, (*sicut et Christus ecclesiam*), then after discussing his interpretation of the phrase he picks up in 5:18.9 with verse 5:29 (*Nemo, inquit, carnem suam odio habet*). The discussion continues with the same subject as in 5:25 of the flesh and Church. There is no inconsistency. Clearly the material in 5:25(b)-27 is certainly a digression.

The second part of the reading is the apparent conflation of verses 5:25 and 5:28. The overlap is obvious here:

5:25 Οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας

5:28 ... οἱ ἄνδρες ἀγαπᾶν τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας

Clabeaux, pages 122-125, makes an elaborate argument for a series of no less than six mechanical errors to create the Marcionite reading for Ephesians 5:28. It is a compelling argument, but unfortunately it probably not what happened. Clabeaux here is working from the traditionalist assumption that Marcion is working from a text which is largely similar to the received text – and to his great credit he recognized the text was uncontrolled and what we know is but a local version of his text – and so he never considers that verses 5:26 and 5:27 might not be present. When you remove those verses the obvious doublet appears. What I think happened is the Catholic editor, after making the digression about the paschal cleansing, found it necessary to repeat the allegory of husbands loving their wives as Christ does the church to complete the insertion. The words οὕτως ὀφείλουσιν confirm this intent. (It should be noted ὀφείλουσιν is shared with post Marcionite Romans 15:27.) This settles the matter, before the insertion there was only one verse present for 5:25 and 5:28.

While this solves the issue of the doublet, it does not resolve the wording of the verse, since both are candidates for containing the original. First, there is evidence that Tertullian tampered with the text, changing the order, something we see in D Syriac-Peshitta and the Old Latin (61, 75 86 89 Victorinus Ambrosiaster Jerome Pelagius *Vulgate*). The precise words of Tertullian we need to examine are as follows, with literal Greek:

Carnem suam diligit qui uxorem suam diligit, sicut et Christus ecclesiam

ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα ἀγαπᾷ ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν

Unraveling this mess, we should probably start with ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα. Tertullian says *Carnem suam diligit* here, not because it is actually in the text, but because of the argument he makes following in quoting verse 5:29 "No man," he says, "ever yet hated his own flesh" (*Nemo, inquit, carnem suam odio habet*) when he follows up by saying, "except of course Marcion alone" (*nisi plane Marcion solus*). Tertullian is making a point, so he replaces body with flesh. The transposition of order, placing flesh first, is less likely to be from Marcion's text as it is from Tertullian placing emphasis. Most likely *Carnem suam diligit qui uxorem suam diligit* actually corresponds to ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ, which required Tertullian to only add *carnem / σάρκα* to his reading.

The second element appending καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν to verse 5:28 can be understood when we see the doublet in verse 5:25. But in that verse, ἠγάπησεν (Latin *dilexit*) was added, allowing the digression which followed about Christ's paschal cleansing. The doublet combined with Tertullian's deliberate tampering with the text possibly means καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν was actually before the ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ in the Marcionite text. The real variant is – ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα ἀγαπᾷ for ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ. So what we have is verse 5:25 and 5:28 in a single verse:

Οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας

καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν

ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ

Support: I

With the adjustment above which deleted 5:23(b) αὐτὸς σωτὴρ τοῦ σώματος and reset verse 5:25-28 to Marcionite form, the concept of the body went missing. The phrase now intrudes upon the discussion in 5:23, 25/28, 29, the in 5:31ff about marriage as allegory to Christa and the church. So it must be part of the editorial.

32) Ephesians 5:31 – καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ {B} correct
Support: 6 1739 Origen Cyprian citation: AM 5.18.9, P42.11.8

Tertullian *Propter hanc relinquet homo patrem et matrem, et erunt duo in carne una: sacramentum hoc magnum est?* Epiphanius P42 reads ἀντὶ τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα ... καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν such that both read – καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ with 6 1739 Origen Cyprian. Epiphanius states outright that the phrase was missing. Clabeaux thinks it is homoeoarcton on καὶ. Tertullian however thinks nothing of it, and the support of family 1739 suggests instead the longer form was to conform to Exodus 2:24 as mere clarification. I am in agreement however with Clabeaux that the “deletion” (or rather “addition”) was not theologically driven, as sexual intercourse is implied even in the remaining text.

Epiphanius has the additional variant + αὐτοῦ after πατέρα which is not reflected in Tertullian, so I reject it.

33) Ephesians 5:32 – εἰς before τὴν ἐκκλησίαν {B} correct
Support: B K OL:K Coptic Valentinus (Irenaeus) Clement Origin Epiphanius citation: AM 5.18.10, 3.5.4

Tertullian in two different passages refers to Ephesians 5:32 deleting εἰς before τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (AM 3.5.4, AM 5.18.10 both read *in Christum et ecclesiam*) in complete passage citations. So there can be no doubt that it was missing in the Marcionite text. Clabeaux (pages 99-100) rates this correct against the UBS which brackets the word. Zuntz argument is persuasive that the context demands the omission. Marcion's weight is decisive here.

34) Ephesians 5:33 delete verse {B}
Support: none

Verse 5:33 is part of the pastoral additions of verse 5:21, 5:23b, 5:24 which emphasize submission of wife to husband (γυνὴ ἵνα φοβῆται τὸν ἄνδρα), a point that is simply not attested as ever being addressed in Marcion. The first part of the verse, which is simply to introduce this command, repeats phrases from 5:21-32.

35) Ephesians 6:2-3 delete verses {A}
Support: AM 5.11.18

Tertullian informs us not only that the phrase "this is the first commandment with a promise" ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ was deleted. But the fact that he says it is the Law and not the Apostle which states, "Honor your mother and father" it is clear that the entire quote of Deuteronomy 5:16 was not present – the second part in 6:3 about living long on the earth is dependent on the first. This commandment follows on Parents

Nam etsi Marcion abstulit, *Hoc est enim primum in promissione praeceptum, lex loquitur, Honora patrem et matrem, et, Parentes enutrite filios in disciplina et correptione donaini.*

It should be noted that Deuteronomy 5:16 is the source of 6:2-3, but with the sentiment Mark 7:10 flipped from pairing Deuteronomy and Leviticus 20:9 to underscore that we are presented with a Catholic understanding of the OT God promising through the Law. (Part of replacement theology)

36) Ephesians 6:4 – μὴ παροργίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ {B} correct
Support: AM 5.11.18

Tertullian reads verse 6:4 **et, parentes enutrite filios in disciplina et correptione donaini**, reflecting the deletion of the phrase "do not make your children angry" **μὴ παροργίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν**, a phrase shared with Colossians 3:21 **μὴ ἐρεθίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν**. There is nothing in the phrase which Marcion would have objected to, however it reflects part of the general expansion pastoral concerns in the later church which went beyond the focus of correct religious instruction and included considerably more defined behavioral attributes desired.

As we shall see below the Catholic editor created Pastiche in Ephesians from other Epistles and these were then transferred into Colossians (see Winsome Munro, *Authority in Paul and Peter*, pages 27-37). This is not unique in the Pastoral layer, as 1 Timothy has been shown to be a conflation of 2 Timothy and Titus (Friedrich Schleiermacher, "*Über den sogenannten ersten Brief des Paulos an den Timotheos. Ein kritisches Sendschreibung an J. C. Gass.*" Schleiermacher reprinted in *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 1/2, pp. 221-320).

There are two other variants to consider in Tertullian's rendering. The first is **filios** which would reflect **τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν** for **αὐτὰ**. But more likely Tertullian, having digressed between verses 6:1 and 6:4 with a discussion of the missing material in 6:2-3, felt it necessary to change the pronoun "them" to the specific "your children", which in Latin is a small adjustment, **ilos** to **filios**. The same motivation can be seen in saying Parents, **Parentes** (**οἱ γονεῦσες**), in place of Fathers, **Patres** (**οἱ πατέρες**), tying the verse back to verse 6:1

fili oboedite parentibus vestris in Domino hoc enim est iustum

Parentes **enutrite filios in disciplina et correptione donaini.**
et patres nolite ad iracundiam provocare filios vestros sed educate illos in disciplina et correptione Domini

37) Ephesians 6:5-10

delete verses

{B}

Support: *none*

The verses here are derived from a pastiche of Pauline verses, which are focused on the behavior of slaves with respect to masters. The slaves in question here are ordinary slaves in the Roman Empire (**Οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις**), not metaphorical slaves of Christ meant to represent believers. This is not a discussion of theology but of personal behavior and subservience to authority seen in the Pastoral layers.

In addition Winsome Munro demonstrated not only the pastoral nature of these verses and their priority to Colossians. The entire segment of 6:5-9 is made up of pastiches which Munro shows and which are reproduced in the table below – but only for showing Ephesians; I leave out the step showing Colossians dependency.

| Ephesians | Pastiche Sources |
|--|---|
| [6:5] Οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ... | Phil 2:12 πάντοτε ὑπηκούσατε, ... μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου |
| [6:5] ἐν ἀπλότητι τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὡς τῷ Χριστῷ [6:6] μὴ κατ' ὀφθαλμοδουλίαν ὡς ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι ἀλλ' ὡς δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ ψυχῆς, [6:7] μετ' εὐνοίας δουλεύοντες, ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις, [6:8] εἰδότες ὅτι ... | Gal 1:10: ἢ ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν; εἰ ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἤρεσκον, Χριστοῦ δοῦλος οὐκ ἂν ἦμην. Eph 1:18: πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας [ὑμῶν] εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς |
| [6:8] ἕκαστος ἐάν τι ποιήσῃ ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο κομίσεται παρὰ κυρίου, εἴτε δοῦλος εἴτε ἐλεύθερος. [6:9] Καὶ οἱ κύριοι, τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖτε πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀνιέντες τὴν ἀπειλήν, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ὑμῶν ὁ κύριός ἐστιν ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ προσωπολημψία οὐκ ἔστιν παρ' αὐτῷ. | 2 Cor 5:10: ἵνα κομίσῃται ἕκαστος τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος πρὸς ἃ ἐπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθόν εἴτε φαῦλον. 1 Cor 12:13: εἴτε δοῦλοι εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι Romans 2:11: οὐ γάρ ἐστιν προσωπολημψία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ |

Another sign of the pastoral editor are the two hapax legomena in verse 6:6 (ὄφθαλμοδουλίαν, ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι). The sentiment in Romans 2:11, that God shows no partiality for any man is present in Ephesians 6:9. It is not objectionable to a Marcionite, but it is Catholic in origin because God is placed as judge here. Verse 6:10 is dependent on all of 6:5-9, so is secondary. It also contains its own hapax legomena (ἐνδυναμοῦσθε). The verse itself also shows contact to the Apostolikon, specifically Galatians 6:17 (Τοῦ λοιποῦ)

The message from Munro's analysis is subtle but clear. Almost all the overlapped material between Colossians and Ephesians is part of their respective pastoral layers, not part of the original epistle construction.

38) Ephesians 6:18 delete verses {B}
Support: *none*

The admonition to prayer and petition (προσευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως) and watching patiently (ἀγρυπνοῦντες ἐν πάσῃ προσκαρτερήσει) are themes more consistent with the pastoral layer than with Marcion. The "waiting with all patience" command suggests a much later period in time where the immediacy of coming has passed. Note that ἀγρυπνοῦντες is a hapax legomena.

39) Ephesians 6:21-22 delete verses {B}
Support: *none*

From the style we have seen in the other Marcionite Epistles of the Apostolikon make it clear that it's unlikely they included any travelogue information. The myth of Paul was not something hinted at, until later in the Catholic strata. What is curious, is the office of minister/deacon of the Lord is attached to Tychus (Τύχικος ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ πιστὸς διάκονος ἐν κυρίῳ), as the office is not spelled out until the Pastorals, specifically in 1 Timothy 3:8-13. Ministry is referenced in Marcion only with respect to Paul's mission, excepting that of Apollos in 1 Corinthians 3:5, in what appears to be a rare instance of an equal, another sect leader. There is reference in 2 Corinthians 3:6, but it is as ministers of the new covenant (διακόνους καινῆς διαθήκης). The reference there and elsewhere in Marcion is to service not office, so it differs from this reference in verse 6:21.

39) Ephesians 6:23-24 – Ἡ χάρις μεθ' ὑμῶν for 6:23-24 {B}
Support: *Marcionite Endings in Pauline Epistles*

Most likely only the simplest ending form of the Pauline ending in verse 6:24, which can be found in Colossians 4:18b of ἡ χάρις μεθ' ἡμῶν stood. That this same form is found in 1 & 2 Timothy which were based on the early Pauline collection, likely before the Catholic editions, is strong evidence that this is how the bulk of the Marcionite collection originally concluded. Pious scribes extended this with phrases like "Lord Jesus", "our Lord Jesus Christ", and finally the longest for with the spirit. Ironically the Spirit probably came into the Apostolikon from 2 Timothy 4:22 with a final combined formula ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν found in Philemon and Galatians 6:18.

The form in Ephesians shows additional elements. The grace is uniquely only gifted with qualification to "all those loving the our Lord Jesus Christ incorruptibly" πάντων τῶν ἀγαπώντων τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ; a qualification that implies there are Christians who have corrupted love, something clearly associated with heresies of wrong teaching so prominent in the writings of the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries. Note that ἀφθαρσία is hapax legomena, clearly from the pastoral layers. Verse 6:23 is unique to the signoffs as well, a pastiche from the opening greeting formula found in all Pauline epistles of the Apostolikon, including Ephesians 1:2 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, only with the grace dropped and an address "to the brother with love and faith" τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἀγάπῃ μετὰ πίστεως. Clearly this is post Marcionite, drawn from the collection. Hence my speculation, there was a shorter form of the ending.

Notes: Differences in Catholic and Marcionite versions of Philippians

Catholic additions I discovered in the text from reading Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Adamantius testimony closely. I rank the likelihood A-C (A secure, B probable, C put in brackets) – my judgment call. (sgw, 8/16/13)

- 1) **Philippians 1:1** (a) – ἀπόστολος for καὶ Τιμόθεος δοῦλοι {B}
(b) + [καὶ Ἐπαφρόδιτος ὁ ἀδελφός] after Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ
(c) – ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
(d) – σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνους

The opening verse underwent a significant adjustment at the hands of the Catholic editor. First the Timothy myth was in play, perhaps because this epistle was originally last of the collection addressed to a congregation, and so likely would have been immediately before the Pastoral espistles to Timothy. As such the Catholic editor sought, with the addition of καὶ Τιμόθεος δοῦλοι in place of the more typical Pauline declaration ἀπόστολος he was able to place Timothy on equal footing with Paul, and importantly add the criteria of servitude to Christ Jesus, and by so doing emphasize Paul a simply one of many at the disciple level. Marcion's Paul never used the term δοῦλος to describe his mission, and certainly not to Christ, as he states most strongly in Galatians 5:1 that we have freedom in Christ and that we should not submit to slavery again (Τῆ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠγευθέρωσεν· στήκετε οὖν καὶ μὴ πάλιν ζυγῷ δουλείας ἐνέχεσθε) . This sentiment is repeated in 2:4-5, as well as 4:8-9, 5:13 against slavery, and for freedom. This is the same sentiment expressed in the allegory of the sons of Abraham in the Marcionite version of Galatians 4:22-24, 26, 31 where Christians are descendents of the free woman (per Hadrian's ruling to conform to the Law of Nations – before this ruling one was not guaranteed free or slave birth based on the mother's status). Paul does refer to his imprisonment to the Gospel in Philippians 1:12-17 (τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου), but this is not slavery, and seems to refer to living in his flesh body rather than departing to be with Christ as explained in verses 1:20-24.

We do have some evidence of the lack of Timothy and also the inclusion of Epaphroditus in the Marcionite Latin Prologue as seen here:

Philippenses sunt Machedones. hi accepto verbo veritatis persteterunt in fide, nec receperunt falsos apostolos. hos apostolus conlaudat scribens eis a Roma de carcere per Epaphroditum.

The Philippians are Macedonians. They persisted in the faith after the word of truth was accepted, nor did they receive false apostles. The apostle praises them, writing to them from Rome, from prison, through Epaphroditus.

The writer of the prologue is aware of Epaphroditus, who appears in verse 2:25 of the Catholic version, but not of Timothy. So καὶ Ἐπαφρόδιτος ὁ ἀδελφός was possibly present. (note, the prologue writer incorrectly interprets Paul's reference to imprisonment as being placed in jailed – *de carcere* is a reference the infamous Mamertime prison in Rome – not as remaining in the body, and indicates some familiarity with an Apocryphal Acts of Paul)

Another element of the greeting which the Catholic editor added as part of the introduction the Pastorals was mention of Bishops and Deacons/Ministers (σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνους) in Philippi. This betrays a very late date when the Church had grown, and Bishops had replaced Apostles and ruled in fixed regions. The plural is baffling, unless it is understood as the audience for Pastoral espistles which cover the qualifications and duties of Deacons and Elders, and by extension Bishops. Marcion's Paul ruled as a sole Bishop, an interchangeable term with Apostle, a term that appears to have meant a sect leader (e.g., Apollos, Cephas in 1 Corinthians) rather than an overseer of a specific Church or Region.

Lastly there was a pious addition making the saints, “saints in Christ Jesus,” a redundancy. Conclusion, the original wording of the opening verse was as follows:

Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ [καὶ Ἐπαφρόδιτος ὁ ἀδελφός] πᾶσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Φιλίπποις
Paul and Apostle of Christ Jesus and the brother Epaphroditus, to all the saints and all those who are in Philippi

2) Philippians 1:6-11 delete verses

{B}

The Marcionite Prologue attests to the content of verse 1:5 (*hi accepto verbo veritatis persteterunt in fide ... hos apostolus conlaudat*), but verses 1:6-13 are not attested in Marcion. But that is a weak argument as Tertullian is wrapping up. But it does seem that Marcion order his epistles, except the capstone Galatians, by size much like the Catholic collection, indicating that Philippians must have been a much smaller letter

Immediate a new concept is present for Paul, "the day of Christ" (ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) in verses 1:6, 1:10; a term that seems to have replaced "the wrath from heavens" (ὀργὴ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ) of Romans 1:18, and indicates a significant development of the understanding of the rapture event. It is a digression that is marked by this phrase, and likely inspired by verse 1:5 reference to a beginning to time (ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν).

In verse 1:7, anticipating 1:12-17, ties Paul's bondage (δεσμοῖς μου) to a unique concept of defense/apology (ἀπολογία) and vindication (βεβαιώσει) of the Gospel, both unique words in Paul (*hapax legomena*). Having Paul give an apology indicates this was added in an era of written defense of Christianity, at least around the time of Justin's Apology in second half of the 2nd century, after Marcion's time. Also in the phrase is the Lukan τε "both" which is not found in Marcion, but is a feature of Luke-Acts, Hebrews, and the Catholic additions to Paul.

In 1:7 another new concept, Paul's grace, also appears (συνκοινωνούς μου τῆς χάριτος), which is unique to this epistle, and seems to be looking back on Paul as a hero of the past. In verse 1:8, Paul calls God as a witness, again not a characteristic of Marcion's Paul who appeals always to his revelation for authority; so this seems to be another element to lower Paul's stature. Verse 1:9 calls for deep knowledge/gnosis and all perception (ἐν ἐπιγνώσει καὶ πάσῃ αἰσθήσει), betraying a gnostic perspective –either pro or con- in view, so not possibly from the Marcionite text. 1:10 mentions being "blameless" on the day of Christ, a concept of the Catholic Epistles. And finally in 1:11 righteousness in Christs is seen as being "for the glory and praise of God," very much opposed to the Marcionite view that being in Christs is the end in itself (e.g., 1:23, others).

3) Philippians 1:13 – ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς

{A} Correct

The phrase "in the whole of the praetorian guard and the rest" displays a misunderstanding of when Paul talks of being imprisoned he is speaking metaphorically of the body (v1:23-24). This misunderstanding is also a feature of the Latin Marcionite prologue which places Paul in the notorious Marentine prison, known simply as *carcere* at the time, stating *scribens eis a Roma de carcere*. The myth of Roman officialdom is from a later era when the church had grown. The increased influence of the praetorian on Roman politics rose sharply in the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and especially Commodus (who they killed and sold the office) when the office of Praetorian Prefect (reduced decades earlier by Diocletian) grew in importance and having a legal background was required, making the Praetorians the administrative chiefs, peaking with Marcus Aurelius Cleander in 182-190 CE. It is during that era which this passage found its way into the letter, to show even people of rank could be Christian.

4) Philippians 1:16 – εἰδότες ὅτι εἰς ἀπολογίαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου κείμαι

{A} Correct

The phrase "knowing that I am appointed for the defense of the gospel" is a construction that comes from Justin Martyr's fictional address to the Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius and the Senate – really a long winded pseudo op-ed piece from a somewhat later date betrayed that appears to have suffered additions in the 3rd century – known simply as the *Ἀπολογία* which started a new genre in the last quarter of the 2nd century (e.g., Tertullian *Apologeticum* composed supposedly 197 CE, also see Origen's comments in *Contra Celsus* 1.3.1 from the 3rd century). The writer of this phrase sees Paul's writings in such a light, defending the Gospel, and thus an existing corpus, with the perspective of Justin's work in mind. Second Paul says that he has been "appointed" κείμαι, implying he submits to another authority, i.e. the Jerusalem council, a position impossible for Marcion's Paul who accepts no earthly authority, only his own revelation. This helps us date the Catholic redaction.

5) Philippians 1:26-28 delete verses

{B}

In verse 1:26, Paul states "through my coming to you again" *διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς παρουσίας πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*. The surprising apocalyptic *παρουσίας* used to describe Paul's return evokes the imagery of the "Day of Jesus Christ" *ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* from verses 1:6, 10, which were we dealt with above. The writer is declaring that Paul is no longer on the scene. This is clear in verse 1:27 when gives the general appeal to conduct civil affairs as worthy of the gospel, another universal appeal consistent with a church integrated into the larger society, in contrast to the insular one of Marcion's time.

Verse 1:28 has heretics in mind, and speaks of their "damnation" using a word, *ἀπωλείας*, not found in Marcion but is common in the Catholic layer verses which target heretics (Matthew 7:13, Romans 9:22, Philippians 1:28, 3:19, 1 Timothy 6:9, Hebrews 10:39 2 Peter 2:1). We see that here with those opposing (*τῶν ἀντικειμένων*) that it is indeed against gnostic type opponents from a later era. In Marcion (1 Corinthians 5:5, 1 Thessalonians 5:3, 2 Thessalonians 1:9) *ὄλεθρον* is used, which has a slightly different meaning, "destruction" as in the consuming of the physical body. Of note, the one place in Marcion where "damnation" is in 2 Thessalonians 2:3 "son of perdition" *ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας*, it is not used to indicate destruction (see 1:9 *ὄλεθρον*) but a sign of the end time.

6) Philippians 2:7 – ἀνθρώπου for ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος

{A} Correct

Support: p46 Syr^J Cop Origen OL:KI^{var} vg^{var}

Reading: AM 5.20.3

Unlike Clabeaux, who sees these as two distinct and only comments on the singular versus plural, I see the two as a single change. The witnesses cited attest – *ἀνθρώπου* for *ἀνθρώπων* only. But when you look at the larger picture it is clear that the larger context of this verse the plural conforms to the concept of being "born in the likeness men" rather than the singular which conforms to "took the form of a slave, in the likeness of man, in the appearance of a man" as attested by Tertullian *et in similitudine hominis, non in homine, et figura inventus homo*. Clabeaux does not account for the deletion of *γενόμενος*, so misses the reason for the shift to the plural.

7) Philippians 2:9-3:2 delete verses

{B}

Support: none

Reading: AM 5.20.5 (silence)

There are two elements to this large deletion, the second half of the Philippians creed in verses 2:9-11, and then an exposition on the meaning of that creed from verses 2:10-3:2.

Tertullian argues by silence, with AM 5.20.5 finishing the first half of the creed on verse 2:8: *Sic et deus inventus est per virtutem, sicut homo per carnem, quia nec morti subditum pronuntiasset non in substantia mortali constitutum. Plus est autem quod adiecit, Et mortem crucis*. But there is no hint of any material between 2:6-8 and 3:4-6, as he summarizes verse 2:6-8 as the passion implying Marcion docetic view (*imaginariam phantasmate*) misses the point of the power of death, and then without pause jumps into verse 3:4 about counting loss. Tertullian almost always gives us an indication he is skipping material, saying something like "then" or "in another verse" or something to indicate a break. This immediately flags us to examine further.

When we examine the creed in 2:9-11 we see the Lukan concept again of Jesus being adopted, like the Roman Emperors who when they adopted an heir to the throne would exalt them with new titles just as we see with 2:9 *διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν, καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὀνομα*. The point, which is clear in 2:11 that by confessing the name of the Lord Jesus Christ is to the glory of God the father (*εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς*), is that God the father is the one who appoints Jesus. The opponents in mind again would be those who reject the notion that Christ required the father, whether to rise from the dead or be adopted by him. This adoption statement is very much related to other passages, such as Galatians 1:1 (*θεοῦ πατρὸς*) and 1 Corinthians 6:14 (*θεὸς καὶ*) where the Catholic editor added God to clarify that Christ was raised by the father and required him for being raised. The concern is again long after the Marcionites, directed at not only their Christology but the emerging Modalist of the late second century.

Verse 2:12 starts a digression into the meaning of the creed, but does so by announcing that Paul is absent (ἀπουσία μου) and his return is only in the eschatological sense (παρουσία μου). So the time frame of this verse is far in the future of the Marcionite text, looking back when Paul is already legendary, distance substituted for time. Also note the Catholic concept of obedience of the faithful (ὕπηκούσατε) is introduced, and of course with fear and trembling (μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου). Verse 2:13 shows a shift in the mover from Christ and to God (θεὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνεργῶν) part of the shift toward the creator as primary force, consistent with the Catholic view. In 2:14-15 there is a warning against heretical disputing, consistent with the obedience theme in 2:12. There is also reference to Matthew 5:14-16 about being children of God who are juxtaposed against "a perverse generation" (ἄμεμπτοι καὶ ἀκέραιοι, τέκνα θεοῦ ἄμωμα μέσον γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης) as lights in the world (ἐν οἷς φαίνεσθε ὡς φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ). This theme of a generation being corrupt as opposed to the world, and thus the creator, is a subtle theological shift displaying the Catholic theology. In verse 2:16 we return to and confirm the eschatological theme suggested in 2:12 with Paul's own Parousia by mention of the "Day of Christ" (ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ). This concept is new, looking back on Paul as a figure from the historical past, clearly marking the entire passage as from a later date. Note, verses 2:17-18 are transitional, but contain a peculiar alter allusion where Paul likens his efforts to the sacramental wine, "poured out upon this sacrifice" (σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ) that has no parallel in the Marcionite text.

Verse 2:19 evokes the Timothy legend, as with the Catholic adjustments to verse 1:1, which really has no place in the letter except to name drop. In verse 2:20 the reason becomes clear, to give authority to the disputed Pastoral epistle to Timothy which even Tatian, who did recognize the letter to Titus rejected, by declaring that Timothy is equal in standing with Paul (οὐδένα γὰρ ἔχω ἰσόψυχον). In verse 2:21 he even says there are no others of his standing, "for all others seek after their own desires" (οἱ πάντες γὰρ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ζητοῦσιν), and juxtaposes this against Timothy and himself by saying also they seek "not the things of Christ" (οὐ τὰ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ). There is a definite suggestion that the target are heretics, and of the Gnostic variety, confirmed in verse 2:22 when his knowledge is said to be "approved" (δοκιμὴν αὐτοῦ γινώσκετε), which also tells us an authoritative body exists, the proto-orthodox church, which was not present in the days that Marcion's Paul wrote. Verses 2:23-24 wrap up the section, and suggest that the reader should also read the Timothy letters.

Verses 2:25-30 are concerned with the ministry of Epaphroditus, which is more problematic since he is mentioned in the Marcionite prologue. His status however is that of a Bishop, as he is "your Apostle" (ὕμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον) which is an innovation from the earlier Marcionite usage in Corinthians where Apollos and Cephas are something of rival sect leaders with Paul (see 1 Corinthians 1:12, 3:4-6). Here Epaphroditus is not equal (see 2:21 above) to Paul but has the office of Apostle (see Acts 1:20-26 equating the office of bishop with being an Apostle). What we have going on here then is an elevation if the name in the address of the letter, or at least legendarily associated with the epistle as witnessed by the Marcionite prologue, to give the Philippi church a patron. Verses 2:26-27 mention of illness associated with this character, if I am reading this correctly, seems to indicate the author wants to associate the Antonine plague, implying the character is no longer on the scene as a result of succumbing after the letter. Verses 2:28-30 seem to reinforce this. Verse 2:30 adds a self deprecating comment about Paul, saying his ministry is deficient, so that Epaphroditus can make it complete (ἵνα ἀναπληρώσῃ τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα τῆς πρὸς με λειτουργίας), i.e., conform to the current Catholic teaching. Contextually the paragraph has no relationship to either the creed in 2:6-8 or the upcoming passage of confidence in the flesh in 3:4, so we need to assign it to the Catholic editor writing late in the 2nd century.

Verse 3:1 makes reference to similar writings in Paul, implying a corpus is present, and it only makes sense as a bridge between the material above and returning soon to the original content of the Marcionite form. Verse 3:2 in telling readers who to avoid, presents a picture of Marcionites as heretics who are called dogs (βλέπετε τοὺς κύνας) much like Tertullian refers to them as baying hounds barking at the orthodox, and gives the Gnostics the label evil doers (βλέπετε τοὺς κακοὺς ἐργάτας), a generic charge often thrown at them in the Catholic books of the New Testament. The editor does try to present this as Pauline by throwing in the circumcision camp (βλέπετε τὴν κατατομήν), showing some distance has been covered since Matthew was written where being defenders of the Jewish God as father no longer requires being circumcised. All of 2:9-3:2 is found an addition.

9) Philippians 3:5

verse present

{A}

– σημεῖον περιτομῆς for περιτομῆ ὀκταήμερος

{B}

Support: *no manuscripts*, Romans 4:12**Reading:** AM 5.20.6

This verse unequivocally states that Paul is a circumcised Jew, a fact that is otherwise not at all deducible in the rest of Marion's Apostolikon. In fact the opposite is suggested in 1 Corinthians 9:20 when Paul says "I became to the Jews as a Jew" (ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος). He does say Cephas is a Jew in Galatians 2:14, "If you, being a Jew, live like the Gentiles and not like the Jews how is it that you compel the Gentiles to live like Jews?" (εἰ σὺ ἰουδαῖος ὑπάρχων ἔθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆς, πῶς τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν). The only other clue comes from Galatians 5:3 where Paul gives his complete repudiation of physical circumcision, and 5:12-13 where he refers to circumcisers by saying they should castrate themselves. And in Galatians 6:12-13 he denounces the circumcisers in much the same mold as castigates Cephas in verse 2:14.

But we see in AM 5.20.6 this paraphrase

But what gain he had was taken as loss, and which he counts prior (verse), the glory of the flesh, the mark of circumcision, by race Hebrew of Hebrews by census (tax), by title the tribe of Benjamin, in bright honors a Pharisee, these things are a loss to him, attributed not to the God of the Jews, but their stupidity.

Quae autem retro lucri duxerat, quae et supra numerat, gloriam carnis, notam circumcisionis, generis Hebraei ex Hebraeo censum, titulum tribus Benjamin, pharisaeae candidae dignitatem, haec modo detrimento sibi deputat, non deum, sed stuporem, Iudaeorum.

So how can it be that Paul can be physically circumcised, as this verse implies? Well a closer reading of Tertullian reveals that may not be the case. He says that Paul counts himself as having the he "notes circumcision" *notam circumcisionis* not "circumcised on the eighth day" (*circumcisis octava die*) περιτομῆ ὀκταήμερος. This suggests a reading like Romans 4:11 σημεῖον περιτομῆς (see also 2 Thessalonians 3:17). But this is not a certainty, even though Tertullian similarly writes in 5.4.10 "mark of slavery" *servitutis notam*, he more often uses *notam* to mean "made known" (γνωρισθῆ or ἐγνωρίσθη). But the usage strongly suggests the former, and Tertullian has no reason to change to something that removes the smoking gun of Paul's circumcision, as the "mark" can be taken allegorically. The wording also conforms to Romans 4:12 which is no doubt a pastiche possibly of this verse. So I accept the change.

I reject – Ἰσραὴλ as Tertullian is clearly paraphrasing. Similarly I reject Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων ~ φυλῆς Βενιαμειν for the same reasons. Tertullian's *pharisaeae candidae dignitatem* suggests Φαρισαῖος λευκὸν τιμῆν but lacks supporting evidence, so κατὰ νόμον Φαρισαῖος must stand.

9) Philippians 3:6

delete verse

{A}

Support: *none***Reading:** AM 5.20.6 (silence)

The Saul myth from Acts 7:58-8:3, 9:1-2 and 21 is very much in focus here. The reference to persecuting the church διώκων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν parallels Galatians 1:13 ἐδίωκον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. In both cases serves a couple of purposes for the Catholic editor. First it confirms Jewish heritage for Paul, and by doing so confirms the Acts story of his one man persecution campaign. This addition to conform Paul to Saul of Acts was occasioned by the self description of Paul as a Hebrew of Hebrews in 3:4-6. It is impossible, even at the very end of his work, that Tertullian would have passed up a chance to prove from Marcion's own text that he was Saul and he persecuted the Church validating Acts. The only reason for his silence is decisively its' absence.

10) Philippians 3:18-19 delete verses

{A}

Verse 3:18 addresses vague heretics who are enemies of the cross of Christ (τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ), but who they are is not clear. The answer is found in 3:19, which like verse 1:28 evokes damnation in a phrase similar to those found in the Catholic Epistles warning that heretics, as here "whose end is damnation"

(ὧν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια); followed by a phrase "their God is their belly" (ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία) paralleling the deutero-Pauline Romans 16:18. This makes clear those in the picture are Gnostic type heretics who deny the crucifixion or more accurately the suffering of Christ, which would be Separationist and/or Docetic type Christians. Clearly the language and the heresies are from an orthodox perspective and a later era.

11) Philippians 4:1-22 delete verses

{B}

This is getting to be something of a repeat in my reconstructions. Where Chapter 16 of Romans and chapter 16 of 1 Corinthians were found to be extended salutations and references to events depicted in Acts of the Apostles, or which are intended to elevate various names and traditions. The same is true here in Chapter 4 of Philippians. So I am going to simply catalogue these references.

4:2-3 mentions Euodia (Εὐδοίαν) and Syntyche (Συντύχην) in relationship with Clement (Κλήμεντος) linking them to the legend of Flavius Clemens. Of course this Clemens was an adult in the reign of Domitian, so could not possibly have been known to Paul of Acts. This accounts for the reference in verse **4:22** to Caesar's household, as Titus Flavius Clemens was a cousin of Domitian and Titus, hence ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας. Since the story of his execution for atheism comes from Cassius Dio's Annals written around 229 CE, we can reasonably assume that this is a late 2nd century rumor that he was Christian giving rise to his legend. As with other greetings (ἀσπάζονται) – a word not found in Marcion – the editors pay little attention to reasonable fiction placing people of any era in the list. The aim is association with Paul and Christian heroes, and so too here. Another theme is the Book of Life (βίβλω ζωῆς) clearly drawn from Revelation 17:8 20:15 and 21:27 (see also 3:5, 13:8, 20:12) and seems to imply a compilation, suggestion these people are already dead and working on it with Paul in heaven (per Luke 10:20). Verses **4:6** draw from the Matthew 6:25 "do not be anxious" (μηδὲν μεριμνᾶτε) in fitting the parousia theme, where **4:5** says "the lord is near" ὁ κύριος ἐγγύς and thus the suggestion to make your requests to God in prayer now. **Verses 4:7-9** are built on the parousia theme, encouraging living right; summed up in **4:9** to follow was has been learned and received (ἃ καὶ ἐμάθετε καὶ παρελάβετε) speaking of traditions handed down, again a post-Marcionite teaching. **Verse 4:9** also references the God of Peace from deutero-Pauline Romans 15:33.

Verses 4:10-13 is a strange discourse, where Paul talks about what he has learned. There is a strange reference to the learned mysteries (μεμύημαι) which is a hapax legmona. It tells us this passage is from a pagan mystery religion initiation rite. The closest Canonical parallel is Mark 10:21/Matthew 19:20. This implies that the Christians in verse 4:10 are supposed to understand some mystery. The origins of verses 4:10-13 is unknown.

(I need to research pagan cults and Gnostic sects to figure out where this came from)

Verse 4:14 is a pastiche of several Pauline verses (2 Corinthians 1:4, 7:4, 1 Thessalonians 3:7) which is given away by instead of pairing with being comforted by the faithful it a shared partaking συνκοινωνήσαντές, that is part of the recipe for Christian faith. This is new, not found elsewhere in Marcion, the Antonine plague again seems to be in view.

Verse 4:15 makes reference to the Marcionite prologue about Philippi standing in the faith from the beginning, with Act 16:12 story of Paul passing through in mind. The collection of funds is also present, a feature of the Catholic editor as funding the church is now an ongoing enterprise.

Verse 4:16-17 are clearly a reference to the two epistles of Paul to Thessalonica, maybe Acts 17:1-2

Verse 4:18 is a pastiche of Ephesians 5:2 fragrant offering (προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας), but here Epaphroditus is the sacrifice –confirming that he is viewed as already dead by the writer of this and earlier mentions– which is well pleasing to God (ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας, θυσίαν δεκτὴν, εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ)

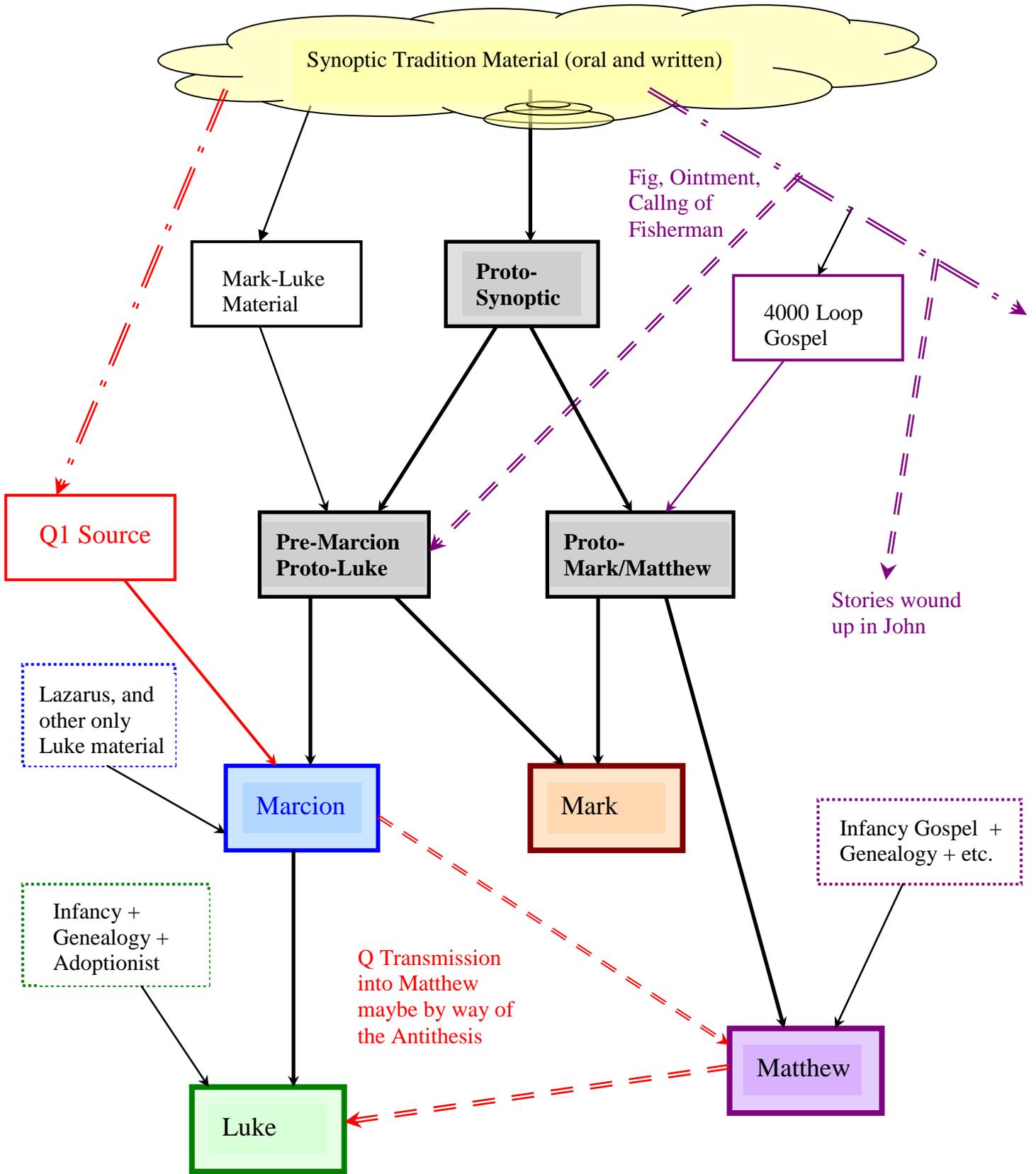
Verse 4:19 includes a pastiche of 2 Thessalonians 2:14 about the glory of Christ Jesus

Verse 4:20 parallels directly the deutero-Pauline Galatians 1:4-5, quoting 4 Maccabees 18:24 verbatim.

