

A
CRITICAL ANALYSIS
OF THE FOUR CHIEF
PAULINE EPISTLES

L. GORDON RYLANDS

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THE NEW TESTAMENT
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

OF THE FOUR CHIEF

PAULINE EPISTLES

ROMANS, FIRST AND SECOND CORINTHIANS,
AND GALATIANS

BY

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PREFACE

THE progress of the development of any movement must necessarily be reflected in the literature produced by it. It follows that, until the literature thrown up by primitive Christianity has been correctly classified and dated, serious errors with regard to the course of the movement may be incurred. A preliminary study of the Pauline literature, undertaken in the course of an investigation into the origins of Christianity, convinced me that theologians had so little appreciated the true character of that literature as not to be in a position to perceive clearly the nature of the development which was going on from the middle to the end of the first century. The work of van Manen first gave me the clue to the labyrinth. That clue I have followed up in the present book; and, although no doubt there are errors in detail which further investigation will rectify, the light that has been thrown upon a number of obscure and long-debated questions gives some assurance that in the main the results reached are correct. Incidentally and as a by-product, so to speak, a result achieved has been to do justice to the memory of a great man who has been misrepresented for eighteen hundred years. As many people are blind to the faults of those they love, so have very many, apparently without question or misgiving, accepted from the Epistles a portrait of Paul which is very far indeed from being that of an amiable character. The stripping off of fictitious characteristics and legendary accretions leaves us, it is true, with very little knowledge of Paul as an historical personage; but his greatness can be inferred from the impression he made upon his contemporaries and followers, and from the nature of the religious system which he probably taught. It has been said that Paul was the real founder of Christianity.

Without serious qualification, the statement cannot be true. The doctrine he propagated is far from primitive ; but to what extent its elaboration was the work of Paul himself cannot now be determined. Moreover, it was not the Pauline Christology which became the predominant Catholic doctrine in the second century. Somewhere outside the Pauline communities there existed very different ideas with regard to the nature of Jesus and the conditions of salvation. When the Pauline Epistles are analysed into their constituent strata and the strata classified approximately in chronological order we find that not until the second century does the dogma which is the foundation-stone of Catholic Christianity make its appearance. The doctrine of Paul was too abstract and too highly spiritualized to become the religion of a multitude of uncultured people. But Catholic Christianity absorbed from it certain elements which were necessary for its own success. Paul was certainly not the founder of Catholic Christianity, but it was his work and the work of his coadjutors in cutting Christian doctrine free from the Mosaic law and the Judaic tradition which promoted Christianity from an obscure Jewish sect with no future to a system which was able to assert its claim to be accepted as a world-religion. Probably the immediate aim of Paul himself was to spiritualize Judaism. Like many other Jewish thinkers of the first rank, he contemplated a future in which a reformed and spiritualized Judaism would become the religion of the world, a light to lighten the Gentiles ; the new doctrine therefore had to be of a character which Gentiles could readily accept. But while the doctrine he offered might appeal to men imbued with a certain amount of culture, who desired for their guidance and consolation a religion rather than a philosophy, it could not spread widely among the multitude until it had been brought down to a somewhat lower plane ; in other words, until it had been catholicized—a process which consisted to a considerable extent in the infusion into it of religious elements, chiefly Jewish, of much greater antiquity than itself.

To avoid the risk of misapprehension, I had better explain

that I have used the term "Gnostic" where perhaps other writers would have employed the term "Hellenistic." The latter term is somewhat ambiguous. New Testament scholars are not agreed as to whether "Paul" had come directly under the influence of Greek thought proceeding from Plato and from the Stoic philosophers, or whether the "Hellenism" in the Epistles is derived from a Hellenistic Judaism akin to the system of Philo; or, again, whether there may have been both direct and indirect influence. In the writings of Philo we have an example of the interaction of Jewish religion and Greek philosophy. There is sufficient evidence that in the first century B.C. the result of that interaction was a great variety of speculation of a kindred nature which gave birth to a number of sects differing in the details of their dogma, but deriving it in greater or less degree from the Wisdom literature and from certain Platonic and possibly Stoic ideas by which the groundwork of their Judaic theology was profoundly modified. The body of doctrine thus evolved, however differently it may have been worked out in detail, was distinguished by certain conceptions and modes of thought which may be comprised under the general term "Gnosis," and is recognizable by the use of certain characteristic expressions and phrases. Those sections of the Epistles which betray the influence of such conceptions and modes of thought to a greater or less degree I have described as Gnostic. The question of the direct influence of Greek thought upon any of the writers of the Epistles is a difficult one, which it has not been necessary to take into consideration. In any case, such influence appears not to have been considerable. The fundamental distinction between Judaic and Catholic doctrine on the one hand and Gnostic on the other is that according to the former redemption is achieved by the expiatory sacrifice of the redeemer, while in the latter men are held to be redeemed through the knowledge of God and of his plan of salvation (gnosis) brought to them by a Christ who may or may not have been regarded as the Son of God, but whose principal features in any case were developed from the hypostatized Word of God (Logos) and Wisdom (Sophia) of the

Wisdom literature. This Christ was of course put to death, but not as an expiation or a sacrifice. He was killed by the supernatural powers opposed to God, who foresaw that their influence over mankind was about to be terminated. To restrict the term "Gnostic" to the elaborated Gnosticism of the second century is scientifically incorrect. That Gnosticism did not suddenly appear in full flower; the plant had been growing for a considerable time.

My very sincere thanks are due to Mr. Thomas Whittaker for his careful revision of the MS. and proofs, and for his assistance in clearing up some obscurities in the text of the Epistles.

L. G. R.

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The Epistle to the Romans

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS

1.—INTRODUCTORY

THE work of van Manen has of late years brought into prominence the view that some at least of the Pauline Epistles, especially those to the Romans and Corinthians, are composite ; portions of those Epistles being of later date than others. Several New Testament scholars before van Manen had, however, reached a similar conclusion. Heumann, for example, in 1765 argued that all the chapters from xii to the end of the Epistle to the Romans are a later addition to the original one. Eichhorn also held the opinion that the Epistle is composite, thinking, however, that the additions had been made by Paul himself. Straatman, Spitta, Pierson, and others, have recognized that insertions have been made into the original Epistle, and have accounted for their presence in different ways.

The marks of such insertions are of course (1) junctures, points where the sequence of thought is abruptly changed, or where the ideas, or subject-matter, are so ill connected with what immediately precedes that it is very difficult to believe the two portions were written consecutively by the same man ; (2) incompatibility of doctrine between one section and another ; (3) difference of style and vocabulary ; (4) internal evidence that one section has been composed at a later date than another.

All these phenomena can be shown to exist in the Epistle to the Romans and in the Epistles to the Corinthians. The one most difficult for any critic to establish to the satisfaction of another person is naturally difference of style. Attention may be drawn to such difference, but whether the other person will recognize it depends upon the degree of his critical perception. It is perhaps correct to say that every writer of genius or of originality as a thinker has a distinctive style. But the distinction in some cases may be subtle and only to be detected by a reader of keen critical perception, and it might be very difficult for the critical reader to demonstrate

to one who has not the requisite faculty the difference between the styles of two writers. He can see it clearly himself, but cannot necessarily make it visible to another. It is not to be expected that theologians, even when very learned and acute, if they have not given themselves any training in purely literary criticism, and if they approach the Pauline Epistles with a strong disinclination to recognize their composite character, should readily perceive the differences of style which mark off one section of an Epistle from another. Trained literary critics, on the other hand, who could see the differences plainly enough, appear to be averse from meddling with disputed theological questions.

The writers of whose work portions have been incorporated into the Pauline Epistles were certainly original thinkers, and the style of some of them is so very distinctive that any literary critic who should study their work as he would that of a secular writer could not fail to see clearly that he had before him a composite work. Indeed, any one who has cultivated his critical faculty by the regular perusal of good literature will, I believe, have no difficulty in coming to that conclusion when his attention has been called to the facts—provided, of course, that he comes to the study of the question with an open mind. Suppose that some one took a few chapters of Thackeray, broke them up into sections, and between these sections inserted passages of various length from works by Carlyle and Dickens. To make the parallel complete, it must also be supposed that these writers, in the works employed, had been treating the same subject, and that the editor had inserted short connecting passages—a few words, or occasionally merely a conjunction—to give the impression of continuity, and had interwoven the sections in such a way as to create a superficial unity in the composite work. There are doubtless literary critics, and even cultured laymen, who, although they had never previously read the works from which the extracts were taken, could pick out with certainty the sections written by each of the writers named, on considerations of style alone. I have no hesitation in asserting that one at least of the writers whose work has been incorporated into the Epistle to the Romans has a style as distinctive as that of Carlyle, and that theologians of even moderate critical perception might recognize the difference between his work and that of others if they would. Van Manen has pointed out that in different sections of

Romans and Corinthians there are certain differences of vocabulary. But, while such differences are more capable of direct demonstration than difference of style, style is really more than vocabulary. Differences in the latter might conceivably be accidental, though they establish a strong probability of difference of authorship. Difference of style is a certain test when it can be recognized; but one who sees it can demonstrate it only in a very general way. The demonstration cannot take the form of a logical process by which a man, either prejudiced or wanting in critical perception, might be convinced.¹

Difference of theological doctrine is obviously more easy to demonstrate than difference of style. Theologians have, indeed, recognized such differences, and have been sorely puzzled by them. Volumes have been written in the endeavour to extricate a consistent Pauline theology, and no theologian has been able, from the Epistles, to draw a picture of the mind of Paul, including a determination of the source of his doctrine and an elucidation of the factors which influenced and directed its development, so as to satisfy other theologians. There has even been dispute as to whether he was a Jew or a Greek. Lüdemann in 1872 recognized in the Epistles two different conceptions of "the flesh" and two corresponding systems of redemption.² He traced, intermingling with each other like two differently coloured threads, but not coalescing, two lines of thought: the one he described as "jüdisch-religiöse, jüdisch-subjective Erlösungslehre"; the other he defined as "ethisch-dualistisch." He tried to explain the existence in the Epistles of these two contrasted systems by supposing a development in the mind of Paul from Judaic into Hellenistic modes of thought. But he did not resolve the difficulty that both doctrines are thrown promiscuously together in the same Epistle. At a later date Pfeleiderer,³ developing the same ideas, expressed the opinion that Paul was led into the anti-Judaic position by a consistent thinking out of the Jewish idea of the expiatory death; that from that starting-point he eventually worked out the doctrine that redemption is wrought by the operation of the holy Spirit

¹ Obviously, difference of style can, as a rule, be recognized in a translation only when the translation is close; the English versions of the New Testament are sufficiently so.

² See Schweitzer, *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung*, p. 23.

³ *Das Urchristentum*, 1887.

upon the corporeal nature of man; and that the vital moment is not the death but the resurrection of Jesus. The fatal objection, however, to the explanations put forward by Lüdemann and Pfeiderer is that in the Epistles no stages of the supposed development are observable. The two doctrines, which are mutually exclusive, are simply laid together, actually sometimes alternating in the same Epistle, with no signs of the process by which the one passed into the other. Schweitzer's criticism of these and similar attempts to harmonize the diversity of doctrine found in the Epistles is that "at the conclusion of each one of these works one must ask oneself whether the author really ventured to expect the reader to regard what is offered as the exposition of a system which was ever born from primitive Christian doctrine and lived in the mind of one man, and was comprehensible to his companions in the faith. All the arts of representation are summoned for the purpose of exactly describing the thoughts expressed and bringing consistency and order into the chaos of ideas. But the result does not satisfy. A real elucidation of Paulinism is not attained."¹ Pfeiderer's ultimate conclusion is, indeed, a cry of despair and a confession of failure. He says that nothing remains but to admit that in Paul's consciousness the two different conceptions lay together unreconciled, and that he passed over from the one to the other without feeling the contradiction! We are not called upon to admit anything so incredible. The scientific mind, when brought to bear upon the problem, will declare that an hypothesis which leads to such a conclusion is self-condemned. H. J. Holtzmann,² more recently, has recognized the preponderance of Gnostic elements and of Hellenistic forms of thought in sections of the Pauline Epistles, and has also perceived the incompatibility of those elements with the Jewish eschatology found elsewhere. He endeavoured to explain the inconsistency by declaring that Paul, in his fear lest he should be "found naked,"³ has "quite unconsciously" (!) mingled together the national mode of feeling with a Hellenistic form of thought! One can only exclaim: Words, words! A mere evasion of the difficulty!

Schweitzer points out that there must have been some vital relation between the eschatological ideas of Paul and

¹ Schweitzer, *loc. cit.*, p. 28.

² *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie*, 1897; Band II, *Ueber den Paulinismus*.

³ 2 Corinthians, v, 3.

his scheme of redemption. Now, the eschatological ideas are not original to the writer; they are apocalyptic. In one Epistle the conceptions are simple, in another more complex. Even if in this case a development may be presumed, the development is on the whole an elaboration and not a change in the character of the ideas; though even here too the conceptions do not all correspond with an identical theological point of view. How meanwhile could a change in the character of the principal doctrines of the writer, which is not really a development at all but a complete transformation, have been going on? One would have to suppose that Paul, as a thinker, had a very disorderly mind, and took no pains to co-ordinate and systematize his conceptions. But, indeed, lack of co-ordination is not the term which is applicable to the case; the incongruity is too great. We have to suppose that, while holding essentially to the apocalyptic eschatology, the Apostle taught a Hellenistic and also a Judaic doctrine of redemption; and these not consecutively, but simultaneously. No one who has read Schweitzer's two books on the history of criticism can have failed to be impressed by the similarity of the phenomena displayed in the parallel endeavours to give a consistent and intelligible explanation, on the one hand, of the purpose and significance of the life of Jesus, and, on the other, of the character of the Pauline theology. Arbitrary assumptions, arbitrary selection, and strained interpretation of texts are resorted to in the effort to reconcile the hopeless contradictions and incompatibilities that emerge. The writers, when they are in straits, throw out an unsubstantial cloud of words, and one cannot but wonder whether they themselves are satisfied that they have explained something. C. Holsten wrote¹: "Whoever tries to understand Paul finds, with regard to many decisive passages, the thoughts of Paul continually rendered more puzzling rather than interpreted by the abundance of explanations and the conflict of the explainers." But he himself, by judicious selection of texts and care not to bring into juxtaposition contradictory statements, lends a superficial appearance of unity to a group of irreconcilable dogmas. Not that he would wilfully deceive; but he is so confident everything is quite right that he cannot help making it appear so.

It is not only that the Epistles contain incompatible

¹ *Das Evangelium des Paulus*, Pref. xiii.

doctrines. They cannot be made historically probable. The fact that a good many statements and implications in them are in conflict with the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles might not be an insuperable difficulty, since there are sufficient grounds for regarding the statements in that work with suspicion. There are, however, no perceptible dogmatic reasons which could have induced the writer to give an untrue account of Paul's missionary journeys; and yet statements made in a letter supposed to have been written by Paul cannot be reconciled with it. A more serious difficulty is the inconsistency with one another of statements found in the Epistles themselves, and the impossibility of making some of them appear at all probable. A good many endeavours to do this have, indeed, been made, all of which involve the most arbitrary assumptions. And the assumptions and explanations of one writer are rejected by another. Holsten, for example, says¹ that if the expression "churches of Galatia" is to be taken as including those of Lycaonia, which was part of the Roman Province of Galatia, the situation implied in the Epistle to the Galatians becomes inexplicable. Other leading theologians² think that certain grave difficulties can be removed only by understanding the expression as applying to those very churches. Additional examples of these attempted explanations will be given subsequently. The need for them, and at the same time the inadequacy of them, will be fully realized only when the Epistles have been studied in detail. Efforts of this kind have now been going on continuously for more than a hundred years, and still there is no prospect of an agreed, or even plausible, solution. If theologians envisaged their problems in the spirit in which scientific inquirers do theirs, they would a good while ago have begun to suspect that it is their fundamental postulates that are wrong, and would have set up some new hypotheses, which should be really hypotheses, and not postulates held so sacred that to question them is regarded as madness or impiety.

Dr. Hatch in his article on Paul in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* wrote: "All the representations formerly current..... regarding the life and work of Paul.....must be set aside..... These representations are very many and various, and discrepant in character.....they exhibit the most inconsistent proportions and features." Such inconsistencies would not

¹ *Das Evang. des Paulus*, Part i, pp. 40 and 42.

² E.g., Hausrath and Zahn.

exist if we had in the Pauline Epistles the original and homogeneous letters of a single man. No problem of the same kind confronts us in the case of Seneca or Cicero. Even when, as sometimes happens, a development in the opinions of a writer occurs, the development can be traced, and its progressive stages noted and accounted for. In the Pauline Epistles the phenomenon observed is not a progressive development in the thought of a single writer, but the juxtaposition of conflicting doctrines. Surely theologians who can see the case as Dr. Hatch sees it ought to be prepared to consider without prejudice the hypothesis that the Pauline Epistles, like the Gospels, are stratified documents. The truth is that if one man could have written the whole of the Epistles ascribed to Paul, or even the whole of the four ascribed to him by the Tübingen school, he must have been an exception to all the psychological laws which govern the human mind. Blown this way and that by the conflicting winds of incompatible opinions and the emotions produced by them, his mind must have been in a turmoil of confused thinking. And yet, if certain sections are separated from the rest, a perfectly consistent body of doctrine, firmly held and clearly reasoned, makes its appearance. The cause of the perplexity which has so long prevailed is simply that in certain other sections an entirely different doctrine is expounded. The difficulties in which the interpretation of these Epistles is involved are thus susceptible of an explanation which is not very abstruse; and I do not see why theologians should so obstinately refuse to accept it. Is it because they think that belief in the genuineness of the Epistles, all and each as a whole, is essential to the argument for the historicity of Jesus? But some opponents of the historicity take precisely the contrary view. And it is surely not scientific to fight against a truth because you are afraid of the consequences of admitting it. Obviously the supposition that the Epistles are composite and the work of writers who held inconsistent opinions will account for the phenomena presented by them. Evidence sufficient to establish that fact will be given in this book, and as soon as it is admitted the chief perplexities which have involved the understanding of the Epistles vanish away. A theory which has been put forward to explain the inconsistency of doctrine found in them is that they are the work, not of one man, but of a school. That is probably to a certain extent true. It will, however, be shown later that the incompati-

bilities are far too great to be explained on that hypothesis alone, and that a supplementary one must be sought for.

A fact of which the importance has not been sufficiently recognized is that in the time of Marcion there existed two editions of the Pauline Epistles—a shorter edition, which was presumably of a Gnostic character, since it was accepted by Marcion as the only genuine one, and used by him in support of his Gnostic doctrine; and a longer catholicized edition. Tertullian accused Marcion of having mutilated the ten Epistles which he had, and Irenæus also says that he curtailed them. The only thing that can be inferred from such statements is that the Epistles in Marcion's edition were shorter than those which Tertullian and Irenæus had. Writers so uncritical and prejudiced would necessarily assert that the shorter edition was a mutilated form of their own. Marcion, however, maintained that the Catholics had corrupted the original pure Gospel and Epistles by interpolating them. And if Marcion had not been a heretic, no student of early Christianity would doubt that his evidence is by far the more trustworthy. He wrote at an earlier date, and it can be inferred from the observations of his Catholic opponents that he possessed in some degree that critical faculty which they conspicuously lacked; and in the few cases in which it has been possible to check his readings some of them have been found to be older and better authenticated than those quoted by Tertullian and Epiphanius. No competent critic now doubts that during the first half of the second century the Gospels were growing by accretion. What guardian angel protected the Epistles from the like interpolation made for doctrinal purposes? All the probabilities are in favour of the assertion of Marcion. And he could not have asserted, as he did, that Paul alone preached pure doctrine unless Paul's teaching had been akin to his own—in other words, more or less Gnostic. We ought, therefore, to be prepared to find that the earliest stratum of the Epistles is Gnostic in character, and that they were subsequently catholicized.

It has been thought possible to obtain some information as to the text of Marcion's edition from the quotations made by Tertullian. But that is true only in a very restricted sense. Theologians have been far too hasty in assuming that Tertullian possessed copies of Marcion's Gospel and Epistles. There is good reason to believe that he had neither. He cannot specify a single passage which Marcion inserted into,

or excised from, his Gospel. He assumes that Marcion's Gospel was a mutilated Luke; but the only passages he accuses him of erasing are not in Luke, but in Matthew. And the few slight alterations of the text which he lays to Marcion's account are evidently variant readings in the Lucan MSS. Indeed, he admits¹ that in order to recover Marcion's text he will apply the principle that Marcion must have omitted all passages which contradicted his own doctrines. No such principle need have been applied if he had had the actual text before him. From that and other statements of his it is inferrible that he knew no more about Marcion's Gospel than what he had heard or read concerning it. On the same grounds it can be concluded that he was not intimately acquainted with the text of Marcion's edition of the Epistles. Although he accuses him of mutilating them, he does not specify definitely any particular case of mutilation. And to arrive at Marcion's text he applies to it the same principle as he applied to the text of his Gospel. He writes²: "As we proved with regard to Christ, so we shall prove that no other God was published by the Apostle, out of Paul's Epistles themselves, which the character of the heretical Gospel will be bound to have injured (*debebit praejudicasse*) and which have been mutilated accordingly." If he had had the Epistles before him, he need not have argued that they must have been altered in accordance with the heretical Gospel. He would have stated definitely what the alterations actually were. That he did not do. Doubtless he could not. And it would have been quite in accordance with his habitual recklessness of assertion to conclude that, because in his opinion the Epistles must have been mutilated, therefore they had been. He is capable of imputing to Marcion motives for omitting passages from Luke's Gospel which never were in that Gospel at all. No doubt it was well known in the latter part of the second century that Marcion's edition of the Epistles was shorter than that current among the Catholics, who assumed in consequence that their Epistles had been mutilated by him. But I hope in this book to prove that the reverse was the case; that it was Marcion who had the purest text, and that the text we have contains Catholic interpolations on a large scale.

Tertullian makes statements which certainly appear to

¹ *Adv. Marc.* iv, 6.

² *Adv. Marc.* v, 1.

show that he had some knowledge of Marcion's edition. For example, he says¹ with respect to the Epistle to the Romans: "The extent of the gaps which Marcion has made in that Epistle—above all, by removing what he wished—will be evident from the integrity of our document." The statement is true in the inverted sense that Romans has been most extensively catholicized. J. S. Semler subjoins the following note upon this statement in his edition: "We could wish that Tertullian had specified those gaps." A very pertinent remark. No doubt he would have specified them if he could. He does, indeed, mention, without exactly defining, one considerable omission, and thereby very heavily discounts the evidential value of the sentence quoted above, since the section in question is one which Marcion most decidedly would not have omitted, it being very favourable to his own opinions. Still, it can hardly be doubted that Tertullian did know something; and it is easy to account for his knowledge, partial as it was, for a good deal must have been written and spoken at that time about so notorious a heretic and the documents he used, and Tertullian probably obtained some information in that way. He must also, of course, have gained a good deal of knowledge of the character and contents of Marcion's edition of the Epistles from Marcion's own writings, especially the *Antitheses*, to which he was replying. So that, when he states that Marcion had a certain verse in his Epistle, his evidence has some value. As before said, he rarely tells us what Marcion did not have, but he sometimes implies that a certain verse or passage was wanting from his edition. In that case, however, it is necessary to be very cautious in drawing the inference, since Tertullian's ground for his opinion may have been quite inadequate. As a rule, except where he is obviously depending upon the *Antitheses*, his references are so slight and indefinite as to prove that he cannot have had Marcion's edition of the Epistles before him when he wrote. Such light as can be got from him is valuable, because all the known facts suggest that Marcion's edition of the Epistles was a purer and more original one than that now received.

The possibility that Marcion may have cut something out of the Epistles is not denied. Some of them were already composite before the end of the first century. At least one

¹ *Adv. Marc.* v, 13.

early insertion¹ has been detected by several modern commentators. And if modern commentators are able to perceive that a certain section cannot be an original Pauline writing, it would not be surprising if Marcion, who was critical and doubtless knew much more about Paul's real doctrine than any of the moderns, also rejected it. His having done so would not be the discreditable action for which the Catholic writers abused him; it would be evidence of his critical acumen. The knowledge that Marcion preserved intact the text he received would, of course, be extremely valuable; for then, if his text can be recovered, we shall possess the text as it existed very early in the second century. But, even if the contrary should be the case, the recovery of Marcion's text will be by no means unhelpful; only, instead of having certain knowledge of the state of the text early in the second century, we should have probable information as to its condition at a considerably earlier date; because, if Marcion made any excisions, he may be supposed to have made them on critical grounds and with fuller knowledge than we now possess. And, whether Marcion made any excisions from the Epistles or not, it is fairly certain that they suffered interpolation afterwards. His Gospel and Epistles probably came to him through men who had preserved them from an earlier date. For Tertullian says² that Marcion was a disciple of Cerdo, and of him he remarks what the Fathers said of Marcion—viz., that he received the Gospel of Luke, but not all of it; that he rejected some of the Pauline Epistles, and that those he had were not complete. So that we have evidence of the existence of shorter Epistles early in the second century. And that evidence is quite consistent with the fact which will be proved presently, that a Catholic editor of the second century introduced long sections into the Epistle to the Romans.

2.—THE OPENING ADDRESS

There are serious grounds for doubting whether the original Epistle was addressed to any particular Church. There is nothing in it which is more applicable to the community at Rome than to any other. In the form in which we now have it the Epistle, as will be proved, is a composite document; in considering its destination, therefore, we are concerned only with the earliest stratum, if that can be

¹ Romans, chapters ix-xi.

² *De præscrip. Hæret.* cap 51.

discovered, as I believe it can. It is not necessary to determine definitely the authorship of the original Epistle ; but, since it was ascribed to Paul at an early date, the probability is that, if it was not written by himself, it emanated from a circle which was under the influence of his teaching. Now, all the most reliable evidence that we have upon the subject points to the fact that Pauline Christianity was Gnostic. Paul was the only Apostle recognized by the Gnostics, and he was for long viewed with suspicion by the leaders of the Catholic Church. According to Acts xiii, Paul set out from Antioch on his missionary journeys ; he had been a member of the Church there, and it is known that in Antioch and Syria generally the Jews had come under the influence of Greek speculation spreading from Alexandria, which had given birth to mysticism and forms of Jewish Gnosticism. The antagonism of the Jews at Jerusalem to Paul while the Jewish Christian community was unmolested there proves that what aroused hostility was not simply the fact that Paul was a Christian. It must, therefore, have been evoked by the form of his Christianity. Many Gnostics, we know, rejected the Old Testament and the Jewish law.

It has been mentioned before that it is inferrible, from the estimation in which the writings ascribed to Paul were held by the Marcionites, and by other and earlier Gnostics, that Paul's teaching was at any rate believed by them to have been Gnostic. But there is evidence that Marcion had definitely stated the fact. For Tertullian, writing against Marcion, says¹ : " I shall prove to you that the Apostle is mine as much as Christ is mine." Tertullian's Christ was the Jewish Messiah announced by the prophets ; Marcion's the docetic Christ. Tertullian's Christ was the Son of the Creator, Jahveh ; Marcion's was the Son of the supreme and universal divine Being. Hence Marcion, by claiming Paul as his own, affirmed that, as his Christ was the docetic Christ, Paul was the Apostle of the docetic Christ. Tertullian adds : " And of course the Apostle, who is declared not to be the Apostle of the Creator and is brought forward in opposition to the Creator (by Marcion), ought not to teach anything, mean anything, wish anything favourable to the Creator." Marcion has been slighted by theologians because he was a heretic, but his evidence deserves credit.

¹ *Adv. Marc.* v, 1.

It is quite certain, from the above-quoted passage, and from others to the same effect in Tertullian's fifth book, that Marcion affirmed that Paul had made the distinction which he himself made between the supreme God and the Creator. The evidence of Marcion is supported by a section of the Clementine *Homilies*. It was believed by Baur that in this work Paul is attacked under the name of Simon Magus. Later critics have disputed that opinion. The conclusion reached, however, by some of the ablest modern critics—e.g., Lipsius, Hilgenfeld, and R. Steck—is that the Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* are composite documents embodying sections of different date, some possibly being as old as the beginning of the second or the end of the first century. That being so, it is possible that, while Baur was mistaken in his opinion applied to the work as a whole, the sections on which he founded it really have the motive and character which he supposed. With regard to one of the *Homilies* (xvii), doubt seems to be impossible. The Homily is obviously an attack upon Paul, based chiefly upon the Epistle to the Galatians. Simon is made to declare that visions from God have more value as means of knowing the truth than physical sight. Peter replies that visions may also be the work of evil spirits, and be intended to deceive. "Moreover," he says, "if our Jesus appeared to you in a vision and made himself known and spoke to you, he did so in anger as to an adversary.....But how shall we believe that he did appear to you, seeing that your opinions are directly opposed to his teaching? If, however, you have for an hour deserved to see him and to be his disciple—if you have become his Apostle, proclaim his words, interpret his sayings, love his Apostles, and do not dispute with me who was his companion. For you stood forth as my adversary." These words can have been addressed to no one but the Apostle Paul. And the dependence upon Galatians is clearly seen in the following sentence: "If you were not an adversary, you would not have reviled the doctrine I preach.....as though I deserved no credit, and as though I were condemned. If you say that I was condemned (εἰ κατεγνωσμένον με λέγεις), you accuse God." Compare Galatians ii, 11 (κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντίστην, ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν). Whatever, therefore, in this Homily is said by Peter to Simon must be held to have been addressed by the writer to Paul. Now, the writer declares plainly that the teaching of Simon—that is, of Paul

—conflicted with that of the Jewish Apostles. When Peter has finished his attack, this Simon, who is so obviously Paul, replies: "To-morrow I will come and argue concerning the God whom you affirm to be the Creator (*demiourgos*), and I will show that he is not the highest, good God; and I will prove that your teacher said the same things that I say, but that you have not understood them." These are not the opinions of the Simonians. Simon Magus is probably a mythical personage; but very definite doctrine is ascribed to him by the second-century writers, and it did not include that of two Gods. According to the doctrine ascribed to him, the world and men were created by angels. The *Clementine Recognitions* says gods, which is probably an indication of the development in Gnostic thought whereby the gods of the heathen were identified with evil angels, *dæmons*. We have then the testimony of two witnesses, who wrote less than a hundred years after Paul, that he had distinguished between the good God and the Creator. And the evidence is the more impressive from the fact that one of the witnesses was a follower, and the other an opponent, of Paul. It is not merely reasonable to accept the fact on the evidence adduced; it is unreasonable not to do so. The fact is much better attested than many supposed facts which theologians accept without hesitation. I fancy I can hear the chorus of theologians: "Oh! but it is quite impossible." Why, then, is it impossible? Because it cannot be reconciled with the inviolable postulate.

Now, some important sections of the Epistle to the Romans are, as will be proved, Gnostic in character. It will also be shown that these sections form the earliest stratum of the Epistle—a fact which supports the belief that Paul's teaching was Gnostic. But the Roman Church was almost certainly Jewish, Messianic. The Jews who made tumults in Rome under the Emperor Claudius were probably Messianic Jews, agitated either by expectation of the early appearance of the Messiah (*Christus*), or more probably by controversies among themselves as to the nature and functions of the Messiah. It was stated by Ambrosiaster that Jews living in Rome in the days of the Apostles had taught their brethren to confess Christ and to hold fast by the law.¹ But if the Roman Christians held fast by the law, the Church

¹ *Encyclop. Bibl.*, art. "Rome (Church)."

was originally a Jewish Christian one, though no doubt pagan Christians were continually being admitted. And there is no trace at a later period of Gnostic influence in the Church at Rome. It is thus very unlikely that the Gnostic and anti-Judaic Paul would have written a letter to that Church.

One ought to be able to get some light on these matters from the Acts of the Apostles. Unfortunately, that work itself offers a problem, or rather problems, which have to be solved before its evidence can be safely used. The account of Paul's visit to Rome which we find in Acts xxviii, 14-31, contains statements which are so difficult to reconcile with one another, and with what we know from other sources, that it cannot be taken at its face value ; it needs to be interpreted. Where is the key? It is safe to assume that the writer has not given us a distorted picture through ignorance. We know enough of the mentality of early Christian writers to justify us in believing that such falsification as has been perpetrated was done with a purpose. If we can discover the purpose, we shall have gone a good way towards the discovery of the facts which lie behind the narrative.

It has been recognized by many of the ablest New Testament scholars that the writer of Acts, in composing that work, kept before his mind one purpose in particular, which seemed to him very important—viz., the reconciliation of the parties in the Church which had in earlier times been antagonistic to one another.¹ He shared the motives of those leading men who during the second century were endeavouring to establish a Catholic Church out of the scattered religious communities which, though they held certain fundamental dogmas in common, differed with regard to some very important details. The founders of the Catholic Church perceived that a vital condition for the attainment of their object was that the Church should be as comprehensive as possible ; they had to decide what articles of faith, consistently with the preservation of that condition, must be, and might safely be, branded as heresies. As a Jewish sect there was no future for the Catholic Church. The crippling restrictions of the law of Moses had to be cut away ; and for that purpose the leaders required some great authority which might

¹ Some modern conservative theologians, who have reverted to the opinion that the Acts were written by Luke, would like it to be believed that this idea is obsolete. But it is not so.

be thrown into the scale against the weight of the names of the Jewish Apostles. Moreover, the Pauline communities were so numerous and influential that there was little hope for the future of the Church unless it could include them. For these reasons it was necessary to annex Paul, and to create the belief that that Apostle, whom Tertullian still called the Apostle of the heretics, and, when writing against Gnostics, "your Apostle," had really taught sound Catholic doctrine, and had differed from Jewish Christians in nothing but his opposition to circumcision and other Jewish rites and ceremonies.¹ The writer of Acts was imbued with this catholicizing spirit, and in more than one place, where Paul comes into conflict with Jews, inconsistencies and obvious suppressions in the narrative arouse the suspicion that the opponents of Paul were not orthodox Jews, but Jewish Christians. Paul's visit to Jerusalem, described in chapter xxi, at once creates an immense tumult; but the Jewish Christian Church remained there all the time unmolested. Verse 26 is simply incredible to any one who has stripped off from Paul the Catholic vesture which he has for so long been compelled to wear, and discovered, perhaps not the man himself, but at any rate his doctrine. The writer of Acts, in the chapter in question, takes the blame off the shoulders of the Jewish Christians and throws it on to certain "Jews from Asia."² If the attack upon Paul had been made by orthodox Jews, how was it that when he was brought before the Council the Pharisees found no evil in him?

From this point of view it is possible to devise a theory which will explain not only the difficulties of the narrative in Acts xxviii but also the origin of them. And the best guarantee for the correctness of any theory is that it satisfactorily explains facts otherwise hard to account for; at the same time, of course, not being irreconcilable with any. The evidence we have justifies the belief that there was a Christian Church at Rome before Paul went there. The introductory section of the Epistle to the Romans implies clearly that such was the case; and even if the section was not written earlier than about the middle of the second century,

¹ Holsten (work cited, pp. 22, 30-32) showed that not only had Paul broken completely with the Mosaic law, but that there was a fundamental difference between his doctrine and that of the Jewish Christian Church.

² Epiphanius, *Haer.*, xxviii, 4, says they were disciples of Cerinthus. These men may, in fact, be termed Jewish Christians, and they were localized in Asia Minor. Their doctrines were closely akin to those of the Ebionites.

as evidence of the fact stated it has some historical value. Rufinus, in his introduction to the Clementine *Recognitions*, says that Linus and Cletus were bishops of Rome during the lifetime of Peter.¹ Onufrius says that Clement, who succeeded Cletus, was appointed in the year 68. According to Epiphanius, Linus and Cletus each held office for twelve years. So that the Church was in existence as early as the year 45. And there is but little reason to suppose that Linus was the first ruler of it. Eusebius, on the authority of Irenæus, says that Linus was appointed bishop of Rome by Peter and Paul.² The names of the two Apostles in this connection are obviously a later legendary addition, and prove that the actual founder of the Church was unknown. All we can say is that when we first hear of it the Church, or synagogue, had already been in existence for an indefinite period of time. The belief that the Church existed before the arrival of Paul is confirmed by verse 15 of Acts xxviii, where we are told that "the brethren, when they heard of us, came to meet us." These brethren must be supposed to have been members of the Christian Church. It should be continually remembered that the name "Christian" has some important implications for us which need not have been attached to it in the middle of the first century. A Church might be called Christian in a certain sense which yet was not Christian in the full modern sense. For example, a Messianist community might be termed Christian, since Christos = Messiah; and there were various kinds of Messianism. The riots at Rome were possibly occasioned by the conflicting ideas of the Messianists there. The statement quoted above occurs in the "We" narrative, which is the oldest and most reliable stratum of the book. The writer of that narrative was thus with Paul at Rome, and an eyewitness of what subsequently occurred. The sequel, however, is no longer in the first person plural, and has consequently been worked up by a later editor, probably by the writer

¹ This statement is confirmed by some other early authorities, and seems to be the earliest tradition. Afterwards, when the legend was established that Peter had founded the Church and had been its first bishop, it was necessary to make Linus and Cletus his successors, as was done by Tertullian, introducing confusion and giving to theologians occasion for much controversy. Epiphanius (*Haer.*, xxvii, 6) gave both traditions; he was evidently puzzled by the contradiction, and tried, not very successfully, to explain it.

² This statement is, however, not found in the existent Latin translation of Irenæus.

of the book in its present form, no doubt for reasons of his own.

According to the account as we now have it, Paul called together the chief of the Jews. These Jews said to him (verse 21): "We neither received letters from Judæa concerning thee, nor did any of the *brethren* come hither and report any harm of thee." Who were these brethren? The term "the brethren" in Acts regularly means members of a Christian community; and it cannot be doubted that "the brethren" who went out to meet Paul and his companions were such. The writer may here be reproducing his source, though he has altered the setting. The Christian Church at Jerusalem would naturally be described as brethren. There seems to be no reason why the Jews should have written anything if Paul was being taken to Rome to be tried by a Roman court. Again, if Paul went to Rome as a prisoner, having appealed to Cæsar, how was it that he lived, apparently a free man, in his own dwelling, and that not a word is said about any trial? It does not seem to be in accordance with Roman judicial procedure that a formal appeal to the Roman court should be completely ignored for two years, if not more. So far as the record goes, the appeal was never heard. Tradition in the first half of the second century, either not knowing or not taking seriously the story of his captivity, sends Paul into Spain. Moreover, since there was a community of Christians at Rome, why is no reference made to that community, and why has Paul no relations with it? The fact that no mention whatever is made of the Christian Church at Rome, or of any contact between it and Paul after his meeting the brethren at the Market of Appius, is most extraordinary, and is sufficient evidence that important circumstances have been suppressed. Whereas we naturally expect that Paul would invite the Jewish Christian congregation to a conference, he being unknown to them, the writer tells us only that he called together "the chief of the Jews." He says further that the Jews sought information from Paul concerning the new sect. But if they had heard that it was everywhere spoken against,¹ and had had their interest aroused, they could scarcely have failed to discover that it was represented in Rome, especially as the members must at that time have been regarded as a Jewish sect, the definite

¹ Acts xxviii, 22.

severance of Christianity from Judaism not having yet occurred. And if the Church in Rome had been rather recently founded and was a Jewish one, Christianity must have been preached among the Jews there, so that "the chief of the Jews" would certainly have heard of it. No theory can be held to be satisfactory which is not able to give satisfying answers to all these questions. The writer of Acts reproduces the "We" narrative up to the point where Paul enters Rome; he then breaks off, suppresses the original account, and gives us a story which is palpably fictitious. What was he so determined to conceal?

Let us suppose that Paul went to Rome as a free man; which was van Manen's opinion. This is not mere speculation; van Manen gave reasons for his opinion,¹ and it is not improbable in itself. The writer of the Acts of the Apostles was resolved to blacken the Jews to the utmost, and he has on several occasions falsified history to that end. He was quite capable of inventing the captivity of Paul under the influence of that motive, as will be made evident in the course of this book. In the second century also there existed a feeling that the chief Apostles must necessarily have suffered captivity and death. The admirers of Paul would not have allowed him to come behind James and Peter in that respect. Such an attitude of mind would almost certainly, in a legend-forming age, have led to the invention of a captivity for Paul, as it actually did produce the tradition of his martyrdom, for which there is no historical evidence. What, then, would Paul be likely to have done as soon as possible after arriving in Rome? Since he was unknown to the Roman Church, he would of course wish to make mutual acquaintance with them, and would probably begin by inviting the leaders of that Church to meet him. They were chiefs indeed, and also Jews, but Jewish Christians.² A few of the members, of course, he had met at the Market of Appius, but it is not likely that a considerable number would have gone out on that occasion; and in any case a conference would be desired. The writer, who wishes to disguise the fact that Paul's doctrine was unpalatable to the Jewish Christians, as we have quite sufficient evidence for believing that it must have been,

¹ Mr. Thomas Whittaker has given a summary of van Manen's reasons in his book, *The Origins of Christianity*, second edition, p. 79.

² There is evidence in the *Clementine Recognitions* that Christians were in fact called Jews in Rome until late in the first century at least.

suppresses the truth that the men Paul met were Christians, and calls them simply the chief of the Jews. Paul naturally inquires whether the Roman community has received any report of him from "the brethren" at Jerusalem; the answer is "No."¹ Paul subsequently expounds his doctrine at a meeting of the community. As that doctrine was Gnostic, it would not be readily accepted by Jewish Messianists, though some may have been favourably impressed (verse 24). The speeches that Paul is said to have delivered are of course put into his mouth by the composer of Acts. The knowledge of Paul's opinions which we derive from the Epistles proves that he cannot have delivered them. The result of these conferences is that Paul has no further relation with the Jewish Christian community, and preaches his own doctrine independently, thus preparing the ground for Marcion, who settled in Rome and taught there some eighty years later, declaring that his doctrines had been derived from the teaching of Paul.

The hypothesis here sketched satisfactorily explains all the facts, which no other has yet been able to do. In the record as it stands there is obvious suppression and falsification. We can now give a decided answer to the question whether Paul had written an Epistle to the Roman Church. Since he was completely unknown to the members of that Church on his arrival at Rome, obviously they had never received an Epistle from him.

It is a remarkable fact that, although a Roman Christian Church was in existence before Paul went to Rome, there is in Acts no record of its foundation. And no early writer knows anything of the circumstances of its foundation or the name of its founder. If so important a Church had been founded by one of the apostles or Christian missionaries mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, it is not conceivable that the fact should not have been known. Even if the Church itself had not preserved a record, the memory of the name of the founder could not have been completely lost early in the second century. Early writers can tell us the names of two heads of the Church who were contemporary with Peter, but the previous history of the community is

¹ If it is correct that the disturbance at Jerusalem had been excited by Jewish Christians from Asia Minor, the Church at Jerusalem may not have been much concerned in it; and, as will be proved hereafter, very little was known in Jerusalem about Paul at that time.

buried in an impenetrable cloud. On the traditional view these facts are inexplicable; but they are easy to understand if the Roman Church was originally a Jewish Messianic Synagogue, and had been in existence for a considerable time before we first hear of it.

External evidence of the existence of the Pauline Epistles of an earlier date than about 125 A.D. does not exist; and they are first heard of among the Gnostics. On both of these grounds it may be asserted that they were not in the possession of the Roman Messianic Church much before the above-mentioned date. Now, Tertullian says "it is well known" that Marcion was at first a member of the Roman Church in the reign of Antoninus, and was not at that time a heretic. But Marcion was not the originator of the doctrine he taught; and we know also from Tertullian¹ that he obtained his Gospel and Epistles from the man from whom he derived his doctrine, the Gnostic Cerdo. The reasonable inference is that, while a member of the Roman Church, Marcion came into contact with a Gnostic circle in Rome, and that the Pauline Epistles were current in that circle.

Some portions of the Epistle to the Romans—e.g., vii, 1—seem to be addressed to Jews; others—e.g., xi, 13—are addressed to Gentiles. This discrepancy is no doubt principally due to the fact that the Epistle is composite; but it may also be partly due to the fact that the original Epistle was not addressed to any Church in particular, so that the writer had both Jew and Greek readers in view.

There is nothing at all in the body of the Epistle which is directed to the special circumstances of any one Church; it is obviously intended for Christians in general, and this intention is specially marked in certain phrases. For example: "O man, who ever thou be that judgest," etc. (ii, 1); "O man, who art thou that repliest against God?" (ix, 20). When, in addition to all these reasons for believing that the Epistle was not addressed to a particular Church, we find that the words "in Rome" are absent from some MSS., we cannot doubt that the original Epistle was a dissertation addressed to Christians in general; or, rather, to Gnostic Christians. And it is among Gnostics that we first hear of it. Professor W. B. Smith has discussed the question very fully in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1901, where he gave strong

¹ *Adv. Marc.* v, 51.

reasons for thinking that the words "in Rome," in i, 7, were not in the original Epistle. That opinion was either accepted or reached independently by some German commentators; among others, by Harnack and Zahn.¹

But if the original Epistle was addressed to Gnostic Christians in general, and not to the Church at Rome, then all the verses from 8 to 15, which give the writer's reasons for wishing to visit Rome, must also not have formed part of the original Epistle. These verses, as van Manen pointed out, are also rendered suspicious by the inconsistency of the various reasons given by the writer for his desire to visit the Romans. They seem to be the work of an editor writing at a later time, but also to have been interpolated afterwards. There are other indications which strongly negative the belief that these verses came from the pen of the original writer. That writer, as before mentioned, and as will be proved later, was a Gnostic Christian, and as such could not have written "the gospel of his Son." There was no written Gospel at the date of Paul. If in any portion of the Epistle a written Gospel were referred to, that portion would most likely have been written in the second century. The word "gospel" (*εὐαγγέλιον*) means, as the Greek implies, *good tidings*. And these good tidings were good tidings *about* Christ Jesus and the love of God in sending him to reveal God to mankind. The gospel was preached, not by Jesus, but by men, concerning Jesus, as is stated in verse 3. The phrase "gospel of his Son" indicates a comparatively late date, and a writer who was not a Gnostic. The writer of the original Epistle, as will be shown, always uses the form "Christ Jesus"; it may be inferred, therefore, that verse 8 was not written by him.

For the same reason, it is almost certain that the greater part of the address (verses 1 to 7) is a later addition by an editor. Moreover, a long and elaborate address of this kind is quite contrary to the usage of early letter writers, and verses 2 to 6 very unnaturally break the connection between verses 1 and 7. The statements that the gospel had been promised by the prophets, and that Jesus was born of the seed of David according to the flesh, could not have been made by the Gnostic writer; they come from the Messianic side of Chris-

¹ It is possible that the original reading has been preserved by the Codex ε 1028 (von Soden), which, instead of *τοῖς ὄσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγαπητοῖς Θεοῦ*, reads *τοῖς ὄσιν ἐν ἀγάπῃ Θεοῦ*.

tianity. The same may be said of the statement in verse 4, that Jesus was declared to be Son of God by the resurrection of the dead; for the Gnostic belief was that Jesus was the visible form "in likeness of a man" of the Logos, a pre-existent being.¹ Van Manen observed that the words "πᾶσιν τοῖς ὀφεισιν," to all that are beloved of God, in verse 7, according to a usage known to ecclesiastical writers, mean "those that really are," not merely seem to be, Christians; and show that the Epistle is addressed to those who have reached a certain spiritual height. This opinion is borne out by some passages in the body of the Epistle—e.g., vi, 2, 17, and 18. There is also reason to believe that the original Epistle was addressed chiefly to men of the Jewish race, who would, of course, be Greek Jews, holding a Gnostic form of Christianity—which, as I showed in my book, *The Evolution of Christianity*, was a development of Jewish Gnosticism. Passages from which this may be inferred are vii, 1 and 4: "I speak to men that know the law"; "ye also were made dead to the law." But verses 5 and 6 of chapter i seem intended to convey the idea that the original readers were Paul's converts from among the Gentiles, and of those not merely such as had reached a certain spiritual height.

The considerations above stated constitute a very powerful argument against the originality of verses 2 to 6.² With respect to verse 1 and the latter part of 7, the decision is difficult. The custom of early letter writers was simply to prefix to a letter the name of the writer, that of the recipient, and the word "greeting." One would, therefore, expect the Epistle to have opened with the words: "Paul, to all that are beloved of God, greeting." The salutation found in verse 7 is the one with which the Pauline Epistles now begin; but one cannot but suspect that this form was not used in the earliest Epistles, or in the earliest editions of them. The address in the Epistle of James contains the word "greeting" only as a salutation, and the address as a whole is quite short. That Epistle has been thought by some scholars to be the earliest document of the New Testament. It has not suffered at the hands of editors in the way in which some of the Pauline

¹ Holsten (work cited, Part ii, p. 42) shows that one of the differences between the doctrines of Paul and Peter was that in the former Christ was a pre-existent being.

² The full force of the argument, of course, will only be appreciated after it has been proved that the original Epistle was Gnostic.

Epistles have suffered. It seems probable that the opening address of the Epistle to the Romans was originally of the same simple character as that of the Epistle of James. The Epistle of Barnabas also has a simple form of address: "I bid you greeting, sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord that loved us, in peace." Another argument against the originality of the formula of verse 7 is that it contains the designation of the Saviour in the form, "Lord Jesus Christ"—a form, as before stated, never employed by the original writer.

Though it was not usual for a letter writer to append to his name any description of himself, the writer of a letter addressed to a circle of readers not personally known to him might with propriety do so. It may be questioned, however, whether Paul would have described himself in the terms used in verse 1. A member of a Pauline circle writing in the name of Paul might have done so. The words "called to be an apostle" are decidedly suspicious. They look as if they had been inserted as a challenge to the party in the early Church which denied to Paul the title of Apostle; and it may be doubted whether the controversy on that point had arisen at the early date at which the original Epistle must have been composed. Moreover, the word "called" (*κλητός*) does not occur at all elsewhere in the original Epistle. The form "Jesus Christ" occurs in verse 1 in our English editions; but the form "Christ Jesus" is found in some good manuscripts¹ in this place, and is preferred by Tischendorf and by Tregelles in their editions of the New Testament. Van Manen also thought that the second form was the older MS. reading, "Christ Jesus" being of Gnostic origin, and "Jesus Christ" the Catholic form, the tendency was for the latter gradually to replace the former.

The words "separated unto the gospel of God" should probably be retained. For if we eliminate verses 8 to 15 the original Epistle must have commenced with verse 16, or a later verse. Now, from verse 16 onwards there is a continuous train of reasoning with no break to the end of the chapter. There is no point at which the Epistle can be supposed to have begun. Verse 16 must, therefore, have been the opening verse. That verse would, however, make a rather abrupt opening unless the word "gospel" had

¹ Including the *Codex Vaticanus* and the Vulgate.

occurred immediately before. The editor who inserted verses 8 to 15 saw that, and accordingly made his introduction terminate with a reference to the preaching of the Gospel. The phrase "gospel of God" is Gnostic. We thus arrive at the conclusion that the original Epistle probably opened as follows :—

"Paul, a servant of Christ Jesus, separated unto the Gospel of God, to all that are in love of God [greeting.] I am not ashamed of the Gospel," etc.

3.—THE TWO WRITERS OF CHAPTERS I TO VIII

When we proceed to study the Epistle as a whole we find in it sections which differ so much from one another in style and doctrine that it is impossible to believe that they are the work of the same writer. The style of the composition from i, 16 to the end of chapter ii is the same. It is a fairly easy, flowing style, without any striking peculiarities. It has dignity, but is not impassioned. The reasoning, though close, is clear and not encumbered. But in chapter iii the style is notably different. It naturally appears even more so in the Greek than in the English translation. The flowing style of composition is suddenly replaced by abrupt, stabbing, or closely packed short phrases, often in the form of question and answer or a series of questions; interspersed with which long involved sentences are occasionally met with. The style is energetic rather than dignified, and the reasoning is sometimes strained or more ingenious than convincing. The writer is fond of antitheses—e.g., iii, 7, "If the truth of God through my lie abounded unto his glory"; v, 19, "As through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, even so through the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous." Nothing of this kind is found in the first two chapters.¹

The theology is also different. The whole section, chapters iii to v, consists of an elaborate and involved argument directed to establish the doctrine of justification by faith in the redeeming blood of Jesus Christ, and the distinctive, so called, Pauline doctrine of grace. Nothing of these doctrines is found in the first two chapters; and that not

¹ For the argument to be fully appreciated, chapters i and ii, beginning with i, 16, should be carefully read, then chapters iii to v, and the styles compared.

simply because the writer had no occasion to mention them in that section. For the doctrine that is found there is inconsistent with them. As van Manen observed, the man who wrote iii, 20, "By the works of the law shall no man be justified," cannot be the same man who wrote ii, 6, "God will render to every man according to his works." Equally irreconcilable with the doctrine of justification by faith are the assertions, "the doers of law shall be justified" (ii, 13), and "circumcision indeed profiteth if thou be a doer of the law" (ii, 25). The word "law" is, it is true, ambiguous. It may mean the whole law of Moses, comprising the ceremonial observances and external purifications, or it may mean simply the ethical commandments and the revelation of God which it contains. In the latter sense the law was revered by Christians when all its Judaic formalism had been repudiated. In the Clementine *Recognitions*, for example, the conversion and baptism of a large number of persons is recorded; but no compliance with any of the Judaic rites prescribed in the law of Moses is required of them. It is tacitly implied that the law in that sense was no longer valid. Peter, however, is made to say: "We worship one God, who created the world, and we keep his law."¹ And the words that follow show that by "law" the Decalogue only is meant; for Peter proceeds: "in which he commands that he should be worshipped and his name venerated, that parents should be honoured, chastity and justice observed." No doubt, when the writer of Romans, chapter ii, said that the doers of law shall be justified he was using the word "law" in that sense. Nevertheless, he had the Jewish law in mind, for he wrote immediately afterwards that the Gentiles have no law. But if Gentiles, who in this sense have no law, but yet practise righteousness, doing the works of the law, will be justified, what place remains for the doctrine of justification by faith? The main argument of chapter ii is that a Jew can be saved who truly honours God by observing the spirit of his law. Circumcision may be a help to him, but righteousness is the essential thing. The implication plainly is that it is not an indispensable condition for the salvation of a Jew that he should become a Christian. He has in the law "the form of knowledge and of the truth."² No doubt the writer is here quoting the opinion of

¹ *Recognitions*, vi, 29.

² τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, a Gnostic phrase.

Jews themselves, and it is not necessarily his own; but he does recognize that the law has some ethical value. And he declares that eternal life shall be the reward of every man who by patience in well-doing seeks for glory and honour and incorruption (ii, 7). Surely it must be obvious to any unprejudiced mind that the same writer cannot immediately have gone on to assert that salvation can be secured only by faith in the redeeming blood of Jesus. There is, indeed, some reason to think that verses 1 to 16 of chapter ii are not original; but, even if so, they express on this matter the opinion of the original writer, as may be seen from vi, 22, where he says that eternal life is the reward of those who are free from sin.

The writer is evidently a Jew, who appreciates in the law the kernel of good which he perceives to reside within the shell of its formalism. He sees the danger of that formalism, and has himself rejected it; but he does not preach that a Jew must reject the law. He believes that to be truly and in spirit a Jew is the ideal at which every one should aim (ii, 28 and 29). He reproaches the Jews because, while believing that they have in the law the advantage of a revelation of the truth, they are not better than other men. He is a Gnostic, for his view is that knowledge of God (*γνώσις*) is the essential prerequisite of permanent righteousness. Men became evil, he says (i, 28), because they did not keep God in their knowledge. But if sin entered the world because men who might have known God closed their minds to the knowledge of him, sin did not come in with the disobedience of Adam. Here again we have complete contradiction between the doctrine of this writer and that of the writer of chapters iii to v. The first writer is a Hellenistic Jew, who has ceased to believe the legends of the Old Testament. It seems impossible to doubt that the two sections are the work of two different men, whom for convenience we may distinguish as R1 and R2. The second of the two men is the one who would be recognized, mistakenly I think, by most commentators as the authentic Paul. We find all through the portions written by him, but not elsewhere, the peculiar style which is considered to give their distinctive character to the Pauline writings. The writer is fond of playing upon a word, or an antithesis between two words; for example, note the play upon the words "grace," "one and many," in verse 15, chapter v, which is quite char-

acteristic: "But not as the trespass, so also is the free gift. For if by the trespass of the one the many died, much more did the grace of God, and the gift by the grace of the one man, Jesus Christ, abound unto the many." Note, too, the heavily charged phrase, "the gift by the grace of the one man." Such passages are common in chapters iii to v; but nothing of the kind is found in chapters i and ii. Certain favourite expressions, such as "What then?" "What shall we say then?" and "God forbid" (*μη γένοιτο*) occur frequently in chapters iii to v, but not once in the other two chapters. These expressions may even be regarded as a kind of sign-manual of the writer R2. This writer also uses *μή* as an interrogative particle in affirmative questions (see chapter iii, verses 3 and 5). That usage occurs neither in chapters i and ii nor in the other portions of the Epistle which will be shown to have been written by R1.

Again, the phrase "righteousness of God" is a favourite one with R2; it occurs four times in chapter iii, but in chapters i and ii, and in the other chapters written by R1, the phrase occurs only once (in i, 17); and it will be shown later that this verse is almost certainly an interpolation.

On reaching chapter vi, after verse 1, we find ourselves again suddenly in a new atmosphere. The involved argument and peculiar style of R2 no longer meet us. The style of composition is the evenly flowing style characteristic of R1. The reasoning, like his, is not impassioned, but clear and dignified. The theological doctrine is also quite different. We read no more about grace (except in verse 15 of chapter vi, which will be dealt with later), nor of justification by faith in the redeeming blood of Jesus Christ. The significance of the death of Christ as expounded in chapters vi, 6-8, vii, 4, and viii, 3-11, is quite inconsistent with the doctrine of justification by faith. The idea of "expiation" is excluded. According to these passages, the Christian, through union with Christ and by metaphorically and symbolically dying with him, becomes spiritual instead of carnal, becomes a new creature and capable of righteousness. Nothing is said here about the importance of faith. The word "faith" occurs twenty-one times in chapters iii to v, but in chapters i, ii, and vi to viii, if we exclude i, 17 (which, as before said, is almost certainly an interpolation), the word does not occur even once. No doubt the writer takes for granted that the Christian believes in Jesus and the Gospel;

but the essential condition of salvation is, not faith, certainly not faith in redemption through the blood of Christ, but that the believer shall become a new creature by spiritual union with Christ, and shall present his "members as servants of righteousness unto sanctification."¹ The doctrine may, in fact, be termed one of "works." Only, of course, the works are the outward sign of the inward regeneration. Regeneration, not faith, is the watchword of this writer, whom we may assume provisionally to have been R1, the writer of chapters i and ii.

His teaching has also a strong mystical element. It is easy to say that various opinions may be held and expressed by the same writer. But it must be recognized that, while certain opinions even though dissimilar can be held simultaneously, others are of so fundamentally different a character that they cannot be. It is true that modern Christians are able to profess acceptance of incompatible doctrines, but the profession is purely formal—the result of habit and want of thought. Such doctrines cannot all have originated in the same mind. A belief sometimes connected with the ancient sacrificial rite was that the victim, representing the God, took upon himself the sins of the whole community; in his death the sins were annihilated, and the God rose again pure. So far the doctrine is quite objective and might have been taught by R2. But R1, whose doctrine is mystic and subjective, has transformed the doctrine accordingly. The idea itself seems to have been held by some, possibly Pauline, Christians; it is expressed in Second Corinthians, v, 21. "Him who knew no sin he made to be sin on our behalf." But in the view of R1 no merely external event will avail for salvation. The death of the God² is not sufficient. The sinner cannot so easily divest himself of his guilt. He must himself die with the God. Then his sins will also perish, and when, having been united with the God, he shares in his resurrection, he leaves behind not only the sins he has committed, but also his sinful nature. Here is a fundamental difference of view which sharply distinguishes the subjective doctrine of R1 from the objective doctrine of R2. The doctrine in question is enunciated in chapter vi, verses 5 to 11. Our old man is crucified with Christ that the body of sin might be done

¹ Rom. vi, 19.

² R1 as a monotheistic Jew will not name Christ God, but his Christ has some of the characteristics of the God of certain mystery religions.

away. But if we were symbolically united with Christ in his death so are we in his resurrection; and as he died unto sin and now liveth unto God, we died unto sin and are alive unto God in him. The doctrine of R2, on the contrary, is that of an objective sacrifice which becomes effective through faith. The two doctrines cannot have been taught by the same man.

Schweitzer observes that the word "re-birth" does not occur in the Pauline Epistles, and that the Johannine conception that the Christian must be re-born is foreign to the Pauline doctrine. With a slight exception,¹ that is true. The regeneration contemplated by R1 is not imagined as the result of being born again, but as that of a mystic and symbolic "death and resurrection"; a conception which, however, could easily pass over into that of re-birth. And when Schweitzer says further that some writers by the use of the word re-birth have wrongly brought Paulinism into relation with the mystery religions he is in error; because in the mysteries of Attis and of Osiris the worshipper symbolically died and rose again with the God, as the Christian did in the Gnostic baptism; and in each case the symbolic act, in addition to its making the participant "a new man" morally, also gave him the assurance of immortality.² In the Pauline doctrine baptism had a mystical efficacy which was as essential to redemption as the analogous rites in the ceremonies of the mystery religions.³ Now, if faith in the redeeming blood of Jesus is the essential condition of salvation, and the death of Jesus is regarded as a vicarious sacrifice by which the sins of believers are washed away and their immortality assured, baptism becomes an unessential condition, a formal act through which the believer is introduced into the Christian community, or a kind of seal by which the fulfilment of the contract is guaranteed when the preliminary condition, "faith," has been accomplished. Its mystical virtue, which is its essential quality in the Pauline doctrine, becomes superfluous. Again, although the Pauline baptism partook of the nature of a magical rite, operative through its own virtue, it is clear from verses 17 and 18 of chapter vi that the candidate, before he could secure the benefit of it, must have made a choice and an effort. Baptism symbolized burial and resurrection. But before burial with Christ there had also to be crucifixion with him—crucifixion

¹ See Titus, iii, 5 (λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας).

² Schweitzer, *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung*, pp. 143 *et seq.*, where the authorities are specified.

³ See Rom. vi, 3-11.

of the flesh and the lusts thereof. It is known that in some of the pre-Christian Gnostic sects candidates for admission were required to pass through a period of probation. Probably in the early days of the Pauline communities also a period of probation was stipulated, during which the candidates learnt to crucify the flesh and became "servants of righteousness." Then they were fit to receive, through union with Christ in baptism, the pneuma of God. The Clementine *Recognitions* gives evidence that a period of probation lasting three months was still required in the first half of the second century. Severe abstinence and self-restraint were enjoined. R2 has nothing to say about baptism. Naturally. For, granting that in his view the Holy Ghost descended upon the baptized person, the act of faith was the operative cause. With him the baptism could only be the *occasion* of the reception of the Spirit. With R1 the baptism itself, not the preliminary preparation, was the effective machinery. The two doctrines, therefore, are not supplementary to one another. They are independent and mutually exclusive. In neither is the death of Jesus regarded as an event by which, *ipso facto*, all sinners are redeemed. But the one is a mystical and spiritualistic doctrine, according to which the believer secures the benefit offered to him by identifying himself with Christ and by sharing in his death and resurrection, thus becoming a participator in his Spirit. The other is a more material one, according to which the benefit offered is to be secured, not by a spiritual union mystically conceived, but through the belief that the shed blood of Jesus was efficacious as a vicarious sacrifice.

All through the section, chapters vi to viii, the thought is Gnostic in its reiterated insistence upon the Spirit, the Pneuma, as the worker of righteousness, and its attribution of sin to the corruptible flesh. In chapter viii especially we find distinctive and unmistakable Gnostic doctrine and phraseology. Nothing is found in chapters iii to v which suggests Gnostic influence in the slightest degree. On the contrary, much of the doctrine there developed would have been violently repudiated by any Gnostic who held the opinions of R1; and a good deal of it would have been rejected even by a somewhat catholicized Gnostic. The fundamental difference in the doctrines of the two writers appears in the conception held by each of them with regard to the nature and conditions of heirship and sonship. According to R2, the heirship is derived from

Abraham, "the father of all them that believe" (iv, 11). The promise was to Abraham or to his seed, that he should be heir of the world through the righteousness of faith (iv, 13). The promise is to the seed which is of the faith of Abraham (iv, 16). There is nothing spiritual or mystical in this conception. The transaction is of the nature of a contract; in return for "faith" a man is made "heir to the world" as of the seed of Abraham through faith. According to R1, men become, not heirs of the world, but true sons of God through receiving a share of the spirit (the pneuma) of God, to be secured, not through faith or by a contract, but by a mystical union with Christ achieved through suffering with him (viii, 14-17). The relationship of spiritual man to God is thus conceived in a far more intimate way by the latter writer. As a man is related to his own father through the flesh, so may he be related to God through the spirit. Something which has come forth from God has entered into him when he has received the pneuma. Verse 16 makes this very clear. "The Spirit himself beareth witness with our Spirit that we are children of God." With R2 the relationship is much less intimate and more external. He therefore speaks of "heirship" only and not of "sonship." The Christian, he says, has become "reconciled" to God; he is of the seed of Abraham and heir to the world through "the righteousness of faith"; in his essential nature, however, he is still apart from God, reconciled, adopted, not mystically united. But for the Gnostic R1 the Christian is a joint-heir with the pneumatic Christ and a true spiritual son of God. The bond of union between Christ Jesus and the Christian is the common possession of the spirit which makes both him and them sons of God. R2, indeed, speaks of Jesus Christ as "the first of many brethren," but he is only that so far as he had become man, being of the seed of David according to the flesh.

Van Manen rightly observed that the use of the forms "Christ Jesus" and "Jesus Christ" is not arbitrary, but corresponds to definite Christological doctrine. Holsten made the same remark. He said that in the Pauline Epistles the form of the name is never indifferent; that the form "Christ Jesus" is an indication that in the view of the writer Christ was the pre-existent heavenly Messiah, Jesus his temporary human form, and that "the Lord Jesus" is the human Jesus. But he did not explain how in that case the same man could write "Christ Jesus" and "Jesus Christ" indiscriminately. Now,

R2 habitually uses the form "Jesus Christ." "Jesus Christ" occurs six times, "Christ Jesus" only once, in the three chapters iii to v. The isolated occurrence of this form in iii, 24, may reasonably be attributed to an early corruption of the text.¹ In chapters vi to viii the form is invariably "Christ Jesus," except in vii, 25, which is probably an interpolation, as will be shown later. As against this doubtful and isolated occurrence of the form "Jesus Christ," the other form occurs eight times in the three chapters. On these data the mathematical probability against the two sections having been written by the same man is enormous.

I assumed provisionally that chapters i, ii, vi-viii were written by the same man, R1. The assumption is logically justified by the Law of Parsimony, according to which we ought not to assume two writers if one will account for the facts. So far we have found nothing that would render the assumption improbable. The form "Christ Jesus" in i, 1, was shown to have MS. authority; the style in the two sections is the same and the doctrines accordant. Gnostic traits are found in both sections. The assumption will be confirmed by showing that a continuous train of reasoning runs from the one section into the other without a break more abrupt than one might expect to find between two sections of the same work. In order to bring out more clearly the Gnostic character of the doctrine, a brief sketch of the leading Gnostic ideas will be necessary.

4.—THE Gnostic EPISTLE

Gnostics derived their name from the Greek word *gnosis* (*γνώσις*), meaning "knowledge" or "divine wisdom," because they believed that the primary condition for the salvation of mankind was knowledge of the true God, and of his purpose. Through ignorance of the true God men had been led away into the falsehood of polytheism and the worship of idols. The first Gnostics were Jews who had come under the influence of Greek philosophical speculation. The belief among Jews that their nation had been especially chosen by God was transmuted among Jewish Gnostics into a conviction that the Jewish race was destined

¹ In one codex, ε 65 (von Soden), the reading is *τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, the redemption of Jesus Christ, a phrase which agrees better with the doctrine of R2, who hardly ever writes "in," but nearly always "through" or "by Jesus."

to bring to men knowledge of the true God. Hence the Gnostic propaganda of the first two centuries took the form of a crusade against idolatry and false gods. The Apologists of the second century were in a line of Christian thought which had a Gnostic origin. They employ the Gnostic term "Logos" for the Son of God ; and in accordance with Gnostic doctrine the Logos is conceived by them to have been sent by God to men to redeem them, not by dying as an expiatory sacrifice, but by revealing to them the true God. A large part of the writings of these Apologists consists of a vigorous attack upon idolatry.

Until men had come to a knowledge of God, the Gnostics believed that righteousness was impossible for them. Ignorance of God and false worship were the roots from which grew the evil passions of men.¹ The principal function of the Saviour in all the sects was to bring to men the knowledge of God ; and, however much the original simple idea had been elaborated in the Gnostic systems of the second century, the facts that the Logos is prominent in all of them, and that in the Apologies and in the fourth Gospel the Logos is identical with Christ, while Sophia, Achamoth, Wisdom, who is also considered to be the Holy Spirit, is closely connected with the Logos, may be held to prove that the Gnostic Christ was evolved from the Logos of the Wisdom Literature. The Logos is named Christ by Philo. A further opinion which separated Gnostics from Jews in general and afterwards from Catholic Christians was that matter is essentially corruptible, and that men can secure eternal life only through receiving a portion of the immortal Spirit, Pneuma, of God. According to some, the Pneuma was introduced into the material world by Achamoth, Sophia.² Others, however, taught that it could be obtained by mystical union with the Logos, Christ. They practised secret rites which, in imitation of the Greeks, they called their mysteries. It is probable that in these mysteries the death and resurrection of Christ were enacted, and by some symbolic act the worshipper achieved "union" with Christ, thus securing a share of the pneuma. The Christian could become progressively more

¹ This opinion is expressed in *The Wisdom of Solomon*, a book which contains the germs of Gnosticism ; xiv, 26 : "the worshipping of idols.....is the beginning and the cause and the end of all evil." See also W. B. Smith, *Ecce Deus*, pp. 45-75.

² The Valentinians separated Achamoth from Sophia as a separate Being.

“pneumatic,” until he was completely liberated from the lusts of the flesh.

In the Gnostic schemes of salvation the Christian is redeemed through the *gnosis* and by becoming a sharer in the Holy Spirit. To bring these within his reach was the redemptive work of Christ. There is no room in such a system for the redemptive blood of Christ, nor for a doctrine of justification by faith; and nothing of the kind could have been taught by a Gnostic. In the early Gnostic doctrine indeed, before the appearance of the Gospels, the death of Christ was not localized in place or time.¹ It was brought about directly or indirectly by evil supernatural beings. These were angels or archons who had created and ruled over the material world. According to Carpocrates, the world was made by inferior angels, and it was they who slew the visible form of Jesus.² In the system of Basilides the world was made by archons (archons of this *æon*) of whom Jahveh was the chief,³ and these were the enemies of the supreme God and his Christ. The teaching of the Gnostic Paul was similar; as we read in the First Epistle to the Corinthians ii, 7 and 8. “We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, which none of the Archons of this *æon*⁴ knew; for had they known it they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory.” The Valentinians termed the Devil Archon of this world; and Ignatius wrote, warning his readers against Satan: “Be not anointed with the foulness of the doctrine of the Archon of this *æon*.”⁵

The doctrine that the death of Jesus was an expiatory sacrifice was supported, by those who held it, with quotations from the Old Testament. Gnostics generally, however, rejected the Old Testament. Some Jewish Gnostics, while not rejecting it absolutely, interpreted it as allegory. It may be observed incidentally that in chapters iii to v of the Epistle under consideration quotations from the Old Testament abound, and the whole argument is based upon it. But in chapters i and ii there are only two slight references to the Old Testament—i, 17 and ii, 24; and it will be shown later that both of these verses are interpolations. Also in chapters vi to viii there is only one quotation from the Old Testament

¹ Evidence of this is found in the Odes of Solomon.

² Irenæus, *Contr. omn. haer.* I, xxv, 1. ³ *Ibid.* xxiv, 4.

⁴ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, translated in our versions “the princes of this world.”

⁵ *Ep. to the Ephesians*, xvii, 1.

—viii, 36. Such facts confirm the conclusion that these sections are the work of two different writers, and are consistent with the belief that one of them was a Gnostic. Marcion affirmed that Paul had broken with Judaism and with the Mosaic Law; for Tertullian, arguing against Marcion, says¹ “it is not probable that when he turned away from Judaism he would not have shown to which God he was transferring his allegiance.” It cannot be accidental that some sections of Romans abound in Old Testament quotations and references, while the extremely rare ones in other sections can be proved independently to be interpolations. And not only did Gnostics reject the Old Testament; they also rejected the Jahveh of that Testament, maintaining that the supreme good God was unknown before the coming of Christ. Jahveh, the Creator of the world, named by them *demiourgos* (demiurge), they held to be an inferior being whose dominion would some day be terminated. They held this Creator responsible for the evils and imperfections of the material world. We find this Gnostic doctrine stated in Romans viii, 20: “For the creation was subjected to vanity, not of its own will, but by reason of him who subjected it.”

We are now in a position to undertake the examination of chapters i, ii, vi, vii, and viii; and I would beg of the reader to keep carefully in mind the points of Gnostic doctrine to which I have drawn his attention. The gospel, the writer says, is the power of God unto salvation (because it is the revelation of God²). God might have been known to men previously, but their heart was darkened. They lost the knowledge of the true God and turned to idols. Idolatry and false worship are the source of all kinds of wickedness. The Jew believes that he knows God, and that he has in the law the form of knowledge and of the truth.³ These, however, are to be found in the spirit not in the letter of the law, and the Jew who fulfils the law according to the spirit of it will be justified (ii, 13, 27–29). But the law speaks to those who are under the law. The Christian, on the other hand, no longer needs the law, because, through union with Christ Jesus, he has died to sin (vi, 2–6). He was buried symbolically with Christ in baptism and rose a new creature; his old man was crucified with Christ that he might be no longer in

¹ *Adv. Marc.* v, 1.

² He is, of course, not referring to a written Gospel.

³ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, a Gnostic phrase.

bondage to the sinful flesh. So that from being a servant of sin he has become a servant of righteousness. He has been discharged from the law, as a wife is no longer bound to a husband that is dead. And as the wife may be joined to another husband, so the Christian has become joined to Christ. He has thus become spiritual instead of carnal (viii, 1-9). Flesh is corruptible from the conditions of its creation. Eternal life can be secured only through mortification of the body by the spirit (viii, 20, 21, 13). And whereas there was no power inherent in the law to get itself obeyed, it being weak through the flesh, the Spirit of God dwelling in the Christian makes the fulfilment of the spirit of the law natural to him (verses 5 and 9). The Christian, by receiving the pneuma through union with Christ Jesus, has become a son of God. He may then reject the law, because sin has become impossible for him. True Christians are the first-fruits of the Spirit. In time, the whole creation, which was subjected to evil by the creator (the demiurge) and has been groaning in pain until now, will also receive the spirit, and then will come the glorious day when those who have received the spirit will be revealed as the sons of God.¹

Thus we have a continuous and closely connected train of reasoning running through the five chapters i, ii, vi, vii, and viii. This train of reasoning is completely broken by the involved argument contained in chapters iii to v, markedly different in style, and advocating dogmas which are quite incompatible with the ideas set forth in the other five chapters. The thought which has inspired these five chapters is obviously Gnostic, and it is impossible to doubt that, apart from certain interpolated sections, they were all written by the same man. Unmistakable Gnostic doctrine which has not previously been referred to is found in viii, 3: "God sending his own Son in the *likeness* of flesh." This is docetism, for it implies that Jesus was not a man of flesh, but only appeared to be so.²

Some particular reasons were given in Section 3 for the belief that chapters iii to v were not written by the man who wrote chapters i, ii, vi, vii, and viii; we now have the more general but even more convincing reason, that it is utterly

¹ The passage in which this statement occurs (Romans viii, 21 and 22) was quoted by the Gnostic Basilides as Gnostic doctrine.

² The Greek word, *ὁμοίωσις*, *similitude*, could not have been used by a writer who believed that the body of Jesus was really flesh.

impossible for chapters iii to v to have been written by a Gnostic. There are, however, people who will be so extremely unwilling to accept the conclusion here reached that, even at the risk of being tedious, the argument cannot be made too convincing. I will, therefore, draw attention to a few more incompatibilities which have not been specially referred to. Incompatibility not of doctrine only; for the contrast is not merely in the opinions expressed, but also in the character of the reasoning, which exhibits a difference of mentality so great that any one who is not dull may perceive it if he will. The reasoning of R1 on the subject of the law has been sketched; it is consistent and logical, entirely free from subtlety and paradox. From R2, on the contrary, we get apparently the most contradictory statements. "The law," he says, "worketh wrath";¹ and yet "the law is holy and righteous."² "The law came in that the trespass might abound,"³ "and a righteousness of God hath been manifested apart from the law"⁴ and yet it was "witnessed *by* the law."⁴ The main theme of this section is that "the law" has been superseded by "faith," and yet the writer says "we establish the law."⁵ Whoever, after studying the argument of R1, can believe that he gave utterance to these paradoxes must think that any character of reasoning and any sort of opinion can issue indiscriminately from any sort of mind. R1 can as little have said that the law is holy as he can have said that it worketh wrath. And his mind was too clear and direct to have originated such paradoxes. His position is unambiguous; the law was a makeshift until the coming of Christ. It contains, not the true and complete gnosis, but a form of it,⁶ and, so far from establishing it, the advent of Christ has made the Christian dead to it.⁷ The law was weak, but not the active cause of evil. It is not the best thing that men can have; nevertheless it is positively good in itself, quite apart from faith in Christ, because even a Jew who acts according to the spirit of the law will be justified.⁸ R1 has rejected the Old Testament. R2, who believes that the law was given by God to Moses, must accept the necessary corollary that it is holy and spiritual, and that in Jesus the

¹ iv, 15.

² vii, 12. It will be proved later that the section in which this verse occurs was written by R2.

³ v, 20.

⁴ iii, 21.

⁵ iii, 31.

⁶ ii, 21.

⁷ vii, 4.

⁸ *Justified* does not mean, however, that the ultimate felicity of the Jew will be equal to that of the Christian.

ethical commandment is established. He reconciles the holiness of the law with its pernicious influence apart from Jesus by the ingenious argument that the holy law was deliberately designed to be the cause of sin in order that God might have the opportunity of showing (vicariously) his mercy and "grace" by offering up his own son as a sacrifice through which the sin caused by the holy law might be redeemed.¹ God is good and righteous, and yet he desired that his own righteousness and truth should be enhanced by contrast with the lies and the unrighteousness of men,² and he introduced in the law the occasion of sinning that he might exhibit his arbitrary power in forgiving whom he would, and his wrath in condemning whom he would. Man is merely clay, God is the potter.³ Any one who can believe that these shocking paradoxes issued from the mind of the man who wrote chapters i, ii, and viii is, I am afraid, beyond the reach of any argument of mine.

A man who declared that works are nothing and faith everything obviously brought himself logically into a very difficult position. From such a principle would naturally be drawn the conclusion which certain Gnostics did draw from a similar one—viz., that every kind of conduct is permissible to the spiritual man. It was necessary to maintain at one and the same time that the law was the cause of evil and yet had been given by God, and so was both mischievous and holy. R2 did not endeavour to get over the difficulty in the manner in which some modern theologians have tried to help him out of it, by defining "works" as the ritual ordinances of the law merely. R2 himself never makes the distinction between the law as a body of ritual ordinances and the law as an ethical commandment. He says plainly: "I had not known sin except through the law; for I had not known coveting except the law had said 'Thou shalt not covet.'" Hence by law he means the ethical no less than the ceremonial law. When, therefore, from his affirmation that a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the law the natural conclusion was drawn, as no doubt by some it was drawn,⁴ he had to resort to paradox in order to maintain that the law had been superseded and yet established; that it was

¹ v, 20, 21.

² iii, 5 to 7. The verb *συλλογησι*, in verse 5, translated in our versions *commendeth*, should perhaps be translated "exhibits."

³ ix, 15, 21-23.

⁴ See 1 Cor. vi, 12.

the cause of wickedness and yet holy. For he did not merely say that the law taught man the difference between right and wrong, but that it incited men to sin.¹ R1, on the contrary, says definitely that the law has been superseded absolutely, not because it was the cause of evil, but because it was inefficient.

R2 (v, 12) says that sin entered the world through one man, and death through sin; which, of course, is Catholic doctrine. And it cannot be reconciled with the Gnostic doctrine of R1 (viii, 20), that the creation was subjected to vanity, not of its own will, but through him who subjected it. No one, I hope, will venture to assert that the temptation of Eve by the serpent is described in those terms. They indicate that he who subjected the creation to vanity was some being who had absolute power over it. The same idea is implied in the phrase, "bondage of corruption," in the next verse. That phrase also involves the Gnostic view that matter is corruptible through its very nature and origin, in contradiction to the Catholic doctrine expressed by R2 that death and corruption were introduced into the world by the sin of Adam. The bondage of corruption was imposed upon the creation by him who subjected it to vanity, and that can be none other than its creator, Demiourgos. The writer cannot have meant to say that the creation was subjected to vanity by Satan, whose power is limited, and who can hurt none but those who allow themselves to be beguiled by him, and bring none into subjection who choose to maintain their freedom. An evil angel of limited authority such as this could not be said to have subjected the creation to vanity. The writer evidently regards the subjection as having existed from the moment of the creation, and therefore he who subjected must in his view have been the creator. Independent evidence was given before that such was, in fact, the opinion of Paul.

R2 not only declares that no man can be justified by works; he even goes so far as to say that the evil-doer can be justified by faith in Jesus Christ, in whose blood all his sins are washed away. That thought runs through the argument of chapters iii to v, and is plainly expressed in iv, 5. "To him that worketh not [sc. righteousness], but believeth on him that *justifieth the ungodly*, his faith is reckoned for righteousness."

¹ vii, 8-11. It will be shown later that the section in which these verses occur was written by R2.

No candid person could refuse assent to the judgment that the man who held such an opinion as the one just quoted cannot have written the declaration that God will render to every man according to his works.

The difference between the dogmatic positions of the two writers is illustrated by the consistent use by one of them (R2) of the expression "*through* Jesus Christ,"¹ while the other always writes *in* or *with* Christ Jesus.² There is not a single instance of the use of the first of these expressions by R1; nor of the second by R2, without some qualifying word which gives to the preposition *in* a different significance. For R2 the death of Jesus Christ is an agency extraneous to the Christian, *through* which he secures redemption. For the Gnostic R1, the Christian is redeemed by being *in* Christ, or becoming united *with* him. R1 indeed, perhaps, wrote, vii, 4, "through the body of Christ."³ But the signification of the preposition "through" is explained in the second half of the verse. The Christian is made dead to the law through the body of Christ, by union with Christ; he is not said to be redeemed through the sacrifice of the body of Christ. The stress is laid rather upon the resurrection than the death of Christ. In iii, 22 and 24, again, we find R2 making use of the phrases "faith in Jesus Christ" and "the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." But in both these passages the use of the preposition "in" is clearly quite in accordance with the writer's doctrine of redemption.