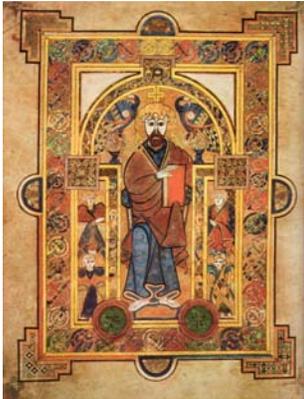
Verses 4:21-22 have the word "greetings" ἀσπάζονται which is never used by Marcion, disqualifying them

Note, verse 4:23 may have read μετ' ὑμῶν instead of μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν but there is not sufficient evidence to make an adjustment, so I let stand the UBS text.

Redaction Modal



The Gospel of John: Context of Authorship



John, Book of Kells (800 CE)

The Gospel of John is very different from the Synoptic Gospels in composition and content. But it is also very different in theology, and it is my aim to demonstrate its dependence and opposition to the Synoptic Gospels, especially Matthew and Mark, and the Catholic theology they espouse. Although I am treading on ground already covered by Joseph Turmel some ninety years ago, and more recently by Roger Parvus, [1] there is still much to be learned by a comparison between John and the Synoptic Gospels in Catholic form. To that end I will survey some of the most obvious passages without attempting to splice the layers, with the hope of demonstrating the allegorical meaning the original author intended.

In surveying the content of the Gospel of John today with knowledge of the second century controversies, I am struck by the consistent and blunt repudiation of the Jewish God as the father of Christ, and more generally its opposition against every Jewish Christian theological point we find presented in the rest of the New Testament. It is truly a wonder this book, even with redaction, ever made it into canon.

John is not Elijah to come:

The very first point of that opposition concerns the presentation of John the Baptist. Thomas L. Thompson, [2] correctly identifies the motif behind John the Baptist's appearance in Synoptic Gospels as fulfilling the prophetic role of the second coming of Elijah called for in Malachi. The opening of the Gospel of Mark uses two passages from the prophets to announce John's mission, Isaiah 40:3 and Malachi 3:1. The reference here is an allusion Malachi 4:5, [3] Elijah to return before the day of the Lord. This is the same passage of Malachi used in by the Catholic editor of Luke 1:17 assigning the role to the yet to be born John the Baptist, and Malachi 3:1 is repeated in Zechariah's prayer in Luke 1:68-79, and finally in Luke 7:27 when Jesus is speaking of John. This is most explicitly declared in Matthew, after repeating Malachi 3:1 in verse 11:10, when in verse 11:14 Jesus says, *"And if you are willing to accept it, John himself is Elijah who was to come."*

But this position is outright rejected by the author of the Gospel of John, when in verse 1:21 the Jews, after asking John if he was Christ, then ask if he is Elijah, which he then answers in the negative

*And they asked him, "Who then? Are you Elijah?" and he said, "I am not."
"Are you the prophet?" and he answered, "No."*

To make the point beyond dispute, the author begins the questioning by having John give testimony (ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Ἰωάννου) not just say but in verse 1:20, "confess and not deny and confessed that" (καὶ ὁμολόγησεν καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσατο, καὶ ὁμολόγησεν ὅτι), he is not Christ nor Elijah nor a prophet. That this confession is encompasses all three is vouchsafed in verse 1:25 when the Pharisees ask him why he baptizes if he is not "*Christ nor Elijah nor the prophet.*" Clearly the writer of this passage does not give John the status of a prophet, and certainly not as Elijah or Elisha resurrected. Further there is no mention of John's baptizing for the remission of sins as in the Synoptic versions. John's role in this passage maps back to the opening poem, verses 1:6-8, where John is a man sent to testify. [4]

The purpose of this denial of the Elijah role is because the Christ which John supports was unknown and unannounced when he arrived. John tells us his Christ was unknown and unrecognized in John the Baptists reply to the Pharisees in verse 1:26, stating "*Among you stands one you do not know (οὐκ οἶδατε) "*

This response maps back to the opening poem, verse 1:10, where Christ is not known in the world.

"He was in the world ... and the world did not know him. (οὐκ ἔγνω)"

The world has no knowledge of Christ, that is "no gnosis" (οὐκ ἔγνω) , and in verse 1:18 we are told "God has never been seen" (θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε). [5] And we are told Christ is the one who explains him, that is the unknown Christ from verses 1:10 and 1:26. The rejection of John as Elijah is also a rejection of the God of Moses and the Prophets, and it is a feature that will become clearer as we progress through the Gospel.

Jesus is not the Davidic Christ:

In verse 3:13 Jesus discusses his own nature declaring "*And no one has ascended into heaven, except the one who descended out of heaven"*

That he is speaking of himself as the Christ is clear when he say this one is "the son of man" (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου). The theology is straight from the Marcionite Gospel where in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, "*he descended into the Galilean city of Capernaum,*" which Tertullian informs us "*means from the heaven" (utique de caelo).* [6] In the prologue verse 1:14 can be seen as an answer to the Catholic argument that Christ came from the creator's heaven, when it declares

And the word became flesh and dwelt (ἐσκήνωσεν = "made his tent") among us

The method that the Christ/word took on flesh led to much speculation, [7] but that the Christ is heavenly being is clear from the prior verse, speaking metaphorically of believers and more literally of Christ.

Those not of blood, nor the will of flesh, nor the will of a husband

Again the metaphor to believers and more literally to Christ, "*but were born of God" (ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν).* There is no mistaking, the generation (ἐγεννήθησαν) of Jesus is not from flesh and blood, not from any father, and so not from David.

It should also be noted that the language used concerning the children of God in 1:13 parallels Paul's declaration of mission to preach to the gentiles in Galatians 1:16 when he states, *I did not immediately consult (with) flesh and blood.*

A mission that he received directly from revelation of Jesus Christ (Galatians 1:1, 11-12 Marcionite form). A revelation consistent with the prologue in verse John 1:18, where it is Christ from the bosom of God who explains him (ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο). [8] This stands in direct conflict with the Catholic presentation of Christ, most explicitly stated in the Catholic declaration of Paul's authority with the creed from Romans 1:1-3 when it declares the source as

the gospel of God,

which He (i.e., God) promised beforehand through His prophets in the holy Scriptures, concerning His Son, who was born of a descendant of David according to the flesh.

εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ,

ὃ προεπηγγείλατο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν γραφαῖς ἀγίαις,

περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα

This Christ of flesh and blood cannot be the same one which the gospel of John speaks. In verse 6:38 Jesus declares "*I have descended from heaven*" (καταβέβηκα ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ). This references the opening of the Marcionite Gospel as reported by Tertullian (AM 4.7.1) "*In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius,*" he (Marcion) proposes, "*he came down to the Galilean city of Capernaum,*" of course meaning from the heaven of the Creator, to which he had previously descended from his own.

Anno quintodecimo principatus Tiberiani, proponit, eum descendisse in civitatem Galilaeae Capharnaum, utique de caelo creatoris, in quod de suo ante descenderat.

The Marcionites clearly read the opening of their gospel as meaning that Jesus when he came down into Capernaum (Καὶ κατήλθεν εἰς Καφαρναοῦμ) he was coming down from heaven, as in the second heaven above the clouds which belongs in their cosmology to the creator, which he had to pass through from his own heaven (i.e., 2 Corinthians 12:2 'the third heaven' τρίτου οὐρανοῦ) where he comes from, where the unknown God abodes as pure light. (Note, the first heaven is the sky where the birds fly, and that also belongs to the creator God.) So when Jesus says he descended from the heaven in John, the reader is immediately aware that John's Jesus is not from the creator, and that his father is far above him.

This reading of the distinction between John's Christ and the one expected by the Jews is reinforced later when the crowds discuss whether this Jesus is the Christ in verses 7:40-42 bringing the issue into focus

Some of the crowd having heard these words said,

'This one is truly the prophet.'

Others said, 'This one is the Christ.'

But some said, 'Surely the Christ cannot come from Galilee?'

Do not the scripture say that the Christ comes from the seed of David (σπέρματος Δαυίδ) and from the village of Bethlehem where David was from?'

Therefore a division (σχίσμα) occurred in the crowd (ὄχλῳ) because of him

The crowd in this passage are clearly referencing Christians of the day. Split between those who agree with the unannounced Christ, and others arguing with the creed from Romans 1:2-3 that Jesus was heralded before in the Jewish scriptures, such as Isaiah, Psalms, and Malachi, and was

from the seed of David and born in Bethlehem; corrective notes made in the later redaction of Luke 2:2 and also Matthew 2:1. The division (*σχίσμα*) in the crowd represents the splitting of the Church that occurred in the mid-second century, reputedly between Marcion and the Roman bishop during the reign of Antoninus.

This theme of division (*σχίσμα*) in the Christian church represented here, recurs with more details, and more insight into the situation in the church. Nicodemus, who said in verse 3:1 to be a Pharisee and ruler of the Jews (*ἄρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων*), can easily be seen to allegorically represent a leading Christian elder or priest -perhaps a bishop- of the orthodox camp, which is given away when Jesus chides him for not knowing about spiritual birth refers to him as "*the teacher of Israel*" (*ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ*) in verse 3:10. This role as stand in for the orthodox leadership makes sense, given John's heretical view of Christ, when Jesus laments in 3:11-12 that they "*do not receive our testimony*" (*τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἡμῶν οὐ λαμβάνετε*). The plural "we" gives away that the author is speaking of the rejection of his camp's view of Christ, which was revealed in verse 3:13 about ascending and descending.

This Nicodemus returns again in the discussion by the Pharisees about the divided crowd above in verses 7:45-52 appear to represent the counter argument of the orthodox. Verses 7:48-49 in particular offer clues to the situation

*Surely none of the rulers (ἄρχόντων) believed in him, nor of the Pharisees?
But this crowd (ὄχλος) who do not know (μὴ γινώσκων) the Law is cursed.*

We see apparently none of the rulers (*ἄρχόντων* = bishops) or pharisees (*Φαρισαίων* = priests or elders) believe in this Jesus that John writes about. The crowd, now representing only the portion who accept John's Christ are said to be cursed by these leaders (of the church) because they don't know the Law, that is the Jewish Law. The implication here is they have the wrong view of Christ, they are accepting a view other than that expressed in the formula given in Romans 1:2-3. This is made clear in verse 7:52 when in response to Nicodemus appeal, first question which camp he belongs to by asking if he is also a Galilean, which seems to imply a follower of John's Christ. And then speaking of scripture say, "Search and see that no prophet is to arise from Galilee." This goes back to the concept of a predicted Christ. The Pharisees represent the orthodox priesthood expecting a fore announced Davidic Christ, the "crowd" representing John's view receives an unannounced "Galilean" Christ. And the Galilean also represents a Christ for the gentiles, as witnessed by the Pharisees saying in verse 7:35 about where Jesus might travel *Surely he intends to travel to the to the diaspora (διασποράν) of the Greeks and to teach the Greeks?*

The travel to teach the Greeks can be understood as representing the Pauline mission. And the vocabulary of division in terms of Jew and Greek is exactly what is seen in the Marcionite Apostolikon, as found in Romans 1:16 (note, Marcion reads - *τε πρώτων*) and 1 Corinthians 1:22, and which is behind the statement of two teachings in 1 Corinthians 15:11 (*εἴτε οὖν ἐγὼ εἴτε ἐκεῖνοι*). The author has left no doubt that his Christ in the Greek camp.

The God of Jesus:

When the resurrection is discussed in verse 5:29, it is delineated amazingly along Marcionite lines,

*those who have done good (ἀγαθὰ) to the resurrection of life,
those who have done evil (φαῦλα) to the resurrection of judgment.*

This is the same split parallel in Marcion between the good God of life and the other God of judgment. And this is not a mere accidental parallel, the explanation of the judgment is given prior in the famous commentary of verses 3:16-21 about the light and darkness, life and judgment. Verse 3:20 uses the identical word for those "doing evil" (φαῦλα πράσσων) that is found nowhere else, vouchsafing the connection of these passages. The role of judgment is not for believers as we see in verses 3:17-18

*For God did not send his son into the world that he might judge the world,
but that the world might be saved through him.*

The one faithful is not be judged; the one unfaithful is already judged.

This God does not judge, his Christ saves. The implicated that the unfaithful, that is those not belonging to the church, are left behind for judgement because they preferred darkness to the light (verse 3:19). But the faithful face no judgment, as we find in verse 5:24 leading to the passage about resurrection above.

In verse 5:37 John makes clear that the father is not the Jewish God when he declares to the Jews,
neither have you ever heard his voice, nor have you seen his form

This statement cannot apply to the Jewish God because he spoke to Moses and showed his form from the backside in Exodus 33:21-23. The Christ that John is presenting instead descends from heaven as he himself states in verse 6:38 from a strange previously unknown deity.

The Equality of Christ and God:

In chapter five after the healing on the sabbath, Jesus has a discussion with the Jews, which highlights the differences between John's Christ and the expected one of the Jewish Christians. In verse 5:24 the objection the Jews give for opposing Jesus is not just that he was breaking the sabbath,

"but also he was saying his own father was God, making himself equal to God."

This equality objected to was explicitly stated by Jesus in verse 5:21

*For just as the father raises the dead and gives them life,
so also the son give life to whom he wills.*

Jesus goes even further in verse 10:30, when after saying the father has given him is greater than all else (in the world) he says, "I and the father are one" (ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἓν ἐσμεν).

This point of Christ being equal to God is not Modalist per se, but rather an aspect of the Marcionite position that Christ carries with him all the power and being of God. [9] This oneness of Christ and God, a principle taught by the Valentinian Ptolemy, [10] is also hinted at in *Dialogue Adamatius* 1.10 when the Marcionite champion Megethius states

The (God) of the Jews and the Demiurge are the same, but our (God) is not his son

Ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν, ὁ δημιουργός, ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος οὐκ ἐστιν αὐτοῦ υἱός.

Iudaeorum deus unus atque idem est, noster autem non est illius filius.

The equality of father and son is clear, to the point of Jesus being God in Megethius' statement. This explains why there was no need for the father to raise him from the dead. In fact John states that Jesus himself possesses this authority (ἐξουσίαν), in the sense of a King's power or jurisdiction, outright in verses 10:17-18 when speaking about the reason for his dying and rising. "because I lay down my life (ψυχὴν = literally 'my soul'), that I may take it again.

No one takes it from me, but I lay it down of my own accord.

*I have the authority (ἐξουσίαν) to lay it down,
and I have the authority (ἐξουσίαν) to take it again"*

The other point which is clear is that the son of the Jewish God, who created the world and gave Moses the Law, is not the same Christ as the one John presents. [11] Another point of the Synoptic gospels stress is related to his death. In the Synoptic Gospels, represented here by Matthew 26:39 (see also Mark 14:36, Luke 22:42 [12]) Jesus prays, asking

*"My Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me;
nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt."*

But in John 12:27 Jesus flat out denies he asked the father for his cup to be removed, [11b] that his life be spared, saying instead

"Now is my soul troubled. And what shall I say?

'Father, save me from this hour'? (Πάτερ, σῶσόν με ἐκ τῆς ὥρας ταύτης)

Instead, for this I have come to this hour. "

Jesus' death is a deliberate act, the entire purpose of his coming - as we shall see -is to overthrow the ruler of the world by his death and resurrection. Jesus is showing here how impossible it would be for him to ask that the cup be removed and that his life be spared.

This brings us to verse 5:43, which is often seen as a reference to a historical figure in the role of a false Christ, [13] where Jesus states

I have come in the name of my father, and you do not receive me.

If another comes in his own name, that one you will receive.

But the verse is drawn from the imagery of verse 1:11, clearly does not refer to any figure in a literal historical parallel. Rather it is a reference is to the very Jesus of the Orthodox camp whose father is father is known, the creator and God of the Law and the prophets.

Jews (and Jewish Christians) do not worship the father of Christ

The Marcionite version of Galatians 4:22-31 presents Abraham's two sons very differently than the Catholic version. In the Marcionite the son of the bond woman (παίδισκης) corresponds to the old testament, which Tertullian reports he says "one is from Mount Sinai, in the synagogue of the Jews according to the Law, is born into slavery" (unum a monte Sina in synagogam Iudaeorum secundum legem generans in servitute). Now whether "in the synagogue of the Jews according to the Law" is actually in Marcion's original text or is a marginal note incorporated in the copy before Tertullian is immaterial. The theological point is clear, the slave woman's son is born a slave and Marcion associates with Jews and by extension Jewish (Catholic) Christians by mention of the Law in addition to the synagogue. It is worth nothing that this follows [Hadrianic Law](#) and not Mosaic Law, where the child of a woman attains the legal status of the mother and not the father. [14] The Law and Synagogue and by extension the Jewish God as seen as the source of slavery.

A discussion concerning these competing views of the descendants of Abraham occurs in chapter 8 after Jesus declares in verses 8:31-32 to those in the audience who believe in him, but heard heard by all the Jews, that

"If you continue in my word (λόγῳ τῷ ἐμῷ), you are truly my disciples. You will know the truth and the truth will free (ἐλευθερώει) you."

The Jews retort in verse 8:33

"We are descendants of Abraham (Σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ) and we have been enslaved by no one ever"

The audience is aware of course of Bellum Iudaicum and the more recent Bar Kokhba revolt, seeing the ironic comedy in this statement. Letting the Jews, who represent Catholic Christians here, declare the position that Sarah's child Isaak gives Jews freedom and the special standing as holders of the Old Testament (books of Moses and prophets = τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ) reflected in the Catholic text in Romans 3:2 that states,

'[for] firstly they are the entrusted with the words of God.' (τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ)

But this special position and understanding of the sons of Abraham allegory is not accepted by John's Jesus, who replies completely consistently with the Marcionite view (see also Romans 6:16, 8:2, etc) in verses 8:34-37 when he states,

"that everyone who commits sin is a slave to sin.

But the slave does not belong in the household forever but the son remains forever.

.. I know you are descendants of Abraham (σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ)

... my word (ὁ λόγος ὁ ἐμὸς) has no place in you."

The slave not staying in the household refers to the turning out of the bond woman's son in the Abraham story in Exodus 21:10. The roles are reversed from the Exodus account in the allegory of the Marcionite Galatians 4:21-31 story and Jesus here in the fourth Gospel. Jesus is making a direct condemnation of claims of "Jewish" Orthodox Christianity, stating that his word is not to be found there.

But the critical distinction between Jewish Christians as represented by the Jews, and Johannine Christians as represented by Jesus, comes to the fore in verse 8:38 when Jesus says,

"I speak of the things I have seen with the father,

Whereas you do the things you have heard (ἠκούσατε) from your father."

There is no mistaking, we are talking about two different Gods, two different fathers. The God the Jews (i.e., Catholics) follow is the one who was not seen by but who spoke to Moses. The author is showing his awareness that the Catholic concept of hearing (ἀκούω) the word of God (τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ from Romans 3:2) and rejects this position, [15] claiming instead his authority by the God whom Jesus has seen and whom he reveals, which neither the Jews nor anyone else has seen before. It is a clear statement of the unknown God being the father of Jesus, and the God Moses spoke to as the father of the Jews, and they are not the same.

And in an extraordinary claim, when the Jews declare, "Abraham is our father" (Ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ ἐστίν), Jesus sharply replies in verses 8:39-41, claiming they are not truly Abraham's sons, and is in effect calling them bastard descendants of the bond woman when he says

"If you were children of Abraham you would have been doing the works of Abraham; but now you are trying to kill (ἀποκτεῖναι) me ... Abraham did not do this. You are doing the work of your father."

This charge can only be understood if Jesus is speaking allegorically about the story, in the matter stated in Galatians 4:24 (ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα). This is why he qualifies their sonship on their doing as Abraham has done, rather than birth status. And why he assigns them instead to the father they do follow, their God. The Jews, again representing also the position of orthodox Christians, do not accept their lineage being characterized as from the slave woman (Hagar), reading the story literally, and thus cannot be illegitimate heirs, the result of the adulterous out of wedlock mating, and so reply,

"We were not born of fornication (πορνείας). We have one father, God"

The Jews, standing in for Orthodox Christians, are stating that they are legitimate heirs, and the their father -that is the father of the Christ they accept- is the God of Abraham, the Jewish God, the God of Creation. Jesus' reply in verse 8:42-47 is a stinging rebuke, rejecting their claim to have the same God and father of himself, Christ, a position which can only be understood from the heretical viewpoint,

"If God were your father, you would have loved me, for I came forth and have come from God."

Jesus is saying that those who are reject him also reject his father. He then makes clear who the father of those Jews who reject him is.

"You are from your father the devil (διαβόλου), and you want to do the desires of your father.

He was a slayer of men from the beginning

and does not stand in the truth, because the truth is not in him.

When he speaks, he lies (ψεῦδος). He speaks of his own things, because he is a liar (ψεύστης) and the father of them (i.e., 'lies')."

The equation of the God of the Old Testament with the devil shocks us, but that is exactly the charge Marcionite and Gnostic Christians leveled for centuries right up to the Cathars. Irenaeus puts it bluntly in the preface to his fourth book against all heresies, "*all the heretics ... blaspheme the creator.*" The first charge brought against the Jewish God is that "*he was a slayer of men from the beginning*" is the topic of the Marcionite antithesis from Dialogue Adamantius 1:11 when Megethius comments referencing the slaughter of the Amelek in Exodus 17:8ff [16] The prophet of the God of Creation, when war came upon the people, went up to the top of the mountain and stretched out his hands to God so that he might destroy many in battle.

Ὁ προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς γενέσεως, πολέμου συστάντος πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους, ἐξέτεινε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἵνα πολλοὺς τῷ πολέμῳ ἀνέλη·
Propheta dei illius, qui refertur in lege, cum bellum populo illi esset illatum, ascendit super uerticem montis et extendit manus suas ad deum ut quamplurimi hostium prosternerentur in bello.

The charge of the Jewish God being a liar, and the devil is almost certainly drawn from the charge that he is the creator of evil is found again in the Antithesis. Tertullian reports in AM 1.2.2 the Marcion 'found the Creator declaring "*I am he who created evil*" (*creatorem pronuntiantem, Ego sum qui condo mala*). [17] Further in AM 2.10.1 Tertullian notes the equivalence some Marcionites held the Creator and the Devil (and all his angels) based on Isaiah 45:7

If, however, you choose to transfer the account of evil from man to the devil as the instigator of sin, and in this way, too, throw the blame on the Creator, inasmuch as He created the devil
Sed et si ab homine in diabolum transcriberis mali elogium, ut in instinctorem delicti, uti sic quoque in creatorem dirigas culpam ut in auctorem diaboli

When Jesus says that he is a liar, and that he speaks of his own "things," he is referring to the Old Testament books as those things. Tertullian alludes to this objection by Marcion in AM 2.3.1 admitting inconsistencies. These "things" are made clear when the debate is resumed when, after the Jews accuse Jesus of blasphemy for making himself equal with God, he states in verse 10:34
"Has it not been written in your Law, 'I said, you are gods?'"

Οὐκ ἔστιν γεγραμμένον ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὑμῶν ὅτι Ἐγὼ εἶπα Θεοί ἐστε;

Clearly the Law does not belong to the father of John's Jesus, and Jesus implies that the creator's Law itself suggests that the Jewish God is not alone among "gods." This statement is to be taken in sense of 1 Corinthians 8:5, 6 (attested in Marcion per AM 5.7.9 and 3.15.2) where Paul says
*For also there are many called gods either in heaven or on earth
But to us (there is) one God the father*

John in verse 10:34 is thus equating the idols addressed by Paul in 1 Corinthians with the God of creation in his own Law, and in effect Jesus is saying that he is not my God, and not my father.

In contrast to this the Jews in questioning the blind man whom Jesus gave sight to, and whose testimony they do not believe make clear this division between the God of the Law whom they follow and Jesus in their reproach to him in verses 9:28-29

You are a disciple of his, but we are disciple of Moses.

We know that God has spoken to Moses,

but we do not know (οὐκ οἶδαμεν) where he is from.

The Pharisees, representing orthodox clergy (priests), state that they are disciples of Moses, which is to say of the Law (i.e., the books of Moses) and the God of the Law, which they know Moses heard. But they do not know where Jesus comes from, because he was not announced.

When Jesus says in verse 12:32,

"and I, when I am lifted up from earth, will draw all men to myself"

The audience is again the crowd, and they respond in verse 12:34,

"We have heard from the Law that the Christ is to remain forever,

And how can you say the son of man must be lifted up?"

The crowd is referring to passages in the prophets (i.e., Isaiah 9:7, Daniel 7:14, Ezekiel 37:25, and Psalms 110:4), [18] where the savior is to reign forever. This again shows that John's Christ is not the one Jewish Christians say is in the scriptures, and does not fit those predictions.

The dispute at its core, much like all of Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem*, is over who's God, the unknown God of the heretics, or the creator God of the Law and prophets, who is the father of Christ, the true one God. John's Christ claims him as his father in verse 5:44 (τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ), and Jesus recognizes in verse 8:54 that the Jews also say "that he is our God" (ὅτι θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν). The entire conflict between the two camps comes down to this dispute over God and is the primary feature of the second century debate. It is surprising that John gives such a clear and honest presentation of the Orthodox Christian view of how they read the story of Abraham's sons

as well as his own.

Divisions among the Jews:

The Synoptic Gospels (Matthew 9:16-17/Mark 2:21-22/Luke 5:36-37) give the parables of new wine in old skins and a patch from a new garment on an old garment. In DA 2:16 the Marcionite champion Markus explains in context to John 13:34,

"The Savior clearly says, 'I give to you a new commandment.'

The new one is not the same as the old, The Savior says again,

'New wine they put in new wineskins, and both are preserved.'

The new commandment is not the complement of the old one, for the Savior says again,

'Nobody puts a patch of unshrunk cloth on an old garment.'

Neither Christ nor the Apostle is the complement of the Law."

What DA shows is that the Marcionite interpretation of these synoptic sayings is in terms of the Old Testament (i.e., the Law of Moses) and the New Testament (the word of Christ). This is the earliest, and an accurate understanding of the writer's intent, which indicates a tension existed very early over whether Christ was to be seen as coming from the old or was completely new. The impact of trying to place the new cloth on the old garment is a worse tear (Matthew 9:16/Mark 2:21). [19] The word for tear (σχίσμα) also means schism or division, and clearly that is what was meant metaphorically that divisions or schisms are created in the Christian movement when Christ is placed on the Old Testament.

In the Gospel of John there are three overt mentions of divisions in the church over exactly this point. In the first instance occurs in verse 7:43, when the crowd after hearing "*those words*" (τῶν λόγων τούτων) of Jesus, debates whether he is the Christ or a prophet or not, as one camp retorts that he cannot be the Christ because he is not the seed of David nor from Bethlehem, but a Galilean. And

Therefore division (σχίσμα) occurred among the crowd (ὄχλῳ) because of him.

Later there is another reference to division after Jesus heals the blind man from birth on a sabbath. This time rather than the common assembly, as represented by the crowd, but now the clergy, as represented by the Pharisees in verse 9:16

Therefore some of the Pharisees said,

'This man is not from God, because he does not keep the sabbath.'

[But] others said, 'How is a sinful man able to do such signs?'

And there was a division (σχίσμα) among them.

John's statement is clearly alluding to division between the orthodox who demand the Mosaic Law be upheld, as represented by keeping the Sabbath, and with it that the father is the law giver, and those like John who see Christ as being from another. The sentiment of dissenters from the Mosaic Law is summed up well in 1 Corinthians 2:4-5, where Paul's word and proclamation is "*in demonstration of spirit and power*" (δυνάμεως). The Pharisees who support Jesus here can easily be seen as heretical teachers such as Marcion and Valentinus and their followers.

After Jesus declares that he has the authority over his own death and quickening, John tells informs us in verse 10:19-21 that

Again there was a division (Σχίσμα) among the Jews because of these words. And many of them were saying, 'He has a demon,' and 'He is mad.' Why do you listen to him? Others said, 'these words (ρήματα) are not those of one demon possessed; a demon is not able to open a blind man's eyes.'

Again we see, as in verse 7:43 it is those words (τοὺς λόγους τούτους) which divides. The words or logos is here a double entendre. On the surface level it refers to the sayings of Jesus, but allegorically in the context of the Jews representing Christians the logos refers to those teachings of Christian doctrine from the camp John represents. The eyes opening is referring to a the condition of the Israel in the Sinai about whom Moses says Deuteronomy 29:4 (see also Isaiah 29:10)

and to this day the Lord God has not given you a heart to know, nor eyes to see, nor ears to hear
καί οὐ δίδωμι κύριος ὁ θεός σύ καρδία οἶδα καὶ ὀφθαλμός βλέπω καὶ οὖς ἀκούω ἕως ὁ ἡμέρα οὗτος

And the opening of the eyes of the man blind from birth, a man who is symbolic of the spiritual state of Israel, which presented as one of the signs of Christ. This is reflective of the Luke 7:22 [20] when Jesus recounts to John the Baptist's disciples the work he has done concerning these ailments

"the blind receive sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear"

τυφλοὶ ἀναβλέπουσιν, χωλοὶ περιπατοῦσιν, λεπροὶ καθαρίζονται καὶ κωφοὶ ἀκούουσιν

In summary, it is very clear that while the setting of the story is in the late second temple era of the first century, the division maps much more comfortably with the conflicts of the second century. The readers of the mid-second century would have little difficulty recognizing the parallel and understanding the allegory as referring to the present situation. This is no different than a modern movie where the characters, though portraying events and people from the distant past, behave in a modern manner the audience recognizes and addresses issues as if in the present day, presenting an allegorical story.

The Disciples of Jesus:

One of the more fascinating aspects of the fourth gospel is the presentation of the disciples. It is also one of the most difficult to evaluate, as half the Catholic additions to this gospel concern the disciples. I am convinced that all verses containing Thomas are later interpolations meant to counter the docetic Christ suggested by this gospel. I am also suspicious of almost all references to Simon Peter, including his being named Cephas in verse 1:42, verse 6:8 about the feeding of the five thousand; all the instances look to me like harmonies to the Synoptic Gospels - no proof offered at this time.

The only disciples who are secure are Philip and his brother Nathanael. Nicodemus is given as an example of disciple in secret.

One curious point occurs in verse 6:66 when we are told

After this many of his disciples drew back and no longer went about with him.

The disciples here are different than the other books of the NT for sure, as they leave John's Jesus over his teachings. Specifically it is his stating that he is the bread of life, bringing eternal

life to those who eat, while those who ate the manna Moses' God gave the Jews in the desert died. The issue that caused them to leave was a rejection of the books of Moses.

As I have shown elsewhere a disciple is the equivalent of an Apostle, and an Apostle is a Bishop. The disciples falling away are allegorical to Bishops or teachers (of a sect or school leaders) who stand with the Davidic Jesus and the Creator as God.

Jesus The Stranger:

One feature that is peculiar to this gospel -in its original form- is that Jesus is always a stranger, never a local. At Jacob's well Jesus is described the Samaritan woman says to Jesus in verse 4:8 [21]

"How is it that you, a Jew, ask a drink of me, a woman of Samaria?"

Jesus does not deny being a Judean -as she was making a point about nationality rather than religion- and instead replies as if a Jew by stating that neither holy site in Judea nor Samaria would be available for worshiping God. He accepts being a stranger.

Jesus is called a Galilean in verse 7:41 by the Pharisees in Jerusalem, Judea, when they note that the predicted Christ is to come from Bethlehem in Judea and not Galilee. They also question Nicodemus in verse 7:51-52 and ask the same question of him since he seems to be defending Jesus, as secret disciple; something hinted at in verse 19:39, if it is part of the original version of the gospel.

Jesus is called a Samaritan by the Jews/Pharisees in verse 8:48 when they ask him *"Are we not right in saying that you are a Samaritan and have a demon?"*

Jesus only answers, *"I have not a demon,"* not denying being from Samaria. Again he accepts the role of stranger, just as he did in Samaria, or being a Galilean to those looking for a Christ who is the seed of David. The key is that to any group looking at Jesus he is always in the role of an outsider, an outcast, or an alien. The theme binding all these together is that to every audience Jesus is a stranger regardless of who he is addressing. It is a metaphor for by extension God his father, an alien God like the Marcionite.

Excommunication of Heretics:

The Gospel of John, if I may continue the allegory, touches on the excommunication of heretics, putting them out of the church. I argued in my analysis of [Chapter 5 of Matthew](#), that Matthew 5:22 appears to be referencing the authorization for excommunication, when it states *But whoever says to his brother, "Raka", will be liable to the council (συνεδρίῳ).*

The Sanhedrin (συνεδρίῳ) or council, is a formal hearing, and Matthew clearly means a convening of Christian bishops and elders. It's not a trivial matter and requires assembly. This only makes sense to convene for a significant charge. As I argue that a "brother" here has much the same sense as today in the Catholic church, that is representing a church official such as a bishop, priest, elder, or monk, and that the mysterious term "Raka" (Ρακά) must be similar to the Islamic insult of hypocrite. This suggests the offense is along the lines of challenging the official's authority and probably along theological grounds. Essentially it's a charge of speaking heresy and claiming authority. Little else makes sense for such a formal hearing, which requires

fetching bishops and elders in the region and even beyond. The purpose is clearly for excommunication, putting the offender out of the building (synagogue) and separating them from the assembly (ecclesia).

The gospel of John sees the excommunication process from the viewpoint of the heretical movement. In verse 9:22 we encounter the first reference to this action, when the parents of the man blind from birth refuse to openly admit that Jesus did give him sight, *for the Jews had already agreed that if anyone confessed him to be the Christ, they would be put out of the synagogue* (ἀποσυνάγωγος)

And in fact, in verse 9:34, after their son, after being questioned and found to be a disciple of John's Christ (see verse 9:28, 9:33), "they threw him out" (καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω). The threat was very real.

After Jesus talks of the light in the world, John again presents the specter of being thrown out of the Synagogue for believing in Jesus in verses 12:36-37, 42 [22]

Jesus spoke these things, and having departed was hidden from them.

Though having doing many signs before them, they did not believe in him. ...

But nevertheless even many of the rulers believed in him,

but because of the Pharisees they would not confess [him]

lest they would be put of the synagogue. (ἀποσυνάγωγοι = excommunicated)

The Pharisees (i.e., orthodox priests) appear to have the authority to expel from the synagogue (i.e., the actual church building) those confessing heretical views of Christ such as John presents. Jesus, it should be noted, is presented as having already gone away, suggesting a gap in time. I suggest this gap in time in actually from the time of the first instructions in the Gospel by the evangelists that John knew. The situation has changed and those holding the orthodox views now control the church. That many of the rulers believed in him suggests that we should understand their identity allegorically here. The word for ruler (ἄρχων) can also be taken as an official, which is what is meant here. This is verified from verse 7:47-48 the Pharisees after being told Jesus 'spoke like no other man' by their own underlings reply,

"Are you led astray, you also?"

Have any of the authorities (ἀρχόντων) or of the Pharisees believed in him?"

John is saying then that even many church officials, represented in this story by the ruler Nicodemus, who do believe the heretical Christ but are now silent due to the strong arm tactics and power of the orthodox clergy. This seems to be a new power, and suggests the era after Marcion left, no doubt taking several clergy with him, and shifting the power balance of the remaining clergy strongly in the orthodox favor. The excommunication (ἀποσυνάγωγοι) of some of those that remained likely forced the rest to go underground; hence the failure to confess the heretical Christ. (Note, this forcing underground of heretics is likely why they formed secret societies within the church, a feature strongly associated with the Gnostic movement, but not the Marcionite.)

John actually summarizes to us the purpose for his writing this gospel in verses 16:1-4

These things (Ταῦτα) *I have spoken to you so that you may be kept from stumbling.*

They will put you out of the synagogue (ἀποσυναγωγούς)

but the hour is coming that everyone who kills (ἀποκτείνας) you supposes he is offering service to God.

These things they will do because they have not known the Father nor Me.

But these things I have spoken to you, so that when their hour comes, you may remember that I told you of them.

These things I did not say to you at the beginning, because I was with you.

Though using the voice of Jesus, the author is speaking directly to his target audience. The problem is not external, but internal. A crisis is afflicting every member of his camp within the church. John is seeing members of his camp fall away from the faith he knows, either leaving altogether or succumbing to the increasingly powerful orthodox authority which is gaining a stranglehold on the church, which is excommunicating (ἀποσυναγωγους) opponents. It has gotten to the point where nearly all the clergy accept the orthodox Jesus and believe they are doing God's will in removing the heretics. Hence the plea to remember the (original) teachings given them. Teachings that are disappearing from the church.

The writer hints that the one who taught his church is gone from the scene now. And he says that the encourager (παράκλητος = Paraclete) will come and teach the way in verse 16:7-10. It is probably a stretch to say at this point, but it does suggest Paul, or rather the Pauline letters, which will teach the correct Jesus. John's community is persecuted, as many have suggested, but not by Jews in the first century, rather by Christians in the second.

Dating the Gospel

In the story at Jacob's well, Jesus tells to the Samaritan woman in verse 4:21

"that the hour is coming when neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem will you worship the father."

He is speaking about Mount Gerizim where the Samaritans worshiped, and the Temple in Jerusalem. If the author meant by this statement that neither site would be available for Jewish and Samaritan worshipers, then the date would have to be not just after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple by Titus' army, but also after Hadrian built a temple to Zeus and to himself [23] as part of the imperial cult both at Gerizim and Aelia Capitolina. The coin to the left from the reign of Macrinus, dated 217-218 CE, shows this temple at Gerizim near Neapolis, a polis established around 72 CE after the Jewish War. It undoubtedly was started during Hadrian's tour of the east swung through Syria and Palestine in 129-130 CE.



Temple to Jupiter on Mount Gerizim

The temple on Mount Gerizim is generally thought to have been completed by about 140 CE, which would be a reasonable terminus for an earliest possible date to this Gospel. But that terminus is probably too optimistic, since John looks back on a period of excommunication of heretics, probably Marcionites from the main church which began according to the surprisingly consistent Patristic writers around 144 CE. Since John mentions some remained in the church, but went under ground "in secret," at least a half dozen years or more must be allowed for, pushing the early date out to 150-155 CE. But even this date is probably too optimistic. The reference to the Davidic formula found in Romans 1:2-3 and more specifically to Matthew 1:1, as well as specific reference to Bethlehem in Matthew 2:4-6 (Micah 5:2) shows awareness of the Protoevangelium if not the gospel of Matthew itself. Matthew could scarcely have been written before 150 CE itself, given its dependence upon a prototype Synoptic shared with Mark, and that prototype gospel's passages that look back on the Bar Kokhba revolt. It is difficult then to see John having been written much before 160 CE. Justin who was writing at about 160-170 CE is aware of Matthew but not John. So the earliest date that can be assigned is probably is 155-160 CE.

On the flip side, the gospel must have been written before Irenaeus wrote his *Adversus Haereses* around 185 CE. Working backwards a decade to allow Irenaeus to be steeped in the fourth gospel, and an upper date of 170-175 CE is reasonable, erring on the side of caution. Allowing cushion on either side, I think a date of 165 CE (+/- 10 years) is not improbable for the composition of John, although an additional Catholic layer was likely added after that.

Summary and Authorship:

The first edition of the gospel of John was written as a counter to the theology of the Jewish Christian theology presented in the synoptic gospels we see in Mark and Matthew. There is no question that a defense of the Marcionite and Gnostic cosmology is presented in the fourth gospel. Further the gospel was written after the Marcionite rupture in the church, and the splitting into proto-orthodox and heterodox camps

Several questions are raised by these observations concerning the composition of John. Which gospel specifically was John countering? Was it Matthew, or Mark, or their common \bar{u} -gospel M? And this questions spurs another, was the \bar{u} -gospel M composed to correct in Catholic terms the \bar{u} -gospel L early in the reign of Antonius? And that of course requires some effort to reconstruct both L and M. More questions are raised concerning the situation inside the church in the mid-second century. Did Marcion really found a separate church, or was it formed out of necessity by the expulsions hinted at in the Gospels of Matthew giving the orthodox perspective, and John the heretical perspective.

Finally we come to the question of authorship. Turmel suggested a Marcionite origin, Parvus argues Apellean, but I think the answer lies outside the Marcionite sect, yet still in the docetic camp. Another group that might have composed John were the Valentinians, as the end of the fourth and much of the fifth part of Dialogue Adamantius is devoted to the sect of Bardesanes (Bar Daisan), covering exactly the same texts I have covered in this survey.

Irenaeus points out in AH 3.11.2 that John 1:10-11 contradicts the Marcionite position, that

neither the world was not made by God nor Christ, and the things in the world did not belong to him. Another significant variance from the Marcionite view is found in verse 5:39, where Jesus says of the Jews -meaning Jewish/Orthodox Christians-

"You search the scriptures (γραφάς), because you think in them you have eternal life, but those are the ones (i.e., passages) testifying about me."

This suggests the author subscribes to the position that the Old Testament has some passages which are written by the good God (or his angels or his Christ), and some are written by the Creator God. This is quite different from the Marcionite position, which is seen in Galatians 4:24 where Paul says concerning Abraham's two sons

These things are allegorical (ἀλληγορούμενα); for these are the two covenants,

And again in 1 Corinthians 10:6 concerning the story of Moses and the rock in the desert

These things happened as examples for us

And again in 1 Corinthians 10:11 in reference to the Golden calf incident in the Sinai

And these things happened to them as examples, and it was written for our admonition,

The Marcionite view is generally accepted to consider the Jewish books as reliable history from which allegorical lessons (ἄτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα) can be drawn, but they do not possess any predictive value of the true God and Christ. And yet Leviticus 19:18 is held sacred (Romans 13:9, Galatians 5:14, Luke 10:27) as summing up the Decalogue which is held as good. There is a naive inconsistency here. The idea that some passages are speaking for the heretical Christ separate John from Marcion.

This position of the author of John appears to be a later development, as indeed I believe the Gnostic positions were, and I believe this developed out of polemic debate with the orthodox camp, much as the explanation for how Jesus acquired flesh when passing from the highest heavens down to earth borrowing material until he appeared as a man. They were specific answers to challenges, where debate can be seen as Darwinian battle of explanations; the ones that work stick, the ones that fail are discarded. This same principle was at work in reverse as well for the proto-Orthodox arguments.

Verse 5:45-47 reveal another significant theological development from the earlier Marcionite exegesis. Moses is said to accuse the Jews for receiving the wrong Christ (5:43) as Jesus tells them

"Do not think that I will accuse you to the father;

there is one accusing you, Moses in whom you have hoped.

For if you had believed Moses, you would have believed me,

for that one wrote concerning me.

But if that one's writings you do not believe, how will you believe my words (ρήμασιν)?"

This passage appears to take 1 Corinthians 10:1-14 and Galatians 4:21-31 (in Marcionite form) literally, rather than allegorically as Marcion did and in fact his text states. This same literalism of Marcionite text can be seen in verse 8:56 as a development of the story of Lazarus and the Rich Man in Luke 16:19-31, when Jesus says of Abraham

"Abraham your father rejoiced that he would see my day, and he saw and rejoiced."

This suggests that the author of John highly valued the Marcionite gospel, and held an opinion about its authorship similar to Dialogue Adamantius 1.8 when the Catholic champion Adamantius

asks him "Who is the writer of this Gospel you say is one?", when the Marcionite Megethius replies, "Christ." This would explain the Abraham comment above, despite the inconsistency with an unannounced Christ.

Another clue about the authorship is suggested in judgment. As we saw with the resurrection of life and judgment in verse 5:29 that judgment is only on those who do not believe. Jesus follows in verse 5:30 explaining that

"As I hear I judge, and my judgment is just"

We see the parameters of judgment are made very clear in the Jesus' comments to the Jews in verses 8:24 that judgment will be faced by non-believers and in 8:26 that indeed Jesus himself judges.

"for if you do not believe that I am he, you will die in your sins"

and

"I have much to say about you and to judge"

And in verse 8:15 Jesus compares himself to the Jews saying he does not judge men.

"You judge according to the flesh, I judge no one"

So who or what is it that Jesus is judging? The answer is found in verse 16:11 when we are told *"concerning judgment, that this ruler of this world (ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου) is judged"*

And his judgment is declared in verse 12:31

"Now is the judgment of this world, now shall the ruler of this world be cast out;"

νῦν κρίσις ἐστὶν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, νῦν ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἐκβληθήσεται ἔξω·

This maps to 1 Corinthians 2:6, where Paul says of the rulers (plural to include his minions or angels)

the rulers of this age, those who are being annulled

τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου τῶν καταργουμένων

There is a cosmic ruling, not an earthly, and we have shifted in Paul from the world to the ages. But who exactly is this ruler? One hint comes in verse 14:30 when Jesus in preparing for the Paraclete to come informs us

"for the ruler of this world is coming. He has no power over me"

ἔρχεται γὰρ ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχων· καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέν,

It is informative that Jesus says he has no power over him. This statement refers back to the authority Jesus reserves for himself over his own death and resurrection from verses 10:17-18, and can be understood in verse 19:30 when he simply says *"It is accomplished"* (Τετέλεσται) and then by his own will *"gave up his spirit."* There was no power who took his life, he gave it (παρέδωκεν). And Jesus gives up his life to the rulers of the ages as Paul puts in in 1 Corinthians 2:7-8

God's wisdom in mystery, that was hidden, which God preordained before the ages;

which none of the rulers of this age had known,

for if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.

θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ, τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην, ἣν προώρισεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων,

ἣν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἔγνωκεν

εἰ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν, οὐκ ἂν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν.

The final mapping is completed in Laodiceans / Ephesians 3:9 in Marcionite form
the mystery having been hidden from the God of the age, the one having created all things,
τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων τῷ θεῷ τῷ τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι,

Returning again to the counselor, if I may presume the Pauline Epistles in Marcionite form represent such for John, we this same ruler referred to in 2 Corinthians 4:4-5
*the God of this age, the one who blinds the minds of non-believers,
so to not shine forth the light of the Gospel of Christ[’s glory],
who is the image of God.*

ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσεν τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων
εἰς τὸ μὴ αὐγάσαι τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου [τῆς δόξης] τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ

The God of this age is the ruler of the world, the God of the world. He is the one who hides the Gospel of Christ from unbelievers; the one whom the mystery of God was hidden; the one who crucified Jesus. And he is the God of the Law, the creator of the world, the Jewish God.

Unlike the Marcionite Jesus, John's Jesus does say he judges. While the position is suggested in passages in Paul about standing before the judgment seat of Christ in 2 Corinthians 5:10, and possibly the version of Romans 14:10 John knows, [24] the concept of Christ himself judging is a feature of certain Gnostics such as the Valentinians and followers of Bardesanes [25] as well as the Jewish Christian Orthodoxy. I can draw no definitive conclusion, beyond that the theology is unquestionably heretical, and it fits a sect like Bardesanes represented, although earlier in time. What we can say about the Gospel is its dependence upon the Marcionite Gospel (e.g., both the Water to Wine and Lazarus stories are expansions from the Marcionite Gospel), Paul, and at least one of the Catholic forms of the Synoptic Gospels.

The writer wrote in the first person, using Jesus to state his case, including the reason for the Gospel in verses 16:1-4; to keep those of his camp in the fold and encourage them.

Catholic Additions:

I have not covered the Catholic additions in this paper. I will do that at another time. What I want to show was the allegories and references to current happenings the author expected his audience would understand, at least for the first decade after it was published.

Dedication:

The Gospel of John was always my father's favorite. He loved to get up on the pulpit and preach John's God of Love. The late Reverend Richard Waugh was an eloquent speaker, solid speech writer, and truly an amazing fund raiser. He left his sons, myself included, an interesting mix of contradictions to sort. But I am grateful that his theology was neither simple nor literal. Of course he held a post graduate degree, so it should not be surprising. I never knew exactly what he thought, as he never discussed the matter beyond asking what we thought. But I know that like me, his views did not depend at all on the existence or non-existence of Jesus as a person. He viewed the entire bible as first and foremost allegory, and only secondarily as historical. To that particular Presbyterian administrator, there was thus no contradiction between

Christianity (or any religions) and science or archeology or literary analysis. Religion was for him a state of mind, the belief that heaven is Life with God, not some mystical romantic land in the afterlife. Frankly I find it's a much healthier view to have, and more optimistic. It is in his honor that I am writing this series of posts on my observations concerning the Gospel of John.

Regards,

-sgw

Notes:

[1] Joseph Turmel (pseudonym Henri Delafosse), *Le quatrième évangile* (1925), presented the Gospel of John as a Marcionite product. The English translation by Daniel Mahar of this work can be found on the tabs labelled "Turmel Part 1" and "Turmel Part 2" in this blog. Roger Parvus, *Ingantius*, presents a case for the Gospel of John as an Apellean product. The similarities between those heresies and also the Valentinian type Gnostics are such that it's not certain which heretical group was responsible for the writing of this Gospel. The issue is not settled among critics.

[2] Thomas L. Thompson, *The Messiah Myth*, chapter 2 *Figure of the Prophet*, pages 27-65, presents a strong case for the character of John the Baptist filling a well established and defined role for the announcing of the Kingdom of God to come, and is a purely allegorical character. Against Robert Price, who has long pursued Jesus as John the Baptist reincarnated

[3] Marcion also built his Gospel on the OT allegory, and states this outright in the *Apostolikon* when talking about Abraham's two sons in *Glatians* 4:24 "These things are allegorical" (*ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα*), and when talking about the Manna in the wilderness in *1 Corinthians* 10:6 "These things happened as examples for us" (*ταῦτα δὲ τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν*). Marcion certainly saw John, as the "greatest born of woman," seemingly alluding to the Elijah role we find in the synoptic Gospels, especially concerning the Law stated in *Malachi* 4:4. The author of John clearly does not agree with this Marcionite tenet.

[4] Verses 1:6-8, appears to be secondary to the poem, added for punctuation to the John the Baptist story that followed. Verse 1:15 is definitely secondary secondary, interrupting the discussion on grace in verses 1:14 and 1:16, and because it recounts verse 1:27 as already read. Both

[5] The God of the Old Testament says something different to Moses in *Exodus* 33:20, "no man can see my face and live." (LXX οὐ γὰρ μὴ ὄρᾶω ἄνθρωπος ὁ πρόσωπον ἐγὼ καὶ ζῶω)

[6] *Adversus Marcionem* 4.7.1, **Anno quintodecimo principatus Tiberiani proponit eum descendisse in civitatem Galilaeae Capharnaum, utique de caelo creatoris.** Tertullian adds the last word '**creatoris**' to claim the heaven is that of the creator, which the Marcionites would say he merely passed through from the higher realm of the third heaven. I left "of the creator" off my description because it is Terullian's word and not from the heretics.

[7] For example, in *Dialogue Adamantius* 5.2, Marinus, a follower of the Gnostic Bardesanes asserts that Christ has a heavenly body (*1 Corinthians* 15:47-48), which Marinus ties directly to *John* 3:13 (DA 5.7)

[8] The relationship to Paul will become clearer with discussion of the Paraclete/counselor

below.

[9] This point of Jesus not being subordinate to the father is major difference between the Marcionite and Catholic presentations of Christ. This is seen more prominent in the resurrection, where the Marcionite Christ raises himself from the dead, as in Galatians 1:1 (Tertullian AM 5.1.3, Origen, Commentary on Galatians PL 26, read - *καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν*, and elsewhere throughout Marcion's Paul. The Catholic additions I have shown place a strong emphasis on Jesus subordination to the father (see my posts on any of the Marcionite reconstructions). There is real purpose in the Marcionite gospel being referred to as the Gospel of Christ (Galatians 1:7, Mark 1:1, 2 Corinthians 4:5) and the Orthodox Gospel of God (Romans 1:1-4). The latter name is meant to show that Christ is a subordinate son, one who requires the intervention of the father to be resurrected and who was chosen (adopted) for his righteousness (see Romans 1:1-4). In this I do agree with Bart Erhman that Adoptionist views were the earliest, at least in the orthodox camp.

[10] Irenaeus, *Adversus Haeresies* 1.8.5 notes this equality and sameness of Christ and God was taught by Ptolemy, (Note, he seems to be quoting some work of Ptolemy)

'Very properly, then, did he say,

"In the beginning was the Word," for He was in the Son;

"and the Word was with God," for He was the beginning;

"and the Word was God," of course, for that which is begotten of God is God.'

Καλῶς οὖν εἶπεν·

Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος· ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ·

καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· καὶ γὰρ ἀρχή·

καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος, ἀκολουθῶς· τὸ γὰρ ἐκ Θεοῦ γεννηθὲν, Θεὸς ἐστίν·

Bene igitur dixit,

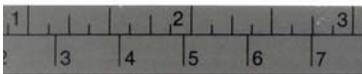
In principio erat Verbum: erat enim in Filio.

Et Verbum erat apud Deum: etenim principium.

Et Deus erat Verbum, consequenter: quod enim ex Deo natum est, Deus est.

This is a very early Valentinian position, and hints at the author's intent, so consistent it is with the themes throughout the fourth Gospel.

[11] Note, when comparing to the orthodox version of Christ, it is important to remember that we are dealing with the second century orthodoxy and not the synthesis which became the doctrine which is confessed to day (i.e., Trinitarian). And it is easy to detect in the received Catholic texts both Arian and Adoptionist stances long before either view was held as heresy. These are not going to be explored here, but simply noted, so that the reader can be aware of the positions the Johannine author objects when he makes his Christ preexisting from the beginning (verse 1:1), and gives Christ equality with the father.



p69 (P. Oxy. 2383) Recto

[12] The 3rd century fragment, known as [P69](#), is missing the entire prayer on the Mount of Olives, reading instead for verse 22:41-46

And he withdrew from them, about a stone's throw, and bent his knees and prayed. He came to his disciples and found the sleeping from grief. And he said to them, "Why are you sleeping? Get up (and) pray, lest you enter into temptation"

Claire Clivas has suggested that the reading is Marcionite. Peter head however argues instead that it is merely a local error, HT that occurs on the two forms of prayer, [προσηύχετο](#) and [προσευχῆς](#). While this is plausible mechanical explanation, it should be noted that verses 22:43-44 are in double bracket from the UBS, noted as an anti-Docetic NWI (missing from *p75* ^{NCORR} A B N T W f13 579 Syr, Cop, some OL) by Bart Ehrman. Even conservative commentator Wieland Willker admits that the inclusion or exclusion is purely theological, included to show Christ was flesh and blood or not included because he was not.

But this same principle needs to be applied to verse 22:41, and the entire prayer. The asking for the removal of the cup serves two polemic purposes. The first is to show the subservience of Jesus to the father, and the second to show that Jesus was human and loved life and did not want to die. This latter point is significant because it demonstrates that Jesus had no control over his resurrection, and so required faith. This is not acceptable to Marcion, as in his Galatians 1:1 Paul declares that Christ arose himself from the dead. In addition the cup imagery concerns Paschal blood sacrifice, an image not found in Marcion, not attested neither here nor in the digression of 1 Corinthians 11:22-32, which I have argued elsewhere is a late 2nd century Catholic interpolation.

Peter Head goes wrong because he does not seriously consider the possibility of Marcionite priority, and he does not acknowledge the two way street of theological adjustments which Willker recognizes. While a mechanical error is possible, it should also be recognized that digressions, even when compositional by the original author, often return to the narrative with

the same word. (Need to provide an example)

[13] The false prophet or antichrist, is a cosmic concept. My first take was that this was a reference to Simon Bar Kosiba, and then possibly to Hadrian setting up the Imperial cult in the east, a better candidate for sure. But here the reference is to the Jewish Christian Christ in literature. The author is speaking allegorically, saying the "wrong" Christ, that is the son of David in the flesh, is being accepted in place of the divine Christ who always was.

[14] Hadrian's ruling can be found in [Gai Institutionum Commentarins Primus 81-82](#). The significance of this ruling is only realized after suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt and the dissolving of the Judea (and Samaria) province. This effectively put all Jews under the jurisdiction of the Roman Law of Nations. This resulted in lawsuits concerning circumcision of slaves, since without Mosaic Law in force it circumcision would have been illegal And that led to Antoninus ruling that Jews may circumcise their own children but no slaves or freemen in their households - a ruling only necessary by the end of Mosaic Law.

A curious side bar on Hadrian's ruling on the status of children born to slaves and free women. It appears that Claudius ruled in a clumsy way allowing free women and citizens to sell their children by claiming they procreated with a male slave. This was a booming trade. Also men were claiming citizen fathers.

[15] The concept of hearing (*ἀκούω*) is tied closely to the concept of the calling (*κλητός*) in the Catholic layers of the Pauline letters.

[16] There are many other examples of God slaying. For certain the incident in 2 Kings 2:24 is contrasted against Luke 6:29 in DA 1.12 as another example of the murderous behavior of the Jewish God. Although the Marcionites commented on some passages there are plenty to choose from since in the OT God is often portrayed as warlike, sometimes vengeful, striking down men, be it the plagues thrown on Egypt, the destruction of Sodom, to slaughters in battle attributed to him.

[17] This same point is made by Simon Magus, who is basically a Manichean stand-in, also makes reference to a host of Old Testament texts to make the case for many Gods in Recognitions 16.6, including Genesis 3:22, Genesis 3:5, Exodus 22:28, Deuteronomy 4:34, Jeremiah 10:11, Deuteronomy 13:6, Joshua 23:77 LXX, Deuteronomy 10:17, Psalms 35:10, 86:8, Psalms 50:1, Psalms 82:1

[18] The failure of the author of this verse to know the Old Testament reference being in the prophets and not in the Law (books of Moses) makes me suspicious about whether he is aware at all of the OT content except through his reading of the Marcionite antithesis.

[19] The Marcionite text for Luke 5:36-37 seems to reflect the readings found in Matthew 9:16-17 (see DA 2:16). Tertullian in AM 4.11.9 reports how the Marcion read the verse You have erred also in that declaration of the Lord, wherein He seems to make a difference between things new and old. You are inflated about the old wineskins, and your brain is muddled with the new wine; and therefore to the old (that is to say, to the prior) gospel you have sewed on the patch of your novel heresy.

Errasti in illa etiam domini pronuntiatione qua videtur nova et vetera discernere. Inflatu es utribus veteribus et excerebratus es novo vino, atque ita veteri, id est priori evangelio, pannum haereticae novitatis assuisti.

[20] Ironically these miracles recounted in Marcion's Gospel above are drawn from the day of the Lord in Isaiah 29:18-19. It is very clear Marcion drew from the Old Testament for his allegories, whether Luke 7:22, or the two sons of Abraham in Galatians, or 1 Corinthians 10:1-14 stories of the Rock in the desert and the serpents.

[21] There is a non-Western Interpolation in verse 4:9, not found in \aleph^* , D, it(a, b, d, e, j), which reads "For Jews have no dealings with Samaritans" ($\text{οὐ γὰρ συνχρῶνται Ἰουδαῖοι Σαμαρείταις}$). This looks to me like an early marginal note that found its way into the text, which was meant to explain to readers unaware of the animosity between Jews of Judea and Samaria (Israel), so that they would understand why the woman saw Jesus as a stranger. This interpolation is the earliest witness to the stranger interpretation

[22] It is fairly obvious that verses 12:38-41 were added by a later Catholic editor. I will not make a case here. The primary grounds concerns using the OT to show predictive elements in John's Christ, and to explain away the authorities failure to accept Christ was consistent with Isaiah 53:1 and 6:10 LXX.

[23] Barbara Burrell, in her 2003 paper *Temples of Hadrian, not Zeus*, brings up the strong possibility that the temples built by Hadrian were very likely not for Zeus Hypsistos, but for himself, part of the Imperial cult. While she examines the neocorate temples dedicated in Greece and Asia, there seems little reason to think this same policy might not have extended into the middle east. If true it paints a new light on the potential identity of the son of lawlessness referred to in 2 Thessalonians.

[24] Marcion is amongst the oldest witnesses for the harmony to 2 Corinthians 5:10 in Romans 14:10. Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 5.14.14 reads, *Bene autem quod et in clausula tribunal Christi comminatur*. Marcion reads "Christ" XY for "God" ΘY (note the best manuscripts B \aleph^* A C* D F G 1506 1739 read "God", all others agree with Marcion). The UBS is correct, the original was "God."

[25] Marinus, a follower of Bardaisan (Bardesanes) in Dialogue Adamantius 3.11 explains that the good God judges the evil one, his angels and those who follow him.

<http://sgwau2cbeginnings.blogspot.com/2013/08/the-antithesis-and-relationship-of.html>

Saturday, August 3, 2013

The Antithesis and the relationship of Matthew 5:3-48 to Marcion



The Book of Kells: Matthew (c.800)

I left off my analysis of Matthew's dependence upon the Antithesis, after showing a pair of blocks in Chapter 5 that matched wording from the Marcionite Antithesis. But now I will examine the entirety of the chapter and show verse by verse the dependence upon Marcion as source, explaining every phrase.

Matthew structure differs dramatically from the other Synoptic Gospels. Several years ago, back in the early 1990s, I spent a considerable amount of time trying to understand the Synoptic Gospels without a clue to the theology involved. Being an engineer by profession, I liked purely mechanical solutions, since at least in theory you could construct a model that explained the development. Of course this didn't get me anywhere because without a thorough understanding of the theological developments there was no way to distinguish between early and late material.

This situation is compounded in view by an atmosphere of sophomoric theories and silliness bred from ignorance of those in the field. I decided they were all nuts, and undisciplined, or rather unwilling to cross pollinate with higher critics and gain insights, and so were hopelessly locked in a useless battle pitting one flawed theory against another. Today however knowing Marcion's text and theological and historical events which shaped the New Testament, I now have the tools to break down Matthew's unique structure and explain in the context of known history, not fiction.

Matthew's structure is unique among the Synoptic Gospels. The sequences of stories, while on the micro level follows pattern of the others, is in the large picture scrambled. Even the so called Q document stories and sayings do not follow the sequence of Luke. The rather obvious conclusion is Matthew structured his gospel differently because his emphasis was other than telling a linear story. His blocks served another purpose. And the block that I am concerned with today is the Sermon on the Mount, which itself consists of three sections: the first in chapter 5 builds around Luke's blessings and sayings in 6:20-36, adding elements from elsewhere in Luke, commenting all the while on Marcion's antithesis as we will demonstrate; while chapter 6 is focused on piety, collecting a variety of sayings from Luke's central section; and chapter 7 is built upon the sayings of Luke 6:37-49 with a few sayings from the central section. My focus here is on the first section, chapter 5, and specifically how it was built on

Marcion's antithesis.

The Synoptic Gospel Problem:

Here is my ten thousand foot view of the Synoptic problem, and how it is best explained. [1] First we really have four Synoptic Gospels, since Marcion (Gospel of the Lord) can be almost entirely reconstructed - none publicly available are critical scholarship quality, and I have only partially done so on a per need basis for my other work. [The solution that works best](#) to explain all the evidence is this

1. an ür-Gospel, let's call it "L" is written with the basic sequence
 2. a variant ür-Gospel of an early "L" is written with additional material (e.g., 4000 loop), call it "M"
 3. Marcion's Gospel is written using "L" as a backbone, stories and sayings from Marcion's camp are added
 4. Matthew is written using "M" and Marcion's Gospel, and for chapter five Marcion's Antithesis as sources
 5. Mark is written conflating "L" and "M"
 6. Luke is written using Marcion's Gospel as a base, plus Matthew and other sources, replaces Marcion
 7. Catholic additions here and there to all three Synoptic Gospels into the 3rd century
- note:* Matthew and Luke also made extensive use of the LXX as a source

These are the dates that best fit:

1. ür-Gospel "L" no earlier than 120 CE, no later than 135 CE, has references to events early in 2nd century
 2. ür-Gospel "M" no earlier than 140 CE, due to reference to Hadrian's statue in Aelia Capitolina
 3. Gospel of the Lord likely dates 135-145 CE, it is after "L" and also after Law having ended in Judea
 4. Matthew has to be after "M" and Gospel of the Lord, while Antoninus was Emperor, so 145-160 CE
 5. Mark can be no earlier than M, so 145-175 CE, seems to have been known only after Matthew
 6. Luke built on Marcion, Ebionite, and Matthew Gospels, before Irenaeus, so 165-175 CE
- note:* Mark is isolated from the rest of the Synoptic development, built on two ür-Gospels, nothing else.

The dating and order is based on internal dependence and first solid verification of the books. Irenaeus, probably writing around 185-190 CE, and Justin who probably wrote a few years before Irenaeus, probably 175-180 CE, are the only solid 2nd century witnesses. The dating of these men earlier and of others relies on unreliable and often fraudulent writings and unsupported speculation. I am sticking to more solid dates here.

Sources of Matthew Chapter 5:

The basic take away from the outline I give above is that Matthew and Mark have a common underlying ür-Gospel source which I call "M." So whenever I talk below about Matthew using Mark's reading I am actually referring to the lost source which underlies Matthew and Mark.

When determining the order of dependence of any given verse or a group of them – and there are places where each of the Gospels that came down to us is more primitive than the others – the best approach is to use a concept from Textual Criticism which states that when you have multiple variants, as is the case in the Synoptic Gospel verses, the question to is which reading best explains the others. The most interesting application of this concept in Matthew's Sermon is the Salt saying. The saying occupies different locations in each of the synoptic gospels, so it's original placement is in doubt - Mark's placement seems right however, but that is another story. Going through the analysis will be instructive into how this concept works looking at the three accounts

Matthew 5:13

You are the salt of the earth; but if the salt becomes tasteless, how will it become salty again?
It is no longer good for anything except to be thrown out for men to trample upon.

Υμεῖς ἐστέ τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς· ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας μωρανθῇ, ἐν τίνι ἀλισθήσεται;
εἰς οὐδὲν ἰσχύει ἔτι εἰ μὴ βληθὲν ἔξω καταπατεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Mark 9:50 [2]

Salt is good; but if the salt becomes unsalted, how will you season it?

Have salt in yourself.

Καλὸν τὸ ἅλας· ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας ἀναλον γένηται, ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτύσετε;
ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλα.

Luke 14:34-35 [3]

Salt then is good; but if even salt becomes tasteless, how can it season?

Neither for soil nor for manure is it suitable, they throw it out.

Καλὸν οὖν τὸ ἅλας· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἅλας μωρανθῇ, ἐν τίνι ἀρτυθήσεται;
οὔτε εἰς γῆν οὔτε εἰς κοπρίαν εὐθετόν ἐστιν, ἔξω βάλλουσιν αὐτό.

The initial impression looking at the three versions is that Mark's version seems to be the most primitive, as it appears lacks any religious connotations, a folksy saying that could have been derived from any Mediterranean culture. The construction is also the simplest *καλὸν τὸ ἅλας* that has poetic symmetric to *τὸ ἅλας ἀναλον*, and fits the punch line in keeping the salt theme, "have salt in yourself" *ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλα*, which is a way of saying, 'so be an interesting person.' The only Markan element is the addition of *αὐτὸ*, which changes the question from "how can it (the salt) season" to "how can you season with it?" This was probably added with the answering suggestion "have salt in yourself" in mind, personalizing the act of seasoning to that of the reader. But this is a misreading, as the original had the salt being the object not the reader. That *αὐτὸ* is also missing from the derived accounts that Luke and Matthew give suggest that it was not in the original saying.

Luke's version has several markers which show it was derivative from Mark's version. First the *οὖν* was added in context to the prior verses 14:27, 33 concerning bearing the cross, indicating the saying has been moved and adjusted for a commentary on those verses. Luke changes "becomes unsalted" *ἀναλον*

γένηται to "tasteless" μωρανθῆ so to demonstrate that the salt has become worthless. This fits his analogy that those who cannot renounce all they have (verse 14:33) are not suitable for spreading and tending to the Christian movement, and thus, like the saying's conclusion, "neither is it suitable for soil nor manure," so "they throw it out" ἔξω βάλλουσιν αὐτό. The folksy saying has here been paraphrased – a characteristic seen often in Marcion's Antithesis– and the punch line dropped to keep the focus on the prior verses of 14:27, 33.

Matthew inherits "tasteless" μωρανθῆ from Luke's version. And he betrays this fact when he built upon Luke's concept of the salt being suitable for neither earth/soil nor manure/fertilizer, and no longer good for anything except being thrown out (ἔξω καταπατεῖσθαι) where men trample over (ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων). The development upon Luke's version is pretty obvious, deducing that while being no good for soil or fertilizer (obviously not, since it is salt), but could have use for roads since even useless salt won't let weeds grow on a road.

Matthew also betrays his knowledge of Mark's version. The punch line in Mark, ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἄλα, has been transformed into that most iconic and colorful saying, "You are the salt of the earth" Ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ τὸ ἄλας τῆς γῆς. He has transformed the advice to not be boring, into the declaration that believers are the ones who season the world and provide it flavor. Further Matthew's concluding question, "how will it become salty again" ἐν τίνι ἀλισθήσεται, only makes sense with Mark's set up in view, "but if the salt becomes unsalty" ἀν δὲ τὸ ἄλας ἀναλον γένηται, since Luke's version instead speaks of a loss of taste not of losing saltiness. Thus Matthew's version can best be explained as building upon Luke and Mark, while Luke is derivative of Mark only and missing the additional elements of Matthew. The original saying must have read as in Mark, only deleting αὐτό.

The construction in Matthew, which moved the punch line to the very start of the saying, transforming it into a declaration about a characteristic of being a true Christian, lets us know the iconic saying in verse 5:15, "You are the light of the world" Ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου, is also a phrase invented by Matthew from identical form. [4] While I have my doubts about the origin οὐ δύναται πόλις κρυβῆναι ἐπάνω ὄρους κειμένη, the rest of verse 5:16 is derived from Luke 11:33-37, and 5:15 personalizes the Lamp saying in the same manner as the Salt saying in the prior verse.

A final note, the version Salt saying in Luke is not attested in Marcion, so the result of this analysis is instructive in confirming both its presence and location in Marcion are identical to the version we received in Luke.

On Seeing God, Matthew 5:8:

Among the expanded blessings of Matthew verse 5:8 as shown here

Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.

μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται.

On the surface this seems a tame enough, but it elicited a considerable and strong reply from the Marcionites. In the pseudo-Clement Recognitions 3.29, Simon Magus takes objection to this blessing, as contradicting Torah Law, specifically Exodus 33:20 [5]

You (Peter) said now that God is visible to no one ... then (you say) those who are pure in heart shall see God; which statement is contrary to the law, for there it is written that God said, 'None shall see my face and live.'"

This objection comes directly from the Antithesis, as Tertullian states in AM 2.27.4-5, which juxtaposes a paraphrase of Luke 10:22 (Matthew 11:27) against Exodus 33:22

With regard, however, to the Father, the very gospel which is common to us will testify that He was never visible, according to the word of Christ: "No man knows the Father, save the Son." For even in the Old Testament He had declared, "No man shall see me, and live."

Ceterum patrem nemini visum etiam commune testabitur evangelium dicente Christo, Nemo cognovit patrem nisi filius. [6] Ipse enim et veteri testamento pronuntiarat, Deum nemo videbit et vivet.

What confirms that this objection was by Marcionites, and not just the much later Manicheans who Simon Magus is championing, becomes clear when we realize that the Marcionites also objected to Matthew 5:17, which we need to examine first before resolving

Fulfill or Abolish the Law? Matthew 5:17:

Matthew 5:17 is a direct response to Marcion and his claim that Christ ended the Law (Romans 10:4), stating bluntly,

Do not think that I came to abolish the Law or the prophets;
I did not come to abolish but to fulfill

Μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφῆτας·
οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι

Like the declarations of "salt of the earth" and "light of the world" to introduce sayings in 5:14 and 5:15, this declaration announces Matthew 5:18, which itself was constructed from Luke 21:33 / Mark 13:27 / Matthew 24:35, (also Luke 16:17 in Marcionite form) by changing *λόγοι μου* to *τοῦ νόμου* not only to show that Christ fulfills the Law but also that the whole Torah Law will be in force, as informed in verse 5:19. This is a direct attack on the Marcionite position as Irenaeus relates in *Omnium Haeresium Refutio* 1.27.2

But **Jesus** being derived from that father who is above the God that made the world, and coming into Judea in the times of Pontius Pilate the governor, who was the procurator of Tiberius Caesar, was manifested in the form of a man to those who were in Judea, **abolishing the prophets and the law**, and all the works of that God who made the world, whom also he calls Cosmocrator.

Iesum autem ab eo Patre, qui est super mundi fabricatorem Deum, venientem in Iudaeam temporibus Pontii Pilati praesidis, qui fuit procurator Tiberii Caesaris, in hominis forma manifestatum his qui in

Iudaea erant, *dissolventem prophetas, et Legem*, et omnia opera eius Dei qui mundum fecit, quem et Cosmocratorem dicit.

And there was a considerable reaction to Matthew 5:17. Tertullian comments four times about the Marcionite objection to Matthew 5:17, in AM 4.9.10-15, 4.12.14, AM 4.36.6, and AM 5.14.14 below

"*I came not come to destroy the law, but to fulfill it.*" The man, however, averred that He did not utter this saying at all; for he held that when we find that He did abrogate that same law, we are bound to give heed, above all other considerations, to the thing which He actually did. whether Christ did or did not say, "*I have not come to destroy the law, but to fulfill it?*" In vain has (our man of) Pontus labored to deny this statement.

Si vero evangelium Christi hoc praecepto adimpletur, Christi autem non est creatoris, quo iam contendimus? Dixerit Christus an non, Ego non veni legem dissolvere sed implere, frustra de ista sententia neganda Pontus laboravit.

And again by Hegemonius commenting on the Manichean's position in Acta Archelai 40

When I heard such a sentiment propounded, I repeated to the people that sentence of the Gospel in which our Lord Jesus Christ said of Himself: "*I have not come to destroy the law, but to fulfill it.*" The man, however, averred that He did not utter this saying at all; for he held that when we find that He did abrogate that same law,

Ego audiens dicebam ei sermonem euangelicum, quomodo dixit dominus noster Iesus Christus: Non veni solvere legem, sed ad implere. Ille vero ait nequaquam eum hunc dixisse sermonem; cum enim ipsam inveniamus eum resolvisse legem

This is repeated in DA 2.15 when Adamantius says of the Marcionite Marcus

But why must we prolong the discussion? It is least clear that the Savior came to fulfill the Law; Marcus' people assert that he came to destroy it.

καὶ τί δεῖ μηκύνειν τὸν λόγον; φανερώς γοῦν τοῦ σωτῆρος πληρῶσαι ἐλθόντος τὸν νόμον, οὗτοι καταλύειν φάσκουσι.

Sed qui necesse est sermonem nimiumdilatare singula replicando, cum manifestissime saluator non, ut isti dicunt, soluere legem uenit sed adimplere

These accounts leave no question that the Marcionites rejected the concept of Christ fulfilling Torah Law. And it appears that this objection even found its way into the Antithesis, [7] as Marcus replies in AD 2.15

The Judaizers wrote this,

I did not come to destroy the Law, but to fulfill it.

But Christ did not speak this way. He says,

I did not come to fulfill the Law but to destroy it.

τοῦτο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἔγραψαν,

τὸ οὐκ ἦλθον καταλύσαι τὸν νόμον ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι·

οὐκ οὕτως δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Χριστός, λέγει γάρ·

οὐκ ἦλθον πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον ἀλλὰ καταλύσαι.

Hoc illi scripsurent qui iudaizabant, hoc est:
Non veni solvere legem sed adimplere.
Christis autem non ut dixit, sed ita dicit:
Non veni adimplere legem sed solvere.

The interaction between Matthew chapter 5 and the Marcionites has now been clearly established. The Marcionites were without doubt the target of the verses in Matthew, and they responded furiously, such that all the witnesses granted this position was not one on which the Marcionites would accept debate.

On Seeing God, returning to Matthew 5:8:

Another verse, Matthew 5:8 created quite a theological problem where Christians can see God –that is the Old Testament God of the Law– and yet not violate the Law of Moses, specifically Exodus 33:20, "*no man shall see God and live.*" Irenaeus dances around the problem in Against All Heresies 4.20.5-12, [8] giving any manner of possibilities for seeing God such as visions. Irenaeus though makes it clear his response is directly to the Marcionite Antithesis as he states 4.20.5 citing Matthew 5:8 and Exodus 33:20, by splitting God into a visible part, and an invisible part (!)

The prophets, then, indicated beforehand that God should be seen by men; as the Lord also says, "*Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.*" But in respect to His greatness, and His wonderful glory, "*no man shall see God and live,*" for the Father is incomprehensible;
Præsignificabant igitur prophetae quoniam videbitur Deus ab hominibus; quemadmodum et Dominus ait: Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt. Sed seeundum magnitudinem quidem ejus, et mirabilem gloriam, nemo videbit Deum, et vivit; incapabilis enim Pater.