A further difference in the practice of the two writers with regard to these names is that R1 never uses the name "Jesus" alone⁴; R2 does so twice. On the other hand, whereas R2 writes the name "Christ" alone twice only, R1 does so no less than seven times. It may be observed also that the practice of R1 is not to place the definite article before the name *Χριστός*.⁵ The article is found before the name only once of the seven times that the name occurs in viii, 9; and the originality of this verse may be suspected on other grounds.

If the mass of evidence which has now been set forth is carefully reviewed, it must be found amply sufficient to estab-

¹ v, 1, 11, 17, 21.

² vi, 3, 11, 23; viii, 1, 17, 39.

³ It is, however, not certain that these words are original.

⁴ A possible exception is viii, 11, but the originality of that verse is very doubtful.

⁵ He probably wished to make it clear that he did not use the term "Christos" to signify the Jewish Messiah, but as a proper name.

lish the conclusion. The writer of chapters iii to v cannot have written the other five chapters.

Having proved that the five chapters written by R1 constitute a Gnostic document, it is legitimate to make use of that fact in order to recognize interpolations in it which may be seen to be such by incompatibility of doctrine. I shall not be satisfied with that test alone, however, but shall seek confirmation in additional indications.

It has been mentioned that some, and especially docetic, Gnostic writers were not in the habit of quoting from the Old Testament. We find accordingly that there are only two slight references to the Old Testament in chapters i and ii. The writer then avoided the Old Testament. Coupling this fact with the known rejection of the Old Testament by Gnostics, we are naturally led to suspect the genuineness of the two verses, i, 17, and ii, 24. Let us, therefore, scrutinize them. Verse 16 contains the writer's reason for not being ashamed of the Gospel. Verse 17 again gives a reason for the same thing, just as if the reason had not previously been given; it thus appears to be redundant. The conjunction "for" occurring four times in verses 16-18 must increase our suspicion, since the style of this writer is uniformly good. The phrase "righteousness of God" is a favourite one with R2; it occurs four times in chapter iii, but is found nowhere in the chapters written by R1 except in this verse. Moreover R2 is also fond of connecting "righteousness" with "faith." For example, in iii, 22, we find "the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ"; and in iv, 13, "the righteousness of faith." Except in this verse no connection of righteousness with faith is found in the chapters written by R1. The statement that the "righteous shall live by faith" is also foreign to his thought. In the Gnostic view the Gospel was the power of God because it was the revelation of a God previously unknown. The statement that it reveals a righteousness of God involves an inconsistent idea. The idea involved in it is worked out at length by R2 in chapter iii, but there is no trace of it in the five Gnostic chapters. Nor does the word "faith" occur elsewhere in those chapters, but in this verse alone it occurs three times. Again, verse 17 begins with the words, "For therein is revealed," and verse 18 begins with the words, "For the wrath of God is revealed." Such repetition of the word "revealed" is most unlikely in a writer whose style is so uniformly good as that of R1. We

have thus found at least seven reasons for believing that verse 17 is an interpolation ; and the cumulative effect of seven reasons all pointing to the same conclusion is increased in geometrical rather than in arithmetrical progression. The verse must not only be rejected, but there are good grounds for believing that the interpolation was made by the other writer. The statement in this verse, that a righteousness of God is revealed, is actually repeated by R2 in iii, 21, where he says " a righteousness of God hath been manifested." A Gnostic writer would not have made such a statement ; for the Gnostic belief was that God himself, not merely his righteousness, was revealed in the Logos, Christ Jesus. The view of R2 is quite different from this. At least he nowhere says, or implies, that God manifested himself in his Son. He says that God manifested his righteousness by setting forth his Son to be a propitiation (iii, 25).

It having been found that one of the two verses containing a reference to the Old Testament is an interpolation, the probability that the other is so too is very greatly increased. Now, ii, 24, is obviously intended as a gloss upon verse 23, but it actually introduces an incongruous idea. When the writer says that the transgressor of the law dishonours God, he clearly means that he does so himself directly by his own act of disobedience, not indirectly by bringing God into bad repute with other men. An additional and different reason might of course have been given in the following verse, but that such was the intention of the writer is negated by the conjunction " for " with which it begins. Verse 25 also begins with the word " for," indicating that that verse contains an explanation of what has immediately preceded it. Obviously, however, verse 25 gives no explanation of verse 24 ; it has not the slightest connection with it. It can refer only to verse 23 and the preceding verses. The three verses, 23, 24, and 25, cannot have been written consecutively by the same writer ; and verse 24 must be an interpolation.¹ It is probably a gloss. It may be an echo of a passage in the *Second Epistle of Clement*, § 13, where the idea is more fully developed. If so, the interpolation is very late.

In i, 18, we read in the accepted text, ἀποκαλύπτεται γὰρ ὀργὴ θεοῦ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, of which the natural translation would be, " for a wrath of God is revealed from heaven." The ex-

¹ It was rejected by C. H. Weisse.

pression "a wrath of God," or simply "wrath" without the article, is strange, and the translators of our versions have inserted the definite article before "wrath." The expression is not impossible, but it may be suspected. A very early interpolation making its way by the collation of MSS. might have become almost the universal reading by the date of our earliest codices; so that, even if the word "God" were found wanting in a single surviving MS., the evidence of that MS. would not properly be estimated according to its comparative importance, its date, and its isolation. The word Θεοῦ is in fact missing from this verse in the eleventh century Codex No. 47.¹ But there is also evidence from the second century to the same effect, since Tertullian quotes the verse with the same omission.² Consequently there is some reason to think that the original text ran: "for wrath from heaven is revealed against all ungodliness." A motive for the interpolation can easily be conjectured. Marcion taught that the supreme God is incapable of wrath, and that the wicked will be punished by the Creator, Demiourgos. A Catholic editor has probably inserted the word "God" here in order that Marcion—or, which is perhaps even more likely, earlier Gnostics who held the same opinion—might be confuted by a statement of his own apostle. A very important question—one, however, which is not easy to answer—is: Did R1 hold the same opinion as Marcion afterwards held, and did he on that account deliberately refrain from using the expression "wrath of God"?

There has been obvious tampering with the text between verses 23 and 26. C. H. Weisse, who had a natural feeling for style, rejected verses 26 and 27. But that does not seem an entirely satisfactory amendment. In the text as it stands the writer is made to say in effect: 23, men left the true God to worship idols; 24, wherefore God gave them up to uncleanness; 25, because they had left the true God to worship the creature. Obviously either 23 or 25 is redundant. Verse 26b appears to be the natural continuation of 24. The latter states that men dishonoured their bodies; 26 specifies the nature of the dishonour. If 25 has been interpolated, the interpolator would necessarily have to write a short phrase such as 26a, "For this cause God gave them up to vile passions," in order to restore the broken sequence. R1, whose style is good, cannot have written: 24. "Wherefore God

¹ O^π108 (von Soden).

² *Adv. Marc.* v, 13.

gave them up to the lusts of their hearts"; 26. "For this cause God gave them up to vile passions." It is possible to determine with practical certainty which of the two verses he wrote; for in verse 24 we have a consequence expressed by *τοῦ* with the infinitive mood, *τοῦ ἀρτιμάζεσθαι*. That construction is found three times elsewhere in this Epistle¹—in each case in a section written by R1. A motive for the interpolation of verse 25 is discoverable. We have seen that the Gnostic writer R1 distinguished between God and the Creator. Readers of the writer's own period were under no misapprehension with regard to this matter. Perception of his meaning was evidently the occasion of the interpolation. Certainly the purpose of verse 25 cannot have been to state over again the reason which had been already given in verse 23. The object of that otherwise superfluous reintroduction of matter already there was to lead up to the statement, "served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever, Amen," in order that, against the previous writer, the identity of God and the Creator might be solemnly affirmed. Dr. Raschke is no doubt right in his opinion that these verses were inserted by the writer of chapters ix to xi. He draws attention to the similarity of the two phrases, "the Creator who is blessed for ever, Amen," and "God blessed for ever, Amen" (ix, 5).

The fact having been established that R1 distinguished between God and the Creator, it follows that any words in the Epistle of R1 which imply the identity of God and the Creator cannot be original. On that ground we must reject the second half of verse 20 in chapter i, "being perceived through the things that are made, even his everlasting power and divinity." These words were inserted for the same reason as verses 24 and 25—viz., in order that, by asserting that the power and divinity of the Creator can be perceived through the things of his creation, God and the Creator might be identified. For in this verse the original writer had said just the contrary. The word translated "perceived" (*νοούμενα*), usually implies perception by the mind as distinguished from seeing with the eyes. R1 wrote *νοούμενα καθορᾶται*, qualifying the second word by the first, so as to affirm that the invisible things of God are seen (*καθορᾶται*), not, of course, by the

¹ vi, 6; vii, 3; viii, 12. Since the construction occurs three times in three consecutive chapters, it was obviously a favourite one with the writer. But except in chapter i it occurs nowhere else in the Epistle.

eyes, since they are invisible, but as *νοούμενα*—that is to say, by a mental process, or rather by some mystical action of the divine power upon the mind. This interpretation is required by the words in verse 19, “that which may be known of God is manifest *in* them.” Manifest *in* them means, of course, “in their minds.” God manifested it to them, not through the external creation, but *in* their own minds. The words “neither gave thanks” in verse 21 are evidently open to a similar objection and were added by the interpolator. Even apart from all consideration of Gnostic doctrine the words are alien to the thought which runs through verses 21 to 23, and strike a false note. Holsten¹ observed that God as pure Spirit is invisible to man and must therefore in some way reveal himself. The revelation, he says, is conceived by Paul as effected through the Spirit which man shares with God. The movements of the Spirit of God are imparted to the divine Spirit in man. That view is purely Hellenistic, and it is significant that Holsten supports his statement by verses from Gnostic sections only.² But the view that God can be known in no other way than mystically by communion of the divine Spirit in God and man is opposed to the statement that God could be known through physical perception of external objects. Holsten himself noted the difference between the two views without attempting to explain it. Moreover, the words in question are revealed as intrusive by the grammatical harshness which they introduce, and which has been softened down in the English translation. The verb translated “gave thanks” (*ἠχαρίστησαν*) requires the dative case, but God (*Θεόν*) is in the accusative as object of *ἠδόξασαν*, *glorified*. The verb “gave thanks” has thus no object of its own. Also the literal translation of the Greek is “glorified him not as God *or* (*ἢ*) gave thanks,” where *οὐδὲ* (*nor*) would be expected. The words stand out like a patch upon a garment; and since they are thus proved, independently of doctrine, to have been interpolated, it is legitimate to infer that they were introduced with a doctrinal motive—viz., to contradict the Gnostic implication of the two Gods.

The list of sins and vices in verses 29 to 31 has been rejected by several of the ablest commentators, including van Manen and C. H. Weisse. It must, to say the least, be regarded with extreme suspicion. The transition from

¹ *Das Ev. des Paulus*, Part ii, p. 23. ² 1 Cor. ii, 6-11, Gal. iv, 6, Rom. viii, 11.

verse 32 of chapter i to verse 1 of chapter ii is very abrupt, although the conjunction "wherefore" with which verse 1 begins requires some fairly close connection. The preceding verses can hardly be said to give a reason for the statement in that verse. But the case is not improved even when verses 29 to 32 of chapter i are omitted. The harshness of the transition has been recognized by critics who have endeavoured, not very satisfactorily, to explain it. It is not impossible, of course, but very unlikely, that a writer whose style was good and reasoning clear and methodical should have passed with so considerable a jolt from one section to another. Dr. Raschke has argued very impressively that the whole of chapter ii is by a different hand from chapter i. He may be right. Nevertheless, as I have already shown, some considerable portion at any rate of chapter ii seems to be required as a bridge between chapters i and vi, and it leads so naturally up to the latter that I find it difficult to reject the whole of it. An adequate explanation would be that verses 1 to 16 of chapter ii have been interpolated. The remaining portion of the chapter would be sufficient as a link between chapters i and vi. And there are grounds for suspecting the first 16 verses which do not apply to the remainder. The question could be decisively settled if we knew whether R1 omitted the word God in i, 18, intentionally through unwillingness to attribute wrath to God; for then, it is clear, the same writer cannot have written ii, 3, 5, and 9, which threaten evil-doers with the wrath and righteous judgment of God. Dr. Raschke has inferred¹ from three notices by Epiphanius quoting verses 12, 20, and 25, that the whole of chapter ii was missing in Marcion's copy of the Epistle. It is certain that Marcion would not have subscribed to the doctrine of this chapter, and he might on that account have cut it out. We have, of course, no right to suppose that the opinions of the Gnostic writer of Romans coincided precisely with those of a man who wrote about eighty years subsequently, however closely they may have agreed in certain fundamental points. So far as a last judgment is concerned, there is some reason to infer that R1 cannot have believed in it. In chapters vi, vii, and viii there is an exposition of the view that the Christian is assured of immortality, having received the immortal spirit (pneuma) through union with Christ. The natural

¹ *Der Römerbrief des Marcions nach Epiphanius*, pub. by die Bremer Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft. Dec., 1926.

man is by his nature mortal. There is no need for a judgment. Pneuma must necessarily return to the heaven from whence it came. That was the Gnostic position generally. Bliss and eternal life must be the lot of the pneumatic man, corruption and death the inevitable end of the flesh. As will be shown hereafter, there are in First and Second Corinthians Pauline Gnostic sections, though probably not written by R1. In them the same doctrine is found. In chapter xv of First Corinthians, a chapter on the resurrection of the dead, there is no mention of a last judgment, even in the eschatological section. In verses 44 and 49 we read that the Christian will be raised a spiritual body and bear the image of the heavenly. It is implied that the unspiritual cannot be raised at all. For the one there is life; for the other, eternal death, or eternal abode in Hades. In Second Corinthians v, 1 to 4, the teaching is essentially the same. The Christian has in the heavens an eternal spiritual habitation. In this doctrine the ultimate fate of men is determined by their own nature; a judgment is excluded, and in the Gnostic sections there is no hint of one. The section Romans ii, 1-16 may, therefore, be regarded with a certain amount of suspicion; although the style is similar to that of R1, and the section was certainly not written by R2. On the other hand, the partial approbation of the law, considered, of course, as a body of ethical commandments, may have been expressed by the Gnostic writer. For the writer of Galatians iii, 23-27, who was thoroughly imbued with the Pauline spirit and undoubtedly based his doctrine upon the Gnostic sections of the Epistle to the Romans, expressed a similar view. The law, he wrote (verse 24), was a conductor to bring us to Christ; he therefore ascribed to it a limited utility and virtue. Verse 17 would quite naturally follow chapter i. For that chapter obviously deals with Gentiles. It is very unlikely that the writer would have had nothing to say to Jews. A part, if not the whole, of chapter ii seems requisite for the logical and comprehensive treatment of the subject in hand. After discussing the condition of the Gentiles, the writer may quite properly have opened the question of the position of the Jews with the words: "But if thou bearest the name of a Jew."

Chapter ii, 10, must in any case be rejected.¹ In the

¹ C. H. Weiss rejected both 9 and 10.

previous verses the writer has said that God will render to every man according to his works—eternal life to those who seek glory and honour and incorruption; wrath and indignation to the unrighteous, both Jew and Greek. Then verse 10 goes on: “*but* glory and honour to every man that worketh good”; as though the good man had not previously been mentioned. The repetition of the words “glory” and “honour,” which had already been used in verse 7, is an indication that the two verses did not come from the same pen. Besides which, having said in verse 7 that the good will receive eternal life, it would be an anti-climax to say again in verse 10 that the good will receive glory and honour and peace. The style of the writer is too good for us to suppose that he can have written verse 10 after having written verses 7 to 9. The repetition of the words “to the Jew first and also to the Greek” is also highly suspicious. The interpolator had to repeat them on account of the words, “for there is no respect of persons with God,” which follow in verse 11.

Chapter ii, verse 16, also must be condemned on several grounds.¹ In the preceding verse the writer has said that the Gentiles show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness, accusing or excusing them. The reader will remember that this is a portion of the argument of the section to the effect that conscience is to the Gentile what the law is to the Jew. Hence the whole point of the argument is that the conscience of the Gentile bears its witness here and now. To add immediately, as is done in verse 16, that the accusing and excusing by conscience occurs in the day of judgment is perfectly absurd and contrary to the whole tenour of the reasoning. The original writer can never have written anything so futile. The dislocation of thought is so violent and the reference to the day of judgment so entirely inconsistent with the foregoing argument that one may suspect the interpolation to have been made just for the purpose of getting in the affirmation of a last judgment, especially as the statement is so expressly attested by the words “according to my gospel.” The purpose, in fact, seems to be the dogmatic one of contradicting some one who had taught something that was not “according to my gospel.” We are thus led to the inference that the interpolator knew that R1 did not believe in a last judgment. It

¹ It was rejected by C. H. Weiss.

is, however, possible that his object was to affirm a judgment by Jesus Christ, the writer of the section having said that it was God himself who would judge. Steck has argued¹ that the words "my gospel" in this verse refer to a written Gospel. If that were so the verse would be proved to be late. And it may be so. But when Steck asserts that an early Christian writer could have no occasion to say that God would judge by Jesus Christ according to *my* gospel, because that was the universal teaching of the early Church, he is in error. In verse 5 the writer speaks of the righteous judgment of God, with no mention of Christ; and the omission is probably not accidental. It has been shown that an early Gnostic view, probably shared by R1, was that there would be no last judgment at all. Steck again supports his opinion by reference to Second Timothy ii, 8, "Jesus Christ.....from the seed of David, according to my gospel," asserting in this case also that Paul could hardly have occasion to preach a fact which was universally known. That is a similar misconception. The Gnostic R1 certainly preached no such thing, but not because it was universally known; his Christ Jesus was an entirely divine being with no human parents; and if his doctrine is not Pauline there is no Pauline doctrine in the Epistles. But the fact that Steck's assertions are not well founded does not invalidate the argument that one or both of the passages quoted may refer to a written Gospel. Steck is on firmer ground when he argues² that Second Corinthians viii, 18, "the brother whose praise in the gospel is spread through all the Churches," is a reference to Luke and his Gospel. It will be shown hereafter that that chapter of Second Corinthians is very late. With regard to Romans ii, 16, it is finally to be observed that the verse contains the form "Jesus Christ," which, as before stated, occurs in the Gnostic Epistle only in this and one other verse, as against the occurrence of "Christ Jesus" eight times. Since it has now been shown on other grounds that ii, 16, is an interpolation, the appearance of the form "Jesus Christ" in it is an additional reason for its rejection.

5.—THE GNOTIC SECTIONS: THE EARLIER

We now have to consider the question: Which of the two writers R1 and R2 was the earlier? Theological commenta-

¹ *Der Galaterbrief*, pp. 196-200.

² *Ibid.* p. 200.

tors have been greatly misled by the prevalent opinion that there was no Christian Gnosticism in existence until early in the second century. I have shown elsewhere,¹ however, that Christian Gnosticism was a natural development from pre-Christian Jewish Gnosticism, and that early in the first century there were Gnostic communities which could properly be called Christian, in that they had applied the term "Christos" to the Logos. All the best information that we possess with regard to Pauline Christianity points to its having been of a Gnostic character. Now, since the Epistle as a whole has been referred to Paul, to whom it is ascribed in the opening address, it seems likely that the original Epistle was Pauline. And the opening address appears to be the original address of the Epistle of R1—that is to say, of the Gnostic Epistle. From which it would be inferred that the sections written by R1 formed the original Epistle.

More direct and more conclusive evidence can, however, be found in the Epistle itself. It is pretty clear that chapter iii was written as a continuation of chapter ii, so that the writer of chapter iii must have had chapter ii before him. In chapter vi, verse 2, we read: "We who died to sin, how shall we any longer live therein?" These words are in conformity with the thought that follows—namely, that the Christian dies to sin by dying with Christ. That thought is quite foreign to R2. It has been shown in the previous Section to belong to the Gnostic Epistle. VI, 2, was therefore written by R1. It has also been shown that the train of reasoning runs continuously from the latter part of chapter ii into chapter vi, and that the thread is broken by the intervening chapters. The early part of chapter vi treats of sin and death. In the latter part of chapter v there is also a good deal about sin and death, but the relation between them is conceived quite differently, and in a manner altogether irrelevant to the argument of R1. The thought in chapter v is that sin brought death into the world. It thus looks very much as though the topic of sin and death had been suggested to R2 by the discussion of a similar topic in chapter vi. And the words "sin" and "death" in v, 21, appear to be intended to lead up to the following section, which also speaks of sin and death; but the agreement is only in the sound of the words, not in the sense of the verses. Verse 1 of chapter vi also introduces the word

¹ *The Evolution of Christianity*, chapter iii.

“sin,” so as to serve as a transition to verse 2, which contains the same word. But the reader will easily be able to see that the thought in verse 1 is the thought of R2, and that the verse is intimately connected with the latter part of chapter v; whereas the thought in verse 2 is the thought of R1 and has its connection with what follows. Between the two verses is the exclamation “God forbid” (*μη γένοιτο*), which I have termed the sign-manual of R2, and which *never* occurs in any portion of the Epistle which can be shown to be indisputably the work of R1. We thus have evidence that R2 concluded his section in such a manner as to lead up to the opening of the next section, and so conceal the juncture. It is skilfully done; nevertheless, the juncture can be detected. The inference, of course, is that R2 was incorporating his own work into a previously existing Epistle. He seems to have broken the earlier Epistle into two sections, and, apparently with the omission of some words from that Epistle, inserted chapters iii, iv, v, and vi, 1, between the two sections.

Early editors, while freely manipulating and interpolating a document, seem to have been reluctant to suppress any part of it, and there is some reason to think that R2 absorbed into his section the verse which originally connected the two portions of R1. This matter is not one upon which a confident opinion can be expressed; but I suspect that verse 19a of chapter iii formed the connecting link. The passage is irrelevant in its context, and has no logical connection with what precedes or follows. If this verse be written between the two portions of the earlier Epistle, it will be found to supply a natural transition. The writer in the latter part of the first portion has argued that circumcision profiteth if a man is a doer of the law, and that a Jew will be justified if he acts according to the spirit of the law. He continues (in the above-mentioned verse): “Now we know that what things soever the law saith, it speaketh to them that are under the law.” “But we who died to sin,” he adds in vi, 2, “how shall we any longer live therein?” The writer then proceeds to argue that the Christian has died to sin and become free from the law by dying with Christ. It is thus seen that the thought flows quite continuously through the substituted verse from the closing verses of chapter ii to verse 2 of chapter vi.

We have a still more conclusive proof that R2 wrote later than R1 in the fact that the latter writer has been interpolated by the former; a fact which we will now proceed to show.

To guide us in this investigation we have the important results which have already been established :—That the doctrine of R1 is Gnostic ; that the leading doctrines of R2 as set forth in chapters iii to v are that justification is by faith in the redeeming blood of Jesus, who died as an expiatory sacrifice ; that the opportunity of securing redemption is given by the *grace* of God, and that works are of no value, in order that the grace of God in the remission of sin following the faith of the sinner might be abundantly manifested. These doctrines of R2 are so incompatible with those of R1 that they cannot possibly have been adopted by him in addition to his own. That fact has already been made sufficiently clear. We have also noted a difference of style ; that of R2 being particularly distinguishable by its antithetical and strained reasoning and by certain favourite expressions.

Now, in chapter vi, verse 15, we come upon the phrases "What then?" and "God forbid" (*μη γένοιτο*) which at once suggest the hand of R2. Is it possible that R1 has here happened to make use of the same phrases? Not impossible, certainly. But we also observe in the same verse, and in verse 14, another mark of R2, the antithesis of "law" and "grace." The coincidence raises the probability that the verses were written by R2 to a very high value, especially as the antithesis of "law" and "grace" is quite alien to the doctrine of R1. The question is finally settled beyond all possibility of doubt when we omit verses 14 and 15 and read consecutively verses 13 and 16. The substance of the latter two verses is : 13, Present not your members unto sin, but present yourselves unto God, and your members as instruments of righteousness ; 16, Know ye not that to whom ye present yourselves his servants ye are, whether of sin unto death or of obedience unto righteousness. The immediate logical connection of these two verses is plain, and the interposed verses not only break the continuity of the thought, but introduce a discordant idea.¹

Notice now that, apart from any other reason, the two verses are suspicious on account of the breach of continuity in the train of reasoning which they produce. When in addition we find in them a peculiarity of style and a special doctrine, neither of which is found elsewhere in this chapter, nor in chapters i and ii, while both of them are prominent features of chapters iii to v, we are more than ever entitled to

¹ C. H. Weiss rejected verses 14 and 15.

believe that we are dealing with the work of two different men, and to regard with even greater confidence than before these two features as evidence of the hand of R2.

Chapter vii as far as verse 6 is an integral part of the Gnostic Epistle,¹ as may be seen by referring to the summary of it given in Section 4. From verse 7 to the end of the chapter we are in a different order of ideas; and if we have thoroughly familiarized ourselves with the thought and the style of composition and argument characteristic of R2, we cannot fail to be impressed with the belief that the whole passage from verse 7 to verse 25 came from the pen of that writer. Can any one believe that a man, after writing more than three chapters in a liquid and dignified style, would suddenly write a long passage in a style markedly different? Note the vigour of the language and the strained ingenuity of the reasoning. Note the antithesis, "the commandment, which was unto life, this I found to be unto death" (vii, 10). Compare that verse with v, 10: "If, while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the *death* of his Son, much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved by his *life*." Note particularly the antithetical argument of vii, 13, and the repetition of the word "sin," which is quite characteristic of R2. "But sin, that it might be shown to be sin, by working death to me through that which is good; that through the commandment sin might become exceedingly sinful." This style of reasoning is quite foreign to the straightforward method of R1, who never indulges in a quibble or an ingenious antithetical argument of this kind. Observe, again, the awkwardness of the grammatical construction; there is no principal verb in the sentence to which the noun "sin" in the first line may be the subject. Note further the phrases which R2 employs so frequently. In verse 7: "What shall we say then?" and "God forbid" (*μὴ γένοιτο*). In verse 13: "God forbid" again. So far we have found these phrases nowhere in the Epistle except in chapters iii to v and in a verse which on other grounds had to be judged an interpolation in the Epistle of R1.

Now let us again apply the test of omitting the passage and reading consecutively vii, 6, and the first three verses of chapter viii. The word "therefore" in chapter viii, verse 1, indicates a logical conclusion from the reasoning which

¹ As will appear later, this statement is subject to a certain qualification.

immediately precedes. There is an evident logical connection between the verses viii, 1 to 3, and vii, 4, 5, and 6. In the latter verses the writer has argued that the Christian is dead to the law through the body of Christ. He has been discharged from the law, so that he serves in newness of spirit. Therefore, he goes on in chapter viii, 1 and 3, there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, since God, by sending his own Son, has offered to men the pneuma, the spirit, as a substitute for the law, which is weak. But there is no logical connection between viii, 1 and 2, and the last part of chapter vii. The writer of that section speaks of "the law of sin which is in my members." But R1 is writing of the law of Moses. The interpolator also speaks of the war between the spirit and the flesh; but the thought of R1 is that the Christian, through union with Christ, has become spiritual, pneumatic, and is no longer in bondage to the flesh. This thought is clearly stated in vii, 4, viii, 3, and following verses. The antithesis drawn by the interpolator in vii, 25, is between the mind and the flesh warring in the same person. The antithesis drawn by R1 is between the spiritual mind of the Christian, in which there is no war, and the mind of the flesh which is operative in him who has not become united with Christ. Holsten observed that the whole movement of thought in this passage is based upon the abstract dualism between divine spirit on the one hand and human spirit and flesh on the other. But no dualism of that kind is known to R1. With him there is only one Spirit, and men are either spiritual or not spiritual.

Compare, again, the character and substance of the reasoning in verses 17 to 20 of chapter vii with verses 13 and 16 of chapter vi. The former is specious, but a mere juggling with words. The writer practically absolves the sinner from moral responsibility. Naturally, because for him salvation is something wrought externally to himself. Sin is written of as if it were a real entity, something which acts independently of the will of the man in whom it dwells. The doctrine of R1 is fundamentally different. He says we may be servants of God or servants of sin. According to him, the individual has a choice and moral responsibility. He may, and must, choose whom he will serve. Sin is not something dwelling in, and yet in a sense independent of, the individual and his volition. To say that it is not I who do wrong, but sin which dwelleth in me, is fundamentally

absurd and unethical. But any modern writer on ethics could reasonably speak of a man as being enslaved by sin; and, like R1, he would say that the man has the power to break his bonds. And perhaps he would not differ essentially as to the means, though he would express himself differently, the Gnostic phraseology of R1 having implications which would necessarily be absent in the case of a modern writer. R1 says the man must become spiritual instead of carnal; and when he also declares that the Christian must become one with Christ, he is using a figurative expression which has the same meaning psychologically, though of course the phrase "union with Christ" had also for the Gnostic writer an important mystical significance. The burial with Christ in baptism was to the Gnostic something more than symbolism. It was an act of divine efficacy in itself, resulting in some mysterious but very real change in the nature of the person upon whom it was performed, and consummating a union with Christ which was more than symbolic. These ideas, which have an affinity with those of the Greek mystery Religions, are in an entirely different sphere of religious thought from that of the dogma of redemption through the blood of a slain victim taught by R2. It is, however, quite clear from the exhortations of the writer in verses 12, 13, 16 to 19 of chapter vi that in his opinion the Christian needed to do something more than submit passively to the symbolic rite. He must also actively choose to serve God instead of remaining the servant of unrighteousness. It is inconceivable that a writer taking such a view of sin and of moral responsibility could at the same time believe that man, not being a free moral agent, sin being something active apart from his will, has no hope of salvation save through faith in the redeeming blood of Jesus Christ. In the doctrine of R1 it is not faith in the sense in which the word is used by R2 which is the condition for the reception of the pneuma by the Christian. And when he has received the pneuma he is free and is no longer in bondage to sin (vi, 6). It is henceforth impossible for him to be distracted in the manner so vividly depicted by R2.

It may, of course, be said that a Christian who has renounced sin does not thereby become immune from temptation and from the desires and passions of the flesh, so that the mental conflict portrayed in verses 7 to 25 is not necessarily inconsistent with the conception of Christian free-

dom described in the earlier portion of the chapter and in chapter viii. That may be so according to our notions; but if we attentively consider the character of the reasoning of R1 we shall see that in his view the true Christian has completely broken the bondage of sin, and that the interposed section is absolutely discordant with his conception. The view he held was also expressed by other early Christian writers. For example, in the Clementine *Recognitions* we read¹: "But some one may say, such passions sometimes occur even to those who worship God. *It is not true*; for we say that he is a worshipper of God who does the will of God and keeps the commandments of his law." The writer of this passage may have had the Epistle to the Romans in mind, for he proceeds to assert that with God he is not a Jew who is called a Jew by men, but he who, believing in God, has fulfilled the law and done his will, even though he has not been circumcised.² The true worshipper of God, he maintains, is he who not only is himself free from passions, but is even able to free others from them. The First Epistle of John, which is Gnostic in character though catholicized and anti-docetic, expresses upon this subject of sin the same idea as the Gnostic R1. In chapter iii, verses 9 and 10, we read: "Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin, because his seed abideth in him; and he *cannot sin*, because he is begotten of God. In this the children of God are manifest." God's "seed" is a Gnostic term; it signifies the pneuma, the spirit. The writer of that Epistle says therefore that the Christian becomes the child of God by receiving the spirit; he then cannot sin, he is at peace and is no longer torn by warring impulses. R1 says the same thing in chapter vi, verses 2 to 6, 17 and 18. It is absolutely impossible that he should also have written chapter vii, verses 21 to 25.

Verses 7 to 25 of chapter vii do not carry forward the argument of the two chapters. They are merely suggested by it. There is superficial assonance between those verses and the reasoning of R1, but the words used have not the same significance, and the point of view is entirely different. The sentence, "I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord," seems awkward in its context. It comes in very abruptly, and looks as if it had been inserted to provide an ostensible connection between the words "Jesus Christ" and the "Christ

¹ Bk. V, sect. 34.

² Cp. Rom. ii, 26-29.

Jesus" of viii, 2.¹ The form "Jesus Christ" itself indicates that the verse was written by R2, or, at any rate, not by R1. It will appear, indeed, as we continue our examination of these Epistles, that the formula "Jesus Christ our Lord" is rather late, and was never employed by a Gnostic writer.

Let any one read chapter vii, verses 1 to 6, and then chapter viii, verses 1 to 12, consecutively. He will see that a continuous argument is carried forward in an orderly, one may even say a stately, manner, without any rhetorical flourish or quibble; and the omission of vii, verses 7 to 25, causes no perceptible break in the train of reasoning. If he will then read those verses with careful attention to the style and argument, he cannot fail to perceive the difference between the styles and ideas of the two writers. The vigour and passion of the language are in striking contrast with the calm reasoning of the sections which immediately precede and follow.

As already pointed out, there is a close connection between verses 5 and 6 of chapter vii and verses 1 and 2 of chapter viii, which verses are unnaturally divorced from one another by the intervening section. But careful consideration of these verses raises another question, and a further investigation leads to an interesting result. The question that suggests itself is: Could R1 have written the statement that sinful passions aroused by the law work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death, or could he have referred to the law as "the law of sin and death"? Read again carefully what this writer says of the law in chapter ii. It is difficult to believe that a man who could speak of the law in terms of qualified approval, saying that the doers of law shall be justified, admitting that the law has within it the form of knowledge and of the truth, and recognizing its partial value, would afterwards have termed it "the law of sin and death." In viii, 3, the writer says simply that the law was inefficient, being weak through the flesh. That statement is quite consistent with what he has said before. But would he have written so mildly immediately after condemning the law in the terms employed in vii, 5, and viii, 2? As though a man were to say that immersion in boiling water will kill you and

¹ The awkwardness of this sentence in its context was perceived by C. H. Weisse, who consequently inferred that verses vii, 25b, and viii, 1, are interpolations. He also saw that viii, 2, does not naturally carry on the thought of the preceding section, and tried to improve the sequence by cutting out the words "of life in Christ Jesus."

will also cause you some pain. It is an anti-climax to say that the law is weak through the flesh after saying that it brings forth fruit unto death. Let us then omit vii, 5 and 6, viii, 1 and 2, and read vii, 4, and viii, 3, consecutively.

“Wherefore, my brethren, ye also were made dead to the law through the body of Christ; that ye should be joined to another, even to him who was raised from the dead. For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, condemned sin in the flesh.” The logical sequence of these two verses is as close and as satisfactory as could be desired, though there is a certain clumsiness in the phraseology, which suggests that the verses have been tampered with—a point which will be considered presently. Some confirmation of the conclusion here reached is found in the fact that in vii, 6, ὥστε followed by the infinitive is used to express a consequence. That grammatical construction occurs nowhere else in the Epistle of R1. Note further that up to verse 4 the writer, as addressing “brethren,” uses the second person plural; in the last clause of that verse the person of the verb is suddenly changed to the first, producing grammatical discordance: “ye should be joined to another.....that we might bring forth fruit unto God.” R1 cannot have written that. The first person continues throughout verses 5 and 6. There is nothing suspicious in viii, 1, taken by itself; but it is so closely united with verse 2 that, if the latter goes, so must the former. And viii, 1, inserted alone between vii, 4, and viii, 3, produces a breach of continuity. The last clause of verse 4, verses 5 and 6 of chapter vii, and verses 1 and 2 of chapter viii, must therefore be rejected. These verses, however, were not written by R2. The form “Christ Jesus” occurs twice in them, and the statement that “the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and of death” is not that writer’s doctrine. Moreover, it has been shown that there is a logical connection between those verses which is broken by the intervening section. They must therefore have already formed part of the Epistle when R2 dealt with it and be an earlier interpolation.

The words “through the body of Christ” in vii, 4, may be suspected of being an anti-docetic interpolation; not only by reason of the phrase, “body of Christ,” itself, but because of a certain awkwardness which it produces in the sentence. The verse reads: “ye were made dead to the law through the

body of Christ that ye should be joined to another." Now this other was himself Christ; so that the writer is made to say: "ye were made dead to the law through the body of Christ that ye should be joined to Christ." But in the view of R1 the union with Christ was the actual agency of the release, so that "through the body of Christ" must have meant the same thing as "union with Christ"; hence, paraphrasing the statement, we get: "ye were made dead to the law by union with Christ, that ye should be joined to Christ," which is a pleonasm. The phrase "body of Christ" could, however, have been used by a docetist. The docetic view was not that Christ had no body at all, but that he had a psychic body.¹

In verse 3 of chapter viii the translators have rendered *περὶ ἁμαρτίας* by "as an offering for sin," which, of course, is not the natural meaning of the words and decidedly misrepresents the thought of R1. There is good reason to think that the words *περὶ ἁμαρτίας* should be rejected altogether. Jülicher, a conservative critic, expressed his doubt of them by a difference of type. C. H. Weisse rejected them. But the verse as a whole, together with the following one, bears evident traces of manipulation. The early Gnostic Epistle has been worked over by a Catholic hand, either of R2 or another, in order to obscure as far as possible the Gnostic doctrine contained in it. Attention has already been drawn to some examples of this. Several commentators have suspected that the form in which verse 3 is now read is not original. It is ungrammatical and hardly intelligible. "What the law could not do, God, sending his own Son, condemned sin in the flesh." But law can and does "condemn" sin; and God's purpose in sending his Son was, according to any Christian doctrine, a much more important one than to condemn sin. It does not seem possible that the statement was written for its own sake. It might be a distortion of the original statement, which was not liked by the Catholic editor. The relative "what" is not actually in the text; it has been inserted to give some sort of grammatical propriety to the sentence. A literal translation is: "The incapacity of the law.....God, sending his own Son, condemned sin in the flesh." The words "the incapacity" hang in the air without a verb to which they may be either subject or object. Now

¹ A docetist would probably have avoided the phrase as being liable to misconstruction.

R2 was writing, at the close of chapter vii, about "sin in my members"—i.e., in the flesh. It is consequently a reasonable conjecture that the words "sin in the flesh" were introduced by him, and that originally "the incapacity of the law," τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου, was the object of the verb "condemned," κατέκρινε. Again, the words "sinful flesh" are not an exact translation of the Greek which runs: ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας, "in the likeness of flesh of sin and for sin." If the words "for sin" have been added, it is more than likely that the words "of sin" were added at the same time.

The writer whose argument was that the law had been entirely superseded by Christ and that the spiritual man is incapable of sin, is very unlikely to have written that Christ came "that the ordinance of the law might be fulfilled in us." One would reasonably suspect that the sentence is a Catholic interpolation, were it not that a strangeness in the phraseology rather suggests manipulation. The commandment of a law may be obeyed *by* a person; but can any one explain how it can be fulfilled *in* a person? Light is thrown upon this question by two eleventh-century MSS.,¹ in which the reading is "ordinance of God" instead of "ordinance of the law." That reading gives a meaning to the sentence which is intelligible and consistent with the context. The argument is: The law is ineffective, but the Spirit of God necessarily knows and fulfils the ordinance of God. The law has been superseded by the Spirit of God in Christ; so that instead of our having to strive, against the seduction of the flesh, to obey the external law, in us, through the indwelling Spirit of God, the ordinance of God is fulfilled. This explanation is supported by the fact that R1 employs elsewhere (i, 32) the phrase "ordinance of God" (δικαίωμα τοῦ θεοῦ). R2 uses the word δικαίωμα once only, and then not to mean "ordinance" but "justification" (v, 16). The original reference of verse 3 must have been to verse 4 of chapter vii. The incapacity of the law does not consist in its inability to condemn sin, but in its inability to get itself obeyed on account of the weakness of the flesh. When, however, through union with Christ, a man has become spiritual, he no longer needs the ordinances of the law; he cannot by his very nature be other than righteous. If we take "the incapacity [or the weakness] of the law" as a paraphrase for "the ineffective law," the

¹ a 116, a 161 (von Soden).

verses as amended become intelligible and carry on from vii, 4, the idea of the writer. We were made dead to the law that we should be joined to him who was raised from the dead. For God, sending his own Son in the likeness of flesh, condemned the ineffective law that through the indwelling spirit which we obtained from Christ the ordinance of God might be fulfilled in us.

Verse 13b, "if ye mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live," is nonsense. How can deeds be mortified? You can mortify a thief, but you cannot mortify theft. It is plain enough from the context that in the opinion of the writer flesh is necessarily mortal, and that only spirit can have eternal life; and so he is urging his readers to nourish the spirit by mortification of the flesh. Why, then, should he not have said so, instead of going out of his way to write nonsense, and indeed something different from what he meant? It is impossible to see any reason for that, but it is quite easy to see a reason why some one else should have altered the original phrase. It was a Gnostic phrase. In times of keen controversy catchwords and stock phrases are current which mark the user's attitude to the controversy. Later on they lose their significance. Perhaps in two or three hundred years' time some one, reading about the present day and learning that it was proposed to "safeguard industry," will think that the object was a very laudable one, and would be intensely astonished on being informed that no proposal aroused keener controversy. Similarly, as every one who is familiar with the Catholic polemic against Gnosticism ought to know, the sentence, "if by the spirit ye mortify the body, ye shall live," though uncontroversial now, would in the second century be seen at once to be the mark of a Gnostic writer. Tertullian would smell heresy the very moment he read it. Marcion himself could have written it. And the method by which the phrase was rendered innocuous is typical. I suppose that the statement, "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (1 Cor. xv, 50), will be generally accepted to-day. But in the second century it was a Gnostic weapon. Tertullian endeavoured to make it ineffective by saying that the Apostle must not be taken literally; he was not denying that the substance of flesh and blood could inherit the kingdom of God, but that the sins of them could.¹ In

¹ "Apparet hinc quoque carnem et sanguinem nomine culpae, non substantiae, arceri a dei regno." *De Carn. Res.* 50.

just the same way the interpolator has taken the Gnostic sting out of verse 13 by substituting for "body" "deeds of the body." It would not trouble him that he had made nonsense of the sentence; all he cared about was to make it unavailable for Gnostic use.

Interpolations such as this and some others that have been adverted to, made obviously with a dogmatic motive, prove conclusively that early in the second century the original Epistle was recognized for what it is, a Gnostic document. It has been very carefully worked over by a Catholic editor so as to transform and obscure the marks of its Gnostic origin; and so that Catholic theologians could say, as Tertullian said, and as theologians still say: Paul is *our* Apostle. Verses 7 and 8 have been inserted for the same purpose. The Gnostic doctrine of the writer is seen in verses 6 and 13; spirit alone can have eternal life, the body by the law of its nature must die once and for ever. But the Catholic doctrine was that death came into the world through sin, and that the material body of flesh and blood when purified from sin will inherit the kingdom of God. Verses 7 and 8 have consequently been inserted for the purpose of affirming that the mind of the flesh is death, not because of its origin and essential nature, but because it is enmity against God. And the same thing is done in verses 10 and 11 by saying that the body is dead because of sin. An independent indication of difference of origin is the name Jesus alone, which is found nowhere else in the Gnostic Epistle. Let no one make the mistake of supposing that words are lightly used in these Epistles, or that any writer halts between two opinions; still less that he could "pass unconsciously" from any opinion to a contradictory one. During the period in which they were written, various doctrines were clearly held and strenuously defended. Throughout the early documents opposing parties are continually throwing down the gauntlet to one another. The object of verse 11 is to oppose a direct negative to the Gnostic affirmation that spirit alone is life, while flesh is doomed to eternal death. The writer of it says: No! a bodily resurrection is possible; on the resurrection day the spirit will restore and quicken your mortal bodies. The full significance of some of the watchwords of the second century is no longer discoverable. The phrase "Spirit of Christ" in 9b looks like a challenge to the phrase "Spirit of God" in the

first half of the verse. The original writer uses the second phrase again in verse 14, and we may be sure that he had a good reason for preferring it. If verses 7, 8, 9b to 11 are omitted, the tenour of the reasoning is distinctly clarified and improved.

It has been stated previously that R2 makes much use of the Old Testament. A great part of his argument is based upon it, and he frequently quotes from it. On the other hand, so far as we have gone, we have not found in the sections written by R1 a single reference to the Old Testament : i, 17, and ii, 24, were proved to be interpolations. This circumstance, taken with the knowledge that Gnostics rejected the Old Testament, points to the conclusion that the avoidance of Old Testament references by R1 was deliberate. When, therefore, we find in chapter viii, verse 36, a quotation from the Old Testament, we are entitled seriously to doubt the originality of the passage in which it occurs. In verse 31 we find one of the questions which are a sign of R2, but up to this point nowhere used by R1 : "What then shall we say?" This question is followed by other short questions shot out like darts in the manner characteristic of R2. We have, therefore, sufficient reason for believing that this passage came from the pen of that writer. Looking back a little, we find in verses 29 and 30 a long passage in which the style has much more affinity with that of R2 than with that of R1. These verses and verse 33 contain a statement of the doctrine of election and predestination ; a doctrine which was never held by Paul's followers, the Marcionites, and which is not consistent with the views of R1 as expounded up to this point. It is not, however, incompatible with the other writer's doctrine of "grace," which lays much more stress upon the choice and will of God than upon the sinner's own endeavours after righteousness. In the teaching of R1, though God has supplied the means of redemption, the sinner must himself actively seek and employ those means. In the teaching of R2, all that is required of the sinner is the passive condition of faith ; God, of his "grace," will do the rest.

The doctrine of election is more fully worked out in chapter ix, which chapter, as will be proved, cannot have been written by R1. The presumption is that whoever wrote ix, verses 14 to 26, also wrote viii, verses 29, 30, and 33.

In viii, 35, we have the question, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" In verse 39 the phrase is repeated

with a variation: "I am persuaded"..... that nothing "shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus." The variation in the phrase is not accidental; it is an indication of a difference of doctrine, which suggests that R2 wrote the former of the two verses and R1 the latter. In the doctrine of R2, Jesus Christ is the active agent of redemption, since of his own free will he died for sinners. R2, therefore, lays stress upon the love of Christ. In the doctrine of R1, Christ Jesus is the means through which God revealed himself and offered to men a portion of his holy spirit. R1, therefore, lays the stress upon the love of God, which was manifested *in* Christ Jesus. Verses 38 and 39 are a repetition in form of verse 35, with a difference of phraseology. Such a repetition is not what one would expect from a writer whose style is so uniformly good as that of R1. The style of verses 38 and 39 is more exalted than that of the preceding passage. Also that passage bears evidence of comparative lateness, since Christians had begun to suffer persecution when it was written. It was probably written not earlier than the last decade of the first century, if so early. There is no trace of persecution throughout the Gnostic Epistle. Verse 35 was no doubt suggested to the writer of it by verses 38 and 39, which he had before him. If now, after reading the first half of verse 28, we go on to read verse 38, we see that there is no break in the sequence of thought. "And we know that to them that love God all things work together for good. For I am persuaded" that nothing "can separate us from the love of God."

Upon a review of all the evidence, we must come to the conclusion that the whole section from verse 28b to verse 37 is an interpolation; almost certainly by R2. It may be objected that in verse 34 the form "Christ Jesus" occurs. There would no doubt be some force in this objection if there were indisputable MS. authority for the form in that verse. The MS. authority is, however, anything but indisputable.¹ In Scrivener's edition of the Greek Testament we find the name Christ only, without the Jesus, in this verse; and, according to his footnote, his reading agrees with that of the editions of Beza, Elzevir, and Tregelles; Lachmann encloses the name "Jesus" in brackets as doubtful.

Another indication that the passage in question was not

¹ B and D, as well as other MSS., read "Christ" alone here, and the reading is also found in a quotation of the verse by Irenæus.

written by R1 is the use of the term *Χριστοῦ* in verse 35 preceded by the definite article. When R1 uses the name "Christ" he does not place the definite article before it. The name is found eight times without the article in chapters vi to viii. It is preceded by the article twice only; and in each case in a passage of which, on other grounds, the originality must be suspected. This evidence is, however, not very reliable, since the article was occasionally inserted by copyists. There is some reason to suspect that verse 32 is a still later interpolation.

R2 seems to have taken exception to the statement in verse 27 that the Spirit, the Pneuma, makes intercession for us, possibly as bearing too much the impress of Gnostic ideas, and to have wished to counter it by declaring in verse 34 that it is Christ who intercedes for us.

We are now in a position to answer the question: Which of the two writers was the earlier? Apart from the other reasons given, since R1 has been interpolated by R2 the former must be earlier than the latter.

That a writer should use certain characteristic phrases occasionally, and that passages of considerable length may be found in which they do not occur, is, of course, quite natural. That he should write a long passage in a certain style and then another one in a style quite different is much less likely. That reference should be made to certain special doctrines in some sections, and that other long sections should be found in which they are not referred to, is also quite possible. But that the special doctrine should never occur except in company with a peculiar style or a characteristic phrase, or both, while whole chapters are found from which all three are absent, is so very unlikely as to be almost impossible unless two different writers have contributed to the work. The non-mathematical reader may form some idea of the unlikelihood of the phenomena from the following example. Suppose that there are six balls in a box—one green, one blue, one red, and three white; and suppose that three balls are drawn at random from the box, replaced, and again three drawn out. The odds against the three coloured ones coming out together, or that if one is white the other two should be also white at every drawing until the coloured ones have been drawn only half-a-dozen times, are nearly 600,000 to 1. So that it is no valid argument against the conclusion reached in this chapter to say that the occasional

occurrence of certain doctrines, or the occasional occurrence of certain characteristic phrases, does not prove that a document is the work of two different writers. The argument would have some force if the doctrine occurred several times apart from the particular phraseology, and vice versa.

The word *πρῶτον*, first, in i, 16, is not found in the Vatican Codex, and there is good reason to believe that it is a late interpolation. It has probably also been interpolated in ii, 9.

A late interpolation in verse 12 of chapter v may also be noted. The words "for that all sinned" ruin the argument of the passage. R2, with his love of antithesis, contrasts Jesus with Adam. As through one man, Adam, he says, sin and death came into the world, so through one man, Jesus, righteousness and eternal life were made possible for all. In verses 12, 13, and 14 the writer says that death passed into all men because of the sin of Adam, not as a punishment for their own sins. Then in verse 12 we have the words "because all sinned," completely contradicting the purport of the rest of the passage, and spoiling the antithesis. The words in question are obviously a late interpolation. Probably the interpolator disagreed with the view here propounded; otherwise the interpolation would be a very inept one.

Some rather extensive late interpolations appear also to have been made in the section v, 1-11, which, as it stands, has been found by several commentators to present difficulties.

6.—THE THIRD WRITER

On passing to chapter ix we are at once struck by the contrast between the doctrine and style of that chapter and those of the three preceding ones. It is true, though perhaps not strange, that the contrast has not been observed by theological commentators in general. C. H. Weisse, however, in 1855, considered chapters ix to xi to be a later addition to the Epistle, and more recently Steck and van Manen have drawn attention to characteristics which differentiate those chapters from the rest. It is indeed quite impossible that they can have been written by the Gnostic who wrote chapters vi, vii, and viii. Both doctrine and style forbid such a conclusion. The question of authorship is, however, somewhat perplexing. While the chapters cannot have

been written by R1, we do find in them the strained reasoning and the heavily charged phraseology of R2, consisting sometimes of long involved sentences, and at others of a succession of sentences which are short and abrupt. We meet his sign-manual and his favourite antithesis of faith and works, law and grace. The argument is based upon the Old Testament, and there are frequent quotations from it. All these characteristics point to R2 as the writer, and upon a superficial view we might decide that the chapters were written by him. But a close examination reveals some other features which negative that conclusion. Van Manen was of the opinion that these three chapters did not come from the writer of the first half of the Epistle. In forming his opinion he was under the disadvantage of not having distinguished clearly between the two writers of the first half, although he recognized that it is composite. His reasons, however, tell on the whole as much against the authorship of R2 as they do against that of R1. The reasons he gives for his opinion are these :—In chapters i to viii the words "Israelite" and "Israel" do not occur ; while in chapters ix to xi the first occurs twice and the second eleven times. On the other hand, the word "Jew" occurs nine times in chapters i to viii and only twice in chapters ix to xi, in both of which cases it may with probability be referred to the redactor. In chapters i to viii Christ is called seven times, in ix to xi never, the Son of God. It may indeed be inferred from ix, 5, that the writer of that verse identified Christ with God. Differences of vocabulary are observable, and we hear nothing more of justification by faith. Steck also has observed that in these three chapters a much more superficial use is made of the proof from scripture. These are weighty reasons, and in the face of them it is very difficult to believe that the three chapters as a whole were written by R2. A reconciliation can be effected, however, and a solution of the problem reached, by supposing that R2 was the redactor whose hand was detected by van Manen, and that another Epistle, or fragment of an Epistle, by a third writer, R3, has, either by him or an earlier editor, been incorporated into the Epistle and interpolated by him. If we take this as a working hypothesis, we shall soon find it confirmed and the matter made quite clear.

Since it has been proved that R2 interpolated R1 freely, it is likely enough that he also interpolated R3. Let us see. If we read chapter ix with care we become conscious of

an interruption of the thought between verses 10 and 12 ; but if we read those verses consecutively continuity is restored. "Rebecca having conceived.....it was said unto her," etc. These two clauses are awkwardly separated by the rather long and involved sentence contained in verse 11. Note that verse 11 contains the doctrine of election—a fact which indicates that the interpolator is the same as the one who interpolated verses 28b to 37 in the previous chapter—viz., R2. And it will be shown that the doctrine never occurs in chapters ix to xi except in passages which can be proved on other grounds to be interpolations. The denial of the efficacy of "works" in verse 11 also points to R2 as the writer of it, and the involved sentence is in his style.

Reading on, we meet with the sign-manual of R2 in verse 14. Also in that verse a question is asked with *μή* as an interrogative particle—a characteristic, as previously mentioned, of the style of R2. *μή ἀδικία παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ; μή γένοιτο.* Again in verse 20: *μή ἐρεῖ τὸ πλάσμα.* This grammatical usage is found nowhere in the Epistle except in chapters iii to v, and in passages which bear other marks of the hand of R2. ἄρα οὖν, "so then," found in verses 16 and 18, is also a favourite expression of that writer. It occurs in v, 18, and viii, 25. The writer of the three chapters under consideration nowhere uses that expression; in the only place where ἄρα occurs (x 17) it is not followed by οὖν. All through the passage verses 14 to 24 we have no difficulty in recognizing the strained and somewhat paradoxical style of argument peculiar to R2. The quotation verses 25 and 26, of course, belongs to this passage. It consists of an argument, conducted in the manner characteristic of R2¹, designed to establish the doctrine of predestination—a fact which connects it with verse 11, and with viii, 29 and 30. There is nothing more about that doctrine in verse 27 and the following verses. The original writer of the chapter is arguing that a remnant of Israel will be saved. He says, although the Israelites appear at the present time to have been rejected by God, the promises of God are not thereby proved to have come to nought; because not all of Abraham's seed are children; and the promise was not made to all. It was said to Rachel that the elder shall serve the younger, verse 12. "Jacob I loved but Esau I hated," verse 13. And Isaiah also says that

¹ Compare verses 22 and 23 with iii, 5-7; 25 and 26.

not all but only a remnant shall be saved, verse 27. The thread of this argument is clearly broken by the irrelevant argument for predestination. If the design of the writer had been to establish so very important a doctrine as that of predestination, he would not have thrown his argument for it incidentally into the midst of a train of reasoning upon another topic.

The summary of the reasoning given above shows that both the quotations in verses 13 and 27 are directed to the same point—the saving of a remnant of Israel; and it is easy to see that those verses were originally consecutive. The intervening passage, besides introducing the doctrine of predestination, also speaks of the salvation of the Gentiles (again a subject which is irrelevant to the argument of R3), and the quotation in verses 25 and 26 is intended to illustrate that point. The quotations in verses 27 and 29, however, have no relation whatever to that topic and refer back to the earlier part of the chapter.

The dissertation of R3 consists of two parts, the first of which is concerned with the rejection of Israel. In the second part, which begins with verse 13 of chapter xi, the writer deals with the salvation of the Gentiles. In the quotation in verse 19 of chapter x the Gentiles are indeed obliquely glanced at; but the allusion is only indirect, with the purpose of indicating the effect which the writer supposes God to intend to produce upon the Israelites by the salvation of the Gentiles. The Israelites are still the main theme of the discourse. The manner in which the writer develops his subject may be shown by a concise summary. After showing that God has promised salvation to a remnant of Israel, he continues: "I pray that Israel may be saved. They have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge. Their righteousness is that of the law, not of faith. But Christ is the end of the law." The word of faith is to confess that Jesus is Lord, and that God raised him from the dead. But how shall they call upon him whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? They might, however, have heard of him from the prophets. Israel might have known. Isaiah says: "I was found of them that sought me not"; but of Israel he says: "All the day long I spread out my hands to a disobedient people." But I speak to you that are Gentiles, etc. We have here an orderly train of thought, which is interrupted and confused

by the interposed sections which discuss Gentiles, election, grace, and other matters. He would be a very slovenly writer who, after dividing his dissertation into two heads, should under the first head introduce long parentheses dealing with the topic which he had reserved for the second head. Therefore, a priori, the sections which treat of the salvation of Gentiles before xi, 13, are, to say the least, open to suspicion. Sufficient reason has been given for rejecting ix, 14-26. Note also that the word "Jews" occurs verse 24. Van Manen was, therefore, right in saying that that term is to be referred to the redactor.

Verses 30 to 33 are suspicious as containing a reference to Gentiles, and consequently invite scrutiny. Investigation amply confirms our suspicion. If we read these verses carefully and then go on to read the first part of chapter x, we perceive that the man who wrote the first part of chapter x cannot have written ix, 30-33, just before. After showing, in the first part of chapter ix, that a remnant of Israel shall be saved, the writer begins in chapter x a general survey of the circumstances which have been a hindrance to the salvation of the race. And he opens this discussion quite afresh, as though nothing had been said upon the subject just before. Not only so, the reasons given are not the same. A somewhat different mental attitude is indicated. The man who wrote (x, 3): "For being ignorant of God's righteousness, and seeking to establish their own, they did not subject themselves to the righteousness of God," certainly had not written just before (ix, 31): "Israel, following after a law of righteousness, did not arrive at that law." If the two verses have the same meaning, the writer is simply repeating himself in a very inartistic manner. Then, again, we have, in x, 5, "the righteousness which is of the law." That is not a reference to "a law of righteousness" as in ix, 31. Law in the first quotation means the Mosaic law; it cannot mean that in the second. The summary previously given shows not only that the passage is completely detachable, but that the train of reasoning becomes clearer and more orderly when it is omitted.

On general grounds, then, the passage may be declared to be an interpolation. But when we consider it more in detail we find that, short as it is, R2 has left his mark upon nearly every line of it. It begins with the question: "What shall we say then?" The remainder of the verse implies the peculiar doctrine of R2, that righteousness in itself is of no

value for salvation. In verse 32, again, there is the antithesis of faith and works. Nowhere in the three chapters ix to xi do we find the doctrines characteristic of R2, or any mention of election and predestination, except in passages which on other grounds can be shown to be interpolations, and in which peculiarities of style point unmistakably to him. The doctrine of salvation, which R3 enunciates, is found in x, 9: "if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." The writer expressly says that this is "the word of faith" (verse 8). But as used by R2 the word "faith" has deeper significance than that.

The doctrine of salvation here enunciated may not appear to stand in definite opposition to that of R2; nevertheless it is an early statement of a doctrine which runs through the early years of the evolving dogma as a distinct strand in a parti-coloured cord. It is, with some modification, the doctrine of the Ignatian Epistles, in which the idea of justification by faith in the redeeming blood of Jesus is not found. The writer couples faith with love, giving it indeed the preference; but faith did not mean to him what it meant to R2. He did not teach at all that the death of Jesus was redemptive as a sacrifice, but that his resurrection has ensured to all those who believe in his divinity and bodily resurrection the certainty of eternal life. God appeared as a man, he says, to the "newness of eternal life"; and all the evil powers were disturbed because the destruction of death had been devised.¹ Again, he says that if we truly believe that Jesus Christ was born of Mary, was crucified and rose from the dead, the Father, who raised him, will also raise us.² This doctrine corresponds with that of R3, and involves a conception of "faith" different from that of R2; and when the writer says "let your faith be as a helmet,"³ he plainly shows that he conceives faith as a state of mind which works subjectively for the salvation of the faithful, and not as a means through which he can be immediately saved by something external to himself. Jesus is to him the Saviour as being the object of faith, not as a propitiatory sacrifice demanded by the wrath of God. Christians now accept, as a matter of course, a very composite body of doctrine, but the elements of it were not united from the beginning; and the absence of the doctrine

¹ *Ep. to the Ephesians*, xix, 3.

² *Ep. to the Trallians*, ix.

³ *Ep. to Polycarp*, vi, 2.

of R2 from the Ignatian Epistles proves that the doctrine there enunciated had a different origin. Ignatius (using the name for convenience) does, it is true, say that Jesus was crucified "for us" and "for our sins," but he avoids the use of the words "sacrifice" and "redemption" in connection with the crucifixion. The sins of men had, indeed, made the death and resurrection of Jesus necessary, but the writer shows that the idea of redemption was not in his mind, by saying that Jesus was crucified for our sakes in order that through his resurrection he might lift up an eternal ensign (σύσσημον) for the holy and the faithful.¹ The writer had adopted in a materialized form a part of the doctrine of R1; for he appears to have conceived the crucifixion as affording the means of some kind of mystical union. He wrote: "I understood that you are perfect in immovable faith, having been, as it were, crucified on the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, both in the spirit and the flesh, and having been established in love in the blood of Christ."² Whatever these last words may mean, it is clear that they do not imply the washing away of sins in the blood of Christ. We here obviously have to do with symbolism. The avoidance by Ignatius of the doctrine of justification by faith in the redeeming blood of Jesus, although he accepted ideas both from R1 and R3 and was an admirer of Paul, is particularly significant, since he must have rejected the doctrine of R2 deliberately, showing that his own doctrine and that of R3 was different from that of R2.³

The term "Israel" occurs in verse 31. But it would be natural enough for R2 to use the term here in order to bring his interpolation into conformity with the immediately preceding verses in which the word "Israel" occurs twice. And the same motive may be supposed to have been operative in one or two other passages inserted by him. There is no reason to assume that he had any special objection to the term, though he commonly prefers the term "Jew." In the Epistle of R3, then, chapter x, verse 1, immediately followed verse 29 of chapter ix.

The word "for" occurring five times in four consecutive verses, 10 to 13, is awkward and suggests manipulation of the text. The conjunction "for" in verse 13 indicates that that verse is intended to support, or give a reason for, some

¹ *Ep. to the Smyrnaeans*, i, 2.

² *Ibid.*

³ There is, however, reason to think that the sections written by R2 were absent from the MS. used by "Ignatius."

statement just previously made. That statement is found in verse 10, "with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.....For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." There is no close connection between verses 11 and 12 and the preceding verse. The only point they have in common is the word "believeth"; but there is no logical connection between the *sense* of verse 10 and the quotation in verse 11. Verses 11 and 12 are irrelevant and intrusive. Verse 12 contains the word "Jew," which is found nowhere else in the Epistle of R3 except in one passage, which has been proved to be an interpolation. Further, it does not seem likely that R3 would have inserted the statement "there is no distinction between Jew and Greek" in the course of a dissertation upon the rejection of the one and the salvation of the other. He might hold that opinion in a certain sense; but there is nothing to correspond with it or suggest it in the context. Verses 11 and 12 have, therefore, been interpolated, probably into the composite Epistle at a late date. There is nothing in them which could connect them with R2.

Verses 11 and 12 of chapter xi are suspicious, since they discuss the salvation of the Gentiles. The suspicion is raised to certainty in this case by the fact that in verse 13 the writer opens the question of the effect of the salvation of the Gentiles upon the Jews exactly as if nothing had been previously written upon that question. Verses 11 and 12 anticipate the reasoning which follows. Compare verse 11 with 14, and verse 12 with 15. R3 is not an inelegant writer, and would not thus repeat himself. And no writer would at the close of one section of his work anticipate the argument he is going to use in the next section, and then begin that section in apparent unconsciousness that he had previously said anything upon the subject. The conjunction "But" in verse 13 marks the transition from the subject of Israelites to that of the Gentiles.¹ It loses much of its force if the writer has been speaking of Gentiles in the immediately preceding verses.

There is, however, good reason to believe that the interpolated passage begins with verse 1 of this chapter. For in that verse we have a question asked with the interrogative

¹ In the A.V. the verse begins with "For." "But," however, is the reading of the R.V. and is preferred by the best modern editors. The change may have been made by the interpolator,

particle *μή* followed by "God forbid" (*μή γένοιτο*). The Greek words are *λέγω οὖν, Μὴ ἀπόσωτο ὁ Θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ; μή γένοιτο*. By this time we are justified in regarding these phrases as a certain indication that R2 was the writer. In verse 7, again, we find the question "What then?" and in verse 11 "God forbid" once more. Moreover, in verses 2 and 7 the doctrine of election makes its appearance, and in verses 5 and 6 the antithesis of grace and works. One can recognize R2 by the phraseology of verse 6 with as much certainty as one can recognize an acquaintance by his voice. "But if it is by grace, it is no more of works: otherwise grace is no more grace." The repetition of the word "grace" is quite characteristic. Compare the following passages:—iii, 26, "that he might himself be *just*, and the *justifier* of him that hath faith"; iii, 30, "he shall justify the circumcision *by faith*, and the uncircumcision *through faith*"; iv, 10, "when he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision? Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision"; vii, 13, "But *sin*, that it might be shown to be *sin*.....that through the commandment *sin* might become exceedingly *sinful*"; ix, 30, "The Gentiles, which followed not after righteousness, attained to righteousness, even the righteousness which is of faith." The last two quotations were shown to be interpolations by R2 in the work of R1 and of R3 respectively. The correspondence of this trick of style confirms the conclusion previously reached. The method of argument in verse 6 also has its counterpart in iv, 14: "For if they which are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise is made of none effect." Logically the argument in both these verses can only be regarded as a quibble.

Verse 13 of chapter xi follows verse 21 of the preceding chapter quite naturally. Indeed, as before said, the adversative force of the conjunction "But," with which the verse begins, is much greater in that position than where it is. The writer says: As to Israel they are called by Isaiah a disobedient people. But I speak to you that are Gentiles. Verse 14 clearly refers back to the quotation in verse 19 of the previous chapter, which it closely follows when verses 1 to 12 are omitted. The evidence is ample. There can be no doubt that verses 1 to 12 were written by R2.

In verse 28 there is a reference to "election." If this was not written by R2, it would be the only verse in the whole Epistle containing a reference to election not written

by him. Such an improbability may be dismissed at once. There is, however, independent evidence that both the verses 28 and 29 have been interpolated. The word "For" in verse 30 introduces a reason for a statement made just before. That statement is found in verses 25 and 26. The writer's argument is, that a hardness has befallen Israel until the Gentiles have come in, so that, by the mercy shown to the Gentiles, the Israelites may also obtain mercy; and then all Israel shall also be saved. Verses 28 and 29 in no way carry on this argument; they are even inconsistent with it. For the one writer says that the Israelites will obtain mercy through the mercy shown to the Gentiles. The other says they are beloved for the fathers' sake. There can be no hesitation in ascribing verses 28 and 29 to R2.

The conclusion finally reached by R3 proves beyond all doubt that he did not write the passages containing the doctrine of predestination and election which occur in these three chapters. For his conclusion, given in verse 32, is that "God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that He might have mercy upon all." If God is going to have mercy upon all, what becomes of the doctrine of election? According to the detestable doctrine of R2, God has foreordained *some* men to destruction in order that He may show His own wrath and power. R3 says: "God hath shut up *all* unto disobedience that He may show His mercy upon all." A theologian may be able to reconcile these pronouncements. I cannot think that unbiased common sense will ever be able to do so. R2, in his interpolations, in some cases apparently wishes to reinforce the argument of R3, and occasionally disturbs the orderly arrangement of it by anticipating it; in others his desire is to modify it in the direction of his own opinions, and to introduce his own favourite doctrines. But his irruptions disturb the even tenour of the reasoning, and will be found irritating by any one who will first read continuously the portions written by R3. The purified Epistle of R3 will be reproduced later, so that the reader can try the experiment. Let us again emphasize the fact that the doctrines ascribed to R2 are found nowhere in the Epistle, outside of chapters iii to v, except in passages which on other grounds appear to be interpolations, and which, all but one or two very short ones, contain characteristic marks connecting the passage independently with him.

The style of R3 is distinguishable from that of both the

other writers. Certainly he, like R2, is fond of rhetorical questions, and his style is not wanting in vigour; but it is more discursive and smoother than that of R2: it has less vehemence and more polish. The section xi, 13 to 21, containing the figure of the good and the wild olive tree, has a pleasing, though simple, eloquence of which R2 was incapable. The argument is less closely knit than in the case of the other two writers; it has not the dignity of the one, and there are not found in it the long, involved sentences and the antithetical and strained reasoning so much affected by the other. Read chapter ix, verses 19 to 24, and note the vigour of the language. Nothing comparable to it is found in chapter x, nor in xi, 13 to 36, which R3, omitting two short interpolations, certainly wrote; even though the style of those chapters is not feeble. To match it we must go to chapters iii, iv, and v—chapter iii, verses 1 to 8, for example. Again, read the long involved sentences—iii, 21 to 26, iv, 10 to 12, and iv, 16 to 18. Nothing like them is found elsewhere in the first twelve chapters except in passages which can be proved to have been interpolated and contain the doctrines characteristic of R2 as well as his characteristic style, such as the cumbrous sentence contained in verse 11 of chapter ix.

The doctrine of R3 is not reconcilable with that of R2. Some examples in proof of this have been given. We may also note that in x, 4, the writer says that Christ is the end of the law. But R2, in chapter iii, verse 31, had said that through faith in Jesus Christ the law is established. Is it possible for the same writer to have made both these statements? It has been argued that the Greek word *τέλος*, here translated "end," should be translated "fulfilment." But even where the word has that meaning it signifies the accomplishment or completion of something, so that it is finished. It is inferrible from the context that the idea of the writer was that the imperfection of the law has become perfection in Christ, so that Christ is not only the completion of the law, but has superseded it. For he contrasts the righteousness which is of the law, by which he cannot mean merely the formal observances enjoined in it, with the righteousness which is of faith. The righteousness of faith, he says, is the necessary result of believing with the heart that God raised Jesus from the dead. "Believing with the heart" is evidently in the doctrine of R3 the counterpart of the "union

with Christ," which is the condition of salvation in that of R1. Salvation follows the confession of that heart-felt belief. But the use of the phrase "righteousness which is of faith" implies that salvation is not, as with R2, the immediate consequence of faith; it results from the righteousness which heart-felt belief necessarily produces, and which the law is incapable of producing.¹ The righteousness which is of the law is imperfect; that which is of faith is perfect. The two cannot subsist together. "He that doeth the righteousness of the law shall live thereby" (verse 5). But the Christian cannot live by the righteousness of the law. All this clearly involves the idea that the Jewish law has been, not established, but superseded. The imperfection of it has come to an end in the perfection which is in and through Christ. It might, perhaps, be argued that such perfection is what the law was designed to produce, but that in practice it proved to be ineffective. So that in a certain sense the law was established through Christ. The argument is a quibble which R2 might have employed, but which is alien to the mentality of both the other writers. R3, like R1, regarded the law as imperfect and inefficient; but R2 says the law was a positive incitement to sin.

R3 seems to have had a more exalted conception of Christ than either of the other two writers, identifying him with God, and nowhere calling him the Son of God. That was probably a result of his Jewish monotheism. His designation of "Christ" appears to be intended to conform with this view. In theological dogma it may be said in a general way that the name Christ is connected with the divinity and the name Jesus with the humanity of the Saviour. Accordingly R1, as a Gnostic, laying more stress upon the divinity than the humanity, uses the form "Christ Jesus." R2 lays more stress upon the humanity, because for him the death of Jesus as a man is the central point of the Christian faith; and so he uses the form "Jesus Christ." R3, who exalts the divinity of the Saviour to the highest pitch, names him Christ simply. The name "Christ" is never coupled with Jesus throughout the three chapters ix, x, and xi. It occurs alone seven times. The name "Jesus" is found alone once (x, 9), in connection with the resurrection; because it was the man Jesus, not the divine Christ, who died and rose.

¹ This, as we saw, was also the doctrine of Ignatius,

In verse 7 of chapter xi the writer says : " That which Israel seeketh for, that he obtained not." What, then, was it exactly that Israel sought for ? In verse 3 of chapter x, which was certainly written by R3, we are told that Israel sought to establish their own righteousness. And in verses 4 and 5 it is clearly implied that their own righteousness was the righteousness of the Mosaic law. Taking the four verses, 3 to 6, together, it is plain that the reproach of the writer is that the Israelites ought to have sought, not the righteousness of the law, but the righteousness of God, which is also the righteousness of faith. Their zeal was praiseworthy in itself, but misdirected (verse 2). In other words, Israel *did* obtain what he sought for, but he sought the wrong thing. This contradiction between the two passages need not surprise us, since it has been proved that xi, 7, was not written by R3, but by R2. In order to know what was in the mind of R2, we must go back to a passage that was written by him. Verse 31 of chapter ix is such a passage ; and no doubt when R2 wrote xi, 7, he was referring back in thought to ix, 31, " Israel sought a law of righteousness." The introduction of the word " law " here looks like a conscious attempt to create ambiguity. It cannot be said that Israel did not arrive at the Mosaic law. It is, at any rate, the word " righteousness " upon which the stress is laid. Whether or no he sought righteousness through the law is immaterial. The point is that the righteousness he sought he sought through " works " and not by faith (verse 32). He thus failed to attain righteousness as understood by this writer. R2 could not have written the phrase " the righteousness which is of the law." For that would imply that there *is* a righteousness which is of the law—a position which he has done his utmost to subvert. He might formally term the law holy, but since his position was that the law, however righteous in itself, was the cause of evil, for him there could not be a righteousness *which is of the law*. We thus obtain from the consideration of these verses a very complete confirmation of the result previously reached—viz., that the writer of ix, 31 and 32, was also the writer of xi, 7, and was *not* the writer of x, 3 to 6. The first is the writer I have named R2, the second the writer I have named R3. And the verses in question also confirm the conclusion that the antithesis of faith and works and the doctrine of election are the teaching of R2, not of R3.

For all those who accept the conclusion of Steck, van Manen, and other eminent scholars, that chapters ix to xi were not written by the writer of chapters i to viii, the identity of style and doctrine which is seen in portions of both these sections must require explanation. The only possible explanation appears to be that both have been interpolated by the same editor.

It is probable that R2 was not a Jew, although in chapter xi, verse 1, he claims to be one. No doubt he made that claim on behalf of Paul, whom he was personifying. He several times writes of Jews in a detached way as though he himself were not one of them. For example, iii, 1: "What advantage then has the Jew?"; and iii, 29, "Is God the God of Jews only?" In iv, 1, he certainly calls Abraham "our forefather"; but he is careful to argue later on (verse 11) that Abraham is the father of all who believe. In verse 16, where he says that the promise is not only to the seed which is of the law, but to that which is of the faith of Abraham, who is the father of us all, the point of view seems to be that of a Gentile, for whom "us all" is contrasted with "the seed which is of the law." "Us all" obviously cannot mean "all of us Jews," and the writer takes care to make it clear that he did not mean that by immediately quoting in explanation, "I have made thee a father of many nations" (*πολλῶν ἔθνῶν*). He speaks more favourably of Gentiles than of Jews; as in ix, 30 and 31, where he says that the Gentiles attained to righteousness, but Israel, following after a law of righteousness, did not arrive at it. He betrays no feeling of distress at the rejection of the Jews. National descent is nothing. Through faith the Gentile enters into the inheritance of the Jew, and the transference is regarded with perfect equanimity. The attitude of R3 is very different. His distress is patent. He is deeply grieved that Israel has refused the offer of salvation, and tries his best to find a reason for believing that ultimately all Israel will be saved. In xi, 13 to 24, he admonishes the Gentiles severely, and stands apart from them in a manner in which R2 never does. R3 was undoubtedly a Jew; R2 probably was not.

The Epistle of R3 terminated with the word "Amen" at the end of chapter xi.

7.—THE HORTATORY SECTION

Several commentators have perceived that there is a distinct break between the end of chapter xi and the commencement of chapter xii. Heumann in 1765 argued that a new Epistle to the Romans begins at chapter xii. Straatman came to the conclusion that chapters xii to xiv did not fit in with what precedes. Van Manen also asserted that the exhortations and instructions given in xii, 1, to xv, 13, stand in no relation to the preceding argument, and that the section is of different origin from the earlier portions of the Epistle.¹ There is, indeed, not the slightest relation between the end of chapter xi and the beginning of chapter xii. Consideration of the style negatives the idea that R2 can possibly have written that and the following chapters. Nor can they all have been written by the author of chapters ix to xi. Of course, a writer, after giving a theological disquisition, might terminate his Epistle with a section consisting of moral precepts and exhortations; but if he did so he would almost certainly write at least a few lines which might serve as a bridge. And here there is not only difference of style; there are indications of difference of doctrine. The significance of the death of Christ as stated in xiv, 9, differs from that which has previously been put forward. Van Manen observed that the idea of a measure of faith imparted to each (xii, 3) is foreign to the earlier chapters of Romans, both in expression and thought. The phrase "through the grace that was given me" occurs twice in the latter portion of the Epistle (xii, 3, and xv, 15), but not elsewhere. In verse 19 the writer addresses his readers as "beloved"; R1 has always addressed them as "brethren." And there is no transition from chapter xi to chapter xii. The break is absolute. The word "therefore" (*οὖν*), indeed, ostensibly refers (xii, 1) to something that has immediately preceded it; but obviously the verse has no connection whatever with anything in the previous chapter. This word "therefore," which appears to make a connection where there is no connection, is really the strongest possible proof that xi, 36, and xii, 1, were not written consecutively by the same person.

If the reader will attentively read verse 39 of chapter viii and verse 1 of chapter xii consecutively, he will find that the

¹ *Encyclopædia Biblica*, art. "Romans (Epistle)."

latter verse quite naturally follows the former without any perceptible break in the sequence of thought. The writer says: Nothing can separate us from the love of God; we ought therefore to keep our bodies pure for the service of God. That is quite reasonable and logical, and the word "therefore" is perfectly in place on this hypothesis. There are, however, serious objections, some of which have been mentioned above, to the supposition that chapter xii is the work of the writer of the original Epistle. But if we are obliged to admit that the chapter as a whole has been joined by an editor to the Epistle, there is nothing to prevent our supposing that the added section commenced with verse 3. On the contrary, positive reasons can be found in favour of that supposition. The connection between viii, 39, and xii, 1, seems too close to be accidental. The first two verses of chapter xii are entirely in the dignified style of R1, whereas the style of the rest of the chapter is not quite the same. Finally, there is a distinct breach of continuity between verses 2 and 3 of the chapter. Verse 3 is referred by its initial word "for" to the preceding verse; but there is no corresponding logical connection. A writer may, of course, begin a new subject in a new section; but when we find consecutive verses ostensibly carrying on a train of thought which is not carried on, and connected formally by a conjunction without any real connection, the conclusion that there has been interpolation or addition is unavoidable. The words "through the grace that was given me" are also some indication that the verse contains the opening words of a discourse in which the writer begins by reminding his readers of the grounds of his authority to exhort them. We have, then, good reasons for inferring that a new Epistle begins with verse 3, and that verses 1 and 2 of chapter xii are the concluding verses of the Epistle of R1.

This section, which, though not homogeneous, continues to the end of chapter xiv, contains little theological doctrine. But from such as there is it may be inferred that the Epistle from which it was taken was neither a Catholic nor a Judaic document. All the indications point to its having originated from a Hellenistic or Gnostic circle. The form "Jesus Christ" does not occur in it. Verses 11 to 14 of chapter xiii are plainly a later messianic interpolation. The significance of the death of Christ stated in verse 9 of chapter xiv—viz., that Christ died and lived again in order that he

might be Lord of both the dead and the living—would certainly not obtain the assent of a late Catholic writer such as R2 was. The Catholic doctrine, indeed, appears in verse 15; but that verse, as will be shown, is an interpolation. The two names "Christ" and "Jesus" are nowhere found conjoined; we have either "Christ" or "the Lord Jesus"; and that usage, as will appear later, is the mark of a certain circle of Jewish Christian Gnostics. It was the usage of R3. Moreover, the conception of the Christian community as the "body of Christ" is of Gnostic origin; it is found also in Gnostic sections of First Corinthians. No doubt the conception ultimately formed part of general Catholic doctrine, but at the date at which these chapters must have been written it is an indication that they proceeded from a Gnostic environment.

All the three early sections of the Epistle, therefore, have Gnostic affinities, whence it may be inferred that the editor who united them is not likely to have been the Catholic R2. It will be shown hereafter that R2 was a later editor of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and also of the one to the Romans; that the first editor was R3 himself; and that it was he who added chapters ix to xi and the hortatory section to the original Epistle. Internal evidence of this is found in the Epistle before us, since it is almost certain that R3 interpolated verses 25 and 26a in chapter i. Additional reasons will be given in the chapter on First Corinthians. It is easy to see why R3 inserted the chapters he wrote in front of the last two verses of the Epistle of R1, instead of at the end of it. Those two verses do in some measure lead up to the hortatory section and disguise the juncture in some degree, though very imperfectly. Also, if R3 had left the formal conclusion which R1 no doubt appended to his Epistle, the fact that portions of two Epistles had been joined together would have been too obvious. He may have removed it to the end of the composite Epistle, in which case we may perhaps find it among the several conclusions with which we meet in the last two chapters. We will postpone consideration of that question for a while until we have made a further examination of the chapters now before us.

The verbs throughout chapter xii are in the second person plural until we come to verses 20 and 21, where the number suddenly changes to the singular. We might suspect interpolation here; but the case is doubtful, for, of course, an

enemy is usually personal to an individual, and that might be the reason for the use of the singular number. The same reason will not, however, apply to verse 3 of the next chapter; and there is strong evidence of interference with the text in the whole passage from verse 3 to verse 5. The singular number continues throughout these verses and suddenly changes back to the plural in verse 6. The word "ye" in the English version in verse 5 has been supplied by the translators. A literal translation of the Greek is "it is necessary to be in subjection." It is unlikely that a cultured person would have written: "if *thou* do that which is evil, be afraid;.....For for this cause *ye* pay tribute." In verse 4 the Greek word translated "minister" is *διάκονος*, in verse 6 it is *leitourgός*. There is also another change of number between these two verses, for in verse 4 we have "he is a minister of God," and in verse 6 "they are ministers." Now, what does the pronoun "they" in verse 6 refer back to? There is no noun in the plural from the word "And" in verse 3 to the end of verse 5. The phrase "*they* are ministers" must, therefore, refer to "rulers" in the first clause of verse 3; unless verse 6 is an interpolation. Either 4 or 6 must be rejected. Weisse rejected 5 and 6. But it seems unlikely that even an interpolator would have written "*they* are ministers" when there is no preceding noun in the plural. The probability is that there has been more than one interpolation, verse 5 having been inserted later than verse 4. Verses 3b and 4 seem to be intimately connected, and evidently, if 6 is genuine, it must have followed 3a pretty closely. Even 6a left between 3a and 6b reads very awkwardly, as may easily be seen by trial. The following reading is, however, quite natural, and seems to justify itself: For rulers are not a terror to the good work, but to the evil. For they are ministers of God's service, attending continually upon this very thing.