Origen, in *Contra Celsus*, introduces the concept of seeing with your heart and not your eyes as means to get around the problem. [9] What is very clear is that while Tertullian simply sees the verse as an example of the Marcionites disagreeing with him about what the Lord did or did not say, but for Origen and Irenaeus this presented a major theological problem, requiring extensive argument to explain away the inconsistency, as they held the Old Testament as accurate on this point about seeing God, forcing them to defend an embarrassing position.

However for the mid-3rd Century the Jewish Christian writer of the pseudo-Clement Recognitions had another way to answer the problem, in 3.21 by turning to Matthew 22:30,

"God is seen by the mind, not by the body; by the spirit, not by the flesh. Whence also angels, who are spirits, see God; and therefore men, as long as they are men, cannot see Him. But after the resurrection of the dead, *when they shall have been made like the angels*"

This concept in Matthew 22:30 was carried directly into Ebionite thought (a hint perhaps about the Gospels origin), and can be seen as a development of the Pauline theology concerning resurrection of the dead on 1 Corinthians 15. It's a bit convoluted, but presents a way of thinking about seeing God in a

new eternal body, and the old mortal body has already perished. Not quite the way Irenaeus or Origen looked at it.

This declaration is not a mistake, if I am right that Mark's placement is correct for the Salt saying, as Matthew in the verse 18:10 which sits in its place [10] makes the exact same statement about seeing God, this time it's the "little ones" who do so, also including a warning for heretics thinking themselves better than followers of Matthew's position

See (that) you do not look down upon one of these little ones

For I say to you that their angels in heavens

continually see the face of my father, who is in the heavens.

Ὅρατε μὴ καταφρονήσητε ἑνὸς τῶν μικρῶν τούτων·

λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς

διὰ παντὸς βλέπουσι τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς.

Matthew's statement in verse 18:10 has an additional implication for verse 5:8, that there are Christians who are not pure in heart (οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ): suggesting heretics, addressed in Matthew 8:11-2, will find no seat at the table of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven (καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν), and will be thrown out of that heaven into the outer darkness (οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβληθήσονται εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον). The parallel to fate for heretics described in Jude 13 is striking, and likely derives from the same heavenly cosmology.

wandering stars for whom the nether gloom of darkness has been reserved for ever

ἀστέρες πλανῆται οἷς ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηται.

The Blessings:

Having demonstrated Matthew's sources (that is the ūr-Gospel "M", Marcion's Gospel, and Marcion's antithesis) it is time to go back again and look at the first ten verses of the Sermon of the Mount, 5:3-12, and see how they are an expansion from the Beatitudes from the Marcionite Gospel, as in Luke 6:20-24.

Luke's blessings can be divided into two parts, the three short blessings (6:20-21) and the longer one on persecution (6:22-23). The relationship of the first three blessing of Luke against Matthew 5:3-9 shows an expansion in each case. The first blessing in Luke 6:20 is simply "Blessed are you poor, for yours is the kingdom of God," which also starts Matthew, but with two significant changes.

The first is the kingdom is changed from God to heaven, which is more than just the literal depiction of the location of the kingdom in the skies. But this may not be a change made by Matthew. Although "the kingdom of God" is common in Luke and attested in several places in Marcion's Gospel, [11] Tertullian gives two different readings, the first in AM 4.14:1 (*Beati mendici ... quoniam illorum est regnum dei*) with the kingdom of God, and the second reflecting a Caesarian text (mss. 1582, 118, 69, 157, 1424)

reading the kingdom of heaven in AM 4.14.13 (*Beati mendici, quoniam illorum est regnum caelorum*). The question is which reading reflects Marcion? Perhaps his text of Marcion had the variant reading because he spends much of AM 4.14 trying to prove that the Jewish God reigns not only over the earth but also the heaven, before quoting in AM 4.14.13 the text of Marcion 6:20-21 against Isaiah 41:1, 3 for each blessing. This Marcionite position of Heaven being Christ's and the earth the Jewish is explicitly stated in 4.14.8,

For even if you suppose the promises of the Creator were earthly, but Christ's are heavenly,

Nam et si putas creatoris quidem terrenas promissiones fuisse, Christi vero caelestes,

And Tertullian gives his response

It is clear that the heavens belongs to no other God, even until now, as also has the earth
bene quod caelum nullius alterius usque adhuc dei apparet nisi cuius et terra,

However we see in another example Tertullian in discussing the kingdom of God when reflective Luke 7:28 in AM 4.18.8 makes it clear that his point is the kingdom of God is the kingdom that John belongs to and is of the creator (*qui maior Ioanne futurus sit in regno aequae creatoris*), is the same as the kingdom of God (*regno dei*).

In Marcion the kingdom of God, as noted above, is well attested, and the kingdom of heaven never appears elsewhere. It is highly unlikely that a Caesarian variant appeared so quickly that Matthew made use of it, and yet the variant also survived a later revision by the Luke-Acts writer. The conclusion I have to draw is that Tertullian deliberately introduced the kingdom of heaven (*regnum caelorum*) because he was claiming, in exactly the same manner as Matthew's author there is one heaven, and most important it is the only heaven, not the third heaven of Marcion's God above the sky nor the second of the Creator's heaven – a subtle but important distinction. The change is deliberate, held throughout Matthew, to signify heaven is the creator's.

The second change Matthew made was adding "poor in spirit" *τῷ πνεύματι*. This is a strange and failed transformation, meant to democratize access to heaven. In the original Luke/Marcion the statement is a turnabout in social status, sharing the sentiment of 1 Corinthians 1:27 "God has chosen the weak things of the world to shame the strong things" (*τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου ἐχέλεχτο ὁ θεὸς ἵνα κατασχύνῃ τὰ ἰσχυρά*) with the transformation to heavenly bodies from shamefulness to glory in mind, as depicted in 1 Corinthians 15:42-43, 47. In Matthew this train of thought was completely lost, where the poor elements of a human body become the rich elements in heaven. Instead Matthew attempted to speak in terms of the spirit, meaning to convey that heaven is not for those who seem to be something but for the ordinary parishioner, the one who has not any great works, and whose spirit is not as great as the apostles. The nonsense of it is that as written instead those without any strong faith can reach heaven, and that was probably not what Matthew intended.

Two additional small blessings are appended, those who mourn being comforted, and importantly the meek inheriting the earth. While the former is similar to Luke 6:21 "weep" to "laugh," (*μακάριοι ἐν οἷ ἐκείνῃ πεινῶντες τῇ νῦν, ὥρα ὅτι ἐθεράπευσεν χορτασθήσεσθε*) the latter shows a clear distinction

from Marcionite thought, where unlike the statement in Colossians 3:2 in which believers must set their minds on heaven and not things on earth ([τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε, μὴ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς](#)) and makes clear the things of earth are not worth having, Matthew instead sets earth as a place worthy of the saintly in a viewpoint shared in the Jewish Christian frame of reference as shown in Revelation.

The second of the Luke/Marcion blessings, "Blessed are you that hunger now," was extended in Matthew 5:6 with, "and thirst for righteousness" ([καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην](#)) to make a point that zealotry for the Torah Law which is in focus (see Matthew 5:17ff above). And this thirst for righteousness finds a counter echo in the Marcionite text of Romans 9:31-32, 10:2-4, where righteousness is a foolish thing to seek after on its own, the trap of the Jewish Christians, but rather is obtained by faith. So again Matthew has transformed the Luke/Marcion turnabout of fortune to an itemized reward system, a delineated class structure for Christians.

Three additional small blessings were also added to Matthew's list; the merciful who will gain mercy, the pure of heart who will see God, and the pacifists who will be called sons of God. The pure of heart we already discussed above, so we will give a quick look at the other two which brought no controversy. Unlike Luke 6:21 where there is a turn about in fate, so that weeping from sorrow becomes laughter and happiness, and the hungry get sated, in Matthew we see payback in kind; the merciful ([οἱ ἐλεήμονες](#)) get mercy ([αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται](#)). This lacks the profundity of the Luke's examples. What we have here is simply another category checked off, with good things for good people. We see the pacifists ([οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί](#)) are not named but "called," meaning invited, to be sons of God ([υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται](#)). It is in the same sense that the Catholic version of Romans 1:1 where Paul is called to be an apostle ([κλητὸς ἀπόστολος](#)), signifying some selection, betraying a subtle theological shift from the Marcionite texts.

Finally Matthew 5:10-12 deals with persecution and is built directly upon Luke 6:22-23 in Marcionite form, [12] expanded and modified to fit Matthew's sensibilities. Working backwards, in 5:12 "as also their fathers did to the prophets" [κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐποίουν τοῖς προφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν](#), was changed to a more generic "for so men persecuted the prophets" [οὕτως γὰρ ἐδίωξαν τοὺς προφήτας](#) to remove the stigma Marcionites attached to Jews and thus Jewish Christians, who admire the Torah, as Matthew's objection was just as strong as the Marcionites was against the concept of Christ upholding the Law. When Luke's addition about being excluded is removed from the text of 6:22, there really is no other significant content differences between Matthew 5:11-12 and Luke 6:22-23, notwithstanding the lack of attestation of rejoicing and gaining a reward in heaven in Marcion's account - it's simply indeterminable.

Matthew 5:10 has no parallel, it is a new construction. It presents a new category of persecution, those who are persecuted for righteousness, which in Matthew means upholding the Law, something Marcion's Paul in Galatians equates with Circumcision (a subject covered in depth in my blog on [Paul and Hadrian](#)) perhaps indicating a clash with the Roman authorities over the issue. But it could also simply be a second version of "blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness" in verse 5:6, who are also being given a place in heaven. What it indicates however, since righteousness is listed

twice in the blessings, is the importance that zealotry for the Torah is for Matthew, as seen in verses 5:17-20.

The Pairs, Old and New:

We finally come to the main course. There are five counter points to Marcion in Matthew Chapter five, each consisting of an Old Testament paraphrase from the Antithesis with a new statement from Jesus that replaces or enhances it, with follow material to clarify the points. These counter points consist of verses 5:21-26, 5:27-32, 5:33-37, 5:38-42, and 5:43-48.

For Marcion the mission of the Antithesis is clearly and accurately stated by Tertullian in AM 4.6.1

For it is certain that the whole aim at which he has strenuously labored even in the drawing up of his *Antitheses*, centers in this, that he may establish a diversity between the Old and the New Testaments, so that his own Christ may be separate from the Creator, as belonging to this other god, *and* as alien from the law and the prophets.

Certe enim totum quod elaboravit etiam Antitheses prae struendo in hoc cogit, ut veteris et novi testamenti diversitatem constituat, proinde Christum suum a creatore separatum, ut dei alterius, ut alienum legis et prophetarum.

But as we shall see Matthew has very much the opposite in mind in his pairings, as he declared in 5:17 above, he aims to support the law and prophets.

'You Shall Not Kill' and the Method for Excommunication:

The first counter Antithesis point from verses 5:21-26 declares:

You have heard it was said by the ancients, 'Do not kill,' and whoever kills, will be subject to judgment. But I say to you that everyone who is angry with his brother will be subject to judgment;

Ἦκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, Οὐ φονεύσεις· ὃς δ' ἂν φονεύσῃ, ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει·

The opening phrase "Do not Kill" *Οὐ φονεύσεις* is almost from the Antithesis, with the wording adjusted to fit Matthew's needs. Reference to the Old Testament Scriptures as *Ὁ προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς γενέσεως* of the Antithesis (see below) is adjusted to *Ἦκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη*, but in the first instance to show its higher stature as the first mention of the ten commandments *τοῖς ἀρχαίοις* was added. And in reply Jesus simply says *γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι* since Matthew personalized instead of following the third person *ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀγαθὸς ὢν, λέγει* of Dialogue Adamantius. A formula is thus established for us to examine the content.

Marcion did not oppose the Decalogue commands, as is clear from Romans 13:9 and Luke 18:20, rather he presented and juxtaposed the positive command "love your neighbor as yourself" from Leviticus 19:18 as summing up (*ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται*) or fulfilling (*πεπλήρωται*) in the Law, as shown in Luke 10:25, Romans 13:8, 10, and Galatians 5:14, and corresponding to the idea in Galatians 5:22-23 that there is no Law against doing good. The emphasis is thus shifted from fear of the bad to striving for the happiness of the good.

Unlike the juxtaposing of a liberating or reforming statement against the negative of the Old Testament, in order to show that Christ is fulfilling the Law, Matthew shows here a more strident interpretation. He states that even being angry - which we will see from the subsequent verses implies disobedience and strife - with church officials, that is your brother (τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ), [13] and also implies that the angry person here is also holding similar rank or recognized as such. So it is an ecclesiastical offense.

That explains the follow on decrees, which includes an unknown insult of Syriac or Aramaic origin "Raca" (Ρακά) verse 5:22, which seems to imply a very serious ecclesiastical challenge like calling an official a hypocrite. Nothing less would be strong enough to merit the calling of a council "Sanhedrin" (συνεδρίῳ) of bishops, ministers, and maybe elders for a hearing; this simply isn't something you are going to do if some random idiot in the congregation calls another member a name. But it is revealing in another way. It is the first proscription and method for the excommunication of heretics, and it is specifically for causing strife. The case of simple name calling, like the term fool (Μωρέ) in the following verse, and notably not to a brother, corresponds to quarrels among the congregation, where Matthew simply says you'll be judged, but doesn't call for a trial.

Verses 5:23-26 are more generalized. They are archeologically interesting in telling us about the early practices of Christians. The mention of gifts before the alter makes it clear this is not different than other Roman cults of the period, except that there probably wasn't a large temple available, so it would have looked like any local neighborhood place of worship, a simple interior room with some alter, probably with some decorations. The comments about settling with your opponent (ἀντιδικῶ) as you travel (ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ) -that is metaphorically going through life not going from one physical location to another- to avoid getting tangled in the legal system is also a revealing statement; this indicates Christians had disputes which could land in the Roman courts with potentially unpredictable results. This looks like the first effort by the church to settle disputes in house, which eventually becomes a parallel legal system in the west.

'You Shall Not Commit Adultery':

Verses 5:27-28 follow the same "you have heard it said" formula for the Decalogue command against adultery as in verse 5:21 for murder, with Jesus presenting a more stringent rendering of the Torah Law, as opposed to the positive reform the Marcionite Antithesis presents. Verses 5:29-30, which are a doublets of 18:8-9 on offending eyes and hands, occasioned by the lust in your heart from looking at a woman, are a digression from the divorce theme which are not worth evaluating further, except it does confirm that Matthew was looking at chapter 18 making in constructing this chapter from where he grabbed the salt saying of verse 5:14 above.

The interesting thing about verses 5:31-32 is the introduction "it was said" (Ἐρρέθη δέ) with respect to a husband issuing a certificate of divorce (ἀποστάσιον) references Deuteronomy 24:1-4 (LXX βιβλίον ἀποστάσιον) which says divorce is allowed for "indecency." Here that indecency is defined as adultery. So Matthew has gone against Luke 16:18 and the Marcionite prohibition against divorce. The Marcionites saw divorce as creating adultery, but Matthew reverses that ruling and gives higher standing to the exception from the Law by placing it in the Sermon on the Mount at the start of Jesus'

mission. (Note, this provision certainly made it easier for Roman Citizens and Freemen to accept Christianity, as it conformed better to Roman custom and law)

On Vows:

Unlike the two prior pairings this pairing on vows in Matthew 5:34-37 seems to actually be fully compatible with the Marcionite Antithesis. The saying "Do not break your vows, but you will repay the lord of your vows" (Οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, ἀποδώσεις δὲ τῷ κυρίῳ τοὺς ὄρκους σου) is an inexact paraphrase of Deuteronomy 23:21 (see also Number 30:2) which is consistent with the character of the Antithesis. Matthew again uses ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις form indicating his source is not the LXX, which in Chapter 4 (4:4, 6, 7, 10) he used γέγραπται to introduce it. Further an Antithetical pair is in the picture when Jesus responds, "but I say to you do not swear at all" (ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὁμόσαι ὅλως) and instead suggests doing something based on 2 Corinthians 1:20 in verse 5:37 "Let your word yes be yes and no be no" (ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν ναὶ ναί, οὐ οὐ). This I suggest is the probable original Antithesis wording.

Matthew, rather than inverting Marcion's Antithesis, instead inserts four "neither ... for that" (μήτε .. ὅτι) clauses, which outline his cosmological view, drawing from Isaiah 66:1 and Psalms 48.2 with Psalms 47:7 in view, in an attempt to one up Marcion in strictness and showing that the position of Jesus is backed by the Old Testament Prophets. This is similar to the approach that Tertullian takes in refuting the Marcionite claim of difference in Jesus' sayings and those of Tertullian's God whom the Marcionites call "Ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κύριος" to show they are derived from the same precepts and so also from the same God.

We see how Matthew uses this (μήτε .. ὅτι) formula to one up Marcion by paraphrasing Scripture

μήτε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὅτι θρόνος ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ· μήτε ἐν τῇ γῆ, ὅτι ὑποπόδιόν ἐστὶν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ· μήτε εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ὅτι πόλις ἐστὶν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως· Neither by heaven, for God's throne is there, nor by earth, for it is the footstool for his feet, nor by Jerusalem, for its is the city of the great king.

The heaven and earth are sayings drawn from the description in Isaiah 66:1 (οὕτως λέγει κύριος, Ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος ἢ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου), which describes God as a being in the heaven above the sky, who rests his feet on earth, the resting point understood as the Temple in Jerusalem. The last point is made clear by taking the Psalms 48:2 (LXX 47:3) of the city of the great king, except changing the Mount Sion (ὄρη Σιών) to Jerusalem, The association of the great king with God is found in the preceding phrases of Psalm 47:7-8 (LXX 46:8-8)

ὅτι βασιλεὺς πάσης τῆς γῆς ὁ θεὸς ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὁ θεὸς κάθηται ἐπὶ θρόνου ἁγίου αὐτοῦ For the king of all the earth is God reigns over all nations God sits on his holy throne.

The association is clear, God is the great king spoken of here. And as it comes from the Prophets it is clear it is the Jewish God that Matthew invokes for the saying of Jesus. So one is not swear an oath on

anything related to God. [14] That these lines are inserted into the formula is clear, as they come after we are told not to swear at all, rendering these additional restrictions pedantic overkill.

'Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth':

The "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth" is the first of two verified Antithesis pairs found in Matthew, something which so astonished me when I discovered it that I wrote [a quick blog post in March](#) without much analysis.

We see Dialogue Adamantius 1.15 presents a paraphrase of Exodus 21:24 / Leviticus 24:20 / Deuteronomy 19:21 juxtaposed against a paraphrase of Luke 6:29 as shown here

It says in the Law, '*Eye for Eye and tooth for tooth,*'
but the Lord, because He is good, says in the Gospel,
'*If anyone should slap you on the cheek, turn the other one to him.*'
Ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λέγει· ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος,
ὁ δὲ κύριος, ἀγαθὸς ὢν, λέγει ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ·
ἐάν τις σε ραπίσῃ εἰς τὴν σιαγὸνα, παράθες αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην.
In lege scriptum est: Oculum pro oculo, dentem pro dente.
Dominus autem, qui bonus est, dicit in euangelio:
Si quis te percusserit in dexteram maimillam, praebe ei et alteram.

And Matthew 5:38-39 has the same

You have heard that it was said, '*Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth.*'
But I say to you not to oppose the evil one,
but whoever strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him also the other;
Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη Ὅφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος.
ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ·
ἀλλ' ὅστις σε ραπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγὸνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην·

Allowing for voice and variance (e.g., Western support *σιαγὸνα σου* for *δεξιὰν σιαγὸνα* which is rated uncertain) we are looking at Matthew having taken nearly verbatim this Antithesis pair, even including reading *ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος* against the LXX *ὀδοῦς ἀντὶ ὀδοῦς* (all three verse). The odds are long the source could have been anything else.

We have confirmation from Tertullian 2.18.1 that the Law of retaliation "eye for eye, tooth for tooth, stripe for stripe" (*oculum pro oculo, dentera pro dente, et livorem pro livore*) is part of the Antithesis in respect to the provision of taking vengeance. But he defends it by citing Deuteronomy 32:35 as used in Romans 12:19 to claim that it is restricted to God (*Mihi defensam, et ego defendam, dicit dominus*). He never addresses the turning of the cheek, which is not to say it wasn't before him, simply that he was defending the Old Testament with other Old Testament quotes.

The follow on verses 5:40-42 on also turning over your tunic and lending to those who ask, is Matthew's adaptation of Luke 6:29-30, indicating he is aware of the New Testament source of Antithesis pair. There is no difference with the Marcionite position on this issue.

'Hate Your Enemy':

Lastly we come to the smoking gun proving beyond any doubts that Matthew has been using Marcion's Antithesis. In Dialogue Adamantius 1.12, Megathius presents the Antithesis pair, paraphrasing Leviticus 19:18 LXX, which adds the phrase "and you shall hate your enemies" (*καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου*) which is not to be found in any manuscript or source.

The one who is Lord of the Law says,

'You shall love him who loves you and you shall hate your enemy.'

But our Lord, because he is good, says

'Love your enemies, and pray for those who persecute you.'

Ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κύριος λέγει·

ἀγαπήσεις σεαυτὸν καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου·

ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀγαθὸς ὢν, λέγει·

ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ εὐχέσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωχόντων ὑμᾶς.

In lege deus dicit:

Diliges diligentem te, et odio habebis inimicum tuum.

Noster autem bonus dominis dicit:

Diligite inimicos uestros, et orate pro eis qui persecuntur uos.

And in Matthew 5:43-44 we not only see the same juxtaposing of a paraphrased Leviticus 19:18 with Luke 6:27-28, but allowing for voice and small variance, both the same wording of the Luke paraphrase and the same addition to Leviticus 19:18 about hating your enemy

You have heard that it was said,

'Love your neighbor and hate your enemy.'

But I say to you,

'Love your enemies and pray for those persecuting you,'

Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη

Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου.

ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν,

ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.

This cannot be a coincidence. Either Marcion built his Antithesis upon Matthew, or Matthew built this chapter upon Marcion's Antithesis. The former was demonstrated impossible with the Salt saying, demonstrating that Matthew had knowledge and dependence upon Marcion's Gospel but Marcion has no knowledge of Matthew. (Note, the same cannot be said of Luke's Gospel.)

The remainder of the block, verses 5:45-48, again attack the Marcionite position, making clear the God

of Jesus is the Jewish God. In 5:45 God is said to make the sun rise on good and evil, and rain on the righteous and unrighteous, a paraphrase of some unknown LXX verse(s), making clear he is the Lord of the world. The same opposed by Marcion's Paul in 2 Corinthians 4:4 (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου) and Laodiceans 2:2 (τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐχουσίας τοῦ ἄερος). This verse is demonstrated as a point of contention in the pseudo Clement Homilies 18.2 where Peter confirms it is the God of Creation and Simon responds that such a statement shows the Creator is inconsistent with himself, a Antithesis point

I then affirm that the man who bestows goods is good, just as I see the Framer of the world doing when he gives the sun to the good, and the rain to the just and unjust."

ἐγὼ φημι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν παρεκτικόν, οἷον ὡς αὐτὸν ὁρῶ ποιοῦντα τὸν δημιουργόν, παρέχοντα τὸν ἥλιον ἀγαθοῖς καὶ κακοῖς καὶ τὸν ὑετὸν δικαίοις καὶ ἀδίκους.

And Simon said: "It is most unjust that he should give the same to the just and the unjust."
καὶ ὁ Σίμων ἔφη· Τοῦτο ἀδικώτατον ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ δικαίοις καὶ ἀδίκους παρέχει.

Finally 5:48 closes the chapter declaring in the same super Torah fashion of verse 5:20, asking Christians to be perfect like their father in heaven. This one ups 1 Corinthians 4:6 and 11:1 where Paul asks followers to imitate him (as he also Christ), and seems to have inspired the Catholic editor to write in Ephesians 1:1 "Therefore be imitators of God, as beloved children" (γίνεσθε οὖν μιμηταὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς τέκνα ἀγαπητά); a proposition that is beyond all in being strict and demanding.

The Antithesis:

Marcion's work known as the Antithesis (per 1 Timothy 6:20 ἀντιθέσεις) has not survived. However a number of the phrases in it have survived, in the form of the testimony of Terullian in Adversus Marcionem (c. 207-213 CE), in the statements of Marcus and Megathius in the first two books of Dialogue Adamantius (c.290 CE), as well as the anti-Manichean works known as the pseudo Clement Recognitions (only the Latin version of Rufinus survived, c. 390 CE) and Homilies from roughly the middle of the 4th century, and chapter 40 of Acta Archelai (4th century, Epiphanius reproduced sections of Acta Archelai in Panarion c. 375-76 CE). To that list of sources, I also propose that Matthew Chapter 5, also provides a testimony to the content of the Antithesis.

The exact form the book took is unknown, even of how the opposing verses were present. Matthew introduces the Old Testament first with "You have heard it said that" Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη (Matthew 5:21, 27, 33, 38, 43); Dialogue Adamantius also introduces the Old Testament first in the Antithetical pairs, but with the phrase "The prophet of the God of creation" Ὁ προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς γενέσεως (DA 1:10, 1:11, 1:13, 1:16, 1:19, 1:20). Matthew then follows with Jesus' declaration "But I say to you that" ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι (Matthew 5:22, 28, 34, 39, 44); Dialogue Adamantius similarly gives his New Testament response with "but our lord who because he is good" ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀγαθὸς ὢν (DA 1:10, 1:11, 1:12, 1:13, 1:16, 1:20). The striking resemblance in form is further support that Matthew is responding specifically to the Antithesis in chapter 5. Matthew 5:34-37 at the very least provides reconstruction of an additional pair, while 5:21-26 and 5:27-32 offer hints there were a set of Decalogue Antithetical pairs although their reconstruction is at best problematic.

While the pairing of statements, juxtaposing the Old against the New, stand out, there are other structure in both chapter five of Matthew and in the Antithesis. We can see from Simon's dialogue about the creation of Man and the breathing of his spirit, that a considerable portion of the Antithesis was composed of a similar exegesis of the Old Testament.

What is clear is that Matthew chapter 5 is a new source, which if used carefully, can help us reconstruct the Marcionite Antithesis. As we have shown here at least one new exegetical pair has been identified, and the form of the pairs now has an additional source beyond Megethius statements in Dialogue Adamantius. We have also gained some insight into the source, time frame and purpose for Matthew Sermon on the Mount. Hopefully others will find this exercise useful.

Post-Script: Who is Mani?



Prophet Mani c.216-274 CE

It is both surprising and fortunate that the anti-Manichean works prove such a useful source for reproduction of the sayings. Mani was according to legend was born in Parthia (modern Iraq) in 216 CE when it was still part of the Parthian Empire, which became part of the Persian Sassanid Empire in 224 CE in which he grew up. Supposedly his father was Greek and an Eclesaitic Christian. Mani supposedly had visions at age 12 and 24 from his heavenly twin telling him to leave his fathers sect and teach the true message of Christ. The founding of the Manichean religion is generally dated from this event in 238 CE, although more likely it was founded after his return from India in about 242 CE. This is an interesting religious development, and some of the themes, such as the true preaching, visions, and a final prophet, seem to have profoundly influenced Islam which erupted in the same region a few centuries later. We are fortunate that an Egyptian papyrus manuscript of his life was found, known as the [Cologne Mani Codex](#). Mani is a reminder, much like the Eclesaites and Nestorians that not all Christian developments happened within the Roman Empire. It's a bit off topic, but we are fortunate Mani's followers found and used the Antithesis.

Notes:

[1] I am not going to supply any evidence now, it is a rather complicated argument with dozens of

examples. But I place merely for perspective, so I ask you to suspend judgement.

[2] Mark 9:50(b) "and be at peace with one another" (καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις) is not part of the saying. It fills the role of marking the end of a Jesus saying section begun in 9:39, as a segway follows.

[3] Luke 14:35(b) "Those having ears to her let them hear!" (Ὁ ἔχων ὄτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω) is not part of the saying, but rather added by Luke, post Marcion, to mark that Jesus' speech begun in 14:27 is concluded, and also to accentuate the focus on the saying being an interpretation of Luke 14:27 and 33.

[4] The RSV footnotes show Philippians 2:15 as a possible source for Matthew 5:14, but this verse is a Catholic interpolation into Paul, so it's the other way around ἐν οἷς φαίνασθε ὡς φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ was inspired by Matthew - note γενεὰς σκολίας καὶ διεστραμμένης "wicked and perverse generation" is not a Marcionite idea, but it is consistent with later Catholic theology.

[5] Rufinus (d. 410 CE) translated the Clement Recognitions into Latin around 390 CE. The Recognitions and Homilies appear to have been written in Syria by Ebionite Christians in the 4th century to counter the Manichean movement. From the Hegemonius Acta Archelai XL we have confirmation that the Manicheans had contact with the Marcionites and made use of the Antithesis to attacking Orthodox Christianity its chief rival in the Roman Empire. Simon Magus' comments in the pseudo Clement literature agrees in almost every point with Antithesis, providing us with a rich source along with Tertullian Adversus Marcionem and Hegemonius Acta Archelai XL. I have not been able to find a copy of the Recognitions in Latin, and have only the English translations to go by, so I cannot vouchsafe the content.

[6] *Nemo cognovit patrem nisi filius* attests the to Greek οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός. This paraphrase of Luke 10:22 is identical to Megethius quoting the Antithesis in DA 1.23 οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱόν τις γινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ / *Nemo nouit Patrem nisi solus filius, enque filium quis nouit nisi pater*. The same substitution of ἔγνω for γινώσκει is made by Simon Magus in Homilies 18.4 Οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, ὡς οὐδὲ τὸν υἱόν τις οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ καὶ οἷς ἂν βούληται ὁ υἱός ἀποκαλύψαι confirming the pseudo Clementines are quoting from the Antithesis when Simon is speaking.(Also Regonitions 2.47)

[7] This is evidence that at least the Antithesis continued to be modified after Marcion, suggesting not all changes in the Marcionite text reported by the Heresiarch to what we have in our versions was done by Catholic editors, some may have come from Marcionite followers adjusting the challenges they faced.

[8] The entire fourth book of Irenaeus Against All Heresies appears to be dedicated to refuting Marcion and his followers points and theology.

[9] Origen Contra Celsus 6.4:

for He was seen not by their bodily eyes, but by the pure heart.

For, according to the declaration of our Jesus, "*Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.*"

ὁφθεις αὐτῶν οὐ τοῖς τοῦ σώματος ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀλλὰ τῇ καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ. Καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἡμῶν "μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται"

A protracted explanation of Origen's view is given in 7.33-35

[10] The Salt saying in Mark 9:49-50 follows 9:42-27 parallel with Matthew 18:8-9 on sins of hand, eye and foot, which also parallels Matthew 5:29-30 here. Matthew's movement of the Salt saying to chapter 5 was replaced in 18:10 clearly with the same thoughts of seeing God in heaven. It confirms Mark's

placement as the original.

[11] Six verses are clearly attested with the kingdom of God

7:28 *maior quidem omnibus natis mulierum: sed non ideo subiecto ei qui minor fuerit in regno dei* (AM 4.18.8)

11:20 *Quodsi ego in digito dei expello daemona, ergone appropinquavit in vos regnum dei?* (AM 4.26.11)

12:31 βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ (Epiphanius)

13:18 *Simile est regnum dei, inquit, grano sinapis, quod accepit homo et seminavit in horto suo.* (AM 4.30.1)

13:28 ὅτε πάντας τοὺς δικαίους ἴδητε ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους (Epiphanius)
cum videbunt iustos introeuntes in regnum dei, se vero detineri foris. (AM 4.30.5)

16:16 *Didicit ergo usque ad Ioannis tempora, atque ita exinde processit annuntiare regnum dei, dicens, Lex et prophetae usque ad Ioannem, ex quo regnum dei annuntiat.* (AM 4.33.7)

Ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἕως Ἰωάννου, καὶ πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται (Epiphanius)

Epiphanius is missing ἀπὸ τότε ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται, contra Tertullian, but the verse makes no sense without it

Unfortunately there is no quotation of seven (7) other verses 8:1, 10, 11:2, 13:20, 14:15, 18:16, 17, so we cannot judge those. Zahn omits verse 22:18 from his reconstruction of Marcion, and Epiphanius likely correctly quotes 20:50-53 (καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ἰωσήφ, καθελὼν τὸ σῶμα ἐνετύλιξε, καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐν μνήματι λαξευτῷ) without any mention to the kingdom of God, which looks to be part of the Luke-Acts expansion.

[12] note, AM 4.14.14-17 indicates that Marcion lacked "and when they exclude you " καὶ ὅταν ἀφορίσωσιν ὑμᾶς, while AM 4.15.1 only attests the last phrase about persecution in 6:23, making the presence of reward uncertain

[13] The term brother is not generic to all Christians in the New Testament. It denotes one of some distinction and office. Apostles or bishops (ἐπισκόποις), deacons (διακόνους), and elders (πρεσβυτέρους) qualified, while general members of the assembly did not. This is not terribly different than today, where cardinals, bishops, monks, and ministers refer to each other as brothers.

[14] I had incorrectly linked the phrase "Not by Jerusalem, for that is the city of the great King," to *Aelia Capitolina*, the city built by Hadrian as replacement for Jerusalem. It was a product of trying too hard to place Matthew in the Antoninus era. So I ignored the obvious LXX reading. It is true that Caesar would have been the one great earthly king, but that does not fit Matthew's context of showing Marcion wrong. Bad misread on my part I apologize for pushing the idea (sgw 11/17/2014)

Monday, July 15, 2013

Paul, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Circumcision, Roman Law, Torah Law, Desolating Sacrilege (Revised 8-22-13)



Hadrian, Emperor 117-138 CE

When Hadrian became Caesar in 117 CE it was under controversial circumstances, [Historia Augusta](#) 1.4, a rather gossipy work [1], paints the issue of his adoption by Trajan as something of a deathbed scandal. But the machinations described surrounding his ascension to the throne are consistent with the more reliable account of Cassius Dio [Historiae Romanae](#) 69.1 [2], which describes the murky circumstances under which he became Emperor. When taken in conjunction with his immediate decisions on the throne to extricate the Empire from Parthia, to reorganize the legions of the east, secure defensible borders, and put down rebellions in recently conquered territories, it looks for all the world to have been something of a consensus move by the powerful in the Military and the government. They wanted to correct the dangerously unsustainable expansionist policies of Trajan that were overtaxing the Empire and had led to the a quagmire in Mesopotamia, an expensive and failing campaign despite the propaganda. Hadrian was the man to do that job.

As I have gone about investigating the origins of Christianity, no figure looms larger on the scene in the birth of the new religion than Hadrian, even larger than Marcion. It is during his reign that Rome radically changes course, where the focus turns to securing the borders, shortening the lines of communication, and solidifying the identity of the empire both at the border and within. Cassius Dio gives us a good picture of the psyche of Hadrian. When he took the crown he was in his prime, an accomplished man, forty one years of age. Eutropius, [3] says "He spoke with great eloquence in the Latin language, and was very learned in the Greek" *Facundissimus Latino sermone, Graeco eruditissimus fuit*, while Dio tells us "By nature he was loved literature in each other (Greek and Latin) languages, and left behind both poetry and composition" *φύσει δὲ φιλόλογος ἐν ἑκατέρῃ τῇ γλώσσῃ, καὶ τινα καὶ περὶ καὶ ἐν ἔπεσι ποιήματα*, such that *Historia Augusta* says, "some called him a "Greekling" *ingenio eius sic ad ea declinante ut a nonnullis Graeculus diceretur*.

Hadrian was learned and accomplished, and moderate, very high minded, trying to lead by example, praising good work, and taking deep interest in the details of governance and especially military affairs. But he was also petty and at times insecure, always meddling, unable to take unflattering feedback. Such is the detailed portrait Cassius Dio gives us, showing a very modern man who would look very familiar to us as an accomplished politician, and a publicly honorable man. [4] What concerns me is his intolerance of those better and his unbending strictness and tendency to meddle in things big and small, *τὸ πάνυ ἀκριβὲς τὸ τε περίεργον καὶ τὸ πολύπραγμον* (*Historiae Romanae* 69.5.1), as this personality trait appears to have loomed large, as really all his traits including generosity, in the events that caused the Bar Kochba revolt, and the subsequent or concurrent birth of Christianity.



Cyrene bathhouses restored after the *tumulto Iudaico*

Hadrian it seems was initially favored by the Jews, as he ended the Parthian conflict (Babylonian Jews were significant in numbers and undoubtedly important business allies for Jews inside the Roman Empire). Just as important was the ending of the campaigns of Lucius Quietus (the Kitos War to the Jews; which really were more like ethnic riots) who had just put down a minor rebellion at Lydda while the governor of Judea and before that a somewhat larger revolt in Cyrene, as documented in *Historiae Romanae* 68.32.1, "Meanwhile the Jews in the region of Cyrene had put a certain Andreas at their head, and were destroying both the Romans and the Greeks" *καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ κατὰ Κυρήνην Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἀνδρέαν τινὰ προσησάμενοί σφω, τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔφθειρον*. [5] Hadrian's peace campaign and promises to rebuild Jerusalem were seen by the Jews as a major improvement over the final years of Trajan, and more than a decade of quiet followed.

Circumcision's (non) Role in the Bar Kokhba Revolt:

I had intended to directly connect the circumcision controversy in Paul's letters to the supposed imperial edict banning circumcision practiced by Arabs, Egyptians, and the Jews, immediately before the outbreak of hostilities in Judea. However the only evidence for such an edict comes from the notoriously unreliable *Historia Augusta* 14.14.2, which says the root cause of the war was circumcision's ban, "At this time also the Jews began war, because they were forbidden to practice circumcision" *moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia*. But there is no other Roman report of such a ban. Cassius Dio doesn't mention it, instead states the founding of a pagan city and temple in place of Jerusalem was the War's cause.

The actual role circumcision played, and the actual policy of the Romans is in some doubt. Antiochus

Epiphanes in 168 BCE as part of a brutal effort to Hellenize the Jewish population banned circumcision (Josephus 12.254), "He also commanded them not to circumcise their sons, and threatened to punish any that should be found to have transgressed his injunction" ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ μὴ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς τὰ τέκνα, κολάσειν ἀπειλήσας εἴ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῶν εὐρεθῆι. What follows is a rather gruesome account of the terrifying consequences for those who disobeyed the tyrants edict. Of course the veracity is somewhat in doubt, as Josephus appears to be loosely quoting 1 Maccabees. [6] Most probably Antiochus Epiphanes did in fact erect a pagan altar in the Temple, probably did ban circumcision. Tacitus, [History 5.8](#), confirms the Antiochus attempted to Hellenize the Jews, "When the Macedonians became supreme, King Antiochus strove to destroy the national superstition, and to introduce Greek civilization," *postquam Macedones prae polluere, rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Graecorum dare adniscus, quo minus taeterrimam gentem in melius mutaret*. The Greeks very much thought the practice was barbaric and artwork that has come down to us shows they thought the results of circumcision were grotesque. The Romans appear also to have felt much the same. [7] However Origen indicates that no such ban on the Jews, and [Roman Law](#) inform us that were granted permission to perform circumcision, at least during the reign Antoninus Pius (138-161 CE) onward.