Weisse, probably rightly, omitted verse 19 of chapter xii, except the first clause;¹ also 2b and 10b of chapter xiii. Dr. Raschke, depending upon Epiphanius, has argued that the whole section, xiii, 8b to 10, was absent from Marcion's edi-

¹ M. H. Delafosse, in a note upon this verse, says: "Those who persecute Christians will be given up by the good God to the Creator, who will vent his wrath upon them." That would be "the wrath from heaven," Rom. i, 18. M. Delafosse also, with good reason, expresses doubt as to the originality of xiii, 1-6.

tion. It is certain that Marcion himself did not base morality upon the Jewish law. Whether the writer of these chapters can have done so is a question to which a decided answer is not possible. But we may suppose that the three sections of which this Epistle was constituted at a fairly early date issued from a Pauline circle. Now R1 and R3 had both rejected the law of Moses, even as a basis of conduct, for Christians; the presumption, therefore, is that the writer of the hortatory section had also done the same. It is significant that 19b, in which occurs the only other reference to the law, was rejected by Weisse on other grounds.

Verses 11 to 14 are obviously late, since, when they were written, the second coming of Christ was expected in the very near future; and that was not part of the very earliest belief, at any rate in Gnostic circles. And it is implied that since the first preaching of the Gospel a considerable time had elapsed. If verses xiii, 14, and xiv, 1, are read attentively, the want of connection between them, in spite of the conjunction "But," produces a distinct mental jar. These verses cannot have been written consecutively. The want of connection between the two chapters could indeed be due to the fact that chapters xiii and xiv came from different hands, as we shall see was probably the case. But even so, the first verse of chapter xiv appears to have been suggested by xiii, 8a, with which verse the chapter probably concluded when chapter xiv was written. The sequence is not unnatural: "Owe no man anything, save to love one another. But him that is weak in faith, receive ye," etc. The expression "the Lord Jesus Christ" does not occur at all in any of the early sections of this Epistle, nor in any distinctively Pauline section of the other Epistles; it is Catholic and rather late. We must conclude, on all the evidence, that verses 11 to 14 of chapter xiii have been interpolated.

In verse 4 of chapter xiv the verb suddenly changes into the second person singular, which has not been found in the whole of this section, apart from xiii, 3 and 4, which were shown to have been interpolated, and xii, 20, in which there is a reason for it if the verse is genuine. There is, therefore, some reason to suspect xiv, 4. The verse is quite detachable from the context; indeed, 5 follows 3 more naturally than 4 does. Having thus had our attention drawn to the verse, we begin to be struck by the vigour of the language compared with that which precedes and follows. It is as though a mild

pedagogue were gently admonishing his flock, when suddenly a person of authority comes in, and in a severe tone utters a stern reprimand. As soon as we have noticed this we cannot fail to notice something more. Is there any reader who has had the patience to accompany me thus far who does not recognize in that voice of authority the voice of R2? There cannot be two voices speaking so much alike in the same Epistle. Compare the first clause of this verse, "Who art thou that judgest the servant of another?" with ix, 20, "Who art thou that repliest against God?" Note the repetition of the verb "stand," which we have observed before to be characteristic of the style of R2. "To his own lord he *standeth* or falleth. Yea, he shall be made to *stand*; for the Lord hath power to make him *stand*."

The second person singular is not met with again until it suddenly recurs in verse 10. In this case, again, the passage, verses 10 to 12, is detachable without injury to the context; indeed, verse 13 follows verse 9 rather more naturally than verse 10 does. In this case, too, the language of the passage is somewhat more vigorous than in the rest of this section of the Epistle. The passage contains two consecutive questions and a quotation from the Old Testament; both of which features are prominent in the writing of R2, whereas throughout the whole of this section, chapters xii to xiv, there is not one occurrence of the former, except in an interpolation, and reference to the Old Testament is very rare and of doubtful originality. Moreover, verse 12 begins with the words "so then" (*ἀρα οὖν*). There can be no doubt that the passage is an interpolation; but the features referred to are not sufficiently distinctive to connect it indubitably with R2. The fact, however, that verse 4 was almost certainly written by him raises the presumption that these verses were also written by him to a very high value. Verse 15 is also, probably, an interpolation by the same hand. That being so, an important inference may be drawn. This section formed part of the Epistle when R2 edited it. Verses 13 to 23 are a patchwork. They reflect the dissension which is known independently to have occurred in the early Church with regard to the eating of food held by some to be unclean. Both parties to the controversy have made their voices heard in this portion of the chapter; and two or three different writers appear to have expressed their opinions by insertions into the text made at different times. The subject was not

introduced by the original writer, however. The point to which he had directed his observations on eating was the avoidance of flesh meat by some of the brethren, probably from asceticism, and the controversy that had arisen with respect to this practice. After advising universal tolerance in such matters, he begins his summing-up in verse 13: "Let us not, therefore, judge one another any more." These words clearly indicate that the writer had delivered his opinion and finished with the subject. He cannot immediately afterwards have re-opened it; and most assuredly he cannot have written verse 14, which speaks of unclean food quite abruptly, without any preparation, as though that were the question which was already under discussion. The verse must have been suggested to some other writer by the observations previously made, although they had referred to a different food question altogether—namely, vegetarianism.

It appears to be possible to pick out from the medley the verses with which the original writer brought his Epistle to a conclusion. I believe they are the following: 13a and 17, "Let us not, therefore, judge one another any more; for the kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." Any addition to these words would produce an anti-climax. They were, however, no doubt followed by a formal conclusion which has yet to be found.

One other interpolation to which I have not yet adverted consists of verses 7 to 9 of chapter xiv. The observation in verse 7 is pointless regarded in relation to verse 6. The statement in verse 6 is given as a reason for the injunction not to judge. The writer says that whether a man regards a particular day more than another, or whether he eats or avoids certain kinds of food, he does so conscientiously, in the belief that he is thus acting in conformity with the will of the Lord, and therefore he should not be judged by one who thinks differently. The statement is made as the statement of a fact, not requiring to be established by a reason. Suppose the writer had put verse 6 in the form of an injunction, made independently, saying that what a man eats he ought to eat to the Lord, he might in verse 7 have given a reason for his injunction. These considerations are strongly confirmed by internal evidence. In verse 6 the words "the Lord" occur three times, and in each case the word "Lord" (*Kυρίῳ*) is without the definite article.

That is decidedly unusual ; so much so, in fact, as to furnish a clue to the writer of the section, as will be shown hereafter. In verse 8 the same words again occur three times, but now the article is prefixed in each case, τῆ Κυρίῳ. It may be inferred, with a high degree of confidence, that verses 6 and 8 were written by two different men. Also the nucleus of chapter xiv did not come from the pen which wrote chapters xii and xiii. The writer of the two last-mentioned chapters was an artist in style, and there are certain characteristics of the style which distinguish the section from everything else which has been included in the four Epistles. The writer of chapter xiv was not indifferent to style, but his style is much simpler and displays a less consummate artistry.

8.—THE CONCLUDING CHAPTERS

We have seen good reasons for believing that the Epistle, up to the end of chapter xiv, is composed of three main sections of independent origin. It was given substantially its present form by an editor, who was most probably R3, the writer of chapters ix to xi. Evidence in support of this opinion will be given later. Subsequently the Epistle was re-edited by R2, who inserted some sections written by himself. Tertullian's accusation against Marcion that he mangled the Epistles, and, above all, the Epistle to the Romans, simply means that sections were absent from Marcion's copy which Tertullian found in his. It is evident from what has now been established that the shorter edition must have contained a purer text than the Catholic interpolated one. It may be inferred that Marcion possessed the first edition, the edition of R3; and that Tertullian's contained the sections inserted by R2 and other interpolations. Whether Marcion preserved intact the edition he received is a difficult question, which will have to be considered later.

Origen¹ informs us that the doxology which is now at the end of the Epistle (xvi, 25-27) was absent from Marcion's copy. So also, according to the same writer, were the whole of the last two chapters, xv and xvi. But there is good reason for separating the doxology from the rest of the two chapters, and for believing that it was not added to the Epistle at the same time as they were. In the time of Origen the doxology stood in some MSS. at the end of chapter xiv, and it is still

¹ *Comment. ad Rom.* xvi, 25.

found there in a good many existing MSS. The character of the doxology shows that when it was written it was intended to be the termination of the Epistle ; and we necessarily infer that the Epistle at one time terminated at the end of chapter xiv, and that the doxology formed its conclusion, or part of it.

It is certain that the greater part of chapters xv and xvi was added late to the Epistle. Neither Tertullian nor Irenæus appears to have been acquainted with these two chapters. Semler, Eichhorn, Baur, and other eminent critics have maintained that they are a late addition. They may, of course, have existed before Tertullian's time in some MSS. with which he was not acquainted, but they cannot have been added earlier than the middle of the second century. Evidently the explanation of the difference in position of the doxology in different MSS. is that when chapters xv and xvi had been added the doxology at first retained its position at the end of chapter xiv, but was subsequently removed to the end of the Epistle. The doxology, therefore, was not in the first edition, and was added at some time before the addition of chapters xv and xvi. One is naturally led to inquire whether it may not have been added by R2. The character of it is quite consistent with such a view. The long involved sentence of which it consists may well have been written by him. It has been proved that verse 16 of chapter ii is an interpolation ; and, since nearly all the interpolations in the Epistle of R1 were shown to have been made by R2, the probability is that this interpolation was also made by him. Now in this verse occur the words "according to my gospel, by Jesus Christ." In the doxology, xvi, 25, occur the words "according to my gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ." The close similarity of these phrases seems to connect the writer of the doxology with the interpolator of ii, 16. The doxology is thus brought into relation with the main Epistle. And a man who both interpolated and added a conclusion was presumably the editor. Again, in chapter iii, verse 21, we read "a righteousness of God hath been manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets." That verse was written by R2. In the doxology we find, verse 26, "but now is manifested, and by the scriptures of the prophets.....is made known." Which also suggests that the writer of the doxology and R2 were the same person. Whoever wrote the doxology most probably also wrote verses 2 to 6 of chapter i,

which is a long involved sentence of a similar character, and may reasonably be attributed to the editor, whoever he was. In the opening sentence we find the words "unto obedience of faith among all nations," and in the doxology, verse 26, "is made known unto all the nations unto obedience of faith." Hence there are very good grounds for the conjecture that those two passages are the opening and conclusion joined by R2 to the Epistle edited by him.

Chapters xv and xvi appear to have been composed of fragments. It is quite likely that in the second century Epistles, probably spurious, purporting to have been written by Paul, were in circulation; and several commentators have expressed the opinion that chapter xv was taken from some other Epistle, either spurious or genuine, and joined to the Epistle to the Romans. When we come to consider the First Epistle to the Corinthians, however, we shall see reason for the belief that chapter xvi of that Epistle was added to it rather late in the second century by the same editor who added chapter xv to Romans, and that these two chapters were written by the editor himself.

In chapter xv, verse 22, the writer speaks of having been hindered from coming to those to whom he is writing. The writer of chapter i, verses 8 to 15, says the same thing, and he is ostensibly writing to the Church at Rome. It is very unlikely, however, that chapter i, verses 8 to 15, were written by the editor who wrote chapter xv. For the writer of the first mentioned verses uses the form "Jesus Christ" (i, 8), and the writer of the latter the form "Christ Jesus" (xv, 16 and 17). The writer of the former says he is ready to preach the gospel to those that are in Rome; the writer of chapter xv says that his aim is to preach the gospel not where Christ is already named (xv, 21); and in verse 24 the implication rather is that what is intended is just a friendly visit. The writer of chapter xv was a Pauline writer. Indications of this are the phrases: "filled with all knowledge" (*πεπληρωμένοι πάσης γνώσεως*), "the gospel of God," "the power of the Holy Spirit" (*ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος ἁγίου*). A different MS. reading is *πνεύματος Θεοῦ*, "the pneuma of God," an even more Gnostic expression;¹ "spiritual things" and "carnal things" (*πνευματικοῖς, σαρκικοῖς*). Verses 8 to 15 of

¹ It will be remembered that we found previously some evidence that the phrase "Spirit of God" was controversial. Hence it may have been altered here into "holy spirit."

chapter i came from the pen of a more Catholic writer, who prefers the phrase "the gospel of his son." If we are right in supposing that chapter xv was the work of a Pauline writer, the words "of Christ" in verse 20, and the quotation from the Old Testament in verse 21, may have been interpolated. But, no doubt, at the late date at which this chapter was written Paulinism had been pretty extensively catholicized. From all the facts we may infer that the editor who wrote chapter xv, whom we may refer to as R4, did not also write i, 8 to 15.

Verses 1 to 13 of chapter xv, however, were not all written by this editor, as they are obviously a patchwork. Verse 5 appears to be the conclusion of some Epistle, and therefore out of place where it stands. There is a distinct breach of continuity between verses 6 and 7. The words "according to Christ Jesus" in verse 5 cannot have been written by the man who wrote "our Lord Jesus Christ" in the next verse. If the former phrase is original; since "Jesus Christ" is found in verse 5 in some MSS. Nor can verse 6 have been written by the writer of the second half of the chapter, because *he* uses the form "Christ Jesus." Verse 8 cannot have been written in sequence with verse 7, for, paraphrasing the two verses, we have: Ye ought to receive one another because Christ has been made a minister of the circumcision. Which is a *non sequitur*. Although verse 14 is connected with the previous verse by the conjunction "And," there is not the slightest relation between the two verses. Verse 13, like 5, appears to be the conclusion of some Epistle.

It seems hopeless to attempt to bring order out of this chaos. Fortunately a solution of the problem is a matter of small importance. A conjectural solution, however, is possible and not without interest. It is quite obvious that verse 14 cannot have been written immediately after 13. And if we look back we cannot find one that it could have followed until we get to verse 4. If verse 14 is read immediately after the word "learning" in verse 4, there is no appreciable break. "Whatever was written aforetime was written for our learning; and I am sure that you yourselves also have sufficient knowledge to admonish one another." The most probable conjecture, therefore, seems to be that originally verse 14 followed 4a. I remind the reader that we left two Epistles without conclusions: the Epistle of R1 and the hortatory section. In this chapter we have found two conclusions obviously out

of place. A natural inference is that we have here the two missing conclusions, though the inference is not free from difficulty. Since chapter xiv consists almost entirely of exhortations to tolerance and concord, verse 5, which prays that the brethren may be of the same mind with one another, is just the conclusion one would expect under the circumstances. A possible objection is that, as previously observed, the writer appears not to join the two names "Christ" and "Jesus." On the other hand, it is known that copyists sometimes added the name "Jesus" to "Christ" when the latter occurred alone. That may have happened here, and the disagreement of the MSS. proves that there was *some* tampering with the name in this verse. Verse 6 is so intimately connected with 5 that one cannot but think the two verses must have been written together. But if that were so there must have been tampering with the names here also. "Lord Jesus" might have been written by the writer of the hortatory section, but not "Lord Jesus Christ." The latter expression is so common in the Epistles that it would be very natural for a scribe to write it. Another possibility is that the four words "according to Christ Jesus" in verse 5 have been interpolated, and certainly the passage reads better when they are omitted. Since, therefore, nothing but conjecture is now possible, I suggest that verses 5 and 6, thus corrected, are the conclusion of the hortatory section. Verse 13 seems quite appropriate as a conclusion to the Epistle of R1. In verses 24 and 25 of chapter viii, which are very near to the end of that Epistle, the writer speaks highly of hope. It even appears as though hope were more to him than faith. "By hope we were saved," he says. And in xv, 13, the writer prays that the brethren may abound in hope. The expression "in the power of the Holy Ghost," with no mention of Christ in the conclusion, is much less likely to have come from a Catholic or Jewish Christian than from a Gnostic writer.

It is quite possible that what happened is this. When R3 added the hortatory section, wishing, of course, to preserve the appearance of continuity, he would not place one section after the formal conclusion of another, leaving an obvious juncture. He would insert the hortatory section just in front of the conclusion of the Epistle of R1, so that in the Epistle as he left it chapter xiv terminated with verses 5, 6, and 13 of chapter xv. At a later date R2 added his own conclusion—

the doxology now contained in verses 25 and 26 of chapter xvi; placing it, however, in front of the two earlier conclusions. Subsequently chapters xv and xvi were added. So long as the formal conclusions terminated chapter xiv, it would be easy to perceive that the added chapters were not an integral part of the earlier Epistle. Accordingly R4, the editor who added them, or, which is more probable, a later editor or scribe, in order to remove the discontinuity which then existed between chapters xiv and xv, incorporated the two conclusions with the text of chapter xv. Still later the doxology was transferred to the end of the Epistle.

The second half of verse 4, chapter xv, ostensibly draws a conclusion from the first half, yet the one does not follow naturally from the other. In the first half it is said that the scriptures were written for our learning; in the second, that they were written in order that we might have hope through the comfort derived from them. A writer might have made both these statements separately, but would hardly have stated the second as an inference from the first. And the words "through patience" are quite irrelevant. It is not even said that patience is the result of reading the scriptures, and the words seem to have been put in for some particular reason; they are not suggested by the context. We find then three words, "patience," "comfort," "hope," in the second half of verse 4, but nothing in the first half which prepares for or naturally leads up to them. On the other hand, two of these words are found in verse 5, and the third in verse 13, verses 5-6 and 13 being the two conclusions. We can hardly avoid the inference that the second half of verse 4 was inserted in order to lead up to these conclusions which the editor or scribe had transferred from the end of chapter xiv and placed after verse 4 of chapter xv. Verses 7 to 12 must be a still later interpolation—or, rather, interpolations—since the want of continuity between verses 6 and 7 and between 7 and 8 proves that these three verses cannot have been written consecutively by the same person.

All we can now do towards the solution of such a problem as this is to endeavour to frame an hypothesis which will account for the facts and not be in conflict with any other facts that are known. It is absurd for critics to pretend that there is nothing which requires explanation in a passage such as the one we have been examining. The obvious breaches of continuity throughout it prove that some serious dislocation has

occurred. The explanation given accounts for the dislocation, and is supported by the discovery of two conclusions the existence of which we had reason to anticipate. There is, however, one fact which creates a certain difficulty. According to the hypothesis developed above, Marcion's edition should have terminated with the two conclusions (xv, 5 and 6, and 13). But a statement made by Origen seems to justify a doubt whether that can have been the case. The words used by him are,¹ in the Latin translation, "Ab eo loco, ubi scriptum est: Omne autem quod non ex fide, peccatum est (xiv, 23) usque ad finem cuncta dissecuit." He (Marcion) cut out everything, from the words "Whatever is not of faith is sin" to the end. The whole question here depends upon the meaning of the word "dissecuit." Just before, Origen had stated that "Marcion removed the doxology (xvi, 25-27), but the word there used is "abstulit"; and the doxology, as he thought, had been removed from the end, nothing having followed it. It might be inferred that "dissecuit" means something different; possibly in this case that Marcion had cut the sections out, still leaving something which had followed them. "Finis" may mean "a conclusion," something *at* the end, not simply the end itself. Origen's statement might mean "he cut away everything at far as the conclusion."

If Origen had meant to say that in Marcion's edition nothing whatever had followed xiv, 23, his statement that Marcion had cut out *everything* would include the doxology, in which case there would have been no need to mention the doxology specially. It seems probable, therefore, that Marcion's Epistle had a conclusion which was not the doxology nor any one of the conclusions now found in chapter xvi. A reasonable hypothesis would be the following. In Marcion's MS. xv, 5 and 13, immediately followed xiv, 23. R2, when he added the doxology, may have cut away the two earlier conclusions. There would then be in circulation MSS. in some of which the doxology followed xiv, 23, and in others the two original conclusions. Chapter xv was next added, and in the MSS. in which it first appeared it followed the doxology, and had verse 33 for its conclusion. Verses 30 to 32 were not part of it. Later, when a new edition was being prepared, the editor, collating a number of MSS., found some which contained as conclusion the verses xv, 5, 6, and 13. He incorporated them

¹ *Comment. ad Rom.* xvi, 25.

into chapter xv, writing verse 4b to lead up to them. Verses 7 to 12 were interpolated later; verse 7 later than the other five. Either by this or some other editor the doxology was removed to the end.

Verses 30 to 33 cannot have been written by R4. They may have been taken by him from another Epistle, or, which is more probable, they may be a later interpolation. Reasons for this opinion are the use of the expression "our Lord Jesus Christ," and the grammatical construction in the Greek following the verb *παρακαλεῖν*, "to beseech" (v. 30). It will be shown in the chapter on First Corinthians that R4, after this verb, uses *ἵνα* with the subjunctive mood; but in verse 30 we find it followed by the infinitive mood: *παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς συναγωνίσασθαι μοι*.

The style and the character of the Greek throughout the passage, verses 14 to 29, are appreciably different from any we have yet met with in this Epistle. The sentences are long, but we have none of the idiosyncrasies of the style of R2. The flow and expression of thought is smooth and unbroken. In that respect it resembles the style of R1, but also it exhibits obvious differences. In verse 19 we find *ὥστε* followed by the infinitive mood to express a consequence, *ὥστε με πεπληρωκέναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*—a construction not used by R1, who makes the indicative mood follow *ὥστε*, or expresses a consequence in a different way. The writer seems to have been fastidious and to have consciously endeavoured to give elegance to his style and to raise it from the commonplace by the use of words and expressions not frequently employed. The words *ἐπαναμνήσκων*, "putting you again in remembrance" (verse 15), *ἱερουργούντα*, "ministering" (verse 16), *ἐπιποθίαν*, "longing" (verse 23), occur nowhere else in the New Testament; *διαπορεύομαι* for "I go" occurs nowhere else in the Epistles, five times in the Gospels, but one of these is doubtful; *ἐμπλησθῶ*, "I shall have been satisfied," is also not found in any Epistle, but four times in the Gospels. Again we have the unusual phrases *πεπληρωκέναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, "have fully preached the gospel" (verse 16), *σφραγισάμενος τὸν καρπὸν τοῦτον*, "having sealed this fruit." Other words not in common use are *μεστός*, *ἀγαθωσύνη* (verse 14), *εὐπρόσδεκτος* (verses 16 and 31). The somewhat artificial elegance of the style is quite perceptible in the English translation.

It is perhaps now not necessary to say that chapter xv cannot have been written by Paul, though it issued from a

Pauline circle. It contains legendary matter of late origin, such as the reference to a projected visit to Spain. The mention of the "disobedient in Judæa" was probably the product of the consciousness of a generation later than that of Paul. It may be gathered even from the Acts of the Apostles that the relations between Paul and the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem were very slight. The probability is that the visit contemplated in the Epistle before us was Paul's first visit to Jerusalem. This point will be discussed in the chapter on the Epistle to the Galatians. Even if that were not the case, Paul, before that visit, had no occasion to write of "the disobedient in Judæa." There is not the slightest implication in chapter xxi of Acts, rather the contrary, that Paul paid that visit to Jerusalem in order to take thither a contribution for the poor among the saints. That statement was apparently taken from the speech of Paul before Felix in chapter xxiv—a speech composed by the writer of Acts, and embodying legend of later date than the sources he used. Possibly the idea that Paul had come to Jerusalem to bring alms had its origin in the circumstance related in Acts xi, 29 and 30. However, there is no need to labour the point, since it was shown in section 2 that Paul cannot have written any Epistle to the Church at Rome.

It is unlikely that chapter xvi, verses 1 to 16, formed part of an Epistle from Paul to the Romans. It is not to be supposed that he could have been acquainted with so many members of a church which he had never visited. Indeed, as previously shown, from the account in Acts one would have to infer that Paul was not personally known to any one in Rome when he arrived there. And even if, as is practically certain, the Epistle of which this section formed part is spurious, the writer would have endeavoured to give it the appearance of verisimilitude. Straatman¹ gave reasons for believing that the section had formed part of an Epistle to the Ephesians. C. H. Weisse in 1855 had expressed the same opinion.²

I will now state a few facts which to every unprejudiced person must prove the soundness of the method of analysis which has been employed. And first I shall illustrate the nature and conclusiveness of the test by an example. Suppose that a man has to group a number of different objects into

¹ *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1868, 38-57.

² C. H. Weisse rejected xv, 8 to 12, xvi, 1 to 20.

three classes—A, B, C. He uses certain characteristics of the objects as a means of classification. He then observes that some of the objects bear certain distinguishing marks which he had not used for the purpose of separating them. He finds that one of those marks occurs only on objects which he had placed in class A, that another occurs only on objects which he had placed in class B, and that certain others are borne by objects which he had placed in two of the classes, but are entirely absent from the third class. Every mathematician will know that the probability against these results being the effect of chance is so very great that that explanation may be entirely set aside. The correctness of the classification is thus verified.

Now the Greek word $\mu\acute{\eta}$, which usually means "not," can be used as an interrogative particle. It is so used, in affirmative questions, five times in the Epistle to the Romans, and in every case in a section which I have ascribed to R2; nowhere else. Two of these cases are in chapter xi, verses 1 and 11, in a section which on other grounds I proved to be an interpolation by R2. R3, however, uses $\mu\eta\ \omicron\upsilon$ in negative questions. A purpose or a consequence can be expressed by the genitive of the definite article, $\tau\omicron\upsilon$, followed by the infinitive mood. That construction occurs four times in the Epistle—in i, 24, in vi, 6, in vii, 3, and in viii, 12. Every one of these is in a section which I have ascribed to R1. A purpose may be expressed by $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron$ followed by the infinitive mood. This construction occurs no less than seventeen times in the Epistle, but it is never used by R3; it occurs only once in chapters ix to xi, in a verse (xi, 2) which I proved to be an interpolation by R2; $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\ \omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ ("so then") is an expression used by both R1 and R2; it occurs seven times in sections which I have ascribed to one or the other of those two writers. R3 does not use it. It occurs twice in chapter ix, but in verses 16 and 18, in a passage which was proved to be an interpolation by R2. The correctness of the analysis is thus very strongly confirmed.

9.—INDICATIONS OF DATE

It has been proved that of all the writings which have gone to make up our present Epistle the Gnostic dissertation of R1 is the earliest in point of time. It bears within itself evidence of having been written not much later than the middle of the first century. There is in it no trace of the

breach between the new sect and the Jews. The animosity against the Jews which marks the later strata of the New Testament documents is entirely absent from this. According to R2, God has rejected the Jews, as such, absolutely; R1, on the contrary, says that circumcision profiteth if a man be a doer of the law. The severe reproaches contained in chapter ii, verses 17 to 23, are not addressed to the Jews as such, but to those Jews who are transgressors of the law, or who revere the letter while disregarding the spirit of it. There is no trace of the conflict which arose later between Jewish and Gentile Christians as to the continuing validity of the law; even though the writer was a Gnostic. The Gnosticism is of a very simple and undeveloped type, even more so than that ascribed by the early writers to the followers of Simon Magus. Gnostics of the type of R1, late in the first century, held that the Mosaic law had been given to the Jews by the Demiurgus, and that those who recognized its validity were not worshippers of the true God. In the opinion of R1, however, the Mosaic law, though it has been superseded for Christians by something inestimably better, is still valid for those Jews who yet cling to it. He records, without disputing it, the opinion of Jews that the law contains the form of knowledge and of the truth (*γνώσις καὶ ἀληθεία*), the highest ideal to which Gnostics could aspire. The problem of the rejection of the Jews by God, which so exercised the minds of Christian writers after the fall of Jerusalem, had evidently not presented itself to the mind of this writer. He appears to know of no fact which could suggest to him that the Jews had been rejected. On that ground alone it can be confidently asserted that R3 wrote later than R1. The former must have written after the fall of Jerusalem, and the latter before that event. Since, therefore, the Gnostic Epistle must have been written earlier than 70 A.D., and probably some years earlier, it is not impossible that it may have been written by Paul himself. If not, it was the work of one of his immediate successors.

The fact that the Epistle of R1 cannot be dated later than 70 A.D. is a point in favour of Pauline authorship. For, when an early writer was choosing the name of some noted man of the past to affix to his writing in order that weight might be added to his own utterances by the authority of the name, it was usual to select some one who had been dead for a considerable time—a man assignable to an earlier generation, whose authority had increased with age. It is, of course, not

impossible that letters or pamphlets in the form of letters should have been written in Paul's name five years or so after his death ; but the case would be exceptional. Since the Epistle was not addressed to the Roman Church, it may have been written at Rome.

The Epistle of R3, being chiefly concerned with the rejection of the Jews, must have been written after the fall of Jerusalem. Verse 22 of chapter xi clearly refers to that event. The very strong feeling exhibited by the writer with regard to the question he is discussing seems to show that his mind was under the influence of an event of somewhat recent occurrence. We may reasonably infer that chapters ix to xi were written not later than 75 A.D.

The hortatory section must, of course, have been written earlier than this. There is also internal evidence that it was written at a fairly early date. Although the early Christian Church was anxious to conciliate the Roman government, it is doubtful whether a leader of the Church would have written that "the powers that be are ordained of God," "rulers are not a terror to the good work, for they are ministers of God's service," if organized persecution of Christians by the government had already occurred. Moreover, there is no hint of the divisions and disorders of which at a later time there is evidence in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. On the other hand, it is not probable that the section was written much earlier than chapters ix to xi ; for the description of the Church as consisting of members of one body in Christ, having various gifts, appears to have been suggested by First Corinthians, chapter xii, which is hardly likely to have been written very much before the year 60. The indications on the whole are that the section was written between the years 60 and 70. It has been argued that the degree of church organization implied in chapter xii, verses 6 to 8, is not consistent with an early date. But, as will appear later, there were probably in existence Churches which could be described as Christian in some sense at an earlier date than is generally supposed.

In the sections written by R2 we see the commencement of the catholicizing of Paul ; a process which implies a previous period during which the right of Paul to the title of Apostle was contested. Until the close of the first century that contest could not have arisen, since previously the title had not been restricted to Paul and the Twelve. The edition of

R2, therefore, can hardly be dated earlier than about 120 A.D. On the other hand, it cannot have appeared more than a very few years after that date, because Basilides was acquainted with it, and he was teaching at Alexandria about the year 125. The fact that Basilides used the edition of R2 is proved by a reference to him by Origen in his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans, book v, chapter v. Origen there states that Basilides had quoted Romans vii, 9. "He (Basilides) observes:—The apostle said, *because I was alive apart from the law once*: that is, before I came into this body I lived in that kind of body which was not under the law—namely, the body of an animal or bird." The verse quoted by Basilides was written by R2. We must, therefore, conclude that the edition of R2 was put into circulation a very little before or after the year 120.

In chapter xvi, verse 7, Andronicus and Junias are styled apostles. The title of apostle was, therefore, still unrestricted when that chapter was written. It cannot consequently be dated later than the early years of the second century, or the close of the first. The reference in verses 17 and 18 to divisions and false teachers fixes a date earlier than which they cannot have been composed. It will be shown in the chapter on First Corinthians that the state of affairs thus indicated probably did not exist earlier than about 75 A.D. So that we may infer that chapter xvi was written at some date between 80 and 120, though not inserted into the Epistle till later, if the verses in question originally formed part of the chapter. The passage, verses 17 to 20, however, looks like a later addition to it, since verse 16 appears to be a termination. In that case the greater part of the chapter may have been written earlier than 80 A.D.

10.—SUMMARY OF RESULTS

To sum up the conclusions at which we have arrived: The earliest portion of our Epistle is an Epistle of a distinctly Gnostic character, which claimed to have been written by the Apostle Paul, and the date of which is certainly earlier than 70 A.D. That Epistle, disregarding minor interpolations, is comprised in chapter i, from verse 16 to the end of chapter ii;¹ chapters vi and vii to verse 6; chapter viii, verses 3 to 28; and verses 38 and 39; chapter xii, verses 1 and 2. The

¹ With the possible omission of ii, 1 to 16.

composite Epistle went through at least three editions. The first probably appeared during the period 70 to 75 A.D. The editor of it, R3, combined with the original Gnostic Epistle three chapters, ix to xi, written by himself, and added the hortatory section, chapters xii to xiv. Some time fairly early in the second century, the Epistle was re-edited by a Catholic editor, who inserted into it a long section, chapters iii to v, and a number of shorter ones written by himself. He also probably added the introductory verses, chapter i, 2 to 6, and part of 7 and the doxology, chapter xvi, verses 25 to 27, as a conclusion. Subsequently the Epistle was re-edited by some one who had Pauline affinities, who added to it chapters xv and xvi. Some interpolations may have been afterwards made into these two chapters.

The conclusion that the foundation of the Epistle to the Romans was an early Gnostic document is an extremely important one, and must profoundly modify the views hitherto held with regard to the course of early Christian development. It establishes the position, defended by me elsewhere¹ on other grounds, that Jewish Gnosticism was one of the main roots of Christianity. Pauline Christianity was the connecting link between Jewish Gnosticism and Catholic Christianity. The Gnosticism of Marcion in the second century was an offshoot from the Pauline. The belief that there was no Christian Gnosticism earlier than the second century has led students of Christian origins seriously astray. Even van Manen's results were vitiated by his having accepted that opinion.

The drastic treatment to which R2 subjected the Epistle of R1 was probably undertaken in the interests of the Catholic Church, in conformity with the policy to which I have previously referred. He wished to neutralize the Gnostic doctrine of the writer and to annex the great authority of Paul for the Catholic Church, and especially for his own doctrines of predestination, grace, and justification by faith. In this endeavour he has been only too successful, seeing that the doctrine which is now almost universally considered to be distinctively Pauline is the doctrine, not of the original Pauline writer, but of R2.

I append the three earlier sections of the Epistle reconstituted, and as far as possible purified from later interpolations.

¹ *The Evolution of Christianity.*

11.—THE GNOSTIC EPISTLE¹

“ Paul, a servant of Christ Jesus, separated unto the gospel of God, to all that are in love of God.

“ I am not ashamed of the gospel ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, both to Jew and to Greek. For wrath [of God] from heaven is revealed against all ungodliness of men who hold down the truth [in unrighteousness], because that which may be known of God is manifest in them. For the invisible things of him since the creation of the world are known, being inwardly perceived, that they may be without excuse. Because, knowing God, they glorified him not as God, but became vain in their reasonings, and their senseless heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of an image of corruptible man and of birds and fourfooted beasts and creeping things.

“ Wherefore God gave them up in the lusts of their hearts unto uncleanness, that their bodies should be dishonoured among themselves : for their women changed the natural use into that which is against nature ; and likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another, men with men working unseemliness, and receiving in themselves that recompense of their error which was due. And even as they did not think right to have God in their knowledge, God gave them up to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not fitting ; [being filled with all unrighteousness, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness ; full of envy, murder, strife, deceit, malignity, whisperers, backbiters, hateful to God, insolent, haughty, boastful, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, unmerciful :] who, knowing the ordinance of God that they who practise such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but also look with approval upon those who practise them.

“ [Wherefore thou art without excuse, O man, whoever thou art that judgest ; for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself ; for thou that judgest dost practise the same things. And we know that the judgment of God

¹ Passages in square brackets are of doubtful originality.

is according to truth against them that practise such things. And reckonest thou this, O man, who judgest them that practise such things and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God? Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance and long-suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God is leading thee to repentance? But after thy hardness and impenitent heart thou treasurest up for thyself wrath in the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; who will render to every man according to his works; to them that by patience in well-doing seek for glory and honour and incorruption, eternal life; but unto them that are factious and obey not the truth, but obey unrighteousness, wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that worketh evil, both Jew and Greek; for there is no respect of persons with God. For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law; and as many as have sinned under law shall be judged by law; for not the hearers of law are just before God, but the doers of law shall be justified. For when the Gentiles which have no law do by nature the things of the law, these having no law, are a law unto themselves; in that they show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith, and their thoughts one with another accusing or else excusing them.]

“ But if thou bearest the name of a Jew and retest upon the law, and approvest the things that are excellent, being instructed out of the law, and art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a light of them that are in darkness, a corrector of the foolish, a teacher of babes, having in the law the form of the gnosis and of the truth; thou therefore that teachest another, teachest not thou thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou rob temples? thou who gloriest in the law, through thy transgression of the law dishonourest thou God? For circumcision indeed profiteth if thou be a doer of the law; but if thou be a transgressor of the law thy circumcision is become uncircumcision. If therefore the uncircumcision keep the ordinances of the law, shall not his uncircumcision be reckoned for circumcision? And shall not the uncircumcision which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who with the letter and circumcision art a transgressor of the law? For he is not a Jew who is

one outwardly ; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh ; but he is a Jew who is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter ; whose praise is not of men, but of God.

“ Now we know that what things soever the law sayeth, it speaketh to them that are under the law. But we, who died to sin, how shall we any longer live therein ? Or are ye ignorant that all who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death ? We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death ; that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life. For if we have become united with him by the likeness of his death, we shall be also by the likeness of his resurrection ; knowing this that our old man was crucified with him, that the body of sin might be done away, that so we should no longer be in bondage to sin ; for he that hath died is justified from sin. But if we died with Christ we believe that we shall also live with him ; knowing that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more ; death hath no longer dominion over him. [For the death that he died, he died unto sin once ; but the life that he liveth, he liveth unto God.] Even so reckon ye also yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus.

“ Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey the lusts thereof ; neither present your members unto sin as instruments of unrighteousness ; but present yourselves unto God, as alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God. Know ye not that to whom ye present yourselves as servants unto obedience, his servants ye are whom ye obey ; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness ? But thanks be to God, that, whereas ye were servants of sin, ye became obedient from the heart to that form of teaching whereunto ye were delivered ; and, being set free from sin, ye became servants of righteousness. I speak after the manner of men because of the infirmity of your flesh ; for as ye presented your members as servants to uncleanness and to iniquity unto iniquity, even so now present your members as servants to righteousness unto sanctification. For when ye were servants of sin ye were free in regard to righteousness. What fruit then had ye at that time in the things whereof ye are now ashamed ? For the end of those things is death. But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye

have your fruit unto sanctification, and the end eternal life. For the wages of sin is death ; but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord.

“ Or are ye ignorant, brethren (for I speak to men that know the law), how that the law hath dominion over a man for so long a time as he liveth ? For the woman that hath a husband is bound by law to the husband while he liveth ; but if the husband die, she is discharged from the law of the husband. So then if, while the husband liveth, she be joined to another man, she shall be called an adulteress ; but if the husband die, she is free from the law, so that she is no adulteress, though she be joined to another man. Wherefore, my brethren, ye also were made dead to the law [through the body of Christ] that ye should be joined to another even to him who was raised from the dead. For the ineffectiveness of the law in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending his own Son in the likeness of flesh, condemned ; that the ordinance of God [*or*, of the law] might be fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit. For they that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh ; but they that are after the spirit the things of the spirit. But ye are not in the flesh, but in the spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you.

“ So then, brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh ; for if ye live after the flesh, ye must die ; but if by the spirit ye mortify the body, ye shall live. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are the sons of God. For ye received not the spirit of bondage again unto fear ; but ye received the spirit of sonship whereby we cry Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are children of God ; and if children, then heirs ; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ ; if so be that we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified with him.

“ For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which is in the future to be revealed to us. For the earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the revealing of the sons of God. For the creation was subjected to vanity, not of its own will, but by reason of him who subjected it, in hope that the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. And not only so, but we ourselves also,

who have the first-fruits of the Spirit, groan within ourselves, waiting for the sonship [the redemption of our body]. For by hope we were saved ; but hope that is seen is not hope ; for who hopeth for that which he seeth ? But if we hope for that which we see not, with patience we wait for it.

“ And in like manner the Spirit also helpeth our infirmity ; for we know not how to pray as we ought. But the Spirit himself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered ; and he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God. And we know that to them that love God all things work together for good. For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other created thing, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

“ I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service. And be not fashioned according to this world ; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God.

“ Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, in the power of the Holy Spirit.”

12.—THE EPISTLE OF R3

“ I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience bearing witness with me in the Holy Spirit, that I have great sorrow and unceasing pain in my heart. For I could wish that I myself were anathema from Christ for my brethren's sake, my kinsmen according to the flesh ; who are Israelites ; whose is the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises ; whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen. But it is not as though the word of God hath come to naught. For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel ; neither, because they are Abraham's seed, are they all children ; but in Isaac shall thy seed be called. That is, it is not the children of the flesh that are children of God ; but the children of the promise are reckoned for a seed. For this is a

word of promise. According to this season will I come, and Sarah shall have a son. And not only so ; but Rebecca also having conceived by one, even by our father Isaac, it was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger. Even as it is written, Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated. And Isaiah crieth concerning Israel, If the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, it is the remnant that shall be saved ; for the Lord will execute his word upon the earth, finishing it and cutting it short. And, as Isaiah hath said before,

Except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed,
We had become as Sodom, and had been made like unto
Gomorrhah.

“Brethren, my heart’s desire and my supplication to God is for them, that they may be saved. For I bear them witness that they have a zeal for God ; but not according to knowledge. For being ignorant of God’s righteousness, and seeking to establish their own, they did not subject themselves to the righteousness of God. For Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness to every one that believeth. Moses writeth that the man that doeth the righteousness which is of the law shall live thereby. But the righteousness which is of faith saith thus, Say not in thy heart, Who shall ascend unto heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down) ; or, Who shall descend into the abyss? (that is, to bring Christ up from the dead). But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart ; that is, the word of faith, which we preach. Because if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness ; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation ; for, Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach, except they be sent? even as it is written, How beautiful are the feet of them that bring glad tidings of good things !

“But they did not all hearken to the glad tidings. For Isaiah saith, Lord, who hath believed our report? So belief cometh of hearing, and hearing by the word of God.¹ But I say, Did they not hear? yea, verily.

¹ This is the reading of the A.V. ; it is found in some good MSS. and it may be the original one. The R.V. gives “of Christ.”

Their sound went out into all the earth,
And their words unto the end of the world.

“ But I say, Did Israel not know ?

“ First Moses saith,

I will provoke you to jealousy with that which is no nation.
With a nation void of understanding will I anger you.

“ And Isaiah is very bold, and saith :

I was found of them that sought me not ;
I became manifest unto them that asked not of me.

But as to Israel he saith, All the day long did I spread out my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people.

“ But I speak to you that are Gentiles. Inasmuch then as I am an apostle of Gentiles, I glorify my ministry ; if by any means I may provoke to jealousy them that are my flesh, and may save some of them. For if the casting away of them is the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead ? And if the firstfruit is holy, so is the lump ; and if the root is holy, so are the branches. But if some of the branches were broken off, and thou, being a wild olive, wast grafted in among them, and didst become partaker with them of the root of the fatness of the olive tree ; glory not over the branches : but if thou gloriest, it is not thou that bearest the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt say then, Branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in. Well, by their unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by thy faith. Be not high-minded, but fear ; for if God spared not the natural branches, neither will he spare thee. Behold then the goodness and severity of God ; toward them that fell severity ; but toward thee, God’s goodness, if thou continue in his goodness ; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off. And they also, if they continue not in their unbelief, shall be grafted in. For if thou wast cut out of that which is by nature a wild olive tree, and wast grafted contrary to nature into a good olive tree ; how much more shall these, which are the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive tree ?

“ For I would not, brethren, have you ignorant of this mystery, lest ye be wise in your own conceits, that a hardening in part hath befallen Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in ; and so all Israel shall be saved : even as it is written,

There shall come out of Zion the deliverer :
He shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob ;
And this is my covenant unto them,
When I shall take away their sins.

“ For as ye in time past were disobedient to God, but now have obtained mercy by their disobedience, even so have these also now been disobedient, that by the mercy shown to you they also may now obtain mercy. For God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all.

“ O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God ! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past tracing out ! For who hath known the mind of the Lord ? or who hath been his counsellor ? or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed to him again ? For of him, and through him, and unto him, are all things. To him be the glory for ever. Amen.”

Is it possible for any cultured man to read these two Epistles and not perceive the difference of style ? And is it not clear that in the consistency and logical continuity of the reasoning the reconstructions fully justify themselves ?

13.—THE HORTATORY SECTION

“ Through the grace that was given me I say to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think ; but so to think as to think soberly, according as God hath dealt to each man a measure of faith. For even as we have many members in one body, and all the members have not the same office ; so we, who are many, are one body in Christ, and severally members one of another. And having various gifts [according to the grace that was given to us], if it be prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of our faith ; or ministry, let us give ourselves to our ministry ; or he that teacheth to his teaching ; or he that exhorteth to his exhorting ; he that giveth let him do it with liberality ; he that ruleth, with diligence ; he that showeth mercy, with cheerfulness.

“ Let love be without hypocrisy. Abhor that which is evil ; cleave to that which is good. In love of the brethren be tenderly affectioned one to another ; in diligence not slothful ; fervent in spirit ; attuned to the time ;¹ rejoicing in hope ;

¹ Or, observing the occasion.

patient in tribulation ; continuing steadfastly in prayer ; communicating to the necessities of the saints ; given to hospitality. [Bless them that persecute you ; bless and curse not.] Rejoice with them that rejoice ; weep with them that weep. Be of the same mind one toward another. Set not your mind on high things, but condescend to things that are lowly. Render to no man evil for evil. Take thought for things honourable in the sight of all men. If it be possible, as much as in you lieth, be at peace with all men. Avenge not yourselves, beloved, but give place unto wrath. [But if thine enemy hunger feed him ; if he thirst give him to drink, for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head.] Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.

“ [Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers ; for there is no power but of God ; and the powers that be are ordained of God. Therefore, he that resisteth the power, withstandeth the ordinance of God. For rulers are not a terror to the good work, but to the evil ; for they are ministers of God’s service, attending continually to this very thing.] Render to all their dues ; tribute to whom tribute is due ; custom to whom custom ; fear to whom fear ; honour to whom honour. Owe no man anything, save to love one another.

“ But him that is weak in faith, receive ye, yet not to doubtful disputations. One man hath faith to eat all things, but he that is weak eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth set at nought him that eateth not ; and let not him that eateth not judge him that eateth [for God hath received him]. One man esteemeth one day above another ; another esteemeth every day alike. Let each man be fully assured in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord ; and he that eateth, eateth unto the Lord, for he giveth God thanks ; and he that eateth not, unto the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks. Let us not, therefore, judge one another any more. For the kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.”

The First Epistle to the Corinthians

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS

1.—INTRODUCTORY

ON coming to a study of the Epistles to the Corinthians we have the great advantage of being able to apply the results obtained from the examination of the Epistle to the Romans. For example, if we can discover in them any portions which are of a Gnostic character, we shall be justified in assuming provisionally that those portions are the oldest and constitute the real Pauline substratum of the documents. We also know that Pauline Gnosticism had rejected the Old Testament and avoided reference to it, and that its designation of the Saviour was "Christ Jesus." We have also become familiar with the style and doctrine of at least three writers of the period, so that if any of these writers had a hand in the production of the Epistles to the Corinthians we should be able to recognize their work.

There is this important difference between the First Epistle to the Corinthians and the Epistle to the Romans, that the former does contain admonitions and advice which appear to be addressed to a definite community. On the other hand, there are considerable sections of it which consist of instructions and doctrine of so general a character as to suggest a dissertation or an "open letter," rather than a letter addressed to a known circle of readers. The explanation of this difference may be that the Epistle is composite, and that with an actual letter to the Corinthians are woven portions of an Epistle of a more universal character, or sections inserted by an editor. That explanation is supported by the terms of the opening address, where the Epistle is first ostensibly addressed to the church at Corinth, and then to "all that call upon the name of our Lord Jesus in every place." The form "Christ Jesus" in the first part of verse 2, followed by the phrase "our Lord Jesus Christ" in the second, proves that the verse did not all come from the same writer. The first expression suggests a Pauline writer, and the latter a Catholic editor. A natural inference would be that the original Epistle was addressed to

the church at Corinth, and subsequently converted by an editor into a work of a more universal character. Our knowledge of the nature of the Epistle to the Romans has prepared us to believe that the editor combined with the original Epistle sections taken from later ones.

A preliminary examination of the Epistle reveals its composite character; there cannot be any possible doubt upon that point. Van Manen, who was convinced of this, said, however, that the style throughout is Pauline, as distinguished from Petrine, Johannine, or Synoptic. That statement cannot be accepted without qualification. It is true that the Epistle is clearly distinguishable from the documents which issued from the other circles named; but, as a whole, it is not distinctively Pauline. Some of it would be more appropriately termed Catholic. Other considerable sections are Gnostic, though not Pauline. As was the case with the Epistle to the Romans, the original Pauline document, of which traces are easily recognizable, has been broken up and the portions separated by sections written by later editors. The composite nature of the work has been demonstrated by several New Testament critics, but really no special qualifications, or great learning, are required for the perception of it. Any intelligent person who will read the Epistle without prejudice can easily see it for himself.

The writer begins by praising the Corinthians. He thanks God that they were enriched in Christ in all knowledge, so that they come behind in no gift (i, 4-7). The writer of chapter iv is so dissatisfied with these admirable Corinthians that he says, "I write not to shame, but to admonish you," and begs them to imitate him; saying that some of them are puffed up; he has had to send Timothy to them, and threatens to come himself, finally addressing to them these severe words, "Shall I come unto you with a rod?" (verses 14-21). How is this inconsistency to be explained?

The writer of ii, 10, says, "unto *us* God revealed them through the Spirit," identifying himself with his readers and implying that the revelation has also been made to them through the Spirit. In the following verses he discourses of the Spirit and the things of the Spirit, in full confidence that his readers will understand and appreciate his words. In verse 12 he says *we* (i.e., himself and his readers) received the spirit. The writer of chapter iii, on the contrary, begins by saying, "I could not speak to you as to spiritual, but as

to carnal"! When, for a whole chapter, he *had* been speaking to them as to spiritual! If, indeed, it is the same person speaking. Can any unbiased reader believe that it is? The men who in chapter i, verse 7, were told that they come behind in no gift are told in chapter iii, verse 3, that they are yet carnal and walk after the manner of men.

The writer of chapter x, verses 20 and 21, condemns in the strongest terms the practice of eating meat that has been sacrificed to an idol. He says: "Ye cannot partake of the table of the Lord and of the table of devils." He will have no compromise. That which is sacrificed is sacrificed to devils, and he who eats it has communion with devils. The writer of chapter viii, verses 1 to 13, on the contrary, thinks that it is permissible to eat such meat. His point of view is a very limited application of a principle held later by the Valentinians. That principle was that all things are permissible for the spiritual man, who has the Gnosis. Other men can only save themselves from ultimate perdition by moral conduct. So the writer of viii, 1 and 5, says *we* have Gnosis; we know that an idol is nothing at all, consequently meat offered to idols is not in any way different from other meat. But those who have not Gnosis will be harmed if they are tempted to do what they think wrong. Do not, therefore, tempt such men to eat sacrificed meat by your example. In chapter x, verses 23 to 33, we have a third writer, who is quite indifferent and draws his advice from no principle whatever. There is no harm at all, he says, in eating meat that has been sacrificed, but many think otherwise; therefore, lest you should afterwards have qualms of conscience, ask no questions. If any one can believe that these three inconsistent opinions were expressed by the same man, I can only feel astonishment. Reasoning appears useless in such a case.

The writer of xi, 5, says that "every woman praying or prophesying with her head unveiled dishonoureth her head"; implying that women have the right to prophesy or to offer up prayer in public. The writer of xiv, 34, says, "Let the women keep silence in the churches." The sections in which these two verses occur were obviously not written by the same person. It will be shown hereafter that chapter xi was written in the first, and chapter xiv, verses 26 to 38, in the second, century. Hence we may infer that at first it was customary for women to speak and pray in the church, but that the custom later fell into disuse.

The writer of iv, 14, says: "I write not these things to shame you, but to admonish you as my beloved children." The writer of vi, 5, adopts a very different tone. He does not call his readers "my beloved children"; he rates them severely, and says that he does write to move them to shame. Again, the statement made about the movements of Timothy in iv, 17, is quite irreconcilable with that found in xvi, verses 10 *et seq.* And it is difficult to believe that the man who wrote verses 2, 3, 5 and 7 of chapter xvi had previously written verses 18 and 19 of chapter iv. In the latter verse the writer says, "I will come to you shortly"; but the writer of xvi, 7, is in no hurry and says, "I do not wish to see you now," and no one would infer from that chapter that the visit was to be a disciplinary one.

In xi, 13, the writer says, "I hear that divisions exist among you and I *partly* believe it." Can the man who wrote thus uncertainly have written the sections i, 10 to 13, and iii, 3 to 5, in which divisions that the writer has no doubt of are severely condemned?

Again, as we found to be the case in the Epistle to the Romans, breaches of continuity are frequent, and are rendered only more conspicuous by the insertion of a connecting word, such as "for," in order to create the appearance of continuity where there is no continuity. Take, for example, chapter ix, verse 27, and chapter x, verse 1. If we paraphrase these two verses so as to bring them into the real relation which is indicated by the conjunction "for," we get this: I buffet my body because our fathers were under the cloud!

It is really amazing that it has not been generally recognized long ago what a patchwork the First Epistle to the Corinthians is. The explanation, no doubt, is the extreme reverence in which the book has been held on account of the great name of Paul which has been attached to it. If any secular work of so composite a character had been subjected by competent critics to an examination as searching as that to which this Epistle has been subjected by theologians, its true nature would have been discovered long since. Of course theologians in their search have been looking for something else. This fact they do not desire to find.

The analysis of this Epistle is more difficult than that of the Epistle to the Romans, owing to its greater compositeness. In Romans there are many comparatively short sections of different origin from the longer ones in which

they are embedded, but the doctrine and style of those sections are so characteristic that the task of separating them was not very difficult ; and they were nearly all written by the same person. In the Epistle to the Corinthians a larger number of writers is represented, and, while the different sections do exhibit differences of style and of doctrine, those differences are for the most part less marked than in the case of the other Epistle. Consequently they are not only less easy to detect, but much less easily made evident to an untrained observer. There is altogether a good deal less theological doctrine in this Epistle than in the one to the Romans, so that consideration of differences of doctrine will be a less powerful means of analysis. It will therefore be advisable to adopt a somewhat different method of attack ; and since Gnostic ideas and phraseology are perceptible in certain sections of the Epistle, the most hopeful plan seems to be to assume that the basis of this document also is an early Gnostic Epistle, and by tracing it out to endeavour to separate it from the chapters among which it has been embedded. That method we will now proceed to apply.

2.—THE GNOSTIC EPISTLE TRACED

The Gnostic Epistle, like the one included in the Epistle to the Romans, was no doubt ascribed to Paul, if not actually written by him. It has been suggested that the association of Sosthenes with him was made at a later time by an editor, in order that the authority of the Epistle might be enhanced by the testimony of a second witness. But that is a mere guess, with very little to recommend it. Since the Epistle is composite, it is certainly possible that Sosthenes was the name of one of the writers of it, and it will appear hereafter that that explanation is the most probable one. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that the Gnostic Epistle either was, or claimed to be, a joint production. It is written throughout in the first person singular.

The words "called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ," in i, 1, may be rejected for reasons previously given when discussing the Epistle to the Romans.¹ The word "called" (*κλητός*), although it occurs seven times in the two Epistles, is never found in the Gnostic sections of either of them ; so

¹ Codex A (Alexandrinus) omits "called to be" and one MS. gives "a servant of Christ Jesus" instead of "called to be an apostle."

that the words "called to be saints" are most probably an editorial addition. The phrase "sanctified in Christ Jesus," however, is one which a Gnostic writer could well have used. It will be remembered that R1 often wrote *in* or *with*, never *through*, Christ Jesus. The form "Christ Jesus," in juxtaposition to "Jesus Christ," which occurs three times in the first three verses, proves that the text has been manipulated, and that 2a is of different origin from the rest of the three verses. We thus get for the opening address of the original Epistle: "Paul unto the church of God which is at Corinth, even them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus."

The phrase "testimony of Christ" in verse 6 cannot have been used by the Gnostic writer. And if we assume provisionally that R1, whoever he may have been, was the writer of both Gnostic Epistles, there is additional reason for rejecting the phrase, for "of Christ" is, in the Greek, *τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, and it was shown before that to place the definite article before *Χριστός* was not the practice of that writer. In verse 7 we have *ὥστε* followed by the infinitive mood to express a consequence—a construction not found either in the Epistle of R1 or in the Gnostic sections of the present Epistle. There *ὥστε* always means "wherefore," and is followed by the indicative or the imperative mood.¹ For example, Romans vii, 4. Also verses 7, 8, and 9 contain the title "our Lord Jesus Christ" or "Jesus Christ our Lord." Consequently none of the verses 6 to 9 can have formed part of the Gnostic Epistle. We thus obtain for the introductory verses: "I thank my God always concerning you, for the grace of God that was given you in Christ Jesus, that in everything ye were enriched in him, in all utterance and all knowledge (gnosis)."

Verses 10 to 17 must be decidedly rejected. We have "our Lord Jesus Christ" in the first verse of the passage. In verse 13 we find *ὁ Χριστός*. Of course there may have been interpolation, and the definite article before *Χριστός* may, as apparently sometimes happened, have been inserted by a copyist. But there are other reasons for rejecting the passage, some of which will appear later. The censure of the Corinthians expressed in it does not consist well with the words of commendation which it immediately follows. And, for those who can see it, the style is appreciably different from that

¹ Of course the assumption that the Gnostic Epistle in First Corinthians was written by R1 may be wrong; 7a therefore cannot be absolutely rejected.

of the Gnostic sections which we shall presently consider. In any case, there is nothing in the passage which indicates a Gnostic writer, so that, even if there were no reasons against believing it to be a portion of the Gnostic Epistle, we should have to allow it to stand over until we have learnt something more about the nature of that Epistle. Verse 17 at any rate cannot have been written by Paul, or indeed by any Gnostic. Some Jewish Gnostic communities at the beginning of the first century had applied the title "Christos" or "Chrestos" to the Logos. One or other of these titles tended to supplant "the Logos" as a designation, probably on account of their being more in the nature of a name. Now, the supposed appearance of the Logos upon the earth was at some indefinite time in the past. Of course no one living had seen the Logos. Hence no early Gnostic could say that Christ had sent him to preach. The Pauline Gnostics had added the name "Jesus" to the name "Christ"; but their Christ Jesus was still the Logos, even though he was not referred to by that title. Paul had no concern with any man of the name "Jesus," and had no desire to learn anything about him, even if he had existed. His Christ Jesus was an entirely divine being, the Son of God, whom he had never seen. Even the story of the vision on the road to Damascus may be dismissed as legend. Paul, therefore, could not have written i, 17, "Christ sent me to preach the Gospel"; nor could a Pauline Gnostic, one of his immediate successors, have done so.

Throughout the next section, i, 18 to ii, 16, we find indubitable evidence that the writer, if not of the whole, at least of a considerable portion, was a Gnostic. The Gnostics were mystics and had a body of esoteric lore, of an allegorical or symbolic nature, which could be understood only by those who had received appropriate instruction. Members were gradually initiated into this esoteric lore as they proved their fitness, morally and intellectually, for understanding it. Those who had reached the highest class or degree in the study of this esoteric doctrine, or "mystery," were called *οἱ τελεῖοι* ("the perfect"). In verse 6 of chapter ii the writer says, "we speak wisdom among the perfect"; and in verse 7, "we speak God's wisdom in a mystery." That wisdom was of course "not of this world," for it was esoteric doctrine. "Wisdom," "knowledge," "power," were favourite terms with Gnostics, and we find in i, 24, "Christ the power of God and the wisdom of

God." Such a phrase implies Gnostic doctrine, and would not have been used by an early Catholic or Jewish Christian writer. For the former Christ was an expiatory sacrifice, for the latter the Messiah. The idea that God revealed himself in Christ came into Christian doctrine from the Gnostics.

Again, Gnostics distinguished between the soul of the natural man, which they called *ψυχή*, and the spirit, which could only be obtained from God through the Logos, Christ, by union with him. The spirit is *πνεῦμα*. Hence the Gnostics classified men into *pneumatic* and *psychic*. In verse 14 of chapter ii the words translated in our versions by "natural man" are in the Greek, *ψυχικός ἄνθρωπος* ("psychic man"). A Gnostic must have written the passage in which that term occurs.

Another Gnostic expression is "archons of this æon" (*ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*), which occurs in verse 8 of chapter ii, and is translated in our English versions by "rulers of this world." Of course *archon* does mean a ruler, and *τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* may mean "of this world." But when we find the phrase in company with other Gnostic expressions we must take it in the sense in which it was used by Gnostics. These *archons* were not earthly rulers, but supernatural beings. In verse 30 of chapter i, again, we find the phrase "of him (God) are ye in Christ Jesus." We learnt, when examining the Epistle to the Romans, that this phrase involves Gnostic doctrine. By union with Christ the believer has become a sharer of the *pneuma* of God.

In the next chapter we are suddenly plunged back again into the question of the dispute between the parties of Paul and Apollos. Now, I ask the candid reader: Is it in the least degree likely that a writer would interrupt his treatment of that important matter by a long section containing Gnostic doctrine which has no relation to it whatever? And could the writer of chapter ii, after addressing his readers as "pneumatic" men, suddenly tell them that they are not spiritual, but carnal? Moreover, whereas the writer of chapter ii, being a Gnostic, uses the term "psychic," the writer of chapter iii, who was not a Gnostic, though he had some Gnostic affinities, avoids the term and instead of it uses the word *σαρκικός* ("carnal"), which occurs three times in the first three verses.

The section i, 18, to ii, 15, thus stands out from those which precede and follow as a Gnostic section. It would be natural to conclude that the whole of that section formed part

of the original Gnostic Epistle. There are, however, some considerations which suggest a doubt as to whether i, 18 to 31 came from the same writer as chapter ii. The attitude of the two portions of this section towards wisdom does not seem to be quite the same. The writer of chapter ii certainly distinguishes between the wisdom of men and the power of God; but the terms in which he speaks of God's wisdom do not quite agree with the expression "the foolishness of God" (i, 25); nor does the statement that "we speak wisdom among the perfect" quite agree with the statement that "God chose the foolish things of the world" (i, 27), even after making all allowance for the difference between the wisdom of God and the wisdom of men. And does the description of the preaching as a "demonstration of the Spirit and of power" exhibit quite the same attitude of mind as the phrase "the foolishness of the preaching"? Such considerations, though by no means conclusive, suffice to raise a doubt. But, further, verse 18 hardly seems a natural sequence to 5, "ye were enriched in Christ in all utterance and all knowledge"; "for the word of the cross," etc. One might with some straining find a connection, but it is certainly obscure, whereas the connection is close between verses 18 and 17. On the other hand, it would be very natural for the writer to begin his letter by putting himself into relation with his readers through a personal touch. First he refers to them, and then to himself. The words "And I, brethren," throwing some emphasis upon the personal pronoun, suggest an antithesis between the writer and his readers. But the readers are only slightly mentioned in the verses immediately preceding ii, 1, and that several lines before; whereas the antithesis has its full value if ii, 1, immediately follows i, 5. "Ye come behind in no gift; and I," etc. It seems more likely that the writer should have commenced his letter in this way than that he should have interposed a section on preaching between his reference to his readers and to himself.

Chapter ii is in a flowing and dignified style, undistinguishable from that of R1; and if we suppose, as we reasonably may, that the chapter was written by him, it is pertinent to observe that the conjunction *ἐπειδή* ("seeing that"), with which verses 21 and 22 of chapter i both begin, did not occur at all in the former Epistle of R1.

If chapter i, verses 18 to 31, was not the work of the writer of chapter ii, it will be shown hereafter that it must be

late ; in which case the traces of Gnostic influence perceptible in it have no special significance. Even when the Pauline communities had become catholicized, traces of their original Gnostic doctrine would remain, and some Gnostic terms and expressions would still be current among them. In fact, through these communities certain Gnostic ideas and terms became the common property of the whole Catholic Church.

Verse 2 of chapter ii must be rejected for reasons previously given. Verse 9 seems to be a gloss which has got incorporated with the text. It very awkwardly and unnaturally breaks the flow of thought from verses 8 to 10.¹ There is some reason to think that the interpolator of verse 16 was R3. The phrase "for who hath known the mind of the Lord (*νοῦν Κυρίου*)?" is an exact repetition of the first half of Romans xi, 34. The expression *νοῦν κυρίου* does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament. The sentence is a quotation from the Old Testament.² It is not very apt ; a circumstance which is characteristic of R3.

There are traces of Gnostic influence in chapters iii and iv ; but we have already seen good reason for doubting whether the writer of chapter ii also wrote chapter iii, and additional reasons will appear later. Chapter iv is connected with iii ; and the two chapters must be taken, or left, together.

We do not again find any specifically Gnostic ideas until we come to chapter xii. Certainly there are a few chapters consisting entirely of admonitions which could have been written by a Gnostic, though they have no Pauline characteristics. We shall be able to decide whether these chapters formed part of the Gnostic Epistle only when we come to examine them more particularly, from considerations of style and continuity. Consecutive sections must be seen to follow one another in a natural manner. R1 was an orderly writer, and would not take up a subject, drop it, treat some other subject, and then return to the first. Now, chapter xii quite naturally follows ii. In chapter ii the writer speaks of the nature and working of the Spirit of God. The doctrine propounded forms a natural introduction to the subject of xii, and leads up to the idea, with which xii opens, that, while there is only one Spirit, it may manifest itself in various ways ; so that there is a diversity of spiritual gifts.

¹ The quotation is said by Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographia*, ninth century, to be taken from an apocryphal work ascribed to Elijah. His testimony is supported by other writers.

² Isaiah xi, 13.

The Gnostic doctrine which is found in chapter xii, and in xiv which follows it, is not very distinctive. But that is in a considerable measure owing to the fact that some Gnostic ideas and practices were absorbed by Catholicism. One may read a certain early document containing ideas of Gnostic origin, and say: Well, there is nothing specially Gnostic about that; it is just Christian doctrine. Which may be quite true. But it is necessary to consider the date of the document. If it was written at a time when those ideas had become the common property of Christendom, their presence would, of course, not indicate a Gnostic author. But if the date were sufficiently early it would do so. Now, there is good reason to believe that some of the ideas expressed in the chapters under consideration grew up in a Gnostic environment; particularly the conception of the Church as the body of Christ.¹ We know that there were two interpretations of the significance of the Lord's Supper, to which the names "sacrament" and "eucharist" correspond. The interpretation of the Catholic sacrament was, and is, that the bread and wine represent, indeed actually are, the body and blood of Jesus, who was slain as a sacrificial victim for the redemption of mankind. The other view, which was of Gnostic origin, and is found in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* and in chapter x of this Epistle, was that the loaf, and the eating of it in common, symbolized the union of the members of the community and their communion with Christ. The Gnostic idea that the believer was *in* Christ has already been referred to. Hence the community came to be regarded as the body of Christ. We found reason to believe that the Gnostic document embedded in the Epistle to the Romans was written at an early date; so that there is a strong probability that the Gnostic document contained in First Corinthians—which, so far as can be judged by the style of it, came from the same writer—was also written at a date when the conception of the Church as the body of Christ was still a distinctively Gnostic one. Seeing, then, that the subject of chapter xii is quite a natural development from the ideas expressed in chapter ii, and that none of the intervening chapters is so, we are justified in supposing provisionally that chapter xii is the continuation of the Gnostic Epistle.

¹ The idea is found in the very early Jewish Gnostic *Odes of Solomon*, Ode 17: "They joined themselves to me and were saved, because they were my limbs and I was their head. Praise to thee, Lord Christ!"

The natural sequence of ideas, as indicated above, is from ii, 15, to xii, 4. Verses 1 to 3 of chapter xii appear to have been inserted in order to soften down the flagrant breach of continuity which would otherwise exist between chapters xi and xii.

In verse 28 we read, "And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healing, etc." The Greek word translated "miracles" is *δυνάμεις*; but the translation cannot be correct. The word no doubt may mean *miracles*, but as used here it signifies, not an action, performance, or effect, but a class of men. We have apostles, prophets, teachers, and *δυνάμεις*. As the first three of these are classes of men, so is the fourth. It is true that "gifts of healing," which immediately follows, does not signify a class of men; but we can see from verse 29 that *δυνάμεις* must be taken with the names that precede it, not with those that follow. For the writer says there "are all teachers? *are* all *δυνάμεις*? *have* all gifts of healing." In order to conserve the signification which they have wrongly given to the word, the translators have had to introduce two words which are not in the Greek text, and say "are all *workers of* miracles?" The word *δυνάμεις* means "powers." The title "power" might conceivably be given to a worker of miracles, but there are reasons for doubting whether it has that meaning in this place. Miracles must have been supposed to be worked through the mediation of the Holy Spirit; and one would have thought that in no way could the power of the Spirit have been shown in greater intensity than in the working of a miracle. In the Acts of the Apostles, only the chief Apostles can work miracles. And yet here, where the possessors of spiritual gifts are classified in the order of their estimation, these "powers" are put no higher than in the fourth rank, after teachers. Whatever they were, the writer evidently did not rate them highly. In Acts Simon Magus is termed "that power of God which is called great." As *magus* means a *magician*, it might be thought that Simon was so called because he was a miracle-worker. But the word "power" in that case was probably a Gnostic term. In the Gnostic systems God commenced the work of creation by projecting from himself certain supernatural powers, really hypostatized abstractions—Mind, Truth, Thought, Silence, Wisdom, Word (Logos), and so on. The Fathers said that Simon was the originator of

Gnosticism, but his own followers had a statue of him and worshipped him as God, so that when he is called the great Power of God the word "power" is probably used in the Gnostic sense defined above. *Magus* may be a corruption of *megas*, *great*. The word *δυνάμεις* also occurs in Romans viii, 38, in a Gnostic section, where it certainly means neither miracles nor the workers of them.

It is true that in verse 10, where the word *δυνάμεις* also occurs, it cannot be taken to mean a class of men; but it is no less clear that there also it cannot signify "miracles." In the New Testament, apart from the few instances of the revival of the dead, miracles are of two kinds—healing of the sick and casting out of *dæmons*. But gifts of healing are mentioned separately in the previous verse, and so cannot be supposed to be included under the term "powers." Also in verse 10 we have the phrase "discerning of spirits," which would seem to be the function of an exorcist, if among "spirits" *dæmons* are included. And it is at any rate not likely that the term "miracles" would be confined to acts of exorcism. But the strongest objection to the translation of the word *δυνάμεις* by "miracles" is the accompanying word *ἐνεργήματα*. The two words *ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων* must be taken together, and it is the opinion of some eminent Greek scholars that the first of the two words means *inward* working. The verb *ἐνεργεῖν* seems always to have that significance in the Pauline Epistles. For example, in the Epistle to the Ephesians i, 20, we read *ἦν ἐνήργηκεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ* ("which he wrought *in* Christ"); the work in that case being the raising of Christ from the dead, an inward change. Similarly elsewhere. When inward working is not particularly intended, a different verb is used. For example, *ἡ θλίψις ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται* ("tribulation worketh patience"), Romans v, 3; also *τῷ ἐργαζομένῳ τὸ ἀγαθόν* ("that worketh good"), Romans ii, 10. So that *ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων* must mean "inward workings of powers." "Powers," therefore, must have been supposed to be some special effect of the inward operation of the Spirit in the possessor of them; not something exerted externally like the working of a miracle. We may suppose that the name "powers" was also given to the men in whom the Spirit operated in some manner or other.

Some light is thrown upon this matter by a statement of Tertullian.¹ A certain Apelles, he says, who was at one

¹ *De præscr. her.* Cap. 30.

time a follower of Marcion, joined himself to a young woman named Philumene, "cujus energemate circumventus, quas ab ea didicit phaneroiseis scripsit." He wrote revelations which he had learnt from her, deceived by her ἐνέργημα. The word therefore meant some inner working of the Spirit which resulted in the uttering of revelations. We can only suppose that in this case ἐνέργημα signified some kind of mediumistic trance, such as women to-day throw themselves into at spiritualistic *séances*, in which condition they sometimes reveal among other things the nature and the conditions of the unseen world. No doubt the "revelations" which Apelles recorded were of that kind. So that the most likely explanation of the "inward working of a power" is that it was some kind of trance in which the subject gave utterance to mystical rhapsodies. In view of the obscurity which exists with regard to this matter, all we can do is to translate δυνάμεις "powers," and leave the signification indeterminate.

The staccato style of verses 29 and 30, contrasted with the smoothly flowing style of the Gnostic writer, proves that those verses have been interpolated. They are superfluous; they merely repeat what the writer had said better in verses 8 to 11, and they check the current of thought. The interpolator apparently desired to emphasize what had been written by the earlier writer.

Competent critics have been agreed for some time that chapter xiii has been introduced into the Epistle. Verse 31 of chapter xii was evidently written so as to lead up to it; and the first clause of the first verse of chapter xiv so as to link together chapters xiii and xiv. In the original Epistle, therefore, the second part of verse 1, chapter xiv, followed verse 28 of chapter xii.

The section of the Epistle we are now considering was evidently written to discourage the practice of "speaking with tongues." The writer disapproves of it and argues against it as strongly as he considers wise, in view of the fact, no doubt, that some church members regarded "speaking with tongues" as a special sign of divine inspiration. It is worth while noting by the way the tactful and persuasive method of this writer, contrasted with the arrogant or imperious tone adopted by the writer, or writers, of some other sections. When we read the section carefully, we observe that, like so many other portions of the New Testament, it shows signs of having been tampered with by persons whose

opinions upon the subject in question were not in accord with those of the writer. In verse 5, for example, we find "Now I would have you all speak with tongues"; and even though the writer of that sentence qualifies his statement by the words "but rather that ye should prophesy," the first half of this verse is quite out of tune with the spirit and purpose of the chapter. It must be an interpolation.

Verse 6 is self condemned. It is, indeed, nonsense. The writer of the chapter objects to "speaking with tongues" on the ground that it conveys nothing to the mind of the hearer; how then could he imply that revelation, knowledge, or teaching could be conveyed in that manner? And since he is at considerable pains to contrast prophesying with speaking in a tongue, arguing that the two things are fundamentally different, how could he have written as though any one might speak in a tongue *by way of prophesying*? Verse 6 is an obvious interpolation.

In the whole passage from verse 10 to verse 22 there is much to arouse suspicion. In verse 12, for example, what is the comparison indicated by the words, "so also ye"? One must take it that the "ye" of this verse is compared with the "I" of the previous one. But that makes nonsense. "I shall be to him a barbarian.....so also ye seek that ye may abound," etc. The writer of this chapter, if he was not R1, has an equally good style, and is an orderly and not inelegant writer; he certainly never wrote such a sequence of sentences as those just quoted. Again, verse 13: "Let him that speaketh in a tongue pray that he may interpret." Surely if he wishes to interpret he may do so; why should he be told to *pray* that he may interpret, unless it is implied that he did not himself understand what he was saying? Which is probably the case, for it is inferrible from verses 14 and 16 that under the influence of the spirit a man would utter words incomprehensible not only to his hearers but to himself. The distinction drawn between praying with the spirit and praying with the understanding is consistent with that explanation. Accordingly, "speaking with tongues" must have meant an hysterical outpouring of unintelligible words. But in that case how could the speaker be said to give thanks *well* (verse 17)? The passage is a medley, and different views are represented. One writer deprecates the speaking with tongues. Another says, if you so speak, pray that you may interpret. A third

says he will pray with the spirit—i.e., in a tongue—but that he will also pray with the understanding. A fourth again, who condemns speaking with tongues, but does not like to admit that Paul can have come behind in any spiritual gift valued by some, and perhaps with the idea that a warning against the practice of a gift would come with special authority from one who had possessed it in a high degree, introduces his warning with the words: "I thank God, I speak with tongues more than you all." But R1, or the Gnostic writer whoever he was, certainly did not make that boast. The whole spirit of the chapter is opposed to such a supposition. Nor can anything hysterical or theatrical have come from the sober mind of the speculative thinker who wrote the two Gnostic Epistles that have been traced in this Epistle and in the one to the Romans. Mark, too, the unnatural changes of person: Seek that *ye* may abound; Wherefore let *him* that speaketh; For if *I* pray; Else if *thou* bless.

Verse 20 is quite irrelevant; it seems to have been written in order to bring in the quotation in verse 21 about "men of strange tongues." But the quotation is pointless and has no bearing upon the matter in hand. And, although verse 21 begins with the word "wherefore," there is no logical connection between it and the preceding verse.¹ In verse 22 we are told that tongues are a sign to the unbelieving, and in verse 23 that to the unbelieving speakers in tongues will appear to be mad! According to the second writer, tongues will be to the unbeliever a sign no doubt, but a sign of madness; which was certainly not the meaning of the first.

In the sane opinion that speaking with tongues would give unbelievers the impression that the speakers were mad we recognize the sober mind of the Gnostic writer. Now verse 23 begins with the words "if therefore," so that we must look back in order to find a verse with which it could stand in logical connection, and, from what has been said above, it is clear that the verse we seek must be earlier than verse 12. Verse 11 begins "if then." A writer whose style is good would not begin successive verses with "if then" and "if therefore." So we are taken back to verse 9. The connection between verses 23 and 9 is sufficiently close. The writer says: Unless you speak so as to be understood, how

¹ In verse 20 "mind" is *φρένες*, a word not found elsewhere in these Epistles.

shall any one know what is said? So that if unlearned people hear you all speaking they will think you are mad.

In verse 25 we are led up to a climax; evidently closing the subject. Only a second-rate writer would throw his readers down from that height into the series of rules for the orderly conduct of a church meeting which follow. The question "What is it then, brethren?," like the question of R2, "What shall we say then?," is evidently thrown in to make some sort of a transition, without which the break between verses 25 and 26 would be too obvious. Moreover, after writing rather a long section with the purpose of discouraging the speaking with tongues, the writer would not go on to give instruction that such speaking should be done in an orderly manner. He did not wish it to be done at all.

The probability is that, when the Gnostic Christian Church was first founded at Corinth, the members of it belonged to a higher social class, and had more instruction and intelligence than many of those who were drawn in at a later time. According to the Acts of the Apostles, the first members were members of the synagogue and included the ruler of it. Aquila and Titus Justus were apparently what we should call middle-class people. Subsequently, when the congregation had begun to include people drawn from a lower social rank, perhaps excitable Greeks or Asiatics accustomed to the orgiastic worship of some pagan cult, a doctrine less abstract than the original Gnostic doctrine began to be taught, one which made a stronger appeal to the emotions. It was then that the disorders and factions of which we read in the Epistles began to exist, and then no doubt, in a community in which there was a strong emotional element, somewhat hysterical outbursts, such as speaking with tongues, could with difficulty be suppressed and had to be regulated.

In this chapter evidently we can trace the beginnings of the evolution of a simple community whose religious meetings were of a somewhat informal character into the more strictly regulated assembly of a more numerous and more highly organized Church. The original Epistle must have been addressed to a Gnostic community, and it is interesting to observe that in the time of Tertullian the same informality prevailed in the religious assemblies of those who, through the movement of the majority in a Catholic direction, had

become heretics. Tertullian says that among them any one might speak, even Gentiles—i.e., unbelievers—if any happened to be present. And when he exclaims, "The very women, how forward they are! What things they dare to teach!" we perceive how it came about that women, who in the early Church had liberty to prophesy, were later prohibited from speaking in the assemblies. Ultimately, of course, the prohibition was extended to the male laity as well.

In view of what we have learnt of the mind and the style of composition of the Gnostic writer, it is very difficult to believe that he wrote verses 35 and 36. Or verse 38: "if any man is ignorant, let him be ignorant." This section of the Gnostic Epistle, therefore, probably terminated with verse 25. Doubtless many people will be pleased to know that it was not Paul who wrote so scornfully of women as is done in verses 34 and 35.

3.—THE GNOSTIC SECTION UPON THE RESURRECTION

Verses 1 to 11 of chapter xv are a late insertion into the Epistle, as will be proved hereafter; and it is certain that no Gnostic wrote verse 3: "that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures." But the section upon the resurrection of the dead, which begins with verse 12, is thoroughly tinged with Gnostic ideas, and might appear at first sight to be a second part of the Gnostic Epistle, in which a new subject is treated—resurrection from the dead. A writer might, of course, deal with more than one subject in the same Epistle. So that a change of subject need not indicate a different writer, if one section ends and the next begins in a natural manner and there is uniformity of thought and style. Chapter xv was certainly written by a Gnostic. It naturally followed from the sharp distinction which the Gnostics made between the corruptible flesh and the immortal spirit that they could not believe in the resurrection of the body. The Jews in the first century had not made that distinction, and they taught that at the end of the world the body would be reconstituted, and would rise. During the first century and later, both these views of the resurrection were held in Christian communities of different origin; but the leaders of the Catholic Church, after the middle of the second century, began to dislike the Gnostic view of a spiritual resurrection, because they were concerned to maintain, against the

Docetists, that Jesus rose with a body of flesh and blood. Gnostic opinion with regard to the resurrection varied. Some Gnostics had borrowed from the Greeks a doctrine of metempsychosis. Saturninus, at the close of the first century, taught that immediately upon death the spirit of a pneumatic person returns to the spiritual region from whence it came.¹ A view closely resembling this is represented in Second Corinthians v, 1 to 4, where it is implied that immediately after death the disembodied, "naked" spirit is "clothed upon" with its heavenly, immaterial, body. In doctrine of this type a "resurrection" and judgment are evidently excluded; and this is the doctrine against which chapter xv of First Corinthians was directed. It is not credible that members of any Christian community in the first century believed that the individual is completely and finally extinguished with the death of the body. The doctrine that the spirit returns to God immediately after death still existed late in the second century. Indeed it has, perhaps, never wanted advocates. But in the second century those who taught it had been excommunicated and had become heretics. In the *Epistle of Polycarp* (vii, 1) we read: Everyone who does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is anti-Christ, and whoever says that there is no resurrection and no judgment is the firstborn of Satan. In the mind of the writer the denial of resurrection and judgment was closely connected with docetism. No doubt the deniers were Gnostics; but a Gnostic would not deny the immortality of spirit. And from the coupling of "resurrection" and "judgment" we may infer that what was denied was a resurrection at some future date, whether of spirit or body, followed by a judgment.² Gnostics generally, whether they held with the writer of Second Corinthians v, 1 to 4, that the spirit when released from the body goes straightway to heaven, or with the writer of First Corinthians xv that it will be furnished with a heavenly body on the resurrection day, held that the body is essentially corruptible, so that Jesus could not have risen with a material body; a view which the Catholic Church was bound to condemn; for which purpose the words "I believe in the resurrection of the body" were introduced into the creed. And by "body," of course,

¹ Irenæus, *contr. omn. hæc.* I, xxiv, 1.

² See in 2 Timothy, ii, 18, the reference to men who say that the resurrection is past already.

material body is meant.¹ So that verse 44 of chapter xv, "it is sown a natural body ; it is raised a spiritual body," was certainly written by a Gnostic. The distinction between "natural" and "spiritual," and the Greek words, ψυχικός and πνευματικός, which are so translated, suffice indeed to show that the verse came from the pen of a Gnostic writer.