The inescapable conclusion is that *Historia Augusta* is simply wrong. There was no ban, but a myth developed in Christian circles by the middle of the 4th century that Hadrian had imposed such an edict, perhaps from confusion his banning of castrating slaves combined with Antoninus' ruling to allowing Jews to circumcise in the years after Bar Kokhba. [8] And no doubt this view derived from the Maccabees and the association of Hadrian's policies with those of Antiochus; to the point of even claiming he thought himself the reincarnation of Antiochus. But this myth, or at least the confusion of the era, does appear in Paul's letters.

Hadrian's Eastern Tour and the Need for Jewish Revenue:

Map Courtesy of Dr. Yaron Eliav (color enhanced)

Hadrian toured the east during his reign, visiting Syria, and Egypt where he founded cities, built or restored temples and civil structures, taking several years. Finally around 130 CE he arrived in Judea, and unveiled his plans to rebuild Jerusalem (shifted north) but otherwise on the essentially unoccupied ruins as a Roman city, to be named after himself as Aelia Capitolina ("Capital of Aelius, his family name), complete with new wide streets of stone in Roman model (mistakenly taken to be from Herod's day by modern Christian pilgrims), bathhouses, a Forum, and Temples to Aphrodite and Jupiter (Capitoline Temple) were all inside the boundary. And most likely Legio X Fretensis was stationed outside the city to the Northwest (not the South as Dr. Eliav suggests, although there is evidence of perhaps a construction camp there,) [9] The city was thus part of Roman policy to establish one Polis per legion in the frontier



Madaba Map, Aelia Capitolina (Temple Mount not in City)

provinces. Eusebius reports also that in front of the temple of Jupiter was equestrian statue of Hadrian himself. [10] The Jewish reaction was very negative, but not for religious nationalism, rather for the expense incurred as a province expected to pay for the Emperor's visit, and also the building of Polis that they saw as only benefiting foreigners and really seemed to do nothing for the population in the Judea hill country. But the Kito Wars made them cautious of revolt while Caesar was present with his large entourage and legions ready for his call. Hadrian for his part seems to have been oblivious to the inevitable response, believing he has bestowed one of his most magnanimous gifts to any people, a new capitol city, fully integrated into the Roman religion and custom, the gift of civilization and so Judea was no longer merely barbarians with mean superstitions.



Nerva Coin Commemorates the easing of Fiscus Iudaicus

Hadrian's possibly had another strong motivation for building a new city, and importantly a State temple to Jupiter where Jerusalem used to be situated, which can be traced back to the easing of Fiscus Iudaicus ending the more pernicious enforcement by Nerva (96-98 CE), such that many people likely stopped paying. [11] This tax was an important replacement source of revenue put in place by Vespasian after the Jewish Temple was destroyed in 70 CE. It was meant to replace the Temple taxes that were collected before the War to restore and maintain the Temple Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome that ironically, after surviving the great fire of 64 CE was destroyed when Vespasian's army took Rome in 69 CE placing him on the throne. Even more Ironically, after being completed in 75 CE it burned down in the fire 80 CE, and was built again (the 4th Temple) by Domitian. When the tax enforcement was finally eased the lost revenue was not replaced.

The Jewish population however did not see kindly to Hadrian's burden, no doubt felt in taxation as the building commenced, and so no benefit going to themselves. There is no indication of any building programs in the Judea Hills undertaken by Hadrian, so these people suffered only the expenses. Cassius Dio gives our clearest account of what happened next. Unfortunately his text has undergone some Christian interpolation designed to show a deliberate anti-Jewish policy of Hadrian, but that policy simply didn't exist. Removing the suspected text with a Christian agenda, makes clear the subject is the "intolerable" burden is in fact the paying taxes for Hadrian's project. (my best estimate of the interpolated text in red and struck out) [12]

12 At Jerusalem he founded a city in place of the one which had been razed to the ground, naming it Aelia Capitolina, ~~and on the site of the temple of the god he raised a new temple to another deity~~. This brought on a war of no slight importance nor of brief duration, for the Jews deemed it intolerable ~~that foreign races should be settled in their city and foreign religious rites planted there~~. So long, indeed, as Hadrian was close by in Egypt and again in Syria, they remained quiet, save in so far as they purposely made of poor quality such weapons as they were called upon to furnish, in order that the Romans might reject them and they themselves might thus have the use of them; but when he went farther away, they openly revolted. To be sure, they did not dare try conclusions with the Romans in the open field, but they occupied the advantageous positions in the country and strengthened them with mines and walls, in order that they might have places of refuge whenever they should be hard pressed, and might meet together unobserved under ground; and they pierced these subterranean passages from above at intervals to let in air and light.

13 At first the Romans took no account of them. Soon, however, all Judea had been stirred up, and the Jews everywhere were showing signs of disturbance, were gathering together, and giving evidence of great hostility to the Romans, partly by secret and partly by overt acts; many outside nations, too, were joining them through eagerness for gain, and the whole earth, one might almost say, was being stirred up over the matter. Then, indeed, Hadrian sent against them his best generals. First of these was Julius Severus, who was dispatched from Britain, where he was governor, against the Jews. Severus did not venture to attack his opponents in the open at any one point, in view of their numbers and their desperation, but by intercepting small groups, thanks to the number of his soldiers and his under-officers, and by depriving them of food and shutting them up, he was able, rather slowly, to be sure, but with comparatively little danger, to crush, exhaust and exterminate them. Very few of them in fact survived.

14 Fifty of their most important outposts and nine hundred and eighty-five of their most famous villages were razed to the ground. Five hundred and eighty thousand men were slain in the various raids and battles, and the number of those that perished by famine, disease and fire was past finding out. Thus nearly the whole of Judea was made desolate, a result of which the people had had forewarning before the war. For the tomb of Solomon, which the Jews regard as an object of veneration, fell to pieces of itself and collapsed, and many wolves and hyenas rushed howling into their cities. Many Romans, moreover, perished in this war. Therefore Hadrian in writing to the senate did not employ the opening phrase commonly affected by the emperors, "If you and our children are in health, it is well; I and the legions are in health." ...

15 This, then, was the end of the war with the Jews.

12 ἐς δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς κατασκαφείσης οἰκίσαντος, ἦν καὶ Αἰλίαν Καπιτωλίαν

ώνόμασε, ~~καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τόπον ναὸν τῷ Δι᾽ ἕτερον~~ ἀντεγείραντος πόλεμος οὔτε μικρὸς οὔτ' ὀλιγοχρόνιος ἐκινήθη. Ἰουδαῖοι γὰρ δεινὸν τι ποιούμενοι ~~τὸ ἄλλοφύλους τινὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν σφῶν οἰκισθῆναι καὶ τὸ ἱερὰ ἄλλότρια ἐν αὐτῇ ἰδρυθῆναι~~, παρόντος μὲν ἔν τε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ αὖθις ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἡσύχαζον, πλην καθ' ὅσον τὰ ὄπλα τὰ ἐπιταχθέντα σφίσις ἦττον ἐπιτήδεια ἐξεπίτηδες κατεσκεύασαν ὡς ἀποδοκιμασθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων χρήσασθαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ πόρρω ἐγένετο, φανερώς ἀπέστησαν. καὶ παρατάξει μὲν φανερᾷ οὐκ ἐτόλμων διακινδυνεῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, τὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐπίκαιρα κατελάμβανον καὶ ὑπονόμοις καὶ τείχεσιν ἐκρατύνοντο, ὅπως ἀναφυγὰς τε ὁπότεν βιασθῶσιν ἔχωσι καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ γῆν διαφοιτῶντες λανθάνωσι, διαπιτράντες ἄνω τὰς ὑπογείους ὁδοὺς ἵνα καὶ ἄνεμον καὶ φέγγος ἐσδέχοντο.

13 καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν οὐδενὶ αὐτοὺς λόγῳ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐποιοῦντο· ἐπεὶ δ' ἦ τε Ἰουδαία πᾶσα ἐκεκίνητο, καὶ οἱ ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς Ἰουδαῖοι συνεταράττοντο καὶ συνήεσαν, καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τὰ μὲν λάθρα τὰ δὲ καὶ φανερώς ἐνεδείκνυντο, πολλοὶ τε ἄλλοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλοφύλων ἐπιθυμία κέρδους σφίσι συνελαμβάνοντο, καὶ πάσης ὡς εἰπεῖν κινουμένης ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῆς οἰκουμένης, τότε δὴ τότε τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, ὧν πρῶτος Ἰούλιος Σεουήρος ὑπῆρχεν, ἀπὸ Βρεττανίας ἧς ἦρχεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους σταλείς. ὃς ἄντικρυς μὲν οὐδαμόθεν ἐτόλμησε τοῖς ἐναντίοις συμβαλεῖν, τό τε πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν αὐτῶν ὁρῶν· ἀπολαμβάνων δ' ὡς ἐκάστους πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπάρχων, καὶ τροφῆς ἀπείργων καὶ κατακλείων, ἡδυνήθη βραδύτερον μὲν ἀκινδυνότερον δὲ κατατριῖψαι καὶ ἐκτροχῶσαι καὶ ἐκκόψαι αὐτούς.

14 ὀλίγοι γοῦν 1 κομιδῆ περιεγένοντο. καὶ φρούρια μὲν αὐτῶν πενήκοντα τὰ γε ἀξιολογώτατα, κῶμαι δὲ ἐνακόσαι καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε ὀνομαστότατα κατεσκάφησαν, 2 ἄνδρες δὲ ὀκτώ καὶ πενήκοντα μυριάδες ἐσφάγησαν ἐν τε ταῖς καταδρομαῖς καὶ ταῖς μάχαις· τῶν τε γὰρ λιμῶν καὶ νόσων καὶ πυρὶ φθαρέντων τὸ πλῆθος ἀνεξερεύνητον ἦν, ὥστε πᾶσαν ὀλίγου δεῖν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐρημωθῆναι, καθάπερ που καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου αὐτοῖς προεδείχθη· τὸ γὰρ μνημεῖον τοῦ Σολομῶντος, ὃ ἐν τοῖς σεβασμίσις οὗτοι ἄγουσιν, ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου διελύθη τε καὶ συνέπεσε, καὶ λύκοι ὕιναί τε πολλαὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐσέπιπτον ὠρυόμεναι. πολλοὶ μὲντοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπώλοντο· διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀδριανὸς γράφων πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῷ προοιμίῳ τῷ συνήθει τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσιν, ὅτι 'εἰ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες ὑμῶν ὑγιαίνετε, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι· ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ὑγιαίνομεν. ...

15 ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πόλεμος ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησεν



Bar Kosiba Shekel



Aelia Capitolina Temple

What is clear is the temple complete with a statue of Jupiter. Coins minted in 130 CE depict Aelia Capitolina, so it is clear the city construction and the key erection of buildings and temple were probably finished by the time the outbreak of War; Roman concrete allowed much faster construction. Compare the Temple in the Roman coin to the left from the reign of Antoninus Pius with the shekel minted by Bar Koziba (right) that shows the temple, complete with Greek Columns: Some Zionists have suggested this shows that the rebels initially took Aelia Capitolina, but this is farfetched. The coin shows the idealized temple, very much borrowing a typical model from the Roman coins they were re-stamping. [13] When the Romans did come and crush the rebellion, Bar Kosiba certainly did not defend Jerusalem (hard to do if you never occupy it). The archeological evidence is pretty overwhelming that the rebellion never actually reached that far north. Instead Bar Kosiba made his stand in fortified town of Bethar, [14] where he was headquartered. The archeology supports Dio's account that Bar Kosiba largely carried a guerrilla war against Rome, rather than one of pitched battle. The Romans for their part, while their response was initially ineffective, developed and carried out a variation, with small unit action, of the effective scorched earth policy to subdue hostile populations they had employed since the Gallic Wars, systematically destroying Jewish towns and fortified villages.

Christian accounts from later centuries add a few details but they are wildly unreliable, [15] and likely more useful at understanding internal Christian polemics, than they are to shed any light on what happened. Rather questionable statements such as Eusebius, History of the Church 4.6.2 adds the dubious claim that "Hadrian then commanded that by a legal decree and ordinances the whole nation should be absolutely prevented from entering from thenceforth even the district round Jerusalem, so that it could not even see from a distance its ancestral home." But there really isn't any evidence of this. It seems more likely that the impact of multiple wars thinned the population, combined with Rome marching off with slaves, and the settlement in confiscated land holdings by more reliable Greco-Roman peoples and the destruction of local religious sites, -much as they did to the Druids in Brittan- and the reorganization of the province such that Judea was no longer an entity absorbed into Syria-Palestine, effectively exhausted and extinguished the ability to revolt. By 200 CE the formerly Jewish town of Lydda, which had been destroyed at the end of the Kito War in 118CE, was elevated to a pagan *Polis* and renamed *Colonia Lucia Septimia Severa Diospolis* by Severus (the "city of Zeus" possibly designated such as early as Hadrian), an action which attests that the Jewish population of Judea had been greatly reduced, even decimated, in the scorched earth total war Rome brought against them (Dio 14). Likely many of those peasants that remained largely succumbed to Roman influence in the decades to follow, simply melting in with the new immigrants and their customs. [16]

Circumcision's Role in the Rise of Christianity:

only to children of Jews by their parents consent. This clearly does not apply to slave nor anyone else of any other religion explicitly. This is consistent with Roman sensibilities, as slaves can be sold or become freeman, and no mutilation is allowed. It is quite likely that a suit was brought which required this ruling as appealed up to the Emperor, either to be allowed to circumcise a slave or at the bequest of a slave to prevent having to submit to circumcision, under the claim that it fell under Hadrian's earlier ban on castration, per [48.8.4 Ulpianus libro septimo de officio proconsulis](#)

The Divine Hadrian also stated the following in a Rescript: "It is forbidden by the Imperial Constitutions that eunuchs should be made, and they provide that persons who are convicted of this crime are liable to the penalty of the Cornelian Law, and that their property shall with good reason be confiscated by the Treasury. But with reference to slaves who have made eunuchs, they should be punished capitally, and those who are liable to this public crime and do not appear, shall, even when absent, be sentenced under the Cornelian Law. It is clear that if persons who have suffered this injury demand justice, the Governor of the province should hear those who have lost their virility; for no one has a right to castrate a freeman or a slave, either against his consent or with it, and no one can voluntarily offer himself to be castrated. If anyone should violate my Edict, the physician who performed the operation shall be punished with death, as well as anyone who willingly offered himself for emasculation." [translation S.P. Scott]

Idem divus Hadrianus rescripsit: "Constitutum quidem est, ne spadones fierent, eos autem, qui hoc crimine arguerentur, Corneliae legis poena teneri eorumque bona merito fisco meo vindicari debere, sed et in servos, qui spadones fecerint, ultimo supplicio animadvertendum esse: et qui hoc crimine tenentur, si non adfuerint, de absentibus quoque, tamquam lege Cornelia teneantur, pronuntiandum esse. Plane si ipsi, qui hanc iniuriam passi sunt, proclamaverint, audire eos praeses provinciae debet, qui virilitatem amiserunt: nemo enim liberum servumve invitum sinentemve castrare debet, neve quis se sponte castrandum praebere debet. At si quis adversus edictum meum fecerit, medico quidem, qui exciderit, capitale erit, item ipsi qui se sponte excidendum praebuit".

And this legal challenge matches exactly the charge by Marcion's Apostolikon where genital mutilation in Philippians 3:2 (βλέπετε τὴν κατατομήν) and castration in Galatians 5:12 (ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες ὑμᾶς, per LXX Deuteronomy 23:1 ἀποκόπτω), are associated with circumcision and Torah Law; as Philippians 3:3 speaks of Christian's having a spiritual circumcision not made with hands; and Galatians 5:2-11 is a discourse on circumcision binds one to the whole law. The next charge is curious, Marcion's Paul is puts forth Christianity as a religion separate from Judaism, and doing so in the immediate context of the post-Bar Kokhba era where the legal status of circumcision is not settled, or at least is still fresh and current, when in Galatians 5:3-4, he states that if you are circumcised not only are you obligated to the whole Torah (παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ περιτεμνομένῳ ὅτι ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ὅλον τὸν νόμον ποιῆσαι), but you are also cut off from Christ (κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ οἷτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε) and hence no longer a Christian! This puts into context the charges Paul brings against Cephas in Galatians 2:14, and puts forward the opinion that opinion that his Jewish Christian opponents in Galatians 6:12-13 are hypocrites, much like Jews who now cling to the ruling of Antoninus Pius above, while "true" Christians are not Jews, and so would be breaking the Roman Law. Simply put Paul is declaring Christianity is a new religion.

It is no wonder that the Christian apologists of later era have clearly confused the timing of the issue, such that the author *Historia Augusta* came to the incorrect opinion that the Bar Kokhba revolt was

started because of circumcision. Instead it was Christianity that was started because of circumcision (among other things).

More on the Law and Paul:

After 135 CE when Hadrian eviscerated the province of Judea and created the province of Syria Palestine in its place, he ended Torah Law. The Statement in Romans 10:4 (Epiphanius P42, Terullian 5.14.6) the famous declaration "For Christ is the end of the law" (τέλος γὰρ νόμου Χριστός) can be seen now as a declaration that Torah Law is no longer, because Judea, the province where it was in force is no more! Christianity has made its break with Judaism, as proclaimed in the Gospel (Luke 16:16, AM 4.23.7), "The law and the prophets were until John; since that time the kingdom of God is proclaimed."

This is not some abstract theological statement juxtaposed against "dead religion" but a real world fact on the ground. When Paul speaks of a new covenant not of letter but spirit in 2 Corinthians 3:6 (καινῆς διαθήκης, οὐ γράμματος ἀλλὰ πνεύματος, AM 5.11.4) he can be understood as proclaiming Christians no longer fall under the codes of Torah Law but rather the so called Law of Nations, as the Romans termed what we today might say Natural Law. This point becomes clear when we look at Romans 2:14

For when **gentiles** (ἔθνη 'those of the Nations') not having the law, by nature practice that of the law, those not having law are to themselves a law
ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῶσιν οὗτοι νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες ἑαυτοῖς εἰσὶν νόμος·

Then contrast it with Roman Law, from Gaius Commentary, [Institution of the Civil Law Book two, #83 \[18\]](#)

We should note, however, whether any law or enactment having the force of law, in any case changes the rule of the **Law of Nations**.

Animadvertere tamen debemus, ne iuris gentium regulam vel lex aliqua vel quod legis vicem optinet, aliquo casu commutaverit.

We see that this Law code is precisely what Marcion's Paul refers to when discussing the two mothers from whom Abraham fathered children in 4:22-31 (Marcionite form, leaving out Ephesians 1:21)

Abraham had two sons, one from the maidservant, but the other from the free woman
But the one from the maidservant was born according to the flesh,
and the one from the free (woman) through promise.
These things are allegorical; for these are the two covenants,

one from Mount Sinai gives birth to slavery,
but the other, gives birth far above ... who is our mother:

Therefore brothers, we are not children of the maidservant but of the free (woman)

Ἀβραάμ δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν, ἓνα ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης καὶ ἓνα ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρης
ἀλλ' ὁ ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γενένηται, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρης δι' ἐπαγγελίας
ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα· αὗται γὰρ εἰσὶν δύο διαθήκαι,

μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινά εἰς δουλείαν γεννώσα,

ἡ δὲ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς γεννώσα ... ἥτις ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν·
διό, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐσμὲν παιδίσκης τέκνα ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.

Gaius' commentary on Law of Nations which states concerning children born of free woman and slave, but only by the decree of Emperor Hadrian, as before this that was not the Law for this condition.

81 In conformity with these provisions, the said Decree of the Senate, enacted at the instance of the Divine Hadrian, also prescribes that the issue of a Latin man and a foreign woman, as well as that of a foreign man and a Latin woman, follows the condition of the mother.

82 The result of this is that the child of a female slave and a freeman is, by the Law of Nations, born a slave; and, on the other hand, the child of a free woman and a male slave is free by birth.

81 *His convenienter et illud senatus consultum divo Hadriano auctore significavit, ut ex Latino et peregrina, item contra ex peregrino et Latina qui nascitur, is matris condicionem sequatur.*

82 *Illud quoque his consequens est, quod ex ancilla et libero iure gentium servus nascitur, et contra ex libera et servo liber nascitur.*

This is exactly the condition of freedom and slavery described, although by allegory in Galatians 4:22-31, Marcion's Paul makes it clear, (without naming the women) that the slave represents Mount Sinai and the Jewish laws and especially circumcision (Galatians 5:1-3ff). And by implication the other is free according to the Law of Nations. The perspective is clear, Marcion's Paul is Roman, not Jewish, he follows Roman Law as declared by Hadrian overthrowing prior rulings to give priority to the Law of Nations! A Jewish Christian following the Law of the Torah is actually breaking the Law of the Nations. Marcion's Paul makes it clear in 5:1 that Christianity is free of Judaism, Judea is no more, it is a new religion no longer subject to Torah Law.

There is a narrow window where this statement is poignant, the generation immediately Hadrian abolishes Judea and during the time frame Antoninus Pius was lifting the ban on circumcision. Amazingly this corresponds very closely to when Marcion is said to have ruptured from the rest of the Church. [19]

Bar Kokhba Hints from the New Testament (New added 8/22/2013):

The evidence from excavations in Judea in recent years by the Israelis have pointed to the limited geography and non-Messianic reasons for the revolt, confirming a lack of anti-Jewish agenda on the part of Hadrian and the Romans. The growing opinion in Jewish Scholarship, which I share, is that revolt was primarily economic driven. Hadrian's visit to the province was expected to be paid for by the locals, and so also the building of Aelia Capitolina. It is quite likely that the taxes had been quite high for at least two years prior to the revolt. The letters of Simon bar Kosiba testify that the large Roman estates were seized by the rebels and rented out. They also grabbed the stashes of Roman coins and over stamped them to create their own currency.

There are hints of this in the New Testament. The Wicked Tenants (Mark 12:1-9, Matthew 21:33-41, Luke 12:9-16), which significantly is missing from Marcion's Gospel, talk of a Roman Estate, a vineyard, which is similar to one of the [Midrash Rabbah Eicha](#) 2.2.4 (uncertain date, c. 400-600 CE, English from [Livius.org](#)) on the revolt

They slew the inhabitants until the horses waded in blood up to the nostrils, and the blood rolled along stones (with the size of 284 liters) and flowed into the sea, staining it for a distance of six kilometers. (In case you think that Bethar is close to the sea: was it not in fact sixty kilometers distant from it?)

Now Hadrian possessed a large vineyard 46 kilometers square, as far as from Tiberias to Sepphoris, and they surrounded it with a fence consisting of the slain of Bethar. And it was decreed that they should not be buried, until a certain emperor arose and ordered their interment.

Rabbi Huna said: 'On the day when the slain of Bethar were allowed burial, the benediction *Who art kind and dealest kindly* was instituted - *Who art kind* because the bodies did not putrefy, *and dealest kindly* because they were allowed burial.'

כי צורם מכרם היו הורגים בהם עד ששקע הסוס בדם עד חוטמו והיה הדם מגלגל אבנים של ארבעים סאה והולך בים ארבעה מילין ואם תאמר שקרובה לים והלא רחוקה מן הים ארבעה מילין וכרם גדול היה לו לאדריאנוס שמונה עשר מיל על שמונה עשר מיל כמן טבריא לציפורי והקיפו גדר מהרוגי ביתר ולא גזר עליהם שיקברו עד שעמד מלך אחד וגזר עליהם וקברום

ר' הונא אמר יום שניתנו הרוגי ביתר לקבורה נקבעה הטוב והמטיב הטוב שלא הסריחו והמטיב שנתנו לקבורה חמשים ושתים שנה עשתה ביתר אחר חורבן הבית ולמה נחרבה על שהדליקו נרות לחורבן

Eicha suffers a bit from a gratuitously gory description, but the basic point is association of Hadrian's vineyards to the revolt, and the dead around Bethar are left unburied until Antoninus ("certain emperor"). The wicked tenants, following at each step with the simplest version of the Synoptic Gospels, starts (Luke 20:9) with a man planting a vineyard, which lets assume for the moment is Caesar

A man planted a vineyard, and lent it to tenants, and journeyed to another country

Ἄνθρωπος ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα, καὶ ἐξέδετο αὐτὸν γεωργοῖς, καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν χρόνους ἰκανοὺς

The parallel works so far with Hadrian leaving to continue his grand tour beyond Judea and Syria. Mark 12:1 (and Matthew 20:33) add additional descriptive elements that we see in Midrash Rabbah Eicha about putting a fence or wall around the vineyard (καὶ περιέθηκεν φραγμὸν). And there are two more elements in the Mark/Matthew account which make the parallel to Bar Kosiba's revolt even stronger: the building of a tower (καὶ ὤρυξεν ὑπολήνιον), which clearly the meaning of a fortress such as Bethar, and the wine vat pit (καὶ ὤρυξεν ὑπολήνιον) seems to indicate tunnels and underground sanctuaries as have been found all over Judea from recent archeological excavations. Revisiting Dio AH 68.12 we see the inescapable parallels

To be sure, they did not dare try conclusions with the Romans in the open field, but they occupied the advantageous positions in the country and strengthened them with mines and walls, in order that they might have places of refuge whenever they should be hard pressed, and might meet together unobserved under ground; and they pierced these subterranean passages from above at intervals to let in air and light.

καὶ παρατάξει μὲν φανερᾶ οὐκ ἐτόλμων διακινδυνεῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, τὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐπίκαιρα κατελάμβανον καὶ ὑπονόμοις καὶ τείχεσιν ἐκρατύνοντο, ὅπως ἀναφυγὰς τε ὅποτεν βιασθῶσιν ἔχωσι καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ γῆν διαφοιτῶντες λανθάνωσι, διατιτράντες ἄνω τὰς ὑπογείους ὁδοὺς ἵνα καὶ ἄνεμον καὶ φέγγος ἐσδέχοντο.

The walls (τείχεσιν), the advantageous position which is fortified and the underground rooms and passages (ὑπογείους), map closely to the vineyard description. Dio's description of how the revolt starts which is most revealing in 68.13

At first the Romans took no account of them. Soon, however, all Judea had been stirred up, and the Jews everywhere were showing signs of disturbance, were gathering together, and giving evidence of great hostility to the Romans, partly by secret and partly by overt acts;

καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν οὐδενὶ αὐτοὺς λόγῳ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐποιοῦντο· ἐπεὶ δ' ἦ τε Ἰουδαία πᾶσα ἐκεκίνητο, καὶ οἱ ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς Ἰουδαῖοι συνεταράττοντο καὶ συνήεσαν, καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τὰ μὲν λάθρα τὰ δὲ καὶ φανερώς ἐνεδείκνυντο,

This seems to describe something of an steadily rising resistance, a groundswell of discontent. This seems consistent with the evidence we found above that suggests economic factors played a part. The suggestion here of hostility and acts both secret and overt, could mean things like stealing, refusing to pay certain taxes, to banditry, all things typical of a growing insurgency and no doubt nationalism as well. This sort of resistance is suggested in Midrash Genesis Rabba, 64: 29

In the days of R. Joshua b. Hananiah the [Roman] State ordered the Temple to be rebuilt. Pappus and Lulianus set tables from Acco as far as Antioch and provided those who came up from the Exile [i.e. Parthia] with all their needs. Thereupon Samaritans went and warned [the Emperor]: 'Be it known now unto the king, that, **if this rebellious city be built and the walls finished, they will not pay tribute** (mindah), **impost** (belo) **or toll** –halak' (Ezra IV, 13): 'mindah' is land tax; 'belo' is poll-tax; 'halak' is *androtiga*. 'Yet what can I do,' said he, 'seeing that I have already given the order?' 'Send a command to them that they must change its site or add five cubits thereto or lessen it by five cubits, and then they will withdraw from it of their own accord.' Now the Community [of Israel] was assembled in the plain of Beth Rimmon; when the [Jewish nobles] dispatches arrived, they burst out weeping, and wanted to revolt against the [Roman] power.

בימי ר' יהושע בן חנניה גזרה מלכות שיבנה בית המקדש, הושיבו פפוס ולוליאנוס טרפיזין מעכו ועד אנטיוכיה והיו מספיקים לעולי גולה, אזלין אילין כותאי ואמרין ליה ידיע ליהוי למלכא דיהן קריתא דך תתבנא ושוריא ישתכללון מנדה בלו והלך לא ינתנון [עזרא ד יג] מנדה זו מידת הארץ, בלו זה פרוביגרון, והלך לאדרוטינה, אמר להון מה נעביד וגזרית, אמרין ליה שלח אמר להון ישנוניה מן אתריה אי יוספון עלוי חמש אמין או יבצרון מיניה חמש אמין ומן גרמון אינון חזרין בהון.

הוין קהלייא מצמתין בהדא בקעתא בית רמון, כיוון דאתון כתביא שורון בייכין בעיין ממ רד על מלכותא, אמרין יעול, חד בר נש חכים וישרך ציבורא

The Midrash shows that the Samaritans warned the Romans that the Jews will not pay land taxes, or census tax (poll tax), or toll (road/bridge tax). This is consistent with the revolt starting as an economic tax rebellion against the building of a city of Aelia Capitolina. The reference to the temple is curious, as is the advise of the Samaritan's to Hadrian to lesson its size or move its location, as in fact we know no temple was ever built on the mount, and it seems secondary element to the building of the city and the taxation that resulted. (Note, Beth Rimmon is south of Jerusalem.) The arrival of the Jewish nobility is interesting, as it suggests something of a formal break by the Judaeen membership of the Sanhedrin that administered the province. This sounds very much like a spontaneous reaction that drew in the leadership. This suggests Bar Kosiba was not selected by accident, and explains the organization of the revolt. Be that as it may the steady build up and the halting Roman reaction is reflected further in the vineyard story, as like the Romans various efforts to collect taxes and regain control short of a full out assault are paralleled with the vineyard owner sending his emissaries to try and collect the dues from the land, with Matthew 21:34-36 the most basic account,

When the season of fruit drew near,
he sent his servants to the tenants, to get his fruit;
and the tenants took his servants and beat one, killed another, and stoned another.
Again he sent other servants, more than the first; and they did the same to them.

ὅτε δὲ ἤγγισεν ὁ καιρὸς τῶν καρπῶν,
ἀπέστειλεν τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς λαβεῖν τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτοῦ.
καὶ λαβόντες οἱ γεωργοὶ τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ ὃν μὲν ἔδειραν, ὃν δὲ ἀπέκτειναν, ὃν δὲ ἐλιθοβόλησαν.
πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν ἄλλους δούλους πλείονας τῶν πρώτων, καὶ ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς ὡσαύτως.

This very much describes the small actions of an insurrection brewing, with banditry and refusal to pay taxes. What happens next is the decision to formalize the rebellion, as with the meeting in Beth Rimmon above, as the vineyard owner decides to send his son, which if we strip the Christian overtone, suggests the parallel of Hadrian decides to send a legion into Judea and reassert control over the land. And the Jewish leadership meets, like the tenants, and determines to resist. Initially they are successful and the legion is forced to retreat back out of Judea, perhaps one legion even effectively destroyed, as we see in Matthew 21:37-39 where the vineyard owner sends his son, the tenants determine to resist and take the land for themselves, toss out the son and kill him

Afterward he sent his son to them, saying, 'They will respect my son.'
But when the tenants saw the son, they said to themselves,
'This is the heir; come, let us kill him and have his inheritance.'

And they took him and cast him out of the vineyard, and killed him.

ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ λέγων, Ἐντραπήσονται τὸν υἱὸν μου.

οἱ δὲ γεωργοὶ ἰδόντες τὸν υἱὸν εἶπον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς,

Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κληρονόμος· δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν. αὐτὸν καὶ σχῶμεν τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ.

καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐξέβαλον ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος καὶ ἀπέκτειναν.

The last words "and killed him" (*καὶ ἀπέκτειναν*) could well be a reference to the destruction of a legion and not just an afterthought. In Matthew this happens after the son is expelled, which suggests the unit was disbanded (surviving cohorts reassigned to other legions) as a result of no longer being an effective unit. For an emperor, losing a legion is like losing a son. The seizing of the land for themselves has the clear meaning of claiming their of Kingdom, and also by claiming the land they can then leasing it just as Caesar does. An example from one of the letters of Simon Bar Kosiba, [Mur24E from Wadi Murabba](#), shows all these characteristics; the claiming a new Kingdom, where Simon is prince regent, and the renting out of land which was seized from Caesar for the benefit of the Simon and his Kingdom.

[On the twentieth of She]vat of the year tw[o] of the Redemption of
[I]srael by Shimeon ben K[os]ba, the prince of
[I]srael. In the camp which is located in Herodium,
[Ye]hudah ben Raba' said to Hillel ben Gry[s]:
"I of my free will have [re]nted from you today the
land which is my re[n]tal in 'Ir
Nahash which I hold as a tenant from Shimeon, the Prince of Israel,
This land I have rented from you today
until the end of the eve of Shemitah, which are years
full, [fi]scal years, five, of tenancy;

[that I will] deliver to you in [Her]odium: wheat,
[of good and pure quality,] th[ree kor]s and a *lethekeh*,
[of which a tenth part of the tithe] of these
[you will deliver to the silo of the treasury.] And [I am obli]gated
[in regard of this matter thusly]
[Yehudah ben Raba', in person]
[Shim'on ben Kosba', by dictation.]

So in fact the vineyard is seized and the inheritance is claimed, and Caesar's land, the vineyard owner, is rented out by Bar Kosiba as if he were the legal and proper heir. There is of course no messianic claim here that would be an element added after the fact by the detractors of the revolt, both Jewish and Christian. The parable of the Wicked Tenants ends precisely as the revolt itself, Mark 12:9 puts it thus

[What will the owner of the vineyard do?](#)

He will come and destroy the tenants, and give the vineyard to others.

τί [οὖν] ποιήσει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος;
ἐλεύσεται καὶ ἀπολέσει τοὺς γεωργούς, καὶ δώσει τὸν ἀμπελῶνα ἄλλοις.

Matthew has the colorful addition "He will put those wretches to a miserable death" (αὐτῶ κακοῦς κακῶς ἀπολέσει) which aptly describes what happened to the Jews of Judea, echoed in the Mishnah Rabba Eicha above. Caesar was able to lease to non-Jewish "Aliens" (ἄλλοις) after a bitterly brutal campaign to effectively slaughter the people of Judea, and the archeological evidence shows many settlements were no longer occupied, and new ones that sprang up had distinctly gentile characteristics.

Conclusion:

I wound up delving far more into the Bar Kokhba Revolt and its causes than I expected. The recent work of Jewish Scholars has been a tremendous help in identifying the real causes of the revolt, and the actual scope, as well as the actual layout of Aelia Capitolina. It is quite amazing how myth even to this day colors this story.

When I began the paper I thought the primary contact of Bar Kokhba would be the Law and Paul, but the Gospels stepped in with the mini-Apocalypse and Wicked Tenants, providing evidence that Marcion may have erupted even before the Bar Kokhba conflict had ended. While the unexpected turn makes this paper a bit wandering and not tightly focused, the discovery of the meaning of the Wicked Tenants and the mini-Apocalypse in addition to Paul was well worth it. Simon Bar Kosiba goes down as a very capable, intelligent and skilled leader. His cause was doomed from the get go, and he was vilified for political gain by Jews and Christians, who heaped false claims on him, as also we have seen with to a lesser extent Hadrian. I come away admiring both of these men more. Too bad they were on a collision course.

Errata:

(a) When looking up the various source materials, especially those dealing with Roman intervention into

Jewish and Christian affairs, I was again treated to another pious forgery. In this case it was Pliny's tenth book of correspondence with Trajan. In my opinion quite probably the entire book is fraudulent as it was unknown to the 5th century writer Sidonius Apollinaris (430-487 CE) who knew the only nine books, and was discovered late in the 15th century by friar Giovanni Giocondo (1433-1515) who seems to have been a forger. Michael Sympson wrote a good summary of the forgery, which I copied into a [PDF](#). (I hope I am not violating any copyright rules). Cassius Dio being interpolated was disappointing, but thank you Meneham Mor for recognizing Xiphilinus' hand.

(b) The only Christian references before the Bar Kochba left for me to debunk are Cassius Dio 60.6.6 and Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus De Vita Caesarum XXV, which each have an inserted sentence to support the absolutely bogus claim of Acts 18:2 that the Jews were expelled from Rome by Emperor Claudius.

Notes:

[1] Historia Augusta is a fictional work, very problematic, written by multiple authors, and then later edited, which represents itself as the biographies of emperors. Absolutely no weight should be put upon it as a historical source, as it is full of errors that are impossible for a work of its purported inside knowledge. But it is fun reading, a popular book likely from the middle of the fourth century. I use it here only as a secondary witness to the more reliable Cassius Dio.

[2] *Historiae Romanae* in Greek is available online at

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=69&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0593>

[3] Eutropius, *Breviarium historiae Romanae* 8.7, dedicated to Emperor Valens (364-378 CE)

[4] Vladimir Putin comes to my mind as somebody modern who is comparably complex having both good and bad traits, but always strong, publicly virtuous, but ruthless and calculated

[5] Hadrian appears to have had Lucius Quietus killed to remove a possible rival in 118 CE. Cassius Dio mentions his presence as a significant general. The Lydda seize is recorded in Jewish sources (Pes. 50a; B. B. 10b; Eccl. R. ix. 10)

[6] Josephus' account here is suspect, he seems to be following 1 Maccabees 1.60-61 (see also 2 Maccabees 6:1-10 for the policies in Athens, and 4 Maccabees 4:15-26). Indeed much of this chapter in Antiquities appears to be a paraphrase of 1 Maccabees. ([link](#))

[7] for background on the subject see Frederick M. Hodges' 2001 [article](#), The Ideal Prepuce in Ancient Greece and Rome: Male Genital Aesthetics and Their Relation to Lipodermos, Circumcision, Foreskin Restoration, and the Kynodesme (there is a mouthful). This is a fantastic summary and includes links to art with depictions of male genitalia in the period as it relates to the matter. A good read.

[8] After writing this article I came across Ra'anam Abusch's paper [Negotiating the Differences: Genital Mutilation in Roman Slave Law and the History of the Bar Kokhba Revolt](#), Peter Schäfer's 2003 *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, which goes into far greater depth to make the same points

[9] Thanks to Dr. Yaron Z. Eliav's article and the correct map he provided me from *Urban Layout of Aelia Capitolina: A New View from the Perspective of the Temple Mount*, Peter Schäfer's 2003 *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, which demonstrates that the Roman polis did not include the Temple Mount, for whatever reasons it was outside the boundary as not suitable. The new Polis was centered north of the

old city. The pre-Jewish War Jerusalem lay south of the Hadrian Gate, and the Temple Mount and remained in a state of ruins for generations.



"LEGXF" inscription, Jerusalem

Dr. Eliav took a guess at the location of Legio X Fretensis, but [1967 archeological dig](#) on what is now the site of the Crown Plaza Hotel, about 1.5 km north by northwest of Aelia Capitolina.

"Roman coins unearthed points to a continuous presence at the site from the end of the First Jewish Revolt to the reign of Antoninus Pius." That covers 70-138 CE. It is possible the Legio was repositioned with the building of Aelia Capitolina, but this seems unlikely to me, as it would have entailed extra work, and as it was they were only 20 minutes away from the Polis, so would have been easily available for construction duty. Fragments found in and around Aelia Capitolina are consistent with Legio X carrying out construction work on the city and roads in the region. The unit seems to have relocated to an unknown position during the Bar Kochba revolt.