But the Gnostic doctrine in this chapter appears to be more developed than that in the Epistle to the Romans, and to represent a later stage of Gnostic thought, if not a different line of Gnostic development altogether. If Romans ii, 1 to 15, was written by R1, this chapter was not written by him. For in the section of Romans a final judgment by God is announced. The writer of First Corinthians, chapter xv, apparently does not contemplate a judgment at all. In the eschatological section, verses 20 to 28, in which the subjugation of the enemies of Christ, dæmons of course, Satan, the wicked angels or other malevolent unseen powers, is foretold, nothing is said about a judgment of sinners. From verses 42 to 54 it can be inferred that only the pneumatic, the spiritual people, can be revived ; those, to wit, who shall bear the image of the heavenly (verse 49). Evil-doers or unbelievers, who have not received the pneuma, die as they were born, "of the earth, earthy." "If Christ hath not been raised, they who have fallen asleep in Christ have perished." Hence the natural end of the body is to perish ; and Christ overcame death in order that this natural end should be abolished and reversed for those who have become united with him and received the life-giving Spirit of God through him. It follows that for the carnal there can be no resurrection. Death is swallowed up in victory ; but obviously only the pneumatic men can be sharers in that victory. The punishment of sin is eternal death. It is true that in verse 22 the writer says, In Christ shall all be made alive ; but the word "all" is necessarily qualified by the words "in Christ." If men are made alive "in Christ," evidently those who are not in Christ will not be made alive. The distinction is emphasized in verse 48. Some are earthy ; others are heavenly.² But flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God (verse 50), therefore the

¹ Tertullian says plainly that Jesus, sitting on the right hand of the Father, is of flesh and blood : *de Carn. Resurr.* 51. Irenæus also says that Jesus ascended to heaven "in the flesh" (I, x, i).

² Verses 47 to 49 have probably been interpolated ; but the point of view is the same as that of the original writer.

man who is purely carnal, earthy, cannot do so. Though we have all "borne the image of" the earthy, some of us are by nature heavenly. It necessarily follows from the doctrine of this writer that there is no last judgment and no tortures of hell—for men, at any rate. Those who have become spiritual have obtained in advance the assurance of eternal life. When the corruptible bodies of the unspiritual have decayed in the grave, nothing of them remains which could ever again live; though, in the opinion of some, the *ψυχή*, the soul of the "natural" man, may have survived in Hades.¹

It is probable that the view of R1 was similar to this, and that he did not write the section of Romans ii, 1 to 15. For he says (vi, 23): "the wages of sin is death; but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus." But if Second Corinthians v, 1 to 4, is to be taken as expressing the genuine Pauline doctrine, this chapter, which propounds a different one, was probably not written by R1. And the doctrine of Second Corinthians accords better with that which we find in the Gnostic Epistle to the Romans. For there we are taught that within the Christian resides the Pneuma of God (viii, 9). And the writer is hardly likely to have thought that the Pneuma of God could remain even temporarily in Hades. It had been necessary for it to do so once in the person of Christ, in order that the power of Death and Hades should be broken. But the writer must almost necessarily have believed that at the death of the body the Spirit of God would return to God. Moreover, the eschatological section is not in tune with the mental attitude of R1, who shows no trace of the influence of apocalyptic ideas, and never makes any use of the Old Testament even symbolically. Some early Jewish Gnostic sects interpreted the Old Testament symbolically, as Philo did, and employed it a good deal in that way. There are sections in the Pauline Epistles written by Gnostics of that school—e.g., First Corinthians x, 1 to 21, and Galatians iv, 21 to 31; but the early Pauline Gnosticism was quite independent both of the canonical and the apocalyptic Old Testament and Jewish scriptures. And the school of Marcion, which was directly descended from it, exhibited

¹ Cp. chap v, verse 24, of the Gnostic Gospel of John: "He that heareth my word, and believeth him that sent me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgment, but hath passed out of death into life." Note the perfect tense. The spiritual man has already passed into life, the body is dead, now and always. According to some Gnostics, the souls of unspiritual men would be judged and punished by the Creator (Demiourgos) in Hades.

the same characteristics. Mark's gospel is Pauline, and the Pauline attitude to the Jewish scriptures is exhibited symbolically in the episode of the Transfiguration; Moses and Elijah, representing the Law and the Prophets, vanish away; Jesus alone remains, and the voice from heaven commands men to hear *him*, implying that the Law and the Prophets have been superseded. The antithesis of the first man Adam and the second man Christ was part of the doctrine of some Jewish Gnostic sects; but, in view of the complete rejection of the Old Testament by Paulinism, it may be concluded without hesitation that verses 20 to 28 of First Corinthians xv were not written by Paul, nor by R1 if he was not Paul. The verses may, of course, be a later interpolation, but I have not been able to discover in the text itself any justification for that opinion.

The conclusion that this chapter was not written by R1 is confirmed by a consideration of the style. The style is good; it is clear and energetic, but it has not quite the solidity and sobriety of the style of R1. It is more lively, and the writer makes larger use of imagery. The passage, verses 35 to 44, in which pneumatic and psychic bodies are compared with different kinds of grain and to celestial bodies, cannot be exactly paralleled from any of the sections written by R1.

The style of the verses 14 to 16 is markedly in contrast with that of the rest of the chapter. There, instead of clearness and logical order, we find clumsy and unnecessary repetition. In verse 14 we have "if Christ hath not been raised your faith is vain," and in 17 the very same words are repeated. The argument, that if the dead are not raised Christ has not been raised, is stated three times in the four verses 13 to 16. It looks as though some scribe thought he could reinforce the general reasoning by the argument that if Christ has not been raised "we are found false witnesses of God," which is no argument at all; the use of it indicates a mind of inferior calibre to that which produced the main part of the chapter; the confused reasoning of the passage indicates the same thing, and so does the fact that the interpolator has introduced his interpolation in verse 14 with practically the same words as originally followed 13. And in verse 16 he has to repeat the words of 13, "neither hath Christ been raised," so that the broken connection between 13 and 17 may be restored.

Verses 29 to 34 must be held to be a late interpolation. A good deal of the passage is irrelevant and unnecessarily breaks the train of thought. Verses 33 and 34 have no relation at all to the matter in hand. The writer would not have kept verse 35 waiting by the interposition of those moral aphorisms, which are quite out of place here. Verse 29 is clearly no natural continuation of 28, as may be seen by reading them consecutively: 28, Christ shall in the end be subjected to God, that God may be all in all; 29, "Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead?" The possibility that verses 20 to 28 have been interpolated was suggested above; and, of course, that supposition would account for the want of continuity between 28 and 29. But the connection between 19 and 20 is quite natural, and so is that between 28 and 35. And the section 29 to 34 is intrinsically suspicious. The statement about fighting with beasts at Ephesus probably embodies legend of late origin. Fighting with beasts would be an incident in an organized Roman persecution such as cannot have been in operation in Asia Minor during the life-time of Paul. There is no record of the circumstance in the Acts of the Apostles; and it is not likely that the writers of that book would have omitted to mention an event so important in the life of Paul if it had occurred. In fact, it is difficult to see where, in the account in Acts of the events at Ephesus, it would fit in. In Second Corinthians xi, 23 to 27, a list of Paul's sufferings is given, but fighting with wild beasts does not appear in it. The *First Epistle of Clement*, also, which in section 5 makes mention of persecutions which Paul had had to endure, knows nothing of this. Further, there is no evidence for the custom of baptizing for the dead earlier than the second century. The passage must be of considerably later date than the section into which it has been inserted.

Verses 45, 47 to 49 seem to have been introduced by an editor as an amplification of the argument of the writer suggested by verse 22, but very ineptly. Verse 45 awkwardly breaks the connection between verses 44 and 46: "If there is a natural body there is also a spiritual body. Howbeit that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural." The thought of the writer is that the natural body of every man is earlier than his spiritual body. Into the middle of that comment the interpolator has thrust the irrelevant statement that the first man, Adam, was psychic (natural) and

the last man, Christ, pneumatic (spiritual). It is evident that the original writer when he made his comment was not thinking of the priority of the natural man Adam to the spiritual man Christ, but of the priority in the case of every man of the natural to the spiritual body. So that we have the ideas jumping backwards and forwards: verse 44 speaks of the natural and spiritual body; verse 45 of the first and last man; verse 46 goes back again to the natural and spiritual body; verse 47 jumps back to the first and last man.

Verses 55 to 57 must also be held to have been interpolated. The phrase "through our Lord Jesus Christ" in verse 57 was certainly not written by the Gnostic composer of the chapter. He uses invariably the name "Christ" alone. The formula in verse 57 is, of course, Catholic and not early. In verse 56 we read "the power of sin is the law." Now, though the writer of the chapter was not R1, he may have been a Paulinist as he was certainly a Gnostic of some shade, and we know that the statement "the power of sin is the law" is not early Pauline doctrine; it is the doctrine of R2. This concise statement of seven words, in fact, involves a complete body of doctrine and is unintelligible by itself. No reader could be supposed to be able to understand in what sense the law is the power of sin unless he were already familiar with the sections of Romans in which the doctrine was developed. The verse presupposes those sections and must therefore be much later than the context in which it stands. Verse 55 cannot be separated from verse 56. Verse 58 naturally follows 54. Since death will be swallowed up in victory, the Christian is exhorted to remain steadfast, knowing that his labour is not in vain.¹

Few commentators have had the courage and insight of J. S. Semler, who wrote between the years 1760 and 1776, and reached positions which are in advance of those attained by the majority of theologians to-day. One of the theories propounded by him is the following: The Pauline Epistles have not come down to us in their original form, but in editions of them which were compiled with the object of providing suitable reading-lessons for the religious meetings of the churches. A MS. compiled for that purpose might very well comprise sections taken from different original Epistles;

¹ Dujardin questions the originality of verse 58 on the ground that it constitutes an anti-climax. There is, perhaps, enough justification for this criticism to throw some doubt upon the verse.

or it might include one or more complete short Epistles. To the documents thus compiled sections containing moral precepts and exhortations which had been independently composed may have been appended.¹ The Epistles cannot, indeed, be explained without a theory of this kind. But it is not necessary to suppose, as Semler did, that Paul alone was the writer of the original short Epistles. The first composite editions of the Epistle to the Romans and of the two Epistles to the Corinthians were very probably prepared for the purpose indicated by Semler. We must, however, recognize that there were subsequent editions and interpolations, and that Paul is not the only writer represented. The addition of chapter xv, verses 12 to 58, to the First Epistle to the Corinthians is most naturally explained on Semler's theory. The fact that the Gnosticism of it is rather more developed than that of the Epistle to the Romans, and that it has begun to absorb Messianic ideas from some of the Apocalypses, suggests either that it is a later addition to the original composite Epistle, or that the first edition of the Epistle is to be dated considerably later than that of Romans.

It will be convenient to leave the examination of chapter xvi until later.

4.—THE SECOND SECTION

After taking out the Gnostic section, an examination of the chapters that remain shows that several of them are of a general nature, and seem to have been evoked by circumstances of the time affecting the whole Christian community; such as the existence of different parties and different doctrines, or the claims of travelling preachers or apostles to be supported by the community. That different doctrines were being taught, and that there were various sects or parties in the Christian community, in the first and second centuries, is proved by the literature which has come down to us. And the existence of such doctrines, mostly of an abstract character, exhibiting a fairly advanced stage of development and considerable diversity, is incompatible with the accepted view of the origin of Christianity. Even in the first document we examined, the Epistle to the Romans, we found two types of Gnostic doctrine, both obviously very early, and two main bodies of Christian doctrine which were

¹ Schweitzer, *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung*, p. 5.

quite incompatible with one another; and each of these must have had its adherents. And that the support of travelling teachers or prophets was at one period an urgent question is proved by chapters xi, xii, and xiii of *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, in which are found very precise instructions for the guidance of Christians in reference to that matter. On the other hand, we find chapters in the Epistle which undoubtedly have the appearance of having been addressed to some church for its particular guidance; some rather general instructions may also have been so addressed, because, of course, the advice which a pastor gives to his own congregation might also be of value to others.

Under these circumstances, and in view of the complexity of the problem presented by this Epistle, the only course which seems to promise any success is to proceed as scientific investigators do when solving an obscure physical or chemical problem. Let us, therefore, frame a provisional hypothesis, and then proceed to test it, severely and impartially. The best guarantee of the soundness of any hypothesis is that it can satisfactorily stand such a test, and account in a reasonable manner for all the material facts. The hypothesis I propose is this. In addition to the Gnostic Epistle, which alone can have been written by Paul, the document we now have also contains another and later Epistle, addressed to the Corinthians, or possibly to some other church, not of course by Paul or written in Paul's name. For, obviously, no one can have written a letter intended actually to be sent to a definite church in Paul's name after his death. This later Epistle was interwoven with the Gnostic Epistle by an editor, who introduced sections, either from some other document or written by himself, dealing with certain matters which were agitating the Christian community at the time, and issued the composite work as an Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians. In endeavouring to trace out the Epistle assumed to be addressed to a particular church, one guiding principle will be that any section in which the writer claims to be, or implies that he is, Paul must be left aside. Any such claim or implication could only have been made in a spurious Epistle which was never intended to be sent to any church. It is not of course impossible that the name of some church at some time or other might become attached to such an Epistle. It is

also probable that some sections implying Pauline authorship were written by the editor, who presumably was issuing the composite Epistle in Paul's name as a genuine letter written by him.

We first hear of monarchical bishops about the middle of the second century. But the office certainly did not spring suddenly into existence without any preparation. The later significance of the name indicates the formal recognition and fixing of the functions and authority of a class of men who had exercised authority in the churches before that time. After the death of Paul, and doubtless even during his life-time, there were men whose high character, ability, or eloquence raised them into prominence and invested them with an authority which might be considerable, even if its scope was not clearly defined. Every organized community must have its leaders. And it is possible that after the death of Paul the recognized head of the church at Corinth might have a general superintendence of the lesser churches in Achaia. It would not therefore be surprising if in the first or early in the second century there were in existence genuine letters written to certain churches not by Paul, but by some person of authority, or some apostle.¹ And if one of those letters contained advice or instruction which appeared to the editor of our Epistle to be of value, it is reasonable to suppose that he may have included it in the composite work.

This supposition can now be tested. If there is such a letter embodied in the Epistle, it ought to be possible to find it. Verses 6 to 17, chapter i, claim to have been written by Paul, and therefore, on the principle enunciated above, must be left aside. There is nothing in verses 18 to 31 to indicate that they were addressed to a particular church, and verse 18 obviously presupposes verse 17; so that either the two verses were written by the same man, or verses 18 to 31 were written by an editor who had verse 17 before him. Chapter iii is a continuation of the subject of i, 6-17. The same remark applies to chapter iv, which also makes claim to Pauline authorship.

Chapter v begins with a reference to a definite case of misconduct in a particular church to which the writer is

¹ It must be remembered that Paul and "the Twelve" were not the only apostles in the first century; "the Twelve," in fact, were, to a considerable extent, mythical.

apparently addressing his letter. It is rather difficult to believe that the case of fornication here censured is purely imaginary, invented by the writer of a spurious Epistle in order to invest it with some measure of verisimilitude. But there are only two alternatives; it is either that, or the chapter is part of a genuine Epistle, though not written by Paul. The latter alternative appears the more probable; and a consideration which tells much in its favour is that there is in the chapter no claim or implication that Paul wrote it.

If now there are other portions, or a continuation, of this letter in our Epistle, it is necessary to have some criterion by which to recognize them. With regard to the christology of the writer, we may note that he says "Lord Jesus" three times, but neither "Jesus Christ" nor "Christ Jesus." This use reminds us of that of R3, who uses the name "Christ" alone, except where he speaks of Jesus as Lord. No certain conclusion can be drawn from one rather short chapter, however; the terminology here is no more than an indication to be noted. The name "Christ" appears alone in verse 7; but that verse, as will be shown later, is probably an interpolation. Considerations of style will help us in this case. It is not difficult for any one who has the will to perceive the difference between the style of this writer and that of any other of the writers who are represented in this Epistle. The style is inelegant, sometimes even awkward, and sentences are found of which the construction is so clumsy as to render them ambiguous or even unintelligible. The writer had not a subtle mind. Where he gives a reason for an injunction it is a simple one. For example, he says, in verse 10, Keep no company with fornicators or idolaters; "for then ye must needs go out of the world." It is not easy to see exactly what he means by the last sentence. He cannot have been an acute or a deep thinker. Consider, again, the following sentence contained in verses 3, 4, and 5: "I, being present in spirit, have already, as though I were present, judged him that hath so wrought this thing, in the name of our Lord Jesus, ye being gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus, to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh." Not one of the writers whose work we have hitherto examined could have written so clumsy a sentence as that. R2, indeed, wrote some long involved sentences, but those he wrote can easily be distinguished

from such a one as that just quoted. The mind of R2 was so energetic and eager, his thought sometimes gushed forth in so impetuous a manner, that he could not stay to polish it and give it a more orderly shape. The lack of elegance in his writing was not the result of slovenly thinking; his mind was narrow, but vigorous and clear. Even when his sentences were involved they could always be understood. His strained and elaborate argumentation could always be followed; and it reveals a subtlety of mind which is in strong contrast with the simplicity of the writer we are now considering. The sentence quoted above was not the impetuous outflow of an eager but subtle mind; it is just slovenly composition and the sign of a slovenly thinker. He seems, however, judging by the advice he gives, to have been a tactful organizer, and on that account was no doubt well qualified to be at the head of a religious community. The Greek of this writer is sometimes incorrect, or, at least, unusual. Faulty grammatical construction is seen in verse 11: "I write unto you not to keep company, if any man that is named a brother be a fornicator." The case is worse in the Greek than in the English, for the two words "keep company" represent the single Greek verb *συναναμίγυσθαι*, which has no grammatical object in the sentence.

Verse 7, again, affords an example of slovenly thinking: "Purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, even as ye are unleavened." A lump which contains old leaven cannot be said to be unleavened. Possibly the writer had before his mind the condition of the community after the old leaven should have been expelled. But, however we explain it, the obscurity or inconsistency of the expression is an index to want of clarity in the mind.

The same observation will apply to verse 10, which was referred to previously. The writer must have been intending to say something sensible; but he has expressed himself so ambiguously that his words have been somewhat differently rendered by the translators of the Authorized and the Revised Versions, and in neither case is his meaning quite clear. The translators of the A. V. have attempted to make the sense of the passage less obscure by inserting the conjunction "Yet" at the beginning of verse 10. Unless they meant that word to be a translation of *καί*, with which the verse begins in some MSS. Such a translation would be disputable, and the word *καί* is itself doubtful. It was not accepted by

Tischendorf, von Soden, or the English revisers. However, by the use of an adversative conjunction, the fornicators "of this world" are differentiated from the fornicators within the community, which is not "of this world"; and we may then understand the writer, as a tactful and practical leader, to mean that he does not intend his injunction to apply altogether to the fornicators and other evil-doers of this world, because in practice Christians could not avoid having some relations with such men. The only way to avoid it absolutely would be to "go out of the world." But, in addition to the fact that the insertion of "yet" is somewhat arbitrary, the usual significance of the two following words, οὐ πάντως, is "by no means," or "not at all," which would be quite incompatible with the interpretation above given. Therefore, even admitting that the writer was a man who might not be exact in his use of words, it seems worth while trying to find another explanation.

Light is, perhaps, thrown upon his intention by verse 16 of chapter xviii of John's Gospel: "They are not of the world, even as I am not of the world." Here the words "of the world" are a translation of the Greek ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, and the words "out of the world" in the verse we are considering are a translation of the same Greek words. The English translation, therefore, does not do full justice to the import of the words of Jesus. He said not merely that he was not "of the world," but that he was not "out of it," no doubt in the sense that he did not issue out of it but had a spiritual origin. Now, John's Gospel had some Gnostic characteristics, and its Gnosticism appears to have somewhat the same relation to the Valentinian as the Pauline and Marcan Gnosticism has to the Marcionite. And in the account which Irenæus gives of the system of Valentinus¹ we find this same distinction between "in the world" and "of the world." The phrases quoted by Irenæus are: ὅς ἂν ἐν κόσμῳ γενόμενος ("any one who has been born *in* the world") (but, as the context implies, not of or from the world); and ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ κόσμου γενόμενος ("but he that has been born *of* the world"). The phrase, "not of the world," therefore, did not mean simply *apart from* the world, but *not sprung from* the world; not of worldly origin, as Jesus said of himself and his disciples. In verse 10 of First Corinthians v, the Greek word translated

¹ *Contr. omn. hæc.* I, vi, 4.

“ye must needs” is in some MSS. *ὀφείλετε*, the present tense, which is the reading adopted by the English translators; but in most of the best MSS. and in the Latin Vulgate the reading is *ὠφείλετε* (the imperfect).¹ Also the word translated “go out” (*ἐξελθεῖν*) can also mean “come out.” If we make these alterations we get an interpretation of the verse which gives some sense: If you keep company with fornicators, it must be that you came out of the world; that is to say, you must have issued from the world, you must be of worldly and not spiritual origin. The writer would then have been using the phrase *ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου*, in the sense in which it was used by the writer of John’s Gospel and by the Valentinians. The origin of the phrase is to be found in Gnostic doctrine. Those who are “of the world”—or, rather, “out of the world”—in the sense that they issued out of the world and so are of worldly origin, are children of Demiourgos, or of the Angels who, according to others, made the world, in contradistinction to those who, being in the world but not of it, are spiritual children of the true God.² The writer has not expressed himself clearly, but the explanation given seems a likely one. Reasons will be stated subsequently for the belief that the doctrine of this writer was some sort of Gnosticism.

Enough has been said to give the reader an idea of the kind of thinker and writer the author of this chapter was; and, with a style of the character indicated to guide us, we should have no difficulty in recognizing his work if it recurs in any of the following chapters.

The vigour and clarity of the style of chapter vi are in marked contrast with the slovenliness of that of chapter v. The two chapters cannot be the work of the same writer. Another indication of difference of authorship is that whereas the writer of chapter v says that God judges those who are outside the Church, and Church members (the saints) judge those who are within, the writer of chapter vi says that the saints shall judge the world.³

The first verse of chapter vii shows that the chapter

¹ This reading was preferred by Tischendorf, von Soden, and other editors.

² The same phrase, used in the same sense, is found in the *Epistle to Diognetus*, which has some Gnostic affinities, vi, 3: *Χριστιανοὶ ἐν κόσμῳ οἰκοῦσιν, οὐκ εἰσι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου.*

³ There is, however, as will appear later, some reason to think that verses 12 and 13 have been interpolated. The statement that the saints shall judge the world appears to have been taken from II Esdras, iii, 8.

formed part of an Epistle which was, or purported to be, addressed to a particular church. And the character of the style of composition makes it impossible to doubt that it was written by the writer of chapter v, whom, for convenience of reference, we may call C. We find in this chapter again the simplicity of thought and occasional slovenliness in the composition which we found in the earlier chapter. In verse 10 we have a clause "that the wife depart not from her husband," depending upon the verbal phrase "I give charge." Then we have in verse 11 a clause connected by a conjunction with the previous one, but not depending upon the same verbal phrase. The construction is changed into a direct command. The last clause of the verse, "and that the husband leave not his wife," reverts to the original construction. The translators, in order to help out the writer, have put the first part of verse 11 into brackets, as though it were a parenthesis. It can only be regarded as an example of slovenly grammatical construction.

Verses 36 to 38 are very obscure, and have exercised the commentators from early times. Verse 37 seems to be considering the question whether a man shall keep his virgin daughter at home or give her in marriage. But that interpretation does not agree with the first half of the verse, in which the man's continence is the subject. Is the writer considering a possible case of incest? Granting that such might happen in the given place and time, the writer could not approve of it as he appears to do in verse 36. And if the Greek word *παρθένος* has been correctly translated, the writer, in that verse, can only be understood to be advising a man to marry his own daughter. In verse 36 the word must mean *maidservant*. But it cannot have that meaning in 37. The difficulty of the passage can be cleared by accepting the interpretation of Epiphanius, who proposed to understand the word in verse 37 as meaning *virginity*. The original writer is talking about a male ascetic professing himself virgin, and he says that if such a man can preserve his virginity he will do well, but if he should fail in self-restraint with respect to his maidservant he must marry her. An interpolator, trying to temper this, has set all in confusion by imagining, in verse 38, the case of a man with a virgin daughter, whom he may give in marriage or not. The original writer is responsible only in so far as he has used the same word *παρθένος* in one sense in verse 36 and in

another sense in verse 37. A more careful writer would perhaps have avoided that ambiguity.

The same writer, C, continues in chapter viii. The style generally is the same, but verse 7 in particular is characteristic: "some, being used until now to the idol, eat as of a thing sacrificed to an idol, and their conscience, being weak, is defiled." Not very intelligible, surely.¹ It ought not to require very keen perception to be aware of the difference between the style of this writer and the clear and simple, yet pleasing, style of R3, the dignified style of R1, and the impetuous outbursts of the fiery R2.

Chapter ix begins with a vigorous blast of which C was completely incapable, and the same writer continues throughout the chapter, which will be examined more closely later. The style of chapter ix is to that of vii and viii as a clear and rapidly flowing mountain stream is to a stagnant pool. Chapter x, which also will be discussed in detail hereafter, was written neither by the writer of chapter ix nor by C. We pick up the latter writer again in chapter xi, verse 2. This chapter, like v, vii, and viii, consists of instructions and advice to a congregation with regard to matters of propriety and conduct, and is written in the same simple, unadorned style. Verse 1 clearly belongs to chapter x—a fact which has been recognized by some of the best commentators. The last clause of verse 34 seems to indicate that the writer has finished his written injunctions. Nothing more in his style is found in the rest of the Epistle.

We have, therefore, in chapters v, vii, viii, and xi a continuous Epistle which really bears marks of actuality. It has every appearance of having been written for the guidance of a definite church. It is not spurious, for it does not pretend to be anything but what it is.² We find in other portions of the composite Epistle personal references such as that to the fighting with beasts at Ephesus in xv, 32—obviously inserted by some one who is writing in Paul's name, in order to give a realistic appearance to the personification, and at the same time to glorify Paul. But the writer of the chapters named above nowhere claims to be Paul or implies that he is. The

¹ The writer's meaning is, that, whereas the man who has gnosis knows that an idol is nothing at all, a converted pagan, having been used to worship the idol, still regards it with a certain degree of superstitious awe.

² It will be shown later that chapter xi, verses 22 to 29, have been interpolated.

references he makes to himself are so simple and arise so naturally out of the subject-matter as to produce the conviction that the writer really is speaking of himself. In verse 9 of chapter v he says: "I wrote to you in my epistle." Commentators have wasted time upon speculations with regard to this Epistle, supposing that some earlier Epistle of Paul is referred to. No doubt the writer had previously addressed an Epistle to the church to which he is here writing; but the writer neither was Paul nor pretended to be; and his earlier Epistle is lost.

Chapter vii begins: "Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote." Those critics who suppose that the whole of this Epistle is spurious, and never really sent to any church, must believe that these words are inserted for effect and to give a false appearance of actuality. I do not believe that. I have no doubt that the writer had received a letter from the church in question. The critics referred to are right so far, that it certainly was not Paul who wrote this chapter. But since, to all appearance, what we have before us is a genuine letter, it must have been addressed to the church by somebody else. In verse 8 of the same chapter, again, we find: "I say to the unmarried.....It is good for them if they abide even as I"—a statement simply and naturally made, with no appearance of having been introduced in order to create some desired impression with regard to the personality of the writer. There is no reason to suppose that Paul was the only unmarried man who wrote letters to churches in the first century. Not to mention the fact that chapter ix, verse 5, seems to imply that Paul *was* married.

In verse 2 of chapter xi we read: "Now I praise you that ye remember me in all things, and hold fast the traditions, even as I delivered them to you." This verse has been an awkward stumbling-block to those who wish to maintain the Pauline authorship of this Epistle. For in the Epistle to the Galatians the writer repudiates the idea that he received any traditions or delivered any. And although that Epistle is no doubt spurious, there is good reason to believe that Paul did not, in fact, derive his doctrine from anything learnt by him from the Jewish Apostles, or base it upon any "tradition." But another apostle or person of authority, writing probably somewhat later than Paul, may have received traditions and delivered them to the Church. I believe, however, that critics, misled by their prepossessions, have misunderstood

the significance of the word "traditions" in this place. The context gives no support to the generally accepted interpretation of the word. The writer nowhere delivers any tradition with respect to a human Jesus. And immediately after the quoted statement he goes on to treat of the question of the propriety of praying with the head covered or uncovered respectively. So that in his mind there seems to be some close connection between that question and the traditions which he had delivered. The natural inference is that the "traditions" were not traditions about events, but concerning the behaviour and procedure which had been customary in the Church, and had been adopted at an earlier time in the interests of morality and propriety. The knowledge we have of the "traditions of the elders" reported by Papias proves that traditions bore no necessary relation to an historical Jesus.

It is worth while examining this question somewhat further. In a fragment of *The Preaching of Peter*¹ occurs the word *παράδομεν*. From the significance of the verb as it there stands we may obtain some light upon the use of the corresponding substantive *παράδοσεις* ("traditions") in the early Christian literature. There is a tendency to assume without due consideration that the word "tradition" must have meant a verbal record of some saying or act of Jesus transmitted through his personal followers. But it is doubtful whether there is any case where, on examination, the reported tradition is found to be of that character. Irenæus, when a young man, conversed with Polycarp, who had known the Apostles and had learnt what he could from them. And yet Irenæus does not record any word or act of Jesus which had come down to him by that channel. In the whole of the works written by Irenæus there is no sign that he was at the end of a short series of witnesses which led directly back to a living person of remarkable individuality, and through which personal details must have flowed if that had really been the case. The one tradition which Irenæus preserved was that Jesus lived to be rather an old man;² whence he reached the conclusion that he was 50 years old at the time of his death—a tradition rejected by theologians and in conflict with the evidence of the Synoptic Gospels. Irenæus gives no indication of having received any traditions in the sense in which

¹ Quoted by Clement Alex. *Strom.* VI, 5, 41.

² *Ætatem seniore* (*Contra her.* II, 22).

modern theologians understand the word. The word occurs elsewhere in the Pauline Epistles, and there too it does not mean the verbal transmission of a record of events. In Romans vi, 17, we have : "that form of teaching whereunto ye were delivered." The English translation obscures the state of the case ; the Greek words are : εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς. The words "form of teaching" indicate some kind of doctrine, and the supposition is confirmed by the context. The word διδαχή is the same as occurs in the title of *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. The teaching in that document consists of moral precepts, instructions with regard to ritual, and regulations for the guidance of congregations, though most, at any rate, of the latter was an addition to the original. The "traditions" in these cases appear to be traditional regulations of ethical, doctrinal, and ritual observance. The use of the term in *The Preaching of Peter* entirely confirms that inference. The passage runs thus : "Do ye, learning in holiness and righteousness the traditions we delivered to you (ἃ παρέδιδόμεν ὑμῖν), keep them, worshipping God through Christ in a new way?" The way is new as compared with the old way of the Jews and of the Pagans. Here, again, the "traditions" are not referred to any real events ; they are doctrinal, and are concerned with the newly appointed manner of worshipping God which followed the new relationship between God and man established through Christ.

The very few recorded traditions of the other kind offer no detail ; they are devoid of actuality, and are generally rejected as unhistorical. We have, for example, three passages apparently founded upon a single source, which, in the opinion of Dr. von Dobschütz,¹ is early and embodies an ancient tradition. In one of the passages, which occurs in the *Chronography* of Syncellus, the writer says that according to "traditions" preserved by "Hippolytus, the blessed apostle and archbishop of Rome," Jesus Christ was born at Bethlehem in the 43rd year of the Emperor Augustus, the ninth of our era. A fragment in an ancient Latin MS. from the monastery of Bobbio—which, from the close agreement in certain details, evidently preserves the same tradition and is derived from the same source—gives the additional information that Jesus was baptized in the consulship of Valerius

¹ *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. xi, Heft i, pp. 136 et seq.

Asiaticus, and was put to death in the third consulship of Nero, corresponding to the years 46 and 58 of our era, so that he would be 35 years old when he was baptized and 49 when he died. This "tradition" thus agrees very closely with that preserved by Irenæus, and is very likely indeed the same, the 50 years of Irenæus being a round number. Epiphanius (*Haer.* LI) appears also to have been acquainted with the source used by the other two writers. The chronology based upon the Gospels has little better foundation. If a tradition so well authenticated is rejected, the worthlessness of such professedly historical traditions becomes apparent. The traditions referred to in First Corinthians xi, 2, were, however, doubtless of quite a different character.

There is an indication that the four chapters—v, vii, viii, and xi—once formed a separate and continuous Epistle in the fact that the writer opens the successive sections of it with the same phrase, "Now concerning" (*περὶ δέ*). We find this phrase in vii, 1, vii, 25, and viii, 1. Chapter xii also begins with the same phrase; but, as will be shown later, verses 1 to 3 of chapter xii were written by the first editor of the composite Epistle as a link to connect the preceding chapter with the following one, which, as already proved, was a part of the Gnostic Epistle. He very naturally introduced the same phrase in order to make it appear that a new section of the Epistle was being opened, and thus in the most effectual manner possible disguise the fact that there is here a point of junction between two distinct documents. The last sentence of chapter xi shows plainly that the writer had completed his written injunctions, and was evidently intended to bring his letter to a conclusion: "And the rest will I set in order whensoever I come."

The evidence is very strong indeed that the chapters we have been examining comprise a genuine Epistle actually sent to a definite church, though not by Paul. And that fact would be a very probable explanation of the coupling of the name of Sosthenes with that of Paul in the introductory verse i, 1. We have discovered in the composite Epistle the whole, or a very large part, of two earlier Epistles—the Gnostic Epistle and the Epistle of C. The editor who united these would be quite likely to place in the introductory verse the names of the two writers of the combined work: Paul, the writer of the Gnostic Epistle, and Sosthenes, the writer of the Epistle of C. Indeed, the appearance of those two

names in i, 1, may be considered a very strong confirmation of the conclusions reached in this chapter.

We may see in the coupling of these two names a certain measure of support for the belief that the Gnostic writer really was Paul. Sosthenes is not likely to be a pseudonym, if it is intended to be the name of the writer of the Epistle of C. Because there would be no object in falsely labelling a document with the name of a person of no note. And if the editor placed in the introductory verse the real name of the one writer, it is not unlikely that he also put there the real name of the other.

The discovery that into the First Epistle to the Corinthians has been incorporated an early Epistle, the name of whose writer was probably Sosthenes, raises some very interesting questions with regard to the account in Acts of Paul's first visit to Corinth and the consequent events there. In the first place, we are told that the synagogue in which Paul reasoned every Sabbath contained Greeks as well as Jews. In the next verse (xviii, 5) we are told that Paul, some time afterwards, being constrained by the word (the Logos),¹ testified to "the Jews," as though he had not been speaking to Jews before. Are we to infer that the Jews of the synagogue were in some sense not Jews? Also the writer says that "the Jews," unlike the Jews in the synagogue, who had heard Paul patiently for weeks, immediately opposed themselves and blasphemed. What, then, was this synagogue, some of whose members were Greeks and in which Paul was allowed to speak without molestation—nay, even with acceptance, whereas as soon as he addressed himself to the Jews outside strong opposition arose? Not an ordinary Jewish synagogue, evidently. Clearly the writer is suppressing something. There must have been some important difference between the Jews of this particular synagogue and the other Jews. Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, we are informed, believed with all his house. How was it that "a believer" could remain ruler of the synagogue? Does any one suggest that Crispus resigned that office, and offer as evidence the fact that somewhat later Sosthenes (verse 17) is named ruler of the synagogue? The case is no better, for, apart from the fact that a synagogue might have more than

¹ In many MSS. "Logos" has been altered into "Spirit," for an obvious reason. The choice of the reading "logos" is not arbitrary; it is justified by the abundant evidence that early Paulinism was Gnostic.

one "ruler" at the same time,¹ this Sosthenes, while actually ruler of the synagogue, was, if not precisely a Pauline Christian, at any rate Hellenistic and anti-Judaic. The Jews who were accusing Paul before Gallio laid hold of Sosthenes and beat him before the judgment seat. This Sosthenes, therefore, was an adherent of, or at least a sympathizer with, Paul. Observe, also, that this occurred a year and a half after Paul had begun to preach at Corinth. What could the ruler of the synagogue have to do with the matter unless Paul had been closely connected with it during that time? Once more we ask the question, What sort of a synagogue was it whose ruler was anti-Judaic and more or less in agreement with Paul's doctrine? It does not, in fact, follow that, because the place was called a synagogue, the Jewish national religion was cultivated there. Jewish sects, such as the Gnostic sects or the Messianists (Christian in that sense), would call their places of worship synagogues. It is known that as late as the third century the Marcionites had a meeting-house which they called a synagogue. Irenæus writes of "all the synagogues of the heretics."² And in the Apocalypse we have "a synagogue of Satan." Now put these facts together. We have discovered that a certain Sosthenes wrote an Epistle to a community of *Jewish* Christians. There is no doubt that the community he was addressing was, at any rate, predominately Jewish; because he says in his Epistle, First Corinthians v, 1: "there is among you such fornication as is not even among the Gentiles." A man writing to a church composed of Greeks could hardly have contrasted them with "the Gentiles" in such a manner. And if conceivably he might have done so, the statement made as a matter of course in vii, 39, must have been addressed to a Jewish consciousness: "A wife is bound for so long as her husband liveth." The same statement is made by R1³ after the observation, "I speak to men who know the law." The Sosthenes, then, who wrote the Epistle was in a position of authority in a community composed principally of Jews. The Sosthenes of Acts was ruler of a community composed, to a large though unknown extent, of Jews. He also was, even then, if not an adherent of Paul, at least a sympathizer, and may subsequently have come into still closer agreement with him; though from the Epistle it

¹ Acts xiii, 15.² *Contra omni. hæc.* IV, xviii, 4.³ Romans vii, 2.

can be inferred that there were shades of difference between the writer's Christology and the Pauline. And the community of which he was ruler must have been in some measure believers, from the mere fact of his being head of it, without considering that the members had listened to Paul without opposition for some weeks, and that, as we are told, both Jews and Greeks were persuaded. The evidence seems sufficient to justify the conclusion that we here have to do with one and the same Sosthenes.

The impossibility of explaining the incident of the beating of Sosthenes in terms of the story as given in Acts has led some critics to adopt a reading found in a number of MSS., according to which verse 17 runs: And all *the Greeks* laid hold of Sosthenes. But it is extremely unlikely that that reading is correct. The implication of the text plainly is that the beating of Sosthenes before Gallio occurred immediately after the delivery of his judgment, when only the hostile Jews were present. Sosthenes, of course, would be present as a supporter of Paul, and possibly as a joint-defendant with him. The action of those Jews is explicable in their temper of rage and disappointment. But any one who tries to imagine a number of Greeks at a subsequent sitting dragging Sosthenes before the judgment seat and beating him there must realize how improbable it is. If they wished to beat him they could have done so elsewhere. And why should *the Greeks* have wished to do so? Paul's converts included Jews as well as Greeks, and if it had been the Pauline Christians who beat Sosthenes, the writer would not have used so indefinite a term. Besides, how could he have said that *all* the Greeks beat Sosthenes? That would be absurd. The word "all," whether qualifying Jews¹ or Greeks, can only mean all those who were actually present on the occasion; and the writer does not say that Sosthenes was brought thither from some other place, but that "they all laid hold of him," as though he were already there. The most likely explanation of the reading "Greeks" is that it was inserted for the very reason that the beating of Sosthenes by Jews is not reconcilable with the details which are offered as history by the writer of Acts. According to von Soden, the word "Greeks" was absent from the earlier text from which our oldest MSS. \aleph and B^2 are derived; it is also absent from A,

¹ One Codex, δ 268 (von Soden), reads "Jews" in this place.

² *Codex Sinaiticus* and *Codex Vaticanus*.

from the ancient Italian Latin versions and the Vulgate; which latter, on the whole, preserve a very ancient text.

Observe, moreover, that there is nowhere in the Acts of the Apostles any account of the founding of a church at Corinth by Paul; not even the slightest hint of it. Verse 7 of chapter xviii also is significant. Why are we so pointedly told that Paul went to live hard by the synagogue? Of what importance was it where he lived, unless he went to live near the synagogue for the convenience of attending it? It is also noteworthy that in the Gnostic Epistle, which Paul wrote, if he wrote anything, the writer says, addressing the community: "When I came to you.....I was in weakness and fear." From which, without other knowledge, one would naturally infer that the community was already formed when Paul first visited it. An unbiased consideration of all the facts leads to the opinion that Paul preached some new doctrine to the synagogue at Corinth, but that the doctrine previously held there was of such a character as to prepare the members for the reception of the new one, which probably was not something quite different but an amplification or modification of the old. The orthodox Jews blasphemed because Paul declared the abrogation of the law of Moses. If the Jews of the synagogue listened patiently, they must have been prepared. In other words, they were Hellenistic Jews. The case would be met by supposing that the form of religious belief held in the synagogue was some kind of Jewish Gnosticism. The fact that the writer of the Gnostic Epistle does not claim to have founded the church at Corinth is a point in favour of the opinion that Paul was the writer.

It will be remembered that we found in chapter v some indication that the writer was not a Catholic. That indication is confirmed by the rest of the Epistle. Except in one passage, which can be proved to be an interpolation, the form "Jesus Christ" never occurs. The usage of C agrees with that of R3 and of the writers of First Corinthians x, 1 to 21; and xv, 12 to 58. His designation of the Saviour is always "the Lord," "the Lord Jesus," or "Christ" alone. Now R3, as will be shown hereafter, was a Jewish Gnostic of some kind, so that we have here some confirmation of the opinion that C was writing to a Jewish Gnostic community, whose doctrine had developed, probably as the result of Paul's preaching, in a specifically Christian direction. In vii, 40, we have the Gnostic phrase: "I think that I also have the Pneuma of God."

The Epistle of C has been a good deal interpolated. If, as there is reason to believe, the Christianity of C was of an early Gnostic character, he could not have regarded Christ as a passover or a sacrificial victim. Verses 7b and 8 of chapter v may, therefore, be suspected; and the belief that they have been interpolated is confirmed by the observation that the word "leaven" has not the same significance in verse 8 as it has in verses 6 and 7a. In the latter verses the "leaven" is the immoral member; "purging out the old leaven" means expelling that member. Verse 8 speaks of the old leaven of malice and wickedness, referring to the character of the congregation as a whole; and the leaven is not a person, but a quality of mind. In verse 8 again "the unleavened bread" symbolizes sincerity and truth; but in verse 7a it had signified the congregation. Verse 9 continues the line of thought which had been pursued in verses 1 to 7—viz., that the community should have no intercourse with fornicators and should expel such an one from their midst. Verses 7b and 8 are irrelevant and interrupt the sequence of thought. The metaphor is suddenly changed, and yet the two sentences in verse 7 are ostensibly continuous, being connected by the conjunction "for."¹

That conjunction "for" is a valuable mark of interpolation, being inserted to give an appearance of continuity; and when there is no continuity the artifice betrays itself. Such is the case with verse 16 of chapter vii. Verse 15 gives the advice that an unbelieving wife or husband should be allowed to depart. The reason given in verse 16 would be one for *not* allowing her, or him, to depart. In verse 18 we have: "Was any man called being circumcised?" The word "called" in this verse no doubt repeats the same word in verse 15: "God hath called us in peace." The interpolator, having separated the two clauses, thought it necessary to add verse 17, introducing the same word "called" so as to prepare for verse 18. The advice given in verse 17 is repeated in verses 20 and 24. Such redundancy is very unlikely. The last clause of verse 17 looks like a still later interpolation.

The conjunction "for" in verse 22 is absurd as following 21b. The reason which it introduces is the reason for the advice given in 21a; 21b is evidently an interpolation. Verse 23 introduces an idea which is inconsistent with that

¹ Verses 12 and 13 have also been interpolated, as will be proved later.

which immediately precedes. The writer C says that it is a matter of indifference whether a man be a bondservant, because, even though he be a bondservant, he is still the Lord's freedman. The writer of verse 23 says a man ought not to become a bondservant, because he was "bought with a price." The latter statement could not have been made by a writer whose doctrine was such as we have found reason to believe C's to have been. The fact that the statement occurs in a verse which on other grounds we must regard as an interpolation lends support to the opinion we previously formed with regard to the theological doctrine of C. Verse 24 has also probably been interpolated; it is an unnecessary repetition of verse 20.

Verses 28b to 31 are not very intelligible. They seem to have a Messianic implication which would be foreign to the early Gnostic doctrine of C. Moreover, they are irrelevant, and are not at all in the manner of C, who indulges in no general speculations, but gives only short and practical reasons for his advice. The conclusion that these verses have been interpolated is confirmed by the fact that verses 32 to 34 give the reason for the advice contained in verse 27: "Seek not a wife." The proper place for verse 32 is evidently immediately following verse 28a. This is also shown by the conjunction "But" with which verse 32 begins. The course of the argument is: "If a virgin marry she hath not sinned." "*But* I would have you free from cares," and "she that is married is careful for the things of the world." It has been shown previously that verse 38 is probably an interpolation.

Verses 1b to 3 of chapter viii strike a different note from those between which they lie. They were written by some one who viewed with suspicion anything that looked like praise of knowledge; no doubt reckoning it as part of "the wisdom of this world." Or, possibly, by an anti-Gnostic who took offence at the word "gnosis." Probably C did write the word as a Gnostic addressing Gnostics conscious of its implications. However that may be, a writer, after claiming knowledge, would certainly not interrupt his train of thought to depreciate knowledge and exalt love, which has nothing to do with the question in hand. Evidently the original reading was: "we all have knowledge, and we know that no idol is anything." Verse 7 should obviously follow verse 4: "We know that no idol is anything, but in all men there is not that knowledge." Verses 5 to 7 break the connection;

they also introduce speculative theological ideas of a kind which C appears consistently to avoid. Finally, in verse 6, we find the term "Jesus Christ." We have already seen good reason to believe that C would not use that form; it occurs nowhere else in his Epistle, and its being found only here in an obvious interpolation confirms both the opinion that the verses are interpolated and also the opinion previously formed with respect to C's theological doctrine. On the latter ground, therefore, we are justified in condemning verse 11, which contains the statement: "the brother for whose sake Christ died." Here, again, the inference drawn from the supposed theological outlook of C is confirmed by another consideration. The conjunction "And" with which verse 12 begins connects that verse, not with the immediately preceding one, but with 10. The former carries on the idea contained in the latter; verse 11 introduces between the two a different idea altogether.

Verse 13 of the same chapter is quite irrelevant. It is concerned with meat-eating as opposed to vegetarianism. The writer of it says: "I will eat no flesh for evermore." But the writer C is not speaking about flesh in general; only of meat offered to idols. The conjunction "wherefore" indicates a conclusion from what precedes; but the conclusion actually drawn is an absurd inconsequence.

As before mentioned, the reasons given by C for his advice and instruction are always quite simple and practical. Every kind of abstract, abstruse, or speculative reasoning is avoided by him. The long passage, chapter xi, verses 6 to 12, which gives reasons for the opinion that it is improper for a woman to pray with her head covered, based upon speculations with respect to the fundamental relationship between man and woman, is quite out of conformity with his more homely method. His own reasons are given in verses 13 to 15, and they are characteristic. That given in verses 13 and 14 really amounts to no more than this: We do not like to hear a woman pray with her head covered, and we do not like to see a man with long hair because we are not used to it. And in verse 15 the statement is made that a woman ought to have long hair because her hair was given to her for a covering. Is it conceivable that any man, after writing the disquisition contained in verses 6 to 12, could descend to the banality of verses 13 to 15? Verse 16 is also an interpolation, for, simple-minded as C was, he

would not, after strongly urging that a woman should pray with covered head, stultify himself by saying that "we have no such custom." It is, indeed, not quite clear what custom is referred to; but the ambiguity itself arises from the verse having been placed in its present position by another writer.

It is quite plain that the passage from verse 17 to verse 20 has been tampered with. For if we paraphrase verses 18 to 20 we get this: By reason of the divisions which exist among you, it is not possible for you to eat the Lord's supper. Which is absurd. The reason for the inability to eat the Lord's supper is given in verse 21. Disorderly behaviour, not difference of opinion with respect to doctrine, was the reason. Verses 18 and 19 are thus shown to be quite irrelevant, and they simply confuse the reasoning of the writer. These two verses, also, are not consistent with verse 17, in which it appears that the blame of the writer was directed to something which occurred when the members came together. The existence of divisions can hardly be meant, since that would be a permanent evil. The divisions would exist at all times. No doubt the effects of divisions might appear during the meeting of the congregation, but the complaint in verse 18 is simply that divisions exist. And verses 20 and 21 show clearly what disorders the writer had in mind when he wrote verse 17. This conclusion is very important, since we may further conclude that the divisions here spoken of arose later than the date at which C's Epistle was written.

Verses 22 to 29 of chapter xi have certainly been interpolated. It was shown that the style of the Epistle of which this chapter forms part is so different from that of all the rest of the composite Epistle that it cannot be the work of any one of the writers of it. Either Paul wrote the Epistle of C, in which case he wrote no other portion of either of the two Epistles, Romans and First Corinthians; or he wrote, let us suppose, the Gnostic Epistle, in which case he did not write the Epistle of C. There can surely now be no doubt as to which alternative must be accepted. If, then, Paul did not write the Epistle of C, verse 23, which implicitly claims to have been written by him, must be spurious. It is impossible to detach verses 24 to 27, at least, from 23. So that all those verses must have been interpolated. Further, it has been observed by Prof. W. B. Smith that verses 20 and 22 obviously refer to the Agape, the common meal, while verses 23 to 27 refer to the Sacrament. We find in chapter x the

interpretation of the Eucharist which was current in the early Pauline as in other Gnostic communities.¹ These verses, which give in a modified form the Catholic interpretation of the Sacrament, must be late, certainly as late as the second century, because, in addition to the conception of the bread and wine as symbolizing the body and blood of the sacrificed Jesus, we have the doctrine that the Lord's Supper was instituted as a memorial; a doctrine which is found in Luke's Gospel, but not in Matthew or Mark. These interpolated verses, like some others in the Epistles, are interesting as showing the course of development of the Pauline churches from Gnostic into Catholic communities. Verse 28 must also be part of the interpolation, since the sacramental bread and cup are still being spoken of in that verse. Verse 29 is hardly detachable from 28. Verse 30 seems to be the natural conclusion from 21. Many are weak and sickly, the writer says (verse 30), because some are hungry and others drunken (verse 21). Verses 31 and 32 again have no real connection with 30; and the word "discerned" in 31 connects that verse with 29, in which the same verb occurs. Verse 33 follows 30 quite naturally. So that in the original Epistle verses 21, 30, and 33 were consecutive.

The foregoing reasoning is confirmed by the fact that in verses 26 and 27 the word "Lord" occurs three times with the definite article in the genitive case depending upon another substantive: "the death of the Lord" (τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου), "the cup of the Lord" (τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ Κυρίου), "the blood of the Lord" (αἷμαρος τοῦ Κυρίου). The usage with regard to this word is interesting. When it stands in the nominative, accusative, or dative case without a preposition the definite article is prefixed; similarly in the genitive case used predicatively. There are in the four Epistles twenty-eight examples of this rule. R3, however, with one doubtful exception, never prefixes the article to Κύριος. There are only two other exceptions. One of them is found in First Corinthians iv, 4: "he that judgeth me is the Lord" (ὁ δὲ ἀνακρίνων με Κύριός ἐστιν). But, of course, it is possible to translate this "he that judgeth me is Lord." A more likely explanation, however, is that "Lord" here means "God." In all the quotations from the Old Testament, except two from the Psalms, Κύριος is without

¹ It is also found in *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*.

the article ; no doubt because it stands for a proper name, "Jahveh." The writer of the verse quoted may have been following the practice of the Greek Old Testament. The omission of the article by R3 may be similarly explained, since he identified Christ with God. The other exception is a case previously referred to in Romans xiv, 5 and 6, where the very unusual occurrence of Κύριος three times without the article raises the question whether it was not R3 who wrote the nucleus of chapter xiv. If so, of course the case would provide weighty evidence that R3 was the editor of the composite Epistle. In the phrase "in the Lord" (ἐν Κυρίῳ) the article is never found ; there are seventeen examples of this in the four Epistles and no exception. The article is also usually omitted when the word is in the genitive case depending upon a preceding substantive—for example, First Corinthians xvi, 10, ἔργον Κυρίου ; Second Corinthians iii, 17 and 18, πνεῦμα Κυρίου, δόξαν Κυρίου.¹ Also in chapter x compare verse 21 with the phrases above quoted from xi, 26 and 27 ; in that verse we have ποτήριον Κυρίου ("cup of the Lord"), τραπέζης Κυρίου ("table of the Lord"). The writer C observes this rule—e.g., ἀπελεύθερος Κυρίου ("the Lord's freedman"), (vii, 22), ἐπιταγὴν Κυρίου ("commandment of the Lord") (vii, 25). We may, therefore, say confidently that he did not write verses 26 and 27 of chapter xi.

5.—THE FIRST EDITOR

The section of the Gnostic Epistle which treats of spiritual gifts evidently begins with verse 4 of chapter xii. Verses 2 and 3 have nothing to do with the subject, although the chapter opens in verse 1 with a reference to it. Chapter xi terminates the Epistle of C ; and with chapter xii commences the main section of the Gnostic Epistle. It is clear that the three verses xii, 1 to 3, were inserted by the editor who combined these two Epistles, to serve as a transition from chapter xi to chapter xii. Verse 4 would come very abruptly after verse 34 of chapter xi. Verse 2 contains a reference to the subject matter of chapter x, and so makes a certain connection with what precedes. Verse 3 twice mentions the spirit, and so makes a connection with what follows. The artificiality of these connections proves that the Gnostic writer did not write

¹ Note that in verse 17 we have ὁ δὲ Κύριος, the nominative case *with* the article.

xii, 1 to 3, between chapters ii and xii, which were consecutive in his Epistle, but that they have been inserted, inferribly by the man who placed chapter xii after xi—that is to say, by the editor.

Chapter x, verse 1, contains the phrase: "I would not, brethren, have you ignorant." Chapter xii, verse 1, contains the same phrase. Verse 2 of chapter xii refers to the subject of chapter x, verses 19 to 21. We know that chapter x was not a part either of the Gnostic Epistle or of the Epistle of C; its argument based upon the Old Testament proves that it was not part of the former, and the style of it differs from that of both writers. It has, therefore, been inserted into the Epistle by some editor or copyist. The two indications of affinity mentioned above raise the question: Did the editor who inserted verses 1 to 3 of chapter xii also write and insert chapter x? If these two passages were written by the same man, they seem to show that the phrase quoted was a favourite one with him. Now, in verse 25 of chapter xi of the Epistle to the Romans we find the same phrase: "I would not, brethren, have you ignorant." The occurrence of the phrase proves little—any writer might have used it; but it does suggest that it would be worth while making an examination to see if any other affinities are observable.

If we read the Epistle of R3, and then read First Corinthians, chapter x, verses 1 to 21, we perceive that the style is quite similar. It is in a clear and simple but by no means inelegant style. Certain special characteristics are also observable. R3, the writer of the three chapters ix to xi in Romans, was fond of using a succession of sentences beginning with the same few words. For example: Romans, chapter ix, verses 4 and 5, "who are Israelites, whose is the adoption, whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ." Again, chapter x, verses 14 to 15: "How shall they call on him.....? how shall they believe in him.....? how shall they hear.....? and how shall they preach.....?" See also xi, 34 and 35. Now compare with these First Corinthians x, 1 to 4: "our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized unto Moses, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same drink." Also verses 7 to 10 of the same chapter: "Neither be ye idolaters..... neither let us commit fornication.....neither let us tempt the Lord.....neither murmur ye." The probability that all these passages came from the pen of the same writer is very great;

and there are still more affinities. In the Epistle to the Romans the name Israel occurs nowhere outside chapters ix, x, and xi. In First Corinthians the name Israel occurs nowhere except in chapter x. Elsewhere it is always Jew. As mentioned before, the combined weight of two probabilities is much greater than the sum of their weights. And the evidence is even yet not exhausted. It was pointed out that R3 never uses either of the forms "Christ Jesus" or "Jesus Christ," but always "Christ" alone, though he writes "Jesus" once. In chapter x of First Corinthians, verses 1 to 21, "Christ" alone occurs three times;¹ the other two forms not at all.

It will be remembered that for R3 Christ was not the Son of God but, in some sense, God himself. In verse 9 the writer says: "let us not tempt Christ as some of them tempted," speaking of the Israelites in the wilderness. Hence, according to him, tempting God was tempting Christ. He thus, like R3, identified God and Christ. It is true that in the English Revised Version "the Lord" has been substituted for "Christ" in this verse, and that reading is supported by the authority of most of the oldest MSS. It does not, however, follow that it was the original reading, and I do not think it was. "Christ" is the reading in the Authorized Version.² Now, which is the more likely: that an original reading "Christ" should in some MSS. have been changed into "the Lord," or the reverse? The first obviously is the more likely by far. For a copyist might easily think that it was impossible for the ancient Israelites to tempt Christ, who had not yet come, and whose name even was at that time unknown. According to the Old Testament, it was, of course, "the Lord," Jahveh, who was tempted. These considerations also, no doubt, influenced the Revisers in their preference of the reading "the Lord." Or, again, some editor may have disliked the identification of Christ with God. On the other hand, if "the Lord" had been the original reading, there was no conceivable inducement for any one to alter it to "Christ." Such an alteration would be most unnatural.

In view of this identification of Christ with God it becomes

¹ Four according to some MSS.

² Christ is the reading in codex D and in δ 6 (von Soden), a MS. of which von Soden expressed a high opinion, as well as in several others; also in the old Armenian and one of the Syrian versions. It is quoted by Origen, Theodoret, and Epiphanius. In codex A "Christ" has been altered into "God."

very significant that the only passage in which R3 mentions the Resurrection is also the only passage in Romans ix to xi in which he uses the name "Jesus." Naturally, in his doctrine, Christ could not die; it was Jesus who died and rose from the dead. Evidently, therefore, R3 distinguished between "Jesus" and "the Christ."

Another affinity between the two sections is seen if we compare First Corinthians x, 18, with Romans ix, 3. In the former verse we read, "Behold Israel after the flesh" (*κατὰ σάρκα*); and in the latter, "my kinsmen according to the flesh (*κατὰ σάρκα*), who are Israelites."

It was shown in section 6 of the chapter on the Epistle to the Romans that R3 was a Jew. The writer of First Corinthians, chapter x, verses 1 to 21, was also a Jew. In verse 1 he speaks of the Israelites as "our fathers." And in verse 20 the way in which he refers to "the Gentiles" indicates that he was not one of them. Other writers usually refer to Pagans as "unbelievers" (*ἄπιστοι*), or "the unrighteous" (*ἄδικοι*). One or other of these words is found in First Corinthians vi, 1 and 6; vii, 13 and 14; x, 27, and elsewhere. Neither of them occurs in Romans ix to xi nor in First Corinthians x, 1 to 21; in both those sections the word *ἔθνη* ("Gentiles") is alone employed, whether it be to designate non-Jews, Christian or Pagan, or Pagans as opposed to Christians. In the former sense it occurs in Romans, chapter xi, verse 13; in the latter, Romans xi, 25, and First Corinthians x, 20. It is inferrible that R3 regarded Christians as a Jewish sect, and that consequently he was an early writer. R3, as Steck observed, made a somewhat superficial use of scripture. It may be seen that the quotation in verse 7 is by no means apt.

The evidence is amply sufficient to put beyond doubt the fact that the writer of First Corinthians, chapter x, verses 1 to 21, was the writer of Romans, chapters ix to xi—i.e., R3. We have seen that there is some reason to connect chapter xii, verses 1 to 3, with chapter x. That passage being a short one, we could not expect to find in it many marks by which to identify the writer. But the probability that R3 wrote it is much increased by the fact that we can connect it also with Romans, chapter x. In verse 9 of that chapter R3 states his view of the condition for salvation. "If thou confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord (*ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς Κύριον Ἰησοῦν*).....thou shalt be saved." Now, the writer of First

Corinthians xii, 3, says: "no man can say, Jesus is Lord (εἰπεῖν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν), but in the Holy Spirit." This writer also, like the writer of x, 20, contrasts his readers, not with "unbelievers," but with "Gentiles."

The writer of chapter x, verses 1 to 21, was probably acquainted with the works of Philo. He says in verse 4 that the Israelites drank of a spiritual rock which followed them, "and the rock was Christ." We have here additional evidence that the writer was a Jew, and a learned Jew; for the notion that the rock followed the Israelites is, of course, not derived directly from the Old Testament; it was a later tradition of the Rabbis. The identification of the rock with Christ is not found elsewhere, but in Philo we read: "This rock, using a different name for the same thing, he elsewhere calls Manna, the divine word (Logos), the oldest of existing things."¹ If the writer took the notion from Philo, and it is almost certain that he did, it follows that for him Christ was the Logos. R3 no doubt made that identification, because, although there is some ambiguity in the double meaning of Logos ("word"), coupled with the fact that R3 was a somewhat loose thinker, the identification of Logos and Christos is certainly made in Romans x, verses 7 and 8: "Who shall descend into the abyss? that is to bring Christ up from the dead. But what saith it? the word is nigh thee." There would be no point in the reasoning of the writer unless he meant: It is useless to seek Christ in the abyss, because he is nigh thee.² When he goes on immediately to write of "the word of faith" he is playing upon the double meaning of the word "logos," or not distinguishing very clearly between the two meanings. The coalescence of the two meanings lies in the essence of the idea, since the Logos as a divine entity is simply the hypostatized abstraction, the word of God.

On all the evidence, we are justified in inferring that R3 was the editor who combined the two early Epistles into one, with the addition of chapter x, verses 1 to 21,

¹ τὴν πέτραν ταύτην ἐτέρωθι συνωνυμῶς χρώμενος καλεῖ Μάννα, τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων λόγον θεῖον, *Quod deterius potiori insid.* 31. Mangey I, 214.

² "Word" here is in the Greek not λόγος but ῥῆμα. But that is simply because the verse is a quotation from the Greek Old Testament, Deut. xxx, 14, where ῥῆμα is used. Reference to the passage in Deuteronomy proves conclusively that for R3, Word=Christ, because in verse 12 it is said: "It [i.e., the word of God] is not in heaven that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven to bring it unto us?" Compare with this Rom. x, 6.

written by himself, to form the first edition of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which, one may conjecture with Semler, was compiled for the purpose of providing a reading book for the religious assemblies. Now, when we were examining the Epistle to the Romans we found that some editor had combined chapters ix, x, and xi with a Gnostic Epistle and a section of a hortatory character, to form the first edition of that composite work. Also that R3, who wrote Romans ix, x, and xi, was indicated as that editor by the fact that he had interpolated one of the combined documents. And we have since found reason to suspect that he wrote a portion of the hortatory section. We have now also discovered that R3 was the editor who combined chapter x, verses 1 to 21, written by himself, with a Gnostic Epistle and an Epistle of a hortatory character, to form the first edition of the composite First Epistle to the Corinthians. It seems impossible to resist the conclusion that R3 was the first editor of both the composite Epistles.

It has already appeared that the opinions of the writer of chapter x are tinged with Gnosticism. There were several Gnostic sects early in the first century, some of them more Judaic than others. The more Jewish Gnostics did not reject the Old Testament, but interpreted it allegorically, as Philo did. We see that characteristic in verses 3 and 4 of chapter x. The phrases "spiritual meat" and "spiritual drink" are quite Gnostic. The significance of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as set forth in verses 16 and 17, points in the same direction. For a Catholic writer, the bread symbolized, or rather was actually supposed to be, the flesh of a victim who had been slain as an atoning sacrifice. Here, as in *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, it symbolizes communion. In the *Teaching*, also, the expressions "spiritual food" and "drink" are used in connection with the Eucharist. The work may be classed as Gnostic, since in chapter x it is said that gnosis, faith, and immortality were made known to men by Jesus, who is thus regarded as having redeemed men, not by an expiatory death, but by bringing to them the knowledge of God. The two forms of the common meal, the Eucharist, which appears to have been closely connected with the Agape, on the one hand, and the Catholic Sacrament on the other, even if they had been ultimately of common origin, must have existed independently for a considerable time in communities holding

different dogmatic beliefs, which reacted upon the character of the rite, in the first case, at any rate, since the significance of the two forms is so entirely different. Both forms are also found outside the Christian communities. The Gnostic Eucharist had affinities with the sacred meal of the Thiasic cults of Dionysus, Hercules, Adonis, and other Saviour Gods, which seems to have been of Greek origin ; but it had in addition a special character of its own. The Catholic Sacrament, in which the participants symbolically eat the body and drink the blood of the slain God, is common to Christianity with several ancient religions. Its origin must be sought in a very remote antiquity, when the meal was actually cannibalistic. We have the interesting and noteworthy fact that we hear of the Gnostic Eucharist before we hear of the Catholic Sacrament, since First Corinthians x certainly, and *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* probably, are of earlier date than any of our Gospels, although no doubt the Sacrament is of ancient Jewish origin, being practised somewhere early in the first century and even long before then. We first meet with the corresponding dogma in the intensely Judaic Apocalypse of John. The inference is that it was practised by some obscure Jewish sect, in connection with a Jesus-cult, which reacted upon the better-known and more important Pauline Christian movement late in the first or early in the second century.¹

It is really wonderful how commentators obsessed by a fixed idea can knock their shins against the most awkward facts, and then go on as if no obstruction were perceptible. There is no writer possessing a keener sight for difficulties than Schweitzer ; but, unfortunately, he lacks the imagination to see the solution of them. He says, for instance² : " It remains obscure how Paul could have brought the account of the Sacrament which he gives in First Corinthians x into conformity with the historical words of Jesus naming the bread and wine his own body and blood, and how he could have given a common interpretation to the two conceptions." The answer, of course, is that he did not. The Eucharist referred to in chapter x is of Gnostic origin, and quite different in character and significance from the sacramental meal described in the Gospels. And there is not the very slightest reason to believe that Paul was acquainted

¹ Some light is thrown on this matter by Dujardin, *Le Dieu Jésus*, especially pp. 222 to 247.

² *Gesch. der Paul. Forsch.*, p. 156.

with any historical words of Jesus on the subject, or that the writer of chapter x was so.

The notion that pagan gods were dæmons (verse 20) was also of Gnostic origin, through the belief that the world was made by inferior angels of whom Jahveh was the chief, and that these angels became the gods of the various nations.¹ In the Epistle to the Romans, chapters ix to xi, as in this chapter, there is no trace of the doctrine of atonement. The attribution of sin to men's ignorance of God, which is found in Romans x, verses 2 and 3, is a Gnostic view. In chapter xi, verse 33, of Romans we have the Gnostic phrase "the wisdom and the knowledge ["sophia" and "gnosis"] of God." Pauline Gnosticism is most reasonably explained by supposing that it had developed out of the earlier Jewish Gnosticism; so that between the doctrine of Paul and that of R3 there were affinities and differences; but the differences were less than the affinities.

Some of the Jewish Gnostics had applied the term "Christ" to the Logos before the Christian era; the Logos was pure spirit (pneuma), like God himself. Hence the assimilation of the Logos, Christ, to God was not difficult, and it certainly occurred along one line of Gnostic development; for in John's Gospel, chapter i, verse 1, we read: "The Logos was God." The identification of Christ with God made by R3 in Romans ix, 5, shows that he stood somewhere on this line of Gnostic development. His use of the names "Christ" and "Jesus," each separately, seems to indicate that, in his view, Christ was the divine invisible pneuma, and Jesus the visible (in his opinion corporeal) form of the Logos. That view is not contradicted by the expression, "Christ as concerning the flesh" (τὸ κατὰ σάρκα) (Romans ix, 5), which does not mean necessarily that Christ himself became flesh. It is consistent with the view that the corporeal Jesus embodied the pneumatic Christ. Christ was Pneuma and so was God. We find the identification of "God" with "Pneuma" in the Gnostic Epistle, First Corinthians, chapter xii. In verse 6 we read: "the same God who worketh all things in all"; and in verse 11: "all these worketh the same Spirit." The doctrine of the trinity cannot have been developed when R3 wrote; the indications are that he was an early writer.

¹ Irenæus, I, xxiii, xxiv; *Clementine Recognitions*, II, 39.

It will be observed that in the first edition of the Epistle chapter x must have followed chapter viii, verse 12. It has been shown that verse 13 is an interpolation. Now, chapter viii is concerned with the eating of meat sacrificed to idols; so is chapter x. Consequently, chapter x followed chapter viii without an obvious break, whereas the discontinuity between ix, 27, and x, 1, is striking. Evidently the tolerant and compromising attitude of C with regard to this matter did not please R3. He incorporated the Epistle of C, no doubt, on account of the injunctions contained in it, which on the whole he approved of; but he endeavoured to counteract the effect of chapter viii by the decided opinions which he expressed in chapter x.

It is evident that this question of the permissibility of eating meat that had been sacrificed to an idol excited a good deal of controversy during the first and second centuries.¹ R3 does not share the opinion of C upon that question. A later copyist, again, who held an opinion quite opposed to that of R3, thinking that there was no harm in eating such meat, expresses his view in the passage which continues from verse 23 of chapter x to verse 1 of chapter xi. And, in order that his advice may have greater authority, he personates Paul, and exhorts his readers to imitate him.

Some of the facts which we have been able to gather with respect to the mental attitude of R3 invite speculation as to his identity. He was a Jew. He was evidently a learned man and a diligent student of the scriptures. His theology had Gnostic features, so that it is quite likely that he had lived and studied at Alexandria. His Christianity had so much in common with that of Paul as to make it possible for the two men to work together; and yet there were certain differences which might, after their death, give rise to parties under their respective names. He was writing probably only a short time after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Was not his name Apollos?

Verses 12 and 13 of chapter x may be suspected of being a later interpolation. There is very little, if any, relation between verses 11 and 12, though the latter begins with the conjunction "wherefore." So does verse 14, but the logical

¹ In the second century the principal Gnostic sects considered it permissible. Their attitude was that of C. R3, as is evident from his writings, had a strongly Jewish consciousness, which made any contact with idolatry abominable to him.

connection between verses 13 and 14 is nil. The sense of the two verses taken together is : "flee from idolatry" because "God will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able." On the other hand, verse 14 logically follows verses 1 to 11. The writer says : God was not pleased with our fathers and punished them because they were idolaters and fornicators. Their punishment was for our example. "Wherefore, my beloved, flee from idolatry."

6.—LATER EDITIONS OF THE EPISTLE

We have now accounted for the whole of the Epistle, with the exception of chapters i, iii, iv, vi, ix, and some interpolated passages, which we may suppose to have been the work of later editors and copyists. If we were to name every one who has inserted anything into the Epistle as editor, we should have to say that it had gone through a good many editions. Of course, several interpolations may have been made by the same hand ; but when the interpolated passage is short it seldom bears a distinguishing mark by which the writer of it can be identified. Confining the term "editor" to a man who has made some considerable addition to the Epistle, we can perceive that there were at least four editions of it after the original one.

At first sight it may appear that verses 10 to 17 of chapter i were written by the same person as the one who wrote chapters iii and iv. But further consideration raises great doubt as to whether that can have been the case. In the former section parties of Cephas and of Christ are mentioned as well as parties of Paul and Apollos. In chapters iii and iv parties of Paul and Apollos alone are mentioned, except in chapter iii, verse 22 ; but, as will be shown, the passage in which that verse occurs has most probably been interpolated. It does not seem likely that any one who wished to insert into the Epistle a discourse upon parties of Paul and Apollos would have placed a short section of it in front of chapter ii, and then a longer section dealing with the same subject after that chapter. One cannot see any reason why he should have cut his discourse into two portions and separated them. Moreover, the writer of chapter iii, to all appearance, begins his remarks upon that subject as though nothing had been written upon it previously. Again, in verse 10 of chapter i we read, "through the name of our Lord Jesus Christ," whereas

in chapter iv, verse 15, appears the form "Christ Jesus." It is true that "Jesus Christ" is found in chapter iii, verse 11; but in some MSS. the reading here is "Christ Jesus."¹ And seeing that there was a tendency, as the catholicizing of the Pauline communities progressed, to change the latter name into the former, if there is any MS. authority at all for it it is very likely to be the original one; though the reverse change may have been made in a few cases.

Certainly chapter iv, from verse 6 at least, appears to have been written by the writer of the first part of chapter iii; because verse 6 says "these things I have in a figure transferred," etc., and there is very little figurative language in the immediately preceding passages, while in chapter iii we have the figures of "him that planteth and him that watereth" and that of the master-builder. The expression "our Lord Jesus Christ" (i, 10) indicates a Catholic writer, "Christ Jesus" (iv, 15) a Pauline; and it will be observed that the writer of chapter i, verses 10 to 17, represents Paul as speaking modestly of himself. He merely deprecates the formation of a party called by his name, and claims no superiority or precedence. It seems as though, when chapters iii and iv were written, the supreme authority of Paul in the Pauline communities was beginning to be infringed. The Pauline writer accordingly insists upon his priority, reminds his readers that Paul was their spiritual father, and enhances his authority by the threat that he will come with a rod.

We have no reason to suppose that there were parties of Paul and Apollos during the lifetime of Paul. Not the slightest support to such a supposition is given by anything that is said about the two men in the Acts of the Apostles. And, while the evidence of that work is not very reliable, it is confirmed by the fact that in the earliest stratum of the Epistle there is no hint of the existence of parties or acute differences in the Pauline communities. The date of the Epistle of C is probably somewhat later than that of the Gnostic Epistle. In the former we now find in chapter xi, verse 18, the words: "I hear that divisions exist among you, and I partly believe it." If those words formed part of the original Epistle, they show that the writer had but little information about the alleged divisions, since he only *partly*

¹ "Christ Jesus" is found in codex C (as a correction), also in δ 1026 (von Soden), the Vulgate, and one of the old Syrian versions. The same reading is quoted by Origen.

believes the report. It may consequently be inferred that the divisions were of very recent origin. But it has been proved that the words in question are almost certainly an interpolation. In which case the presumption is that the divisions arose at a later date than that of the publication of the first edition of the composite Epistle—that is to say, probably later than 70 A.D. This, however, does not mean that all the early Christian communities held the same theological belief, or even that there were no differences of opinion between members of the same community. In England to-day there is great diversity of opinion even between members of the same religious denomination and in the same church, which, however, does not lead to the formation of organized parties under different names. There are, of course, the Anglo-Catholics and an Evangelical party, but the great majority of the worshippers and church-members do not label themselves, diverse though their theological outlook may be. No doubt a similar state of affairs existed in the early Pauline communities. And such differences as there were were insignificant in comparison with the differences between the Gnostic Christian communities and the Judaic Messianists on the one hand and the pagans on the other. Such persecution as existed in the middle of the first century was persecution of hellenized Jews by those who held fast to the law. And the hellenized Jews or early Gnostic Christians were carrying on a vigorous propaganda against paganism. The forces, therefore, which tended to unify the early parties were much stronger than the disintegrating force of theological differences. The writer R3 combined in a common Epistle his own work and that of R1, although the theological standpoints of the two writers were not identical. Very probably R3 thought that the docetic doctrine of R1 would be comparatively innocuous so diluted ; but it is reasonable to suppose that he was in agreement with much of the teaching of the Pauline Gnostic Epistle. Although the doctrine of Apollos was not the same as that of Paul, they agreed on the main point, that the gnosis of God had been revealed to men by the heavenly Christ, and could thus co-operate in the work of preaching the new Gospel to the Gentiles. After the fall of Jerusalem the unifying influence of pressure from the national Judaism was removed. The Christian communities increased in numbers and importance. As they became more self-confident, the theological differences crystallized into definite parties. A party of Apollos first

arose. Since Apollos probably survived Paul, the influence of the former would be likely to increase through his continued contact with the communities. The party of Cephas came somewhat later. We know from Epiphanius that, after the fall of Jerusalem, the Jewish Christians were scattered and spread gradually into Italy, Asia, and other places. It would probably be after some of these had settled in Asia Minor that interference with the Pauline communities began. The appearance of the party of Cephas may be held to indicate the gradually increasing pressure upon those communities of Ebionitish and other Jewish ideas, and the beginning of the evolution of the Catholic type of Christianity.

We infer, then, that chapters iii and iv were written later, but perhaps not much later, than the date of the first edition. Chapter i, verses 10 to 17, or probably to verse 15, is a still later interpolation, made at a time when a party of Cephas had come into existence. Verses 6, 7, and 8 may have been added by the same interpolator. Verse 9 looks like a later insertion. There is reason to suspect that the words "and I of Christ" also are a later interpolation. Tertullian quotes the verse without them,¹ saying: "since schisms and dissensions were arising among them, *dum alius Paulo deputat, alius Apollo.*" The verse is also referred to in the *First Epistle of Clement*,² where again mention is made of parties of Paul, Cephas, and Apollos, but not of Christ. Nothing is known of a party of Christ, though suggestions have been made with regard to it on the supposition that there was such a party, which is doubtful. A possible explanation of the phrase is the following: The phrase *οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* ("they of Christ") occurs in the Epistle to the Galatians in some MSS. in chapter v, verse 24. But in the phrase as there used there is no implication of a party of Christ. They that are "of Christ," or "of Christ Jesus," are all those who follow Christ, or Christians. In Second Corinthians x, 7, again, we have, "if any man believe that he is Christ's" (*Χριστοῦ*: "of Christ"). Some scribe may have misunderstood such expressions as referring to a party of Christ, and, when copying First Corinthians, chapter i, with that idea in his mind, may have inserted the words, *ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ* ("and I am Christ's"), in verse 12. Or, of course, understanding the phrase correctly, he may

¹ *De baptismo*, Cap. 14.

² xlvii, 3.

have intended to assert that there were some who connected themselves with no party and claimed simply to be Christ's—followers of Christ alone.

The writer of verses 10 to 15 was not also the writer of verses 16 to 31. The latter passage, as previously mentioned, has Gnostic features; the former is the work of a Catholic writer. As before observed, the presence of Gnostic phraseology in a section does not of itself prove that the section was written at an early date, and in this case it must be inferred that verses 10 to 15 were written at an earlier date than verses 16 to 31; for the connection between verses 15, 16, and 17 is so close that the writer of 16 and 17 must either have written 15 or had it before him when he wrote. There is, however, reason to think that verse 16 does not properly belong to either section. If the first writer had intended to say that Paul had baptized the household of Stephanas, he would have said so before writing the words "lest any man should say that ye were baptized into my name." Now, the writer of chapter xvi, verses 15 to 18, had some reason or other for wishing to exalt the house of Stephanas and to raise its authority in the church by showing, or feigning, that Paul had been particularly interested in it. So much may be inferred from verses 15 to 18 of that chapter. The writer, therefore, had a motive for stating that Paul had baptized the household of Stephanas; and there can be little doubt that it was he who wrote verse 16 of chapter i. That verse was probably interpolated between 15 and 17. One may reasonably suspect that the words "save Crispus and Gaius" in verse 14 have been interpolated from the like motive. Verse 17 is a natural continuation of 15. Either it has been written as a link between the two sections or, which is more likely, the first half of the verse belongs to the earlier section and the second half to the later, since the first half gives a reason for the statement made in verse 15, and in the second half the phrase "not in wisdom of words" forms a natural introduction to the ensuing section, which does not obviously arise out of the subject of the preceding verses.

In chapter iii, verses 16 to 23 are probably of later date than verses 1 to 15. For the question with which 16 begins implies a connection with the preceding verse. There is, however, no connection, and the two verses 15 and 16 do not read as though they had been written consecutively by the

same person. It was pointed out before that iv, 6, is the natural continuation of iii, 15. Also, in verse 22 we find the name Cephas in company with Paul and Apollos. In verse 18 of chapter iv there is reference to certain persons who were "puffed up." We find in Second Corinthians a good deal more about these people who were puffed up; and it will be shown in the chapter upon that Epistle that they were representatives of an advanced form of the gnosis. There is, however, in Second Corinthians no attack upon any party of Cephas. It is inferrible that during the latter part of the first century the disturbers of the Pauline communities were the more extreme Gnostics, and that the attempt to enforce Judaic observances came later. On all grounds it is tolerably certain that the section iii, 16, to iv, 5, is later than those which immediately precede and follow. It was not written by the writer of i, 10 to 15, for it exhibits traces of Gnosticism. In verse 16, for example: "Know ye not that ye are a temple of God, and that the Spirit (Pneuma) of God dwelleth in you." Also, in the phrase: "things present or things to come" (verse 22), (*ἐνεστώτα εἴτε μέλλοντα*). The same phrase is found in the Gnostic Epistle included in the Epistle to the Romans, where we read (viii, 38): "neither death nor life.....nor things present nor things to come." Again, in iv, 1: "stewards of the mysteries of God." The references to wisdom and foolishness in verses 18 and 19 rather connect this interpolation with i, 18 to 31. The character of chapters iii and iv, therefore, indicates that the first edition was followed by two later ones.

It is likely that, even if the first editor, R3, did not issue the two Epistles, Romans and First Corinthians, in a single MS., they were so circulating together at an early date. The Catholic editor R2 cannot have done his work upon Romans before about 120 A.D., and by that time it is almost certain that these, and probably others of the Epistles attributed to Paul, would be circulating together. We have, therefore, every reason for expecting that the editor who left so extensive a mark upon the Epistle to the Romans will be found to have operated upon the Epistles to the Corinthians also. Now, the various writers of the two Epistles which we have examined so far, when exhorting their readers, address them rather in the manner of a parent or brother than of a master. They beseech, advise, or reason with their readers. They do

not issue peremptory commands or deal censure after the fashion of a severe master rebuking his pupils, or a drill sergeant giving orders to his squad. The only exception we have met with so far is R2. So that when we read in chapter vi, "Dare any of you go to law?" "I say this to move you to shame," "Ye yourselves do wrong and defraud," we have some reason to suspect that R2 was the writer. We have found no writer in these Epistles to equal R2 in vehemence of language; and the language of this chapter comes in no degree behind his in that respect. In addition to the samples given above, we may also note the following: "Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats; but God shall bring to nought both it and them." "Shall I then take away the members of Christ and make them members of a harlot? *God forbid.*" The question last quoted begins in the Greek with the words ἄρα οὖν, a favourite expression of R2, and is followed by μὴ γένοιτο, an expression which we have not found to be used by a single writer in either of the Epistles, with the exception of R2. In verse 7 the word διατί ("why?") occurs twice. Now, this Greek word for "why" or "wherefore" occurs nowhere else throughout the two Epistles except in Romans ix, 32, a verse written by R2. τί is found in this sense commonly, ἵνα τί rarely; διατί nowhere but in the verse mentioned and verse 7 of this chapter. The succession of short phrases: "but ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified," is in the style of the same writer. And there are no less than fourteen questions in this chapter of only twenty verses. The statement in verse 20, "ye were bought with a price," is the doctrine of R2. No Gnostic can have written it. Also the argument in verses 15 and 16 is of the subtle and rather strained character which we have learned to expect from R2. The number of indications all pointing in the same direction is so great that any one who is not satisfied that the chapter was written by R2 must be very difficult to satisfy.

Six of the questions in the chapter begin with the words "Know ye not?" Chapter ix begins with a volley of short, sharp questions; the language is vigorous; and there are sixteen questions in the chapter, of which two begin with the words "Know ye not?" The style of writing thus connects chapter ix with vi, and suggests R2. It was mentioned that R2 sometimes asks a question with the interrogative particle

μή. In verses 29 and 30 of chapter xii μή is used as an interrogative particle. Those verses were shown to have been interpolated, and the style of them is that of R2. In the two verses there are seven short consecutive questions. R2 was almost certainly the writer. Now, leaving aside two verses in First Corinthians i, 13, and x, 22, which we will consider presently, the use of μή as an interrogative particle occurs nowhere throughout the two Epistles except in passages written by R2. But it occurs twice in chapter ix; verse 8: μή κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λαλῶ; and verse 9: μή τῶν βῶν μέλει τῷ Θεῷ. The play upon the word "law" in verses 20 and 21 is quite in the manner of R2. Examples illustrating this have previously been given. The evidence appears to be sufficient to warrant the conclusion that R2 was the fourth editor of this Epistle and the writer of chapters vi and ix.¹

Linguistic evidence is, of course, of very various evidential value. The fact that in several chapters a writer does not happen to use a rather uncommon word proves nothing; but the use by one writer and the avoidance by another of some fairly common word or expression are obviously very significant. Especially is this the case where a writer has a choice of two or more different words or phrases to express the same idea, and consistently avoids, or shows a preference for, a particular one. Now, all the principal writers represented in these two Epistles ask a certain number of questions, and, by the law of probability, a particular way of asking a question would be found proportionately as often in the chapters written by one man as in those written by another. When, therefore, we find that μή is *never* used as an interrogative particle, in affirmative questions, in the passages known to have been written by certain of the men, and is used several times in that way by one of the others, we have evidence of choice or design; and the evidential value of that use is great. The two passages not so far known to have been written by R2, in which μή is used in this way, are i, 13, and x, 22. We will consider the latter verse first.

The whole of chapter x up to that point was proved to have been written by R3. The remainder of the chapter, from verse 23, was shown to have been written later. Verse 22, therefore, lying between the two sections, may belong

¹ It will, however, appear later that verses 9 and 10 of chapter vi, beginning with the words "Be not deceived," belong to the Epistle of C. Also the addition of chapter xv, verses 12 to 58, was made earlier than the interpolations of R2.

either to the one or to the other, or it may have been interpolated. Now, in the three chapters written by R3 in the Epistle to the Romans there are a considerable number of questions, but in not one of them is the interrogative particle *μή* found.¹ The same remark applies to the two questions in verse 16 of First Corinthians, chapter x. So far, therefore, the probability is that verse 22 was not written by R3. Also in this verse we find *τὸν Κύριον* ("the Lord"), with the definite article, which is a fairly certain indication that R3 did not write the verse. There are some features of the section, verses x, 22, to xi, 1, which suggest that R2 was the writer of it. In addition to the use of the interrogative *μή*, the vigour and boldness of the questions themselves, "Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy? Are we stronger than he?" point to R2. Then, again, there are the two questions in verses 29 and 30, "Why is my liberty judged by another's conscience?Why am I evil spoken of for that for which I give thanks?", which involve the antithetical and plausible rather than sound method of reasoning that we learnt to associate with R2. Compare with them, for example, Romans iii, 7: "If the truth of God through my lie abounded to his glory, why am I still judged as a sinner?" To any one with a feeling for style it must appear highly probable that R2 wrote verses 29 and 30. And yet, when we consider carefully the whole section, it becomes doubtful whether it was written by him. The style is not his throughout.

As chapter x, verses 1 to 21, was written in order to counteract the laxity of the opinion expressed in chapter viii, which in the first edition it immediately followed, so this section was subsequently written by a compromiser to soften down the rigidity of verses 1 to 21. It is, therefore, probable that it was written not very long afterwards. But R2 wrote a good many years afterwards. It is evident that the section gave occasion to the enemy to blaspheme, as we may judge from replies made from the Pauline side. Verses 19 to 21 condemn the eating of meat offered to idols unreservedly. The writer of the next section says that a question is to be decided not on the grounds of lawfulness, but on the grounds of expediency, and recommends that for ease of conscience' sake that should be done which had just before been condemned. An opponent could easily represent this as advice

¹ As before mentioned, R3 used *μή οὐ* once in a negative question.

to do evil that good might come. When, therefore, in Romans iii, 8, R2 wrote, "Some affirm that we say, Let us do evil that good may come," it is quite possible that he was replying to a charge that had been founded upon this passage in First Corinthians, which, in that case, was in existence when he wrote.

Again, there is an apparent connection between verse 23 and verse 12 of chapter vi. The statements are the same with a slight change of phraseology. Either they were both written by the same person, or the writer of one had the other before him. Now, verse 23 of chapter x is naturally suggested by the context. As shown above, the remark that all things are lawful but not all expedient, was written designedly as a kind of text for the short disquisition which follows; and there is no reason to suppose that it had been copied from vi, 12. But the reference to "meats" in vi, 13, indicates, in conjunction with verse 12, that the verses were written in view of the section x, 23-28. There is nothing to suggest "meats" in chapter vi, either before or after verse 13. The verses are very plainly a comment upon the other section. The writer says: It is true that all things are lawful but not all expedient, but this question of eating or not eating certain meats is of small importance. God will bring to nought both meats and the belly. Fornication is a much more serious matter. Hence, if the same man did not write both verses, vi, 12, and x, 23, it cannot be doubted that the former verse was suggested by the latter, and not vice versa. Now, chapter vi was written by R2, whose edition of the Epistles can hardly be dated earlier than about 120 A.D., and it is probable that verses 23 to 33 were written earlier than that. Moreover, vi, 12 and 13, being in the nature of a critical comment upon x, 23-28, were almost certainly written by a different person. Hence of the two alternatives the opinion that R2 wrote vi, 12 and 13, with x, 23 to 33, before him, is preferable. The same writer has in a similar manner, in ix, 13, re-echoed x, 8.

There is yet another consideration. The writer of the section is not very precise, less so than R2 probably would have been; and it is really not perfectly clear whose conscience is meant. But one would naturally infer from verse 25 that it is the man's own conscience. For when a man buys meat in the shambles the seller would have no concern with, probably no knowledge of, the religious opinions and scruples of the buyer. It seems plain enough that the advice given

is for the comfort of mind of the buyer. If he did not know that the meat he was buying had been offered to an idol, he could eat it in peace without being disturbed by qualms of conscience. It is easy to see that such advice would make an opening for the criticism of opponents. And that it did give occasion for criticism is proved by verse 29, which was evidently written to parry it; because it contradicts the natural interpretation of the earlier writer's advice. The earlier writer, as shown, was concerned for the ease of the conscience of the buyer of the meat; but the writer of verse 29 says, "conscience, not thine own, but the other's"—i.e., the seller's; whereas, as shown above, the seller's conscience could not usually enter into the question. And if the meat had been set before the guests at a feast, whether it should be eaten would have been a question for the conscience of the guest. Supposing that another guest had mentioned the fact that the meat had been offered in sacrifice, the first is advised in verse 28 not to eat, "for his sake that showed it"—that is to say, "in order not to set him an example which he might think bad." But the translation may be questioned; δι' ἐκεῖνον should mean "because of him," or "on his account," not "for his sake." So that the writer may have intended to say: "Do not eat lest he should condemn you." The interpretation above given to the expression in the section x, 23 to 28, is entirely in accordance with the context. For in verse 27, where the advice is given to "eat what is set before you, asking no question for conscience sake," nobody else has been mentioned; and the words, "for conscience sake," being a repetition of the same words in verse 25, must have the same significance. Also in verse 28, the words "for his sake that showed it *and* for conscience sake" explicitly detach "conscience" from "him that showed it." If "for his sake" signifies "for his conscience sake," the same thing is merely being said twice over.

Verse 29, moreover, involves a somewhat violent dislocation of the train of thought. It does not naturally proceed from the nature of the subject-matter present in the mind of the man who composed the foregoing verses. The latter is giving advice to readers as to the conduct they should adopt under certain circumstances. Verses 29 and 30 consist of an urgent justification of himself by a man who is aware that his conduct and that of others who think like him has been censured.

Why, he asks, should I not eat meat offered to an idol if my own conscience does not condemn me? Why should my liberty be restricted by the conscience of others? Obviously, that is an entirely different question of religious ethics from the one discussed in verses 25 to 28. The sudden transition is unnatural, and produces the impression that we have come into contact with a different mind. Further, the manner in which the verse begins, "Conscience, I say," is just the manner in which it would be begun by some one who wished to correct a current application of the word "conscience," so as to cancel an interpretation of the verses which had been used to the embarrassment of the faithful. The agreement of verse 33 with ix, 19-22, suggests that the writer of both passages was the same. And R2 was the writer of ix, 19-22. It is, however, possible that verses 31 and 32 are part of the earlier interpolation; xi, 1, is not detachable from x, 33. On all the evidence, the probability is that the section x, 23 to 28, 31 and 32, was interpolated at some time in the first century, and that verses 22, 29, 30, 33, and xi, 1, are a later interpolation by R2.

This result finds a certain measure of corroboration in a comment of Tertullian upon the section,¹ from which it can be inferred that an argument had been based upon it either by Marcion or by one of his followers. "A great argument," he says, "for the existence of the other God has been deduced from the permission to eat all kinds of meats, contrary to the law." Marcion is not named, so that it cannot be concluded with certainty that the section had been quoted by him. Tertullian's comment, however, creates a certain probability that the section as a whole was in Marcion's edition and is an early interpolation. In which case R2 was not the author but merely the interpolator of it. R3, who so strongly condemned the practice of eating meat offered to idols, was a Jew. Gentile Christians might be less particular; so that the section could have been inserted while the Epistles were exclusively current among the Paulinists.

There is evidence in these Epistles, especially in Second Corinthians, that during the last quarter of the first century the Pauline communities were under extreme pressure from other Gnostic sects whose doctrines had been more highly elaborated and were in some respects in opposition to the

¹ *Adv. Marc.* v, 7.

original Pauline doctrine. That Gnostic propaganda had a considerable amount of success. A good many of the members seem to have been influenced by it. The opinion expressed in verse 23 of chapter x probably had its origin in extraneous teaching of that kind. It is not Pauline. The writer of Romans ii, 21 to 23, cannot by any means have expressed it or approved of it. To the man who wrote Romans vi, 3 to 6, 12 and 13, the opinion that all things are lawful must have been repugnant. R2 was able to subscribe to it with a certain reservation, holding, as he did, that "works" are of insignificant value compared to faith. The reservation made in vi, 12, of First Corinthians is an indication that the verse is later than x, 23, and that the writer was not quite satisfied with the statement as it there stood. He strengthens the qualification that all things are not expedient by the declaration that he will not be brought under the power of any. Verse 23 of chapter x indicates that the doctrine of the indifference of conduct had been accepted by some members of the Pauline communities, and that it had probably occasioned a certain degree of licentiousness. The writer himself does not reject the doctrine, but wishes to make it innocuous. Now, this doctrine was taught by some Gnostics, though, as previously observed, it was not Pauline. The Simonians, for example, taught it. Irenæus tells us¹ "Simon Magus said that men are saved by grace and not by just works. For actions are not just by nature, but by accident; according as they were laid down by the angels who made the world, and who desired by commandments of this kind to bring men into servitude to themselves." Possibly we have here the origin of the doctrine of "grace." Since this doctrine is attributed by Irenæus to Simon himself, it must have been taught by the Simonians at an early date. We are told that the Simonians did not hesitate to burn sacrifices to idols.

It is impossible to speak with the same confidence in reference to i, 13. Of course *μή* was used as an interrogative particle in affirmative questions by other writers of Greek than R2; and I have in no case relied upon that evidence alone when ascribing any passage to him. In the present case there is evidence pointing in a different direction. In verse 10 we have the phrase, "Now I beseech you,

¹ *Contra omn. haer.* I, xxiii, 3.

brethren"; a phrase nowhere used by R2, who, as before remarked, was more prone to command and to chide than to beseech. Again, in the same verse, we have "through the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." R2 frequently wrote "through our Lord Jesus Christ," but never elsewhere "through the name of." In verse 11, chapter vi, indeed, we find "ye were justified *in* the name of the Lord Jesus Christ." But the phrase "ye were justified in the name of" might be written by one who never wrote "through the name of." It is obvious that the two phrases, "through the name of the Lord Jesus Christ" and "through the Lord Jesus Christ," might indicate different shades of dogmatic belief, in a day when such shades were more numerous and important even than those which exist now. Moreover, R2 never addresses his readers as "brethren," though R1 and R3 both do so rather frequently. On the whole, we must conclude that the evidence against the section having been written by R2 outweighs that in favour. The writer cannot be identified, but the phrase quoted points to a somewhat late Catholic writer.

Chapter ix, like chapter iv, is concerned with the claim of travelling teachers to maintenance. The writer, in order that his words may have greater authority, writes in the person of Paul; and, to increase still further the authority of his injunctions, he represents Paul as having waived his own claim to maintenance by the congregations and to be pleading entirely on behalf of others. Thus no interested motive can be attributed to the supposed writer, at any rate. It is probable that so far as the real Paul was concerned the representation is correct, though it is contradicted by the writer of Second Corinthians xi, 8, who says that Paul robbed other churches that he might minister to the Corinthians. Obviously a falsehood with a purpose, as will appear later.

A few other interpolations by R2 may be indicated, but it is not worth while occupying much space over them. They have been proved before to be interpolations; and to identify the actual interpolator is not of much importance. In verses 22 to 29 of chapter xi, for example, the five consecutive questions with which the passage begins and its late date suggest R2 as the interpolator. The volley of questions in verses 29 and 30 of chapter xii also points to the same editor. It was shown previously that the passage,

verses 10 to 22 of chapter xiv, had been interpolated. The question, "What is it then?", in verse 15, reminds us of the question so often used by R2 to introduce an interpolation, "What shall we say then?" The latter form of question is the more appropriate in a discourse upon doctrine; the former in a hortatory passage like the one before us. It seems probable that R2 has been at work here; but two or three different hands can be detected in the whole passage.

The same question, "What is it then?", occurs again in verse 26. It has been shown previously that verses 26 to 39 have been interpolated. The tone of authority in which verses 34 to 38 are couched is very much in the manner of R2; "Let the women keep silence.....it is not permitted to them to speak"; "it is shameful for a woman to speak in the church." The succession of questions which follow are quite in his style: "What? was it from you that the word of God went forth? or came it unto you alone?"

Verses 1 to 11 of chapter xv are a late addition to the Epistle. The doctrine that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures is neither that of R1 nor of R3. The words of the first verse, "Now I make known unto you the gospel I preached unto you," are very strange if they came from a man who had preached only a short time before. And even if some considerable time had elapsed it would have been more natural for him to say "I remind you." Why should he have to make the doctrine known if he had already preached it? The probability is that the writer really was making it known. The Gnostic Paul certainly never preached it. This section marks a stage in the catholicizing of the Pauline communities which was steadily going on during the latter part of the first and the early part of the second century, and which was regretted by the Pauline writer of Acts xx, 29: "I know that after my departure grievous wolves shall enter in among you."¹ The writer of First Corinthians xv, 1 to 11, no doubt *was* "making known" doctrine new to the Pauline communities, and he had to pretend that Paul had preached it.

The tradition of the appearances of the risen Christ is somewhat late legend. The latter portion of Mark's Gospel in which it is now found did not form part of the original Gospel. A gradual growth of the legend can be traced in its successive stages through the Gospels of Luke and John.

¹ This reference may, however, be to the Gnostic disturbers previously mentioned.

Modern theological critics explain the growth of the belief that Jesus had risen from the dead as arising out of visions, subjective phenomena, induced in the disciples by the powerful impression which the living Jesus had made upon their minds. That, of course, is pure hypothesis; and it is very extraordinary that, according to the account in Matthew, which seems to be the earliest of those we now possess, all the disciples should have had this subjective experience simultaneously, before any one of them had had it separately, and when they had refused to believe the report of the women. At any rate, a comparison of the various accounts shows that as time went on the legend was continuously elaborated, and that in First Corinthians xv, 1 to 11, we have an advanced form of it. The statement in verse 6 that Jesus appeared after his death to five hundred of the brethren is an addition to the Gospel story. No doubt, however, as Mr. J. M. Robertson has pointed out, we have in this passage one interpolation on the top of another. Verse 7 may be part of the original section, in which case it is probably later than the Gospel according to the Hebrews, since an appearance to James is recorded in that Gospel, though not in any of our canonical ones. A peculiarity of this account is that there is in it no mention of the appearance to the women, although, according to the Gospel story, that was the first. It must have been omitted deliberately. Steck¹ observes in reference to this that, according to the Gospels, the disciples at first made light of the information of the women as being only idle talk; and at a later time Celsus fastened upon this very circumstance and made it the starting-point of his attack upon the Christian belief. It appears, therefore, as though the writer of this section felt it to be vulnerable evidence; in which case the omission of it must be regarded as an artificial correction of the narrative, and the representation of the Evangelists a simpler and earlier form.

The expression in verse 8, "one born out of due time," is a translation of the Greek word "*ectroma*." Now, this word is a Gnostic term and belongs, moreover, to the developed Gnosticism of the second century. The earliest known use of it is by Valentinus, who settled in Rome about A.D. 140.² It signifies the formless emanation which proceeded from

¹ *Der Galaterbrief*, p. 185.

² It occurs in one of the Ignatian Epistles; but the Ignatian writer was dependent on the Pauline.

Sophia, the divine wisdom, and was the stuff out of which the world was made. The word was in ordinary use with the meaning "abortion," but it is perfectly obvious that the Gnostic signification is the one which the writer had in mind. The use of this word without any explanation by the writer of the section, who was not a Gnostic himself, proves that it was already well known and understood in the Pauline communities. Valentinus, of course, may not have been the first Gnostic writer to use the term, but it is very unlikely that Pauline Gnosticism had been elaborated in the first century to the extent implied by the use of it. Further, in verse 9, the title of Apostle is employed in its later limited sense. And more than that, the terms in which Paul is spoken of prove that the reconciliation of his claim and that made for the earlier Apostles had already been effected. The writer has no longer any need to press the claim of Paul to be named an Apostle. He seems, indeed, to be rather a Catholic than a Pauline writer, since he allows Paul to make the admission: "I am the least of the Apostles, that am not meet to be called an Apostle." But, if so, the expressions used are all the more significant, since Paul's claim to the title is fully conceded, when he says, "I laboured more abundantly than they all," and "Whether it be I or they, so we preach." So complete a reconciliation cannot have been effected much, if at all, before 130 A.D.

Again, the words "Now if Christ is preached that he hath been raised from the dead" in verse 12 are a formula with which a writer would open an entirely new subject. He could not have written them if he had just before been giving evidence that Christ had, in fact, risen from the dead. Obviously in ignorance of the fact that such evidence had been given, and apparently even that it existed, the writer proceeds to give a reason of his own, a reason which would have been superfluous if the much more convincing direct evidence had been given just before. A writer who could, and did, appeal to the evidence of eye-witnesses in support of so very momentous an event would not immediately afterwards feel it necessary to endeavour to establish it by an abstract, and indeed hypothetical, argument. The procedure ostensibly adopted is incredible if the whole chapter is the composition of the same writer. He first gives evidence of a particular case of resurrection from the dead—that of Christ; then he opens a general argument on the subject as if nothing had

been previously said upon it; and supports his argument by a reference to the same particular case of such a nature as to imply ignorance of the previous reference. The writer of 12 and the following verses can neither have written verses 1 to 11 himself nor had them before him when he wrote. The object of the interpolator would be to supply the evidence of eye-witnesses, which the original writer, very unaccountably he would no doubt think, had failed to record.

7.—THE CONCLUDING CHAPTER

Chapter xvi bears in some respects a striking resemblance to chapter xv of the Epistle to the Romans. It was noted that the writer of that chapter seemed to be fastidious in his choice of words and to have aimed deliberately at some distinction of style by the choice of words not in the most common use. The writer of chapter xvi of First Corinthians seems to have been a writer with a similar tendency. Words and expressions are found in the chapter which do not occur elsewhere, or only rarely. For example, *λογίαι*, in the sense of collections in verses 1 and 2, does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament. *Χάρις* as an abstract term, "grace," is of course, very common, but its use concretely to express an object, something given, "bounty," as in verse 3, is unusual. Again, *εὐοδόομαι* ("I prosper") (verse 2) is found only twice elsewhere in the New Testament, once in the Epistles, Romans i, 10; *ἐνεργής* ("effectual") (verse 9) also only twice elsewhere; *ἐνκαιρήση* ("may have opportunity") similarly, and not at all in the Epistles. The grammatical construction with the neuter participle *τυχόν* in the phrase "with you it may be that I shall abide" is not found elsewhere; the same can be said about the circumlocution *οὐκ ἦν θέλημα ἵνα* ("it was not his will to"). After the verb *παρακαλῶ* ("I beseech") this writer uses *ἵνα* followed by the subjunctive mood, a construction which is found only once elsewhere in the two Epistles so far examined; twice, however, in Second Corinthians. The other writers use the infinitive mood, or the imperative without a conjunction, after *παρακαλῶ*. R1, for example, Romans xii, 1, writes *παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς παραστῆσαι*. In Romans, chapter xvi, verse 17, probably an interpolation, we find *παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς σκοπεῖν*. Again, in First Corinthians iv, 16, *παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε*.

The style of this chapter is similar to that of Romans,

chapter xv, and there are some linguistic affinities. In both the verb *πορεύομαι* is used for "I go," instead of *ἐλθεῖν*. The word is, of course, by no means uncommon, but in both these chapters it occurs disproportionately often. In Romans xv it occurs twice, also *διαπορευόμενος*. In First Corinthians xvi it occurs three times. That is to say, the verb or a compound of it occurs six times in these two chapters compared with a total of twelve times in all the other Epistles of the New Testament; and there it is nearly always used in a metaphorical sense—e.g., First Peter iv, 3, "to have walked in lasciviousness"; Jude 16, "walking after their lusts." In Romans xv, 24, we find *προπεμφθῆναι* ("to be brought on my way"); and in First Corinthians *προπέμψατε αὐτόν* ("send him forward on his journey").

Chapter xvi is also connected with Romans, chapter xv, by the contents of it. The chapters were, of course, not written by Paul, but they agree with one another as to the movements which Paul is represented to have made, and are quite irreconcilable with statements found in Second Corinthians. In First Corinthians Paul says that he is going to Macedonia, that on his return thence he will visit the Corinthians and then probably go on to Jerusalem. In Romans he has been to Macedonia and is apparently writing from Corinth, and is on the point of setting out for Jerusalem. These details may have been taken from an *Acts of Paul*, which is supposed to have been a principal source of the canonical Acts of the Apostles; or, since the two chapters in question are decidedly late, the writer's authority may have been that work itself.

There is no hint in chapter xvi that the visit Paul is intending to pay to the Corinthians is a disciplinary one. On the whole, the tone and language of the chapter negative such a supposition. It is evidently written in a friendly spirit, and is not in tune with chapters iv and v. Nor can the statements about the visit of Timothy in chapters iv and xvi respectively be reconciled with one another. In chapter iv Timothy has been sent by Paul to Corinth to admonish the church there. But in chapter xvi Paul is expecting Timothy to come to Corinth from some other place. It is clearly implied that Timothy has been for some time absent from Paul and is returning to him, with some of the brethren, by way of Corinth. Herein we find confirmation of the opinion that this chapter is based upon the account in Acts; for there,

chapter xix, verses 21 and 22, it is stated that, not long before Paul himself went to Macedonia, he sent Timothy and Erastus thither from Ephesus. The writer of chapter xvi thus represents Paul as waiting at Ephesus for the return of Timothy by way of Corinth. The statement about Timothy in chapter iv cannot by any means be reconciled with the statements in Acts and in First Corinthians xvi.

Romans, chapter xv, was shown to have been a very late addition to the Epistle by an editor R4. The agreement in style and contents of that chapter with First Corinthians xvi renders it almost certain that the two chapters were written by the same person; in which case it is decidedly more probable that they were both written by the editor R4 than that he took them from previously existing Epistles. The separation of verses 15 to 18 from the earlier portion of the chapter by verses 13 and 14, which are in an entirely different key, suggests the possibility that the two sections were not written consecutively. We find in Tertullian evidence which strongly confirms that conjecture, and also indicates that the first twelve verses are later in date than the concluding portion. For while Tertullian has numerous quotations from every other chapter of the Epistle, and no less than forty-four from chapter xv, he has only one from chapter xvi, and that is verse 22. It is a fair inference that the bulk of chapter xvi was unknown to him. We saw reason to connect verses 15 to 18 of this chapter with verse 16 of chapter i, and that verse is quoted by Tertullian. Probably, therefore, Tertullian had in his MS. the latter part of chapter xvi from verse 15, but not the earlier part of the chapter, which, like chapter xv of Romans, written by the same editor, must be held to be a very late insertion indeed. Irenæus also has no quotation from chapter xvi.

The worldly wisdom censured in chapter i, verses 18 to 31, cannot be the wisdom spoken among the perfect; it is something outside the church and even a danger to it. It appears to be "the wisdom of the world" spoken of in chapter iii, verse 19, which threatened to corrupt the minds of the faithful "from the simplicity and purity that is toward Christ."¹ The character of that wisdom is more definitely specified in the Epistle to the Colossians ii, 8: "Take heed lest there shall be any one that maketh spoil of

¹ 2 Corinthians xi, 3.

you through his philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men." The reference appears to be to an advanced form of the *gnosis*, elaborated under the influence of Greek philosophy. Although the rise of this was not so late as is commonly thought, we cannot trace the effect of it upon the Epistles before about 85 A.D. Probably the whole section of chapter i from verse 18 to the end of the chapter was written not very long after that date. The section was obviously added later than the preceding verses, which have been shown to be later than iii, 1 to 15. That section again is not the earliest stratum of the Epistle. So that all the evidence points to the conclusion that chapter i, verses 18 to 31, was inserted into the Epistle rather late in the first century, possibly even early in the second.

Chapter i, 19 and 20, is a still later interpolation. The conjunction "For," with which verse 21 begins, refers that verse to verse 18, which it naturally follows; while the connection between 20 and 21 is more apparent than real. In verse 20 it is the wisdom of the world that is foolish. In verse 21 "the foolishness of the preaching" is explained by verse 18: "the word of the cross is to them that are perishing foolishness."

There are two conclusions to this Epistle, contained in verses 23 and 24 of chapter xvi: "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you" and "My love be with you all in Christ Jesus." These two verses were certainly not written by the same person. Only the second could have been written by a Gnostic. We may, therefore, suppose that that was the conclusion of the Gnostic Epistle, and that it was left by R 3 as the conclusion of the first composite edition. The second editor was a Pauline writer; so also was the writer of iii, 16, to iv, 5, whom we may consider the third. The conclusion in verse 23 may have been added by the Catholic writer of i, 6 to 15, assuming that the whole of that section was written by a single editor.

8.—INDICATIONS OF DATE

It is generally supposed that the First Epistle to the Corinthians was written from Ephesus in the year 55 A.D. This date, however, is based upon the information contained in chapter xvi of the Epistle, which, as we have seen, was added late, and is of no evidential value. The oldest portions of

the Epistle are the Gnostic chapters ; Paul may have written some of these. If he did not write any of them, it is certain that he wrote no part of the Epistle. If he did write them, they may, of course, have been written from Ephesus, since Paul remained there two years, It is possible, however, that they were written at Rome. Since chapters ii, xii, and xiv appear to have been written by the author of the Gnostic sections of the Epistle to the Romans,¹ they are presumably of early date ; a fact which may also be inferred from their contents, since there is in them no hint of the divisions and disorders which arose later. We may, at any rate, say with a good deal of confidence that the first Gnostic Epistle to the Corinthians was written between the years 52 and 62.

Chapter xv, verses 12 to 54, except verses 29 to 34, is also a Gnostic section ; but, as observed previously, its doctrine is not that of R1, and it appears to be a later composition. That is particularly indicated by the Messianic section, verses 20 to 28. Very few of the Gnostic sects were influenced by apocalyptic ideas, and there is no trace of them in the earliest Gnostic sections of these Epistles. Even the Ophites and Cainites, which were early and Jewish, did not borrow any Messianic ideas from the Jewish apocalypses. The earliest known Gnostic teacher to promulgate any doctrine of that kind was Cerinthus. His date is rather uncertain, as the early writers not only contradict one another but themselves with regard to it. Irenæus, for example, says that the error of the Cerinthians was much later than that of the Nicolaitans. He may, however, have been thinking of the school rather than the founder, who was apparently teaching for a considerable time, and may therefore have begun to teach a good while before his school became prominent ; it is also probable that the followers of Cerinthus developed his doctrines considerably. From another statement of Irenæus it may be inferred that the date of Cerinthus was earlier than the statement previously referred to might imply. For he says² that he had heard from Polycarp that when the Apostle John was in a public bath at Ephesus and was informed that Cerinthus had entered, he rushed out, being afraid that the building would fall upon so notorious a heretic. It is now generally agreed that the

¹ On the whole, there seem to be sufficient reasons for this opinion, but I do not think that it is entirely beyond doubt.

² *Contra omn. haer.* Bk. III, chap. xi.

John here referred to was the Elder John who lived at Ephesus at the end of the first century. The story is very likely legendary, but it proves that Cerinthus was well known possibly as early as the year 80. Epiphanius makes Cerinthus a contemporary of Paul about the year 60. But Epiphanius is not very reliable. And it does not seem safe to suppose that his ideas had become current in Asia Minor at an earlier date than A.D. 70. There is no reason to believe that Messianic doctrine such as is found in verses 20 to 28 had penetrated any group of Gnostic Christians earlier than that, if so early. The reference to Adam in verse 22 shows that the Gnosticism of the writer was of a Jewish type; and the exclusive use of the name "Christ" may indicate that he regarded the Saviour as a pre-existent Messiah of the character described in the Book of Enoch, for example. That book, of course, was in existence in the first century B.C., but if it had had any early influence upon Gnostic thought we should find the traces of it in the various sects which flourished in the second century and had their roots in the first. It is impossible to fix a precise date, but, on the whole, it does not seem likely that the section was written earlier than 80 A.D. It cannot, however, have been written many years after that date, because the writer was clearly ignorant of the Gospel stories about the appearances of the risen Christ. He is very anxious to prove that Christ has risen from the dead, but is able to do so only by abstract reasoning. It is, of course, very uncertain when such legends were first attached to a Gospel. Possibly not until the second century.

Reasons were given previously for the belief that verses 1 to 11 of chapter xv were not written much before 130 A.D. Further evidence pointing independently to the same approximate date can be obtained from the statements in verses 5 to 7. Some little uncertainty arises from the fact that, as Mr. J. M. Robertson has pointed out, the passage is much interpolated. If, however, we suppose that verse 5 is later than verse 7—since there would be no object in inserting "to all the apostles" if an appearance to the twelve had already been recorded, while verse 5b might have been interpolated to introduce the number, verse 6 being obviously a still later interpolation—we shall conclude that originally the passage read "he appeared to Cephas, then he appeared to James; then to all the apostles." In the three synoptic Gospels, where the appearance of Jesus to the disciples after his resurrection is

recorded, it is stated definitely that he appeared to the *eleven*, excluding Judas. The writer of the section in First Corinthians, chapter xv, neither in verses 3 and 4 where the death of Christ is mentioned, nor in the statement that he afterwards appeared to *all* the apostles, gives the least hint that he was acquainted with the story of the betrayal of Jesus by Judas.¹ The writer of *The Preaching of Peter* was ignorant of the story, for he represents Jesus as saying to the disciples, after the resurrection: "I chose you twelve disciples, judging you to be worthy of me." In the *Gospel of Peter*, also, Peter, after the crucifixion, says: "We the twelve disciples of the Lord." These works, therefore, belong to the period in which the myth of the Twelve Apostles was in existence, but the Judas myth was not yet born. And the section of First Corinthians under discussion appears to belong to the same period. For verses 7 to 9 imply that the apostolate was a closed circle. Since it is said that Paul alone had been subsequently admitted to it, "*all* the apostles" must mean the traditional twelve. *The Preaching of Peter* was probably written in the first quarter of the second century.² Dr. J. Armitage Robinson thinks that the *Gospel of Peter* may be as early as 150 A.D.; but there is reason to conclude that it is earlier, since it is now believed to have been used by Justin (*Dial.* 106). The Epistle to the Galatians knows nothing of a circle of Twelve Apostles, and the earliest probable date for that Epistle is, as will be shown hereafter, about 95 A.D. Hence verses 1 to 11 of First Corinthians, chapter xv, must be later than about 100 A.D., and may be as late as 130. For the reasons previously given, the later date is the more likely.

Verses 29 to 34, as before shown, were also inserted into this chapter at a late date.

The Epistle of C was probably written some years later than the early Gnostic Epistle. It need not, however, be of so late date as has been supposed by some critics. As evidence of lateness, the disorders (xi, 20, 21) which had arisen, and the number of deaths which had occurred (xi, 30), have been adduced. Such evidence would be conclusive against the early, or Pauline, authorship of the Epistle, if the community had been founded by Paul himself. But if, as we have seen

¹ If verse 5, which definitely includes the whole twelve, was written later than verse 7, a fortiori the earlier writer was ignorant of the story.

² Von Dobschütz, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. XI, Heft I, § 5.

reason to believe, the community had been in existence before Paul's visit to Corinth, the objections raised have no force. The Epistle may have been written only a few years later than the Gnostic Epistle. The uncertain way in which parties are referred to, even if we leave out of account the probability that that reference is a later interpolation, suggests that they were of very recent formation, and that consequently the Epistle is of early date. Probably after Paul's preaching the congregation was no longer homogeneous. Some members would cling to the form of Jewish Gnosticism which they had originally held, and the opinions of these would be more in conformity with those of Apollos than with those of Paul. Whether Apollos is identical with R3 or not, there is reason to think that he taught a more Jewish form of Gnosticism than Paul did. The differences, however, may not have crystallized into party divisions during the lifetime of Paul, and the Epistle of C is some evidence that such was the case, especially if C is identical with Sosthenes; for, as ruler of the synagogue, he would have seen the actual growth of the party divisions if they had arisen in his time. The most likely date for the Epistle of C is a few years after Paul's death.

The union of the two Epistles was probably made at, or about, the same time as the union of the three sections of the Epistle to the Romans, since the editor was the same in the two cases. There is, however, one circumstance which suggests that the first edition of the composite Epistle to the Corinthians was earlier than that of the Epistle to the Romans. In chapter x, verses 1 to 11, which was written by the first editor, some misfortunes of the Jews are mentioned as examples. One would think that if the fall of Jerusalem had already occurred the writer could not have avoided reference to an example so tremendous and recent. Chapters ix to xi of Romans, the work of the same writer, were inspired by that theme. It is, however, possible that the words "upon whom the ends of the ages are come" (x, 11) were suggested either by the fall of Jerusalem or by the war then perhaps in progress. In this chapter Christians are not clearly separated from Jews. The writer says "our fathers" (verse 1). In Romans, chapter xi, the same writer sets Gentiles apart from Jews. The difference of view is an indication that 1 Cor., chapter x, was written before, and Rom., chapters ix to xi, after, the fall of Jerusalem. The

reference to "the present distress" in the Epistle of C, 1 Cor. vii, 26, may have been called forth by the troubles and disorders which occurred in the closing years of the reign of Nero. On all the evidence we may infer that the first edition of First Corinthians was issued either just before the fall of Jerusalem or during the war with the Romans, and the first edition of Romans a year or two later. The most probable date for the former would thus be between 68 and 70 A.D. The Epistle of C may have been written during the period A.D. 65 to 68.

Chapters iii, 1 to 15, and iv, 6 to 21, were the next to be added. Parties of Paul and Apollos had then been formed. These parties may be supposed to have come into existence between the years 70 and 80. We learn from verses 11 and 12 that at the time the section was written apostles supported themselves by the work of their own hands—apparently the churches were not yet expected to maintain them: a fact which affords evidence for a fairly early date. A further indication from which an approximate date can be inferred is the statement in verses 18 and 19 that some are puffed up; and verse 15 seems to imply that the men aimed at were disputing Paul's teaching and authority. They are thus connected with the men who are more bitterly censured in a section of Second Corinthians, which, as will be shown later, can hardly be dated earlier than about 85 A.D. In an earlier section of Second Corinthians than the one just referred to, written probably about 80 A.D., we find reference to the support of apostles by the churches. Hence the section we are now considering was almost certainly written before that date, and yet not much before, since there is no evidence of the rise of an aggressive anti-Pauline party until about the same date. We are thus constrained to date the section in the period 75 to 80 A.D.

In the section iii, 16, to iv, 5, the vigorous defence of Paul shows that not only his doctrine but even his character has now been attacked. A party of Cephas is also mentioned. "The wise among you in this world," who are advised to become fools, appear still to be the men who are puffed up and with whom Paul is made to remonstrate in Second Corinthians ix to xii. A date somewhat later than the year 80 seems to be indicated.

Verses 10 to 15 of chapter i, in which also there is reference to a party of Cephas, were probably written at about the

same date, but a few years earlier. The impression produced by the section in chapter i is that the parties had come into existence rather recently; there is no indication that a serious attack upon Paul's reputation or doctrine had been made. The rather abrupt manner in which the three names are introduced in verse 22 of chapter iii makes it almost certain that they had been mentioned before, either by the same writer or an earlier one. Now, in chapter i, verse 15, there is an indication of date in the words "lest any man should say that ye were baptized into my name." That is rather a remarkable statement. How should it occur to any one to imagine that Paul might have baptized into his own name? Baptism was always in the name of a divine being. It cannot be imagined as having been done in the name of a man. It is inconceivable that the Jewish Apostles should ever have baptized in any other name than Jesus; and the view of baptism taken in Romans vi, 3 to 5, precludes the idea that Paul, or Pauline Christians, could have baptized into the name of any man. Since, then, the possibility of such a thing was very unlikely to have presented itself spontaneously to the mind of any Christian, it must have been suggested by its actual occurrence somewhere. Now, we know that there was one man in the first century who baptized into his own name, and he was able to do so because he claimed that he himself was the Saviour, commissioned by God to bring to men the saving knowledge of the truth, the *gnosis*. It is extremely improbable that it was done by any one else. There is no record of any such practice. We may therefore infer that the verse in question was suggested to the writer by the knowledge that a man had baptized into his own name. The man was Menander. He is described by Irenæus and others as the disciple and successor of Simon Magus, and is said to have died in the year 80. The death of Simon is ascribed to the year 66. Hence it is almost certain that verse 15 of chapter i was written later than A.D. 70, and very little, if at all, later than A.D. 80. If we date it provisionally somewhat earlier than the year 80, the section iii, 16, to iv, 5, would fall naturally into the period 80 to 85. We thus obtain an independent confirmation of the result previously reached, and a proof that our whole chronological frame is approximately correct. iv, 1-5, may possibly be later than iii, 16-23, and by a different writer. The writer of chapters vi and ix was R2. He was the fifth—or, if i, 6

to 15 is taken as representing an edition, the sixth—editor of the composite Epistle. When chapter ix was written the right of apostles and prophets to maintenance had been recognized, but the provision made for them was obviously inadequate. The glorification of Paul in this chapter proves that the right of Paul to the title of Apostle was being seriously contested. In verse 2 the writer says: "If to others I am not an Apostle, yet at least I am to you"—a statement which implies that the apostolate was now a closed circle; and the "others" who contested the claim of Paul can only have been the Judaic party which desired to confine the title to the mythical Twelve. The most dangerous enemies of the Pauline communities were now no longer Gnostics but Judaizers. The claim that Paul had seen Jesus is evidently intended to counter the claim based upon personal discipleship.

Now, R2 was a Catholic writer, so that his taking up the gauntlet on behalf of the claims of Paul proves that by this time the catholicizing of the Pauline communities was being earnestly undertaken. The dogma of the sacrifice of the Saviour God Jesus, and the Jewish Messianic "traditions," were being absorbed. But it was by no means in accordance with the aims of the men who were endeavouring to establish a Catholic Church that Judaic observances should be forced upon Gentile Christians. In this chapter we see the beginning of the reconciliation of the claims of Paul and of the Jewish Apostles undertaken from the Catholic side as a politic measure. All these considerations point to a rather late date for chapters vi and ix, and the fifth (or sixth) edition of the Epistle.

The conclusion that chapters vi and ix are of rather late date is in conformity with the conclusion reached independently that R2 was the writer of them. To a certain degree the two conclusions support each other. As they are both of them important, and as it might perhaps be objected that the reasoning in the foregoing paragraph is in its general character inferential, it will be well to confirm it by additional evidence. It can hardly be doubted that verse 14 of chapter ix is based upon the incident related in Matthew x, 9 and 10, and Luke ix, 3, where Jesus, sending forth his disciples to preach the Gospel, commands them to take no money with them. Even though, as is probable, the reference in the Epistle is not directly to one of these Gospels but to an earlier

source used by them, the chapter in which it is found must be rather late.

The contradictions and incompatibilities of the Pauline Epistles, which we have seen to be due to the same cause as those observable in the Gospels—namely, that very diverse voices are speaking from them—were clearly perceptible to some ancient critics, although many modern ones profess not to see them. The Emperor Julian, for example, observed that Paul was everlastingly changing his colours. The same criticism cannot fail to have been made by pagan opponents of Christianity, or by Jewish opponents of Pauline Christianity, at an earlier date. The passage in chapter ix, verses 20 to 23, in which Paul is made to explain how he had been “all things to all men,” looks very much like an attempt to counter criticism of that kind. If so, it implies the existence of composite editions of the Epistle earlier than the date at which chapter ix was written. There can be no doubt that chapter vi was written at the same time by the same editor, who was almost certainly R2. An exact date for this edition is naturally rather difficult to fix; but we may arrive at a very approximate one from the consideration that it marks the beginning of the reconciliation of the claims of Paul and of the Jewish Apostles. In the *First Epistle of Clement* both Peter and Paul are named Apostles in the limited sense; and their being named together as of equal authority proves that when that Epistle was written the period of complete reconciliation had arrived. It is, therefore, certain that the date of the fifth edition of First Corinthians is some years earlier than that of the *First Epistle of Clement*. The date of the latter Epistle is disputed, but the best opinion seems to be that it was composed between 125 and 140 A.D. The later date is more probable than the earlier. Time must be allowed for the reconciliation between Petrine and Pauline claims to have been effected. If we reckon from ten to fifteen years for that we get for the latest date at which R2 can have written chapter ix of First Corinthians somewhere between 115 and 130. Considerations previously detailed and some to be mentioned later indicate that the effort to reconcile the two parties can have begun little, if at all, before the earlier of those two dates. It was still being vigorously made by the compiler of the Acts of the Apostles. There can be little doubt that R2 edited the two Epistles, Romans and First Corinthians, at about the same time. We found reason

to believe that his edition of Romans appeared somewhere about the year 120. The indications in First Corinthians are now seen to point to approximately the same date. We may, therefore, conclude that the two Epistles received substantially their present form at a date not far removed from A.D. 120.

It was shown before that verses 22 to 29 of chapter xi are a late insertion into the chapter. An additional indication of date is found in the words "the Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed" in verse 23. Those words, implying as they do the story of the betrayal of Jesus by Judas, prove that the passage cannot have been written until well into the second century.

If, as is probable, chapter xvi was added at the same time and by the same editor as chapter xv of the Epistle to the Romans, then the sixth and last edition of the Epistle appeared about the middle of the second century, or even later.

9.—SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The oldest stratum of our Epistle, consisting substantially of chapters ii, xii, and xiv, verses 1 to 4, 7 to 9, 23 to 25, is a Gnostic Epistle, possibly addressed and sent to the church at Corinth, and of which, on the evidence we have, we may reasonably believe that Paul was the writer. This Epistle was united, somewhere about the year 70, by the editor R3, with another Epistle which had been written a very few years previously. The second Epistle, the Epistle of C, disregarding interpolations, is comprised in chapters v, vii, viii, and xi. Between chapters viii and xi the editor himself wrote and inserted x, 1 to 21. A few years later a second editor wrote and inserted chapters iii and iv, but the section iii, 16, to iv, 5, is a still later interpolation. The Gnostic section upon the resurrection was probably the next to be added, being appended to what was previously the conclusion of the Epistle. Into this chapter a good many years later verses 1 to 11 and verses 29 to 34 were inserted. These insertions were made probably not earlier than 130 A.D. About 120 A.D. the catholic editor R2 wrote and inserted chapters vi and ix, and some other passages. Finally, later in the second century, most likely about the middle of it, a sixth editor added chapter xvi, verses 1 to 12, verses 15 to 18 having been appended earlier.

10.—THE Gnostic EPISTLE

“ Paul, unto the church of God which is at Corinth, sanctified in Christ Jesus.

“ I thank my God always concerning you, for the grace of God which was given you in Christ Jesus; that in everything ye were enriched in him, in all utterance and all knowledge [so that ye come behind in no gift]. And I, brethren, when I came unto you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, proclaiming to you the mystery of God. And I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling. And my speech and my preaching were not in persuasive words of [human] wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.

“ Howbeit we speak wisdom among the perfect; yet a wisdom not of this æon, nor of the archons of this æon, which are coming to nought; but we speak God's wisdom in a mystery, the wisdom that hath been hidden, which God fore-ordained before the æons unto our glory; which none of the archons of this æon have known; for had they known it they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. But unto us God revealed it through the Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For who among men knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of the man which is in him? even so the things of God none knoweth, save the Spirit of God. But we received not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us by God. Which things also we speak, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Spirit teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual. Now the psychic man receiveth not the things of the Spirit (Pneuma) of God; for they are foolishness unto him; and he cannot know them, because they are spiritually judged. But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, and he himself is judged of no man.

“ Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are diversities of ministrations, and the same Lord. And there are diversities of workings, but the same God, who worketh all things in all. But to each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit for that which may be profitable. For to one is given through the Spirit the word of wisdom; and to another the word of knowledge (gnosis), according to

the same Spirit ; to another faith, in the same Spirit ; and to another gifts of healings, in the one Spirit ; and to another inward workings of powers ; and to another prophecy ; and to another discernings of spirits ; to another divers kinds of tongues ; and to another the interpretation of tongues ; but one and the same Spirit worketh all these, dividing to each one severally even as he will.

“ For as the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of the body, being many, are one body ; so also is Christ. For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free ; and were all made to drink of one Spirit. For the body is not one member but many. If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body ; it is not therefore not of the body. And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body ; it is not therefore not of the body. If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing ? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling ? But now hath God set the members each one of them in the body, even as it pleased him. And if they were all one member, where were the body ? But now there are many members, but one body. And the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee ; or again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much rather, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary ; and those parts of the body, which we think to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour ; and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness ; whereas our comely parts have no need. But God tempered the body together, giving more abundant honour to that part which lacked ; that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another. And if one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it ; or if one member is honoured, all the members rejoice with it.

“ Desire earnestly spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy. For he that speaketh in a tongue, speaketh not unto men, but unto God ; for no man understandeth ; but in the spirit he speaketh mysteries. But he that prophesieth speaketh unto men edification and comfort and consolation. He that speaketh in a tongue edifieth himself ; but he that prophesieth edifieth the church. Even things without life giving a voice, whether pipe or harp, if they give not a dis-

inction in the sounds, how shall it be known what is piped or harped? For if the trumpet give an uncertain voice, who shall prepare himself for war? So also ye, unless ye utter by the tongue speech easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? for ye will be speaking into the air.

“If, therefore, the whole church be assembled together, and all speak with tongues, and there come in men unlearned or unbelieving, will they not say that ye are mad? But if all prophesy, and there come in one unbelieving or unlearned, he is reprov'd by all, he is judged by all; the secrets of his heart are made manifest; and so he will fall down on his face and worship God, declaring that God is among you indeed.

“My love be with you all in Christ Jesus. Amen.”

11.—THE SECTION UPON THE RESURRECTION

“Now if Christ is preached that he hath been raised from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead? But if there is no resurrection of the dead, neither hath Christ been raised; and if Christ hath not been raised, your faith is vain: ye are yet in your sins. Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ have perished. If in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most pitiable.

“But now hath Christ been raised from the dead, the first fruits of them that are asleep. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive. But each in his own order: Christ the firstfruits, then they that are Christ's, at his coming. Then cometh the end, when he shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have abolished all rule and all authority and power. For he must reign till he hath put all his enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be abolished is death. For, He put all things in subjection under his feet. But when he saith, All things are put in subjection, it is evident that he is excepted who did subject all things unto him. And when all things have been subjected unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subjected to him that did subject all things unto him, that God may be all in all.

“But some one will say, How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come? Thou foolish one,

that which thou thyself sowest is not quickened except it die. And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not the body that shall be, but a bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other kind ; but God giveth it a body even as it pleased him, and to each seed a body of its own. All flesh is not the same flesh ; but there is one flesh of men, and another flesh of beasts, and another flesh of birds, and another of fishes. There are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial ; but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another. There is one glory of the sun and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars ; for one star differeth from another star in glory. So is also the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption ; it is raised in incorruption. It is sown in dishonour ; it is raised in glory. It is sown in weakness ; it is raised in power. It is sown a psychic (natural) body ; it is raised a pneumatic (spiritual) body. If there is a psychic body there is also a pneumatic body. Howbeit that is not first which is pneumatic, but that which is psychic ; then that which is pneumatic.

“ Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God ; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption. Behold I tell you a mystery. We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump. For the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. But when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall come to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory

“ [Wherefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord].”

12.—THE EPISTLE OF C (SOSTHENES)

“ It is actually reported that there is fornication among you, and such fornication that is not even among the Gentiles, that one of you hath his father's wife. And ye are puffed up, and did not rather mourn, that he that had done this deed might be taken away from among you. For I verily, being absent in body but present in spirit, have already, as though I were present, judged him that hath so

wrought this thing, in the name of our Lord Jesus, ye being gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of the Lord Jesus, to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Your glorifying is not good. Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump! Purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, even as ye are unleavened.

“ I wrote unto you in my Epistle to have no company with fornicators ; not at all [*or*, altogether] with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous and extortioners, or idolaters ; for then it must be that ye come of the world. But now I write unto you not to keep company, if any man that is named a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a reviler, or a drunkard, or an extortioner ; with such a one no, not to eat. Be not deceived ; neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with men, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God.

“ Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote. It is good for a man not to touch a woman. But because of fornications let each man have his own wife, and let each woman have her own husband. Let the husband render unto the wife her due ; and likewise also the wife unto the husband. The wife hath not power over her own body, but the husband ; and likewise also the husband hath not power over his own body, but the wife. Defraud ye not one the other, except it be by consent for a season, that ye may give yourselves unto prayer, and may be together again, that Satan tempt you not because of your incontinency. But this I say by way of permission, not of commandment. Yet I would that all men were even as I myself. Howbeit each man hath his own gift from God, one after this manner and another after that.

“ But I say to the unmarried and to widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I. But if they have not continency, let them marry ; for it is better to marry than to burn. But unto the married I give charge, yea not I, but the Lord, That the wife depart not from her husband ; but if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or else be reconciled to her husband ; and that the husband put not away his wife. But to the rest say I, not the Lord : if any brother

hath an unbelieving wife, and she is content to dwell with him, let him not separate from her. And the woman which hath an unbelieving husband, and he is content to dwell with her, let her not leave her husband. For the unbelieving husband is sanctified in the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified in the brother; else were your children unclean; but now are they holy. Yet if the unbelieving departeth, let him depart; the brother or the sister is not under bondage in such cases; but God hath called us in peace. Was any man called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised. Hath any been called in uncircumcision? let him not be circumcised. Circumcision is nothing and uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping of the commandments of God. Let each man abide in that calling wherein he was called. Wast thou called being a bondservant? care not for it. For he that was called in the Lord, being a bondservant, is the Lord's freedman; likewise he that was called being free is Christ's bondservant.

“Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord; but I give my judgment, as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful. I think therefore that this is good by reason of the present distress—namely, that it is good for a man to be as he is. Art thou bound unto a wife? seek not to be loosed. Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife. But if thou marry, thou hast not sinned, and if a virgin marry she hath not sinned. But I would have you to be free from cares. He that is unmarried is careful for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord; but he that is married is careful for the things of the world, how he may please his wife. And there is a difference also between the wife and the virgin. She that is unmarried is careful for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit; but she that is married is careful for the things of the world, how she may please her husband. And this I say for your own profit; not that I may cast a snare upon you, but for that which is seemly, and that ye may attend upon the Lord without distraction. But if any man thinketh to behave himself unseemly toward his maiden, if she be past the flower of her age, and if need so requireth, let him do what he will; he sinneth not; let them marry. But he that standeth steadfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power as touching his own will, and hath determined this in his own heart to preserve his virginity, shall do well. A wife

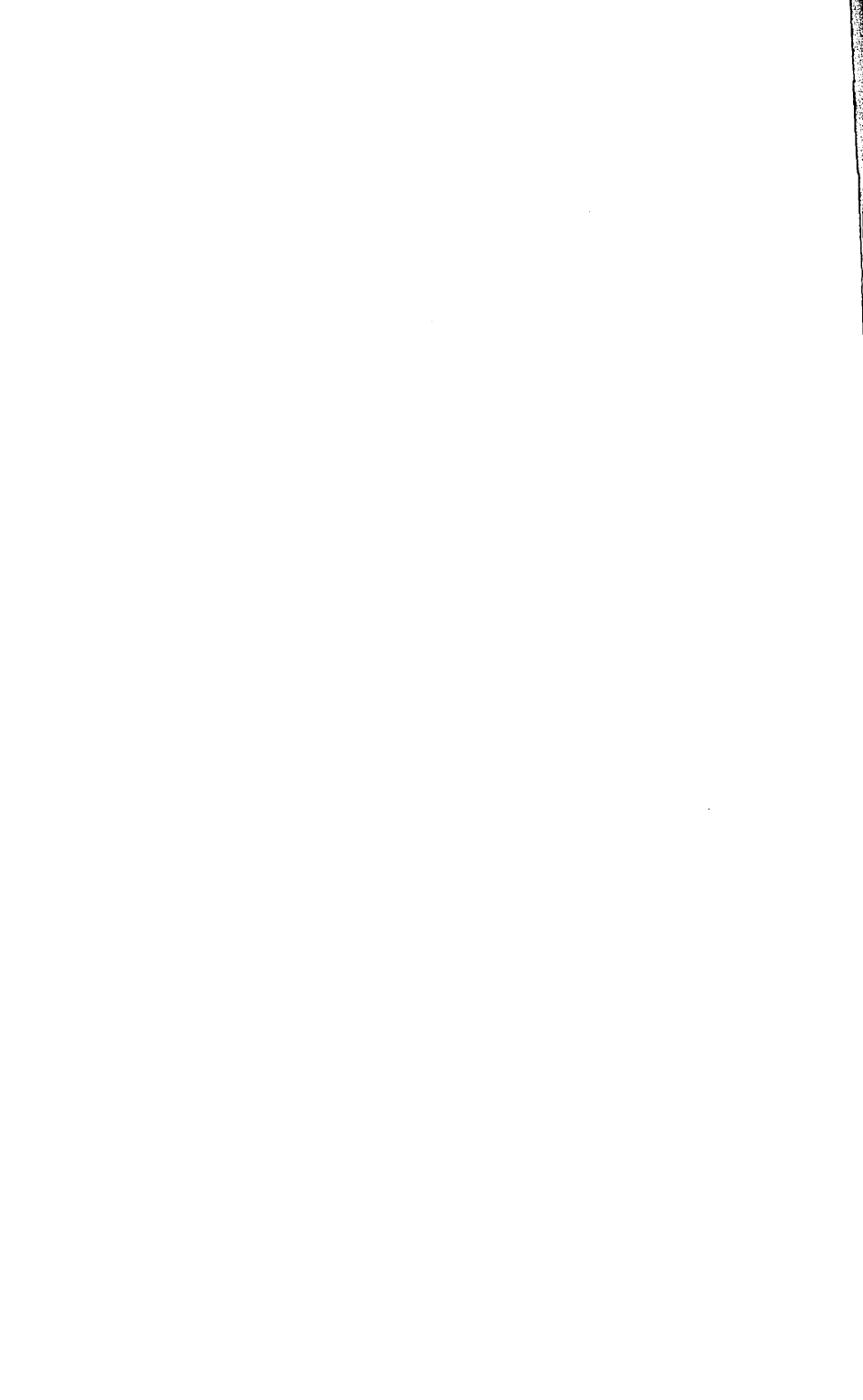
is bound for so long time as her husband liveth ; but if the husband be dead, she is free to be married to whom she will ; only in the Lord. But she is happier if she abide as she is, after my judgment ; and I think that I also have the Spirit of God.

“ Now concerning things sacrificed to idols. We know that we all have knowledge, and we know that no idol is anything in the world, and that there is no God but one. Howbeit in all men there is not that knowledge ; but some being used until now to the idol, eat as of a thing sacrificed to an idol ; and their conscience being weak is defiled. But meat will not commend us to God ; neither, if we eat not are we the worse ; nor, if we eat are we the better. But take heed lest by any means this liberty of yours become a stumbling block to the weak. For if a man see thee which hast knowledge sitting at meat in an idol’s temple, will not his conscience, if he is weak, be emboldened to eat things sacrificed to idols ? And thus sinning against the brethren, and wounding their conscience when it is weak, ye sin against Christ.

“ Now I praise you that ye remember me in all things, and hold fast the traditions, even as I delivered them to you. But I would have you know, that the head of every man is Christ ; and that the head of every woman is the man ; and the head of Christ is God. Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head. But every woman praying or prophesying with her head unveiled dishonoureth her head ; for it is one and the same thing as if she were shaven. Judge ye in yourselves ; is it seemly that a woman pray unto God unveiled ? Doth not even nature itself teach you, that, if a man have long hair it is a dishonour to him ? But if a woman have long hair it is a glory to her ; for her hair is given her for a covering.

“ But in giving you this charge, I praise you not, that ye come together not for the better but for the worse. When ye assemble yourselves together, it is not possible to eat the Lord’s Supper ; for in your eating each one taketh before another his own supper ; and one is hungry and another is drunken. For this cause many among you are weak and sickly, and not a few sleep. Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, wait one for another. If any man is hungry, let him eat at home ; that your coming together be not unto judgment. And the rest will I set in order whensoever I come.”

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians



THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS

1.—INTRODUCTORY

How any one possessing even the smallest measure of critical perception can imagine that the Second Epistle to the Corinthians was written by the man, or any one of the men, who wrote the two previous Epistles, is a mystery. It is written, for the most part, in a verbose, rambling style, which has no resemblance, except in one or two superficial aspects, to any we have hitherto met with. The style is, no doubt, in a considerable degree natural to the writer, but it seems also as if it had been adopted partly to disguise the fact that, while he makes a show of telling us something, he is giving us no information whatever. Everything is vague. No doubt it will be said that it was not the writer's object to give us information, that the circumstances about which he was writing were known to his readers, and that consequently it was not necessary for him to go into details. Such, however, is really not the state of the case. The writer refers to matters of which there is no reason to suppose that his readers could be cognisant. He writes vaguely, for example, of some great affliction which befell him in Asia; and again of afflictions, fightings, fears, which he experienced in Macedonia. No details are anywhere given. It is astonishing that critics should for years have been puzzling themselves and arguing with one another in the endeavour to find some relation or consistency between the statements of the writer of this Epistle and facts known, or supposed to be known, from other sources, and that they should never have come to a realization of the actual state of the case. The obvious fact is that behind the indefinite cloud of words thrown out by the writer there is nothing actual, nothing solid. One is reminded of some large hollow body which resounds when struck but is perfectly empty. It is inconceivable that a letter written by any man to a known circle of friends should be so wanting in actuality.

Here is an example of the style of this writer (chapter i, verses 17 to 20): "When I therefore was thus minded, did I show fickleness? or the things that I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be the yea, yea and the nay, nay? But as God is faithful, our word toward you is not yea and nay. For the Son of God, Jesus Christ, who was preached among you by me and Silvanus and Timothy, was not yea and nay but in him is yea. For how many soever be the promises of God, in him is the yea; wherefore also through him is the Amen, unto the glory of God through us." What a lot of words to say so little! Let any one compare this sample with Romans, chapter iii, and First Corinthians, chapter ii. The three styles are as different as red, white, and blue. But it is useless to argue with the colour-blind. I suppose that literary critics are struck with awe at the idea of trespassing upon the theological domain. But any competent literary critic, or first-class Greek scholar, if he would approach these Epistles in the spirit in which he examines secular works, could discover in an hour what theologians have not found out in 100 years.

This writer uses $\mu\eta$ as an interrogative particle (i, 17, and iii, 1) a fact which distinguishes him from all the previous writers except R2. His style also, as will be shown, has another point of resemblance with that of R2 in the repetition several times in a sentence of the same word. He certainly was not R2, however. For even the long, involved sentences of that writer have a vigour and a substance which are lacking to the wearisome verbosity of which an example was given above. Besides, R2 varied his style by the short, incisive, arresting phrases which he threw out so frequently. Here the monotonous succession of tedious sentences is unrelieved.

The style is not the same throughout. There is a section in which Gnostic doctrine is found, and the difference between the style of that section and that of the greater part of the Epistle is clearly recognizable. In chapter iv, verse 4, for example, we meet with the phrase "the god of this world" contrasted with the supreme God. The god of this world can be no other than the Gnostic Demiurge. Satan would not be termed God. Throughout this section the names "Jesus" and "Christ" occur alone, "Jesus Christ" never, but "Christ Jesus" is found once (iv, 5). It is true that in verse 6 of chapter iv "Jesus Christ" appears in our English versions, but the reading in some good MSS. in this place is

"Christ" alone, and that reading is preferred by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles in their editions of the New Testament.¹ It is almost certainly correct, since the writer was a Pauline Gnostic and his use of any name but "Christ" alone is doubtful. Elsewhere the forms "Jesus Christ" and "our Lord Jesus Christ" occur, though not frequently. "Christ" alone is the common designation all through. "Ὡστε with the infinitive mood to express a consequence, is found in ii, 7, iii, 7, vii, 7, but not in the Gnostic chapters iv and v. Nor is the interrogative particle μή found there, nor yet the verbose style and the frequent repetition of a certain word. We may infer that the Epistle is the work of at least two different writers, whom we may distinguish as C1 and C2. The former is the Gnostic writer. The theological attitude of the second may be described as catholicized Paulinism. He makes use of some Pauline expressions, such as "fleshly wisdom," "the gnosis of God," "the ministration of the Spirit," "the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life." His catholicism² is shown by the phrases "Jesus Christ," and "the gospel of Christ." He has incorporated into his work a previously existing Epistle by the Gnostic writer C1. The analysis may be conveniently effected by tracing and separating out the Gnostic section.

2.—THE GNOSTIC EPISTLE TRACED

The separation of the Gnostic section from the chapters written by C2 will depend chiefly upon considerations of style and doctrine. In order to have a standard of comparison it will be well to quote another sample of the style of that writer. For this purpose I select chapter i, verses 3 to 7, as characteristic. "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and God of all *comfort*; who *comforteth* us in all our *affliction*, that we may be able to *comfort* them that are in any *affliction*, through the *comfort* wherewith we ourselves are *comforted* of God. For as the *sufferings* of Christ abound unto us, even so our *comfort* also aboundeth through Christ. But whether we be *afflicted*, it is

¹ "Christ" alone is the reading in the codices A and B, and is also quoted by Origen. In a few MSS., including the Vulgate, "Jesus" has been added after "Christ."

² This term is used for convenience. Late in the first century in certain circles Catholic doctrine was beginning to be developed; but Catholicism in the full sense of the word did not exist until well into the second century.

for your *comfort* and salvation ; or whether we be *comforted*, it is for your *comfort*, which worketh in the patient enduring of the same *sufferings* which we also *suffer* ; and our hope for you is steadfast ; knowing that as ye are partakers of the *sufferings*, so also are ye of the *comfort*." We observe in this passage the same verbosity that we observed in the passage previously quoted. Another peculiarity is also very noticeable—namely, the wearisome harping upon certain words, "comfort," "affliction," "suffering." So characteristic a style will not be difficult to recognize.

Again, chapters i and ii, which were written by C2, are concerned with Paul's visit to Macedonia, and with a letter he is supposed to have written to the Corinthians regarding an offence committed by a member of the church. They also refer to Titus. Subsequent chapters in which the subject-matter is the same may be inferred to be the work of the same writer, assuming that there are no indications to the contrary.

Gnostic doctrine is perceptible in chapter iv, in which the reference to "the god of this world" occurs, and in chapter v. Verses 2 to 4 of the latter chapter imply the Gnostic doctrine of the pneuma, psyche, and the flesh. The pneuma groans under the burden of the flesh and longs to escape from it. But the pneuma, separated from the body, would be unclothed, naked spirit. It must, therefore, be clothed upon with its heavenly habitation. That habitation is *psyche*, a visible, but not material, substance, of which, according to Gnostic doctrine, the bodies of angels and the visible body of Christ were composed.

Certain expressions which are common to the Gnostic Epistles in Second Corinthians and Romans might be held to indicate community of authorship. In Romans viii, 22 and 23, we read : "the whole creation groaneth in pain" and "we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for our adoption." In Second Corinthians v, 2, we read : "we groan longing to be clothed upon with our habitation which is from heaven"; and again v, 4: "we that are in this tabernacle do groan being burdened." Again in Romans viii, 21, we have "the liberty of the glory of the children of God"; and in Second Corinthians iv, 4 and 6, "the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ," and "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God." But, of course, the similarity between these expressions and ideas can be accounted for by

the supposition that the writer of Second Corinthians was well acquainted with the Epistle to the Romans ; or that the expressions quoted are stereotyped Gnostic phrases. In spite of these accordances, it is doubtful whether the Gnostic chapters of Second Corinthians were written by R1, the writer of the two Gnostic Epistles previously examined, although the style of some portions of them is by no means unlike the style of that writer. But it is rather more florid, and there is noticeable in certain passages a tendency to pile up words in order to give the impression of eloquence ; a straining after effect which does not, at least to the same degree, characterize the style of R1, though in a few passages—e.g., Romans i, 29 to 31—there is something not very dissimilar. This tendency in C1, however, never approaches the verbosity of C2, and the writer never harps *ad nauseam* upon a single word in the way C2 does.

Now, chapter iv begins with the words : "Therefore seeing we have obtained this ministry." These words do not appear to refer to the latter part of the previous chapter, since the word "ministry" does not occur throughout the concluding section, verses 12 to 18. Also that chapter, at least from verse 4, was evidently written by C2. The word "ministration" certainly occurs in chapter iii, verse 9, but in the middle of a passage which bears the most unmistakable marks of having come from that writer. "If the *ministration* of death.....came with *glory*, so that the children of Israel could not look steadfastly upon the face of Moses for the *glory* of his face ;.....how shall not rather the *ministration* of the spirit be with *glory*? For if the *ministration* of condemnation is *glory* much rather does the *ministration* of righteousness exceed in *glory*. For verily that which hath been made *glorious* hath not been made *glorious* in this respect, by reason of the *glory* that surpasseth. For if that which passeth away was with *glory*, much more that which remaineth is in *glory*." The verbosity of this passage, and the tedious repetition of the word "glory," leave no doubt as to the identity of the writer of it.

No passage in this style is found throughout chapters iv and v. Both chapters, as previously shown, contain Gnostic doctrine ; and the form "Christ Jesus" occurs in chapter iv, verse 5, whereas in chapter i, in a passage quoted as a typical example of the style of C2, we find "Jesus Christ." Chapters iv and v, therefore, were not written by the writer

of the latter part of chapter iii. The continuity in the subject-matter and the treatment of it from verse 4 to verse 18 are such that the whole of that section must have been written by the same person. Also the occurrence of the word "sufficient," or "sufficiency," three times in two verses, iii, 5 and 6, points to C2 as the writer of them. We are thus carried back to verse 3. Now, in that verse we find the word "ministered," to which the words "this ministry" in iv, 1, could quite well refer. And in verse 3 the ministry spoken of is not the same as the ministry spoken of in verses 6 to 9. In the former the ministration is to the community; in the latter the supposed writers term themselves "ministers of a new covenant." This sudden change in the significance of the word without preparation suggests that verse 3 and the section, verses 4 to 18, came from different writers. In verse 4 occurs the phrase "through Christ" (*διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*), which is found nowhere in either of the Epistles of R1, nor in the Gnostic Epistle now being traced; also the definite article before *Χριστός* is found only once in the Gnostic sections of this Epistle, but frequently elsewhere.

Again, there is a difference between the application of the phrase "tables of stone" in verses 3 and 7. In the former it is the "epistle of Christ," the community, which is written "not on tables of stone"; in the latter it is the old covenant which is said to have been engraven on stones. Thus, in verse 3 the subject of the writer is the community. Verse 5 of chapter iv shows that the writer had still the same subject in his mind. In between we have the section iii, 4 to 18, of which the subject is the distinction between the old and new covenants and their ministration. We therefore have good grounds for the inference that the "ministry" of iv, 1, is the ministration to the community referred to in iii, 3, and not the ministry of the new covenant, which is the subject of the intervening section.

The boldness of the metaphor in iii, 2 and 3, "ye are our epistle.....written.....in tables that are hearts of flesh," is more in conformity with the style of C1 than with that of C2. In comparison with the diffusiveness and verbosity of the latter the former is clear and vigorous. Pregnant or metaphorical expressions are not found in the chapters written by the latter; we find only "a sweet savour of Christ" in ii, 15, which looks rather like a stereotyped phrase; a very similar one is found in the Epistle to the Ephesians, v, 2,

“Christ gave himself up for us, a sacrifice to God for an odour of a sweet smell,” but in the chapters written by C1 we find “we have this treasure in earthen vessels” (iv, 7) and “we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens” (v, 1).

The idea expressed in verse 3, “ye are an epistle of Christwritten not with ink, but with the Spirit (Pneuma) of the living God,” is one which would very naturally occur to a Gnostic writer. For the Gnostic doctrine was that the believer obtained the Pneuma of God through union with Christ. Verses 4 to 18, indeed, also exhibit the influence of Gnostic ideas; the doctrine of the writer being, as aforesaid, a catholicized Paulinism; but the Gnosticism is somewhat superficial—terminological rather than vital—and, as previously pointed out, the style of that passage proves that it did not come from the Gnostic writer C1. Which conclusion is confirmed by the continuity of the thought from iii, 3, to iv, i.

Now, iii, 1, is clearly connected with the last verse of chapter ii, which was written by C2. Hence the Gnostic section must have commenced with verse 2 of chapter iii. A comparison of verses 1 and 2 strongly confirms that conclusion. There is a verbal relation between the two verses in the occurrence of the word “epistle” in both, but the word has not the same significance in verse 1 as it has in verse 2. In verse 1 “epistles of commendation” are referred to; but in verse 2 the community itself is the epistle. We may infer that C2, incorporating the Gnostic Epistle into his own, wished to lead up to it and avoid any obvious breach of continuity; and so he introduced the word “epistles” into verse 1 in order to make an apparent connection with “epistle” in verse 2. But not only has the word a different meaning in the two verses, it has in verse 1 a signification which is not in unison with the first clause of the verse; a fact which proves that the use of it was not a natural development of the thought of the writer, but was prompted by the desire of introducing that particular word into this verse. In the first clause the writer asks: “Are we beginning again to commend ourselves?” In the second he asks: “or need we epistles of commendation to you?” But an epistle of commendation is not a commendation of oneself; it is an epistle written by some one else. The mention in this place of such an epistle is not to the point; for the writer in the last verses of the previous chapter *has* been praising himself. What

we should expect here is some excuse for that, if it had to be referred to at all. The dragging in of a reference to epistles of commendation is irrelevant and cannot have been due to the writer's desire to excuse himself. It can, however, be explained by the necessity for introducing a word which in some way would make a connection between the termination of chapter ii and verse 2 of chapter iii, the commencement of the Gnostic section.

Verses 21 and 22 of chapter i are not in unison with the verses which precede and follow them. The writer has been giving reasons for not having visited the Corinthians on his way to Macedonia. Then he suddenly says "he that stablisheth us with you is God.....who also sealed us"—which is quite irrelevant. In verse 23 he goes on with the statement of his reasons for not having come to Corinth. Verses 21 and 22 may have been interpolated, but there is reason to believe that they were introduced into this place by C2 himself from the Gnostic Epistle. In verse 22 we have the expression "the earnest of the Spirit." The Greek words are τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ πνεύματος. Now this very same phrase is found also in verse 5 of chapter v, a part of the Gnostic Epistle. The word ἀρραβῶν occurs nowhere in the four Epistles—Romans, First and Second Corinthians, and Galatians—except in these two verses; a fact which naturally raises a suspicion that they both came from the pen of the same writer. And when we compare verses 21 and 22 of chapter i with verses 2 and 3 of chapter iii, the suspicion is strongly confirmed; for the latter verses carry on the idea expressed in the former. In iii, 3, the writer says that he is a minister of the community; in i, 21, he says: "God stablisheth us with you." As what? As minister obviously. He also says that God anointed and sealed him, again clearly as minister of the community. He says, moreover, in i, 21 and 22, that God stablished him with the community in Christ and gave him the earnest of the Spirit in his heart. In iii, 3, he says that the community is an epistle of Christ written with the Spirit of God in his heart. It is almost impossible to doubt that these verses were written consecutively by the same writer. When they are read in sequence it is seen that iii, 2 and 3, follow i, 21 and 22, in the most natural manner possible, and that the former contain a development of the idea expressed in the latter.

Moreover, these four verses form a perfectly appropriate

opening for an Epistle. The writer begins by reminding his readers of his relationship with them, and states the authority for his claim to be their minister. He establishes his right to address them and instruct them. There are nominally more writers than one, however. The whole of the Gnostic Epistle is written in the first person plural. Now, according to the first verse of the first chapter the Epistle is a joint one from Paul and Timothy, and that verse is shown to be part of the Gnostic Epistle by the term "Christ Jesus" which occurs in it. Verses 21 and 22 of chapter i might well have been suggested by the words in the introductory address which refer to Paul as "an apostle through the will of God." Those two verses develop the same idea in the statement that Paul and Timothy were anointed and sealed for the ministry by God. It may seem at first sight unlikely that a writer would separate two verses from a document and introduce them into a chapter written by himself; but the evidence is strong that C2 did so in this case. And in our examination of the Epistle to the Romans we found reason to believe that R2 did the same thing when dealing with the Epistle of R1. The two cases support one another, on the principle that the combined weight of two probabilities which point to the same, or a similar, conclusion is very much greater than that of either of them alone. C2's reason for placing the verses where he did was probably the occurrence of the names "Christ" and "God" in verse 21, he himself having used the names in the preceding verses.

I assumed above that the term "Christ Jesus" was in the original Epistle, but if this Epistle were genuine the words "an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God" in verse 1 of chapter i would have to be judged a later insertion by an editor. Paul would have no need to describe himself in that manner when writing to a congregation by whom he was well known. Some one writing after Paul's death in his name would be very likely to make on his behalf a claim to apostleship through the will of God. The words here, as in the address to First Corinthians, seem to have been introduced as a challenge to those who questioned Paul's right to the title of Apostle. As that question cannot have arisen until the title of Apostle had become limited, the inference would then be that the words were not inserted earlier than the closing years of the first century, and one objection to the genuineness of the Gnostic Epistle would be removed. For

that Epistle, of which it is evidently the opening address, was undoubtedly written in the first century; and, if the address did not originally contain the words in question, it is much more likely to be genuine than in the reverse case. If the Gnostic Epistle was really written by Paul and Timothy jointly, it is almost certain that it opened simply with the words: "Paul and Timothy unto the Church of God," etc.

The introduction of the name of Timothy into the opening address is not to be explained as we explained the introduction of the name of Sosthenes into the address of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The Gnostic Epistle is throughout in the first person plural, and the writer no doubt intended to represent it as a joint production. We may infer that Timothy's name was not introduced by an editor, but was placed in the address by the original writer. From the intimate relationship between the writers and those whom they are addressing, which is implied in i, 21 and 22, iii, 2 and 3, we may infer that they had a definite congregation in view—the church at Corinth; though it does not follow that the Epistle was actually sent, or intended to be sent, to that church. The same thing may be said of the writer of chapters ii and vii. Chapter ix, however, in verse 2 refers to Achaia generally. That chapter, as will be shown later, was not written by C2. We may infer that the words "with all the saints which are in the whole of Achaia" were probably not in the Gnostic Epistle, nor in the edition of C2, but were inserted by a later editor.

The original Epistle cannot, of course, have been actually sent to the church at Corinth if it is spurious, which it possibly is. For if R1 was Paul, considerations of style render it doubtful whether he wrote it. It is not, indeed, impossible that Timothy was the actual writer, either of the whole or a part of it. Or he may have written it after Paul's death, possibly basing it upon a short draft which Paul had written previously. Timothy might have described Paul as "an apostle by the will of God," though it is unlikely that Paul would have written of himself in that manner, to people by whom he was well known. In view of the general practice of pseudonymous composition, however, the question cannot be decided. Except for the opening verses, and the references previously mentioned, which any writer could have made for the sake of verisimilitude, there is nothing in the Epistle to connect it with a definite church. It seems to be intended for the instruction of Pauline Christians generally.

The Gnostic Epistle terminated with verse 10 of chapter vi. The style of the following verses is different, and the quotation from the Old Testament in verses 17 and 18 is not likely to have come from the Pauline Gnostic writer. Chapter vii, which continues the subject of chapter ii, was obviously written by C2. The long passage, vi, 3-10, is an example of the writer's propensity to pile up words in order to create an effect. He evidently here makes an effort to rise to a climax. The passage is a peroration; it marks the close of the Epistle of C1. Nothing that follows can be identified as the work of that writer.

The Gnostic Epistle has been interpolated. The words "that said Light shall shine out of darkness" in verse 6, chapter iv, are evidently a gloss which has got into the text. The writer who distinguished between God and the Creator cannot have written that it was God who commanded light to shine out of darkness. The words "Seeing it is God" obviously introduce a reason for a statement made immediately before. That statement is not the one in the preceding verse. The writer did not say that we preach ourselves as your servants because God shined in our hearts: the *we* means the writers, the *our* represents Christians generally. The thought of the writer evidently was: The God of this world blinded the eyes of unbelievers that the glory of the true God should not dawn upon them. Seeing that it is the true God who shined in the hearts of us, the true believers. The insertion into the middle of these lofty ideas of the irrelevant bathos of the statement that "we preach not ourselves" was certainly not done by the Gnostic writer.

Verse 11 of the same chapter, beginning with the word "For," ostensibly offers an explanation of the preceding verse. But the idea expressed in it is quite different. It seems likely that the interpolator did not understand the esoteric doctrine of the Gnostic writer contained in the phrase "bearing about in the body the dying of Jesus," and explains it as though literal dying were meant. But the Gnostic writer by his phrase certainly did *not* mean "delivered to death for Jesus' sake," and cannot have written verse 11. Christians were not, in fact, delivered to death for Jesus' sake at the date when the Gnostic Epistle was composed. The words "that the life of Jesus may be manifested in our own mortal flesh" looks like an anti-Gnostic assertion of the corporeal resurrection. Tertullian quoted the verse in support

of that doctrine.¹ Nor did the Gnostic writer write the immediately following verses. The pronoun "we" in verse 7 is of general significance, including both writers and readers. The passage continues to verse 10, all the participles in it qualifying the same "we." In verse 12 the pronoun "us," without any transition, stands for the writers only: "death worketh in us, but life in you." In verse 13 the writer suddenly drops into the first person singular, which is found nowhere in the Gnostic Epistle except in this and one other passage, both of which can be proved on other grounds to have been interpolated. In verses 14 and 15 we again have the antithesis of "us" and "you." But the "we" in verse 16, without any preparation, reverts to its original significance. Verse 16 carries on the thought of verses 8 and 9. The body is gradually decayed by afflictions, but the inward, the spiritual, man is renewed day by day. The intervening passage is quite irrelevant. The phrase "Wherefore we faint not" is a repetition of the last clause of verse 1 and appears to have been reinserted by the interpolator in order to provide some sort of transition; without it, the discontinuity between verses 15 and 16 would be too glaring.

It is, indeed, by no means certain that 16 should not follow 9. The decaying of the outward man in 16 obviously, as shown above, is the result of the afflictions specified in verses 8 and 9. Verse 10 does not also specify an affliction, but it introduces between two closely related clauses an idea which breaks the connection. If it has any relevance at all, its object must be to explain how the affliction of the body conduces to the life of the spirit. But in that case verse 16 becomes superfluous, since it also introduces an explanation of the same thing which is developed in the following verses. The adversative conjunction "but" in 16 could not be used to connect two verses of similar import; it must be intended to mark the contrast between the physical and temporal afflictions mentioned in verses 8 and 9, and the spiritual and heavenly consequences of those afflictions described in verses iv, 16, to v, 5. A further reason for suspecting the verse is the single name "Jesus" which occurs in it. Except in this verse, "Jesus" alone does not occur anywhere at all in the Pauline Gnostic sections of the four Epistles, apart from proved interpolations.

¹ *De Carn. Resurr.* 44.

A good deal has been written upon verses 1 to 4 of chapter v to very little purpose. The interpretation of them is, however, plain enough as soon as one has secured the right point of view. The term "naked" was used in ancient times to describe the state of a spirit which was disembodied; and the idea of the spirit existing in that condition was disagreeable. The Gnostics, having abandoned belief in a material resurrection, had to find some vesture other than the body in which the spirit could be clothed. This they found in *psyche*, a substance intermediate between matter and pure spirit. Doubtless during the first century a great deal of speculation upon such questions was going on, and different views were held. One conception with regard to the resurrection was that the spirit would not obtain its new clothing until the universal resurrection day. Instead of the corruptible body it would then acquire an incorruptible one, *psyche*. The spirit, meanwhile, was probably supposed to have its abode in Hades, and there the souls of the wicked would continue to dwell after the resurrection of the righteous. Some may have thought, as Marcion afterwards did, that the Creator would rule in Hades, and its denizens would receive from him their deserts. The later Jewish (and subsequent Catholic) idea that on the resurrection day the material body would be reconstituted was modified by the Jewish Gnostic writer of First Corinthians, chapter xv, into the belief that the resurrection body would be of an ethereal character. He calls it a pneumatic body, and seems to deny implicitly the separate existence of spirit. The Gnostic writer of Second Corinthians exhibits an interesting variation of the theory that the spirit would receive its psychic body at the second coming of Christ. He implies that the living human being is a union of body and spirit, probably regarding the unspiritual as material bodies simply. The *psyche* in his view is an independent shape, a facsimile presumably of the earthly body, existing in heaven until the death of the body. The spirit would then be at once clothed in its psychic body, and, without having to wait until the day of judgment, be translated to heaven to dwell with Christ. Evidently this writer, like the other one, did not contemplate a judgment, at any rate of the righteous.¹

¹ Tertullian referred to men who held these opinions in his time, *De Carnis Resurrectione*, 22. Cp. also John v, 24 and 29, where it is said that true believers enter at once into eternal life.

The theory implied in these verses throws light upon a verse of Matthew xviii, 10: "In heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father." "These little ones," in the mind of the original writer of the phrase, did not mean children, but symbolized Gentile converts; and the exhortation, no doubt addressed especially to Jews, signified that such converts were not to be despised; for in heaven their angels—that is to say, their *psychic bodies*—were dwelling with the Father.