[10] Hieronymus (347-419 CE), aka Jerome, indicates that Hadrian's statue still stood in the 5th century; *Commentariorum In Evangelium Matthaei Libri Quattuor* 24:15 states: *So when you see the standing in the holy place the abomination that causes desolation: or to the statue of the mounted Hadrian, which stands to this very day on the site of the Holy of Holies / **Cum ergo uideritis abominationem desolationis ... stantem in loco sancto ... aut de Hadriani equestri statua, quae in ipso sancto sanctorum loco usque in praesentem diem sietit.***

note, the statue was probably added by Antoninus Pius around 138 CE as part of his effort to deify his predecessor Hadrian. If that is the case then the Desolation Sacrilege must have been Jupiter or happened later

[11] Josephus, De bello Judaico 7.6.6, on the tax:

He (Caesar) also laid a tribute upon the Jews wheresoever they were, and enjoined every one of them to bring two drachmae every year into the Capitol, as they used to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem. And this was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time (or "to this day").

φόρον δὲ τοῖς ὅπουδηποτοῦν οὖσιν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέβαλεν δύο δραχμὰς ἕκαστον κελεύσας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον φέρειν, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰς τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεῶν συνετέλουν. καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἰουδαίων τότε τοιαύτην εἶχε κατάστασις.

also Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae* 65.7.2, adds the detail of paying for Jupiter Capitolinus

Thus was Jerusalem destroyed on the very day of Saturn, the day which even now the Jews reverence most. From that time forth it was ordered that the Jews who continued to observe their ancestral customs should pay an annual tribute of two denarii to Jupiter Capitolinus.

οὕτω μὲν Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐν αὐτῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ, ἦν μάλιστα ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἰουδαῖοι σεβουσιν, ἐξώλετο. καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου δίδραχμου ἐτάχθη τοὺς τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθνη περιστέλλοντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Διὶ κατ' ἔτος ἀποφέρειν. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἔσχε· καίτοι τά τε ἄλλα αὐτοῖς, ὅσα ἐπὶ τηλικαύτῃ νίκῃ εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ ἀψίδες τροπαιοφόροι ἐψηφίσθησαν.

Matthew 17:24-27 refers to the Fiscus Iudaicus (τελεὶ δίδραχμα). The purpose seems to be to imply that Jesus was a Jew, subject to the tax, against Marcion. Of course, this could not possibly have been written before the Bar Kochba revolt, as nobody who lived during the generation that tax was in place would not be aware it was not in place before the Temple was destroyed.

[12] Jewish scholar Dr. Menaham Mor, [Are there Any New Factors Concerning the Bar Kokhba Revolt?, Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica XVIII, 2012, 161-193](#), points out that Joannes Xiphilinus, the 11th century epitomator of Cassius Dio, had a clear agenda for adding the phrase "for the Jews deemed it intolerable that foreign races should be settled in their city and foreign religious rites planted there" (Ἰουδαῖοι γὰρ δεινὸν τι ποιούμενοι τὸ ἄλλοφύλους τινὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν σφῶν οἰκισθῆναι καὶ τὸ ἱερὰ ἀλλότρια ἐν αὐτῇ ἰδρυθῆναι) which Mor says is not Dio's. While I mostly agree, the passage which precede need some examination. It is highly unlikely Dio would have referred to the destroyed Jewish Temple with such reverence to make the statement, "and on the site of the temple of the god he raised a new temple to another deity" (καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τόπον ναὸν τῷ Διὶ ἕτερον). So I think the phrase about the Temple must be removed, as it suggests primacy of the Jewish and Christian God, and Jupiter is referred to as merely as "another deity". Also it has been demonstrated that no Temple was built on the Temple Mount, and Dio would not do that. But something had to have been said to after it started a War. I think it is the phrase "for the Jews found it intolerable" (Ἰουδαῖοι γὰρ δεινὸν τι ποιούμενοι) referring obliquely to the burden of taxation to pay for the new Polis.

[13] Tacitus, History 5.9, shows the astonishment of the Romans when the conquered Judea and discovered their Temple was empty with no statues of the Gods, "*Cneius Pompeius was the first of our countrymen to subdue the Jews. Availing himself of the right of conquest, he entered the temple. Thus it became commonly known that the place stood empty with no similitude of gods within, and that the shrine had nothing to reveal*" **Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Iudaeos domuit templumque iure victoriae ingressus est: inde vulgatum nulla intus deum effigie vacuam sedem et inania arcana** It should be pointed out there is no actual indication in any sources that the Jews ever took Aelia Capitolina. Bar Kochba avoided direct battle with the Romans and Legio X Fretensis was stationed there. While the coin suggests the temple was taken, and that the Romans abandoned the city for a short while, it the coin could be merely optimistic propaganda by Bar Kochba. There is no mention anywhere of the city being involved in the revolt. Cassius Dio's report seems to support the notion that there were no pitched battles and the Romans were not forced from any position in *Historia Romana* 69.12.3 **he says of Bar Kochba,**

The rebels did not dare try to risk open confrontation against the Romans, but occupied the advantageous positions in the country and strengthened them with mines and walls, so that they would have places of refuge when hard pressed and could communicate with one another unobserved underground; and they pierced these subterranean passages from above at intervals to let in air and light.

καὶ παρατάξει μὲν φανερᾷ οὐκ ἐτόλμων διακινδυνεῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, τὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐπίκαιρα κατελάμβανον καὶ ὑπονόμοις καὶ τείχεσιν ἐκρατύνοντο, ὅπως ἀναφυγὰς τε ὁπότεν βιασθῶσιν

ἔχῳσι καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ὑπὸ γῆν διαφοιτῶντες λανθάνῳσι, διατιτράντες ἄνω τὰς ὑπογείους ὁδοὺς ἵνα καὶ ἄνεμον καὶ φέγγος ἐσδέχοντο.

[Boaz Zizzu and Amos Kloner Archeological Study](#) supports Dio's report for how the Jews fought. Further only a handful of Jewish coins (6) have been found there, which is more consistent with a few being picked up Roman soldiers as souvenirs during the campaign. Although they have been found throughout Judea where the revolt occurred. Leo Miltenberg, *Bar Kokhba Coins and Documents*, 1980, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Volume 84, p 311-331, ([free partial version](#) and also available for free on jstor) gives an excellent summary, including a pair of maps on p 321 (1), and 323 (3) that make it rather obvious the revolt reached neither the coast nor Jerusalem, and only controlled a portion of Judea.

[14] Both Palestinian Rabbinic Midrash and Babylonian Talmud (*Gittin*) place the conflict in Betar, as does Eusebius, *History of the Church* 4.6.3, "The war reached its height in the eighteenth year of Hadrian in Betar, which was a strong citadel not very far from Jerusalem. The siege lasted a long time before the rebels were driven to final destruction by famine and thirst and the instigator of their madness paid the penalty he deserved."

There is no Roman mention of any reconstruction for Aelia Capitolina, although it seems probable that new statues of Jupiter were required. Despite Cassius Dio stating the equestrian statue of Hadrian was present, it would seem more consistent with Roman sensibilities if it would have been placed there at the beginning of Antoninus Pius' reign, as part of his effort to deify his predecessor.

[15] Among the unfounded charges, is that Bar Kosiba killed Christians, Eusebius, *Chronicle, Hadrian, year 17*: "*Cochebas, the duke of the Jewish sect, killed the Christians with all kinds of persecutions, when they refused to help him against the Roman troops.*" A similar claim from Justin, *First Apology* 31.5-6, "*For in the present war it is only the Christians whom Barchochebas, the leader of the rebellion of the Jews, commanded to be punished severely, if they did not deny Jesus as the Messiah and blaspheme him.*" It is rather doubtful there were any Christians at the time to persecute.

[16] The conclusion that there was no Roman diaspora very much surprised me. Obviously the destruction of the temple diaspora is part of the psyche. As early as the 4th century the practice of visiting the wailing wall was practiced. The wars and destruction, and struggle for identity were and are very real. And it should be remembered that Samaritan, Galilean and Babylonian Judaism continued and thrived, and so also the practices of Circumcision and reading the Torah. Further Jewish evangelism must have played a far bigger role in creating the complex story of the "diaspora" populations than has been given credit.

[17] The mention of circumcision elsewhere in Paul (1 Corinthians 7:18-19, Romans 3:1, 30, 4:9-12, 15:8, Galatians 2:7, Philippians 3:5, Colossians 3:11, 4:11; I am uncertain on Colossians 2:13) is part of the later "Catholic" redaction in the last quarter of the 2nd century. Tacitus *Annals* 8.7.1 also comments on this prohibition, but places it during Domitian:

"He prohibited the castration of males, and kept down the price of the eunuchs that remained in the hands of the slave dealers"

castrari mares vetu it; spadonum, qui residui apud mangones erant, pretia moderatus est.

[18] Gaius' commentary is available in English on-line from Ken Pennington, Catholic University, [here](#)

In addition he has a series of [audio and video lectures from his classes](#) including Roman Jurisprudence

[19] Tertullian *Adversus Marcionem* 1.19.2-3 make it very clear Marcion's new God appeared first during

Antoninus Pius, *Cum igitur sub Antonino primus Marcion hunc deum induxerit*, about September 142 CE if it was 115 1/2 years after Tiberius, *A Tiberio autem usque ad Antoninum anni fere cxv et dimidium anni cum dimidio mensis.*

<http://sgwau2cbeginnings.blogspot.com/2013/07/marcions-revelation-eclipse-of-118-ce.html>

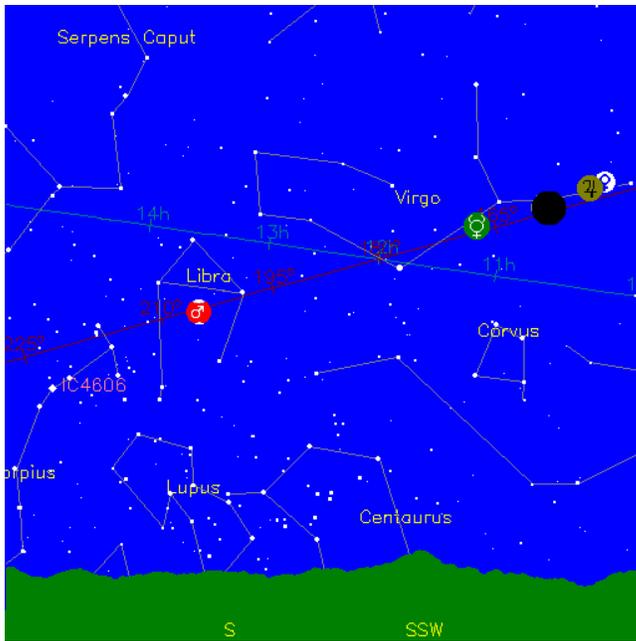
Saturday, July 27, 2013

Marcion's Revelation: The Eclipse of 118 CE



Hadrian Denarius 125-128 CE with Eclipse of 118 CE

On [September 3rd 118 CE there was a full eclipse](#) whose course went over the entire northern frontier of the Roman Empire giving the garrisons and the Barbarian tribes a spectacular sight. But it was only a partial eclipse that would have only dimmed the skies for awhile, and would not have darkened like night any of the cities of the empire, with one notable exception city on the shores of Pontus Euxinos (Black Sea). That city was Sinope, where it was almost full strength. The weather, if what was typical nineteen hundred years ago is much the same as today, then at mid afternoon it most likely would be about 74 F (23.3 C), almost cloudless and sunny, any fog long burned off, and likely a mild breeze coming off the Sea, as the eclipse occurred.



Horizon View of Eclipse, Sinope, Pontus Sept. 3rd 118 CE 2:55pm

The view would have been unobstructed from the already ancient walls in the middle of the peninsula across the bay to the south and southwest. Looking to the southwest the darkened skies unveiled the stars. And the alignment certainly would surely have been interpreted with great importance. As can be seen to the left, Virgo (the virgin) is lying back, resting her head upon the Sun and Moon, and the planets Venus, Jupiter, and Mercury attending. Her feet, directly south, are upon Libra, with Mars (God of War) weighing the scales. Beneath the scales are Lupus (Wolf) representing Rome and Centaurus representing various barbarians, literally walking on the mountains beneath, with Scorpius (Scorpion) to the Southeast, and the Hydra (the water serpent, often associated with Satan) to their West. The Eclipse itself is above Corvus (Crow), and Crater (drinking cup).

Marcion, quite likely a rather very young man at the time this eclipse occurred, would certainly have been fascinated by the event and sought out the local astrologers (priests of whatever deity, even the Jewish God) to understand what the skies were showing. No doubt on impressionable youth, religious, and studious, it's easy to understand how the night skies suddenly revealed in daytime could have a profound effect upon him and his views. If the reports of Marcion having a clerical father are true, and he likely would have been a Jewish convert or God-fearing, then he would likely have been conditioned to view the event in similar terms to that of the author of Revelations. When combined with the interpretation of the eclipse of 71 CE, as survived in Revelations chapter 12, already with much Christian messianic symbolism understood, it could easily become for Marcion a new revelation. And given the isolation of the viewing region, it would have been an unknown revelation (unless you were on the Dacia or Armenian Frontiers and it happened to be relatively cloudless).

Although it is entirely speculative, this eclipse may have birthed Marcion's Christianity by revelation that is referred to by his Paul in Galatians. The one solid piece of evidence we have to support the idea of a cosmic event being behind the revelation comes from Terullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 1.18.1,

when mocking why the Christ being revealed to Marcion was delayed over century from Tiberius stating,

Perhaps he (Marcion) was hindered by some obstacle or else soem sorcery, or Saturn in quadrature, or Mars at the trine. For the Marcionites are very much into astrology, not blushing in shame that some make their livelihood from the creator's own stars. We must here examine the quality of this revelation ... *Fortasse enim anabibazon ei obstabat, aut aliquae maleficae, aut Saturnus quadratus, aut Mars trigonus. Nam et mathematici plurimum Marcionitae, nec hoc erubescetes, de ipsis etiam stellis vivere creatoris. Tractandum et hic de revelationis qualitate, ...*

There is a hint of suggestion here that Astrology (**mathematici**) for Marcionites goes back to Marcion himself and his revelation may come from that. Tertullian certainly thinks so here.

Modern Outlook and the Ancient Views of the Heavens:

This is probably a good time for a little digression on the subject of modern thinking and ancient thinking on religion and the stars. We have been conditioned in the modern view to look at religion as literary and based on words and thought concepts, deriving from an equally sterile Judaism, albeit with influences of Greek mystery cults. The Apocalypse experience is something we have difficulty relating to.

Modern readers (and scholars) have a tendency is to project backwards our critical skepticism toward astrology that simply wasn't there during the Apostolic age. Additionally scholars have a tendency to confine analysis within the accepted time line, treating that as more sanctified than the content of the books themselves. And those books are only seen as developing from logical and allegorical arguments, not from natural phenomena, and often myopically focused on internal Jewish politics.

But the ancient view is different. When they spoke of heaven, they spoke of the sky. The concept of earth being a ball was mathematically understood, but intellectually the concept of it being a planet was not. They thought the skies above was the realm of the Gods. The stars were not understood to be suns like our own, but rather almost magical lights. Events like an eclipse revealed the "hidden" realm of the heavens and all the heavenly bodies. The books of revelations are the interpretations of events, where the dreams or vision is the allegory, bringing to life the events as symbolic characters of what was seen.

[1]

This paper is my attempt to make sense of Paul's Apocalypse, which he refers to as his source of authority, and find an event in the Roman world in the time period that fits the discovery of the writings. As with my discussion about Roman codified "Law of Nations" (think 'Natural Law' in modern terms) which fit with [Paul arguing contemporary issues of the day during the reign of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius](#), the aim here is correlate Paul's vision and Marcionite theology in specific time and place. And of course its speculative.

The New Testament, the Apocrypha and various Apocryphal stories speak of the heavens in terms of Astronomy. Perhaps the best description of the heavens in Paul, and that means in the sky, and its relationship to the earth occurs in 1 Corinthians 15:40-41, where each has a body and a glory:

καὶ σώματα ἐπουράνια, καὶ σώματα ἐπίγεια·
ἀλλὰ ἑτέρα μὲν ἡ τῶν ἐπουρανίων δόξα, ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ τῶν ἐπιγείων.
ἄλλη δόξα ἡλίου, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα σελήνης, καὶ ἄλλη δόξα ἀστέρων·
ἀστὴρ γὰρ ἀστέρος διαφέρει ἐν δόξῃ.

And there are heavenly bodies, and earthly bodies;
but different is the glory of the heavenly, and different of the earthly;
there is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars;
for star differs from star in glory.

This passage is not at all abstract to the readers of the Roman era, the stars differed in size, brightness, color, and the constellations they belonged to. Absent in the description are the planets, who are thought to have been wandering stars because they belonged to no constellation but followed the path of the Sun and Moon. [2] The full context of the passage concerns the baptism of the dead and the nature of resurrection, beginning in verse 15:29, 35-49. A series of relationships make it clear that man is born perishable body, that is a natural body, but with resurrection puts on an imperishable spiritual body as we are told in the subsequent passage of verses 15:42-44:

Οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν. σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ, ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ·
σπείρεται ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ· σπείρεται ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, ἐγείρεται ἐν δυνάμει·
σπείρεται σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν.
εἰ ἔστιν σῶμα ψυχικόν, ἔστιν καὶ πνευματικόν.

So also with resurrection of the dead. It is sown as perishable, raised as imperishable;
it is sown in dishonor, raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, raised in power;
it is sown a natural body, raised a spiritual body.
If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual.

The relationship has been generally thought as purely allegorical between the body with the heavens. But this is probably not be the case, as the earthly body may be with dishonor, but risen body is said to be in glory (δόξη), the just as the description as the heavenly bodies (ἐπουρανίων δόξα), the sun (δόξα ἡλίου), the moon (δόξα σελήνης), and the stars (δόξα ἀστέρων). This corresponds to the Roman view where distinguished humans can become Gods of a sort and live with the Sun, Moon, and Stars that are Gods in the sky. The heavens are the sky, beyond reach. This view that the resurrection is in the sky can be seen in verse 15:46-48 where the man is said to first be dust, dust of the earth, and that a resurrected saint will be made up of the heavenly materials, the things of stars:

ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός, ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.
οἷος ὁ χοϊκός, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ χοϊκοί, καὶ οἷος ὁ ἐπουράνιος, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπουράνιοι·
καθὼς ἐφόρεσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ, φορέσωμεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανοῦ.

The first man is made of the dust out of the earth, the second man out of heaven.
As the man of dust, Such also men are dust, and as the heavenly man, such also the heavenly;
As we bore the image of the of the man of dust, we must bear the image of the heavenly man.

The theme then completes the man as star concept with the relationship of the imperishable replacing the perishable body, so that death is defeated 15:50-57 through Christ. This heavenly raising of the dead is to the very skies above, as we can see with verse 15:52 where an instant change happens

ἐν ἀτόμῳ, ἐν ῥιπῇ ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ σάλπιγγι·
σαλπίζει γάρ, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερθήσονται ἀφθαρτοὶ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλαγησόμεθα.

in a moment, in the wink of an eye, in the last trumpet;

for a trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we will be changed.

And rising to the skies above is vouchsafed in 1 Thessalonians 4:16-17 confirming this rapture to be a lifting into the sky (air), above the clouds, a real and physical heaven

οἱ περιλειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου ...

καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστήσονται πρῶτον ...

σὺν αὐτοῖς ἄρπαγησόμεθα ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ κυρίου εἰς ἀέρα·

those remaining until the coming of the lord

and the dead in Christ (who) will rise first

together with them will be caught up in the clouds meeting the lord in the sky; [3]

But the view of the heavens is consistent with the Greco-Roman world as the place of the Gods, or in Christian terms angels. [4] Thus we see the the statement in Philippians 3:20 and 3:21

ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς

For our citizenship is in heaven

Which also Tertullian, in *Adversus Marcionem* 5.20.7, sees as tying directly to the 1 Corinthians 15:41 passage concerning the glory stars differing one from another, so in Philippians 3:21 Christ

μετασηματίσει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ
will transform our body's humble state conforming with the body of his glory

So this is a transformation to be with the stars. A new body just as Zeus gave to heroes to join the Constellations. A position where the author of Jude 13 in the 3rd century shares, and sees becoming a star belonging to a fixed constellation is the fate of saints good; and so in a jab at heretical saints - notice the focus on waves of the sea points toward Pontus and Marcion - saying they are doomed to be planets (wandering stars), rather ironically like the recently discovered unlucky exoplanets who lost the gravitational battle with their local Jupiter sized [planets and thrown from their solar systems into deep space](#)

wild waves of the sea, casting up the foam of their own shame;

wandering stars for whom the nether gloom of darkness has been reserved for ever

κύματα ἄγρια θαλάσσης ἐπαφρίζοντα τὰς ἑαυτῶν αἰσχύνας,

ἀστέρες πλανῆται οἷς ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηται.

There is essentially no difference in the view of Heaven for Christians as that of other Romans. Cicero in 54 BC, *De Re Publica* 6.14-26, [5] in the description of the elder Scipio Africanus' dream puts forth very clearly the Roman Pagan view of death and heaven, and like Paul in Philippians describes the body as prison,

They have taken their flight from the bonds of the body as from a prison. Your so-called life is really death.

... 'Unless that God whose temple is the whole visible universe releases you from the prison of the body, you cannot gain entrance here. For men were given life for the purpose of cultivating that globe, called

Earth, which you see at the centre of this temple. Each has been given a soul, [a spark] from these eternal fires which you call stars and planets, which are globular and rotund and are animated by divine intelligence, and which with marvellous Velocity revolve in their established orbits. Like all god-fearing men, therefore, Publius, you must leave the soul in the custody of the body, and must not quit the life on Earth unless you are summoned by the one Who gave it to you; otherwise you will be seen to shirk the duty assigned by God to man.

hi vivunt, qui e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt, vestra vero, quae dicitur, vita mors est.

... Nisi enim deus is, cuius hoc templum est omne, quod conspicis, istis te corporis custodiis liberaverit, huc tibi aditus patere non potest. Homines enim sunt hac lege generati, qui tuerentur illum globum, quem in hoc templo medium vides, quae terra dicitur, iisque animus datus est ex illis sempiternis ignibus, quae sidera et stellas vocatis, quae globosae et rotundae, divinis animatae mentibus, circulos suos orbisque conficiunt celeritate mirabili. Quare et tibi, Publi, et piis omnibus retinendus animus est in custodia corporis nec iniussu eius, a quo ille est vobis datus, ex hominum vita migrandum est, ne munus humanum assignatum a deo defugisse videamini.

Cicero shows in 6.16 the same formula we see from Paul and the Christians describing stars in heaven as the destination of "souls" for the pious, except that Cicero hints this is reserved for the privileged in speaking of the service for the Empire.

'But Scipio, like your grandfather here, like myself, who was Your father, cultivate justice and the sense of duty, which are of great importance in relation to parents and kindred but even more in relation to one's country. Such a life [spent in the service of one's country] is a highway to the skies, to the fellowship of those who have completed their earthly lives and have been released from the body and now dwell in that place which you see yonder' (it was the circle of dazzling brilliance which blazed among the stars), 'which you, using a term borrowed from the Greeks, call the Milky Way.' Looking about from this high vantage point, everything appeared to me to be marvelous and beautiful. There were stars which we never see from the Earth, and the dimensions of all of them were greater than we have ever suspected. The smallest among them was the one which, being farthest from Heaven and nearest the Earth, shone with a borrowed light [i.e., the Moon]. The size of the stars, however, far exceeded that of the Earth.

Sed sic, Scipio, ut avus hic tuus, ut ego, qui te genui, iustitiam cole et pietatem, quae cum magna in parentibus et propinquis tum in patria maxima est; ea vita via est in caelum et in hunc coetum eorum, qui iam vixerunt et corpore laxati illum incolunt locum, quem vides.' Erat autem is splendidissimo candore inter flammas circus elucens. 'Quem vos, ut a Graiis accepistis, orbem lacteum nuncupatis.' Ex quo omnia mihi contemplanti praeclara cetera et mirabilia videbantur. Erant autem eae stellae, quas numquam ex hoc loco vidimus, et eae magnitudines omnium, quas esse numquam suspicati sumus; ex quibus erat ea minima, quae ultima a caelo, citima a terris luce lucebat aliena. Stellarum autem globi terrae magnitudinem facile vincebant.

With similar expectations for piety and nearly identical concept and reward for heaven, the one thing that makes Christianity stand out from the Roman state religion was that heaven is not just for Emperors alone and by extension some other equestrian class member of supreme accomplishment, who could attain divinity and live forever in the stars, but that much more democratically ordinary Christians of saintly faith may obtain this privilege.

The Jewish view of the Roman era can be seen as nearly identical in the apocryphal 1st century CE 4 Maccabees 17:5 where the sons of Maccabees are compared to the moon and stars

οὐχ οὕτως σελήνη κατ' οὐρανὸν σὺν ἄστροις σεμνὴ καθέστηκεν ὡς σὺ τοὺς ἰσαστέρους ἑπτὰ παῖδας φωταγωγήσασα πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἔντιμος καθέστηκας θεῶ καὶ ἐστήρισαι σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐν οὐρανῶ

The moon in heaven, with the stars, does not stand so mighty as you, who, after lighting the way of your star-like seven sons to piety, stand in honor before God and are firmly set in heaven with them.

We see in this Jewish view [6] that Heaven where the saints go is in the stars, just as with the Romans, and consistent with 1 Corinthians 15. The view of Heaven as an abstract place beyond dimensional space was not likely the common view, for the nature of space and the universe was more wonder than science then. We are probably projecting our modern view upon these people when we dismiss the notion of Heaven literally being in the stars.

A Quick Look at the Ancient View of Heavens and Prophecy:

The Jewish view, from which Christianity inherits, is a bit more complicated. Deuteronomy 4:19 and 2 Kings 23:5 warn explicitly against worshiping the sun, moon, and stars, the later equating this practice with Baal worship and idolatrous priests. These heavenly bodies are seen instead as like the angels, members of that realm, and of the same order in Psalms 148:1-4, echoed in the apocryphal [Prayer of Azariah 35-41](#), [7] part of the procession in God's heaven. So while Christians did not see heavenly bodies as Gods per say, they did see them as part of the order of the Heavens, with signs that could be interpreted.

Christian and Marcionite Symbolism:

Modern Sinop, view from cape on hill looking southeast

If the reading of the stars was part of the role of the very first Christians, before they became text bound, as I think it was, then all the evidence of the heavenly order are present in the eclipse of 118 CE in Sinop. To the southwest, the eclipse itself is the union of male (Sun and God) with female (Moon), who has the Virgin (Virgo) lying on her back, as if to give birth. Zeus (planet Jupiter) the king of the Gods in heaven is standing, on the right hand looking south, in attendance with Athena (planet Venus) the Goddess of fertility. Hermes (planet Mercury) the messenger ("Apostle") is also in close attendance, a role that may be important. Below the eclipse is Krêtêr (constellation Crater) the cup, from which Jesus

will drink. The Hydra constellation is slithering on the ground below the cup (the head might be out of sight), representing the earth as the domain of the snake or Satan.

Sky above Sinope 118/9/3 11:55 UTC

Directly to the south another drama is playing out in the stars. Zyggos (constellation Zebra) who holds the scales of Justice is hosting Ares (the planet Mars) the God of war and passion. The Greek mind sees war God as uncontrolled rage, ill tempered, and violent. This is a view of Marcion, who was from the Greek world. But to the Roman mind Mars represented controlled war, in the modern sense "Peace through Strength" as Americans tend to look at the military. In Marcion's view the God of Justice is often violent and full of rage, bringing wrath with justice. Here it would come from the heavens. What is also telling in this alignment is that Lupus constellation in the middle is the wolf, the symbol of Rome, touching the ground on the horizon, directly below the God of War who is holding the scales of justice. To her right is the Centaur representing the other tribes whom she wars with, and to the left the Scorpion representing the beasts of the earth. This is an arraignment that Marcionites would readily identify as the Jewish God of Law ruling over the kings and beasts of the earth. The Messenger or Apostle (Mercury) is caught up in heaven witnessing the Law God to his left, and to the right the revelation of Christ from the virgin, and those who drink the cup below are not under the scales or the God of Justice.

That is more speculation than I am comfortable with. But it is easy to see how a Marcionite would read that eclipse and the arraignment of the stars revealed by the eclipse. It is confirmation for the theology revealed by God himself in the arraignment of the stars. Further watching it intently could blind at least for awhile anyone without modern protective glasses, perhaps accounting for the story of temporary blinding with the revelation. So all the elements of Marcionism are present. But the question that immediately comes up is what evidence in the Apostolikon and Gospels is there of viewing the skies?

Astrology in Christianity and Marcion:

In addition to the skies, including space beyond the atmosphere, being the place of the Heavens, it was also seen as the place of signs and wonders revealed by God. This in fact is a significant aspect of the Gospels, specifically in the mini-Apocalypse concerning when the Lord will come Luke 21:25 says bluntly:

"And there will be signs in sun and moon and stars ...
for the powers of the heavens will be shaken,
and you will see the son of man coming
in a cloud with power and great glory!"

καὶ ἔσονται σημεῖα ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἀστροῖς
αἱ γὰρ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται.
καὶ τότε ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον
ἐν νεφέλῃ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς.

This essentially points us to an eclipse when you see the sun and moon together, and the stars spoken of. Christ is revealed in the clouds. That this is a celestial observational is clear by the reference of only the sky. The reaction of people to the event sounds very much like what occurs from an unexpected

eclipse. And the reference to the sounds of roaring waves of the sea gives us an indication that the viewing point could well be one like at Sinope, Pontus across the bay of the Euxine.:

And on the earth distress of gentiles, perplexed at the roaring of the sea and waves.

καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς συνοχὴ ἔθνῶν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἡχοῦς θαλάσσης καὶ σάλου,

This fits the scenario of Marcion viewing the 118 CE eclipse. Like all good prophecies this one is looking back on and recording an actual event. Very much in the same light as the OT prophecies, and also the two

allegorically detailed in chapters 6 and 12 of Revelation. We have then Paul/Marcion's revelation.

The 3rd century document entitled [Ignatius to the Ephesians](#) (shorter form), chapter 19, [8] seems to refer to this very event referencing the revealing of the virgin, hidden from the prince of this age (2 Corinthians 4:4) which has both a Marcionite sound, and matches Virgo's position in the eclipse of 118 CE.

Now **the virginity of Mary was hidden from the prince of this world, as was also her offspring**, and the death of the Lord; three mysteries of noise, which were wrought in silence of God. How, then, was He manifested to the ages? A star shone forth in heaven above all the other stars, the light of which was inexpressible, while its novelty struck men with astonishment. And all the rest of the stars, with the sun and moon, formed a chorus to this star, and its light was exceedingly great above them all. And there was agitation felt as to whence this new spectacle came, so unlike to everything else. Hence every kind of magic was destroyed, and every bond of wickedness disappeared; ignorance was removed, and the old kingdom abolished, God Himself being manifested in human form for the renewal of eternal life. And now that took a beginning which had been prepared by God. Henceforth all things were in a state of tumult, because He meditated the abolition of death.

Καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου· τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ ἐπράχθη. πῶς οὖν ἐφανερώθη τοῖς αἰῶσιν; ἀστὴρ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἔλαμψεν ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἀνεκλάλητον ἦν καὶ ξενισμὸν παρεῖχεν ἢ καινότης αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἄστρα ἅμα ἠλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ χορὸς ἐγένετο τῷ ἀστέρι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑπερβάλλων τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ πάντα· ταραχὴ τε ἦν, πόθεν ἢ καινότης ἢ ἀνόμοιος αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία καὶ πᾶς δεσμὸς ἠφανίζετο κακίας· ἄγνοια καθηρεῖτο, παλαιὰ βασιλεία διεφθείρετο θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου εἰς καινότητα αἰδίου ζωῆς· ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐλάμβανεν τὸ παρὰ θεῶ ἀπηρτισμένον. ἔνθεν τὰ πάντα συνεκινεῖτο διὰ τὸ μελετᾶσθαι θανάτου κατάλυσιν.

Ignatius seems to be referring to a Comet (Haley's 141 CE) or a Supernova (185 CE, brighter than Venus) as the brighter star. But he could also be referencing the concept of the logos as light, per Philo, et al. (I lean toward the former, a real event.) The description from Ignatius also bears a striking resemblance to the description from Revelation 12:1-6, 13-17 where the pregnant woman (Andromeda) is kept hidden from the serpent in that celestial event drawn from reading the sky the night after the eclipse of 71 CE.

Acts 2:19 quoting Joel 2:30 (3:3 LXX), and shows that the Catholic Luke author also sees the heavens as giving signs and portents to earthly events,

"I will show wonders in the sky"

Καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω.

However this event, for Luke, seems to be a reference to an eruption of Mount Vesuvius. While there was a 79 CE eruption, written about allegorically in Revelation 8, which might seem to fit, it is more likely a reference to the more immediate eruption in 172 CE since other factors indicate the composition of Luke-Acts and the Catholic editions of the Epistles of Paul as being shortly after 175 CE. [9]

But Revelation 12:1, concerning the eclipse event of 71 CE, we are told explicitly that the events in the heavens are being interpreted. [10]

"And a great sign appeared in the heavens"

Καὶ σημεῖον μέγα ὤφθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ

The specific interpretation of that event is covered by Michael Xoroaster's video on Revelations which you can find in [my earlier blog post](#).

The Context of Luke's Eclipse:

The mini-Apocalypse is much the same in Marcion as in Luke 21:5-38, [11] and the differences really do not impact this examination of the context of the events depicted, so we have a solid text to work from (I adjust to Marcionite form). When the disciples ask Jesus in 21:7 what sign there will be for them to know the events are happening, he replies in verses 21:9-11

"But when you hear about wars and insurrections, do not be frightened.

For it is necessary these things happen first, but it is not yet the end."

Then he was saying to them, "nation will rise up against nation and kingdom against kingdom,"

"Earthquakes and in various places there will be famines and plagues, there will be fearful sights and great signs from the heavens."

ὅταν δὲ ἀκούσητε πολέμους καὶ ἀκαταστασίας, μὴ πτοηθῆτε·

δεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα γενέσθαι πρῶτον, ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐθὺς τὸ τέλος.

Τότε ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Ἐγερθήσεται ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθνος καὶ βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν, σεισμοὶ καὶ κατὰ τόπους λοιμοὶ καὶ λιμοὶ ἔσονται, φόβηθρά καὶ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ σημεῖα με γάλα ἔσται.

The time frame that fits these events most closely are the final days of Trajan and the first days of Hadrian with the Parthian War (πολέμους) which pitted the two great empires (βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν), the Jewish insurrections (ἀκαταστασίας) in Cyrene, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Cyprus known collectively as the Kitos War, named such after Lusius Quietus, the Moorish Roman general who was involved in the campaign of Parthia for Trajan and the final defeat of the Cyrene rebel leader in Lydda, Judea. In the Kito's War the of 115-118 CE Jews reportedly butchered their Greek and other Pagan neighbors, thus pitting ethnic against ethnic (ἔθνος ἐπ' ἔθνος). Cassius Dio give a gory and very exaggerated account in *Historiae Romanae* 68.32 which testifies to the viciousness of the riots between Jews and their Greek and Roman neighbors

"Meanwhile the Jews in the region of Cyrene had put one Andreas at their head and were destroying both the Romans and the Greeks. They would cook their flesh, make belts for themselves of their entrails, anoint themselves with their blood, and wear their skins for clothing. Many they sawed in two, from the head downwards. Others they would give to wild beasts and force still others to fight as gladiators. In all, consequently, two hundred and twenty thousand perished. In Egypt, also, they performed many similar deeds, and in Cyprus under the leadership of Artemio. There, likewise, two hundred and forty thousand perished. For this reason no Jew may set foot in that land, but even if one of them is driven upon the island by force of the wind, he is put to death. Various persons took part in subduing these Jews, one being Lusius, who was sent by Trajan."

καὶ Τραϊανὸς μὲν ἐκεῖθεν οὕτως ἀπῆλθε, καὶ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἀρρωστεῖν ἤρχετο. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ κατὰ Κυρήνην Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἀνδρέαν τινὰ προσησάμενοί σφω, τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔφθειρον, καὶ τὰς τε σάρκας αὐτῶν ἐσιτοῦντο καὶ τὰ ἔντερα ἀνεδοῦντο τῶ τε αἵματι ἠλείφοντο καὶ τὰ ἀπολέμματα ἐνεδύοντο, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μέσους ἀπὸ κορυφῆς, διέπριον· θηρίοις ἐτέρους ἐδίδοσαν, καὶ μονομαχεῖν ἄλλους ἠνάγκαζον, ὥστε τὰς πάσας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀπολέσθαι. ἐν τε Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἔδρασαν ὅμοια καὶ ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ, ἡγουμένου τινός σφισιν Ἀρτεμίωνος· καὶ ἀπώλοντο καὶ ἐκεῖ μυριάδες τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐδενὶ Ἰουδαίῳ ἐπιβῆναι αὐτῆς ἔξεστιν, ἀλλὰ κὰν ἀνέμῳ τις βιασθεὶς ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐκπέσῃ θανατοῦται. ἀλλ' Ἰουδαίους μὲν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λούσιος ὑπὸ Τραϊανοῦ πεμφθεὶς κατεστρέψατο.

There was also the major earthquake of 115 CE centered in Syria which greatly hindered the Romans in the handling of the revolt and preparations for War with Parthia. The text in Marcion is the same as Mark/Matthew in that it only says earthquake, and the famines and pestilence are what is said to in various places (τε is to be not found in Marcion, it changes the context here for Luke), which fits the scenario at this time. Finally the fearful sights could be anything, and without the "τε" they are separated from the signs in the heaven, so should be considered something in context with the wars and famines and such, and there were probably plenty of horrid things to see. That leaves the great sign in the heavens during that era, which brings us back to the eclipse of 118 CE which Hadrian commemorates in the coin shown above. So we have established the most likely time frame context of events which Luke 21:25-28 were concerned. That Marcion is likely missing verses 21:22-25 (certainly 21:22-23 per Epiphanius) it would seem the context of the mini-Apocalypse in his version is before Bar Kochba, sometime after 120 CE. **Note:** This is interesting because it suggests the Gospel of the Lord dates before the Apostolikon, as Marcion's Paul makes some references to judicial rulings of Hadrian and to the legal status of Judea after Bar Kochba, suggesting a date for at least the last few books early in Antoninus' reign.



Roman Signifiers with an Aquilifer

The account paralleling Luke 21:25, Mark 13:24-25/Matthew 24:29 looks to have been written without any knowledge of the 118 CE eclipse or of it's locale with foaming seas. Instead it incorporates elements of Joel 2:10 with stars falling instead of darkening. . Note, digressing, Matthew 24:28 seems to understand this as a war event, because he has the Eagles gathering, likely represents the Eagle (Aquila) Standards (signa) which every Roman Legion had. The most likely event referred to is the Bar Kochba revolt, since events are centered in Judea, although it could also be the later Parthian War of 161-165 CE. [12]

Paul's Trip to Jerusalem:

The Marcionite Apostolikon begins with the famous declaration of Galatians 1:1 of Paul receiving Apostleship by way of a revelation of Jesus Christ

Paul an Apostle not from men nor through man but through Jesus Christ ...

Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

This position is further expanded in verses 1:11-12, to include his Gospel's origin as from this Apocalypse

For I make known to you, brothers, the Gospel I have been preaching, that it is not according to man.

For I received it not from man, nor was I taught (it), but through a revelation of Jesus Christ

Γνωρίζω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου παρέλαβον αὐτό οὔτε ἐδιδάχθην, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

In a prior verse (Galatians 1:8) he even admonishes accepting any other Gospel , even if it was preached by an angel from Heaven (ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίσηται). A remarkable statement if consider this as allegorical to another Apocalypse event being claimed for the basis of a rival Gospel. [13] This cements the fact that Paul is referring to some sign from the Heavens as his revelation. But what he does with this revelation is more interesting as we see from Galatians 1:16b, 2:1

I did not immediately consult (with) flesh and blood, ...

then after fourteen years I went up to Jerusalem

εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι, ...
διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα

Now I bring the above passage to the argument now because of the strong association of Paul to Marcion. The proposal here is that the eclipse of September 3rd, 118 CE may have served as the foundation for Marcion's branch of Christianity. And when 14 years are added to that date the year 132 CE comes up, the first year of the Bar Kochba revolt.

The Strange Tale of Aquila and Hadrian (Caution, an appendix entry follows):



Hadrian, temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, Aelia Capitolina

One of the most bizarre of tales from any Patristic writer is the Epiphanius of Salamis' (320-403 CE) story of Aquila and Hadrian at Aelia Capitolina. It appears in [chapters 13-16](#) of *On Weights and Measures* (written in Constantinople in 392 CE) and is probably built upon several myths of Christian history as he knew it, no doubt mixed in with a dash of his own exuberant flair. The story is ridiculously apocryphal built upon the already thin and dubious character from chapter 18 of Acts, and including elements Aquila healing an ailing Hadrian, and translating the OT the Greek. Like the Simon Magis tales, this one, to borrow a television analogy, built up rather extensively by the 4th century spun of its own story derived from the Acts of the Apostles. The truth that remains is much like a television program, an author's theatrical allegory of theology overlaid on some historical event as a backdrop. Weak as it may be I will examine for parallels with Marcion and Paul for whatever value I find.

The first and most obvious points which stick out in the story [\[14\]](#) is that Aquila (which is Latin for "Eagle" the signi of the legions - a curious coincidence given the War that is unmentioned) is said to hail from Sinope of Pontus (*Ἀκύλας ... ἀπὸ Σινώπης δὲ τῆς Πόντου*). The addition of Sinope, a detail not in Acts 18:2 (*Ἀκύλαν Ποντικόν*), ties Aquila here to Marcion. In chapter 15 a most curious statement about Aquila's character is made,

So Aquila, after he had been strongly stirred in mind, believed in Christianity, and after a while, when he asked, he received the seal in Christ. But according to his former habit, while yet thinking the things of the heathen, he had been thoroughly trained in vain astronomy, so that also after he became a Christian he never departed from this fault of his, but every day he made calculations on the horoscope of his birth. [\[15\]](#)

The interesting comment here is that Aquila was both a Christian, and trained in astronomy. The disdain from Epiphanius reflects two things, first the opinion that Aquila is a heretic, and more generally that the Church by the 4th century has turned strongly literary focused and charismatic elements like astronomy are not so well accepted by the Church leadership. Be that as it may, there are three coincidental elements that struck me. The first is the association to Marcion, by the following story of another supposed Pontus native and declared Marcionite (by Epiphanius) Symmachus; second that he is a passionate Christian and trained in astronomy, who comes from the right place to have seen and interpreted the eclipse of 118 CE; third the time line for his going up to Jerusalem, is consistent with being 14 years after the eclipse event, given in the story he heals Hadrian in his 12th year, roughly 129 CE, so the arrival in Jerusalem would be a few years after that. It's all strangely coincidental, but it does make one wonder what traditions fed into this account, even if it's simply a parody of Marcion by Epiphanius or one he picked up.

This section on Aquila only survives here because it is a blog. It would be relegated to an appendix in a book, simply for the readers to aware of the myths circulating in Christian circles. I put no weight on it.

Conclusion:

Coming back down to the more concrete evidence, we need to consider the claim of Marcion's Paul to an exclusive revelation. We see that the Marcionite Gospel for Luke 11:29 (see also Mark 8:12 for evidence of the early reading), as Epiphanius reports, *Panarion book 42*, read simply

"This generation, no sign will be give it"

Ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη, σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτῇ

As with all prophecy statements in the bible we are looking backwards in time - the typical technique. The evidence I have presented makes the case for the Marcionite Gospel and Apostolikon being after the Bar Kochba revolt. The Apocalypse event which showed signs from Heaven to Marcion in Sinope on the Pontus Euxine was most probably the eclipse of 118 CE. Transposing the timeline onto this prophecy we see that there were no further heavenly signs in the Roman Empire until the [annular eclipse 164 CE](#) during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and Vesuvius did not erupt again until 172 CE. So this statement from the viewpoint of the skies was certainly true during the reign of Antoninus Pius. And the statement in Luke is made to underscore the foundation of the revelation Paul.

Note, by comparison if we accept the traditional timeline, or the literal dating of Jesus' speech, this would prove quite false, as the eclipse of 59 CE is only 30 years away. And more immediately the [total eclipse of November 24, 29 CE](#) which came as certainly in the traditional lifetime given for Jesus. Or looking forward the [annular eclipse of May 20, 49 CE](#) which passed close by Jerusalem, certainly during that generation.

In summing up, I have reviewed the Marcionite references to Apocalypse events and the association in the New Testament to actual events. As with Paul and the Law of Nations, there are concrete events which can be closely associated with the content of the Marcionite Apostolikon. There is no need to appeal to strange phantom Jesus communities that scholars have invented and unrecorded events to explain the content and focus of the letters or the Gospels.

The eclipse over the Euxine Pontus in 118 CE represents the singular best explanation for the Apocalypse that Marcion's Paul claims for his authority. It was an event that would have been largely unknown to Jews or the fledgling Christ movement outside of Sinope. The symbolism in the skies fit nicely with Marcion's ideas for Christianity. The description given in Luke 21:25 fits what would likely have been seen during the eclipse as people looked southward across the bay with the Sun hidden, darkness about and the sounds of the waves and ocean seeming louder to the hushed town. We have here the birth event of Marcionite Christianity.

Notes:

[1] Luke's description of an Apocalypse as a blinding light and voice (always voice) in Acts 9:3-11, 10:9-17, 16:9-10, 18:9, 22:6-20, 26:12-18, Matthew 17:1-9, Mark 9:2-10, Luke 9:28-36, which are said to be

visions where the Lord appears color our view as well, making it hard to consider something else.

[2] Jude 13 does refer to the Planets in a blast of heretics that seems derived from Tertullian's description of Marcion's supposed home of Sinope, Pontus. This is built on the pastoral verse Ephesians 4:14. Curious that Planets are associated with Gnostic heresy.

[3] To avoid any conclusion being tainted from later interpolations, I follow the Marcionite text attested by Tertullian in AM 5.15.4, *Ait eos qui remaneant in adventum Christi cum eis qui mortui in Christo primi resurgent, quod in nubibus auferentur in aerem obviam domino.*

[4] Yet it appears the Catholic editor writing three or four decades later, shares this same view of the sky being heaven, as he added the Angles coming down and blowing the trumpet referred to in 1 Corinthians 15:52, by specifying that Christ with an archangel with the trumpet of God will descend from heaven, equating it with the sky, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἐν κελεύσματι, ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου καὶ ἐν σάλπιγγι θεοῦ, καταβήσεται ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ,

[5] Here is the English of the passage of [Cicero's de Re Publica VI](#), and the [Latin from the Latin library](#). It is worth noting that henotheism is clearly present in Cicero's description.

[6] It is worth noting that at Qumran several recovered texts refer to astronomy and zodiac interpretation, indicating that Jews did indeed use astrology for religious prophecy. Francis Schmidt published an interesting paper [Ancient Jewish Astrology: An Attempt to Interpret 4QCryptic \(4Q186\)](#) on the subject.

[7] It is interesting that the heavenly bodies include the waters from the heavens, separate from and higher held than the mere rains. I have no real understanding of this feature, beyond that it probably refers to the astrological river Eridanus, which represents the River Po, and it is in the sky during the 71 CE eclipse.

[8] I have rather mixed opinion of the Ignatian Epistles in shorter form. Although not attested until the 4th century, and probably a [mid-3rd century](#) document, the writer only seems to quote a few Marcionite Pauline passages. But there are references to Hebrews (3rd Century) and Luke's equation in Romans 1:1-6 (c. 170-175 CE) as well as emphasis on the Bishop to disqualify even a mid-2nd century authorship. I do find the Modalist aspect (θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερούμενου) of the passage interesting.

[9] See my analysis of [1 Corinthians 8:7-13 reference to Valentinius](#), and the [Catholic editor](#), which show that at least 30 years have passed since the Marcionite collection was published in early reign of Antoninus, and sometime after the Antonine Plague (c. 162-180 CE) had been raging.

[10] Revelation 12:3 is part of the 71 CE eclipse interpretation, where the beast is Hydra in the sky thrown down on the night following the eclipse. But 15:1 appears to be by a later author although it may refer to the eclipse of [September 4th 164 CE](#) which was at full strength in Athens and passed close to Rome and over Syria-Palestine; but since there is no description of the star alignment or signs, there is no way to know

[11] Epiphanius indicates that verse 21:18, and 21:21-22 were missing (I'm not sure that is reading Epiphanius correctly I think he means only everything after "those in Judea flee to the mountains" is deleted), and Zahn doesn't believe verses 21:23-24 were present, which I agree but won't go into here. Tertullian AM 4.39.8 combined with Epiphanius' report it is clear that Luke 21:17-19 was a rewrite by the Catholic editor and that Mark 13:13 (Matthew 10:22) stood in its place. My reading of Tertullian is that 21:12-13 was considerably shorter and merely mentioned neighbor's handing one over, not the family members. Beyond that the Luke text is good. A few small differences are also detectable in 21:11 such as [τε μεγάλοι](#) (A, L – τε) "both great" and the second [τε](#) (700) "both"; the text lacking these is supported by AM 4.39.3 and the result has Marcion's text conforming more closely to Matthew 24:7 and Mark 13:8

[12] There is no attestation for Luke 17:37 in Marcion, where its placement is certainly awkward. The Aquila (Eagle) was the symbol carried into battle by Roman Legions. In the Bar Kochba revolt at least six legions participated (Legio X Fretensis, Legio VI Ferrata, Legio III Gallica, Legio III Cyrenaica, Legio XXII Deiotariana, Legio X Gemina) and one, XXII Deiotariana, was apparently destroyed as it was no longer recorded on the rolls by the Parthian War in 161 CE. Some historians say as many as twelve legions were drawn into crush the revolt. Either way by when all the legions converged on Bethar it would have been quite a site with all the standards in the air, it would have looked like a large flock of birds.

The Parthian War of 161 CE was another major conflict, as Cassius Dio states a legion was destroyed in Armenia, possibly the famous Legio IX Hispana that mysteriously disappeared around this time, although it is just as likely lost in Caledonia (Scotland), inspiring Hadrian to build his famous wall.

[13] Apelles and his revelations from Philumena have been suggested as the possible angle of light that Marcion's Paul attacks. But I reject this and instead believe it could just as easily refer to a Jewish Christian interpretation of the eclipse of 71 CE recorded in Revelation 12 which parallel closely the birth stories and even the time in the wilderness portrayed in the Gospels. But this is just my guess.

[14] That is ignoring the fact that Aquila would have been at least 115 years old if we assume he was a young married man of say 20 when the Apollos story takes place in Acts around 45-50 CE. He seems to have aged as well as James Bond, who has been in his forties continuously for fifty some years now. :-)

[15] Chapter 15 I have not been able to find in the Greek, so I am thus restricted to [English translation courtesy of tertulian.org](#). If there is an on-line Greek text I'd appreciate anyone letting me know where.

<http://sgwau2cbeginnings.blogspot.com/2013/03/apostles-and-bishops.html>

Tuesday, March 12, 2013

Apostles and Bishops

Continuing on the issue of vocabulary, and focusing on the structure of the Church we see the relationship between Apostle and Bishop is a fundamental one in the organization of the early Church. It is a position that evolved from with the growth of the Church. This is important in understanding who Marcion was, and how the character Paul relates to his position, and how it was reinterpreted by later Catholic editors.

Below is the excerpt from an article I wrote about the relationship of Paul and Marcion, which I am dealing with the offices of Bishop and Minister (Deacon).

Apostle and Bishop and Minister

When considering the issue of Marcion's parallel relationship with the literary Paul, you have to begin with the terms used. We learn not unsurprisingly in Dialogue Adamantius 1.9 that Marcion was a bishop, when Megethius states "Marcion is my bishop" (ἐπίσκοπός μου / *episcopus meus*). Not only is this

acknowledged by the Catholic champion Adamantius in his reply, but also that a succession of Bishops after Marcion,

Since the death of Marcion, there have been so many successor bishops (τοσοῦτων ἐπισκόπων / tot episcopi) among you, or rather pseudo-bishops (ψευδεπισκόπων / pseudoepiscopi): why then have you not been named after the successors, instead of after the schismatic Marcion? [1\[1\]](#)

Robert A. Pretty sums up well what he says, [2\[2\]](#)

This is an important statement [by Megethios]. Along with the following remark of Adamantius, it shows that the Marcionites had established an Order of Bishops. Whether Marcion himself was called "Bishop" (ἐπίσκοπος) in his lifetime is, however, uncertain. E.C. Blackman (*Marcion and His Influence*, London, 1948, p.5) thinks it is probable that Marcion himself instituted the order of bishops, as well as those of presbyters and deacons, since these are mentioned by Paul - Marcion's teacher and guide.

It seems to me entirely probable that the term Bishop, or literally 'overseer' as in a shepherd, first came into use by Marcion when he was choosing potential successors, rather than concerning his own title as Blackman suggests, as the term of Bishop is not extant anywhere in Marcion's Gospel or Apostolikon. [3\[3\]](#)

1[1] Robert A. Pretty, *Adamantius, Dialogue on the True Faith in God*, footnote #49 of chapter 1, p48: Rufinus translates: *qui et schisma ab ecclesia primus fecit?* ("who was the first to make a separation from the Church"). this may actually be the force of the Greek σχισματοποιός. Marcion began to form his own communities before 144, when he was formally excommunicated from the Church of Rome; he was therefore the first we know of to secede from the church and form his own group.

2[2] See Robert A. Pretty, *Adamantius, Dialogue on the True Faith in God*, footnote #48 of chapter 1, p48

3[3] The greeting in Philippians 1:1 "with the Bishops and deacons" οὖν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνους is very likely a Catholic interpolation. The Pauline greetings underwent significant revision to conform to the theological concerns and the revised ordering of the books.

Blackman appears to be correct when he says Paul never mentions presbyters, as the term "elders" ([πρεσβυτέρων](#)) is not to be found in Marcion [4\[4\]](#). However we do find it associated with Christians only in the Catholic Acts, the Pastoral Epistles of 1 Timothy and Titus, James, 1 & 2 Peter, and Revelation. [5\[5\]](#)

The evidence indicates that the role of elders was of considerably more importance in the Catholic Church than in the Marcionite. Irenaeus in *Adversus Haereses* 3.2.2 [6\[6\]](#) affirms the formal role of the "elders" (presbyters) and their succession as part of the Catholic structure, and also the disregard that the Heretics, mentioning amongst them specifically Marcion, had for them:

But, again, when we (Catholics) refer them to that tradition which originates from the apostles, [and] which is preserved by means of the succession of presbyters in the Churches, they (Heretics) object to tradition, saying that they themselves are wiser not merely than the presbyters, but even than the apostles, because they have discovered the unadulterated truth.

[4\[4\]](#) Luke 7:3, 9:22, 20:1 = Mark 11:27 / Matthew 21:23, 22:52 = Mark 14:43 / Matthew 26:47, 22:66 = Mark 14:53, 15:1 / Matthew 26:57, 59 - Tertullian in AM5.7.3 is contradicted by Ephanus P42 concerning Luke 20:1, and I side with Epiphanius. The original lacked mention of the elders of the Jews. Similar usage in Acts 4:5, 4:23, 6:12. Note Sanhedrin is associated with the Jewish elders in Luke 22:66 (Mark 15:1, Matthew 26:59) and Acts 6:12, but this is a Lucan invention.

An examination of the uses in the LXX does not reveal any association between [γερούσιαν](#) / [πρεσβυτέρων](#) and religious duties. The usage is almost exclusively with civil duties of cities, tribes, and peoples. The only reference at all is found in Leviticus 4:15 "the elders of the synagogue" [οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῆς συναγωγῆς](#).

Acts 5:21 has the only new testament use of [γερούσιαν](#) and appears drawn from Exodus 3:16, 4:29 [τὴν γερούσιαν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ](#). Here [γερούσιαν](#) is a non-ecclesiastic term to denote the civil leaders of the Jews. But as it is drawn from the LXX, and confuses Israel with Judaea, it seems the writer of Acts has no actual knowledge of the structure of leadership in the Jewish temple or Synagogues.

SGW - Pretty is incorrect, my own analysis shows that [πρεσβύτεροι](#) was a term never found in Marcion

[5\[5\]](#) We first see the term associated with Christians in Acts 11:30, then in 14:23 Paul appoints the Antioch elders. The elders are associated with James' court in Acts 15:4, 6, 22-23, 16:4, 21:18. In the Pastorals the term refers to a formal office in 1 Timothy 4:14, 5:1, 17, 19, Titus 1:5, 2:2. Of note women also can have this role in we see in 1 Timothy 5:2, and Titus 2:3. In James 5:14, 1 Peter 5:1, 5:5, 2 John 1:1, and 3 John 1:1 also reference the office, with it overlapping the roles of Bishop, Deacon, and Apostle, meaning people with such titles were also elders. In Revelation the role has been elevated to the heavens.

[6\[6\]](#) Placing a date on Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses* from internal evidence is rather difficult. Unlike Tertullian and Hippolytus he does not mention Apelles, but the themes are often more in tune with the 3rd than 2nd century. Traditionally his works are dated in the era 170s or 180s, partly on reference to the Lyon Martyrs of supposedly the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelia. But I see the claim that it was recent event to be a literary invention, just as it is today, to place the setting in an earlier era, thus I date on or after 190 AD.

Sum autem ad eam iterum Traditionem, quae est ab Apostolis, quae per successiones Presbyterorum in Ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos: adversantur Traditioni, decentes se non solum Presbyteris sed etiam Apostolis existentes sapientiores, sinceram invenisse veratem.

And similarly in 4.26.2, [7\[7\]](#) we see a significant the role of the presbyters is to uphold the.

Wherefore, it is incumbent to obey the presbyters who are in the Church, those who as I have shown possess the succession from the apostles; those who, together with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gift of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father. But [it is also incumbent] to hold in suspicion others who depart from the primitive succession, and assemble themselves together in any place whatsoever, [looking upon them] either as heretics of perverse minds, or as schismatics puffed up and self-pleasing, or again as hypocrites, acting thus for the sake of lucre and vainglory.

We see also that when you consider Paul as the model of Marcionite leadership, you do not see any consultation with any elders, rather strong proclamations and direct action, with authority directly from the Lord.

One very interesting point to note, in the New Testament the relationship between Apostle (ἀπόστολος) and Bishop (ἐπίσκοπον) is that of overlapping titles. This is true in both the Marcionite and Catholic factions. The direct connection is made clear concerning the replacement of Judas Iscariot from the 12 Apostles in Acts 1:20 with the quotation of the Psalm (LXX 108.8) 'let another take his *overseer position*' (ἐπισκοπήν) – of course the Catholic concern also includes Apostolic succession. Irenaeus states this very point, although while making a weak claim for Catholic priority, echoing Acts 1:20 in *Adversus Haereses* 3.2.3 [8\[8\]](#)

The tradition of the Apostles is manifested, therefore, for the whole world to see, present in every church, to all those who wish to look at the truth we have, and reckon those who were appointed (instituted) by the apostles as bishops in the churches, and their successors down to us, who have taught nothing of this sort, nor had known, such as from these [heretics] rave about.

7[7] Only have online access to Latin text of Irenaeus *Adversus Haereses* Book 3. Translation from CCEL.

8[8] Irenaeus in *Adversus Haereses* 3.3.3 bases his claim for Catholic priority on reference to deuterio Pauline 2 Timothy 4:21 mention of Linus, Ἀσπάζεται σε Εὐβουλος καὶ Πούδης καὶ Λίνος καὶ Κλαυδία καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί, as his proof of antiquity. He appears not to know the actual succession which anyway is spurious. Note, Ἀσπάζεται never appears in Marcion.

Traditionem itaque Apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in omni Ecclesia adest respicere omnibus qui vera velint videre: et habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur.

As we see following in Acts 1:14-16 when Matthias is chosen to succeed Judas in his ministry (διακονίας) and apostleship (ἀποστολής). This same pairing of ministry and apostleship is found in the Marcionite text describing the role of the Apostle Paul and Apollos as teachers/ministers δίακονοι at 1 Corinthians 3:4, where there is a deeper context.

Apelles as Apollos

In 1 Corinthians (1:12, 3:4-6, 22) [9\[9\]](#) we see Apollos treated as an equal to Paul as a primary teacher of Christ in the narrative as we see in verse 3:4

Who is Apollos? And who is Paul? Teachers through whom you believed, and each as the Lord gave to.

τί οὖν ἐστὶν Ἀπολλῶς; τί δὲ ἐστὶν Παῦλος; δίακονοι δι' ὧν ἐπιστεύσατε, καὶ ἐκάστῳ ὡς ὁ κύριος ἔδωκεν.

However in 3:5 we see his position seems to have come about after Paul, much as Apelles was supposedly a student of Marcion and thus after, as Paul plants and Apollos waters ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, Ἀπολλῶς ἐπότισεν.

This takes only a little parsing to realize that Apollos must have has the status of Apostle like Paul. As an Apostle (Bishop) and Teacher, in the terms of the second century we are describing a Sect leader.

Trying to identify actual people to literary characters is always speculative – certainly nothing I'd stand very firmly behind – but having already identified with some confidence that Paul can be seen a fictional alter ego for Marcion, we might as well look at the other literary characters found in Marcion's Paul, namely Cephas, Apollos, Timothy, and Titus.

The association of Apelles and Apollos is possibly testified in Acts 18:24, in a typical Catholic inversion of Marcionite tradition. Apollos is said to be an Alexandrian but by birth (Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῷ γένει), and Tertullian tells us Apelles is said to have resided in Alexandria to separate himself (out of sight) from Marcion *ab oculis sanctissimi magistri Alexandriam secessit* (*de Praescriptione Haereticorum* 30.5).

9[9] 1 Corinthians 4:6, 16:12 are part of a later Catholic layer, so will be considered later.

Apollo is in the same fashion the alter ego perhaps of Apelles.

<http://sgwau2cbeginnings.blogspot.com/2013/04/the-meaning-of-belial-and-its.html>

Monday, April 29, 2013

The meaning of Belial and its relationship to 2 Corinthians 6:14-7:1

In attempting to reconstruct 2 Corinthians in Marcionite form I came across the problems of the fragmented text, specifically verse 6:14 where the phrase **τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος** is quoted without regard to placement in Dialogue Adamantius 2.20 and clearly alluded to in Adversus Marcionem 3.8.3. The problem concerns the phrases surrounding, especially the reference to Belial.

James Tabor devotes a page on his website to the Corinthians Correspondence [1] which emphasizes the concept of 2 Corinthians being composed from four distinct documents/letters and a free floating fragment. While I have disagreement with some the specifics, I do find agreement in the labeling of the segment from 6:14-7:1 as "floating" in the Catholic version handed down to us, as clearly 6:11-13 should be joined with 7:2-4. But the Tertullian and Dialogue Adamantius clearly show that at least portions of verses 6:14 and 7:1 were in Marcion's version of 2 Corinthians, while there is no attestation of the text surrounding this "floating" fragment.

Examining the entire text of 6:14-15 it can be broken into five phrases:

| | |
|---|---|
| Μὴ γίνεσθε ἑτεροζυγοῦντες ἀπίστοις· | Do not be mismatched with unbelievers; |
| τίς γὰρ μετοχή δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀνομία, | for what partnership has righteousness and lawlessness. |
| ἢ τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος; | or what fellowship has light with darkness? |
| τίς δὲ συμφώνησις Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελίαν, | but and what harmony of Christ with Belial |
| ἢ τίς μερίς πιστῶ μετὰ ἀπίστου; | or what part has a believer with an unbeliever? |

The middle phrase "**τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος**" is attested in Marcion and carries with it the duality of light and darkness as opposite forces. But it is the surrounding text that gives it context. The first phrase is a command "**Μὴ γίνεσθε ἑτεροζυγοῦντες ἀπίστοις**" prohibiting the readers (e.g., faithful Christians) not to be partnered with those who are unfaithful (**ἀπίστοις**), no doubt implying marriage among other dealings. Who these unfaithful are is spelled out in the next phrase, asking what partnership (**μετοχή**) have righteousness and lawlessness (**δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀνομία**), that the unfaithful in question are those who do not follow that Law, that is the Mosaic Law. Who are these lawless unfaithful, whom the righteous need to warn about having dealings with, even marrying, and sharing Christian fellowship with?

Verse 6:15 provides the clear answer. First the question is asked in what harmony (συμφώνησις) is Christ with Belial (Βελίαρ), a strange term that harkens primarily to Masoretic text Deuteronomy 13:13 [13:14 LXX] and the men of Belial, which is often incorrectly translated as "wicked" (λοιμός = pestilent, as in 1 Samuel 1:16, 25:17, 25, and 2 Samuel 2:12) in our modern English texts. Before continuing some explanation is required to understand the text.

In the Masoretic text the sons of Belial (בני בליעל) was various translated to the sons of lawlessness "υἱός παράνομος" (Judges 19:22, 20:13, 1 Kings 21:10, 13, 2 Chronicles 13:7, 2 Samuel 20:1) or more literally "sons (men) who hold contrary the law" (see Acts 23:3), or as in our case as lawless men "ἄνδρες παράνομοι or ἀνὴρ παράνομος" (Deuteronomy 13:14, 2 Samuel 16:7).

The text of 2 Corinthians 6:15 clearly maps in this case to Deuteronomy 13:13 of the Masoretic text, where the writer is aware of the translation בני בליעל to ἄνδρες παράνομοι by the LXX. The equation thus is that there is no harmony between Christ and that "one" contrary to the Law. And who that one is becomes clear reading the rest of Deuteronomy 13:13 [13:14LXX] where the men of Belial say 'Let us go and serve other gods whom you have not known' λέγω πορεύομαι καὶ λατρεύω θεός ἕτερος ὃς οὐ οἶδα (נלכה ונעבדה אלהים אחרים אשר לא ידעתם). So there it is, the author of verse 6:15 is not only familiar with Hebrew and Greek, he clearly sees Beliar as representing "θεός ἕτερος ὃς οὐ οἶδα" another God, unknown to you, the Marcionite (and Gnostic) God, not the Jewish God of the Law. So finally having made the association he concludes by asking what part can the faithful πιστῶ (i.e. orthodox Christian) have with an unfaithful ἀπίστου (i.e., heretical Christian), referring back to the opening phrase where righteousness is not associated with the unfaithful.

For completeness of the section, verse 6:16 makes clear there can be no compromise between this Christian God and idols, and then follows with quotes from Leviticus 16:12, Ezekiel 37:27, Isaiah 52:11, Ezekiel 20:3, and Samuel 7:8, 14, which buttress the incompatibility of the Christian/Jewish God and other practices. But salient is Isaiah 52:11 (verse 6:17) which refers to the faithful above with the Lord commanding them to separate themselves from the previously described unfaithful ἐξέλθατε ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφορίσθητε and countering Belial, quotes Samuel that doing this he promises become a father to them.

So we see up through ταύτας οὖν ἔχοντες τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, αγαπητοί was necessarily written by the Catholic editor, as the promise referred to in 7:1(a) is stated in verse 6:17-18.

It has become clear that only τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος was present in Marcion's text, the rest of 6:14-7:1(a) was written by a later Catholic editor.

Note:

[1] <http://clas-pages.uncc.edu/james-tabor/christian-origins-and-the-new-testament/the-problems-in-corinth/>

The link, still useful, is different the prior one from where Dr. Tabor gave this summary

Most scholars consider the Corinthian Correspondence (known to us as 1 and 2 Corinthians), to be a packet or collection of as many as a half-dozen letters. Paul himself mentions a previous letter he wrote to this community that we do not have (1 Cor 5:9), unless a fragment is preserved in 2 Cor 6:14-7:1 as indicated below. 1 Corinthians 9, as well as 10:1-22 seem to be insertions in of some type, since 8:1-13 is linked smoothly with 10:23-11:1 in both content and style. 2 Corinthians is even more fragmented. The following major sections appear to cohere, and are indicated in different colors to facilitate reading them together. The theories as to the order of these "letter" fragments vary and no one theory has prevailed.

* Letter of Joy, Harmony & Reconciliation [1:1-2:13, 7:5-16]

* Letter of Pleading and Defense [2:14-6:13; 7:2-4]

* [6:14-7:1] floating

* similar to 1 Corinthians 9-10:22, maybe piece from 1 Corinthians [8:1-9:15]

* harsh materials, maybe "severe letter" he (Paul) mentions [10:1-13:14]

http://sgwau2beginnings.blogspot.com/p/blog-page_25.html

Turmel Part 1

The First Redaction of the Fourth Gospel.

Le quatrième évangile (1925), Joseph Turmel (pseudonym Henri Delafosse)
English Translation by Daniel J. Maher, copied from his website

1) The Johannine Christ denies Mary.

The Johannine Christ begins his public life in attendance at the wedding of Cana (2:1-12). In the course of the meal, Mary, who is also present, warns him of the wine shortage. And Jesus responds: "What is there between me and you, woman?" Of all time this strange response has troubled the faith of believers. One is asked how an incarnate God could have spoken as such to whom he owes his human nature. Various artificial explanations led all to confuse the question or to displace it. However, Faith couldn't fail but to have the final word. Here, as elsewhere, it

triumphed over the difficulty. But it didn't obtain its triumph outside of taking refuge in the mystery. One closed their eyes; one renounced at an understanding. One has to say that God must have had his reasons for speaking as he did. And, for those reasons, one adored them without having any pretension of understanding them.

The believers are not alone in being disconcerted by this response of Christ. The critics, these also, were struck by it of a stupor they couldn't conceal. Perhaps they are no longer held by a God truly made man; they had none other issue than with a fictional deity. But it was necessary for them to justify this fiction. They had to explain how a writer begins with presenting to us the incarnate Word, then places in his mouth some words of repudiation against his mother. They themselves did not set forth in quest of new solutions: they adopted explanations accommodated to believers, explanations of which the principal consists in stating that, in the Christ, the divinity is independent of Mary and that the saying: "What is there in common between me and you?" proclaimed this independence.

So the critics found nothing better for believers to account for the response of the Johannine Christ to Mary. But, while believers, set in the presence of a solution that they know is insufficient, renounce at understanding and take refuge in a mystery, the critics don't have this convenient resource. They do not shelter themselves behind the impenetrable counsels of providence; they don't have the right to the shutting of their eyes; they always have had to keep them wide opened and to declare pitilessly everything that is mere juggling.

We notice three things there: the thought which is expressed, the turn given to this thought, the absence of the word "mother" at the position where the word "woman" is presented. The fundamental thought is that the Christ is nothing to Mary, that Mary is nothing to the Christ. The interrogative turn given to the sentence is the process to which one resorts when one carries a challenge; it has here the sense of a provocation; and, consequently, in the place of attenuating the thought, it accentuates it.

Free of the interrogation which encompasses, the retort means: "I owe nothing to you", or "there is nothing in common between us". With the interrogation the sense is: "Prove therefore, if you can, that I owe anything to you, that there is something in common between us!" And, to complete the defiance, Mary is apostrophized of the name of a woman which implies here: "One regards you as my mother, but you know well that you are not". I said that this word completes the challenge. This is one, indeed, which closes the retort. In the end it is the motive; and the sense of the sentence is this: "You pass as my mother, and my historian himself bestows this name to you to conform to the common opinion that "the mother of Jesus was there" ; but, in reality, you are not my mother; I owe nothing to you".

One will say that I lead myself to an exaggeration. I respond that in theological matters the only exaggerated ideas are those which cannot be situated in history. I will search later whether my interpretation is destitute of attestation during the period of Christian origins. For the moment I have my text without troubling myself with the knowledge where this leads me. I have this, that is to say I march behind this, and I allow myself to be guided by it, and I abstain to supervise myself in the will of my fantasy. The one formal denial, vivid of the divine maternity of Mary. I have to conclude, unless indicated otherwise, that this denial expresses the thought of the author.

Where are these indications? It arrives oftentimes to the speakers being betrayed by the intoxication of words, and to saying what they didn't want to say. But we make issue here to the style of a piece of long studied; we do not have before us an oratorical improvisation. We also see all the day the uncultivated minds and the tired old man led astray in a vocabulary which they never possessed or of which mastery they lost. But the author of the Fourth Gospel knows how to clothe the most elevated ideas in their most delicate nuances.

How can it be believed, when wanting to teach a doctrine, that he had taught something else entirely different than what he had in mind? For this is the result at which one arrives as soon as one departs from the letter of the text. The Johannine Christ, asserts one, teaches us at Cana that Mary contributed nothing to his divinity in the sense of his thaumaturgical power. Granted. But to express this truth so simply, he is served by a turn of phrase which has muddled everything; he didn't know how to say what he wanted to say.

Others assure us that the rebuke of Christ himself was not addressed to Mary but to the synagogue, to his former alliance. I concur here. But one will agree with me that the author was very unfortunate in the choice of his formulas, and that the most ill-mannered clod would have been less clumsy. But then, if he wanted to put into the mouth of Christ some words of condemnations against the synagogue, might he had done this without burdening Mary to represent this moment-- even the synagogue? Didn't the most elementary decorum forbid entering the mother of Christ into this odious symbolism? On the other hand, no man was insane enough to ask if the Christ owes his divinity or his thaumaturgical virtue to Mary. None needed to be set on this point. And the Christ also, as the critics pretend as well as the believers, declares not to have possessed from Mary his divinity and his supernatural powers. In a few words, the saying "what do I have in common?", such that one understands it plainly, beyond measure that it offends the laws of language, contains more an indecency and an insupportable triviality.

2) The Johannine Christ reveals God to men.

The Johannine Christ came to "bear witness to the truth" (18:37), to make "known the truth" (8:32). The truth that he reveals "frees" men" (8:32), they are made to "pass from death to life" (5:24), preserving them forever from death (8:51). And this truth sums up the knowledge of the one who is "the only true God", since the knowledge of God procures and guarantees eternal life (17:3,5:24).

The Jews themselves do not make exception to the general law. The Johannine Christ tells them that they don't know God: "the one who sent me, you don't know him. I myself know him (7:29). You know neither me nor my Father. If you knew me, you would also know my Father"(8:19); "This is my Father who glorifies me, the one whom you say is your God and that you know not" (8:54-55); "They will do to you all these things because of my name, because they don't know the one who sent me" (15:21, the sequence of the text proving that the Jews are aim here:(v.25) "This came to pass that the word might be fulfilled written in their law..."). And these repeated assertions leave nothing to surprise. What does the author make consequently of the text: "is God known in Judea" (Ps76 :2)? What does he make of the texts in which the psalmist proclaims the

fidelity of Israel to God (Ps44: 18,23): "We didn't violate your alliance; is not our heart roundabout... This is because of you that one massacres us all the days?" Since the return from the captivity the Jewish people turned away from the images; one adored God; one desired to bring all the pagans to worship God (Ps.17 :1): "Praise the Lord, all you nations; Celebrate him, all ye tribes of people" . One especially dreaded to see the pagans turn at God in derision (Ps.115:2): "Wherefore should the nations say, Pray where is their God?" The Johannine Christ inscribes in forgery against the numerous texts which testifies of this situation. He stands in opposition to the Old Testament.

3) The Johannine Christ rejects the Old Testament.

But he pays no heed to the Old Testament. Or, if he does make allusion there, it is in repulsion for it with contempt. In the course of his discussions with the Jews, he alleges sometimes in his favor the texts of the Old Testament. And here is his handling of those texts: "It is written in your law that the testimony of two men is true" (8:17). The ordinance to which he refers here is written down in Deut. 19:15; it had been dictated by God himself to Moses. Its origin is sacred.

But not so to the Johannine Christ, who says scornfully: "Your law". Will one raise as an objection that the mosaic legislation had a transitory character, that with the sacrifice of martyrdom arrived its striking decline and that moreover the Jews alone were subject to it? Granted. But listen again to the Johannine Christ. He says (10:34) "It is written in your law: I said: you are gods"; and (15:25) "This came to pass that the word might be fulfilled written in their law: They hated me without a reason". In these two places his disdain is addressed not primarily to some prescriptions ritualistic or disciplinary; he attains some oracles emanated from the Psalms. The author of the Fourth Gospel mentions the Psalms as we would mention the books of the Illiad or the Aeneide, the maxims of which we exploit without us holding belief to their consideration with the least religious feeling. By means of a literary view he does the same with the Psalms. And because the Psalms and the mosaic legislation constitute the essential part of the Old Testament.

The assertions just made provide us the key to 5:36-37: "The Father who sent me bears witness of me. Ye have never heard his voice nor seen his shape". One often states that it is here an allusion to the prophecies from the Old Testament through which the Father would have bore witness to his Son. To where one concludes that these same prophecies are the "voice" of the Father, a voice which resonated in the ears of the Jews but which the Jews refused to hear, are precisely those which they refused to believe. Wrong. If the voice of the Father is caused to be heard with the Jews then one didn't hear it in the sense that they refused to look at it. Now the face of the Father is never shown to a person and, according to what one reads elsewhere in 1:18: "no one has ever seen God". The Jews didn't see the Father, not because they refused to see him, but because they never were allowed to even look at him. The voice of the Father, it neither ever resonated in the world. And the Jews didn't hear him, not because they refused to believe, but because they were not able to discern the accents. The Father never spoke. The testimony that he rendered to his Son doesn't consist therefore in the prophecies of the Old Testament being full of the oracles which God renders by the mouth of the prophets, of the theophanies agreed to the patriarchs and to Moses. Oracles and theophanies are no avenues for the Johannine Christ: "You have never heard his voice, you have never seen his shape". No avenue is likewise the ascension

of the prophet Elijah to heaven in spite of the Books of Kings (2Kin2:1,11), for we read (3:13) "no one has ascended to heaven but the one who has descended from heaven".

4) The Johannine Christ rejects Moses and the Prophets.

But the Johannine Christ didn't yet provide his full measure. Continue to gather his oracles. He says in the allegory of the good shepherd (10:8) "All those who came before me are robbers and thieves". He says "all"; he doesn't exempt persons, not even the prophets, not even Moses. Terrified by this act of accusation, the Fathers, the apologists, the critics did there what firefighters do in the presence of a fire. They endeavored to isolate it.