From the important differences between the doctrines of the resurrection which they respectively enunciate we must infer that the Gnostic writers of Romans ii, 1–15, First Corinthians, chapter xv, and Second Corinthians were three different men. It is, indeed, not impossible that in Second Corinthians we have a later development of the thought of the writer of Romans ii, 1–15. Such a development is conceivable. But what is not conceivable is that any man, while his ideas were thus progressively developing along Gnostic lines, should simultaneously be enunciating an entirely inconsistent Judaic system of redemption. Some of the ablest commentators, who can see the inconsistency, but are prevented by the power of their fixed idea from perceiving the explanation of it, betray in their comments the hopeless perplexity in which they stand in face of it. For example, Pfeiderer, after doing his best by a show of words to disguise the contradiction as far as possible, is compelled at last to say: "Nothing else remains but to confess that Paul kept side by side unreconciled in his consciousness the two different kinds of conceptions, and that he sprang across from the one to the other without feeling the contradiction"! But that would have been a psychological impossibility, and it is astonishing that so able a critic as Pfeiderer could write such a sentence without realizing that somewhere or other there must have been something quite wrong with his fundamental hypotheses. The explanation probably is that theologians have not the scientific mind. Schweitzer observes¹: "Pfeiderer has assumed that in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and in the Epistle to the Philippians a Hellenistic-spiritualistic view of the resurrection has displaced a Judaic-phanisaic one. He maintains that towards the end of his life the Apostle no longer believed in a bodily resurrection from the dead, but in a

¹ *Gesch. der Paul. Forsch.* p. 57.

co-existence of the soul with Christ beginning at the moment of death. But the new conception does not displace the old, although it represents its direct negative. Pfeiderer must recognize that Paul even in his last days unhesitatingly put forward the doctrine of the awakening of the 'whole man' from the sleep of death, as though the new one of the immediately commencing 'being at home with the Lord' no longer existed, notwithstanding the fact that it represented the result of years of thought and struggle." Schweitzer himself, of course, does not perceive the true and simple solution of the problem.

It is, as aforesaid, conceivable that chapter v of Second Corinthians may exhibit a later development of the thought of the Gnostic writer of Romans. But it is not possible on that hypothesis to identify as the same man the writers of all the Gnostic sections, though Pfeiderer and others who have perceived the diversity of doctrine have felt themselves compelled to do so. The respective dates oppose a decided negative. Chapter xv, verses 12 to 54, of First Corinthians is almost certainly of later date than the Gnostic Epistle in Second Corinthians, which is supposed to represent the final stage of the writer's mental development. If the same man wrote all three the line along which his thought travelled was not progress but a zig-zag. If, on the other hand, the two sections were written at about the same time, we should be faced with the *reductio ad absurdum* which Pfeiderer accepted with so little apparent misgiving—viz., that the writer was publishing simultaneously two incompatible doctrines.

Verses 6 to 9 carry on superficially the idea of verses 1 to 4, but it is very doubtful whether C1 wrote them. The writer seems to have been rather a loose thinker, if indeed he had thoroughly grasped the implication of the preceding verses. Being at home with the Lord, according to the doctrine just enunciated by C1, would mean being with the Lord in Heaven, after the death of the body. And yet the writer of verse 9 says, "we make it our aim [now], whether at home or abroad, to be well-pleasing unto him," because, he says, we shall be judged for what we have done in the body. But he that is at home with the Lord is no longer in the body, so that fear of the judgment could not be *his* reason for aiming at being well-pleasing to the Lord. Verse 10 is Messianic. The conception of Christ as judge was no part of the early Gnostic doctrine, at any rate. According to R1, God himself

will be the final judge.¹ The other early Pauline Gnostic writers represented in these Epistles appear not to contemplate any last judgment at all. It may, therefore, be decided that verse 10 does not belong to the original Gnostic Epistle. In verse 5 the word "Now" is evidently intended to introduce another branch of the subject under discussion, or the making of some inference from it. The return in verse 6 to the subject of verses 1 to 4 is unnatural, and makes the introduction of verse 5 pointless. The original writer must have written the verse in order to lead on from his previous observations to some consideration of the nature or effect of the operation of the Spirit. Verses 6 to 10 are comparatively *banal*; there is a distinct drop from the elevation of the thought of the Gnostic writer, and the attitude of mind is not quite the same. In the Gnostic doctrine the Christian who has received the Spirit does not act rightly simply through some feeling of gratitude, or desire to please the Lord as he might desire to please a human benefactor by a deliberate effort of the will; nor is he influenced by fear of a future judgment. He has become a new creature, and is no longer in bondage to the flesh; conduct pleasing to the Lord is the necessary consequence of his spiritual nature. Verse 17 is thus the natural complement of verse 5. The intervening verses are irrelevant and out of tune with those that precede and follow. We must continually remember that in the Gnostic doctrine of redemption there was an element of mysticism. Reformation, self-improvement, was not in that doctrine a change in the moral nature brought about intellectually in accordance with psychological laws in the manner in which a modern moralist would understand it. Through the operation of certain symbolic acts, undergone no doubt in the proper mental condition of belief in their efficacy, the Christian received in some very real but supernormal sense the Spirit of God and was reborn, or re-created. Verses 1 to 5, 17 to 19, are tinged with these mystical ideas, which are quite absent from the intervening verses. We have already seen reason to reject verses 6 to 10 from a consideration of the character of the verses themselves; and we will now proceed to the examination of verses 11 to 16.

Verse 11 follows 10 quite naturally. It must either have been written by the same person or by a later interpolator

¹ Romans ii, 5. That section, however, is of very doubtful originality.

who had verse 10 before him, and carried on the thought expressed in it. The latter supposition is the more probable by far. For all through the preceding verses the pronoun "we," which occurs several times, stands for Christians in general. In the Gnostic Epistle also, "we" comprises all true believers, except in the opening verses. The statements "we have this treasure in earthen vessels" and "we have a building from God.....eternal in the heavens" are clearly of general application. The interpolator of verses 6 to 10 intended to supplement the reasoning of C1, though he actually misrepresented it, and so continued to use the pronoun in the same sense. In verse 11, however, the pronoun suddenly is made to refer to the supposed writers only. It is extremely unlikely that this sudden change in the meaning would have been made by the writer of verse 10, seeing that 11 is intimately connected with it by the conjunction "therefore," and ostensibly carries on a continuous line of thought. There are now two possibilities with regard to verses 11 to 15. They are obviously later than verses 6 to 10. So that if C2 wrote them, verses 6 to 10 must have been already interpolated into the Gnostic Epistle when C2 incorporated it. Otherwise they are later than the first composite edition, the edition of C2, and cannot have been written by him. The question is of some importance, but it does not seem possible to answer it with complete certainty. The second alternative is the more probable. Even if the Gnostic Epistle was not actually sent to any church, it was written for Pauline Gnostics, and must for some time have been confined to a Pauline Gnostic circle. It is, therefore, unlikely that a Messianic reference to the judgment-seat of Christ would have got into it. There are also some indications that verses 11 to 15 are later in date than the rest of the Epistle of C2. The observations of that writer are intended for the guidance of his readers in a question of morality. The relations between Paul and the community are represented as being excellent; and even though it may be suspected that that representation is intended as an example to some whose respect for Paul's authority was not such as the writer thought it ought to have been, there is no hint at all of any doctrinal dispute, which surely could not have been the case if so dangerous a dissension were in progress as is implied in chapters x to xii. But in verse 12 of chapter v the men who need to be answered by an appeal to the authority

of Paul, and who glory in appearance and not in heart, look much like the men against whom chapters x to xii were directed. There is also a connection between verse 13 and verse 23 of chapter xi: "Whether we are beside ourselves, it is unto God" and "I speak as one beside himself." Not that we need infer that the two verses were written by the same person, but that they were written at about the same time in reference to some taunt that had recently been uttered to the effect that Paul had been "beside himself."

Consequently, verses 11 to 15 must be inferred to be an insertion into the composite edition later than verses 6 to 10. If for the reasons above given they may be inferred not to have originally formed part of the first composite edition, still less is it possible that they should have formed part of the Gnostic Epistle. Moreover, the statement in verse 15 that Christ "died for all, that they which live should no longer live unto themselves," is not an adequate statement of the Pauline doctrine as expounded in the Epistle to the Romans, chapters vi and viii, 3 to 11. The relation expressed here is too external, implying that the Christian out of gratitude to Christ for his sacrifice should no longer live to himself but unto Christ. In the Gnostic view the relation was much more intimate and subjective. The Christian by metaphorically and symbolically dying with Christ and rising again with him was re-born, had become a new creature; he was *in* Christ and no longer carnal. This view appears in verse 17: "if any man is in Christ, he is a new creature." The Gnostic, of course, did not regard the death of Christ as a "sacrifice," and would hardly say that "Christ died for all" without qualification. We must therefore conclude that in the Gnostic Epistle verse 17 followed verse 5. The connection of thought between those two verses is this: God gave us the earnest of the Spirit, in Christ; for the Pnuma of God was in Christ. (As we are told in verse 19, "God was in Christ," as Pnuma.) The Christian obtained a share of the Pnuma by union with Christ. Hence a Gnostic would readily see the implied connection between the two verses. God gave us the earnest of the Spirit. Wherefore if any man is in Christ he is a new creature. There is no logical connection between verses 16 and 17 nor between 15 and 16. Verse 16 is evidently an interpolation made later than the preceding section.

In verse 18 we read: "God, who reconciled *us* to himself

through Christ, and gave unto *us* the ministry of reconciliation." Now the writer of the Gnostic Epistle was by no means a slovenly writer; his style, indeed, is quite good; and it cannot be supposed that when using the pronoun "us" twice in the same sentence, he would make it stand for one noun in the one case and another one in the other. But the first "us" clearly means all believers, since not the writers alone had been reconciled to God through Christ; that was true of all Christians. Hence the second "us" must also stand for Christians generally. The writers here, therefore, are not referring to their own special ministry; they say that Christians, having become reconciled to God, are now to be the means of reconciling others. God has committed to Christians in general "the word of reconciliation." When, therefore, the writers go on in verse 20 to say "We are ambassadors on behalf of Christ," they are not referring especially to themselves. It follows that the latter part of verse 20 cannot have been written by them. For the verse continues: "*we* beseech *you* on behalf of Christ." This sentence is also quite inconsistent with the tenor of verses 17 and 18, in which it is said that "if any man is in Christ he is a new creature" and that "God reconciled us to himself through Christ." For those statements imply that every Christian, being "in Christ," is a new creature, and consequently has been reconciled to God through Christ. The writers cannot possibly have immediately gone on to appeal to the Christians (especially the Gnostic Christians) to whom they were writing "be ye reconciled to God." Moreover, we can hardly think that a Gnostic writer, for whom Christ was not even flesh, would say that God made Christ to be sin on our behalf. It was not at all Gnostic doctrine that Christ was made to be sin. Again, throughout the three Pauline Gnostic Epistles which we have now examined, we have found that Old Testament quotations are avoided, so that the quotation in verse 2 of chapter vi must be regarded with suspicion.

The Jewish Gnostics maintained the conception that the Jews as a people had been especially chosen by God, but under the influence of Greek thought they had broadened and generalized it. The conception as it developed among the Greek-speaking Jews of the Diaspora ceased to be a narrow national one and became finely universal. The Jews, in the view of these men, had been selected by God to bring the knowledge of divine truth to the Gentiles, and the sufferings

of their race had been sent upon them in order to purify and prepare them for that great work. The birth of these ideas can be seen in the Wisdom literature, and the germ of them in some of the prophetic writings. In Philo they have come to maturity. That writer says that as the wise man is an example for the town in which he lives, so will a wise people be prominent over all other peoples, not, however, for their own glory but for the welfare of all. And if the mass of mankind would follow the example of the pious men who have turned away from worldly things, their manner of life would usher in the Messianic age.¹ Some of the apocalyptic writers, especially the writer of the *Book of Enoch*, had come under the influence of Gnostic ideas, and in particular this one of the mission of the Jewish race. For example, in the book named we read: "Wisdom is poured out like water. The fountain of righteousness is inexhaustible and surrounded by many fountains of wisdom. All who are thirsty drink therefrom and become full of wisdom, and they have their dwelling with the righteous, the saints, and the elect."² "Wisdom," of course, has a special meaning with all these writers; it involves a knowledge of God, possessed up to that time by pious Jews only, but now to be poured out among the nations. The writer of the *Testament of Levi* says to the Jews: "Ye are the lights of heaven, like the Sun and the Moon; what will the Gentiles do if ye darken yourselves with ungodliness?"³ Philo, again, says: "The Jewish race received as its portion the priesthood of all mankind."⁴ Now, that is just what the Pauline writer in Second Corinthians says in slightly different words to his Gnostic readers: We, the Christian community, have received the ministry of the reconciliation of the world to God. The missionary zeal which distinguished the early Christians was born among Jewish Gnostics and passed through Christian Gnostics into the Christian Church. In Matthew we find an echo of the passage above quoted from the *Testament of Levi*: "Ye are the light of the world."

The facts here set forth very strongly confirm the interpretation of the phrase "we are ambassadors on behalf of Christ," at which we arrived from the consideration of the context. "We" means Christians in general, not the writers alone. Hence the second part of the verse, in which "we"

¹ *De praem. et poen.* II, 426; *De septen.* II, 275.

² *Enoch*, 48, 1-2. ³ *Test. Levi*, c. 14. ⁴ *De Abr.* II, 15.

does mean the supposed writers only, is an interpolation. The same observation applies to vi, 1, where we read "we entreat that ye receive, etc." For the reasons given, we must conclude that the whole passage from v, 20, except the first clause, to vi, 2, has been interpolated. Verse 3 follows the first clause of vi, 20, quite naturally: "We are ambassadors on behalf of Christ, giving no occasion of stumbling in anything, that our ministration be not blamed." If the Gnostic Epistle is genuine, the character of the concluding section, verses 4 to 10, must be held to prove beyond doubt the correctness of our exegesis of chapter v, verses 17 to 20a; for the writers would not have commended themselves in such a way, claiming for themselves "pureness, knowledge, long-suffering, kindness, love unfeigned," etc. In any case, the passage has rather the appearance of having been written in reference, and as an exhortation, to Christians in general.

We have now completed our tracing of the Gnostic Epistle. It consists of the following sections: i, 1, except the last clause; i, 21; iii, 2 and 3; iv, 1-10 and 16-18; v, 1-5, 17-20a; vi, 3-10. The complete Epistle will be given later, and I think that the continuity of it will be found to justify the analysis.

3.—THE EPISTLE OF C2

It is impossible to suppose that this Epistle was written by Paul. If he wrote it, it is certain that he wrote nothing else in the three Epistles so far examined. In verse 12 of chapter i, indeed, we have evidence that the section was written after Paul's death. The writer is personifying Paul, but in that verse his consciousness of the actual fact leads him inadvertently to write of Paul as being no longer alive. For he says "we behaved ourselves in the world," as though he were no longer in the world. The Epistle offers some problems which appear not to be completely soluble; but the solution would only be of importance if it were the work of Paul himself, so that it could be regarded as an historical document. The statements made in it are not reconcilable either with statements made in the Acts of the Apostles or with some in First Corinthians. In verse 19 of chapter i we are told that Timothy was one of the first preachers of the gospel to the Corinthians; he would, therefore, have been well known to them. We may also suppose that if he had been one of the founders of the church he would have been

regarded by the members with consideration and respect. But in First Corinthians xvi, 10 and 11, Paul is represented as saying : " Now if Timothy come, see that he be with you without fear ; for he worketh the work of the Lord as I also do ; let no man therefore despise him." Nearly every one is so much in the habit of accepting without thought statements in these Epistles, and assuming that everything must be quite right, that such a passage as this raises no question. And yet it is questionable in the highest degree. Imagine the Archbishop of Canterbury writing such a letter of recommendation to introduce the Bishop of London to an English congregation. If the passage quoted had not been in a document included in the New Testament, no man of any intelligence could fail to see that it is perfectly incredible that Paul should have written in such terms about Timothy to the Corinthians. One would really infer from the terms used that the church at Corinth was unacquainted with Timothy. And if he had been one of the first preachers at Corinth it would not have been necessary to inform the Christians there that " Timothy worketh the work of the Lord." The chapter in which the passage occurs was, of course, not written by Paul, but by R4, whoever he was, not earlier than the middle of the second century. Was Timothy not Paul's companion at Corinth ? or did R4 not know it ? We must, I think, accept the fact ; and R4 must have known it. Moreover, R4 was intelligent enough to understand that Paul could not need to introduce Timothy to the Corinthians. He must, therefore, have had some motive for praising Timothy ; and his words imply that Timothy *had* been despised by somebody. It will be shown later that there was in the early church a party which exalted Titus to the exclusion of Timothy. R4, therefore, struck a blow on behalf of Timothy.

The statement which is made in chapter i, verses 15 and 16, cannot be reconciled with statements made in First Corinthians and in the Acts of the Apostles. In the former Epistle, chapter xvi, which was supposed to be written some considerable time before Paul went to Corinth, Paul clearly declares his intention of going to Corinth *after* he had been into Macedonia. In the Acts of the Apostles also, xix, 21, that is said to have been Paul's purpose. And yet in chapter i of Second Corinthians the writer says that the intention of Paul had been to go to Corinth *before* going into Macedonia, and he assumes that the Corinthians had been aware of his

intention, although in First Corinthians he had said just the contrary. If we consider that the evidence of two witnesses is to be preferred to that of one, we have to conclude that the statement in Second Corinthians is false. Chapter xvi of First Corinthians is, as has been proved, late, so that C2 no doubt was unacquainted both with it and with the Acts of the Apostles. But if we accept the version of C2 we discredit the other two witnesses. It seems fairly certain that the statement of C2 was based upon verse 19 of chapter iv of First Corinthians, in which the writer says: "I will come to you shortly, if God will." From that verse C2 inferred that Paul had originally intended to visit Corinth before going to Macedonia. The facts stated confirm the conclusion that chapter xvi of First Corinthians was written later than chapter i of Second Corinthians.

It is also natural to conclude that in his reference to a previous Epistle which had caused sorrow to the Corinthians C2 had in mind chapter v of First Corinthians. In certain details, however, the two Epistles do not agree. New Testament commentators have been greatly perplexed over this question, and have spent, very unprofitably, much time and mental energy in discussing whether the wrong-doer upon whom punishment is said to have been inflicted in Second Corinthians ii, 6, could have been the man who was so severely censured for fornication in First Corinthians v, 1-5, and, if not, whether some other offence had been censured in a third Epistle now lost. It is a pity that these commentators did not bring their critical acumen to bear upon the style, instead of confining themselves to the statements, of the two writers. Great learning is an excellent thing; but, when the question to be decided is the authorship of a certain document, an ounce of critical perception is worth a ton of learning. Any critic who can believe that the writer of Second Corinthians, chapters i to iii and vii, also wrote the Epistle of C in First Corinthians is capable of believing that George Meredith wrote, let us say, *Digby Grand*, if that book had been published anonymously. Perhaps the critic could appreciate the difference of style in that case, Meredith and Melville being secular writers. The study of Biblical documents appears to have a numbing effect upon the critical faculty. The theologians who believe, as most of them do, that the whole, or the bulk, of the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians was written by Paul speculate, discuss, and

write page upon page in the futile endeavour to explain the inexplicable (upon that hypothesis) and to reconcile the irreconcilable. It is very much to be regretted that while there are real problems calling for solution which no doubt theological commentators are capable of solving if they would only look at them, they should waste their energies and their great learning in the chase of one will-o'-the-wisp after another.

The chapters in question were not written by Paul, and were not sent to the church at Corinth, or indeed to any church in particular. Whoever wrote them must have had some object in doing so, and it seems to be possible to see what that object was. Any one who is not blinded by theological prejudice must perceive that the portrait of Paul which emerges from the First Epistle to the Corinthians is by no means a pleasing one. The character there set before us is harsh, arrogant, and boastful. If it could be regarded as a self-revelation, Paul was very far from being an amiable personage. To prove that the greater part, at any rate, of that Epistle was not written by him is to do a service to his memory. The actual writers did not realize the effect which their words would be likely to produce in the mind of any one who should read them with cold impartiality. Their aim was to magnify the authority of Paul, and since they were writing in his name they could only exalt him, as they thought, by making him praise himself, and attributing to him expressions which, while they might naturally spring from the feelings of a worshipping admirer, sound arrogant when put into the mouth of the man himself. Now, it is evident that such criticisms were actually made by contemporary opponents of the Pauline party, and that the principal object of C2 was to meet them.

Paul had been charged with boastfulness. C2 himself cannot refrain from allowing his own feelings of admiration for Paul to appear. "We are a sweet savour of Christ," he says. Did Paul really write that about himself? But then, having in mind the charge that had been made, C2 asks, "Are we beginning again to commend ourselves?", and proceeds to write an apology: "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves, to account anything from ourselves; but our sufficiency is from God" (iii, 5). Again, in v, 12, he makes the apology for self-praise that Paul, by exalting himself, exalts the community of which he is the minister: "We are

not again commending ourselves, but speak as giving you occasion of glorying on our behalf."

C2 also aims at softening the impression of harshness and arrogance which had been created by the first Epistle. He represents the relationship between Paul and the Corinthians as one of mutual love and confidence. It was to spare the community that Paul forbore to go to Corinth, and he is made to disclaim lordship over their faith (i, 23 and 24). He had written his previous letter out of anguish of heart and that his readers might know the love he had for them (ii, 4). He does not write to condemn them, for "Ye are in our hearts to die together and live together" (vii, 3).

The writer also apparently wishes to diminish the effect of previous statements about divisions and opposition to Paul in the church, which may have given a handle to opponents. He is anxious to show the loyalty and the obedience of the community, and to defend it against the imputation of a low moral tone which might have been suggested by First Corinthians, chapter v. That chapter had reproached the members of the Corinthian church for being puffed-up and for not rather mourning that so disgraceful a deed had been done among them. C2 corrects the bad impression that these reproaches would naturally produce by drawing a very different picture of the feeling of the community. The culprit has been so severely punished that it is even necessary for Paul to entreat the community to comfort him lest he should despair utterly. The grief of the community and its zeal for Paul is depicted in vivid colours. Even his representative Titus is received by it with "fear and trembling." To any one who will read these chapters with the knowledge that Paul did not write them, and that they were neither sent, nor intended to be sent, to any church, it must be evident that we have here a work of imagination, a picture elaborately drawn with the object of creating the most favourable impression possible of the character of Paul and of his relations with the church at Corinth.

It is natural to suppose that the subject of these chapters was suggested principally by First Corinthians, chapters iv and v, although there are some important discrepancies. In First Corinthians the offence which called forth the rebuke of the writer was fornication; in Second Corinthians the reference, as usual, is extremely vague, rather indicating that the writer had nothing definite in his mind. The words "his

cause that did the wrong nor for his cause that suffered the wrong" (vii, 12) would imply some direct injury inflicted by one member upon another. But the very indefinite term "such a one," ὁ τοιοῦτος (ii, 6 and 7), is strange if intended to designate a known person. It looks as though the writer were merely giving a general exhortation to temper justice with mercy. In First Corinthians, chapter iv, again, the writer represents Paul as saying that he has sent Timothy to Corinth; but in Second Corinthians it is Titus who was sent. Seeing that chapters iv and v of First Corinthians and the chapters now under consideration were written by three different persons, none of them Paul, it is not worth while taking much trouble in an endeavour to unravel the confusion. It is sufficient to remember that for the New Testament writers, as for the Old Testament writers before them, literal accuracy was a matter of very slight importance. Their purpose was to enforce ethical precepts, to expound theological doctrine, or to drive home some controversial point. In pursuing that purpose they avoided abstract reasoning as far as possible, and tried to make their teaching as vivid as they could by presenting it concretely, connecting it with real or imagined events. The literal accuracy of the representation was of very subordinate consequence. An explanation of the prominence given to Titus to the practical exclusion of Timothy throughout the whole of this Epistle will be offered later.

The Gnostic Epistle either really was a joint composition or was written by some one who kept continually in mind its claim to be so. C2, however, frequently forgets this, and writes in the first person singular, personifying Paul alone.

The section chapter vi, verse 14, to chapter vii, verse 1, is not part of the Gnostic Epistle, which terminates with verse 10 of chapter vi. The style of the section, moreover, is not that of the Gnostic writer. Nor is it the style of C2. It introduces an entirely new subject, which breaks the thread of the discourse of the latter writer. He is making a personal appeal to the Corinthians which, beginning with verses 11 to 13 of chapter vi, is continued in verse 2 of chapter vii. "Our mouth is open unto you," he writes; "our heart is enlargedbe ye also enlarged. Open your hearts to us," etc. Into the middle of this personal appeal has been inserted the general exhortation to avoid idolatry contained in the section referred to. The writer of the personal appeal cannot of his own

motion have diminished the effect of it by doing that. Nor, while his mind was directed to the personal appeal, would it have jumped aside to something quite irrelevant, and then resumed the appeal as though it had not been interrupted.

There are certain resemblances between the style of this interpolated section and that of R3. A habit of putting rhetorical questions was a characteristic of that writer, and in this section we have five consecutive questions and five altogether in six verses. A multiplicity of questions is also a mark of the style of R2, but in other respects there is less in the passage to connect it with him than with the first named writer. The style is simple and clear. It was also pointed out before that R3 was given to using a succession of sentences each beginning with the same few words; and here we have: "What fellowship have," "or what communion hath," "And what concord hath," "or what portion hath," "And what agreement hath." The writer was careful with regard to style, as is shown by the alternation of "and" and "or," so as to avoid monotony. We find the same device used for the same purpose in First Corinthians x, 7 to 11, in the alternation of "ye" and "us." "Neither be ye," "Neither let us," "Neither let us," "Neither murmur ye." The writer of the section under consideration addresses his readers as "beloved"; so, too, did the writer of First Corinthians x, 14. The passage we are now considering is also connected with the same chapter of First Corinthians, which was written by R3, in its strong condemnation of any contact with idols or idolatry. R3 also made much use of the Old Testament; but, as previously pointed out, the application of his quotations is often loose. Now, in the present case he supports his statement that "we are a temple of the living God" by the quotation "Even as God said, I will dwell in them." But the meaning of the first statement is that God dwells *in* the believer,¹ that of the second only that he dwells *among* his people. So that the quotation is by no means apt. Another quotation from the Old Testament follows in verses 17 and 18. There is only one other such quotation in the whole of the first seven chapters (vi, 2), and that was shown to be an interpolation. We found reason to believe that R3 was a Jewish Gnostic; in the light of that belief the

¹ In the first century the statement could have been made only by a Gnostic. The doctrine is not Messianic.

question "What concord hath Christ with Beliar?" has significance, since the opposition of Christ and Beliar was one of the Gnostic antitheses.¹ The antithesis of light and darkness, *φῶς* and *σκότος*, verse 14, was also a Gnostic one. It occurs in the Gnostic Epistle (iv, 6), where the light of the gnosis is contrasted with the earlier prevailing darkness. As before said, many of these Gnostic expressions continued to characterize Paulinism even when it had become catholicized, and some of them were retained by Catholic theology. The name "Beliar," however, occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. It is found in some of the Jewish Apocalypses, and would of course be familiar to a learned Jew. C2 uses the name "Satan." The passage is distinctly Gnostic. The Gnosticism is, however, not Pauline. That is shown by the quotations from the Old Testament and by the use of the word "promises" (vii, 1), which is not found in either of the Epistles of R1, nor in the Pauline Gnostic sections of Second Corinthians. Readers are addressed as "beloved" only four times in the four Epistles; the word occurs in First Corinthians x, 14, written by R3, and in this passage (vii, 1). Considering the shortness of the passage the number of indications is impressive. The evidence is quite sufficient to justify the conclusion that R3 was the writer.² This inference will be important when we come to consider the question of date.

4.—CHAPTERS VIII AND IX

In subject-matter and in style chapters viii and ix are divided from the preceding chapters. The difference of subject-matter would not be of much importance; it is worth noting, however, that the subject dealt with in these two chapters, the collection for the saints, is also the subject of the latest stratum of the two previous Epistles, and is nowhere else referred to in either of them. A much more important point is the difference of style, on consideration of which we can affirm positively that the two chapters were written neither

¹ In the English versions the form of the name is "Belial," but "Beliar" is found in good MSS., and was preferred by von Soden. The N. T. preserves the genuine names of the old Semitic deities (turned into dæmons), "Beelzebub" and "Beliar," travestied by the Hebrews into "Beelzebub" and "Belial," like "Melek" into "Moloch."

² Steck in a note (*Der Galaterbrief*, p. 358), after naming several commentators who have seen that the passage in question is an interpolation, observes: "It seems to me to betray the same hand as Romans ix to xi."

by C1 nor by C2. The verbosity of the latter writer is nowhere apparent, nor the excessive reiteration of a word which is so characteristic a mark of his style. The author of chapters viii and ix, assuming, which is not certain, that there is only one, writes with elegance and propriety; his style has not the simplicity of that of R3, but he is able to say clearly and without redundancy of language what he wishes to say. Indeed, so far from using unnecessary words, the writer has a tendency to omit words which can be understood from the context. The Greek language lends itself more to this than the English, and the practice is observable in other New Testament writers, but especially so in the one we are now considering, as the reader may easily see by noting the number of words and phrases printed in italics in chapter viii, which represent omissions in the Greek. In chapters i, ii, and vii we can count fourteen such omissions in forty-one verses, but in chapters viii and ix there are no less than thirty-four in thirty-nine verses.

There is, however, a difference between viii and ix in this respect, which suggests the possibility that they may be by different writers. In chapter viii there are twenty-nine omissions of words or short phrases in twenty-four verses, but in chapter ix only five in fifteen verses. There is no logical connection between the last verse of chapter viii and the first of chapter ix, though the latter begins with the conjunction "For." Taking the two verses together, the writer would say: Show them the proof of your love; for it is superfluous for me to write to you on the subject. The sequence of sentences is not a natural one. Also, it is very strange for chapter ix to begin with the statement that it was superfluous for the writer to write on a subject on which he had just written a whole chapter, or even if the writer had the previous chapter before him. His beginning in that way suggests that chapter ix may be an earlier interpolation than chapter viii.

In the first seven chapters, wherever the verb *παρακαλῶ* ("I beseech") occurs (ii, 8; vi, 1), it is followed by the infinitive mood; but in chapter viii, verse 6, and in ix, 5, it is followed by *ἵνα* and the subjunctive mood. A difference of vocabulary is observable—*εὐλογίαν* ("bounty"), *ἀντάρκειαν* ("sufficiency"), *αὐθαίρετοι* ("of their own accord") twice (viii, 3 and 7), *ἐπιχορηγῶν* ("supplying"), none of which occur elsewhere in the four Epistles, except the last, which occurs once in the

cause that did the wrong nor for his cause that suffered the wrong" (vii, 12) would imply some direct injury inflicted by one member upon another. But the very indefinite term "such a one," ὁ τοιοῦτος (ii, 6 and 7), is strange if intended to designate a known person. It looks as though the writer were merely giving a general exhortation to temper justice with mercy. In First Corinthians, chapter iv, again, the writer represents Paul as saying that he has sent Timothy to Corinth; but in Second Corinthians it is Titus who was sent. Seeing that chapters iv and v of First Corinthians and the chapters now under consideration were written by three different persons, none of them Paul, it is not worth while taking much trouble in an endeavour to unravel the confusion. It is sufficient to remember that for the New Testament writers, as for the Old Testament writers before them, literal accuracy was a matter of very slight importance. Their purpose was to enforce ethical precepts, to expound theological doctrine, or to drive home some controversial point. In pursuing that purpose they avoided abstract reasoning as far as possible, and tried to make their teaching as vivid as they could by presenting it concretely, connecting it with real or imagined events. The literal accuracy of the representation was of very subordinate consequence. An explanation of the prominence given to Titus to the practical exclusion of Timothy throughout the whole of this Epistle will be offered later.

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The section chapter vi, verse 14, to chapter vii, verse 1, is not part of the Gnostic Epistle, which terminates with verse 10 of chapter vi. The style of the section, moreover, is not that of the Gnostic writer. Nor is it the style of C2. It introduces an entirely new subject, which breaks the thread of the discourse of the latter writer. He is making a personal appeal to the Corinthians which, beginning with verses 11 to 13 of chapter vi, is continued in verse 2 of chapter vii. "Our mouth is open unto you," he writes; "our heart is enlargedbe ye also enlarged. Open your hearts to us," etc. Into the middle of this personal appeal has been inserted the general exhortation to avoid idolatry contained in the section referred to. The writer of the personal appeal cannot of his own

motion have diminished the effect of it by doing that. Nor, while his mind was directed to the personal appeal, would it have jumped aside to something quite irrelevant, and then resumed the appeal as though it had not been interrupted.

There are certain resemblances between the style of this interpolated section and that of R3. A habit of putting rhetorical questions was a characteristic of that writer, and in this section we have five consecutive questions and five altogether in six verses. A multiplicity of questions is also a mark of the style of R2, but in other respects there is less in the passage to connect it with him than with the first named writer. The style is simple and clear. It was also pointed out before that R3 was given to using a succession of sentences each beginning with the same few words; and here we have: "What fellowship have," "or what communion hath," "And what concord hath," "or what portion hath," "And what agreement hath." The writer was careful with regard to style, as is shown by the alternation of "and" and "or," so as to avoid monotony. We find the same device used for the same purpose in First Corinthians x, 7 to 11, in the alternation of "ye" and "us." "Neither be ye," "Neither let us," "Neither let us," "Neither murmur ye." The writer of the section under consideration addresses his readers as "beloved"; so, too, did the writer of First Corinthians x, 14. The passage we are now considering is also connected with the same chapter of First Corinthians, which was written by R3, in its strong condemnation of any contact with idols or idolatry. R3 also made much use of the Old Testament; but, as previously pointed out, the application of his quotations is often loose. Now, in the present case he supports his statement that "we are a temple of the living God" by the quotation "Even as God said, I will dwell in them." But the meaning of the first statement is that God dwells *in* the believer,¹ that of the second only that he dwells *among* his people. So that the quotation is by no means apt. Another quotation from the Old Testament follows in verses 17 and 18. There is only one other such quotation in the whole of the first seven chapters (vi, 2), and that was shown to be an interpolation. We found reason to believe that R3 was a Jewish Gnostic; in the light of that belief the

¹ In the first century the statement could have been made only by a Gnostic. The doctrine is not Messianic.

question "What concord hath Christ with Beliar?" has significance, since the opposition of Christ and Beliar was one of the Gnostic antitheses.¹ The antithesis of light and darkness, *φῶς* and *σκότος*, verse 14, was also a Gnostic one. It occurs in the Gnostic Epistle (iv, 6), where the light of the gnosis is contrasted with the earlier prevailing darkness. As before said, many of these Gnostic expressions continued to characterize Paulinism even when it had become catholicized, and some of them were retained by Catholic theology. The name "Beliar," however, occurs nowhere else in the New Testament. It is found in some of the Jewish Apocalypses, and would of course be familiar to a learned Jew. C2 uses the name "Satan." The passage is distinctly Gnostic. The Gnosticism is, however, not Pauline. That is shown by the quotations from the Old Testament and by the use of the word "promises" (vii, 1), which is not found in either of the Epistles of R1, nor in the Pauline Gnostic sections of Second Corinthians. Readers are addressed as "beloved" only four times in the four Epistles; the word occurs in First Corinthians x, 14, written by R3, and in this passage (vii, 1). Considering the shortness of the passage the number of indications is impressive. The evidence is quite sufficient to justify the conclusion that R3 was the writer.² This inference will be important when we come to consider the question of date.

4.—CHAPTERS VIII AND IX

In subject-matter and in style chapters viii and ix are divided from the preceding chapters. The difference of subject-matter would not be of much importance; it is worth noting, however, that the subject dealt with in these two chapters, the collection for the saints, is also the subject of the latest stratum of the two previous Epistles, and is nowhere else referred to in either of them. A much more important point is the difference of style, on consideration of which we can affirm positively that the two chapters were written neither

¹ In the English versions the form of the name is "Belial," but "Beliar" is found in good MSS., and was preferred by von Soden. The N. T. preserves the genuine names of the old Semitic deities (turned into dæmons), "Beelzebul" and "Beliar," travestied by the Hebrews into "Beelzebub" and "Belial," like "Melek" into "Moloch."

² Steck in a note (*Der Galaterbrief*, p. 358), after naming several commentators who have seen that the passage in question is an interpolation, observes: "It seems to me to betray the same hand as Romans ix to xi."

by C1 nor by C2. The verbosity of the latter writer is nowhere apparent, nor the excessive reiteration of a word which is so characteristic a mark of his style. The author of chapters viii and ix, assuming, which is not certain, that there is only one, writes with elegance and propriety; his style has not the simplicity of that of R3, but he is able to say clearly and without redundancy of language what he wishes to say. Indeed, so far from using unnecessary words, the writer has a tendency to omit words which can be understood from the context. The Greek language lends itself more to this than the English, and the practice is observable in other New Testament writers, but especially so in the one we are now considering, as the reader may easily see by noting the number of words and phrases printed in italics in chapter viii, which represent omissions in the Greek. In chapters i, ii, and vii we can count fourteen such omissions in forty-one verses, but in chapters viii and ix there are no less than thirty-four in thirty-nine verses.

There is, however, a difference between viii and ix in this respect, which suggests the possibility that they may be by different writers. In chapter viii there are twenty-nine omissions of words or short phrases in twenty-four verses, but in chapter ix only five in fifteen verses. There is no logical connection between the last verse of chapter viii and the first of chapter ix, though the latter begins with the conjunction "For." Taking the two verses together, the writer would say: Show them the proof of your love; for it is superfluous for me to write to you on the subject. The sequence of sentences is not a natural one. Also, it is very strange for chapter ix to begin with the statement that it was superfluous for the writer to write on a subject on which he had just written a whole chapter, or even if the writer had the previous chapter before him. His beginning in that way suggests that chapter ix may be an earlier interpolation than chapter viii.

In the first seven chapters, wherever the verb *παρακαλῶ* ("I beseech") occurs (ii, 8; vi, 1), it is followed by the infinitive mood; but in chapter viii, verse 6, and in ix, 5, it is followed by *ἵνα* and the subjunctive mood. A difference of vocabulary is observable—*ἐὐλογίαν* ("bounty"), *αὐτάρκειαν* ("sufficiency"), *αὐθαίρετοι* ("of their own accord") twice (viii, 3 and 7), *ἐπιχορηγῶν* ("supplying"), none of which occur elsewhere in the four Epistles, except the last, which occurs once in the

Epistle to the Galatians.¹ As before said, I do not stress the latter point, but a difference of grammatical usage, such as the one mentioned in connection with παρακαλῶ, has considerable weight. Another example of a similar kind is the use of the conjunction ὅπως ("in order that"), which occurs twice in chapter viii, but nowhere else in this Epistle, and only twice elsewhere in the four Epistles.

The reference to Titus in verse 23, chapter viii, would be very peculiar if made by C2. For, according to that writer, Titus had been sent to the Corinthians and had been received by them with fear and trembling, and his spirit had been refreshed by them. How could the same writer afterwards say "whether any inquire about Titus," and think it necessary to give the information "he is my partner and my fellow worker to youward," as though Titus were unknown to them?

C2 nowhere quotes from the Old Testament. The only Old Testament quotations in the first seven chapters are proved interpolations (vi, 2, and 16 to 18); whereas, in the two chapters viii and ix there are two such quotations, besides other references. The use of the phrase "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ" proves that C1 did not write chapter viii. It indicates a Catholic, and rather late, editor. Possibly, indeed, these chapters may be later than the three following ones. Although they are probably the work of two different men, it will be convenient to use one symbol, C3, to represent the two.

The presence in all these Epistles of a section dealing with collections for the poorer brethren proves that the matter was an important one in the ancient churches, as it is in the modern. The pastor of a modern church will sometimes exhort his congregation to be generous when collections for charity are being made, and, if he wishes, he may use chapters viii and ix of Second Corinthians to support his appeal. In the early churches the weight of those chapters was possibly greater even than it is now, particularly among the Pauline communities. And no doubt they were written for the very purpose of enforcing such appeals. The writer, whoever he was, might have circulated among the churches an exhortation to liberality in his own name, but, obviously, if he could produce an Epistle of Paul containing such an

¹ εὐλογία is found elsewhere, but not in the same sense,

exhortation, it would be much more efficacious than anything he could write as from himself. It is evident that the chapters were written in order that they might be so used, since it is certain that Paul did not write them. The writer also, no doubt, wished to set before his readers, as an example to them, the liberality of the early churches.

The statements made with regard to these collections in Acts and in the three Epistles cannot be reconciled with one another; and the subject seems to have undergone a progressive elaboration with time. In an early section of Romans xii, verses 8 and 13, there are general exhortations to liberality, which do not seem to have been occasioned by any urgent need. The two chapters viii and ix of Second Corinthians were written many years later. We there have an elaborated appeal of which the text is still the duty of assisting the poorer brethren or necessitous churches; but the necessity seems meanwhile to have become more urgent. As aforesaid, these chapters are a general exhortation to charitable giving, and there is nothing in them to indicate that the writer had particularly in mind the saints at Jerusalem. To read more into them from statements made in a document whose historical veracity is very questionable is not legitimate. And the natural interpretation is confirmed to some extent by a statement in the Epistle to the Galatians. The writer of that Epistle in chapters i and ii mentions the visits which Paul had paid to Jerusalem up to the supposed date of the Epistle. No reference is made to any contribution for the relief of the poor in Jerusalem in connection with either of those visits, but on the occasion of the second one the leaders of the church there expressed the desire: "that we should remember the poor; which very thing I was also zealous to do" (ii, 10). Here again the words "the poor" are quite general.

The first references to a special collection for the saints at Jerusalem occur in First Corinthians xvi and in the Acts of the Apostles xi, 28 to 30, neither of which can be dated earlier than about the middle of the second century. The passage of Acts may, of course, be based upon an earlier source; but, whether or no, it is in hopeless conflict both with Galatians and First Corinthians xvi. According to Galatians, Paul visited Jerusalem not long after his conversion, and did not go there again for fourteen years. The circumstances of that visit show that it was the third of the visits recorded in

Acts. If we accept the evidence of Galatians, the second visit in Acts, when Paul is said to have gone up with the money that had been collected, was never paid, and is an invention of the writer of the Acts of the Apostles. Moreover, the collection mentioned in that book was made at Antioch, not in Macedonia or Achaia. According to First Corinthians, the occasion on which Paul conveyed to Jerusalem the money which had been collected was when he passed through Jerusalem on his way to Rome. But nothing is said in Acts about any collection at that time. It is evident that R4, the writer of First Corinthians, chapter xvi, and Romans, chapter xv, was not depending upon Acts so far as the collection was concerned. He may have obtained the details of Paul's movements from that book, or from an *Acts of Paul*; but it is inferrible from the absence of all reference to a collection in the second part of the Acts of the Apostles that the *Acts of Paul* made no mention of it. A possible explanation is that R4, not knowing that chapters viii and ix of Second Corinthians were written at a later date and by a different person from the writer of the earlier chapters, and, reading them in combination, concluded that, as Paul was on the point of setting out for Jerusalem, the collection was intended for the saints there.¹ There may have been a tradition that the church at Antioch had sent relief to the poor in Jerusalem, and the insertion of Paul's name in Acts xi, 30, may be due to the compiler of that work, or one of his sources; the name there is Saul, which is evidence that the source was the supposed *Acts of Peter*, a later document than the *Acts of Paul*. There is, however, as before stated, good reason to doubt that Paul visited Jerusalem at that time. R4, being aware of the tradition that Paul had conveyed relief to the saints at Jerusalem, and, connecting that tradition with the statements made in Second Corinthians, may have supposed that the collections there mentioned were made for that purpose.

The writer of these chapters, as well as C2, seems to have had some motive for bringing Titus into prominence. There is no known historical basis for the representation here put before us, and the absence of such basis discredits it. If Paul had had for Titus the affection here portrayed; if he had

¹ This explanation assumes that one at least of the two chapters viii and ix had been written earlier than First Corinthians xvi. The chapters are all very late, and the determination of the relative order of composition is difficult.

had the great confidence in his tact and ability which is implied in the entrusting him with commissions so important and delicate as those described in this Epistle, it is incredible that the early records should be silent about him. Neither in First Corinthians nor in the Acts of the Apostles is Titus mentioned. In the former, when it is necessary for Paul to send a messenger on a very important errand to Corinth, he sends Timothy. According to the Acts of the Apostles, also, Timothy takes an important part in the early propaganda. Titus apparently does nothing worthy of record; there is, in fact, no evidence of his having done anything at all. Timothy is united with Paul in the composition of the Gnostic Epistle. C2 had nothing to do with that, and both he and C3 disregard the fact to such an extent that as often as not they write in the first person singular. C2 mentions Timothy as one of the early preachers to the church at Corinth. That, no doubt, was a fact so well known that it could not be set aside. Except for that reference, Timothy is ignored while Titus is exalted. As previously pointed out, the writer of chapter viii, evidently with an object in view, introduces a testimonial to Titus which is an absurdity in the light of what had been written about him in the earlier part of the Epistle.

It is a very interesting and significant fact that, as previously pointed out, R4, the writer of First Corinthians, chapter xvi, similarly introduces a testimonial to Timothy (verses 10 and 11) which is also obviously inconsistent with the circumstances implied in chapter iv. We must infer that, since neither Timothy nor Titus could have been supposed, after what had previously been written about each of them, to need a recommendation to the community, both R4 and C3 had some reason for wishing to eulogize, the one Timothy, the other Titus. The clue to the explanation of the motive of these two writers seems to lie in the fact that R4 and the writer of First Corinthians, chapter iv, who also makes a point of praising Timothy ("my beloved and faithful child in the Lord"), were Gnostic Paulinists, while C2 and C3 were catholicized Paulinists.

The inference will be that some years after Paul's death, when the catholicizing of the Pauline communities had begun, Titus was regarded as the representative of the more Catholic, Timothy of a more advanced Gnostic party in the churches. That inference is strongly confirmed by all the

facts we have. The evidential value of Second Corinthians is only as to the motives of the writers. According to Acts, Timothy is Paul's companion and fellow worker; he must, therefore, like Paul himself, have been a Gnostic. Further, we are told (Acts xvi, 1) that Timothy was a *disciple* before Paul knew him, that his mother was a *Jewess* who *believed*, and that his father was a Greek who was well reported on by the brethren at Lystra. Now, we know that before the first century the marriage of Jewish theology and Greek philosophy, influenced probably also by some oriental conceptions, had produced a Gnosticism which worshipped a Son of God, *Christos* or *Chrestos*, who was also the Logos of Philo. These Greek-Jewish Gnostics had, however, departed farther from Judaism than Philo had. When, therefore, we read of a son of a Jewess and a Greek, who had not been circumcised and who could be called a disciple, we have reason to suspect that the father and mother were Gnostics—i. e., Christians—so far as the Logos Christos was an object of their reverence, and that consequently the mind of the son would be prepared for the reception of Pauline Gnosticism. At any rate, the fact that he became Paul's trusted fellow worker proves that he shared Paul's theological opinions, while the silence of the record, such as it is, invites the conjecture that Titus was never Paul's fellow worker. If, as is probable, Paul was R1, then Paul was a docetist; Timothy, consequently, was almost certainly a docetist. Now, it will be shown in the next section that the men attacked in chapters x to xii were docetists; no wonder that the catholicized Pauline writers of this Epistle should have wished to keep Timothy in the background and to put Titus into his place.

The writer of Acts, of course, had objects in view to which he made accuracy subservient; but if he had found any activity of Titus recorded in his sources there seems to be no reason why he should have ignored it entirely. Even though Pauline, he was on the whole a Catholic writer, and, as such, like the writers of Second Corinthians, would have had more motive for suppressing the name of Timothy than that of Titus. There can be no reason for doubting that the writer of Acts found Timothy, but not Titus, named in his sources as the companion of Paul.

Verses 12 to 15 of chapter ix are obviously a peroration. They need not have formed the conclusion of the Epistle, but they plainly mark the conclusion of the section and indicate

that the writer of it had said all he intended to say. Whether chapters viii and ix were written by the editor who joined them to the Epistle, or whether they were taken by him from a previously existing document, as van Manen supposed, is of slight importance. In most cases it has been possible to decide from internal evidence which sections an editor has borrowed and which he has written himself. In the present case the question is indeterminate. I do not think that the two chapters were added by the editor C2, as there is reason to believe that they are of a later date.

5.—CHAPTERS X TO XIII

If it is uncertain whether the editor who joined chapters viii and ix to the Epistle wrote them himself, the same cannot be said with regard to chapter x ; for the first verse of it implies the knowledge that the preceding sections had been written in two names. The writer now makes Paul speak for himself alone. The words "Now I Paul myself" prove that he knew that Paul had not previously been writing only in his own name. Therefore chapter x was either written by the same man who wrote the earlier part of the Epistle, or by an editor who had the earlier part before him. Some of the ablest New Testament commentators—e.g., Pfleiderer, Hausrath, and Schmiedel—have perceived that chapter x and the following chapters did not form part of the original Epistle. Nevertheless, according to them, those chapters must have been written by Paul. They assume, therefore, a separate Epistle of four chapters which was at some time appended to the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. But the consideration above stated negatives the supposition that these chapters can have been originally a separate Epistle or part of one. The first words of chapter x imply the knowledge that the preceding chapters were of joint authorship. If the critics above named are right in saying that the final chapters have been added to the Epistle, whoever added them must also have written them. That fact would have been recognized but for the obstinate refusal to admit, in spite of the most glaring differences of style and doctrine, that anything can be included in these Epistles which was not written by Paul himself.

The style of C2 is so characteristic that any one whose mind is not sealed to every ray of new light upon these

Epistles may perceive that the four chapters cannot have been written by him. Moreover, in the three chapters x to xii, the form "Jesus Christ," used by C2, does not occur once, although "Christ" alone occurs fourteen times. It is difficult to believe that a writer would name Christ so often and not once join "Jesus" to the name, if the avoidance were not deliberate. Jesus is found alone twice only, on one occasion with the prefix "Lord." That usage distinguishes the writer of these three chapters from all the other writers with the exception of C and R3. Neither of those writers ever uses the title "Lord" in connection with Christ, but C in several places writes "Lord Jesus," and in the only two passages in which R3 gives the name "Jesus" it is written in close association with the title "Lord." This practice suggests community of doctrine between the three men. Now, C and R3 were both Jewish Christian Gnostics, not Pauline nor docetic. R3, we know, identified Christ with God. The writer of Second Corinthians, chapters x to xii, whom to avoid circumlocution we may refer to as C4, does not name God the father of Christ, but in verse 31 of chapter xi he does write "The God and Father of the Lord Jesus." If, as R3 appears to have done, he distinguished between Christ and Jesus, he may have held the doctrine that the human Jesus became "Son of God" through the reception of the spiritual Christ, and that his sonship was declared in his resurrection from the dead. It may be that twenty or thirty years after Paul's death this form of Gnostic doctrine, which possibly was that taught by Apollos, became the prevalent one in the Pauline communities, and that those who held it began to claim Paul's authority for it, and to regard the docetic minority as innovators. It does not at all follow that because a writer eulogizes Paul and strenuously defends him when he has been aspersed, he holds the original Pauline doctrine. And it would have been quite in conformity with the method of that age for men to ascribe to Paul their own opinions in order to win authority for them.

C4 was undoubtedly a Gnostic, for the three chapters x to xii are pervaded by Gnostic expressions and forms of thought. For example, we find "the gnosis of God" (x, 5), "the gospel of God" (xi, 7), "in Christ" (xii, 2), "the power of Christ" (xii, 9). The story of the man in Christ who was caught up to the third heaven is quite Gnostic in character. In the system of Valentinus the name of the third heaven

was *Paradise*. The writer, however, uses the phrase "gospel of Christ" as well as "gospel of God," and it is somewhat doubtful whether one of the earlier Pauline Gnostics would have done so. R1 never does. In the Pauline Gnostic Epistles we find "the gospel" simply, or "the gospel of God," since it came from God, just as we find "the gnosis of God."¹ The gospel, according to the Pauline Gnostic, was something about Christ, not anything preached by him; in that sense the Gnostic writer of Second Corinthians iv, 4, could say "the gospel of the glory of Christ."

The writer of the article on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* argues that chapters x to xii must be the work of the author of the whole because a number of words occur in them which are also found in the earlier chapters. It is true that a few of these words occur rarely or not at all elsewhere, but many of them are by no means uncommon and therefore not of much significance. And the occurrence of all of them in the three chapters can be explained by the probability that the writer was very familiar with the preceding chapters, that he had recently read them and had in his mind certain words and phrases which he had found there. In the face of much weightier reasons against the belief in a common authorship the argument cannot stand. On the other hand, the fact referred to is a proof that the three chapters were written as a continuation of the Epistle and not taken from some other document. That the writer had the previous chapters in his mind at the time of writing is also proved by direct references to them. The statement in verse 14 of chapter xii is only explicable in the light of chapter i: "This is the third time I am ready to come to you." Commentators have been puzzled by this statement, since there is no record of two previous visits, and no reference in either Epistle to more than one. The writer, however, does not say that Paul had actually paid two previous visits to Corinth; he says "this is the third time I am *ready* to come"; and, according to chapter i, Paul had had the intention to pay a visit which he did not in fact pay. So, although he had really visited Corinth once only, he had been ready to go there twice before.

¹ If, as suggested above, C+, like R3, identified Christ with God, of course to him "gospel of Christ" and "gospel of God" meant the same thing. But it is possible that the phrase is an early anti-Gnostic corruption of the text; for in x, 14, the ancient codex δ 6 has the reading "Gospel of God."

The style of the writer of these three chapters is not simple, and cannot be called elegant, but in vigour it surpasses anything that is found in the first nine chapters. "Did I commit a sin in abasing myself that ye might be exalted, because I preached to you the gospel of God for nought?" "As the truth of Christ is in me, no man shall stop me of this glorying." "For ye bear with a man, if he bringeth you into bondage, if he devoureth you, if he taketh you captive, if he exalteth himself, if he smiteth you on the face." I invite any one who believes that the whole of this Epistle was written by the same person to quote a single verse from the earlier chapters which can be compared in vigour with those three. Except by C1 there is very little use of imagery in the first nine chapters. And the imagery of C1 is exceeded in boldness by that of the writer under consideration. "The weapons of our warfare are not of the flesh, but mighty before God to the casting down of strongholds." "I espoused you to one husband, that I might present you as a pure virgin to Christ." "There was given to me a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to buffet me." How astounding is the blindness with which theological prejudice can afflict a learned man! Nothing but the blindness born of such prejudice can account for the fact that men familiar with these writings have failed to perceive how impossible it is for any other of the writers of this Epistle to have written these three chapters. The style of a writer is as much a part of himself as his character, or even as the lineaments of his face, and is a scarcely less certain means of recognition, for those who have the eyes to see it. And who should be able to see it if not professional critics?

It will, perhaps, be said that as emotion may change the aspect of a man's face, so may a letter written under the stress of emotion differ appreciably in liveliness or vigour from one written in calmer moments. And, of course, that is true; but even then the expression of a man's feelings will be subject to his own limitations. The three chapters we are now considering are written with a passionate eloquence which was evidently intensified by strong emotion. But that fact will certainly supply no argument to any one who still believes that the whole Epistle was written by the same person. In chapters ii and vii the relations between the writer and the community are excellent. He is pleased with them and they with him. The writer dwells upon the joy and comfort he

had experienced on hearing of "your longing, your mourning, your zeal for me," and of "the obedience of you all." How is all that to be reconciled with the grief and indignation expressed in chapters x to xii. There we have an entirely different situation. The authority of Paul has been impugned; false apostles have led away some of the members. The writer fears lest when he comes he should find the community not such as he would.

As before mentioned, some of the ablest commentators have seen that these three chapters cannot have been written at the same time as the rest of the Epistle, and have supposed that the last four chapters are the whole, or a part, of another Epistle written by Paul. That opinion is, however, untenable. I have proved that these chapters were not written independently. They presuppose the earlier chapters, and were written with those chapters in view. They were written as a continuation, and must therefore have been added on another occasion and under different circumstances by the man who wrote them. That man obviously cannot have been Paul, even if, and all the more if, Paul had written the preceding chapters. He could not have added a post-script to a letter previously sent, and must have written another one. Besides, the commentators referred to find it necessary for their theory to suppose that the last four chapters were taken from an *earlier* Epistle. There is, however, not the slightest evidence for the existence at an earlier time of the conditions exhibited in these chapters. The indirect evidence of the earlier chapters is opposed to it. The reconciliation there implied has been occasioned by the previous laxity of the church in condoning an offence committed by one of the members against another. Vague though the references are, they are clearly quite inconsistent with the existence of so serious a crisis in the church as that which called forth chapters x to xii. The previous Epistle referred to in chapter vii, verse 8, cannot possibly be these three, or the last four, chapters of this Epistle, for those chapters are quite inapplicable to the circumstances there indicated.

Evidence has previously been given which puts beyond doubt the fact that parties in the church at Corinth did not come into existence until after A.D. 70, and also some which establishes the probability that the Judaizing party did not become aggressive before the close of the first century. That conclusion is confirmed by the absence from the earlier

portions of this Epistle of any reference to divisions or opposition to Paul in the church at Corinth. There is evidence in the early strata of all the Epistles of difference of doctrine among the members even of the Pauline communities, but it may be inferred that such difference had not yet led to the formation of parties under various names. Chapters x to xii give us the information that when they were written not only were there churches established on a different theological basis from the Pauline, but that the leaders of some of those churches were beginning to pervert the Pauline Christians. The tone in which "certain of them that commend themselves" are spoken of proves that certain persons had been so aggressive as to rouse the indignation of the writer. And that they were persons from outside and not members of the Pauline community is proved by the words "if he that cometh preacheth another Jesus whom we did not preach" (xi, 4). Also the declaration of the writer that Paul had not gloried in other men's labours (x, 15) nor in another's province (x, 16) seems to have been directed at the men who "commend themselves," and to imply that they had invaded *his* province. Van Manen was no doubt right in saying that the "false apostles" mentioned in xi, 13, are not the same men as "the very chiefest apostles" mentioned in xi, 5. There does not appear to be any animosity on the part of the writer towards the apostles so described. Rather the contrary, for in verse 11 of chapter xii he says "in nothing was I behind the very chiefest apostles," as though they were men to be emulated, and the description of them, *τῶν ὑπὲρ λίαν ἀποστόλων*, even if it were taken to be slightly ironic, which is not certain, implies no hostility or bitterness of feeling. If we may take it that the writer was referring to the heads of the church at Jerusalem, which, however, is not certain, it must be inferred that at the time of writing no dispute had yet arisen between the Jewish and the Pauline leaders on the subject of the observance of the Jewish law, or on any other subject. The opinion reached on other grounds that no endeavour to enforce Jewish observances upon the Pauline communities was made during the first century would thus be confirmed.

It is uncertain who the false apostles were. All that we can be quite sure of is that they were not the Apostles from Jerusalem. For even if we suppose that by "the very chiefest apostles" the Jewish Apostles were meant and that the phrase

was used ironically, the writer, at any rate, admits by his use of the phrase that they *were* apostles, and he could not afterwards have written of them that they were false apostles, fashioning themselves into apostles of Christ. A careful consideration of chapter xi as a whole will produce the conviction that the false apostles and the chiefest apostles were different people. Van Manen was probably right in his opinion that the false apostles were representatives of a more advanced form of the gnosis, and some support for that opinion may perhaps be gathered from verse 6 of chapter xi, which is translated in our versions "though I be rude in speech yet am I not in knowledge." The Greek words—*εἰ δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ γυνῶσει*—may, however, be translated, "but even though I am not well informed with regard to the Logos, yet I am so about the gnosis." And the second half of the verse accords better with that translation than the accepted one, which, as it stands, gives no clear sense, "in everything we have made it manifest among all men to you-ward." I do not understand what can be meant by making knowledge manifest toward you among all men. The words translated "among all men" (*ἐν πᾶσιν*) in the Revised Version are translated "in all things" in the Authorized Version. If we accept that translation, with the translation above given of the first half of the verse, obscurity is dispelled, and the verse becomes intelligible. "I am well versed in the gnosis, and I have thoroughly made it manifest to you in all things." But we must not infer, as van Manen did, that Paul's doctrine was not appreciably different from Peter's. All the facts we are acquainted with go to show that Paul's doctrine was Gnostic. It must, however, have been different from the earlier Jewish Gnosticism, and must have been more specifically Christian, or the whole Pauline movement and the importance of Paul in the early Christian development become inexplicable.

It has been argued that the Pauline theology cannot have had its root in Jewish Gnosticism because Paul made no use of the conceptions of the Logos or of Sophia the divine Wisdom, and did not reproduce the Jewish Gnostic speculations with regard to the Spirit and the relation of the Spirit to Wisdom and to God. But the presence of Gnostic ideas in the earliest strata of the Epistles has been sufficiently demonstrated; and if Paulinism had been nothing more than

a variety of Jewish Gnosticism, where would have been its significance in the evolution of Christian dogma? Jewish Gnosticism was a religion for the few, for men of speculative minds. Whether the Pauline propagandist movement was the work of one man or of a school, it must have been obvious to those who launched it that a system such as we find in Philo would not answer their purpose. They had to work out a system which would appeal to the average Gentile. Their system had consequently to be cut away from Judaism and the law of Moses. As Greek Jews of the dispersion they were familiar with at least the leading ideas of the Hellenistic Jews, and took from them those which they thought would answer their purpose, rejecting elaborate and highly abstract speculative conceptions. But speculations of that character might well appeal to some members of the congregations, and it is sufficiently probable that propagandists for a more advanced Gnosticism would impinge upon the congregation from outside. There is evidence enough that a more advanced Gnosticism did exist at the date supposed, say between 80 and 90 A.D. The elaborate system of Basilides was not evolved entirely out of the inner consciousness of one man; it implies antecedent speculation and development spread over some considerable period of time. The second-century writers trace back the Gnosticism of Basilides and Valentinus to Simon Magus. In that particular they were probably in error; but statements to that effect prove that in the second century Gnosticism was believed to have originated in, and to have been developing during, the first. Since there is quite sufficient evidence to justify the conclusion that its origin is pre-Christian, it is inferrible that the second-century writers, knowing only that it existed before the middle of the first century, and, being ignorant of its originator, for one reason or another attributed it to Simon. The Gnostic system of Cerinthus was already of a rather advanced character; according to Irenæus and Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* 23) he had reached the doctrine of the Pleroma, the abode of the Father and of Sige (silence) and of other invisible and unnamable Powers; and taught that from the Father the Only Begotten had been produced and from him the Logos.¹ The date of Cerinthus is variously given; but a story related

¹ Massuet, *Dissertatio de Gnosticorum rebus*, § 128.

by Irenæus and others on the authority of Polycarp makes him a contemporary of the Apostle John at Ephesus. Both Tertullian and Irenæus state that the early Gnostic teachers assiduously endeavoured to make converts from the Christian communities. We know that the period was one in which theosophical speculation was rife. The Pauline communities, Gnostic to start with, would not be exempt from it; and, while some members were advancing to speculations similar to those of Cerinthus mentioned above, reaction against them would drive others, especially the leaders, in a more conservative direction.¹ We may see that such a state of affairs is precisely that which is implied in chapters x to xii of this Epistle and in other places. It is inferrible from the actual data that Paul made the original conception of the Logos more concrete, with a more definite personification; also that in the Pauline churches the designation "Logos" fell into disuse, being superseded by the more personal name "Christ Jesus."² If the false apostles referred to were Gnostics, and if xi, 22, is not an interpolation, they were evidently Jewish Gnostics. The accusation that the Pauline Christians "walked according to the flesh" also points to Gnostics as the disturbers of the community, for it is known that some of the Gnostic sects were very ascetic.

Some light is thrown upon this matter by certain statements found in the *Epistle of Polycarp*. The writer of that Epistle speaks of men who "pervert the sayings of the Lord," and he exhorts his readers to "forsake the vain talk of the many and their false teachings" (vii, 1). Surely the persons at whom these expressions were aimed were successors of the men who, between 75 and 100 A.D., were "corrupting the word of God" (2 Cor. ii, 17), the "deceitful workers" who preached another gospel "fashioning themselves into apostles of Christ" (xi, 13). But the men against whom Polycarp warned his readers were docetists, because he accuses them of denying the (physical) "resurrection and judgment." If, as is probable, R1 was Paul, Paul was a docetist; and if R3

¹ A statement of Epiphanius, previously quoted, may be held to show that Epiphanius had heard some rumour of a conflict between the followers of Cerinthus and those of Paul.

² In the *Odes of Solomon* the Son of God, who is the personified Word of God (Odes 12 and 41), who reveals God to men, through whom also they may secure the "son-ship" (cp. Rom. viii, 14-17, Gal. iv, 4-9), and who was evidently evolved from the Wisdom literature, with details from Isaiah and the Psalms, is named Christ, but not Jesus.

was Apollos, Apollos was not a docetist. It is likely that the original Pauline communities, especially those of Asia Minor, either were docetist or contained a strong docetist element, and that after Paul's death the belief that Christ "had come in the flesh" spread fairly rapidly among them; and that while the conception of the Christ was becoming more concrete and perhaps more Messianic within those communities, the conception among the Gnostics outside not only remained abstract, but was being elaborated into the abstruse ideas current among the Gnostic heretics of the second century. We can, then, well understand what the writer of Second Corinthians xi, 3, had in view when he feared lest the minds of his readers should be corrupted from the simplicity and the purity that is toward Christ. The reference in these words need not be to ethical purity; indeed, the word "purity" is absent from some good MSS., and may even have been inserted under the wrong impression that purity of conduct was meant, but was not sufficiently defined by the word "simplicity." It would, however, be more in conformity with the trend of the writer's argument to understand by the word "doctrinal" simplicity.

The view here advocated is also confirmed by certain passages in some of the canonical Epistles. The "many deceivers" and the "false apostles" who were so obnoxious to C4 and to Polycarp were still causing anxiety in the days when the Second Epistle of Peter was written. For in that Epistle (ii, 1) we read: "among you also there shall be false teachers, who shall privily bring in destructive heresies, denying even the Master that bought them." These "false teachers" were Christians, since they are described as heretics, and are said to be "among you," and the only Christian heretics who could be accused of denying their Master were the docetists. In chapter iii, verses 15 and 16, we find decisive evidence that these docetists had a Pauline origin, and based their doctrines upon the teachings of Paul. "Even as our beloved brother Paul also.....wrote unto you; as also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; wherein are some things hard to be understood, which the ignorant and unstedfast wrest.....unto their own destruction."

It can hardly be doubted that the heretics referred to in this passage were the followers of Marcion, for they, it is known, deduced their principal doctrines from the writings of Paul. Marcion himself claimed that he taught the

genuine Pauline doctrine, and that the Catholic leaders had corrupted it. There is, as I have shown, sufficient evidence that the fact really was as Marcion stated it to be. And, since Marcion was not the originator of the docetic heresy, there was no doubt a continuing Gnostic sect which held it from the days of Paul to those of Marcion. During the first century and even later, many of the Pauline docetists were still in the churches. No doubt they claimed, as Marcion did, to be the true Paulinists. The sect was also probably ascetic before the time of Marcion ; hence the charge referred to in Second Corinthians (x, 2) that the party of the majority, which also claimed, and by force of numbers established the claim, to be the genuine successors of Paul, walked according to the flesh.

Further evidence can be found in support of that opinion. It is known that Marcion forbade the baptism of married persons.¹ He, therefore, probably was of opinion that prophets, apostles, or bishops ought to remain unmarried. Now, when we find in First Corinthians a section written probably in the period 120 to 125 A.D., certainly with some adversaries in view, in which the question is put : " Have we no right to lead about a wife that is a believer ? " ² we must infer that the adversaries in question had maintained that apostles should be unmarried. About twenty years later Marcion is expressing the opinion that married persons are so far carnal that they ought not to be baptized. The adversaries whom the writer of First Corinthians, chapter ix, had in view were certainly not the Judaic party. That party was not ascetic. The party of Cephas contested the apostolic authority of Paul ; but the opinion that apostles should not have wives cannot have come from that side. The brethren of the Lord and Cephas are, in fact, mentioned in the verse quoted as having wives. We have, therefore, as early as 90 A.D. and as late as 125, a party which was not the Judaizing party ; which, in several sections directed against it, is censured for being too wise, and which was linked with the later party of Marcion by its asceticism and its disparagement of marriage. Must this not have been the docetic party which led from Paul to Marcion ? It is not necessary to suppose that Paul himself had advocated so

¹ Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* I, 29. Non tinguitor apud illum (Marcion) caro, nisi virgo, nisi vidua, nisi coelebs, nisi divortio baptisma mercata.

² 1 Cor. ix, 5.

extreme an asceticism ; although it may be inferred from First Corinthians vii, 28, that marriage was being deprecated by some persons even shortly after Paul's death. And the insistence in the Gnostic sections of Romans upon the antithesis between the spirit and the flesh could easily lead to such a development. We know, indeed, that Marcion's asceticism was derived from that very antithesis.

The Second Epistle of Peter is not the earliest document in which the warning against false prophets appears. The writer of the First Epistle of John had also warned his readers against the same "false prophets." He says "many false prophets are gone out into the world. Hereby know ye the Spirit of God : every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God" (iv, 2, 3). Docetists again are the enemy. Gnostics also are aimed at in ii, 22 : "Who is the liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? This is the Antichrist." Theologians, of course, say that the denunciations just quoted were directed against Marcionites and other contemporary Gnostics. No doubt they were. But to assume that these so-called heresies had only begun to exist in the second century is to assume more than there is justification for. I have already given reason for the belief that a somewhat advanced form of the Gnosis existed in the first century. And the writer of the First Epistle of John says in chapter ii, 19, of these people that he is attacking : "They went out from us." He therefore testifies that the false prophets, antichrists, docetists, had at one time formed a party within the churches themselves ; and the expressions used in Second Corinthians, "false apostles," men who "preach another Jesus" and a "different gospel," strongly suggest that that was the party attacked there also. The very earliest stratum of the Epistle to the Romans affords evidence (viii, 3) that there was at least an important docetic party in the Pauline communities in the middle of the first century. There must have been a somewhat lengthy period of bitter controversy before that party could be expelled, as First John tells us it was, and a very probable period for the controversy was the last two decades of the first century, in which chapters x to xii of Second Corinthians were written. The First Epistle of John and the fourth Gospel, if they were not composed by the same person, issued, as is generally admitted, from the same circle. And that circle had Gnostic affinities, though it had

become strongly catholicized. The Gospel is considered by critics generally to be a "hellenistic," that is to say, a more or less Gnostic, production. It has been shown to have some relationship to certain Mandæan (Gnostic) documents. The Gospel was composed at Ephesus; the writer of it used Mark as a source, but not Matthew; possibly, though not certainly, Luke also.¹ Now, Luke's Gospel is in some measure Pauline, Mark's very much more so. Indeed, Dr. Raschke has proved² that the original Mark was not only Gnostic but docetic. The second and fourth Gospels are thus marked off from the other two as Gnostic Gospels, and represent respectively an early and a later stage of the development, although not in the same line. When the fourth Gospel was written, the Catholic doctrines which R2 imposed upon the Gnostic Epistle to the Romans had begun to prevail in the Pauline and in the Johannine Gnostic circles.

The supreme test of the correctness of a theory is that it shall account for all the relevant facts. The hopeless perplexity in which, after very many years of disputation, traditionalist criticism stands in face of numerous problems, proves that its basic hypothesis is essentially wrong. All the facts indicated in the immediately foregoing pages are satisfactorily explained on the theory already adumbrated. Some at least of the Pauline communities were in existence as Jewish Gnostic ones before Paul. In several, perhaps in all, of those communities shortly after his death there was a docetist Pauline group and others who believed that Christ had come in the flesh. During Paul's lifetime there was no hostility between these groups. Subsequently, the anti-docetic party became predominant and, having modified its Gnostic doctrine under the influence of "the traditions of the elders" emanating from Jerusalem, and being encouraged by the support it drew from those "traditions," began to claim that its doctrine was the pure unadulterated teaching of Christ and the first Apostles. The catholicized Pauline writers of the closing years of the first century maintained that they were the genuine Paulinists, and accused the docetists both inside and outside of the churches of having perverted the words of the Lord. Probably some elaboration of the original Pauline doctrine had in fact occurred. The docetist remnant was compelled to secede. "They went out

¹ See an article by Dr. Vincent Taylor in the *Hibbert Journal*, vol. xxv, pp. 725 *et seq.*

² *Die Werkstatt des Markusevangelisten.*

from us," and those who held the original Pauline doctrine were branded as heretics. The resulting catholicized Paulinism of the second quarter of the second century is akin to the doctrine found in the Johannine writings. Some Gnostic elements of the early doctrine persisted and differentiated the Pauline communities from the Ebionitish and Messianic churches, such as those in Jerusalem and Rome.

It is significant that we should have to interpret the allusions of chapters x to xii in the light of information derived from other sources, and that a man should write these chapters under the influence of strong feeling and yet convey so little information with respect to the circumstances which had kindled his indignation. As in the preceding chapters, there is an apparently deliberate avoidance of detail, a calculated vagueness. This may be understood when we bear in mind the convention which the writer had imposed upon himself. He was personifying Paul in order that he might make a powerful appeal to the feelings of his readers, and yet his expostulations were directed to a state of affairs which had come into existence some time after Paul's death. Obviously, he could not go much into detail. He was putting before his readers a letter ostensibly written at an earlier time, and so bound by the possible conditions of that time, but intended to be applied by them to the conditions of the time being. Vagueness was necessary. Sufficient was said to enable readers to draw the moral desired. There is no force in the contention that only personal injury could have occasioned the strong feeling expressed in these chapters. We know well enough what intensity of feeling theological differences can provoke. It seemed to the writer that the genuine Christian doctrine was being perverted. He may have believed that the true doctrine was that which had been taught by Paul. In any case, since he ascribed it to Paul, it was extremely important that the authority of Paul should be maintained. He was richly gifted as a literary artist, and, having put himself in imagination into Paul's position, he was able to plead his case with a more intense passion and a more lively eloquence than would perhaps have come naturally from the graver disposition of Paul himself.

To certain passages in these three chapters there are parallel passages in the First Epistle, but usually the latter appear to be of later date than the former, and there is little evidence that the writer of the chapters made any use of the

other Epistles. His statement that "his bodily presence is weak, and his speech of no account" may have been suggested by First Corinthians ii, 1, 3 and 4; but also it is probable that there was current in the churches a tradition with regard to the insignificance of Paul as a speaker and in bodily presence—a tradition which one may suspect to have somewhat exaggerated the actual state of the case. It is likely that more was read into the words of First Corinthians, chapter ii, than they were intended to convey. They express the diffidence of a speaker who was a stranger to his audience and keenly conscious of deficiencies which may not have been so patent to his hearers. It does not seem likely that Paul would have had the success as a missionary which is ascribed to him if his appearance and speech had been insignificant. The statement in verse 22 of chapter xi that Paul was an Israelite of the seed of Abraham has a parallel in Romans xi, 1. This statement, again, may record a current tradition; but the phraseology of the two verses is so very nearly the same that one of them seems to have been copied from the other. If that is so, the verse in Romans must have been copied from the one in Second Corinthians, since it was written by the late editor R2. An indication in the verse itself that it is of later date is the fact that the statement it makes has been amplified by the addition of the words "of the tribe of Benjamin." It is quite likely that Paul was a Jew; but if he was, he was a Hellenistic Jew, not acquainted with the Hebrew language.

There seems to be a connection between the reference to an accusation of walking according to the flesh and First Corinthians ix, where the questions are asked: "Have we no right to eat and to drink? Have we no right to lead about a wife?" The theme of that chapter is the right of apostles to maintenance by the congregations; but the writer seems to have had something more in his mind, because he had said just before: "My defence to them that examine me is this." So that some charge had been made in connection with eating and drinking. But the reference in Second Corinthians appears to be original and not to have been suggested by First Corinthians, chapter ix, because the charge of walking according to the flesh which had been brought against Paul was one of the causes of the writer's indignation and an occasion of his writing. Probably each writer was defending Paul against the attacks of an extremely

ascetic Gnostic party. If there is any direct dependence it is by the writer of First Corinthians ix upon the other. In addition to the reasons previously given for believing that chapter ix is a late insertion into First Corinthians, there is internal evidence that the writer of Second Corinthians xi was not acquainted with it. In the former chapter the boast is made that Paul preached the gospel without charge. In verse 15 the writer declares, in the person of Paul, that he has taken money for preaching from no one at all, and that he would rather die than do so. C4, on the contrary, in accordance with his purpose of showing the especial devotion of Paul to the Corinthians, says that Paul robbed other churches that he might minister to them. In this case the motive of the writer might have induced him to contradict the other writer, even if he had been acquainted with his work. But there is another case in which his purpose would have been served by a statement made in First Corinthians, chapter ix. If C4 had borrowed from that chapter he would surely also have taken the statement that Paul had seen Jesus. This writer is bringing forward every argument he can to establish the authority of Paul against that of "false apostles." Could he possibly, if he had known it, or believed it, have omitted the claim of Paul to have seen Jesus and to have obtained his own authority from him? Especially when he accuses the false apostles of "fashioning themselves into apostles of Christ" would a reference to the grounds of his own authority appear to have been unavoidable. Still more strange does the omission appear, if he possessed the knowledge, in the light of the fact that he mentions the escape of Paul from Damascus. We cannot but infer that the vision of Paul was unknown to this writer and is late legend; also that Second Corinthians, chapters x to xii, are of earlier date than First Corinthians, chapter ix. There is further evidence confirming that inference. The writer of First Corinthians, chapter ix, in verse 1 has to rebut the assertion that Paul was not an Apostle. That assertion cannot have been made when Second Corinthians, chapter xi, was written, for it implies antagonism between the authority claimed for Paul and that claimed for the Twelve, of which there is here no sign. The writer is only concerned to vindicate Paul's equal authority. The proofs given in xii, 12, are simply intended to show that Paul was not one of the "false apostles," and do not imply that his apostleship had been impugned. The

character of the argument as a whole is inconsistent with the idea that the apostolate was as yet a closed circle. On the other hand, the reference to "signs and wonders and mighty works," if it is original, which is perhaps doubtful,¹ is an additional proof, if any were needed, that these chapters were not written by Paul himself, but are the product of a time when Paul was becoming a legendary figure.

It is rather remarkable that in chapter xii $\mu\eta$ is used as an interrogative particle in two consecutive verses, 17 and 18, although it is not so used elsewhere in the three chapters x to xii. And yet there are several questions in the chapters. In verses 22 and 23 there are four. There is also in verse 18 a reference to Titus which has very little relevance to the context, and C4 has previously made no mention of Titus at all. Indeed, the verses have the appearance of having been written with the object of bringing in the name of Titus and of making the assertion, as though some might perhaps have disputed it, that Paul and Titus had walked by the same Spirit. There is rather a sudden transition in the thought between verses 16 and 18. In verse 16 the writer is speaking of the time when he was himself present with his readers. Verses 17 and 18, which speak of the visits of others, produce rather the impression of having been artificially tacked on to the preceding verse than of being a natural development from it. They may reasonably be suspected of having been interpolated, and that too at a very late date, since the writer apparently had viii, 6 and 18, before him.

There are certain affinities between the style of this writer and that of R2. In vigour of language the two writers are quite comparable. We also find in the three chapters under consideration successions of short questions, as in xi, 11, 22 and 23, and 29. Verse 22 is almost a repetition of Romans xi, 1, which was written by R2. $M\eta$ is used as an interrogative particle in verse 17 of chapter xii, and in xi, 11, we find $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}$; wherefore? the former of which has been found rarely, the latter not at all, elsewhere except in passages written by R2. In verses 17 and 18, also, of chapter xii, in which $\mu\eta$ interrogative occurs, there are four questions. We also find in these chapters some very long sentences. It is, of course, possible that the three chapters have been interpolated by R2. It has already been shown that there are

¹ Some commentators, including Scholten, in the *Theol. Tijdschr.* 1876, p. 25 f., have argued that the verse has been interpolated.

independent reasons for thinking that verses 17 and 18 have been interpolated. But the evidence is not sufficient to justify the conclusion that R2 was the interpolator. The chapters as a whole, in spite of the similarity of style, certainly were not written by R2. The grammatical construction of the long sentences is not so involved as in those written by him. The antitheses which he so much affected do not anywhere appear. And the Gnostic mental outlook of the writer distinguishes him sharply from the other one. Another feature which marks off this writer, not only from R2, but also from all the other writers, is his addiction to irony. Examples are: "Ye bear with the foolish gladly being wise yourselves" (xi, 19); "I was not a burden to you; forgive me this wrong" (xii, 13). Verse 23 of chapter xi seems to contain an ironical repetition of an assertion made by some opponents of Paul that he had been "beside himself." On the whole, it does not seem possible that R2 was the writer of these chapters.

The German critics who have perceived that the last four chapters of this Epistle are a later addition to it do not separate chapter xiii from the other three. But the tone of the chapter and the situation implied in it are quite different. This chapter, like chapters ii and vii, refers to some definite misdemeanour on the part of some member or members of the community. But whereas in the earlier chapters punishment had been inflicted and a complete reconciliation effected between Paul and the community, in this chapter the case is still to be decided, there appears to be more than one offender, and the tone used is one of severity. In chapters x to xii the circumstances envisaged are quite different. There it is not some offence against morality which has excited the grief of the writer, but doctrinal aberration and disparagement of the authority of Paul. Obviously, we must recognize three different writers. C4 does not threaten. He writes in grief, and makes a passionate appeal to the feelings of his readers. The writer of chapter xiii takes a position of authority; he does not appeal, but delivers a sharp reprimand. "If I come again I will not spare," he says (xiii, 2), and "I write these things while absent, that I may not when present deal sharply, according to the authority which the Lord gave me" (verse 10). The first writer is so far from adopting that tone that in verse 21 of chapter xii he writes: "Lest, when I come again, my God should humble me before you." Also, for

those who have eyes to see, the style of the second writer is different from that of the first ; it is decidedly inferior. The passionate eloquence of the first is nowhere to be seen in it.

Chapter xiii is not a piece taken from some other document and added to the Epistle ; it was written as a continuation. The writer clearly had the earlier part before him. The words "according to the authority which the Lord gave me for building up" (xiii, 10) are a repetition of x, 8. The first verse of the chapter repeats the statement in xii, 14, "this is the third time I am ready to come to you," with an omission which alters its meaning. C4 only says that Paul had *intended* to visit the Corinthians three times, and the statement is not inconsistent with his having actually visited them but once. The writer of xiii, 1, by his statement that Paul had paid two previous visits and was intending to come a third time, has occasioned great perplexity to modern theologians.

The theological standpoint of the writer of this chapter is Gnostic. "Through the power of God," ἐκ δυνάμεως Θεοῦ, "Christ is in you," "We can do nothing against the truth but for the truth," are Gnostic phrases. One would not therefore expect the writer to use the form "Jesus Christ" which occurs in verse 5. Probably the reading is incorrect, as "Christ Jesus" is found in some good MSS. and is preferred by Tischendorf, Tregelles, and von Soden.

6.—INDICATIONS OF DATE

In endeavouring to fix dates for the various sections of this Epistle it will be best to begin by considering the interpolated passage from verse 14 of chapter vi to verse 1 of chapter vii, since we know the writer of it ; and we know that he edited Romans and First Corinthians somewhere about the year 70 A.D. The probability, therefore, is that the interpolation in Second Corinthians was made by him at a date not far removed from that. We may reasonably suppose that it would not be later than about the year 80 ; but if we had no means of determining the age of R3 in the year 70 we should have to leave the limit rather wide and admit that a later date than 80 A.D. for the interpolation is at least possible. We have, however, some reason to think that R3 was Apollos. And since Apollos is described as a learned man when he went to Corinth, he cannot have been much less

than thirty-five years of age in the year 50, which would make him about sixty-five in the year 80. And, of course, he may have been older than that. On the whole, the probability is that the interpolation was made not much, if at all, later than 80 A.D.

The first edition of the composite Epistle was made by C2 and consisted of the first seven chapters of our Epistle. The editor incorporated into his own work an earlier Gnostic Epistle. The interpolation of R3 occurs in a portion of the Epistle written by C2, not in the Gnostic Epistle. Hence we infer that the first edition was probably not later than 80 A.D. If, which is the most likely hypothesis, the allusions of C2 are to the Epistle of C in First Corinthians, the first edition of Second Corinthians cannot be earlier than 70 A.D. In any case, we may suppose that the first edition of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians was later than that of the First. Indeed, there is reason to think that it must be later even than the second edition of the First Epistle; because the writer, C2, was evidently concerned to defend Paul from the charges of harshness and self-commendation, for which charges there could have been no ground until the earlier sections of chapters iii and iv of First Corinthians had been written. In the chapter on that Epistle we saw reason to date the second edition, containing the bulk of chapters iii and iv, in the period 75 to 80 A.D. It was pointed out there also that a fairly early date is indicated by the statement that apostles supported themselves by their own labour. Hence the first composite edition of Second Corinthians can have appeared only a very short time before the year 80, and may possibly have appeared even a little later than that.

All that we can say with confidence about the Gnostic Epistle is that it must be dated earlier than 75, but not earlier than about 60 A.D. A more exact determination would depend upon our being able to decide whether it really is a joint Epistle of Paul and Timothy. The references to persecutions in the two passages, v, 8 and 9, and vi, 4 and 5, give one the impression of coming from a later time than anything in the Gnostic Epistle contained in Romans. There the references to affliction are very vague. If there had been any serious persecution at the time when it was written, one would have expected to find some reference to it in verses 38 and 39 of chapter viii. R2 evidently noticed the omission and supplied it in verse 35. The expressions used by R1

are simply stereotyped Gnostic phrases. Doubtless in the two passages in Second Corinthians there is exaggeration—the writer was evidently aiming at rhetorical effect. Also it must not be supposed that organized persecution by the Roman Government is implied. The reference is to tumults such as arose at Ephesus, or to persecution of Gnostics by orthodox Jews, or even by Jewish Christians, not as Christians but as opponents of the Jewish law. The persecution which occurred after the death of Stephen¹ was evidently of that character; and so was the disturbance at Corinth when Sosthenes was beaten by the Jews before the judgment seat of Gallio. There may be an indication here that the Gnostic sections of Romans are earlier than 60 A.D., and that the second Gnostic Epistle to the Corinthians was written some years after that date.

Chapters viii and ix are connected in respect of their subject-matter with Romans, chapter xv, and First Corinthians, chapter xvi, both of which are very late. The subject is not dealt with in any section of the Epistles which can be ascribed to the first century. The recommendation to remember the poor, in Galatians ii, 9, is slight and need not have reference to any organized collection for foreign churches. The expression "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ" is also an indication of lateness. Steck has argued² with considerable probability that in verse 18 of chapter viii we have a reference to Luke and the Gospel supposed to have been written by him. This section, therefore, was probably inserted into the Epistle some time during the second century. We may even infer from the silence of Tertullian with regard to it that it was written not very early in the second century. In the writings of Tertullian there are, on an average, about half-a-dozen quotations from each of the chapters i to vii and xi to xiii, but from chapters viii, ix, and x he has none at all. One cannot but surmise that the greater part of this section was wanting in his MS. A slight degree of uncertainty is created by the fact that he has no quotation from chapter x, and it does not seem possible to separate chapter x from chapters xi and xii, which he undoubtedly had. But, though he might have omitted to quote from one particular

¹ See, with reference to this, Friedländer, *Die Religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums*, p. 17. The circumstances of that persecution as reported in Acts cannot be accepted; but it is likely that the story was founded upon some real event.

² *Der Galaterbrief*, pp. 200, 201.

chapter, it is very unlikely that he would have ignored three consecutive chapters while quoting so freely from all the others. Still, it is not impossible, and, of course, the chapters are not dogmatic. The evidence from the silence of Tertullian is, however, reinforced by the similar silence of Irenæus, at least so far as chapter viii is concerned. He has a possible reference to chapter ix, verse 10, in the words: "But there is one God who supplies to every one that which is fitting, seed indeed to the sower but bread for food to the reaper." But the words of the text are a quotation from Isaiah iv, 10, which may have been a current quotation in the early church. If Irenæus was quoting from Second Corinthians ix, the fact would support the inference previously made that chapter ix is an earlier interpolation than chapter viii. While there is thus a slight element of uncertainty, the evidence on the whole points to the two chapters being a late insertion. They are, however, earlier than Romans xv and First Corinthians xvi.

The author seems to know nothing of the tradition that the collection made by Paul in Macedonia and Achaia was for the relief of the poor Christians at Jerusalem. He writes of it as though it had been a collection for poor Christians generally; for when he uses the expression "the ministering to the saints" he does not appear to have in view the saints in a particular place.¹ Again, in verses 13 and 14 of chapter viii, the implication is that no one church is being assisted, for if it were so we should have expected the writer to say, "I say not this that *they* may be eased and ye distressed," whereas he uses the very general expression: "that *others* may be eased." The collection does not seem to be regarded as an isolated effort, for the sense of verse 14 is: If you now out of your abundance assist those who are poor, they, on a future occasion, will assist you. The writer evidently had no knowledge of First Corinthians, chapter xvi, and he was either unacquainted with or disregarded the relevant facts stated in the Acts of the Apostles. The more exact detail of First Corinthians, chapter xvi, shows that that chapter was later than Second Corinthians, chapter viii, and that the story had been elaborated.

Reasons have already been given for believing that chapters x to xii are earlier than First Corinthians, chapter ix—

¹ Cp. Romans xii, 13, "communicating to the necessities of the saints."

that is, earlier than 120 A.D. They are probably a good deal earlier. There is as yet no sign of any attack upon the Pauline communities by the Judaizing party. The danger to the young communities came from pagan example and influence, idolatry and fornication, and from propaganda carried on by Gnostic teachers whose doctrine was of a more abstract and theosophical type than that of Paul. The writer of chapter xi was unacquainted with the Acts of the Apostles, as is evident from verse 32, where it is said that the governor under Aretas the king attempted to take Paul. But in Acts ix, 23 and 24, we are told that it was the Jews who made a plot against Paul and tried to kill him. It is only in the latest strata of these Epistles that animosity against the Jews becomes apparent. The seed of it was sown with the severance of the Christian from the Jewish church after the fall of Jerusalem. During the first century the conversion of the Jews was hoped for. An expression of that hope is found in chapter iii, verse 16. Disappointment at the failure of it was perhaps intensified by irritation by the conflict between the Jewish and Pauline parties in the churches. There is no evidence of that irritation until after 80 A.D. By the date of the Acts of the Apostles it has increased to such a degree that the author continually represents the Jews in the most unfavourable light. It was probably he who first attributed to the Jews a plot against the life of Paul at Damascus. Christian animosity against the Jews originated therefore at some time between 80 A.D. and the date of the composition of the Acts of the Apostles. And there was hostility between the Jewish and Pauline parties in the churches before A.D. 125. We may infer that the fissure occurred somewhere about the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. I pointed out before that the writer of chapters x to xii had apparently not heard the story of Paul's vision on the road to Damascus. On all the evidence, we may infer that chapters x to xii were written between 80 and 100 A.D.

The circumstances envisaged in the Epistle to the Galatians are not the same as those implied in the chapters under consideration. The trouble which inspired the first-named Epistle was an attempt to bring the Pauline Gentile converts under bondage to the observances of the Jewish law. Chapters x to xii of Second Corinthians are directed against persons who were advocating some Christological doctrine, and were trying

to supplant the authority of Paul. There is nothing in the three chapters which can lead us to infer that Jewish observances were in question. On the contrary, there is some evidence that controversy with the Judaizing party had not yet arisen. There is only one phrase which could lend the slightest colour to the conjecture that any attempt had been made to enforce observance of the Jewish law. In verse 20 of chapter xi we read: "ye bear with a man if he bringeth you into bondage." But the whole passage is so rhetorical that nothing definite can be inferred from it. And when we observe the extent to which the feeling of revolt against the bondage of the Jewish law pervades the Epistle to the Galatians, we must realize that, if the same conditions prevailed when these three chapters were written, there would have been much clearer indication of them than the vague and rhetorical phrase above quoted. These chapters must be earlier than the Epistle to the Galatians, and they can hardly be dated later than the closing decades of the first century.

Chapter xiii was probably written a good deal later than chapters x to xii. Irenæus has no quotation from it; but there is no internal evidence by which a date could be fixed more exactly.

7.—SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

The earliest stratum of Second Corinthians is a Gnostic Epistle which may possibly have been written as early as A.D. 60, but which was probably written between that date and A.D. 70. The first composite edition, incorporating the Gnostic Epistle, appeared about 80 A.D., and consisted of the first seven chapters of our Epistle. Subsequently, three separate sections were successively added, chapters x to xii, chapters viii and ix—the two latter most likely at different dates, ix being earlier than viii—and chapter xiii. The addition of chapters x to xii was made probably between 80 and 100 A.D.; the others later. They were not taken from pre-existing documents, but were written by the editors who joined them to the Epistle.

This Epistle is the most consistently Pauline of the four. All the sections exhibit Gnostic affinities; but the later sections show that the original Pauline doctrine was being modified during the latter half of the first century. Even in the first edition we have indications of a catholicized

Paulinism ; and in chapters x to xii of a Gnosticism which was reacting violently either against the original docetic form of the gnosis, or against the development which in a certain circle it had undergone. In connection with the first edition an interesting question presents itself. Why should even a slightly catholicized Paulinist have incorporated a Pauline Gnostic document into his Epistle? There must have been rather an important reason for his doing so. His motive does not seem to have been the same as that which animated R2, whose aggressive catholicism impelled him to swamp in his catholic doctrine the Gnosticism of the early Epistle to the Romans. In the first edition of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, the original Gnostic doctrine is only diluted ; no endeavour was made to supply an antidote. C2 was evidently an admirer and follower of Paul, although he no longer held the unadulterated Pauline doctrine. He was anxious to defend the reputation of Paul which had been aspersed. An Epistle written in Paul's name would have more authority than one written in his own, since it might be made to supply first-hand evidence that the character of Paul was not what it had been misrepresented as being. C2, however, might well be reluctant to attach the name of Paul to a letter written entirely by himself while men who had been personal friends of Paul were still living. He therefore took as the basis of his Epistle a letter to which the name of Paul had been attached already. Most of the doctrine contained in that letter he could probably accept. The controversy between the old Paulinism and the new had not yet been kindled. If the explanation here offered is correct, it follows that the Gnostic Epistle was already ascribed to Paul and Timothy perhaps as early as the year 70, when it is almost certain that Timothy was still alive. If this conclusion is sound, the probability that Timothy at least had a hand in the production of the Gnostic Epistle becomes very great.

Van Manen's conjecture with regard to the circumstances to which chapters x, xi, and xii were directed is consistent with the facts. The men who were causing trouble and depreciating Paul seem to have been advocates of a more abstract and transcendental form of the gnosis, at any rate, than that which was current under Paul's name at the time. The circumstances implied in the section iii, 18, to iv, 5, of First Corinthians appear to be the same. Some people had

been disparaging Paul, accusing him of having walked according to the flesh. In First Corinthians iv, 3, the writer says: "With me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you." The men who commended themselves had evidently succeeded in winning admiration from some members of the community, who compared them in wisdom and learning with Paul to the disadvantage of the latter. The writer would not have been so bitter if the "false apostles" had not had some considerable amount of success in their propaganda. Such a state of affairs would also explain the warning of verse 21, chapter iii, in First Corinthians: "Wherefore let no one glory in men." The false apostles, again, had been teaching some more elaborate doctrine; the writer of Second Corinthians fears lest "your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity and purity that is toward Christ." So also the writer of First Corinthians iii, 18 and 20, says: "If any man thinketh that he is wise among you in this æon, let him become a fool." "The Lord knoweth the reasonings of the wise, that they are vain." We may infer that the passage in First Corinthians was written at about the same date as chapters x to xii of Second Corinthians. We may even go a little further and infer that it was somewhat later. In the earliest strata of the Epistles there is no evidence of the existence of parties. In a certain section we read of parties of Paul and Apollos; in a third an additional party has appeared, a Jewish Messianic party, that of Cephas; finally, in the Epistle to the Galatians the Jewish party has become very aggressive. We must suppose that we have here stages in a progressive development. And since the three chapters x to xii of Second Corinthians do not appear to be directed against a Jewish Messianic party, they may be earlier than the section of First Corinthians in which a party of Cephas is mentioned. Since those three chapters were probably written between the years 80 and 90, the section iii, 18, to iv, 5, of First Corinthians may have been written about 90 A.D., or not much before that date.

For the benefit of those who are not able to perceive a difference between the styles of two writers I will now indicate a peculiarity which in a very striking manner distinguishes the style of the writer of chapters x to xii from all the other writers. I mentioned before that a consequence or a purpose may be expressed by the infinitive mood preceded by *ἐς τό, τού* or *ὥστε*. Now, the writer in question never uses any of

these constructions, but sometimes expresses a consequence or a purpose by the infinitive alone, not preceded by an article or conjunction. That usage is extremely rare, and is not found elsewhere in the whole of this Epistle. Examples are x, 16, "so as to preach the gospel" (*εὐαγγελίσασθαι*); xi, 2, "that I might present you" (*παραστήσαι ὑμᾶς*). It will be interesting to compare a phrase by this writer with one from chapter viii in illustration of the difference between the practice of the two writers. In verse 11 of chapter viii the words "readiness to will" are a translation of *προθυμία τοῦ θέλειν*. In English we have the simple infinitive, but in the Greek the infinitive is preceded by the genitive of the definite article, *τοῦ*. Compare with this a phrase from chapter x, verse 15, "having hope that we shall be magnified" (*ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες μεγαλυνθῆναι*). Throughout these three chapters the infinitive mood is preceded by the definite article only once; in the two chapters viii and ix it is so preceded eight times. In the sections written by C2 from chapter i to chapter vii we find the infinitive mood preceded by *εἰς τό* once (i, 4), *ὥστε* four times (i, 8; ii, 7; iii, 7; vii, 7), *πρός τό* once (iii, 13), and *τῷ* once (ii, 13). Can any unprejudiced person believe that a writer would compose ten chapters in which these grammatical constructions, besides a number of other cases in which the infinitive is preceded by the article frequently occur, and then write three consecutive chapters in which they are consistently avoided? The fact that certain words are common to these three chapters with earlier ones is of quite trifling significance in comparison. The use of a particular word may be suggested by something one has recently read; it is like a garment which can be put off and on. A grammatical usage such as that to which I have drawn attention is an essential element of the style of the author, and nearly as much a part of himself as the colour of his hair or a natural propensity.

8.—THE Gnostic EPISTLE

"Paul [an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God] and Timothy our brother unto the church of God which is at Corinth.

"Now he that stablisheth us with you in Christ, and anointed us, is God; who also sealed us and gave us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts. Ye are our epistle, written in our hearts, and read of all men; being manifest that ye

are an epistle of Christ, ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in tables that are hearts of flesh. Therefore seeing we have this ministry even as we obtained mercy we faint not; but we have renounced the hidden things of shame, not walking in craftiness, nor presenting a counterfeit of the Logos of God; but by the manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. But if our gospel is yet veiled, it is veiled to them that are perishing, among whom the god of this æon hath blinded the minds of the unbelieving, that the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God, should not dawn upon them. Seeing it is God, who shined in our hearts to give the light of the gnosis of the glory of God in the face of Christ.

“But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the exceeding greatness of the power may be of God, and not from ourselves; we are pressed on every side, yet not straightened; perplexed yet not unto despair; pursued yet not forsaken; smitten down, yet not destroyed [always bearing about in the body the dying of Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in our body]. But though our outward man is decaying, yet our inward man is renewed day by day. For our light affliction, which is for the moment, worketh for us more and more exceedingly an eternal weight of glory; while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen. For the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal.

“For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens. For verily in this we groan, longing to be clothed upon with our habitation which is from heaven; if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For indeed we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed, but that we would be clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up of life. Now he that wrought us for this very thing is God, who gave unto us the earnest of the Spirit. Wherefore if any man is in Christ he is a new creature; the old things are passed away; behold they are become new. But all things are of God, who reconciled us to himself through Christ, and gave unto us the service of

reconciliation ; seeing that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not reckoning unto them their trespasses, and having committed unto us the word of reconciliation.

“ We therefore, as though God were entreating by us, are ambassadors on behalf of Christ, giving no occasion of stumbling in anything, that our service be not blamed ; but in everything commending ourselves, as servants of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings ; in pureness, in knowledge, in long-suffering, in kindness, in the Holy Spirit, in love unfeigned, in the word of truth, in the power of God ; by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, by glory and dishonour, by evil report and good report ; as deceivers and yet true ; as unknown and yet well known ; as dying and behold we live ; as chastened and not killed ; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing ; as poor, yet making many rich ; as having nothing, yet possessing all things.”



The Epistle to the Galatians



THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS

1—INTRODUCTORY

IN the previous chapters the principal strata of the earlier Epistles have been classified approximately according to the dates of their composition. A growing modification of the original Pauline doctrine has been traced, and evidence has been found in the earliest deposit that even when the documents composing that deposit were written the Pauline communities were not homogeneous, but that at least two different types of Gnostic doctrine were held in them. There is, however, no decided trace of Judaic influence until comparatively late. A party of Cephias is mentioned in First Corinthians iii, 22. And the section in which that verse occurs was shown to have been inserted between verse 15 of chapter iii and verse 6 of chapter iv. The earlier portions of chapters iii and iv correspond to the second edition of the composite Epistle, being a later insertion into the first. The first was composed of two earlier documents. The section, therefore, in which there is a reference to a party of Cephias is in order of time the fourth deposit. It must consequently be fairly late, so that the date approximately fixed for it, 85-90 A.D., is not at all unreasonable. But the character of the reference does not imply any particular hostility to the party of Cephias on the part of the Pauline writer. Cephias is named together with Paul and Apollos, and the readers are reminded that these men "all are yours." We are bound to infer that when the verse was written, although Jewish influences were permeating the churches, the Judaizing party had not become aggressive. And it will not do to say that the strife was then over and the wounds healed; for if there had been so severe a crisis as is revealed in the Epistle to the Galatians, it must have left some mark upon the Epistles to the Corinthians. We are led to infer that the former Epistle is later in date than the bulk of the two latter. Chapter xvi of First Corinthians may be excepted, since it is of so late a date that no doubt the storm had long

died down when it was written. Both Epistles to the Corinthians, and especially the second, testify to a severe conflict with the men who are "puffed up," men who "think they are wise among you," and corrupt the simplicity of the Pauline doctrine, preaching "another Jesus." It is not possible that the men attacked in the terms employed were Judaizers; and for any attempt to impose Jewish observances upon the Gentile churches up to the date of the latest stratum of Second Corinthians there is no evidence.¹

We are thus compelled to infer for the Epistle to the Galatians a date not much earlier than about 100 A.D. The inference thus reached is confirmed by general considerations based upon the character of the work itself. A concise statement of those considerations has been made by Mr. Thomas Whittaker,² who points out that if we find only finished dogma, such as we find in this Epistle, and no sign of a process, we are clearly not at the beginning. In this book and elsewhere³ I have endeavoured to trace the process. And, when the process has been traced, it becomes quite clear that such a document as the Epistle to the Galatians cannot stand at the beginning of it. As Mr. Whittaker observes, in this Epistle Jesus is placed in parallel with God the Father as having conferred on Paul the apostolate; He is not a man, but the giver of a supernatural revelation. God revealed him as his son. No one whose mind had not been saturated with Christian doctrine from childhood would believe that any man, least of all one who had been an orthodox Jew, could thus write of another man only recently put to death, whom he had never seen. The reader should try to picture to himself any conceivable letter that could be written to the followers of an enthusiastic religious teacher and reformer who had been recently executed, and ask himself if it could be anything like the one we have before us. There is no reference to any circumstance which could, not merely necessarily, but even probably, be connected with an historical event. We have dogma, but nothing more, so far as the all-important circumstances are concerned. The crucifixion is a sacrifice, Christ a supernatural being, through faith in whom salvation is attained. "Ye are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus" (iii, 26). There is a good deal of

¹ We again leave out of account the very late chapters viii, ix, and xiii.

² *The Origins of Christianity*, Appendix.

³ *The Evolution of Christianity*.

dogmatic argument based upon the Old Testament, but no appeal to the evidence of any living person nor to any words spoken by Jesus himself, which, under the circumstances, one would have thought particularly relevant. On the contrary, the writer contemptuously puts aside those who, on the traditional hypothesis, could have furnished information; indeed, he has no desire to obtain any. What could men tell him about a divine being? He has learnt from God all that he needs to know.

Again, according to the Epistle, the church had been founded by Paul, had been devoted to him and received his doctrine. He, their trusted teacher, who had moreover been favoured by a direct revelation from God, must have been to them, if they really were Gentiles, a more weighty authority than unknown men from Jerusalem. And, indeed, there is no hint in the Epistle that any one regarded the matter in dispute as one that could be settled by the evidence of men who had seen Jesus, or that any injunction coming from Jesus had been quoted by them. In fact, in the absence of pre-conceived ideas, nobody reading this Epistle would imagine that the Jewish Apostles had seen Christ Jesus, that divine being, any more than Paul himself had. The question was one of Jewish law, which could have no validity for Gentiles, and which, as their own trusted teacher had told them, on divine authority, was now superseded for all men: "if righteousness is through the law, then Christ died for nought" (ii, 21); and the attempt that was being made was, it is assumed, to impose upon Gentiles customs which would naturally be repugnant to them. It is almost impossible to believe that such an attempt could have had any success at the date at which it is supposed to have been made, when the personal influence of Paul in the community was still strong. Further, Mr. Whittaker asks the very pertinent questions: "Is the allegory founded on the story of Abraham, applied as it is in the Epistle (iv, 21 ff.), conceivable before Christianity and Judaism had been finally separated? How is the city of the Christians free, and that of the Jews enslaved (iv, 25, 26), if the authorities at Jerusalem have power to bring Christians before the judgment-seats and to send Paul for trial to Rome?"

Whether we accept or reject the historicity of Jesus, it is inconceivable that Christian dogma should have attained the development it has in this Epistle in the short time that must

be allowed if the traditional date is admitted. On the former hypothesis, indeed, it is even less possible than on the latter. Van Manen perceived that clearly. He found himself faced by this dilemma. Either Jesus was not a man who had ever lived, or the Pauline Epistles were not composed earlier than the second century. He chose the second horn of the dilemma, and was only then able to believe in the historicity of Jesus.

If we reject the historicity of Jesus, it becomes possible to put the commencement of the process at an earlier date and so allow more time. But even then the Epistle to the Galatians represents a stage in the development which can be proved from other sources not to have been reached until late in the first century. If it were possible for historical students to investigate the early stages of Christian development entirely free from prepossessions, they would, I am sure, perceive that the Christianity of Asia Minor owed nothing at all directly to Jerusalem during the first three quarters of the first century. It grew up in the Jewish diaspora quite free from Ebionitish or Judaic elements; it was, indeed, a revolt from formal Judaism, fostered by the free spirit of Greek philosophy. The name "Christ Jesus" was, of course, of Jewish origin, Christos = Messiah, Jesus = Joshua; but the Gnostic "Christ Jesus" was entirely different in his nature and functions from the Jewish national or apocalyptic Messiah. All the writings contained in the three earlier Epistles, up to the year 75 at least, are Gnostic, and exhibit not the least trace of Judaic influence. They are absolutely silent as to any conflict between the new ideas and the old, and indeed exclude it by their freedom from hostility to Judaism. The spiritual blindness of the Jews is deplored. Regret is apparent, but no bitterness. No doubt conflict had occurred in Jerusalem between the adherents of the new Judaism and the old, and Jews had opposed the propaganda elsewhere. But the tone of the documents negatives the idea that a Judaizing party in the Church had made attacks upon the young Pauline communities in the region in which the documents were composed. Between 70 and 80 A.D., modification becomes evident. But that modification cannot be traced to influences emanating from Jerusalem. It was produced almost, if not quite, entirely by the interaction of Gnostic parties holding various views within the churches. It has been proved that at a very early date there was a

Jewish Gnostic party which held that Christ had come in the flesh, or that the purely human Jesus had been inspired by the pneumatic Christ. As the churches grew, drawing in men of average intelligence, the more concrete conception would naturally begin to prevail over the docetic doctrine and the abstruse speculations and symbolism which developed from it. Even the doctrine of the double nature of Jesus might seem too fanciful to men who as pagans had been used to worship a god in human form. The majority of the original Pauline party and of the other Gnostic party, which may have been the party of Apollos, by mutual interaction, and consequent simplification of doctrine, probably approached one another and eventually united into a fairly homogeneous body which still looked upon Paul as its founder. The prophets and leaders of the churches, in order that the authority of Paul for their modified doctrine might be retained, interpolated and expanded the Pauline documents. Those who not merely clung to, but probably developed, the primitive Gnostic christology, were then charged with corrupting the purity and simplicity of the Pauline teaching. Thus arose the dissensions of which we have evidence in First Corinthians iii, 16, to iv, 5, and Second Corinthians x to xii, which apparently reached their highest degree of intensity between the years 85 and 95. The docetic minority, supported by advocates of perhaps an even more highly developed form of the gnosis from outside, were vigorously attacked and were ultimately compelled to secede.

There is also reason to think that Messianic ideas were beginning to penetrate into the churches during this period. In both Romans and Second Corinthians there is a Messianic interpolation in the Gnostic Epistle. In Romans ii, 16, we have "in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men, according to my gospel, by Jesus Christ." And in Second Corinthians v, 10, "we must all be made manifest before the judgment-seat of Christ." These interpolations, being in the Gnostic Epistles, may be early. Indeed, the fact that each of them is in a Gnostic section creates, in view of the law of probability, a certain slight presumption that they had been made before the Gnostic sections had been incorporated into the composite edition. Against that presumption, however, we have the consideration that the phrase "according to my gospel" does not strike an early note, and

"Jesus Christ," of course, indicates a more or less catholic writer. The form is not found in any section of any of the Epistles which can be dated earlier than A.D. 75. The interpolation in Second Corinthians is probably the earlier of the two; its date is indeterminate; but if it was made in the first edition it affords evidence that Jewish Messianic functions were beginning to be assigned to the Gnostic Christ about the year 80.

The same approximate date is reached along another line. The interpolated passage in Second Corinthians v, verses 11 to 15, must be earlier than chapters x to xii; since there would be no object in interpolating a few verses in order to deal with a matter which, later in the same Epistle, had been adequately treated in three chapters. The situation to which those three chapters were directed must have been developing through a course of years. It may be inferred that, when the interpolation was made, the situation was not yet alarming; otherwise the reference to it would have been less casual. Since the development of the dispute occurred probably between the years 85 and 95, the interpolation may be dated in the earlier half of that period. Now the other interpolation, verses 6 to 10, was proved to be earlier still, so that it is not likely to have been made later than 85 A.D.; and the first edition of the composite Epistle can be dated but very little earlier than 80. Hence we get the years 80 and 85 as the limits between which the Messianic reference in verse 10 was almost certainly made.

Since the Logos and the Messiah were both named in Greek *Christos*, they were sure to be assimilated sooner or later.

There is, however, no reason to suppose that Jewish Messianic ideas came in the first instance into the Pauline communities directly from Palestine. It is much more likely that they were derived from some of the Apocalypses. Some of these were Judaic, but others have distinct Gnostic affinities; the *Book of Enoch* particularly. One of the sources of the *Book of Enoch* is the Wisdom literature, the Jewish source of Gnosticism. The Messiah of *Enoch* has some of the chief attributes of the personified wisdom. He has become assimilated to Wisdom, Sophia, as the Logos also tended to become assimilated to her. It would, therefore, be easy for a Gnostic to identify the Logos Christ Jesus with the Son of Man of the *Book of Enoch*, who is altogether a divine

being and, like the Logos, in existence before the creation of the world. But for a Gnostic to identify the Logos with a son of David would be well nigh impossible. In Romans ii, 16, it is declared that God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ. The writer of the *Book of Enoch* says of the Son of Man, "When he shall lift up his countenance to judge their hidden ways."¹ The verse quoted from Second Corinthians also stresses particularly the fact that "we must all be made manifest"; and Enoch again declares that when the Son of Man sits upon the throne of his glory "no lie shall be spoken before him." Acquaintance with the Apocalypses is also shown in the Gnostic writer R3 by the use of the name "Beliar" in Second Corinthians vi, 15. There is a Messianic passage in First Corinthians, verses 20 to 28 of chapter xv, which may be of fairly early date. The passage is sufficiently long for its character and origin to be inferrible. It contains nothing specifically Judaic. It is Gnostic and apocalyptic. The antithesis between the first man Adam and the Christ who will bring all things to an end was an important element in the doctrine of certain Gnostic sects. All the evidence goes to show that the Pauline communities were beginning to be permeated by Messianic ideas at a fairly early date, perhaps about 80 A.D., and that these ideas came, not from Jerusalem, but from one or other of the Apocalypses.

A little later a party of Cephas representing Ebionitish and Jewish national Messianic ideas made its appearance. That party was for some time not aggressive. The absence of hostility or bitterness from all the references to the party of Cephas in First Corinthians proves that in the main its doctrines were not irreconcilable with those of the majority; and no doubt they gradually permeated the churches. The watchwords of the leaders were concord and compromise. Anything that could be accepted would be accepted if the interests of unity required it, even at the expense of consistency. There are, in the Epistles examined, a large number of passages exhorting to unity and toleration which it is not necessary to quote here or specify, since some of them have already been quoted or referred to, and will no doubt be within the memory of the reader.

It is not, of course, to be supposed that all the churches

¹ *Enoch*, 61, 9.

would react in the same manner to the various influences brought to bear upon them. A few may have clung to the original Pauline doctrine. And those who seceded would constitute new communities on a Gnostic basis. By the end of the first century probably a Gospel was in existence localizing the sacrifice of the Saviour God, or the Messiah, Jesus, in Jerusalem. The result of that would be that the party of Cephas would very rapidly grow in authority. "Traditions" professing to come from men who had known the divine man in the flesh began to emanate from Jerusalem. The church in Jerusalem, now in a position to claim that its leaders were the successors of the Apostles, and that it was the repository of the "traditions," could speak with authority to the other communities, in which the ground had been prepared by the party of Cephas. And it ventured to push its authority so far as to require Gentile Christians to conform to the Mosaic law. Now at length, late in the first or early in the second century, the situation exhibited in the Epistle to the Galatians becomes not merely possible but just what one would naturally expect. This sketch of Christian development during the first century is not only reconcilable with, but even supported by, the documentary evidence, as the traditional hypothesis certainly is not; it is, moreover, perfectly reasonable and probable in itself.

There is sufficient evidence that there was no conflict over the Mosaic law until late in the first century. R1 in the Epistle to the Romans displays no hostility to the Jew as such. He implies that a spiritualized Jew is admirable.¹ He evidently thinks that the law is still valid for Jews—for Christians it has become unnecessary; but his attitude to circumcision is far from being the hostile one exhibited in the Epistle to the Galatians. It obviously was that for Jewish Christians circumcision was permissible, provided that along with the external circumcision there went "the circumcision of the heart in the spirit." At a later date we find the same attitude exhibited in the Epistle of C. It is still one of complete indifference. "Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping of the commandments of God."² How great is the contrast between these pronouncements and the hostility to the law which appears in Galatians. No doubt the statement in First Corinthians is

¹ Romans ii, 28, 29.

² First Corinthians vii, 19.

evidence that the question had been raised, but it cannot yet have become a subject of keen controversy. The view that circumcision was necessary was evidently only held in the Pauline communities by a small and uninfluential minority. The leaders of the churches at that time, about 70 A.D., saw no danger in it.

The Pauline communities were then developing without official interference from the Judaic churches. Later, when that interference became aggressive, the extreme danger with which the catholic movement was threatened impressed itself upon the leaders of the movement. Even as early as the middle of the first century certain men had contemplated the establishment of Christianity, conceived at first merely as a spiritualized Judaism, as a world religion in rivalry with the older Judaism on the one hand and Paganism on the other. Their audacity was not so great as it might at first appear. They were Jews, and as such familiar with Messianic expectations. They must have had an innate conviction of the divinely appointed destiny of their race, and this they developed into the splendid conception of the mission of the Jews to bring to the world the means of salvation. But they were too idealistic, and their doctrine too abstract, for popular success. They were followed in the second century by more practical men who, not being Jews, and no longer regarding Christianity as a spiritualized Judaism, accepted for the new religion the aim of their predecessors with a clearer view of the conditions to be met. These new leaders were confronted by wrangling factions which threatened to burst the movement into fragments. Their policy was compromise. They abstracted from the conflicting dogmas all those elements which were likely to secure the greatest common measure of assent; extreme views were proscribed; consistency was of small account. When the conflict over Judaism was at its height those who wished that Jerusalem should be the fountain of authority began to confine the title of Apostle to the men who, according to the "traditions," had been personal followers of Jesus. The right of Paul to the title was denied. The Catholic leaders realized the great value of the Jewish scriptures and of certain Jewish dogmas and beliefs; but they saw clearly that it would be not only in conflict with the fundamental principle of the new movement, but also quite fatal to the universalistic aims of the infant Catholic Church for Judaic observances to be made a condition of member-

ship. Judaism had become a greater danger than Paulinism. Unpalatable as were the Gnostic doctrines of Paul, by this time they had been considerably diluted. The Catholic leaders were not too scrupulous. They required an authority to whom they might appeal, and so Paul was catholicized and set up as the champion of Christian freedom in opposition to those who would rivet upon Christian necks the yoke of the Jewish law. The picture in Galatians ii, 11-14, represents in a few vigorous strokes not an historical scene, but yet a conflict which really occurred. In that picture Paul personifies the Catholic Church fighting for its existence against the powerful advocates of Judaism who supported their demands by the authority of the older Apostles. There was also another motive. It was necessary for the Catholic leaders to accept Paul in order that the bulk of the Pauline communities, which probably constituted the chief strength of the movement, might be included. So long as the Christian churches were divided into two opposing sections, the one Hellenistic, the other Judaic, relying respectively upon the authority of Paul and of the Jewish Apostles, there was little hope of securing a victory over Paganism. It was imperative that the catholicizers should create the belief on the one hand that the doctrine and practice of the Apostles were not so Judaic as in fact they were, and on the other that the preaching of Paul was essentially catholic.

There would be no force in a possible objection that a crisis might have occurred at an early date in the Galatian churches without any reference being made to it in an Epistle to the Corinthians. The only portions of the Epistles to the Corinthians that can have been actually written for, and sent to, the church at Corinth are the earliest ones, the Gnostic Epistles. The later composite editions cannot have been addressed to a particular church, and must have been composed with a view to the conditions prevailing in the Pauline communities generally at the time. For reasons already given, the Epistle to the Galatians cannot be very early, and the state of affairs represented in it cannot have occurred at the early date at which it is supposed to have been written. These conclusions are confirmed by the evidence of some of the Gospels, which shows that the controversy with regard to the necessity of conforming to the Jewish law was active at about the close of the first century. Both parties are represented; on the one hand we have "One jot or one tittle shall

in no wise pass away from the law till all things be accomplished" (Matt. v, 18); and on the other: "Perceive ye not, that whatsoever from without goeth into the man it cannot defile him.....This he said, making all meats clean" (Mark, vii, 18, 19). Then again there is the pronouncement: "Whosoever shall cause one of these little ones that believe on me to stumble, it were better for him if a great millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea" (Mark ix, 42). There can be no doubt that Professor W. B. Smith is right in his interpretation of this verse.¹ The little ones that believe in Jesus are Gentile converts, and those who would cause them to stumble are the men who were endeavouring to impose upon them the ordinances of the Jewish law. The Book of Revelation can also be called as a witness that the Judaic party were bitterly attacking Paul about 95 A.D. The controversy, therefore, was not between Paul and Cephas and James, but between their successors at the close of the first or the beginning of the second century.

We need not treat seriously the assertion made by some theologians by way of argument that they can recognize in Galatians the real voice of Paul. To dignify such an assertion by the name of argument is to do it too much honour. Not so very long ago theologians were confident that they could recognize in John's Gospel the genuine accents of the disciple whom Jesus loved. It was a delusion. How can anybody recognize a voice he has never heard? If the voice of Paul is audible anywhere in these Epistles it is in the early Gnostic sections of them. And *that* voice is not to be heard in the Epistle to the Galatians, except possibly in a quotation, although the writer was a Pauline Gnostic. He was no doubt a man of character, and was writing under the influence of strong emotion. But Paul, as we have good reason to know, was not the only Christian propagandist of strong character in the first century, and it does not need a personal grievance to excite emotion in a theologian, or in a good many other people for that matter. Nor is it necessary to go into the question as to whether the letter was addressed to the Roman province or the actual Galatia.² It is sufficient to observe that the perplexity of the critics in connection with this matter is another illustration of the falsity of their funda-

¹ *Ecce Deus*, pp. 117 *et seq.*

² The question is concisely but thoroughly discussed by R. Steck, *Der Galaterbrief*, pp. 28-40.

mental postulates. In any case, the vagueness of the address proves that the Epistle was rather what we call an open letter than a letter in the ordinary sense. It is as though some one were to write an address "to the English people." To whom could it be delivered? In fact, the Epistle was intended for a wider circle even than the Galatians. The entry of the controversy into the Gospels proves that it was a matter of concern to the Christian community as a whole.

We have in this Epistle a phenomenon with which by this time we have become familiar. The writer was using a device which is exemplified in a considerable number of the documents which go to make up the Bible. In order that his appeal may have greater influence than any written in his own name could have, he feigns to have discovered an early letter written by Paul himself which is very pertinent to the dispute in progress. And since the other side had no doubt invoked the authority of the early Jewish Apostles, he takes care to represent them as having been withstood and confuted by Paul. And lest any one should think that the Jewish Apostles had greater authority as the immediate disciples of Jesus, he represents Paul as having received his authority directly from God.

2.—THE WRITERS OF THE EPISTLE

A preliminary survey of this Epistle reveals the fact that both the forms "Christ Jesus" and "Jesus Christ" occur in it with tolerable frequency. It is observable, however, that the latter form does not appear after the end of chapter iii until we reach the last section of chapter vi, the final chapter. We may be able later on to find an explanation of this phenomenon. In the first three chapters the two forms alternate, the one following sometimes almost immediately upon the other. We have observed in our study of the previous Epistles that "Christ Jesus" is the form almost invariably used by even a somewhat catholicized Paulinist. Hence a preliminary review of this Epistle produces the impression that the basis of it is a Pauline document; and, with the example of Romans in mind, we are led to suspect that a late catholic editor has interpolated an earlier Pauline letter. Our task will now be to test that suspicion, and, if it is justified, to identify the interpolations, and, as far as possible, recover the original text. A further question to be answered is

whether it is merely accidental that these interpolations cease with chapter iii, and if not, why there are none, at least by the same interpolator, in the last three chapters.

In the first place, I ask the reader to consider attentively the following quotations, noting the phraseology and the character of the reasoning: "Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, save through faith in Jesus Christ.....because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified. But if, while we sought to be justified in Christ, we ourselves were found sinners, is Christ a minister of sin? *God forbid* (*μὴ γένοιτο*)" (Gal. ii, 16, 17). "For if the inheritance is of the law, it is no more of promise.....What then is the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise hath been made" (iii, 18, 19). Do the theologians whose sense of hearing and powers of perception are so acute that they can recognize a voice they never previously heard fail to recognize *this* voice? Perhaps they will reply: Oh, yes! We know that voice very well; it is unmistakably the voice of Paul. How, then, are we to explain the fact that this voice was inaudible throughout the Second Epistle to the Corinthians? If this is the style and these the doctrines of Paul, and if the Epistle to the Galatians is to be accepted as genuine on the ground that they are contained in it, then, on the ground of their absence from it, Second Corinthians must be rejected. There is no alternative. Is it merely a coincidence that while in that Epistle there is not the faintest trace of the doctrines of predestination, grace and justification by faith, the unmistakable style, the specious antithetical reasoning, and the favourite expression *μὴ γένοιτο* are also completely absent from it? Even that would be a good deal to believe; but it becomes too extraordinary a coincidence to be credible when we remember that in the Epistle to the Romans also the three characteristic marks were invariably found to be either all present together or all absent together. I invite the candid reader who desires above everything to know the truth to read again the sections of Romans written by R2 and compare with them the extracts given above. They might easily be mistaken for quotations from that work, but could not be thought by any one to have come from either of the Epistles to the Corinthians. Compare particularly the following passages: "We reckon therefore that a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the law" (Rom. iii, 28);

“Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, save through faith in Jesus Christ” (Gal. ii, 16); “because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified” (Rom. iii, 20); “Because by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified” (Gal. ii, 16); “If some were without faith, shall their want of faith make of none effect the faithfulness of God? God forbid” (Rom. iii, 3); “If, while we sought to be justified in Christ, we ourselves also were found sinners, is Christ a minister of sin? God forbid” (Gal. ii, 17); “If they which are of the law be heirs.....the promise is made of none effect” (Rom. iv, 14); “If the inheritance is of the law, it is no more of promise” (Gal. iii, 18); “Where there is no law there is no transgression. For this cause it is of faith..... that the promise may be sure to all the seed” (Rom. iv, 16); “What then is the law? It was added for the sake of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise hath been made” (Gal. iii, 19). The similarity here apparent is not to be explained by supposing that one writer has quoted from another; for in two of the quotations, Romans iii, 3, and Galatians ii, 17, the thought is different, but the manner of its expression is essentially the same. A man can borrow words or ideas from another man, but he cannot borrow his mind.

An illustration of the mentality of R2 is found in Galatians iii, 16: “He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ.” The interpretation here put forward is a quibble, for the Greek word *σπέρμα*, like the English *seed*, is collective, and can signify figuratively a number of descendants. The writer must of course have been perfectly well aware of that fact. In Romans iv, 13 and 16, the word is used collectively, as the context plainly shows. Now we are all of us acquainted with writers of whom we could affirm confidently that they are incapable of using in argument a quibble of that kind, and that the verse quoted could not have been written by any of them. If the reader will try to forget that we are here dealing with so-called sacred documents, and will take the trouble by studying the sections of Romans written by R1 and R2 respectively to appreciate the characters of the two writers as exhibited in their style and method of reasoning, if he has any critical perception and will apply the laws of psychology, he must perceive that R1 was incapable of writing the verse, but that R2 could well have done so.

There can surely be no doubt whatever in the mind of any candid person that the verses quoted from Galatians were written by R2. Some, however, may perhaps think it possible that the whole Epistle was written by the same man. But, in addition to the reasons already given for believing that two different writers had a hand in the production of it in its present form, considerations of style and doctrine negative the supposition that it is homogeneous. The reader is sufficiently well acquainted with the style of R2 to be in a position to perceive that the Epistle was not all written by him. The difference of doctrine I will now endeavour to make evident.

"I through the law died unto the law, that I might live unto God" (Gal. ii, 19). That is Pauline doctrine. It is not the doctrine of R2. The doctrine of R2 is that the law came in for the sake of transgressions, in order that the grace of God might abound. We note here, again, a distinction between the two doctrines to which attention has previously been directed. The scheme of salvation elaborated by R2 is objective and external. All that is required of the sinner is passive faith in the redeeming blood of Jesus Christ; the grace of God will do the rest. The Pauline scheme is subjective; there must be an inner regeneration in which the sinner must himself actively co-operate. Hence, the law, which contained the form of knowledge (gnosis) and of the truth, and was not, properly understood, a cause of transgressions, afforded a preliminary period of discipline during which men became fitted for the reception of the genuine gnosis of God, not merely the *form* of it contained in the law. This doctrine is implied in Romans, chapter ii, and vii, 1 to 4 and 6. And so, through the law, men could die to the law and become spiritual, *pneumatic*, alive unto God, by union with Christ. The interpretation here given is consistent with the verses which follow: "I have been crucified with Christ," and "Christ liveth in me." When the writer proceeds to say that "the Son of God loved me and gave himself up for me," he must by no means be understood to imply that the death of the Son of God was an expiatory sacrifice. The tenour of the whole passage proves that, in his view, the death of Christ was not merely an external fact, a sacrifice, through which the sinner was redeemed, bought; the sinner must be crucified with Christ, so that he may be "in Christ" and Christ in him. That view of the significance of the death of

Christ is amplified in Romans vi, 6-11. The two doctrines dwell together very comfortably in the minds of theologians; but they are of different origin, and in Romans and Galatians we see in process the imposition of the one upon the other. The evidence of Romans is quite sufficient; but, if further evidence were required, the fact that the pure Pauline doctrine was still held in its original form in the second half of the second century proves its distinctness. The writer of the First Epistle of John would not have needed to affirm so emphatically that Jesus Christ came "not with the water only, but with the water and with the blood,"¹ if there had not been Christians who asserted the contrary. Christ's coming "with the water only," of course, signified the Pauline doctrine that the condition of salvation was union with Christ and burial with him, of which baptism in water was the symbol; and the assertion that it was with the water *only* obviously implies that the redemptive efficacy of the blood of Jesus was denied. Gnostics, indeed, could also write symbolically of the blood of Christ; but they never taught that sin could be washed away in it.

The interpretation of verse 19 of chapter ii given above is completely confirmed by verse 24 of chapter iii: "the law hath been our tutor to lead us unto Christ." That cannot have been written by R2, who wrote: "when the commandment [the law] came, sin revived and I died."² How could that which was moral death be a tutor to lead men to Christ? It is true that R2 felt compelled to state formally that the law is spiritual, because according to the Old Testament it had been given to man by God.³ But he proceeds immediately to argue, in his quibbling and specious fashion, that even though the law was intrinsically good, nothing but evil could come to men through it. "Sin that it might be shown to be sin, by working death to me through that which is good;—that through the commandment sin might become exceeding sinful."⁴ It might, of course, be said that on this view the law by its evil effects drove men to seek something better. But to argue on that ground that the writer of Galatians iii, 24, held the same view of the law as R2 would

¹ 1 John v, 6.

² Romans vii, 9.

³ The statement in verse 19b, that the law was ordained through angels, may be suspected of being an interpolation. The idea was current among certain Gnostics; it is found nowhere else in Romans or Galatians. The interpolated passage probably consists of 19b and 20.

⁴ Romans vii, 13.

be an argument worthy of R2 himself. It would be a misuse of language for any one who regarded the law as R2 did to describe it as "a tutor" leading men to Christ. The two points of view are absolutely contradictory. How would it be possible for any one to describe as a tutor or guardian that which was introduced for the deliberate purpose of multiplying sin? The law was added for the sake of transgressions, says R2; it came in that the trespass might abound¹; and that there may be no doubt as to his meaning, he adds: The scripture (ἡ γραφή)—i.e., the written law—as the context shows, hath shut up all things under sin. It was necessary that all men should be proved to be sinners in order that the promise of God might be fully effective.² That is to say, it must be made evident that man is incapable of securing redemption by any effort of his own, and that none can be saved except through the exercise of the grace and the arbitrary will of God. According to the Pauline writer, the law was a discipline through which men might be prepared for the reception of the spirit, the means of salvation offered to them, not arbitrarily appointed for some and denied to others, but to which every man by suitable effort could attain. According to R2 the law was intended to make fully evident the sinfulness of men³ and even to provoke them to sin, that no man might earn salvation by his own merit, but should owe it entirely to the redemptive death of Jesus Christ and the grace of God.⁴ The meaning of the Pauline writer is put beyond all possibility of misunderstanding or misrepresentation by the amplification of it given in verses 1 to 5 of chapter iv, where those who were under the law are likened to heirs who, while they are children, are under guardians and stewards. For this writer, as for R1, the law is not something bad at all, nor any further the cause of evil than anything that is misused may be. Both the Pauline writers make it perfectly clear that they regarded the law as a temporary expedient, weak and inadequate, but not evil, until Christ Jesus should come to annul it; playing the part of a tutor or guardian until the children should come into their inheritance. It would be perfectly impossible for any one holding that view of the law to write of it as being moral death. Of course, as men whose attitude of mind was Gnostic, they disliked the dry forms in which the spirit of the law was entangled, but

¹ Rom. v, 20. ² Gal. iii, 22. ³ Rom. v, 13. ⁴ Rom. iii, 25, 26; iv, 4.

the worst that even the later writer says of them is that they were "weak and beggarly rudiments."

It is, therefore, quite certain that this writer was not the author of verse 10, chapter iii: "as many as are of the works of the law are under a curse." It would be a very strange thing, if it were not so universal, that people should pass over such inconsistencies and even contradictions without experiencing a mental shock. Evidently there is scarcely any one who does not prepare himself for the perusal of a Biblical document by carefully lulling to sleep such critical faculties as he may possess. The Pauline writer speaks of the law as *bondage*. The heir, while a child, may also be said to be in bondage, being in subjection to a tutor or a guardian. But none would say that to be in subjection to a guardian is to be under a curse.

In verse 27, chapter iii, we read: "as many of you as were baptized unto Christ, did put on Christ." That is the doctrine of R1 again. It is also the doctrine that Christ came "with the water only." For when the Christian has "put on Christ," thereby receiving the Spirit of the Son of God into his heart (iv, 6), he has fulfilled the condition of redemption. The necessity for a vicarious expiatory sacrifice is excluded. Having thus received the Pneuma of the Son of God, which was also the Pneuma of God, the Christian, according to the doctrine of the Pauline writer, receives the adoption of a son (iv, 5). Now the word translated "adoption of sons" is in the Greek *υιοθεσία*. We have met with that word before in Romans viii, 15, written by R1. It is worth while comparing the two verses, Galatians iv, 6 ("that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father"), and Romans viii, 15 ("For ye received not the spirit of bondage again unto fear; but ye received the spirit of adoption, *υιοθεσίας*, whereby we cry, Abba, Father"). It is obvious that the Pauline writer of Galatians recognized his spiritual kinship to R1. Now this word *υιοθεσία* occurs only four times in the four Epistles we have been examining—in the two verses just quoted and in Romans viii, 23, and ix, 4, the former of which was written by R1 and the latter by R3. And that fact is very significant, for R1 and R3 were both of them Gnostics, though of different shades, and the writer of Galatians was a Paulinist holding a modified form of Gnostic doctrine. The word was

a good deal used by Gnostics in a somewhat special sense, so that the translation "adoption" is not a happy one. It should be translated by a word which would indicate that its signification had been specialized. The reader will see from what has been said already, that in these Pauline Epistles the word signifies a relationship more intimate than *adoption* in its usual sense. *Sonship* would give a better idea of the meaning intended. R2 never uses the word; nor does he ever write of Christians as being "sons of God"—he terms them the seed of Abraham or heirs of the promise. The same distinction is found between the points of view of the two writers in Galatians. The Pauline writer says (iii, 26) "ye are all sons of God," (iv, 5) "that we might receive the sonship (*υιοθεσία*)." The other writer says (iii, 7): "they which be of faith, the same are sons of Abraham." The view of the interpolator of Galatians is that of R2. Under the new covenant Christians have taken the place of Jews as the seed of Abraham and heirs of the promise. They have become "the elect," the chosen of God. The idea that by sharing the Pnuma of God the Christian becomes spiritually akin to God has no place in that doctrine.

It is thus demonstrated that the Epistle to the Galatians is a Pauline document which has been interpolated by a later catholic editor who undoubtedly was R2. The section iv, 21–31, must also be judged an interpolation, though by a different editor. The style of the section is perceptibly different from that of both the writers of the earlier chapters—more so naturally in the Greek than in the English; but the section, being short, does not contain any peculiarities of grammatical construction which can be adduced as evidence. There is, however, one important indication. In the original Epistle the name Jerusalem accurs three times, and each time the Greek word for it is *Ἱεροσόλυμα* (*Hierosoluma*); in this section the name occurs twice, and both times it is, in the Greek, *Ἱεροσαλήμ* (*Hierousalēm*). That evidence alone might be held to be conclusive. And we can find evidence equally strong in the doctrine of the section. The original writer, whom provisionally we may refer to as G, was, as has been shown, an advocate of the Pauline theology, though possibly not a docetist. He obviously bases his theological reasoning upon the Epistle of R1 in Romans. R2 and the writer of verses 21 to 31 of chapter iv base their argument entirely upon the Old Testament. The Pauline Gnosticism, having

cut itself free from the Old Testament, naturally had no concern with the promise said to have been made to Abraham; nor could the conception of the two covenants, the old and the new, find any place in it. The word "promise" occurs twenty-two times in the four Epistles, but is not found once in the early Pauline Gnostic sections. It occurs ten times in Galatians alone, but not one of these is in the original Epistle of G. The word "covenant," similarly, does not occur at all, either in the earlier Pauline Gnostic sections or in the Epistle of G. It is certain that that avoidance of the words is not accidental. It is entirely in conformity with what we have learnt of the Pauline doctrine. Now, in the short section under consideration the word "promise" occurs twice, verses 23 and 28. In verse 24, also, mention is made of the "two covenants." The section is Gnostic, though not Pauline. The Gnosticism of it is the Jewish Gnosticism of R3, and akin to that of Philo, which interpreted the Old Testament allegorically. In the sections written by R3 the word "promise" occurs four times. The writer of this section, like R3, quotes freely from the Old Testament. He is unmistakably marked off both from G and from R2: from the former by the doctrinal differences set out above, and by the natural corollary from them that Christians are not "sons of God" in the Pauline sense but have replaced the Jews as the "children of promise" (iv, 28). In the latter point the writer agrees verbally with R2; but, as a Gnostic, he uses the phrase with a less materialistic connotation. He recognizes a spiritual relationship between the Christian and God (iv, 29), of which there is no hint in the sections written by R2. And from a consideration of the style alone one can pronounce with the most assured conviction that R2 did not write this section.

It is very interesting to observe that R. Steck,¹ without any suspicion (apparently) of diversity of authorship, was struck by the peculiarity of this section compared with the rest of the Epistle, and also with Romans generally. And it is decidedly significant, and a confirmation of the opinion here expressed, that he found an affinity between the section and chapter ix of Romans. He remarks that we have here represented an idea which is given in Romans ix, 7-9—viz., the distinction of the descent from Abraham according to the flesh and that according to the spirit—a distinction not made by R2. The verse Galatians iv, 28, ὑμεῖς δὲ, ἀδελφοί, κατὰ

¹ *Der Galaterbrief*, p. 70.

Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα ἐστέ, he says, corresponds with Romans ix, 8, τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας λογίζεται εἰς σπέρμα. The writer, like R3, was almost certainly a Jew, and a learned Jew, for, as Steck points out, the interpretation of the sentence "Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia" is that the Arabic word *hagar*, ("stone," "rock") was used as the name of Mount Sinai. The antithesis between the Jerusalem that is above and that which now is reminds us strongly of the Apocalypse. The symbolism of the two sons of Abraham is founded not only upon the Old Testament but also upon the Jewish tradition as it appears, for example, in Midrash Bereschith Rabba.

There is additional evidence in support of the conclusion above reached. Verses 8 to 11 are in the nature of a conclusion to the reasoning which has preceded, a final appeal based upon it; and verse 1 of chapter v is a concluding summary of the whole argument. The word "bondage" in that verse is evidently in close logical connection with the same word in verses 8 and 9. The natural place for v, 1, therefore, seems to be directly after iv, 11. On that ground one cannot but suspect the section, verses 12 to 20, also. It is, however, possible that a writer, after arguing a matter on general principles, might close with a personal appeal before writing the formal conclusion. And I have not been able to detect any feature of the passage itself which would justify its rejection. But if this personal appeal is to be accepted as the work of the original writer it becomes all the more certain that the passage marks the close of his Epistle. It is impossible that, after basing an appeal upon his doctrinal reasoning, and then making a personal appeal to his readers, he should open a new doctrinal argument of a character quite inconsistent with the doctrine on which the earlier argument rested, and then conclude with a verse which is in close logical connection with the first line of reasoning and only very superficially connected with the second. It is very interesting to have the evidence which this section affords that the two strains of Gnostic doctrine which are apparent in the earliest strata of the Epistles represented by R1 and R3 respectively still existed in the Pauline communities at the commencement of the second century.¹

¹ In fact, the same line of thought flowed as a separate stream into the third century, though much diluted then and contaminated by Messianic ideas. It makes its appearance in the still quite distinctly Gnostic theology of Origen, to whom the opinions of R2 did not appeal.

3.—CHAPTERS V AND VI

The Epistle was professedly written by, or on behalf of, several people, Paul "and all the brethren which are with me" (i, 2). The final section, which is supposed to be written by Paul himself, begins with the words: "Behold, I Paul say unto you" (v, 2). These words may be compared with those with which chapter x of Second Corinthians opens: "Now I Paul myself intreat you." Chapter x of Second Corinthians is the first chapter of a section which was appended to the earlier Epistle by another editor. And there is good reason to believe that verse 2 of chapter v is the opening verse of a section which was appended to the Epistle to the Galatians in a similar manner. Verse 1 of chapter v obviously brings the preceding section to a conclusion. If the Epistle had been a genuine one written by Paul in conjunction with "the brethren which are with me," it would be quite intelligible that Paul should have added a postscript as from himself alone; although one cannot see any reason why he should have done so, since the earlier part of the Epistle, in spite of the words in verse 2, was ostensibly written by Paul himself in the first person. If, on the other hand, as we are compelled to suppose, the letter was written by a person who was not Paul, why should he, after concluding it, begin a new section in this manner? He could have said what he wished to say in the body of the Epistle. It is difficult to imagine a sufficient reason; and it is much more probable that the following section is a later addition by a different hand.

The style of this section is perceptibly different from that of the earlier portion of the Epistle. It has none of the peculiarities which characterize the style of R2, and it is inferior both in eloquence and vigour to the style of G. It is a somewhat jerky style, deficient in polish.¹ Also several not uncommon ideas are represented by Greek words which occur nowhere else throughout the four Epistles. For example, "neither circumcision availeth anything" (v, 6)—the Greek word used for "availeth" is *ισχύει*; "This persuasion (*πεισμονή*) came not of him that calleth you" (v, 8); "Each man shall bear his own burden" (*φορτίον*) (vi, 5). There is also evidence that chapter v was composed later than the sections written by R2 in the probable dependence of verse 17 upon Romans vii, 14–23. The concise

¹ The discontinuity observable is, however, partly due to interpolations.

statement, in verse 17, of the antagonism between the spirit and the flesh and of the consequence of it seems to imply an earlier more lengthy exposition, and to take for granted that readers were already acquainted with it. Also in verse 18 the statement "Ye are not under law" is not relevant to or suggested by the context; it is difficult to explain it except as a reminiscence of Romans vi, 14: "We are not under law, but under grace."

R. Steck observes that one would not expect a letter written for a special purpose, and that so serious a one, to terminate with a section in which a set of miscellaneous injunctions unconnected with the main subject are calmly laid down. Such a section does not seem to be appropriate in a letter written to a community whose very salvation, in the opinion of the writer, was being gravely imperilled. Steck puts this forward as an argument against the genuineness of the Epistle as a whole; but in reality it is only evidence that chapters v and vi did not come from the hand which wrote the earlier portion of the Epistle. Though the writer was not Paul, and though he has put his pleading into a fictitious historical framework, he was very much in earnest. He borrowed another man's name, but the expression of his concern at the danger of the crisis was genuine enough. And it is as improbable that he appended to his letter the two chapters in question as it would be for a medical man to give to a person in imminent danger of death a quantity of advice which could only be useful to a person in good health. And it is even more unlikely under the circumstances that the writer would have deliberately patched up his concluding section from reminiscences of passages in the three earlier Epistles, which, as Bruno Bauer first showed, he evidently did. Steck¹ draws particular attention to the incongruity of the address in chapter vi, 1: "Ye who are spiritual." The verse seems to have been suggested by First Corinthians ii, 13, and Second Corinthians ii, 6-8. Again, the admonition in verse 6, "Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things" (*κοινωνεῖτω ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς*), is strange, and not in harmony with the tone of the Epistle as a whole. Commentators have disputed as to whether the "good things" are to be understood spiritually or materially. The latter is the more probable.

¹ *Der Galaterbrief*, p. 139.

The injunction is a repetition of the instruction given frequently in the Epistles that teachers are to be adequately supported by the taught. Relevant passages are First Corinthians ix, 7-14; Second Corinthians xi, 7-10, 12, 13-18. The incidental manner in which the injunction is thrown out here presupposes a fuller treatment of the subject elsewhere. Also, perhaps, that the case was no longer so urgent as it had been. First Corinthians ix, 7-14, is the most probable basis for it; if so, since that chapter of First Corinthians is late, so must this chapter of Galatians be. The image of sowing and reaping which follows is a reminiscence of Second Corinthians ix, 6, a very late section, where the sowing and reaping is spoken of the charitable actions which the writer has been recommending to his readers, and so is suggested here by the subject of the preceding verse. Then we pass by a rather violent transition to a different application of the image to sowing to the flesh and to the spirit. It is evident that, if there has been borrowing, the passage in Second Corinthians is the more independent and original and is more vitally related to its context. The words *μη ἐγκακῶμεν*, "let us not be weary," in verse 9, also remind us of Second Corinthians iv, 1 and 16, where we read *οὐκ ἐγκακοῦμεν*, there translated "we faint not," and the working out of the idea in the passage following the latter verse shows how the words *μη ἐκλυόμενοι* are to be understood. In our revised version they are translated "if we faint not." But that is a mere repetition of the idea conveyed by the immediately preceding phrase, "Let us not be weary." Steck translates "We shall then also reap without becoming weary—i.e., unceasingly," observing, "It thus corresponds with the *αἰώνιον βᾶρος δόξης* ('eternal weight of glory') in the closely related passage in Second Corinthians." It seems probable, however, that this section has been interpolated. Hence the violence of the transition from vi, 6 and 7 to 8. C. H. Weisse rejected verses 3 to 5.

Except in the interpolations of R2 the form "Christ Jesus" is used uniformly throughout this Epistle until we come to the concluding section, chapter vi, verses 11 to 17, in which "our Lord Jesus Christ" occurs, in verse 14. This section, then, is a catholic addition to the Pauline Epistle. It may be inferred that it is later than all which precedes it.¹

¹ C. H. Weisse rejected the section, except verses 11, 14, and 17.

Whether verse 17 had been added previously and left at the end is a question it does not seem possible to answer. It is almost certain, however, that the verse was not written by G, since that writer always uses the names "Christ Jesus" together or "Christ" alone, never "Jesus" alone. "The Lord Jesus" is the reading here in some MSS., but that form is equally foreign to the usage of G. The use of the name "Jesus" alone by the distinctively Pauline writers is extremely rare. It does not occur at all in the early Gnostic sections. Second Corinthians iv, 10, is probably an interpolation. And there is further reason for doubting the genuineness of the verse. Some interpolations are quite out of harmony with their context. The interpolator was obviously in a few instances a man of inferior intelligence, some scribe who did not understand the context on which he commented. In other cases the interpolator was simply intent on expressing his own view of the matter in hand, or introducing some notion or amplification of his own, and was indifferent to the discord which he thereby produced. Familiarity blunts our perception of such discords; we pass them by without paying much attention to them. The verse now considered is an example. It says, "From henceforth let no man trouble me"; implying that the letter had been written in response to an appeal from some one for the writer's interposition. But in the letter itself there is no indication that it had been written in response to such an appeal. On the contrary, the very strong feeling of the writer in regard to the subject of the letter proves that he was impelled to write it by his realization of the serious nature of the crisis; and if he *had* heard about it from some correspondent it is evident that he could not have thought that his informant had "troubled him." He must have felt it very necessary that immediate steps should be taken. The trouble was not one which was affecting a single church; the future of Catholic Christianity itself was in peril. Can any one imagine that a leader of the Church (not to say Paul, if any one still supposes it was he), realizing, as the writer of this Epistle realized, the extreme danger that was threatening the infant communities, could end up by writing: "Now I have given my view of this matter, don't worry me about it any more." No man in authority could have written anything so inconceivably stupid. And the writer of this Epistle was far from stupid, or indifferent to the spiritual welfare of the Christian community. One thing is certain, if the writer

of the whole Epistle wrote this verse, the Epistle is nothing but a spectacular show of feeling designed to give the appearance of reality to fictitious events.

Verse 11 has given occasion for much unprofitable debate : "Ἴδετε πηλίκους ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ, translated correctly in our Revised Version, "see with how large letters I have written unto you with my own hand." Some commentators still wish to translate the verse as it is rendered in the Authorized Version : "Ye see how large a letter I have written." But in the Pauline Epistles letter is always ἐπιστολή, and follows the verb in the accusative case—e.g., γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν (Rom. xvi, 22). Any one who considers the matter carefully must see that this is a very strange remark to be sandwiched between two sections. It would come more naturally just before the formal conclusion. Possibly that was once the case, since the following section is certainly a very late addition to the Epistle. But the verse is remarkable in itself. Is it likely that, after writing on so serious a topic, with his mind still under the influence of the gravity of it, the writer would call attention to the size of the characters in which it had been written? Evidently the sentence is intended to authenticate the Epistle, and the important words are : "with mine own hand." Now, the authentication might have been addressed to the recipients of the letter or to any one who should thereafter read it. In the former case it is implied that the recipients were acquainted with Paul's handwriting, therefore there was no need to testify solemnly to them that the letter had been written "with mine own hand." Also, a letter so important would not have been entrusted to anybody ; the messenger would have been of such a character that the recipients could have had no doubt that Paul had written it. If, however, as is probable, the letter was an open one of which copies were to be distributed among the churches, it is not likely that the copies were made by the writer himself. And if the verse was intended to impress readers of the Epistle who were unacquainted with Paul's handwriting, its insertion becomes very strong evidence that the Epistle is spurious. Its position in the middle of chapter vi renders it improbable that it came from the hand of the writer of the original Epistle.

We are now able to explain the fact that there are no interpolations by R2 after chapter iii. It is, of course, not impossible that even if the latter part of chapter iv, and chapters

v and vi, had been included in the Epistle in his time he might not have interpolated them. Nevertheless, the fact that he has not done so affords some measure of confirmation to the conclusion that the larger part at any rate of those sections was added by subsequent editors.

4.—THE ORIGINAL EPISTLE RECOVERED

One may gather from the terms in which the older Apostles are spoken of in this Epistle—in verses i, 17, ii, 2, 7, for example—and from the statement that Paul had been from birth divinely set apart for the work, that the title of Apostle was beginning to be restricted when the original Epistle was written. The words “an apostle,” therefore, after the name in the first verse, were probably placed there by the original writer; but the parenthesis which follows was inserted by a Catholic editor, as the form “Jesus Christ” shows. Moreover, the claim of the writer G was that Paul had been set apart to be an Apostle, not by Christ, after he had already reached manhood, but by God from his birth, from whom also he had received the revelation of the gospel (i, 15, 16). Later, no doubt, those who contested the claim of Paul having affirmed that only the personal followers of Jesus had a right to the title, the advocates for Paul thought it necessary to bring him also into direct relation with Christ. Whether verse 2 was in the original Epistle is very doubtful. Except in passages in which the first person plural is general, representing all Christians, or in which it represents certain persons named as in ii, 5, it is only employed twice in the whole course of the Epistle (i, 8, 9). The probability is that the original writer composed the Epistle in Paul’s name alone, and that verses 2, 8, and 9 were inserted by a later editor. Verse 8, moreover, is connected with 7 by the conjunction “But”; and, since verse 7 is almost certainly an interpolation, it follows that verse 8 is also one. In verse 6 the writer speaks of “a different gospel,” and in verse 11 also he implies that his own gospel was unique and of divine origin. Verse 7 says it is not another gospel. It is plain from the sequel that the particular gospel which the writer had in mind was that Christ had come in order to abrogate the law of Moses, and he could hardly have admitted that a denial of that fundamental doctrine was not another gospel. It looks as though some editor wished to deprecate

the idea that there could be more than one gospel, and corrected the original writer by saying that what was taught was not another gospel but a perversion of the true one. A motive for the interpolation on the side of the catholic party is indicated by Tertullian, from whom it can be inferred that the docetists had made use of the statement that others had preached a gospel different from that of Paul. Even until late in the second century the catholic leaders were vigorously combating docetism. One method employed by them was to insert anti-docetic verses into the New Testament scriptures. And it is likely that verse 7 is an example of such interpolation. For Tertullian says that Paul's reason for adding the parenthesis was his fear lest the idea of two gospels should seem to support the doctrine of two Gods—the supreme being of the Gnostics and Jahveh the Creator. The Gnostic Paul certainly would not have had any motive for guarding against the interpretation; but a catholic editor would, and a strong one, since the Gnostics had used the original verse as a weapon. For Tertullian, ostensibly addressing Marcion, writes: "As you would like to have it, the gospel of a new God was then defended by the Apostle. So that now there are two gospels connected with two Gods."¹

Verse 9, however, may be original. Verses 8 and 9 are almost verbally identical. It is safe to say that G, whose style is concise and pregnant, was not guilty of the clumsiness of the iteration. And, of the two, verse 8 is a stronger adjuration than 9, so that there seems no reason why the interpolator, after writing 8, should follow it with a repetition in a weaker form. But if 9 was there first, the interpolator of 7 might have thought that he would at the same time emphasize and strengthen the original form of adjuration by bringing in an angel from heaven. The first person plural in verse 9 is comprehensible, because the verse is a reference to Second Corinthians xi, 4, which is written in the plural, professing to come from Paul and Timothy jointly. So that the "we" in verse 9 would not stand for the brethren mentioned in 2, but for Paul and Timothy. As we, Paul and Timothy, said before, so I Paul, now say again. Verse 9 is quite a natural continuation of 6; and the phrase "any gospel other than that which ye received" is in tune with the expression "a different gospel."

¹ C. H. Weisse rejected verse 7.

C. H. Weisse perceived that verse 9 did not come from the hand which wrote verse 8, and he accordingly rejected it as an interpolation; but, for the reasons given, it is far more likely that 8 is the interpolated verse.

Verse 3 is a catholic formula which was added rather late to the introductory address of all these Epistles. And when that verse is rejected it is obvious that verses 4 and 5 must go with it.¹ So that the opening verses of the Epistle were, probably, "Paul, an apostle, unto the churches of Galatia," followed by verses 6 and 9. Verse 10 is irrelevant. Although it begins with the conjunction "For," it does not give the reason for the statement made in verse 9. The reason given by G is contained in verse 11, which expresses an idea incongruous with that put forward in verse 10. The gospel that has been preached is to be received because it was not "after man." It is most improbable that the writer separated from his statement this highly important and vital reason for it by the questions, "am I persuading men or God? or am I seeking to *please men?*," which involve an entirely different and indeed irrelevant idea and imply a much weaker reason. It is possible to discover the motive which prompted the interpolation; for it is closely connected with First Corinthians x, 33: "even as I also please men in all things." Evidently that verse had given occasion to opponents for the taunt that Paul had sought to please men rather than God.

Verse 12, or, at least, the second part of it, is certainly an interpolation; probably also 13 and 14. We will, however, first consider verse 12 on the assumption that 13 and 14 are original. The writer, having stated that his gospel was not "after man," proceeds to make good that statement by an account of the circumstances which had brought about his preaching of it. Writing as Paul, he gives a short sketch of his career leading up in an orderly sequence of events to the final climax—the revelation in him by God of the Son of God. Now G was by no means a slovenly writer; he knew how to write with vigour and had an eye for effect. He was an artist. So much so that critics cannot yet believe that he was only personifying Paul and was not the man himself. Would such a writer, leading up in the way described to a climax, have completely spoiled the artistic effect by antici-

¹ C. H. Weisse rejected these two verses.

pating the climax, and putting at the beginning the very important statement which verses 13 to 15 were obviously intended to prepare for and lead up to? But the probability is that the writer's preparation for the statement in verse 15 is simply that contained in the first part of verse 12, the words "but it came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ" having been added subsequently with verses 13 and 14. Verse 16 evidently carries on the thought of verses 11 and 12a, and amplifies the statement made in them. I did not receive the gospel from man, the writer says, because immediately I had had the revelation I conferred not with flesh and blood, but went away into Arabia. The two parts of this logically connected statement are separated in a somewhat clumsy manner by the long passage which intervenes. For reasons already given, Marcion must be held to be a valuable witness to the primitive text of these Epistles, and it will be shown later that verses 13 and 14 were almost certainly absent from his edition. But if verses 13 and 14 were absent from the original Epistle, verses 12 and 15 would have come together, and it is easy to see that that cannot have been the case, for then the passage would have read: *but* it came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ, *but* when it pleased God to reveal his Son in me. Besides the impossible awkwardness of the two *buts*, as soon as the verses are brought into juxtaposition the fact that they do not say the same thing is brought clearly out; affording additional proof that verse 12b was not written by the writer of verse 15. Verse 12 says that the gospel came to the writer through revelation of Jesus Christ. The last four words by themselves might, of course, mean that Jesus Christ was revealed, but the first part of the sentence shows that it was the gospel that was revealed, and that Jesus Christ consequently was the revealer. And it seems clear that what the writer of the verse had in mind was the vision on the road to Damascus in which the revelation did come from Jesus Christ, and so theologians have understood it. But verse 15 says that God was the revealer. The two statements are incompatible. No doubt, if the vision be interpreted as modern rationalizers interpret it, as a subjective phenomenon, it might be said to have been sent by God; but it is certain that the ancient writers did not so understand it. Whatever it was, or however the story originated, we cannot doubt that a writer of the second century believed that Jesus Christ had really appeared to Paul.

The writer of First Corinthians xv, 1 to 11, sees no difference between the appearance to Paul and the appearances to other disciples and apostles. We must take it, then, that the writer of verse 12 meant what he said—namely, that the revelation of the gospel to Paul came from Jesus Christ. Whereas G said that the revelation came direct from God. A modern psychologist who clings to the traditional theological beliefs may be able to reconcile the statement that “God revealed his Son *in* me” with the conception of a subjective vision of Jesus Christ; but such an idea would not have occurred to a writer of the second century.

The interpretation of verse 16 is a very important matter, which will be further considered hereafter. At present we are concerned merely with the fact that according to G the revelation came into the mind of Paul from God, and an appearance, supposed external, of Jesus Christ to Paul is excluded. But when the Judaic party contested the right of Paul to the title of Apostle, on the ground that only those whom Jesus had himself called had a right to it, the Pauline party put forward the assertion that Jesus had, in fact, appeared to Paul and had called him to be an Apostle. And the making of that assertion may reasonably be supposed to have been the motive of the interpolator of verse 12. There is no indication in the body of the Epistle that exclusive claims based upon personal relation to Jesus had been made when it was written. And if they had been, the fact could hardly have failed to appear. Finally, verse 12 is proved to be an interpolation by the form “Jesus Christ,” since G always writes “Christ Jesus.”

There are strong grounds for suspecting the originality of the clause “Who separated me, from my mother’s womb, and called me through his grace” in verse 15. The words “called” and “grace” do not occur at all in the early Gnostic Epistles, and the theology of the writer of this Epistle is very similar to, even in some important respects identical with, that of R1. It is therefore very doubtful if he could have used the phrase, “called me through his grace.” Certainly we have in verse 6, “called you in the grace of Christ.” But the calling of converts by a preacher is a very different thing from “calling by God,” which involves the Catholic dogma of election; and the phrase “*in* the grace of Christ” is free from the dogmatic implication of the statement that “God called me through his grace.” Moreover, on the evidence of

Tertullian¹ and the African Latin versions, the original reading in i, 6, was "called you in grace." MS. readings differ, some giving "grace of God." In a considerable number of MSS.² the word "God" is absent from verse 15, which suggests that there may have been some tampering with the text; for it is not likely that so important a word, which runs counter to no dogmatic position, would have been simply dropped out. "He who separated me, from my mother's womb" is a sufficient indication, and the insertion of the name is a pleonasm. It might, however, be the gloss of a copyist.

The hopeless perplexity which verses 3 and 4 of chapter ii have occasioned to commentators³ is a proof that there has been tampering with the text. No one who accepts it can give a plausible interpretation of it. The writer is made to say that Titus was not compelled to be circumcised because of the false brethren, which is sheer nonsense. The presence of the false brethren who came in as spies might have been a reason for circumcising Titus if Paul had yielded to them. But no intelligent man could have written that the presence of the spies was a reason for *not* circumcising Titus. Since Titus would certainly not have been circumcised in the absence of the spies, how can it be said that he was not circumcised because of their presence? Again, as some commentators have observed, the non-circumcision of Titus is referred to Jerusalem, while the "false brethren" were obviously brought in at Antioch, so that the latter circumstance cannot have been the reason for the former. Verse 4 evidently gives the reason for the statements made in verses 1 and 2. False brethren had come to Antioch with the object of unsettling the Pauline Christians. Paul consequently resolved to go to Jerusalem to have his doctrine confirmed by the pillar apostles. Verse 3 introduces inextricable confusion into a narrative otherwise clear. Dr. E. Sulze, in the preface to his edition of Weisse's *Beiträge zur Kritik der Paulinischen Briefe*, suggests that verse 3 has been displaced and should come before verse 6. But if critics were not so determined not to recognize interpolations in these Epistles, he and others would have perceived that the verse has not been displaced but inserted. The internal evidence being sufficient to justify rejection of the verse, we can find cor-

¹ *Adv. Marc.* v, 2. ² Including the *Codex Vaticanus*.

³ See Steck, *Der Galaterbrief*, pp. 111-13.

roboration in a circumstance which was previously adverted to—viz., that the names Timothy and Titus had been adopted as catchwords by two opposing parties in the Pauline communities. The catholicizing party took every opportunity of asserting, contrary to historical truth, that Titus was a close companion of Paul. That inference, and the inference that the verse in question has been interpolated, mutually support one another, since the first supplies a reason for the second. The original writer, as a genuine Paulinist, would not have given Titus to Paul as a companion. We may infer that the words "taking Titus also with me" in verse 1 were interpolated at the same time.¹

Dr. van den Bergh van Eysinga has drawn attention to the very suspicious fact that, whereas the name Cephas is elsewhere used throughout the Epistle, in two verses only, ii, 7 and 8, we have the name Peter. The verses may have been inserted by a Paulinist in order to provide evidence that Paul's apostleship had been fully admitted by the older Apostles.

In verse 16 of chapter ii "Jesus Christ" is followed by "Christ Jesus" in the very next verse. The two verses cannot have been written by the same man. It is true that a difference of MS. readings in the case of both the forms proves that the original readings have been tampered with. And that fact affords evidence that more importance was attached in early days to the use of these forms respectively than commentators have realized. The same tampering is observable in a good many other places. It is clear that a copyist whose christological doctrine was expressed in the form "Jesus Christ" would sometimes change the other into it; occasionally the reverse change was made, but less frequently, because "Jesus Christ" was the usual catholic form. In the present instance, while readings differ, MS. authority is very strongly in favour of the readings given in our Revised Version. That, indeed, would not be conclusive proof that the accepted readings are the original ones, but there is confirmatory internal evidence. Any one who will read the whole of verse 16 carefully will perceive that the expression of the thought is clumsy and pleonastic. The writer says: "We being Jews.....believed on Christ Jesus."

¹ Steck is possibly right in his opinion that verse 3 was suggested by Acts xvi, 3. But he is not justified in inferring that Galatians as a whole was composed later than Acts.

That statement is made as the ground of the reasoning which follows. It is made as a statement which will be accepted without dispute, so that inferences can be deduced from it; not as one which itself needs to be established by argument. And yet a reason for it, and that the same reason, is given both before and after it. The assertion in this place that "a man is not justified by the works of the law" is unnecessary, and is implied in the following sentence: "That we might be justified by faith in Christ, and not by the works of the law." The phrase "works of the law" occurs three times in the one verse. We have also "faith in Jesus Christ," "believed on Christ Jesus," "faith in Christ," in the same verse. The verse has been much discussed by commentators, who have not been able to agree as to their explanation of it. It has been observed that the statement "A man is not justified by the works of the law save through faith in Jesus Christ" contradicts the doctrine expressed elsewhere, without any qualification, that a man is not justified by the works of the law at all. It is contradicted even by the second half of the verse itself, which says: "That we might be justified by faith in Christ, and *not* by the works of the law." No wonder the critics are perplexed, but they have been beating the air in their discussions. The simple and obvious explanation is that the clause "Save through faith in Jesus Christ" has been interpolated.

The style of the writer G is vigorous and incisive. A clumsy, redundant, and self-contradictory paragraph of this kind would not be expected from him. And when, in addition to these considerations, we take into account the facts that "Jesus Christ" occurs in this verse, and that R2, who, as we know from Romans, was eager to bring in his favourite doctrine wherever he could see an opening for it, has also interpolated this Epistle, we have sufficient grounds for concluding that this verse has been interpolated by him. That he wrote the next verse there can be no doubt whatever. C. H. Weisse, who had a wonderfully keen instinct for the detection of manipulation of this kind, reconstructed this verse and the preceding one as follows: "We being Jews by nature, yet knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, even we believed on Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by faith in Christ." Which is a great improvement. The sentence, however, still reads somewhat awkwardly, and the doctrine of justification by faith which it contains is not

Pauline. The phrase "justified by faith in Christ" certainly could not have been written by R1; and the doctrine of G is so evidently founded upon that of R1 as to render it very doubtful whether he could have written it either. The Greek words translated "faith in Jesus Christ" and "faith in Christ" are πίστεις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ and πίστεις Χριστοῦ, a form of words which is only found twice elsewhere in the four Epistles—Romans iii, 22 and 26, both of which verses were written by R2. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that it was written here also by the same editor, since we know that he wrote the immediately following verses. The original reading of the two verses probably was: We being Jews by nature, yet knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, even we believed on Christ Jesus.

Verse 17, besides bearing obvious marks of the hand of R2, is absolutely irrelevant, and breaks the train of thought. Verse 18 does not give a reason for the statement made in 17, although it begins with the conjunction "For." And the case is no better if "But" be substituted. Verse 18 is clearly a continuation of 15 and 16. The writer says: although we are Jews we have destroyed the formalism of the law through the Spirit of Christ; and if I now build up again what I destroyed I am a transgressor. The writer who was developing this argument cannot have introduced verse 17 into the middle of it. There can be no doubt that 18 carries on the thought of 16; the sequence would, however, be improved if "But" were written instead of "For" at the commencement of 18. The conjunction may have been altered by the interpolator.¹

It was shown previously that verses 15 to 22 of chapter iii are in the style of R2 and reproduce the argument employed by the same writer in the Epistle to the Romans. Also that the word "promise" is not likely to have been used by G considering the character of his theological doctrine; and that, in fact, it is only found in this Epistle in sections which on other grounds can be proved to have been interpolated. There is also good reason to believe that G would not have founded an argument upon the Old Testament. Abraham is first mentioned in verse 6; so that the interpolation of R2 may have begun before verse 15. Also the form "Jesus

¹ The MSS. continually oscillate between *δέ* and *γάρ* where one of the two occurs.

Christ" in verse 1 indicates that the verse was not written by G. The section written by R2 extends to verse 22; we have, therefore, to find the verse which originally preceded 23. Now, that verse begins with the conjunction "But." Consequently, there was a logical connection between it and the verse which preceded it. Also that verse must say something about faith or about the law, and the relation between the two must be of an adversative character. If we look back, seeking such a verse, which also it must be possible to suppose not to have been written by R2, we do not find one until we get to verses 11 and 12. There is evidently a possible logical relation between verses 12 and 23, and the conjunction "But" would be quite in order if those two verses were in sequence. The quotations from the Old Testament, however, render it improbable that the verses 11 and 12 were written by the Pauline writer. If these two verses were written by him they contain the only reference to the Old Testament in the whole of his Epistle; whereas, in the context in which they stand, which did not come from G, there are quotations from the Old Testament both immediately before and immediately after them. It was shown before that verses 10 and 13 cannot have been written by G.¹ The probability, therefore, is rather against the two verses having formed part of the original Epistle than in favour of it.