One must absolutely preserve their Moses and prophets attained of the Old Testament. But how? Augustine (In Jo. tr., XLV, 8) explained that the qualification of a robber and thief applied to those here who only came "from outside" of Christ. Now the prophets then are not thieves. I have to say that this advocacy so fanciful didn't convince the critics. They searched for something else. They searched and they found. What? They discovered that the word "all" means "some". For it is there that the critics enter when they relate to us that the Johannine Christ has in view the Jewish doctors of his time or to the false messiahs. So, in the allegory of the good shepherd, the author of the Fourth Gospel has in view some of those who preceded Jesus (in reality his contemporary or even some men who come after him). But if this is what he wanted to say, why is he served with the word "all"? Why hadn't he employed the word "some"? One pauses and one cautions me that in persisting to take on the letter of the 10:8 text, I stray into the domain of fantasy. I will examine this point later. For the moment I note that, in the interpretation of 10:8, the critics reissue, under a new form, the fantasies of Augustine.

5) The Johannine Christ fights the Prince of this World.

The Johannine Christ condemns Moses and the prophets. He bears his higher strikes; he attacks the "prince of this world", the "Devil". He came to the earth to reveal God, the "only true God", to men who didn't know him. But he came also to deliver a battle to the Devil. "The Son of God is manifested to annihilate the works of the Devil" we read in the first epistle (3:8). Before that fight even ended, we are informed of the outcome. The Devil is going to put to death the Son of God who accepts his fate; but he himself is going to be cast out. "Now shall the prince of this world be cast out" (12:31); "the prince of this world is condemned" (16:11); "for the prince of this world cometh, and has nothing on me, but all the same he comes to put me to death so that the world may know that I love the Father and that I do according to what the Father ordained" (14:30).

What is the Devil in the Fourth Gospel? Who is he? What is he in regard to God and men? Considered by himself the Devil is evil or rather "the Evil One". We know him in the gospel where we encounter the Christ asking his father to "preserve from Evil" his disciples (17:15). We know him especially by the first epistle: "You overcame the Evil One" (2:13,14); "Cain was of the Evil One" (3:12); "the Evil One cannot touch him" (the Christian born of God) (1Jo 5:18). Being evil, he sins and he tells lies: "Since the beginning the Devil sins" (1Jo 3:8); "there is no truth in him; when he speaks a lie he speaks of his own" (Jn 8:44).

In regard to God, the Devil is "the Enemy", for such is the sense of the Greek word which designates the Devil. This enmity is attested to us of the Christ when it is stated that he came

destroy the works of the Devil. It is moreover inevitable since God is good and the Devil is evil. That which the Devil is in relationship to the world, the Johannine Christ teaches us in two words when he calls him "the prince of this world". The world is his kingdom, he is the king of it. The same idea reappears under another form in the following text of the first epistle (5:19) "The whole world lies in the power of the Evil One".

As Master of the world, the Devil is the source from whence emanates all political authority. To Pilate who boasts of the power of his will to put to death or to deliver him, the Johannine Christ replies (19:11) "You could have no power against me except it were given to you from above". Then he adds: "This is why the one who delivers me to you commits a greater sin". This answer contains two assertions. The first, we learn that Pilate holds his authority "from above", which is from a Being superior to men, from a Being to which he is a lieutenant and to whom he must do obedience. According to the second assertion it is this superior Being, this Being "above" who delivered the Christ to Pilate his lieutenant; and "this is why" the responsibility of Pilate in the death of Christ is mitigated. The great culprit is this Being "above", who placed his proxy Pilate in an inextricable situation. This Being "above" who is fierce against the Christ to the point of delivering him to Pilate, is "the Enemy", the Devil. He appears to us here as the sovereign holder of political authority of which he gave a parcel to the Roman governor. And it is in the logic of things, since "the whole world is in the power of Evil One" and that this Evil One is the prince of this world.

The Son of God, who came to battle the Devil, must necessarily extract the empire of the world from him. It is this program that he formulates in 12:31: "The prince of this world is going to be cast out". And there again is that thought which is in the background of the following texts (3:17) "God sent not his Son into the world so that he would condemn the world, but so that the world might be saved by him"; (12:47) "I came, not to condemn the world, but that the world might be saved". The Johannine Christ saves the world by freeing it from the yoke of the Devil, and he achieves this emancipation by casting the Devil out.

However, this result doesn't have to be attained in the future. From the moment Christ is on the earth, the world contaminated by its master is evil. The one who came to overthrow the Devil has to begin by overthrowing the world; or in the words, (16:33): "You will have some tribulations in the world; but have confidence, I have overthrown the world". The triumph of Christ over the world is progressive. It consists of expelling little by little the Devil in the manner of restricting the domain of his empire. And this expulsion is accomplished through the creation of the children of God. One will see this further concerning those born the children of God. We note here that the children of God are out of the Devil's range: "Whoever was born of God does not sin; but the one who was born of God, he protects and the Evil One does not touch him" (1Jo5:18). To where it follows, insofar as the world is the property of the Devil, the children of God are not of the world: "Whoever is born of God has the victory over the world". (1Jo5:4); "If you were of the world, the world would love it's own; but because you are not of this world ...the world hates you" (15:19; see 17:14,16).

But the children of God, at least throughout the days of the earthly life of Christ, form only a very small herd. What is the condition of other men, which comprise the vast majority, closer to the general entirety of the human race? The Johannine Christ teaches us this in the words which

follow (8:23-44) "You are from below, I myself am from above. You are of this world, I myself am not of this world ... I speak that which I see by my Father; and you, you do that which you see in your father. If God was your Father, you would love me, ... you are of the Devil and you will accomplish the desires of your father".

The Jews are "of the Devil"; the Devil is their "father"; they are his children. From whence comes this appalling blemish to them? By this they are those "from below", by this they are those "of the world". If one is "from above", if one "is not of this world", they would be the children of God; but being from below and of the world they are of necessity the children of the Devil.

Follow the reasoning why one is a child of God. These, our texts states, are the children of God who received the Light coming into the world (1:9-13), those who believed in the Son of God and who, for that reason, have the eternal life (6:27a, 29, 35-40). Elsewhere, one has to believe in the Son by reason of the miracles that he does (5:36; 10:25,37-38; 14:11); and nonetheless, the one here only comes to the Son and believes in him whom the Father draws (6:44) and who yielded himself to the Son (6:37;10:29;17:6). Don't look for how this attraction of the Father conciliates with the obligation which would have men believing in miracles; suppose, to the contrary, the problem resolved (our author is confused here, but the theologians are just as tangled in our day as he), and consider the children of God. They, they are not "of the world" (15:19; 17:14); they received the birth "from above" which Jesus speaks of in his discussion with Nicodemus (3:3-7); they are "born of God" (1:13; 1Jo2:29; 3:9); they are "of God" (8:47; 1Jo4:6;5:19).

But, to receive these privileges, they must first of all believe in the Son, and, to believe in the Son, they had to be drawn to the Father. How would they have been drawn to the Father and how, drawn of faith, would they have believed, if he had not already existed ? Therefore they existed. The birth from above which made them children of God, came only in the second place. Before obtaining it they received a first birth which made them of men. First men, then children of God: there is the succession.

We apprehend the first birth, the one that deals to men the human condition. If it was from above, it would appoint them children of God, which it doesn't do. We are thus constrained to conclude that the first birth is from below. Moreover we would not be receiving an illusion forbidden to us, since the 1:12,13 text opposes there the birth of children of God to the one by which the principle is in the blood, in the will of the flesh and in the will of man. This birth is accomplished by the flesh and by the blood and in which the human Will presides, and this is precisely the one through which we enter into the world, through which we are introduced into the vast human family. And it is this birth that 1:13 opposes to the birth of the children of God, to the one which, in 3:3,7, is called the birth from above.

Thus concludes that the first birth is from below. And, as there, whoever is from below comes from the Devil, resigns us to that other conclusion that the first birth comes from the Devil. It is necessary to arrive to this position. The Jews to whom the Johannine Christ reproaches as being the children of the Devil, are thus due to their human condition. The man, on account of the very constitution of his nature, has for his father the Devil. What is missing in the Johannine "Devil", in the "prince of this world", in the "Evil One" in the Fourth Gospel as being regarded the author of the human race? What separates him from the Creator of the universe, from the author of the

work of six days? We attend a duel between the God of the creation- who is also the God of Moses- and a different God represented by the Christ. The Creator, from whom Pilate holds his authority, is going to deliver to his proxy the Son of God with the command to put him to death. He is going to kill the Christ, as he kills all men, for he is "since the beginning a slayer of men" (8:44). But, despite this ephemeral victory, he will be overthrown. "You are of God, you, children, and you overcame them (the agents of the devil) because the one who is in you is greater than the one who is in the world" (1Jo4:4).

6) The Johannine Christ rejects the resurrection of the flesh.

The Johannine Christ reveals to men God, the "only true God", because the knowledge of God is, for those who possess it, a principle of eternal life. He expels the God of the creation, because this perverse Being burdened upon men the cruel law of death followed by the condemnation to hell. In sum the final goal of the coming of Christ is to extract men from death, to procure for them eternal life. Such is the doctrine which emits from the following texts: "God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, so that whosoever believes in him shall not perish, but shall have eternal life" (3:16); "the one who believes has life eternal ...I am the bread which descends from heaven so that the one who eats shall never die ... the one who eats this bread shall live eternally" (6:29-58); "If any one keeps my word, he shall never see death" (8:51).

According to what rule is this kindness of eternal life dispensed? Does one possess it since now? Or do we not currently have the pledge of this goodness of which the possession is postponed to an ulterior date? One can draw nothing from the 17:3 text, where we read: "Eternal life is that they know you". But the following texts are decisive: "the one who ... believes in the one who sent me has the eternal life, *** he is passed from death to life" (5:24); "passed from death to life" (1Jo3:14). This death is the state of the soul which is ignorant of God, the God whose existence Christ came to reveal. This death ceases and makes room for the life as soon as the soul acquires the knowledge of God, or, those who return to the same, the faith in the Son. The Christian possesses from henceforth eternal life: "These things I have written to you that you may know that you have eternal life, you who believe in the name of the Son of God" (1Jo5:13). He died, he lives. And the life which he possesses is a real life produced through a veritable generation. Only this generation has nothing in common with the one that introduced us into this world. It is "from above" (3:3); it is "from God" (1:13, they are "born of God"); it is produced by "the seed of God" (1Jo3:9) "The seed of God abides" in the Christian. From henceforth the Christian is the child of God. All the privileges of faith are, for the moment, hidden, and are not manifested (1Jo3:2): "We are the children of God and it is not yet manifested what we shall be")

Since the resurrection is the transition from death to life, the Christian is, from henceforth, resurrected. The resurrection is an accomplished fact in him; but this resurrection is of a spiritual order. The author of the Fourth Gospel rejects the Jewish dogma of the resurrection of the body; he substitutes it with the resurrection of the soul which has its principle in the knowledge of God.

7)The Johannine Christ is a spiritual being.

During the feast of Tabernacles the Jews try to arrest Jesus to put him to death. But, declares the evangelist (7:30) "no one set their hand on him, because his hour had not come". After an interval of days, a second tentative arrest fails likewise. Two other times (8:59;10:31) Jesus

escapes, without anyone knowing how, to the torment of their lapidation. Some days before the passover, new arrest measures made for him have no sequel (11:57; 12:36). The Johannine Christ is not submissive to the ordinary laws of location.

The law of suffering doesn't seem to reach him either. Some hours before the agony of Calvary he speaks of it with some lyrical strain: "Father, the hour is come, glorify your Son, that your Son may also glorify you" (17:1).

High on the cross, he dictates with quietude his final briefing to his beloved disciple and to Mary whom he avoids calling his mother (19:27). In addition, our physiological regime is foreign to him. To the disciples who invite him to eat he answers (4:32,34) "I have a food to eat that you know nothing of... My food is to do the will of the one who sent me and to accomplish his work". He dies, but only because he wants to and when he wishes it. No one takes away his life from him (10:18); the prince of this world himself has no hold over him (14:30). He dies solely to obey the command of his Father (14:31). He doesn't give up the spirit until after noting that his mission is accomplished (19:28,30).

The Johannine Christ has only the appearance of a human body. And one understands now why he says to Mary: "What is there between I and you, woman"; why he says to the Jews: "You are from below, I am from above; you are of this world; I am not of this world"; why the author of the gospel discreetly fights the common belief of the Davidic origin of Christ and the legend of Bethlehem (7:42); why he doesn't mention the virginal conception. The Johannine Christ owes nothing to David, owes nothing to Mary. He came directly from heaven into Galilee without passing through Bethlehem, without passing through Nazareth.

8) Survey of the Marcionite Doctrine.

Marcion, born in the vicinity of the year 100, at Sinope on the edges of the bridge Pont-Euxin (today the Turkish province of Anatolie) worked for a time in the marine profession (Tertullian enjoys giving to him the name "pilot"). But he renounced early on the sea and focused his attention to the Christian religion in which he had probably been raised since his childhood. Epiphanius (Haer. XLII), tells that Marcion was the son of a bishop; this information that he probably received from Hippolyte, cannot be admitted on the condition of taking the word "bishop" in a very general sense.

About the year 130 he preached, with a success continually increasing, first in Asia then at Rome where he arrived in the vicinity of 138, a theology of which he owed the germ to Cerdon and which the objective was toward resolving the problem of evil. I borrow from Tertullian, whose work entitled "Against Marcion" is our main source of information, for this survey of the marcionite system which one is about to read. Justin dedicated some lines to his contemporary Marcion in his First Apology, XXVI, 5; LVIII, 1. The same observation applies to Rhodon, from whom Eusebius provides us a fragment in his "Ecclesiastical History", VI, 3. Irenaeus, who often takes on Marcion in part, gives a general view of his doctrine in Adv.Haer.1:27. Also see the Panarion of Epiphanius, Haer. XLII. The "Dialogues of Adamantius" presents to us a marcionism quite advanced.

1) The problem of evil cannot itself be resolved until one admits there are two Gods, the one evil,

the other good.

2) The evil God is the Creator God, that is to say, the one who made the visible world. This God boasts himself in Isaiah (45:7) as being the author of evil. He is indeed cruel and belligerent. It is by his incumbent responsibility that the fall of man took place since his beginning. Later, in the mosaic law, which is his work, he is shown to be barbaric and fanciful. Moreover, if the Creator God didn't foresee the evil that exists in the world created by him, he is ignorant; if, having foreseen it, he didn't want to prevent it, he is evil; if, he wanted to prevent it but was unable, he is impotent.

3) The Creator God, who is the author of the mosaic law, is also the author of the books of the Old Testament. The prophets are his agents. It is he who speaks through their mouths.

4) The Creator God announced by his prophets that he would send his Christ. But this Christ, whose coming the books of the Old Testament foretells, is a political individual as well as religious.

He has for a mission to unveil the throne of David, to provide to the Jewish people his old-fashioned strength. He has nothing in common with Jesus. Moreover, in the era of Marcion, which was more than a hundred years following the coming of Jesus on the earth, the Christ of the Creator God had not yet arrived.

5) The Good God is the author of invisible beings, of these here only. Creating neither the visible world nor man, he was completely unknown in this world until the day when Jesus revealed his existence. The evil God himself did not know him.

6) The Good God is gentle, tender, lenient, compassionate, incapable of becoming angry. This God, seeing that man was oppressed by the Creator who strived to make him miserable, became interested in him and resolved to save him. To save him, that is, to deliver and liberate him from the power of the God who had created him.

7) To achieve his objective, the Good God, under the reign of the emperor Tiberius, departed from his heaven, the third heaven; he crossed the heaven of the Creator situated beneath his own; he descended upon the earth into Galilee and went immediately to work. Immediately-- and here is why. He had only the appearance of a human body. In reality he was a spirit, a spirit savior. He received nothing from Mary, he was not born, he didn't need to grow up. But is this the property of the Good God who personally came to the earth? Is he not limited to delegate someone? It was He Himself who was manifested to us under the appearance of a human body and who is called the Christ. The Christ is thus the Good God clothed with an ethereal cloak which renders him visible. (It is this ethereal covering, the appearance of a human body, which is entitled "son of God" and which calls God his father (I, 19, The marcionite Christ, having had no childhood, descended from the heaven in the 29th year of our era, right at the moment where his public life began; I.,14-15;IV,7; I., 24;III,10; IV, 19,21;I,19,14;II,27). The spiritual Christ possesses a principle of life analogous to the human soul which allows him to experience, as he wishes and is without it subject, to the psychological and physiological phenomena that we experience.

8) Upon arriving to the earth to deliver men who groaned under the cruel yoke of the Creator God, the Good God couldn't let stand the mosaic law, who on one hand, being incarnated, allowed the barbarism of the evil God. On the other hand he could dispense in revealing himself to men as their savior. He abolished thus the law and, along with the law, the prophets. He is, all the more, made known to men. As much as the Son he revealed the Father; as much as the Father he revealed the Son, according to what he himself declared: "no one knows who the Son is but the Father; and no one knows who the Father is but the son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him" (Luke 10:22).

9) The Creator, seeing the Christ working against him, determined his loss. And, for best appeasing the hate that this rival inspired in him, he attempted to inflict upon him the torment that his law, the mosaic law, reserved for the accursed, which was the agony of the cross. The Christ was therefore crucified by the virtues and strengths of the Creator; he died on a cross (Tertullian noted that the death of the marcionite Christ was only a sham since his body was only a phantom; but the marcionite spoke of the crucifixion and death of Christ as a phenomenon truly accomplished (AM I., 25,11; III, 23;4,21;III, 19; here Tertullian reproaches Marcion to speak of the death of Christ whose birth he rejected; III, 8, same reproaching of the inconsistencies held by Marcion who believed in the death of Christ).

10) The Christ died; but he saved men in the sense that he liberated them from the yoke of the Creator. To be exact he saved their souls, expecting that the flesh was destined to perish. The resurrection, understood in the sense of a return of the flesh to the life which would take place at the end of the world, is an illusion. However there exists for the soul a spiritual resurrection that takes place everyday. This spiritual resurrection is produced when the soul passes from error to truth, which is when it detaches from the Creator God in order to be given to the Good God whose existence was revealed to him by the Christ. This conversion is, indeed, the transition from death to life (I., 24). Tertullian mentions several times in his "Resurrection of the Flesh" (notably XIX) the spiritual resurrection admitted by Marcion. Irenaus, Adv. Haer. II, 31,2, mentions the same doctrine by the gnostics .

11) The Good God does not punish sinners, nor does he judge them. His judgement is limited, in effect, to declaring those who are evil. The evil God causes fear, but the Good God is love. The Good God consequently has no inferiority. In the final day, he will satisfy the anger of the Creator God with the guilty which the Creator will then gather into his hell. Add that Marcion had confessed penance at one time in the Roman church, but the Roman clergy had cast him out in 144.

9) Origin of the Fourth Gospel.

For as long as one attributed the fourth gospel to John, an immediate disciple of Jesus, one placed the composition of this book at the extreme limit of the first century. One didn't dare go any higher on account of Irenaus who portrayed the fourth gospel as a refutation against Cerinthus. On the other hand, one couldn't go down any lower for the difficulty of conferring an improbable length to the life of John. One attached then a historic value to the narrations of the fourth gospel. When this illusion fell, when the fictional character of the book attributed to the apostle John was established, a problem entirely new stood before the critics. One asked whether

an immediate disciple of Jesus, through a colorful recounting of his life, might have been capable of transforming his master into an abstraction.

The answer to this question does not have to wait.

One realizes easily that this human fantasy has some impassable boundaries and that a witness to the life of Jesus would have never been able to write a fiction as the one which unfolds beneath our eyes in the fourth gospel. Historicity and Johannine origin are two intertwined facts, inseparable and of which the first drags the other in its fall. Historically, the fourth gospel could be by the author to whom tradition assigns it. But, if it is only a liberal composition, it cannot, to any degree, emanate from a companion of Jesus, and one is forced thereby to search for a different origin.

The critics searched. And if this didn't succeed in determining by whom the fourth gospel was written, they believed to have succeeded in fixing the approximate date of its composition. According to them this book was composed by an unknown in the neighborhood of the year 100; and, consequently, the tradition is not mistaken if partially accounted. It is wrong to attribute to it an apostolic plume; but this becomes reason for placing it at the fringe of the first century. In regard to the epistles of Ignatius and of Polycarp: these writings, they say, underwent the influence of Johannine literature and are clearly later; now these become set in the vicinity of the year 100.

This reasoning, as one comes to see, hinges everything entirely upon the dating of the letters of Ignatius and Polycarp; if this date should turn out to be wrong, this falls to the ground. Now all the correspondence of Ignatius is a fabrication subsequent to 150. As for the letter of Polycarp to the Philippians it is- barring some lines- authentic, but again it doesn't go any higher than the middle of the second century. In sum, Polycarp and the false Ignatius limits us to saying that the fourth gospel existed in the middle of the second century. Try to find elsewhere some information less vague.

For their search it suffices to concentrate on the school of the Johannine Christ and to gather his oracles. "What is there between me and you, woman?"; "You know neither me nor my Father"; "you never heard his voice, you never saw his shape"; "All those who came before me are thieves and robbers"; "The World is in the power of the Evil One"; "You have for a father the Devil"; "the one who is in you is greater than the one who is in the world"; "the one who hears my word... has passed from death to life"; "I have a food to eat that you don't know".

Before these texts and others still, believers and critics close their eyes for not comprehending them. But it is impossible for them to consider the surface without seeing the source. The author of the fourth gospel constructed his edifice with some stones taken from the yard of Marcion.

This becomes especially obvious in the text of 5:24, where the Christ declares that the one who hears his word "has passed from death to life" and in the parallel text of the first epistle, 3:14, where the author, using this expression of Christ, states: "passed from death to life". These two oracles set before us the spiritual resurrection, that resurrection which consists in the conversion to the Christian faith, these reflecting the marcionite doctrine which likewise taught the spiritual resurrection. I know that some are going to raise an objection to this. Some are going to say that

the dependence is on the side of Marcion who monopolized the Johannine formula and in so doing abused it to serve his ends.

This explanation strikes against the text of the second epistle to Timothy, 2:17-18, in which the two heretics Hymenaeus and Philetus are denounced because they "concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection already arrived" and that, in doing so, "they overthrow the faith of some". The theologians say that this denunciation emanates from Paul himself, who wrote the second epistle to Timothy in the year 62, shortly before his death.

The critics estimate that the author who wrote this was a Catholic in the vicinity of 125. If Paul himself, in the year 62, forbade from presenting the resurrection as a fact already accomplished, how explain that around the year 100, the author of the fourth gospel had no reservations about using a formula which threatened, in a saying of a great apostle, to "overthrow the faith of some"? And if the pastoral epistles are from the vicinity of 125, how explain that, at this date, a Catholic condemns, without any restriction, without any distinction, a formula that he could not have failed to read in the fourth gospel and in the first Johannine epistle, since the critics place these writings in the vicinity of the year 100? I am bound for the moment to conclude that the Catholic editor of the pastoral epistles (I will prove that he stands in the vicinity of 150) denounces precisely, under the names of Hymenaeus and Philetus, the marcionite writers, which included the author of the fourth gospel.

The book that one calls the Gospel of Saint John is, considered in its first edition, a marcionite product. It didn't see the light of day until after the first third of the second century. This date illuminates the 5:43 text, in which the Johannine Christ, after having reproached the Jews for not receiving him, he who came in the name of his Father, added: "If another comes in his own name you will receive him". The apologists and the critics, who persist in remaining in the vicinity of the year 100, confess here honestly their embarrassment and confess their incapability to identify the "other" to whom the Jews will make a favorable welcome. Here is the sense of the oracles: "You refuse to receive me, I who came in the name of my Father; but, in a hundred and three years, you will receive the impostor Barkochba who himself will claim a heavenly mission". The Johannine Christ describes what occurred in the year 132 when the Jews, led by Barkochba, revolted against Rome.

The fourth gospel reflects the doctrines of Marcion. How, with such an original stigma, had it succeeded in becoming accepted by the Church? One cannot respond to this question other than by some conjecture. Here is one that might be deduced.

Marcion was excommunicated by the Roman clergy in 144. The same measure was perhaps already taken against him and his adherents by the churches in Asia where he had sojourned before coming to Rome. Other churches later followed the example given to them.

In the vicinity of 150 Marcion was a terror to the catholic surroundings; one agreed with Polycarp to consider him the "eldest son of Satan". But note that he had spent time in Rome. Marcion arrived in the imperial city around 138; it was only in 144 that he was forbidden from the assembly of the faithful. During six years he could gather some disciples, inoculate his ideas into them and nevertheless maintain contact with the Church. During six years he and his

disciples participated at the liturgical reunions without alarming the clergy.

This was not made possible outside of strict discipline. Marcion imposed himself and imposed on his circle of friends a great deliberation. He did not express overtly his ideas to where he felt defiance he became reserved. He let rather his theories be guessed if he had not formulated them. He put into practice the maxim (Matt7 :6): "do not give that which is holy to dogs, and do not cast your pearls before swine".

It is in this state of mind that the first writing of the fourth gospel was written in the proximity of 135 (the allusion to Barkochba is understood best two or three years after the revolt of 132, rather than eight or ten years later). The author, a disciple of Marcion, had sojourned to Jerusalem and in Palestine before the war of 132 (one can depict a man like Justin born in Palestine and, consequently, be familiar with the Jewish conventions as also with the topography of the country). The new gospel was destined to expound, by putting into the mouth of Jesus, the good doctrine, the doctrine of Marcion. He expounded it with a level of uneasiness which capitalized on the current prejudices. Thanks to the ambiguous formulas that he used, thanks also to his reticence, the Johannine Christ remained in evident obscurity. He told the faithful: "Your doctors sketched for you a rough as well as inaccurate portrait of my person". And he outlined, on his origin, on his intimate nature, some explanations which pricked the curiosity without satisfying it, and which demanded the same to be completed at an opportune time with some oral explanations.

The fourth gospel saw its day in Asia (during this time Marcion had not returned to Rome). The Church where it appeared admitted to its liturgy - the disciples of the spiritual Christ whose doctrine she knew only so vaguely. When the new gospel was presented, she didn't try to study thoroughly; she contented in admiring the face of the edifice; the differences escaped her. She took confidence in the book one of her children had composed and she allowed its reading in her assembly. Other churches followed. About the year 140, the fourth gospel- or to be exact, the form in which it existed then- received authority in some of the main communities of the Orient.

Ten years later, Marcion and his disciples were despised. But the tree that they had planted in the garden of Christ had had time there to deepen its roots. It remained. The fourth gospel nourished the faith and piety of the faithful who themselves managed not to comprehend it; it continued exercising its mission. It no longer belonged to its author who, moreover, had launched it under the veil of anonymity. The Church, the great Church- that of the Orient- had taken possession of it with the same fact that she had introduced it into her liturgical assemblies. She guarded her treasure, reserving the sole right to enrich it.

<http://sgwau2cbeginnings.blogspot.com/p/turmel-part-2.html>

Turmel Part 2

Second Redaction of the Fourth Gospel.

It enriches one. The new acquires a home without at first seeing the advantage. Then, little by little, some shortcomings are unfolded, of inconveniences, of gaps which require some retouches, some complements. At its convention, several weak points appeared in the fourth gospel. One perceived that its discourses of such high inspiration and its narrations of such majestic pace not only defended wrongdoing against the marcionite heresy, but appeared here and there to actually be favorable to it. It was necessary to remedy this troublesome situation. From there, some interpolations destined toward explaining the primitive text, struggle with it, illuminate with it, but which, in reality, pervert it.

1) The carnal body of Christ.

The Johannine epistles denounce with horror men who refused to believe in the flesh of Jesus. These people here admitted that Jesus possessed divinity; but they claimed that this divinity did not take on flesh to enter into our midst. It is in this negation of the flesh that consists of their crime. A monstrous crime: "many seducers came into the world who do not confess that Jesus came in the flesh. The one (who thinks thus) is the seducer and the antichrist" (2Joh 7); "Any spirit who confesses that Jesus Christ came in the flesh is of God; and any spirit who does not confess Jesus (as having come in the flesh) is not of God; this one is of the antichrist which you have heard that he comes and who is already present in the world" (1Joh4:2,3); "This is he, Jesus Christ, who came by the water and the blood"; "not in the water only but in the water and the blood" (1Joh 5:6); the targeted culprits acknowledge that Jesus received the baptism, but they didn't admit that he had actually died; the water designates the baptism of Jesus by John, the blood designating his actual death. Thus one is an antichrist when one confines to admitting Jesus' divinity and rejecting his incarnation.

How could an author so anxious to setting into relief the human nature of Christ, elsewhere leave it in the shadow? One will say that he was not constrained to always repeating everywhere the same thing. Okay. But one must at least supervise his formulas and take guard in providing some ammunition against the "antichrists", against the "seducers" that he denounces here with so much vehemence. Now the following professions of the faith, that one reads in other places, could they only be welcome against the disputers of the incarnation, for all those who had believed in the rule of the faith, when they had proclaimed the divinity of Jesus: "the one who confesses that Jesus is the son of God, God abides in him and he in God" (1Joh4:15); "the one who believes in the Son of God has this testimony in himself *** These things I have written to you that you may know that you have eternal life, you who believes in the name of the Son of God" (1Joh5:10,13). How could the apostle of Christ's incarnation not see that he borrowed here from his adversaries their own language? But it is precisely not him who speaks in large part to us now, but rather the spokesman on behalf of the "antichrists".

He preaches the marcionite Christ, the Christ who is not incarnate; and the partisan of the incarnation is a Catholic who endeavors to neutralize this doctrine but who doesn't dare to entirely suppress the formulas.

I have just interrogated the Johannine epistles. I pass now to the gospel. It says (19:34) that a Roman soldier, seeing that Jesus had died, pierced his side with a lance, and out from him poured blood and water. This entirely natural fact appears to us banal. Also one is surprised at hearing

the narrator make a solemn guarantee of the reality by this formula, the equivalent which does not reappear anywhere else except in the final remark: "the one who saw this bares witness and his witness is true; and he knows that he tells the truth so that you also believed".

Why does he consequently attach so much significance to a detail which has none for us? The text of 1Joh5:6, that we have just encountered, allows us to catch a glimpse into the solution behind this enigma. The blood and the water that the piercing of the lance caused to gush is the corroboration from the history of the didactic teaching given by the epistle. This last one professes that Jesus didn't come only with the water, but also with the blood; that he was not limited to receiving John's baptism, but that he also shed his blood, that he really died for us. The gospel exposes that which is past. When the Roman soldier approached the cross, Jesus had died already. However one would raise objection that he had died as phantoms die, that he had died only in appearance. The piercing of the spear dissipates this suspicion. The side of Jesus was pierced by the lance, blood flowed out with water. There was a blood flow: evidence that Jesus had a carnal body like that of our own, for an ethereal body would not have had blood. But was this blood of his possibly artificial? No, for had it been artificial, it would have had a vermilion color. Now, with the blood it became decomposed by death; thus evidence that this blood was of the same quality as ours and that Jesus possessed very much a human nature that was in every respect equal to that of our own.

The piercing of the spear, with what ensues, is therefore an apologetic history, a history destined toward confirming the incarnation of Jesus the Son of God. But what becomes of the witness with the certificate of high integrity that is delivered of him? This is the expedient to which one resorts when one has reservations to battle, and mistrusts to uproot. The author is taken up with some Christians who preached the doctrine of the spiritual Christ and who, if they did not already devote their adherence there, is on the verge of giving it. He says to them:

"There was the blood flow from the side of Christ pierced by the lance; blood mixed with water. This is well certain, for the witness to this fact is above all suspicion. Believe not thus in the phantom Christ, and hasten yourself to withdrawing your faith in him if you had the misfortune of agreeing with him. Do not let yourself become beguiled by this doctrine of delusion. Stay faithful to the incarnate Christ. Return to him if you left him ". He goes to war with docetism.

He battles with it. He has not thus been able to encourage it. It is not he who would have desired to yield to Christ the perception of a phantom. Well we know about some texts in which the Christ speaks, as an alien to the laws of humanity: "What is there between I and you, woman?" "You are from below; I myself am from above; you are of this world, I myself am not of this world "; "I have a food to eat that you know not"; "Father, the hour has come, glorify your son". Among these texts and the history of the piercing of the lance there is an abyss, -- an abyss which separates the marcionite christology from the catholic christology.

2)The Bread of Life.

We now pause before the speech on the bread of life (in chapter 6) to leaving aside the promises on the resurrection that one finds there and which I will occupy in the notes. Jesus, seeing the Jews in quest of material bread, exhorts them to procure "the food which subsists for the eternal

life", the "true bread from heaven", to which the manna was only the shadow. The Jews exclaim: "Lord, give us always this bread". Jesus answers: "I am the bread of life. The one who comes to me will never hunger and the one who believes in me will never thirst *** (40) The will of my Father, is that whoever sees the Son and believes in him has the life eternal *** (47) Verily, verily, I tell you this, the one who believes in me has eternal life. I am the bread of life. Your fathers ate the manna in the desert and they died. This is here the bread that descends from the heaven so that the one who eats it will never die. (51) I am the living bread who is descended from the heaven. Whoever eats this bread will live eternally *** (60) Several of his disciples, after having heard this, said: This saying is hard; who can hear it?" Jesus, knowing within himself that his disciples murmured on this subject, tells them: It is the spirit who vivifies, the flesh serves to nothing. The words that I told you are spirit and life. This discourse proclaims the virtue of faith, as he would later do in the discourse on the communion. Then Jesus says (17:3) "The eternal life is this, that they may know you, the only true God, and the one that you sent, the Christ". Today he says: "the one who comes to me will never hunger, and the one who believes in me will never thirst *** The will of my Father is that whoever sees the Son and believes has in him the eternal life". The faith is "the food that subsists for eternal life". And, since this faith has for the objective the Son of God (thus that of the Father; but the Father is only One with his Son, 10:30) , and whoever sees the Son sees the Father (14:7-9), it ensues that the Son of God is "the bread of life", the bread that one must eat to live eternally.

But how does one eat the Son of God? One eats him as soon as one believes in him, since, as soon as one believes in him, one has eternal life. And the words of Augustine are true (In Jo, XXV, 12) " This has nothing to do here with the teeth, the belly. Believe in him - this is to eat the living bread. The one who eats "

To this spiritual manducation at the time there was moreover an explanation that Augustine didn't see, that his catholic convictions forbade him to see, but which the Johannine Christ deals to us through his frequent discretion. "The flesh serves to nothing". It wouldn't serve toward anything for the Son of God to accomplish his life-imparting mission. It is not by the flesh that he must nourish us; it is by the spirit. The Christ in the discourse on the bread of life is a spiritual Christ. But I omitted one entire section to this discourse on the bread of life. And this section, which goes from 6:51b to 6:57, seems to reduce to nought my conclusions, that one may determine from there. After having declared that he is the bread descended from heaven and that the one who eats of this bread will live eternally, the Christ adds:

(51b) "And the bread that I will give, this is my flesh that I will give for the life of the world", thereof the

Jews disputed among themselves, saying: "How can he give to us his flesh to eat?" Jesus tells them:

"Verily, verily I say to you, that if you do not eat the flesh of the Son of the man and if you do not drink his blood, you will not have the life in you. The one who eats my flesh and who drinks my blood has eternal life and I will revive him on the last day. For my flesh is truly a drink. The one who eats my flesh and who drinks my blood abides in me and I abide in him. As the Father who is living has sent me and that I live by the Father, thus the one who eats me will live through me "

There the flesh sets forth the first plan. But, at the same stroke, here the maxim "the flesh serves to nothing" becomes forgotten. Because between this and that there is an absolute contradiction. Not for the theologians, naturally. They never are short of explanations. To conciliate the dogma of hell with some perplexing texts they distinguished a fire that burns and a fire that doesn't burn, of pains that inflict punishment and of pains that don't punish. By the same they distinguish a carnal flesh to which applies the aforesaid maxim and a flesh not carnal, objective of the precept: "If you don't eat the flesh of the Son of the man ***". Leave aside this childishness and end it. It is apparent that, if the flesh serves to nothing, one does not have to preoccupy oneself with eating the flesh of Christ. It is just as apparent that the flesh has a capital significance, if in order to have the eternal life, one has to eat the flesh of Christ. Between "if you don't eat" and "the flesh serves to nothing", the opposition is truly irreducible.

To this first observation some append another. One recognizes generally that the relative declarations on the mastication of the flesh causes a certain contrast with the remainder of the discourse on the bread of life. But one assures that this contrast is in the precision of reflection and not in their opposition. Look at it closer. Believe in the divinity of Christ and eat his flesh- which this or the sense of the last statement- expresses two different ideas. One could believe that the Christ possesses divinity without eating his flesh; reciprocally one could eat- in the sense that one would please- the flesh of Christ without believing in his divinity. Now each of these two acts are presented to us successively as necessary and sufficient. At a place in the discourse the eternal life is guaranteed to all those who accept the divinity of Christ. Then, a little further, we are required to eat his flesh. If this last operation is indispensable, faith in the Son of God is thus insufficient. And if faith is sufficient, then the mastication of the flesh is superfluous. For the second time we have before us an irreducible opposition.

The discourse on the bread of life is not consistent. Two authors collaborated there. The first said: "The bread of life, this is the Son of God. This celestial bread feeds the soul who believes in him; and the food that he gives guarantees to the soul immortality. But, in this feeding there is nothing carnal; for the Christ is spirit and the flesh serves to nothing ". The second said: "The Christ procured the eternal life to men by pouring out his blood. It is his immolated flesh which is the bread of life because it is that which gave salvation to the world. Believe thus in the flesh and in the blood of Christ; for if we believe in a phantom Christ, we will not possess the eternal life that Christ obtained for us by his flesh and blood ".

We have before us two authors. And, as each sets their doctrine in this plugging of Christ, we have before us two Christs. Either two agrees with us on the question of faith, declaring to us that, without faith, we do not have eternal life (though the second adds the resurrection). Only they differ on the object of faith. The one is not occupied with his divinity: this is the marcionite Christ. The other thinks only of his incarnation: this is the catholic Christ. If we believe in the Son of God, we will be in line with the first. To satisfy the second it will be necessary for us to believe that the Christ had flesh and was not a phantom.

Herein a question becomes inevitably posed. If the catholic Christ simply demands us to believe in the reality of his flesh, why does he tell us to eat it? One saw that the marcionite Christ systematically shunned the light too oft supposed and moreover wrapped a light in a veil for fear of startling the conscience. But the catholic Christ doesn't have the same susceptibilities in this respect. Why therefore is the Catholic Christ so obscure? He was strained to obscurity by

professional duty. What role does he boast here? He pretends to interpret. Interpret the words of the marcionite Christ. In reality he suppresses them; but he suppresses them by way of commentary. An elegant process, but one which is not without imposing an intention. The dissertation on the flesh must adjust to the oracle that it was supposed to explain; it had to give the illusion that this prolonged it. Now the marcionite Christ had presented the faith under the symbol of the bread which feeds the soul and procures eternal life to it.

This symbol became utilized by the catholic Christ which was then cast into the mold of his dissertation. The flesh became a bread of immortality: "The bread that I will give, this is my flesh that I will give for the life of the world". Transformed into bread, the flesh became the food for the soul which eats it. Then the blood, reclaimed by the symmetry, intervened to play the role of a drink. There is how the necessity of the faith in the incarnation of Christ became translated into the necessity of eating the flesh and drinking the blood out of that situation. The author was far in foreseeing the enormous mystery which his makeshift would become as cause for posterity.