If we continue our search, we do not find a verse which 23 could have followed until we reach verse 20 of the preceding chapter, which, we know, was written by G. The logical connection between the two verses is perfect. It is much closer than that between verses 12 and 23 of chapter iii. The writer says (ii, 20): and that life which I now live I live in faith; (iii, 23) but before faith came we were kept in ward under the law. G certainly did not write ii, 21. The word "grace" is not found at all in the three early Gnostic Epistles, and in the Pauline Gnostic sections of this Epistle it occurs only in verse 6 of chapter i: "him that called you in the grace of Christ," or, according to the probably more original reading, "called you into grace," where it is obviously quite free from the dogmatic implication which it has in ii, 21; and in ii, 9, in a stereotyped formula in which the connotation of the word differs even more from that which it has in ii, 21, where the doctrine

¹ Section 2.

implied is that of R2. And the phrase "I do not make void the grace of God" would be quite unintelligible if we had not had the bearing of it illustrated by the exposition of the doctrine of R2 in Romans, which must, therefore, be anterior to it. But if the verse was written at a later date than the sections by R2 in Romans, it cannot have come from the pen of the original writer of Galatians, and, if not written by R2 himself, is probably of later date than the interpolations of that editor in the latter Epistle.

It is extremely unlikely that verses 1 to 5 of chapter iii were written by G. The reception of the Spirit "by the hearing of faith" is not Pauline doctrine. Nor do we find that idea anywhere in the sections written by R2. It implies a conception of faith somewhat different from his.¹ The whole section, verses 1 to 14, is a medley. The current of thought changes abruptly between verses 5 and 6, 9 and 10, 12 and 13. In verses 3 to 5 a number of questions are asked to which we should expect to find the answers in 6 and the following verses. Instead of which we are suddenly plunged into a disquisition upon the faithfulness of Abraham which has no direct bearing upon the immediately foregoing questions. Steck noted the want of continuity between verses 5 and 6. So did Weisse, who accordingly inferred that verses 6 to 10 have been interpolated. But the reference in verses 15 and 16 to the covenant and to God's promise to Abraham would be startlingly abrupt if no mention of them had been previously made. Verses 15 to 22 imply verses 6 to 9, and the simplest explanation is that the two sections were originally continuous and are due to the same interpolator, R2. Verses 10 to 14 appear to be a later interpolation; that section, however, is itself not homogeneous. The opening words of verse 6 obviously refer to something which had been written just before. They cannot be logically made to refer to verse 5, but they form a possible continuation of ii, 21. That verse, indeed, is the only one with which they could be connected: "if righteousness is through the law, then Christ died for nought. Even as Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness, know therefore that they which be of faith, the same are sons of Abraham." The reasoning is, even as Abraham was justified apart from the law by faith in God, so the Christian will be

¹ It is akin to the doctrine of R3. Cp. Romans x, 8, 9, 13, and 17.

justified apart from the law and become a son of Abraham through faith, by means of the death of Christ.

Unless the questions in verses 2 to 5 are merely rhetorical, the writer must have supplied some sort of answer to them. A possible answer is found in verses 11 and 12, which break the connection between verses 10 and 13. Compare iii, 5: "He that supplieth to you the Spirit doeth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?"; 11, "Now that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God is evident; for, the righteous shall live by faith; and the law is not of faith." All that was necessary was for the interpolator to supply a transition from verse 5 to verse 23, which at the time would be the next following verse. Verses 11 and 12 were sufficient for the purpose. C. H. Weisse, no doubt rightly, rejected the first half of verse 14 as a later interpolation between the second half and the preceding verse. The disentanglement of such a medley as this chapter presents is so difficult that all conclusions with regard to it must be somewhat uncertain. Even if the solution here offered is a likely one, there are still difficulties to be cleared up. If iii, 6, is the continuation of ii, 21, the intervening verses must have been written later; whence it follows that verse 11, the supposed continuation of 5, is also later than verses 6 to 9. On the other hand, if verses 6 to 9 have been interpolated between 5 and 11, verse 11 must be earlier than verses 6 to 9. A possible solution is that the interpolations were made independently in two different MSS., or groups of MSS., and that subsequently, on the occasion of a collation of MSS., the passages were interwoven.

Note that in verse 22, which concludes the section written by R2, we have the form "Jesus Christ," but in the following section, which belongs to the original Epistle, "Christ Jesus" occurs twice. Verse 29, in which Abraham's seed are said to be "heirs according to promise," is obviously an interpolation suggested by the word "heir" in the following verse. The word has not the same significance in the two verses. In the first of them those who are Christ's are declared to be heirs of all which the Jews were to have inherited according to the promise made by God to Abraham. In the second verse (iv, 1) the heir is the child who through Christ becomes the spiritual Son of God and inherits the sonship (*υιοθεσια*). We can be very sure that the Pauline writer had no concern with the promise made by God to Abraham.

In verse 5 of chapter iii the words "worketh miracles among you" are a translation of *ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν*. This phrase was discussed in section 2 of the chapter on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. Whether it originally meant "working miracles" is, as there shown, very doubtful. A late writer may possibly have understood it in that sense. Placing himself in Paul's time, he may have imagined that miracles were then performed. The phrase "signs and wonders," also, is only found in comparatively late strata of the Epistles. Paul himself did not claim to have worked miracles, and, as previously pointed out, did not estimate highly the "inward working of powers," whatever that may have been.

It is inferrible from the quotation by Tertullian, in two separate places,¹ of verse 4 of chapter iv, that the words, "born of a woman, born under the law," were absent from Marcion's MS., in which case they may be an interpolation. Tertullian quotes, "when the fulness of time came God sent forth his Son," and there stops. He was arguing in this book that Paul was *his* Apostle; that Paul preached *his* Christ and not Marcion's; Marcion's Christ being a docetic Christ, the son of the Supreme Being, not born of a woman, who had come to terminate the Jewish law which was an institution of the inferior deity, the Creator. In the verse quoted, as we now have it, Paul is made to declare plainly that the Christ he preached was indeed Tertullian's Christ; the most satisfying evidence he could have desired. He devises ingenious arguments through many pages, sometimes even twisting the plain meaning of a text, in order to show that Paul's Christ was not Marcion's Christ; and here, where he has a declaration which in eight words² affirms plainly what he endeavoured to prove in twenty chapters, the writer asserting without any ambiguity that his Christ, being born of a woman, is certainly not Marcion's Christ, Tertullian quotes the sentence up to those very words and then stops short. The evidence was, in fact, so immensely important for Tertullian's case that his passing it over induces a suspicion that the words were absent from his own MS. If he had had them, one would have expected him to quote them in support of his argument and then charge Marcion with having excised them. He simply ignores

¹ *Adv. Marc.* v, 2 and 8.

² In the Greek, six.

them ; yet he was too keen, not to say unscrupulous, a controversialist not to have got whatever advantage he could out of them. No doubt, if he had quoted the phrase, the Marcionites would immediately have replied that the words were not Paul's words at all but a Catholic interpolation, actually inserted for the very purpose that they might be used against the docetists ; but if Tertullian had been sure of his ground he need not have been deterred by his knowledge of what the Marcionites were sure to say. I know, of course, that Tertullian quoted elsewhere part of the phrase, "born of a woman," but he might meanwhile have seen that in another MS.

When the foregoing was written I had not seen Weisse's reconstruction of the Epistle to the Galatians. The opinion that the words in question are probably an interpolation is strongly confirmed by the fact that Weisse, through the application of his own principles of textual criticism, was led to reject them. He also necessarily rejected the first half of verse 5 ; for the statement, "that he might redeem them which were under the law," appears to have been written in order to explain why it was thought necessary that Christ should have been born under the law. Also, in verse 5, two distinct reasons are given involving different doctrine, of which the second does not seem to have been given as a reason for the statement "born under the law," but for the sending by God of his Son, or the Spirit of his Son. Weisse read : "when the fulness of the time came, that we might receive the sonship, God sent forth the Spirit of his Son," etc.

Some grammatical incongruities in the section iii, 23, to iv, 11, generate the belief that the section is not homogeneous. We find in it sudden and unnatural changes from the first person plural into the second and back again. For example, in verses 25 and 26 : "Now that faith is come, *we* are no longer under a tutor. For *ye* are all sons of God.' The "we" subsections are verses 23 to 25 and verses iv, 1 to 5. It is evident that it was the writer G who used the second person, and that the other passages have been imported. And yet they cannot be interpolations, because G draws conclusions from them. The inference to which we are directed is that the writer of the Epistle absorbed the two subsections from an earlier document, and omitted to alter the person of the verbs. It may be noted that it is just these verses which

contain the figure of the law as a tutor, and iv, 1, naturally follows iii, 25, which, as we saw, 26 does not; (iii, 25) "now that faith is come we are no longer under a tutor"; (iv, 1) "But so long as the heir is a child, he differeth nothing from a bondservant." The ideas are logically consecutive though some connecting words may possibly have been omitted. I suppose that G was pleased with the parallel and decided to borrow it. Between verses iii, 25, and iv, 1, he made an application of it to the matter in hand; and possibly introduced the words "I say" into iv, 1, in order to pick up the thread which he had thus broken. The style and terminology (e.g., "sonship") of these imported verses are consistent with the conjecture that R1 may have written them. If he did, it is quite certain that the words "born of a woman, born under the law," did not form part of them.

Another violent change, not only in the person but also in the number of the verb, is observable between verses 6 and 7 of chapter iv: "God sent the Spirit of his Son into *our* hearts. So that *thou* art no longer a bondservant." The second person singular is not found elsewhere in the Epistle. There can be very little doubt that verse iv, 7, has been interpolated. There is a difference of MS. readings in this verse, some MSS. giving "an heir of God through Christ," as it stands in the Authorized Version. That corresponds with the Gnostic doctrine of the original Epistle. The phrase "an heir through God" is more in conformity with the doctrine of R2. If, therefore, the reading preferred by the revisers of the New Testament is the original one, the verse is beyond all doubt an interpolation. Otherwise it may possibly, though very improbably, have been written by G in the form in which it stands in the A.V., and have been altered in some MSS. in a catholic sense.¹

Verses 17 and 18 of chapter iv break the current of thought in an unnatural manner. In verses 12 to 16 the writer is making an urgent personal appeal to his readers; his mind is fixed upon the intimate relationship which has existed between Paul and themselves, and the same note is predominant in verses 19 and 20. The platitudinous and apparently irrelevant remark in verse 18, "it is good to be zealously sought in a good matter at all times," strikes a jarring note. If the Epistle had been genuine it is unlikely

¹ C. H. Weiss rejects the words "through God."

that Paul would have interrupted his passionate pleading with a general observation which does not flow naturally out of the course of his ideas. But even as it is the two verses 17 and 18 come in awkwardly, and are difficult to understand in relation to their context. Verse 17 begins with the pronoun "They," but in the whole of the preceding part of the chapter there is no noun to which it can refer. For this and other reasons Weisse rejected the verse. He retained 18; but if 17 is rejected it seems necessary to reject 18 also, because the transition from 16 to 18 is quite too violent to be possible. No doubt for that reason Weisse translated the verb *ζηλοῦσθαι* "to be zealous," as though it were in the middle voice; but even so the verse is decidedly irrelevant. The suspicious character of the two verses is reflected in the trouble they have given to commentators, who, in the endeavour to give a plausible interpretation of them, have written a good deal without much success and without being able to agree with one another.¹ From what do the unnamed persons desire to shut the Galatians out? is a question to which no satisfying answer has been given. The writer says "it is good to be sought in a good matter always, not only when I am present with you," which is quite irrelevant to the supposed circumstances, in which the congregation were being sought with an evil motive. The observation is pointless in this context. Steck explains the verses as a reminiscence of Second Corinthians xi, 2, "I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy" (*ζηλώ γὰρ ὑμᾶς Θεοῦ ζήλω*). But it is evident that the verses are more likely to have been written by an interpolator than by the original writer.

It has been shown already that verses 21 to 31 of chapter iv have been interpolated, and all that follows v, 1, appended later. V, 1, is the concluding verse. It followed iv, 20, if the section iv, 12 to 20, formed part of the original Epistle. Either the Epistle had no formal conclusion, or it has been lost. The catholic formula with which the present Epistle terminates must have been added by an editor.

5.—THE EPISTLE AS AN HISTORICAL DOCUMENT—PAUL'S VISITS TO JERUSALEM.

There can, of course, be no question of treating this Epistle as an historical document in the ordinary sense of

¹ Steck has discussed the two verses fully. *Der Galaterbrief*, pp. 131-33.

the word, or in the sense in which it has hitherto been almost universally believed to be one. It is not the work of a man who was recording events which had occurred to himself. It was written with a purpose to which facts were subservient, as were all the documents of which the New Testament is composed; even the Acts of the Apostles; in which, though there is no doubt a substratum of historic truth, facts have been coloured, suppressed, or even invented, in order to produce the impression which the composer desired to produce. But every ancient document which bears an ascertainable relation to the circumstances amid which it was written has historic value. We must, however, first have the key to it. If it is a controversial document we must interpret it in the light of the known motives of the writer and the impression he aims at making upon the minds of his readers. And if, as in the case we are now considering, the document is pseudonymous, we must allow for the fact that the writer, so far as he records real events, does so with a view to their bearing upon certain circumstances then present. No New Testament writer would have thought that he was committing a breach of any ethical law by colouring facts in accordance with his purpose and the circumstances to which he was applying them. Keeping in mind such considerations as these, it will be possible to make inferences from a document like the Epistle to the Galatians which will have historical value, although it would be very unsafe to accept as literally true any unsupported statements made in it. It is not the first-hand evidence of a witness as to events in which he had himself been an agent.

Verse 9 of chapter i, "As we have said before, so say I now again, If any man preacheth unto you any gospel other than that which ye received, let him be anathema," is a direct reference to Second Corinthians xi, 4. Yet the circumstances to which the warning is applied do not appear to be the same. The men against whom Second Corinthians, chapters x to xii, were directed were preaching "another Jesus." It is to be observed that the writer of Galatians avoids the phrase "another Jesus." He says several times that those who were troubling the congregation were preaching another *gospel*. And it becomes clear later on what in his view the difference between Paul's gospel and theirs was, particularly in verses 15 and 16, "We being Jews by nature yet knowing that a

man is not justified by the works of the law believed on Christ Jesus." The Jewish emissaries were now saying that the law had not been abrogated, but it is clearly implied that Paul and the older Apostles had all believed on the same Christ Jesus. That is also inferrible from the statement that not very long before Paul had submitted his own doctrine to James and Peter and John, who had approved of it and given him the right hand of fellowship that he should go to the Gentiles. A writer cannot, in a single letter, have claimed that the gospel he preached had obtained the cordial acquiescence of certain men and have charged the very same men with preaching "another Jesus." He does not, in fact, do so. The only difference, a very important one certainly, which he now asserts to exist between their gospel and his is that, according to his, the Jewish law has been abrogated in Christ while they deny it. The men, therefore, who were attacked in Second Corinthians because they preached "another Jesus" were not the heads of the church at Jerusalem. In reality, the Jesus preached by Paul was not the same as the Jesus preached by the Jewish Apostles, but either the writer of Galatians in the interest of unity wished it to be believed that all the early Apostles had preached the same Jesus, or he desired to parry the violent attack which was being made upon Paul from the Jewish side by representing that his doctrine had been submitted to the Jewish Apostles and approved by them. Possibly fusion and modification of doctrine had by this time proceeded so far that original differences were beginning to be forgotten, except by the docetists who carried on the genuine Pauline tradition. The Judaic attack upon Paul at this time was less on account of what he had taught about Jesus than on account of his determination to subvert the law of Moses. And it was that determination of his which led to his being put forward by the Catholic leaders as their champion against the Judaizers, who were at the beginning of the second century even a greater danger to the success of the Catholic aims than the docetists then were. Docetism, of course, continued to be a danger for a considerable time, and the words "born of a woman, born under the law," in verse 4 of chapter iv, were evidently directed against it. But, seeing that the writer of this Epistle was combating Judaism and not docetism, it seems more likely that the words quoted were inserted by a Catholic editor than that they were written by the original

author. The Judaic pressure had probably begun when chapter xi of Second Corinthians was written. That seems to be inferrible from verse 20, in which the writer says: "ye bear with a man if he bringeth you into bondage." The slightness of that reference may be taken as showing that the Judaic menace was then unimportant in comparison with the docetic. By the time Galatians was written the conditions had been reversed.

In verse 13 we read: "ye have heard of my manner of life in time past in the Jews' religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted the Church of God." It is a very strange thing that in the three earlier Epistles the only reference to Paul's persecution of the church occurs in a section, First Corinthians xv, 1-11, which must be judged to be very late, certainly later than the first edition of Galatians. If so serious an episode in the life of Paul had really occurred, how is it that up to about 100 A.D. there is no evidence of it whatever? The belated statements in Galatians cannot be accepted as sufficient to establish the truth of a reported event which, if it occurred, must have occurred more than sixty years before. It may be asked: Why suppose that it did not occur? What reason is there for doubting it? Certainly if there were no reason for doubting the fact, the evidence of Galatians could be accepted as proof of a tradition which might be presumed to have some historical foundation. But there is much reason for doubting it. In addition to the negative evidence involved in the fact that there is no hint of the episode in all the earlier strata of the Epistles, positive evidence may be found in a passage in the 5th book of Tertullian's work against Marcion¹ which implies that Marcion had denied that Paul had persecuted the church. Tertullian, after stating that Paul in his youth had persecuted the churches and had later become the teacher of the Gentiles, proceeds: "For also the early hostility of Saul towards David and his subsequent repentance and making compensation pre-figured nothing else but Paul, who was of the tribe of Saul, and Jesus who was David's by descent through the virgin. If these sacred parallels displease you, certainly the Acts of the Apostles has delivered to me the career of Paul, which you also ought not to deny. From that work I show that Paul was a persecutor; from it I bring even you to believe; by it

¹ Cap. 1.

I drive you from your defence of him." I do not see how these words can have any other meaning than that Marcion had defended Paul against the accusation that he had been a persecutor. Marcion had a share of that critical acumen in which the early catholic writers were quite lacking; and his judgment is worth more than that of a dozen Tertullians. Tertullian was mistaken in thinking that in the Acts of the Apostles he had a weapon which would bring the heretic down on to his knees, since Marcion was well aware that the Acts of the Apostles is a falsified document. Tertullian's flourishing of it is, indeed, pure rhetoric, because he himself knew that Marcion would not recognize its authority.¹ A little later, commenting upon the Epistle to the Galatians, Tertullian says²: "after that, by sketching the course of his conversion from a persecutor into an Apostle, he confirms the scripture of the Apostles." Why should Tertullian have made such a point of that confirmation if the fact had not been denied? But if Marcion denied the fact, his edition of Galatians cannot have contained verses 13, 14, and 23 of chapter i, which may thence be inferred to have been interpolated.³ It will perhaps be asserted that Marcion would have expunged the verses. That is not impossible. But further evidence, independent of the opinion of Marcion, will be given later in support of the belief that the story of Paul's persecution of Christians is rather late legend. That being so, the original writer of Galatians, as a strong Paulinist, was as likely to have denied it as Marcion himself if he had ever heard it. He falsified history in the interest of his polemic, but that interest by no means required that he should make untrue accusations against the man from whom he had inherited his theological doctrine. There is, indeed, internal evidence in the Epistle itself that the original writer of it was either ignorant of the story or rejected it.

Furthermore, there are in the Acts of the Apostles, in spite of manipulation by the composer of that work, indications which raise a serious doubt in the face of which the belated evidence of Galatians is not sufficient to establish the

¹ *Adv. Marc.* v, 2. Quodsi et ex hoc congruunt Paulo Apostolorum Acta cur ea respuatis jam apparet. Also v, 51.

² *Ibid.* cap 2.

³ Reasons for rejecting verse 13 have been given. An additional reason for suspecting it is the phrase "in the Jews' religion" (*ἐν τῷ Ἰουδαϊσμῷ*), which would come strangely from a writer who was probably a Jew addressing readers many of whom were Jews.

fact. In the first place, there is reason to believe that Paul had never been to Jerusalem until he visited it on his way to Rome. As previously observed, that was the occasion on which, according to First Corinthians and Romans, Paul conveyed thither the alms which had been collected in Achaia and Macedonia. And the evidence of those Epistles is confirmed by Acts xxiv, 17. Doubt is thus thrown upon the journey for that purpose recorded in Acts xi, 30. It is true that the sections referred to are very late; but the evidence of Galatians contradicts the statement made in Acts xi, 30. For it is plain that the writer of Galatians was recording all the journeys known to him which Paul had made—or, rather, was supposed to have made—to Jerusalem, and he mentions no such visit. With regard to the first supposed visit after Paul's conversion the writer of Galatians says (i, 18): "Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas, and tarried with him fifteen days. But other of the Apostles saw I none except James." In the Acts of the Apostles, however, we read (ix, 27): "Barnabas took him and brought him to the apostles.....And he was with them going in and going out at Jerusalem." What confidence can be placed in the evidence of witnesses who contradict one another so absolutely with regard to a fact which must have been well known if there had been any foundation for it at all? Theologians have made the most desperate attempts to reconcile the contradictory accounts of these visits; but it is nothing but a quibble when they pretend that the plural "apostles" in Acts means only Peter and James. The writer of Galatians also says that Paul remained in Jerusalem only fifteen days on that occasion, and that his sole purpose was to visit Cephas. Which, again, is irreconcilable with the statement in Acts that Paul preached boldly and disputed with the Grecian Jews; a statement which rather implies more than a fifteen days' visit, and certainly more than a private visit to Peter. The inference that the composer of Acts intended to represent Paul's stay in Jerusalem as longer than fifteen days is confirmed by his own words in the speech he made before Agrippa (Acts xxvi, 20). Even though we interpret those words to mean that Paul was part of the time in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem and not actually living in it, they contradict the obvious implication of Galatians.

It is not necessary to decide which account is the more reliable. The point is that if there should appear to be

reason for doubting that Paul went to Jerusalem at all at the time stated, the evidence of such witnesses cannot be held to be of much weight in the opposite scale. The writer of Galatians, after giving his evidence, declares: "Now touching the things which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not." Methinks the gentleman doth protest too much. Imagine a bishop, when writing to the churches in his diocese, condescending to make such an asseveration! His truthfulness would be taken for granted. Could not the truthfulness of Paul be taken for granted by his congregations? Of course, the writer was not Paul. The statements of the two writers being irreconcilable, the only tenable position for conservative critics would be to surrender the account in Acts and maintain that the one given by Galatians is true. In this case there are no means of testing the evidence of the latter; in the case which follows it will be possible to do so, and we shall see this witness discredited.

The next supposed visit is the one recorded in Acts, chapter xv, and Galatians, chapter ii. It is superfluous to consider the question whether these two accounts are intended to refer to the same visit. The fact is now disputed by few critics of repute. Theologians have only been impelled to argue the contrary by the utter impossibility of reconciling the two; for in this case, again, the two writers contradict one another in the most hopeless fashion. According to Acts, Paul and Barnabas were deputed by the church at Antioch to see the Apostles in Jerusalem because certain men from there had come saying that the Christians at Antioch must be circumcised. According to Galatians, Paul went, not as an appointed deputy, but "by revelation," evidently of his own accord; and his purpose was to lay before the older Apostles the gospel which he preached among the Gentiles. That statement is perfectly incredible. It does not agree with the impression given elsewhere in the Epistle, in which the real truth no doubt escapes. Of this we may be quite sure, that Paul's preaching was independent of the doctrine of the Jewish Apostles, and that he would not for a moment have thought of consulting them upon the matter. If he had had any anxiety on that subject, would he, after his conversion, have carefully avoided conferring with any one (Gal. i, 16, 17), and preached his new doctrine for three years before going up to Jerusalem (accepting, for the sake of argument, the statements in Galatians)? Then, while he

was staying with Peter, the two men had ample opportunity for the exchange of views. If Paul cared at all what Peter thought, he must have known on leaving Jerusalem whether his own doctrine was in conflict with Peter's, or no. He goes away and preaches for fourteen years, and is then suddenly seized with apprehension lest he should be preaching something unorthodox. Can any thinking man who has not taken a position which he must defend at all costs really believe that we have here a true account of Paul's sentiments and motives? Enough has been said in this book to prove that Paul's doctrine was independent of, and different from, the Jewish Messianic Christology which emanated from Jerusalem. And the writer of Galatians shows in several passages that he was sufficiently aware of Paul's independence of the older Apostles. Since the motive assigned by him for the visit is thus false, grave doubt is thrown upon the veracity of the writer.

The motive assigned in Acts is not more probable, since, as already shown, the evidence of the Epistles is against the question of circumcision of Gentiles having arisen at so early a date. Galatians is no exception. Indeed, the Epistle confirms the negative evidence of the others very strongly. Of course, at the date when it was written the controversy had broken out. But evidently it had not been in progress very long. If the judgment, recorded in Acts xv, 19 and 20, in which the Jewish Apostles unequivocally dispensed Gentile converts from the obligation to be circumcised, had really been obtained, it would have furnished a very powerful argument to the writer of this Epistle; and it is impossible that he could have failed to use it. If a controversialist has the chance of answering his opponent out of his own mouth, will he not grasp it? We are asked to believe that, at the very time when circumcision was being pressed upon the Gentile converts, there existed, in writing, a dispensation obtained by Paul himself from the Jewish Apostles, and that the writer of Galatians failed to support his argument by referring to it. That is simply incredible. Since, therefore, both the assigned motives for the visit are demonstrably false, the fact of the visit itself becomes more than doubtful.

And the incompatibility extends yet further. It is stated in the Acts of the Apostles that Paul and Barnabas were sent by the heads of the church in Jerusalem to convey the decree to the Gentile churches. And that they accordingly went

straight away to Antioch, and from there to Syria and Cilicia. Next they visited the churches of Derbe and Lystra, in the Roman Province of Galatia, and we are told explicitly that the decree was delivered to those churches.¹ Then Paul and Barnabas went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia.² Now, since the object of this journey was to promulgate the decree, it must, of course, have been communicated at that time to the Galatians. How, then, was it that, when it became necessary to write the Epistle to the Galatians, the Galatians evidently had never heard of it? Holsten says: "since the discussion at Jerusalem affected the Galatians, it remains inexplicable how Paul should not have prepared this through the addition *and Galatia*" (Gal. i, 21). Is it not remarkable that when theologians meet with so very many statements or omissions which "remain inexplicable"—i.e., on their presuppositions—it does not occur to them that their presuppositions may be in error? Some commentators assume that Paul had not previously visited Galatia proper. But, even if that had been the case, he could hardly have left the Galatian converts on this occasion without acquainting them with a decision just previously arrived at, which was of so great importance to all the Gentile congregations. And if this Epistle was written to the churches of Galatia proper, it is exceedingly strange that, when the supposed decree was infringed, churches so remote and inaccessible should have had to bear the first brunt of the Judaic attack.

There is also in the account of the conference between Paul and the Jewish Apostles in Galatians internal evidence of unreality. The compromise stated to have been agreed upon was obviously unworkable. Seeing that all the principal towns of Greece and Asia Minor contained both Jews and Greeks, it was impossible to define the spheres of labour in the manner supposed; and, according to the Acts of the Apostles, which in this matter is no doubt correct, the synagogues which Paul visited during his missionary journeys comprised both Jews and Greeks. Nay, more, the writer of Acts tells us that Paul, in defiance of the agreement recorded in Galatians, made a point of addressing the Jews first. The only way in which that agreement could have been practicable was by applying it not ethnically but locally. As a matter of fact, according to Acts, Paul, immediately after his return from

¹ Acts xvi, 1, 4.

² Acts xvi, 6.

Jerusalem, started upon a missionary journey in the course of which he visited Thessalonica, where, in complete defiance of the compact, he went straightway to the synagogue of the Jews (chapter xvii). Was Paul a man of no principle? At any rate, the only way in which his honour can be preserved is by maintaining either that the compact at Jerusalem had never been made, or that it gave Paul full liberty outside Judæa, and in that case the decree recorded in Acts, if it was ever issued, must have applied to Jews as well as Gentiles in the Pauline communities. But then, how can we explain the facts that the Galatians knew nothing of the decree and that the writer of the Epistle makes no appeal to it. Evidently, Acts knows nothing of the agreement recorded in Galatians, and Galatians knows nothing of the decree recorded in Acts.

According to the Epistle to the Galatians, the question of the Jewish law first came up when Cephas went to Antioch, and then not in connection with circumcision, but with the eating together of Jews and Gentiles. It is doubtful whether that visit of Cephas to Antioch is historical. The Acts of the Apostles does not mention it. And the details of the incident recorded in Galatians are far from possessing obvious marks of veracity. The fact that so important a meeting of the Apostles is not reported in Acts, and is difficult to fit into the course of events there related, might be ignored; but the story is inherently improbable and inconsistent. Paul says to Peter: "If thou being a Jew, livest as do the Gentiles"; and in verse 16 the same thing is implied. There is some ambiguity about the meaning of the Greek verb ζῆς, whether it means "thou livest habitually" or "thou art living now." Paul can hardly have used the verb in the latter sense at the time when Peter had, in fact, drawn back and refused to eat with Gentiles. If, on the other hand, it had been the custom of Peter to live like a Gentile, the fact must have been well known to his Jewish companions; why, then, should they have interfered with him on this occasion, or why should he have regarded their protests? If, again, we use some violence to the word ζῆς and make it mean "you have just been living," there is no point or relevance in what follows. By altering his manner of life Peter confessed that he had been wrong before, so that his previous action could not logically be made a standard to judge him by. Again, the writer represents Paul as saying: "How compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" But Peter had not done

so ; he had simply refused to eat with them. And Peter could not have endeavoured to make Gentiles live as Jews if, as the writer had related in verse 9, he had cordially approved of Paul's mission to Gentiles. He must have known well enough that Paul was not going to Gentiles to teach them to Judaize. The statement that Peter was forcing Gentiles to Judaize comes in very unnaturally. It was evidently introduced as a text for the argument which follows, in which the writer passes very abruptly from the account of the meeting to an appeal made directly to his readers. The incident recorded is devoid of actuality, but it supplies some evidence in support of the contention that the question of circumcision had not arisen in the days of Peter and Paul. Apparently, at first, the Jewish Christians made no attempt to dictate conditions to the Gentiles, but refused to eat with them, no doubt to avoid the risk of eating food which in the Jewish legal sense was unclean. It was only later that they began the endeavour to enforce Jewish observances upon the Gentile Christians.¹

Another visit of Paul to Jerusalem is mentioned in Acts, chapter xviii, verse 22. A few theologians, following Volkmar, realizing the impossibility of reconciling the accounts in Galatians and Acts xv, have assumed that the meeting described in the second chapter of Galatians is the one mentioned in Acts xviii. The assumption is quite arbitrary ; but, since no details of the visit are given, there is full scope for the imagination. Anything you like may have happened ; but it is very improbable that anything important did happen during a visit which is referred to in the most casual manner in the words "he went up and saluted the church." Since the fact of the visit is not corroborated by the writer of Galatians, it is not unreasonable to consider as an open question whether it took place at all.² The theologians who believe that it is the visit described in Galatians have to explain the amazing fact that the meeting in which the charter of Gentile freedom was secured, according to Acts, is absolutely ignored by the writer of Galatians. Volkmar got

¹ A very complete discussion of the discrepancies between Galatians and Acts, though on the hypothesis that the Epistle is genuine, will be found, with references to authorities, in *Supernatural Religion*, vol. iii, chapter vii.

² Zeller rejected it ; *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 303. Holsten also says we must reject as unhistorical the two journeys mentioned in Acts xi, 30 ; xviii, 22. To do that is to discredit the evidence of Acts completely, and its account of the visit in chapter xv ceases to have historical value,

over the difficulty by rejecting the fifteenth chapter of Acts as unhistorical. Theologians wish to have it believed that everything is quite in order with regard to this Epistle, but they can only succeed in giving their explanations a fictitious appearance of consistency by arbitrary assumptions, and by arbitrary suppression and selection of passages. The real frailty of their constructions has been demonstrated by Rudolf Steck.¹ And they cannot agree upon the place and date at which the Epistle may have been composed. One critic, in order to make a certain place and date probable, has to make assumptions which another critic rejects. According to the oldest tradition, the Epistle was composed at Rome. The tradition is very possibly correct, but it will not fit in with the generally received opinion as to its authorship and the circumstances which occasioned it. So that opinion was rejected and Ephesus chosen as the place of origin. On examination, that place also was found to involve difficulties; so Volkmar assumed that it was written at Antioch, Bleek thought it must have been written in Macedonia or at Corinth about the year 59. In the opinion of Hausrath, however, it must have been written in the year 53 from the Troad. Where the authorities are so unreliable some hypothesis is indeed necessary, but it must justify itself by leading to conclusions which are consistent with each other and with the known facts, and must also explain satisfactorily the distortion of the facts and the conflict of our authorities. When the original hypothesis can only be made to yield credible conclusions by frequent and arbitrary subsidiary assumptions, and by arbitrary selection and adjustment of the data, leading to disputes without any prospect of settlement, the rational procedure would be to abandon it and try another one.

The only assumption with regard to these documents which promises to give light is that they were written with a purpose. And it is not difficult to conjecture the motives of the two writers, and in the light of them to interpret the picture which each of them puts before us. The writer of Galatians was aware that Paul's doctrine was different from and independent of the doctrine of the Jewish Apostles. There is no reason to suppose that in representing it as independent he was inventing. And if it was independent

¹ *Der Galaterbrief*, Part I, chapter ii.

the presumption is that it was different. A. Pierson and R. Steck have put forward as an argument for the spuriousness of the Epistle to the Galatians the extreme improbability of the behaviour of Paul as therein recorded. Steck thinks it incredible that as soon as Paul had become convinced that Jesus was the Messiah, he should not at once have sought information from the men who had been personally acquainted with him. The incredibility, however, is not inherent in the fact related; it is only so in relation to the traditional view of the origin of Christianity. The fact is no doubt entirely in conflict with that view, but it is quite in harmony with the character of the doctrine found in the earliest strata of the Pauline Epistles, the strata which alone have any claim to be considered as genuine Pauline writings. The Christ Jesus of Paul was not a Jewish Messiah but altogether a divine being. The dogmatic teaching of the early Gnostic Epistles is not related to any historical person, and if it could be appreciated without prepossessions it would be seen to be deducible completely from pre-Christian ideas. The writer of Galatians, in order to make the authority of Paul equivalent to that of the Jewish Apostles, ascribes to his teaching a divine origin, direct inspiration from God; but if we interpret the statement as signifying that Paul reached his position by a mental process which was in no way influenced by "traditions" from Jerusalem, the interpretation is quite consistent with the earliest documentary evidence we have—viz., the Gnostic sections of Romans and First and Second Corinthians.

For Paul himself the church in Jerusalem had no special authority, not more than the Roman Catholic Church has for a Protestant to-day. But by 100 A.D. its authority had become greater and more widely recognized. It was necessary for G to prove the validity of the gospel of Paul and at the same time to show that it was not in fundamental opposition to the Messianic gospel of the Jewish church. By asserting on Paul's own authority that the Apostle had received his gospel by revelation from God, he thought he had placed the credentials of Paul beyond cavil. And by making him preach it for three years¹ before having any conference with the older Apostles, he affirmed the originality of Paul's gospel. Even when he relates that Paul went to Jerusalem at the end of that period, he is careful to say

¹ The Acts of the Apostles says, "a sufficient number of days" (*ἡμέραι* *ἱκαναί*), ix, 23.

that he saw none of the Apostles save Cephas and James. And, again, in his anxiety to guard against the supposition that Paul could have learnt anything from any man, he asserts that on the occasion of the second visit fourteen years later "they who were of repute imparted nothing to me."¹ The representation is essentially correct even though some details have been invented. But the catholicizing spirit was by this time at work. Schism must be discouraged. It must be made clear that, independent as Paul's doctrine was, it contained nothing which could not be reconciled with the doctrines of the Jewish church; accordingly the visit to Jerusalem is invented, and Paul is said to have gone thither in order to lay before the heads of the church there the gospel which he preached among the Gentiles, whereupon the Jewish Apostles, finding no fault with it, gave to Paul and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship that they should go to the Gentiles. Doubtless at the date when this Epistle was written it was still known that Paul had taught what was now beginning to be called heresy. The writer repels the charge by forging for Paul a certificate of orthodoxy from the chief Apostles. Another motive for sending Paul to Jerusalem was that the writer should be able to put it on record that Paul's right to the title of Apostle had been formally confirmed by the Jewish leaders.² Further, the catholicizing spirit required that, even by a strongly Pauline writer, while the authority of Paul was affirmed, that of the Jewish Apostles should not be infringed beyond the degree which the writer's purpose dictated; and so those Apostles, although they are dealt with somewhat ironically, are nevertheless spoken of on the whole with a certain respect. Paul desires their approbation; they are said to be of repute and are termed pillars.

But the vital point was that the infant church should not be strangled in the meshes of the Mosaic law. The determination to secure that is the dominant motive of the picture. An incident at Antioch, no doubt imaginary, is vividly depicted. Peter is said to have eaten with Gentiles, and even to have lived like a Gentile; but when "certain came from James" he drew back. A most unlikely story! According to the composer of Acts, who was far more of a catholicizer than G, the decree of the Council of Jerusalem

¹ Gal. ii, 6.

² Gal. ii, 7-9.

granted certain dispensations to Gentile Christians only ; it is implied that the Jewish law was still binding upon Jewish Christians, and therefore upon Peter, who consequently could not have lived as a Gentile. The natural meaning of Galatians ii, 14, is that he habitually did so. The story of Peter's vision in Acts, chapter x, is so mixed up with the supernatural that it is impossible to regard it as historical. Some of the ablest critics have perceived that it was introduced in pursuance of the writer's policy of compromise.¹ If Peter had, or even believed that he had, been divinely instructed that all meats are clean, he would have had a sufficient answer to the emissaries of James. And indeed, since Peter had, we are told, communicated his vision to James and the other Apostles, who were impressed by it and glorified God in consequence,² James could not afterwards have had any justification for restricting the liberty of Peter. Although, of course, the story of Peter's vision is not historical, from certain indications in the early Christian literature it may reasonably be conjectured that Peter was not in fact a strict observer of the Mosaic law, and that he differed from James in that respect. For example, it is stated in the *Clementine Recognitions* that Peter did habitually eat with Gentile Christians provided that they had been baptized. But if that is true, then his practice was perfectly well known, and there could not be the slightest reason for his being intimidated and acting hypocritically on one particular occasion. If, on the other hand, he was a strict Jew, he would not have eaten with Gentiles at Antioch. Moreover, the writer of Galatians quite indubitably implies that Peter did not habitually live as a strict Jew.³ The picture of the occurrences at Antioch was evidently in either case drawn in conformity with the purpose of the writer. The Judaizers had supported their case upon the authority of the personal disciples of Jesus ; and it was necessary, so far as this particular question was concerned, to discredit them. Whether Peter was a strict Jew or not, his conduct is condemned in a story which bears obvious marks of unverity. Also in the Pauline communities, for which this Epistle was composed, the authority of Paul was still great, and the abiding influence of his own personality had been enhanced through the ascription of his gospel to a direct revelation from God. Consequently, the rebuke which

¹ Baur, *Paulus*, vol. i, pp. 90 *et seq.*

² Acts xi, 18.

³ Gal. ii, 15, 16.

Paul is here represented as having administered to Peter might be expected to exert a very effective influence upon the minds of the readers. And no doubt it did so. There is evidence in later literature that it had created a strong impression. Incidentally, the question presents itself: If the writer had believed that James and Peter had been personal followers of a Christ Jesus, who to him was very much more than a human being, and that they had been chosen by Jesus himself as worthy to be his disciples, could he have written of them, "those who were reputed to be somewhat (whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me)"?

6.—THE EVIDENCE OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

The Acts of the Apostles is usually described as a Pauline document. The description is incorrect. There is evidence that it had incorporated an earlier Pauline source; but the final writer was only a Paulinist in so far as he was determined that the liberty which Paul had vindicated should be maintained and that the authority of Paul as an Apostle should be placed on a level with that of the Jewish Apostles. He may best be described as a Catholic. His main purpose was to assuage controversy, put an end to schism, and reconcile the conflicting claims of opposing parties in the church. That purpose is now more or less generally recognized, and we must interpret his statements in the light of it. Some of the ablest critics have employed that principle of interpretation to a greater or less extent, but perhaps none but a few of the radical school of criticism have realized the degree to which an early Christian writer would subordinate facts to his purpose. The Catholic leaders of the second century took pains to inculcate the belief that the primitive teaching was simple and homogeneous, that all those who taught it said the same thing, that the names Paul, Cephas, Apollos, stood for nothing distinctive. "Whether it be I or they, so we preach; and so ye believed." The great variety of the doctrine in the earliest Christian literature proves that the reality was quite different. The composer of Acts pursued this unifying policy in a very thorough manner. His Peter is a Paulinist. His Paul preaches Catholic doctrine. He puts into the mouth of Peter a defence of Christian liberty couched in terms which Paul might have employed but which Peter certainly never did. According to him, Peter, like

Paul, had received a divine mandate to go to the Gentiles. He composes for Paul a number of speeches setting forth Messianic ideas and a doctrine of salvation which to the real Paul would have been abhorrent, supported by arguments which might have been used by Peter or by the writer whom we have learnt to know as R2, but by Paul never. If a mission to the Gentiles had been approved by the Judaic party at the early date assumed in Acts, we could not have had so late as in Matthew such particularist utterances as are found in chapters x, 5, and xv, 24.

The episode related in Acts, chapters x and xi, has very much the appearance of having been written as a counter-stroke to the incident stated in Galatians to have occurred at Antioch. For while the composer of the former work says not a word of Peter's having eaten with Gentiles at Antioch, he does in the episode referred to say that Peter had incurred rebuke through having eaten with Gentiles at Cæsarea. The writer of Galatians, no doubt justly, represents the Judaic leaders as forbidding Jewish Christians to eat with Gentiles. It was, of course, a matter of importance to the catholicizing writer of Acts, who desired that all such particularity should be obliterated, to nullify the influence in the particularist direction which the incident reported in Galatians would be likely to have. In Galatians the opinion of James and the Judaizers produces so great an effect upon the mind of Peter as to induce him to draw back and avoid further close intercourse with the Gentile Christians. The composer of Acts, therefore, imagines a parallel episode in which also Peter is rebuked for having gone in to men uncircumcised and eaten with them. But the writer makes Peter not only justify himself but, by appeal to divine authority, prove to the Judaizers that no food is common or unclean. The vision of Peter may thus be confidently ascribed to the poetic invention of the writer of the Acts of the Apostles. The prejudice he had to contend with was evidently so firmly rooted that, even in his day, a heavenly vision and the direct injunction of the Holy Spirit were thought necessary to loosen it.

An early Christian writer like the composer of Acts, with whom a purpose of reconciliation (if the word may be used where there had been no previous union), was paramount, would not have had the least hesitation about inventing the account of a meeting which never occurred in order to serve his purpose. In reality, to inquire whether the Council

described in Acts xv is the same as the one mentioned in Galatians ii is to put a meaningless question. There never was any such council; and that is the simple explanation of the total want of agreement between the two accounts of it. The two accounts refer to the same event only in this sense, that the composer of Acts may have taken the idea of it from the Epistle to the Galatians and made use of it for his own purpose. It is probable that the writer of Acts had read the Epistle, and there are indications in chapter xv of Acts that the writer was acquainted with the account in Galatians. For instance, verse 24, "we have heard that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words," may have been suggested by Galatians ii, 12, "For before that certain came from James," and by v, 12: "I would that they which unsettle you would cut themselves off." The discrepancy between the representations given in the two documents has, indeed, led some commentators to doubt whether the writer of either could have been acquainted with the other. Others, however, including Weizsäcker, have decided on critical grounds that the Epistle to the Galatians was known to the writer of Acts. In any case, it is surely very difficult for theologians to doubt that a Pauline writer, as they consider the composer of Acts to have been, was well acquainted with the Pauline Epistles. If he was not, it is obvious that the gravest doubt is thrown upon their early date and genuineness. If, on the other hand, he was acquainted with them, how are we to explain the fact that he wrote an account which not merely sets aside the first-hand evidence of the Apostle but contradicts it in every important particular? Did he, then, not believe the Epistle to be genuine? Here again we have questions to which any satisfactory hypothesis must be able to supply an answer. On the current theological hypothesis the questions cannot be answered. Attempts are made to evade the serious difficulties they raise by means of a number of arbitrary assumptions—such, for example, as that the two writers relate independently a series of occurrences which took place on the same occasion, and that each writer has carefully avoided mentioning anything related by the other; an assumption which, as Steck has demonstrated,¹ is quite untenable. Whether the composer of Acts believed the Epistle to the Galatians to be a letter written by Paul

¹ *Der Galaterbrief*, pp. 98-100.

must remain undecided; but his procedure is quite explicable on the hypothesis that he was more a Catholic than a Paulinist, and that he considered it essential in the cause of catholic unity that the true state of affairs, and particularly the fundamental opposition between the doctrine of Paul and that of the Jewish Apostles, should be suppressed.

In order that the impression which would naturally be produced by Galatians that the early Apostles had been in conflict might be as far as possible obliterated, he imagines a meeting which he at first says consisted of the Apostles and elders; but afterwards he speaks of "the multitude." At this meeting Peter is represented as giving utterance to the most liberal opinions, which appear indeed, not only from their substance but even from their phraseology, to have been suggested by some of the Pauline Epistles including Galatians. Peter is made to say that he has been chosen by God to carry the gospel to the Gentiles, and he asks why they should put a yoke upon the necks of the disciples "which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear." It is doubtful whether Peter ever undertook a mission to Gentiles; the evidence of his having done so is rather late. Obviously, the statement cannot be reconciled with Galatians ii, 7 and 10. Even James, who in Galatians is painted as being extremely strict, is represented in Acts as having fully endorsed the liberal opinions of Peter. It is uncertain whether in verse 22 the same meeting is being spoken of, or whether there was a subsequent general council; in any case, no general council is mentioned in Galatians, and the implication clearly is that there was not one. The motive of the writer of Acts, no doubt, was that there should be a record of the exemption of Gentiles in the most unequivocal and formal manner by the whole church at Jerusalem from the irksome requirements of the Mosaic law. And in pursuance of his aim to represent the relations between Paul and the Jewish Apostles as uniformly cordial and harmonious, he inserted into the decree the words "our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." Zeller¹ pointed out the unlikelihood of the insertion of a personal testimonial of this kind into a formal decree issued for a special purpose. It is certain that the decree was not copied by the composer of Acts from any record; it is

¹ *Apostelgesch.* 246 *et seq.*

written in his own words, as a linguistic analysis proves.¹ And, as aforesaid, the silence of the writer of Galatians, who must have quoted it if he had ever heard of it, is sufficient evidence that no such decree was ever sent out from the church at Jerusalem. The composer of Acts may have had another motive for inserting the two names into the decree. There is some reason to suspect that a party significance had become attached to the name Barnabas, as it had to Timothy and Titus. The writer of Acts appears to have had the desire to bring forward Barnabas as prominently as possible, naming him sometimes before Paul, as in the present instance. The Gnostic writer of Galatians, on the contrary, relates, to the discredit of Barnabas, the extremely improbable circumstance that he, after being for so many years intimately connected with Paul and presumably a sharer of his opinions, surrendered with hardly any resistance to the Judaizers.

In chapter xxi of Acts, verse 25, James and the elders are said to have given Paul some information. Now, it is not necessary to inform any one of an important fact of which he is already cognisant. But James and the elders consider it necessary to impart to Paul the information that as "touching the Gentiles which have believed, we wrote, giving judgment that they should keep themselves from things sacrificed to idols, etc." Let the reader try to transfer himself into the supposed circumstances, and realize that it was Paul himself, according to the earlier account, who had received this decree and conveyed it to Antioch; and now James and the elders say to him "we wrote," as though Paul, not merely was likely to be in ignorance of the fact, but actually had not been himself concerned in it. The whole story and everything relating to it has an extremely dubious appearance. But one can easily interpret this passage in the light of the policy of the writer. He aims first of all to show that Paul was quite orthodox in theory and practice; and so he tells a story which is certainly false, about Paul's purifying himself in the temple according to the forms of the Jewish law. In the second place, he must counterbalance this testimonial to Paul by one to the universalism and freedom from Judaic prejudice of the Jewish Apostles; hence the decree must be again recorded. Probably, also, he wished to condemn the practice of eating meat which had been sacrificed to an

¹ *Supernatural Religion*, 1877, vol. iii, pp. 260 to 262.

idol, a practice which, we know, was the occasion of keen controversy in the early years of Christianity. Of course, the fictitious and tendentious insertion of the decree in this place does not prove that it had not at some time been issued. But the object-lesson we have here with respect to the method and aims of the writer destroys all confidence in his reliability as a historian.

It thus appears that there are very good reasons for doubting whether any of the visits of Paul to Jerusalem recorded by the writers of Acts and Galatians are historical.¹ These witnesses are so seriously discredited by the considerations above set forth that their statements with regard to Paul's early life in Jerusalem and his persecution of Christians cannot be accepted as beyond suspicion. Especially if, as is almost certain, the relevant passages in Galatians are second-century interpolations. We will now consider some evidence which shows that the statements are, to say the least, extremely improbable.

The Acts of the Apostles can be divided into two main sections—chapters i to xii and chapters xiii to xxviii. These two sections differ in character from one another in a manner which has led some commentators to the belief that they correspond to the two principal sources used by the writer in the composition of his work. The first section is so crowded with supernatural and miraculous occurrences that its evidential value would be reckoned as extremely small by any historian recording secular events. Although there are a few miraculous episodes introduced into the second portion, it consists for the most part of a record of events described with a sobriety and particularity of detail which produce the impression that real occurrences form the foundation of it. Since the first part is concerned almost entirely with the activities of Peter, while Paul (Saul) is introduced only incidentally, and the subject of the second part is the missionary work of Paul, it has been supposed that the two sources were an *Acts of Peter* and an *Acts of Paul* respectively. No doubt the writer supplemented these from other sources. And he has not simply compiled his work by uniting the two principal documents; uniformity of style and language, even in the speeches, proves that the writer recast the original documents, giving to them the colour which he desired.

¹ The visit which Paul paid to Jerusalem on his way to Rome is not included in this statement.

Portions of them, however, are probably presented with very slight alteration. For considerable sections of the narrative known as the "We" narrative have been simply transcribed, while others are given in the words of the final composer. Now why should he have left some parts of that narrative unchanged and recast some other parts? He must have had some motive for taking that course, treating one portion differently from another. We have sufficient evidence of his having manipulated his sources in accordance with his policy to infer with some confidence that when he puts the "We" narrative into his own words it was because the facts recorded did not suit his purpose and that he gave a different colour to them. But just as he left portions of that narrative unaltered, no doubt also he reproduced faithfully portions of his other sources, where he had no motive for disguising the truth. And in certain items facts which he has elsewhere endeavoured to disguise or falsify reveal themselves.

In chapter xx a speech of Paul is reported in which he is represented as anticipating danger to himself from his forthcoming visit to Jerusalem. And in chapter xxi, verse 11, the prophet Agabus foretells that Paul shall be bound by the Jews there and delivered to the Gentiles. But if Paul's earlier visits to Jerusalem had been historical there would have been no ground for these anticipations. On the last three of the occasions there had not been the least trouble. In chapter xxi, verse 17, we come to the record of the final visit. Although Paul made himself in no way prominent by preaching, his presence in Jerusalem immediately excited a serious commotion. If he had really been there before, why, on the previous occasions, had no one taken any notice of him, except the first time. Which makes the facts more strange; for if the Greek Jews had tried to kill him on his first visit, why should they leave him quite unmolested on the later ones? It is true that he is said to have preached publicly the first time. But on the last visit, in spite of his not making himself more prominent than on the second, third, and fourth, and in spite of the evidence which he is said to have given of his conformity with the Jewish law, the "Jews from Asia," immediately they saw him, stirred up the multitude against him. There is certainly some inconsistency here.

In chapter xxiii we have the account of the trial of Paul before the council, which may be supposed to have been derived by the composer from his source, the *Acts of Paul*.

According to that account Ananias, the high priest, ordered Paul to be struck, and Paul did not know that he was the high priest. Is it credible at all that a man who had been educated at Jerusalem as a strict Jew, and must in consequence have been thoroughly well acquainted with Jewish customs and forms, could, when brought before the council, have not known which was the high priest, even though he had not been personally acquainted with him? He must have known that the high priest would preside at the council. He would have known from his position and dress who he was. And even apart from that, the order which he gave that Paul should be struck would mark him as the president of the council. It is true that this incident, as well as some other details of the story, bears the mark of unveracity. Paul had said nothing which could justify his being struck; and it is incredible that any one in the exercise of judicial functions should have given the order under the circumstances. The idea seems to have been prevalent very early that, as Jesus had been seized by the Jews, beaten, struck, handed over to the Roman power and put to death, so must his chief disciples be. Accordingly Paul had to be taken captive by the Jews, beaten, struck, handed over to the Roman governor, and subsequently put to death.¹ But no one who rejects the details in chapters xxii to xxvi has any right to appeal to the Acts of the Apostles as evidence for anything. The point is that the incident of the striking of Paul by order of the high priest was probably in the Pauline source; because it is more likely that an incident which exhibits Paul's ignorance of Jewish forms came from a writer who did not suppose that Paul had ever lived in Jerusalem before.

Note carefully that the men who were so enraged against Paul were *Christians*. "Thou seest brother how many thousands there are among the Jews of *them that have believed*; and they are all zealous for the law; and they have been informed concerning thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs."² It is inferrible that the men from whom these believing Jews had obtained their information—viz., the "Jews from Asia"—were also Christian Jews. And the phrase

¹ Similarly, as Jesus on his arrest was deserted by his disciples (Mark xiv, 50), we find in the Second Epistle to Timothy iv, 16: "At my first defence no one took my part, but all forsook me."

² Acts xxi, 20, 21.

“Jews which are among the Gentiles” probably also means Christian Jews. That expression, however, the writer did not wish to use here, since it would have betrayed what he was taking pains to conceal. If we assume, as we are justified in doing, that Paul’s teaching is reproduced in the second chapter of Romans, he did not deny the validity of the spirit of the Mosaic law for Jews, but declared that it had been superseded for Christians. And he did not tell Jews not to circumcise their children; he said: “circumcision indeed profiteth if thou be a doer of the law.” No doubt he tried to persuade Jews to become Christians and to abjure the forms of the law. But he was not preaching to Jews on the occasion in question, and there was no reason why the orthodox Jews in Jerusalem should be enraged with him—at least, until after the speech recorded in chapter xxii. On the other hand the “Jews who had believed” and had been informed that he taught the abrogation of the law must have been seriously offended. However much the writer of Acts may have endeavoured to disguise the fact, the indictment above quoted was a true one. If we know anything for certain about Paul it is that he preached the abrogation of the Jewish law for all Christians, Jew as well as Greek. The charge that was brought against him by the “Jews from Asia” was not that he was a Christian. Naturally so, for they were themselves Christians. The charge was that: “This is the man that teacheth all men everywhere against the people and the law, and this place” (verse 28). The fact that there *was* some disturbance on this occasion may be accepted, since we know there was ground for it. Yet the writer of Acts represents James as saying to Paul: Do what we advise you to do, “and all shall know there is no truth in the things whereof they have been informed concerning thee.” After reading this chapter and setting in conjunction with it the anti-legal character of Paul’s teaching, for which there is ample evidence, we have only the choice between two judgments. Either, in following the advice of James, Paul was guilty of cowardly and hypocritical conduct; or, the story of his purification in the temple with four men who had a vow is false. Surely the latter alternative must be accepted. And if the writer could invent such a detail as this, he could also invent the circumcision of Timothy, and a good many other things.

In Acts xx, 26, Paul, in a speech to the elders at Ephesus,

says : " Wherefore I testify unto you this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men." The doctrinal speeches of Paul were composed for him by the writer of the Acts of the Apostles. The speech from which the above quotation is taken is not doctrinal and contains some expressions which suggest that, although it has probably been worked up by the writer of Acts, it is based upon a Pauline utterance which the writer found in his source, the supposed *Acts of Paul*. It is difficult to see how the composer of the Acts of the Apostles could say that Paul was pure from the blood of all men after describing the death of Stephen and stating that Paul was consenting to it. But there is some independent reason for thinking that the *Acts of Paul* contained no account of Stephen's martyrdom, nor of any persecution of Christians by Paul. The speech in question occurs in the "We" narrative. It is, therefore, very possible that the writer of that diary heard the speech and recorded it. Supposing that to have been the case, we have, on evidence as good as it is possible to get with regard to these matters, a statement from Paul himself to the effect that he had never incurred the guilt of blood. It would hardly have occurred to the composer of Acts to put that statement into Paul's mouth after relating circumstances so inconsistent with it; but it is quite likely that he may have left it if he found it in his source. In which case it is inferrible that no statement of Paul's blood-guiltiness had been made by that source. A man cannot claim to be pure from blood if he has even connived at, or consented to, the violent death of a fellow human being. And at the time this speech was made Paul must have realized the depth of the guilt of such an action if he had ever committed it. It must have lain heavy upon his conscience; and it is difficult to believe that while having upon his soul the death of Stephen and of others, if not in fact in intention,¹ he could have uttered the proud boast : "I am pure from the blood of all men."

The two pieces of evidence here put forward, Paul's declaration at Ephesus and his failure to recognize the high priest at Jerusalem, are of considerable weight, especially because they are unconsciously given. In neither case was the writer dealing with Paul's early career, or anything connected with it; therefore he has not manipulated the evidence

¹ "Saul, yet breathing threatening and slaughter," Acts ix, 1.

from that point of view. The first of them also is a statement made by Paul himself, as well authenticated as any statement recorded in the New Testament is or can be. Against these two pieces of evidence, confirmed as they are by the assertion of Marcion previously referred to, the statements of witnesses so completely discredited as Galatians and the Acts of the Apostles ought not to be allowed to prevail; if indeed the Epistle to the Galatians can be reckoned as a witness at all, since it is more than probable that the relevant passages are interpolations.

The phraseology of Acts xix, 21, is noteworthy. Supposing that a man is going to travel upon the Continent and intends to visit Venice and Rome; if he has previously been to Venice but never to Rome he will say: I intend to go to Venice and afterwards I must see Rome. But if he has never before visited either place he will say: I intend to go to Venice and after I have been there I must *also* see Rome. In the verse in question Paul uses the second form of words, which is more compatible with his never having previously visited Jerusalem than the reverse. By saying "I must also see Rome"¹ he implies that his object in going to Jerusalem was to see it, not to convey thither alms for the poor, or any other object. It is inferrible that probably only one visit to Jerusalem was recorded in the original Pauline source.

The writer of the Clementine *Recognitions*, or of a section of them, who was apparently unacquainted with the Acts of the Apostles, though he must have seen one of its sources, represents Peter as relating to Clement events which had occurred at Jerusalem from the Resurrection until Clement's arrival there. The writer quotes almost exactly the warning of Gamaliel to the council contained in verses 38 and 39 of chapter v of Acts. But the circumstances are different. In the *Recognitions*² Peter, addressing the people, foretells the destruction of the temple. The priests, becoming thereupon enraged, endeavour to excite a tumult against the apostles. Gamaliel addresses the people and pacifies them with a speech in which the words referred to occur. The simplicity of the narrative and the absence of miraculous incidents from it produce the impression that it is earlier than the narrative in Acts. Peter, proceeding with his account, relates that Gamaliel, giving an assurance of safety, invites the apostles

¹ δεῖ με καὶ Ῥώμην ἰδεῖν.

² Bk. I, 64 *et seq.*, ed. Gersdorf.

to a public debate. A multitude gather together at the temple to listen and an address is delivered by James. Suddenly a man furiously interrupts the proceedings, urges the mob to attack the apostles, and seizes a brand from the altar with which he attacks and seriously injures James. The apostles retire to Jericho, and three days later learn that the man who had attacked James has been entrusted by Caiaphas with a mission to persecute all who believed in Jesus, and that he has set out for Damascus with letters. Between the speech of Gamaliel and the departure of Paul to Damascus we have in Acts the martyrdom of Stephen, of which in the *Recognitions* there is no hint. If that event really occurred in the manner recorded in Acts, the writer could have had no reason for omitting it. The work in question is, of course, not history; it is polemic and propaganda; but, for that very reason, the writer could not have deliberately suppressed so splendid an example of Christian faith and constancy. He obviously knows of no official persecution of Christians in Jerusalem up to the time of the departure of the agent of Caiaphas for Damascus.¹ And, since Peter himself is telling the story with considerable detail, it is impossible to believe that he would not have been made to mention his own imprisonment if the writer had ever heard of it. It has been supposed that one motive, at any rate, which inspired the work was hostility to Paul. The writer would surely have preferred to use for that purpose the true story of the martyrdom of Stephen, if it were true, rather than the absurd fiction of an attack upon James by means of a brand snatched from the altar of the temple. Also, if the writer had been actuated by the motive alleged, why should he suppress Paul's name? The idea that the work was directed against Paul has, in fact, very little justification; but there is no obvious reason why the writer should have suppressed the name if he had known it. Two possible reasons for his not mentioning it might be given. One is that he was a partisan of Paul, the other that the name was unknown to him. The latter supposition is decidedly the more likely one; and it seems very possible that Paul's name was subsequently attached to the agent of Caiaphas by Paul's opponents, whether the agent's name was known or not. It may be said

¹ There is also, as Mr. Thomas Whittaker has reminded me, the question: Would such a persecution of a new sect to extremity under legal forms have been possible with the Roman government in power?

that the writer took for granted that his readers would recognize the man. But it is to be observed that Peter is here represented as giving Clement an account of circumstances of which the latter was quite ignorant; and the natural thing would have been for Peter to give the name of the man if he had known it. The impression produced on the reader by Peter's statement is that the man in question was a perfect stranger to him. He speaks of him as though he had never seen him previously.

The Clementine *Recognitions* is a composite work, so that some portions of it are later than others; but the bulk of it must be of earlier date than is generally supposed. One indication of this may be mentioned. The term "Christian" appears in it only once, in a section (iv, 20) which is probably late, since it is absent from both the Codices Lipsienses. And a follower of Simon Magus makes the statement that Faustinus, a Roman citizen, did not wish to see his sons (who had become Christians) because they were *Jews*. It is hardly possible that Christians can have been called Jews in the middle of the second century. So far as the narrative in the *Recognitions* goes, it must be held to throw the greatest possible doubt upon the statements in Acts with regard to the persecution of Christians in Jerusalem by Paul and upon the story of the martyrdom of Stephen in particular.

In a certain Christian circle, probably Gnostic, there appears to have been a tradition that Peter and Paul met one another for the first time at Rome. For Pseudo-Cyprian¹ refers to a statement in a work entitled *Paulli Praedicatio* to the effect that "Petrum et Paulum.....in Urbe quasi tunc primum invicem sibi esse cognitos."

If Paul had been educated at Jerusalem, he must have been there at the supposed date of the Crucifixion; yet it is quite inconceivable that any one should have written in the terms used by the early Pauline writer about a man whom he had actually seen executed, or who had been executed in the place where he was himself living at the time. The incongruity has been recognized by some theologians. But, as Steck has said, it is altogether arbitrary to send Paul away from Jerusalem during the catastrophe simply in order that he might not have the very slightest contact with a real Jesus. Steck, like Wrede, admits that the Paul of the

¹ *De rebaptismate*, c. 17. Hartel III, 90.

Epistles is a pure dogmatist;¹ and his statement is more true even than he thought, in the light of the fact that only the early Gnostic sections can have been written by the real Paul.² The admission that Paul was a pure dogmatist really implies more than the fact that he never came into contact with Jesus. Steck, anticipating van Manen, argues that a good deal of time must have been required for the Pauline dogmatic teaching about a divine Christ to have been elaborated out of the historical basis. The reasoning is perfectly sound. And it forces upon every thoughtful person the following dilemma: Either the Epistles as a whole were not written earlier than the second century, or the dogmatic Christology which they contain does not rest upon the supposed historical foundation. Steck and van Manen chose the former alternative. But it is particularly in the Gnostic sections that Christ is entirely devoid of human attributes; and the internal evidence that those sections were written before 70 A.D. is, as has been shown, exceedingly strong. And yet the starting-point of the writer cannot have been immediate, or even mediate, acquaintance with an historical person. The statement in Galatians that Paul learnt nothing from the Jewish Apostles is doubtless true. And it is extremely improbable that the early Pauline Gnostic writer had ever come into contact even with personal followers of a Christ Jesus who for him was altogether a supernatural being.

7.—THE VISION ON THE ROAD TO DAMASCUS

It was pointed out in the chapter on Second Corinthians that the appearance of Jesus to Paul would have afforded the writer C4 such valuable support in his contest with the men who were preaching "another Jesus" that he could not have failed to refer to the story if he had known it. The writer of Galatians was equally ignorant of it. It was shown in section 3 of the present chapter that verse 12, chapter i, of Galatians is an interpolation. The writer G does not say that Paul received his gospel through Jesus Christ; he says he had it by revelation from God—not through a vision or external appearance, but by some internal operation of the mind. God revealed his son *in me*, the writer says. The

¹ *Der Galaterbrief*, p. 284.

² Holsten also (*Das Ev. des Paulus*, Part ii, p. 41) says: "For Paul, Christ lived only that he might die upon the cross and rise again."

practice of theologians who read into a certain statement ideas derived from another statement of less evidential value, interpret the former in the light of the latter, and then make use of it as confirmatory evidence is logically illegitimate. If the account in Acts had not been in existence no one would ever have conceived that the phrase "revealed his Son *in me*" referred to a vision which the writer of Acts understood, as any second-century writer must have done, to have been an objective and external, though supernatural, appearance of Jesus Christ himself to Paul. Indeed, it is almost certain that a writer of that date would not very clearly distinguish between a real and a supernatural appearance of the risen Christ. Stephen is said to have seen the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God. The writer of that statement certainly did not for a moment imagine that the vision of Stephen was a mere subjective phenomenon. And when he relates that Saul perceived a light and heard a voice saying "I am Jesus," undoubtedly he believed that the light and the voice were external to Saul. Consequently the writer of Galatians, when he says "God revealed his Son in me," whatever he may have meant by it, certainly did not mean an appearance of Jesus to Paul such as is described in the Acts of the Apostles.

Further proof that the story in Acts was either unknown to, or rejected by, the writer of Galatians is found in the statements that his gospel was not after man, and that "*immediately* I conferred not with flesh and blood.....but I went away into Arabia." For in Acts we are informed that Paul *did* learn the gospel he preached from man. The supernatural voice communicated no gospel to him. It directed him to go and be instructed by a man, Ananias. If that had been a fact, how could Paul have said "*immediately* I conferred not with flesh and blood, but went away into Arabia." Even if theologians are able to set up an argument on a quibble about the word "*immediately*," they cannot deny that according to Acts Paul did confer with flesh and blood. Moreover, according to that authority he did not immediately go away into Arabia, but remained in Damascus for many days (*ἡμέραι ἰκαναί*), confounding the Jews. Paul then, it is said, went to Jerusalem. But G says he did not go there until after three years. It is doing too much violence to the Greek expression of time quoted to interpret it as meaning three years. In any case, Acts directly con-

tradicts the statement of G that Paul *immediately* went away into Arabia.

The reasonable inference from all the facts is that the legend of Paul's vision was still unknown at the date of the composition of the Epistle to the Galatians, probably about 100 A.D. Nor was it known to the writer of the *Acts of Paul*. In the first twelve chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, Paul is not mentioned by that name. The name is invariably Saul. In the remaining chapters it is always Paul, except in two passages which were evidently introduced by the composer of the complete work. Also, when he passed with chapter xiii, verse 1, from the use of his first main source to the use of his second, he obviously could not write in the last verse of the previous chapter about a man named Saul, and then go on without any explanation to write of a man named Paul. Necessarily he had to explain that he was still writing about the same person. Accordingly the name Saul is continued by him in the first eight verses of chapter xiii, and in verse nine the information is given: "Saul who is also called Paul." Thereafter the name Paul is used throughout the narrative, with the exceptions above mentioned. It is inferrible that originally Paul was the name used consistently in the *Acts of Paul*, which is supposed to be the source of the greater part of that section of the Acts of the Apostles which begins with chapter xiii.

Without, however, making any assumptions as to source beyond accepting the conclusion that the source of the first twelve chapters is not the same as that of the later portion, it will be convenient to distinguish the two portions as the Petrine and the Pauline respectively. The only two passages in the Pauline section in which the name Saul occurs are two speeches which Paul is said to have delivered, the one to the people of Jerusalem after he had been arrested, the other before King Agrippa. Those speeches could have been introduced into the narrative by the composer of Acts, and *prima facie* it seems probable that they were. We know that most of Paul's speeches were composed for him by that writer. The very few which have some Pauline characteristics, and are probably based upon a speech of Paul recorded in the Pauline source, have obviously been edited and recast. The two speeches in question are not likely to be an exception, and in both the hand of the editor is perceptible. They are marked off from the rest of the document by the fact that

everywhere else the Apostle is named Paul, while in them, without any preparation, he is named Saul. The preparation now found in the first nine verses of the section was made by the composer of the complete work. He, therefore, could introduce the two speeches into the work without further introduction; but, if they had originally been in the Pauline source, some explanation of the change of name must have been given there. It may, of course, have been omitted. Still, as before said, there is *prima facie* reason to doubt whether the two speeches existed in the Pauline source.

When the earlier of them is carefully examined, it becomes evident that, in spite of some variations in detail, it has been taken from the record of the same incident in the Petrine source. Or, possibly, all the accounts were taken by the writer of the complete work from a third source. In order that the comparison may be conveniently made, I here give corresponding passages in parallel columns:—

ACTS ix, 1 and 2

But Saul.....went to the high priest, and asked of him letters to Damascus unto the synagogues, that if he found any that were of that Way (τῆς ὁδοῦ)..... he might bring them bound to Jerusalem. (δεδεμένους ἀγάγη εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ).

ix, 3

And as he journeyed, it came to pass that he drew nigh to Damascus (ἐν δὲ τῷ πορεύεσθαι, ἐγένετο αὐτὸν ἐγγίξειν τῇ Δαμασκῷ); and suddenly there shone round about him a light out of heaven (ἐξαίφνης τε αὐτὸν περιήστραψεν φῶς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ).

ACTS xxii, 4 and 5

And I persecuted this Way (τὴν ὁδόν) unto the death..... As also the high priest doth bear witness.....from whom also I received letters unto the brethren, and journeyed to Damascus to bring them also which were there bound to Jerusalem: ἄξιον τοὺς ἐκέλευε ὄντας δεδεμένους εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ.

xxii, 6

And it came to pass that as I made my journey and drew nigh unto Damascus (ἐγένετο δέ μοι πορευομένῳ καὶ ἐγγίξοντι τῇ Δαμασκῷ), suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me (ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ περιεστράψαι φῶς ἰκανὸν περὶ ἐμέ).

The phraseology of the two passages is almost identical; the slight variations are no more than are to be expected from the fact that in the second case the speaker is relating his own experience, and from the artistry of the writer, who would not relate an event twice in precisely the same words.

The word *ἰκανόν*, translated "great," which has been introduced into the second account, is a favourite one with the composer of Acts. The verb *ἐγγιζέειν* ("to draw near"), which is found in both passages, is also characteristic of him.¹ It can hardly be doubted that the account given by Paul of his vision in the twenty-second chapter of Acts has been taken by the writer from the account in chapter ix, or both from a third source. And that writer is more likely to have been the composer of Acts than the writer of the Pauline source, for two reasons. The first is that the Pauline source is, in the opinion of good critics, on the whole of earlier date than the Petrine; and the second that the speech contains words which are characteristic of the composer of Acts. If the two accounts were taken from a third source, obviously it was the writer of Acts who inserted them both. Observe that the statement, "I persecuted this Way unto the death," conflicts with the statement in chapter xx, "I am pure from the blood of all men." The speeches in chapters xx and xxii cannot both have originally belonged to the same document.

In the speech which Paul is said to have delivered before King Agrippa, the account of the vision has been elaborated, evidently by the writer of Acts. The exhortation of Jesus to Paul is a good deal longer, and includes the sentence, "that they (the Gentiles) may receive remission of sins and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in me." The doctrine involved is catholic rather than Pauline. In other parts of the speech there are expressions which Paul can never have uttered, and which are very unlikely to have been in the Pauline source. For example, the phrase "Jesus of Nazareth," which does not occur in the Epistles²; and verses 22 and 23 of chapter xxvi: "Saying nothing but what the prophets and Moses did say should come; how that the Christ must suffer." One may assert with the utmost confidence that those words did not issue from the mouth of Paul. The same may be said with regard to verses 6 and 7: "And now I stand here to be judged for the hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers; unto which promise our twelve tribes.....hope to attain." It will be remembered

¹ It occurs twenty-four times in Acts and Luke compared with nineteen times in all the rest of the New Testament.

² The designation "Jesus of Nazareth" occurs in each of the speeches, but nowhere else in the Pauline section. In the Petrine section it occurs four times: ii, 22; iii, 6; iv, 10; vi, 14.

that the word "promise" does not occur at all in the characteristically Pauline sections of the Epistles.

It is probable that the Pauline source did record two speeches delivered by Paul on these occasions. And, in the first as it stands, traces of the original speech are discernible. The speech as we now have it closes with the statement of the speaker that he had consented to the death of Stephen, and concludes with the verse (xxii, 21): "And he said unto me, Depart; for I will send thee forth far hence unto the Gentiles." Whereupon, we are told, the crowd, having heard him patiently up to that point, became suddenly enraged and shouted: "Away with such a fellow from the earth; for it is not fit that he should live." But in the words recorded there does not appear to be any reason for such extreme fury. And it is not as though the temper of the crowd had been gradually worked up to that point. The people might have been displeased with verse 18 perhaps, but not excessively so. If a man had informed a Jewish crowd that "the Righteous One" had appeared to him in a vision, they might have been incredulous, they might have jeered, but it is difficult to believe that they would have been goaded to fury. In fact, no disturbance is said to have occurred at that juncture. A confession that the speaker had been a persecutor of an unpopular sect follows; during which, anger would be more likely to die down than to be intensified. Then comes the verse quoted. It is incredible that the mere statement that the speaker had been divinely instructed to preach to the Gentiles should cause such an outburst of hatred and a clamour that he was unfit to live.

It is impossible to avoid the suspicion that in the original source the speech had a different conclusion. Remember that the charge which excited all the commotion was not that Paul was some sort of Messianist, which is all that the speech as we now have it would convey to a Jewish crowd. The charge was a far more serious one, namely, that Paul was endeavouring to subvert the law of Moses. And, since that was a true charge, it is easy to understand that Paul in defending his position might have seriously angered a Jewish crowd. But the writer of Acts wished it to be believed that the charge was not true, and that Paul's offence was preaching Catholic Christianity. He had, therefore, motive enough for suppressing the original speech and supplying another one. There is, however, some reason to believe that a small

portion of the original speech has been retained. In verse 17 it is stated that when Paul had returned to Jerusalem, he fell into a trance while praying in the temple, and received a communication from the Lord. It is certainly very strange that there is no mention of this trance in the original account in the Petrine section. And yet it was a circumstance of extreme importance in the history of Christianity, for it was while in it that Paul received his divine mission to go to the Gentiles. If the original narrator of the episode of the vision had had any historical authority for his statements, he must also have known of so very important an incident as this trance. The composer of Acts has taken the story of Paul's conversion from the account which now forms part of the Petrine section, and inserted it into the two speeches. The incident of the trance appears neither in the original account nor in the second speech. If the writer derived it from some unknown source, why has he not included it in both speeches? It is important enough. The most probable explanation appears to be that the writer found it already in the first speech of the Pauline source, and while re-writing the speech as a whole did not choose to suppress this incident.

Although the incident does not now find a place in the second speech, it is interesting to observe that the writer has transferred from the account of the trance the words "I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles" into that of the vision in the second speech: "the Gentiles, unto whom I send thee" (xxvi, 17). If the speech had been a correct record of Paul's words, details from the two incidents could not have been mixed up in that manner; and it is unlikely that they were so in the Pauline source. We have here again evidence that the speech in its present form is the work of the composer of Acts. It is also pertinent to observe that a trance in addition to the vision was superfluous. All that was communicated could have been communicated in either the one or the other, as the writer of Acts evidently perceived when he combined the two in the speech delivered before Agrippa. That consideration supports the inference that the vision properly belongs to the Petrine, and the trance to the Pauline section. There is more than superfluity in the two accounts. In the given circumstances, the two things are mutually exclusive. The purpose of the vision was to give so violent a shock to the whole of Paul's conscious being as to produce a state of mind in which he would be prepared to receive the

doctrine and the instruction which were subsequently imparted. These might have been imparted in a trance, but according to the Petrine record they were imparted by a man, Ananias. A communication direct from God would surely have required no previous preparation. Since in the Galatian version Paul received no instruction from any man, but directly from God, some unusual state of consciousness is implied, other than the vision, in which communion between his mind and the spirit of God might be effected. The original Epistle, in fact, betrays no knowledge of the vision, but it knows of a communication from God to Paul which may have been supposed to have been made while Paul was in a trance, and a Pauline Epistle would naturally rely upon a Pauline document. The Petrine may have been unknown to the writer or not yet in existence. Also the statement in Galatians that Paul, after receiving that communication, immediately went away to Arabia and conferred not with flesh and blood, while quite incompatible with the story of his conversion in Acts ix, agrees entirely with verse 21 of chapter xxii: "Depart; for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles." If, as would certainly be the case, Paul obeyed the divine command immediately after the Lord had spoken to him while entranced, he must have gone away and conferred with no man. It is likely that in the original form of the story the Lord meant God. Some of the Gnostics, probably Marcionites, asserted that Paul alone of the Apostles knew the truth,¹ the mystery having been imparted to him by revelation.² There must, therefore, have been among Paulinists a tradition of some revelation made to Paul other than the vision, in which no mystery was revealed. From the statement in Galatians we must conclude that the revelation was believed to have come to Paul direct from God; it may reasonably be supposed to have been believed that it had come to him while he was entranced. Possibly the same trance is referred to in Second Corinthians xii, 2 and 3, in the account of which specifically Gnostic doctrine is involved.

In the speech as it now appears in the Acts of the Apostles, the scene of the trance is the temple at Jerusalem. But since there is good reason to believe that Paul had not visited Jerusalem at that time, the location of the trance in the temple was a later modification, possibly due to the com-

¹ The assertion is, of course, equivalent to a statement that Paul was a Gnostic.

² Irenæus, *Contr. omn. Haer.* III, xiii, 1.

poser of Acts. A passage may be cited from the Epistle to the Galatians in support of this opinion. History was falsified by each of the writers for his special purpose, but that was not carried through in so complete a fashion that some inconsistencies do not remain from which an earlier and different account may be inferred. Supposing that the revelation made to Paul was believed by the writer of Galatians to have been made while Paul was in a trance, the scene must have been Damascus, since he says that after going to Arabia Paul *returned* to Damascus. A little later on he says: "Then I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia. And I was still unknown by face unto the churches of Judæa which were in Christ" (i, 22). That statement appears to be a reminiscence of an early form of the story in which no visit or residence of Paul in Jerusalem had been recorded. Paul cannot obviously have been brought up in Jerusalem and been prominent there as a persecutor of the churches in a story in which he is afterwards said to be still, not much later, unknown by face to those churches. Verse 23 is in glaring contradiction to verse 22. The churches of Judæa, it is said, glorified God in Paul because they had heard that he who had formerly persecuted them was now preaching the faith. And it was said just before that he was personally unknown to them! It would be as reasonable to assert that Claverhouse was personally unknown to the Scottish Covenanters after his harrying of them. Verse 23 must be an interpolation. And if we reject that verse, neither can verses 13 and 14 be retained. Also, as was shown in section 4 (p. 304), the rejection of verses 13 and 14 involves the rejection of 12b.

A review of all the evidence impels one forcibly to the conclusion that originally the name "Saul" did not appear at all in the Pauline source of Acts. And since the name "Paul" does not appear in the Petrine section, it is not unreasonable to put the question: Were Paul and Saul two different men, or the same?¹ However that may be, one of these alternatives is true: either Saul and Paul were different persons, or everything which has been related of Paul under the name Saul is legendary. The story of Saul's vision on the road to Damascus was unknown both to the original

¹ It must, of course, be borne in mind that from the time of the Seleucids hellenizing Jews would adopt Greek names. If Paul had done that, then it follows that he was a Jew by birth.

writer of Galatians and to the Pauline source of the Acts of the Apostles. It must be dismissed as late legend. The legend of Paul's persecution of Christians is probably of earlier date. If Saul and Paul were different persons, Saul may have been the rabbinical Jew who harried the early church.¹ Or the legend may have been invented by the Petrine party, as the Paulinists invented the story of Peter's denial of his Lord. The eventual acceptance of the legend by the Pauline party is quite intelligible. When the conversion of Paul had been attributed to divine influence there was more in the story for his followers to glory in than the reverse. He had been picked out from among mankind to be the recipient of a special mark of God's favour, and though he had been called comparatively late to the apostleship, he had "laboured more abundantly than they all."

8.—INDICATIONS OF DATE

In section 1 it was shown that the original Epistle to the Galatians must be dated somewhere about 100 A.D. The reference to Second Corinthians xi, 4, which is found in the original Epistle, i, 9, proves that the Epistle was composed at a later date than chapters x to xii of Second Corinthians. And those chapters can hardly be dated earlier than the year 85. In Second Corinthians the title of apostle is not yet employed in its later restricted sense. In Galatians the restriction of the title appears to have begun. The apostolate appears now to be regarded as a dignity which could only have been obtained through divine appointment. That seems to be the implication of verse 8, chapter ii: "he that wrought for Peter unto the apostleship of the circumcision wrought for me also unto the Gentiles."² It may be inferred also that the Jewish party were beginning to claim special authority for their own Apostles, since the writer of Galatians, evidently with the object of enhancing the authority of Paul, which he was setting up against theirs, thought it necessary to claim for Paul a mission by direct revelation from God.

¹ It may be observed here that learned Jews have asserted that the Pauline Epistles cannot have been written by a Jew who had been educated in the school of the Rabbis.

² But this verse is probably an interpolation, and may so represent a more definite restriction of the title than had been reached when the original Epistle was composed.

The school of van Manen date the Epistle later than 125 A.D. But van Manen, while recognizing the fact that these Epistles are composite, did not suppose that they grew by accretion in successive editions. The dates fixed by him are those at which he considered the Epistles to have been given their existing character and contents once and for all. His dates may be taken as representing an approximation to those at which the latest editions were published, although there is good reason to believe that sections were added even considerably later. The indications of late date in the Epistle to the Galatians are naturally found in those sections which were subsequently inserted into the original Epistle, and when they are removed the impression produced by the remainder is that it belongs rather to the close of the first century than to the first quarter of the second. There is in it no hint of a closed circle of Twelve Apostles. That myth was evidently not yet in existence. A Gospel may have been written, not containing the myth, but the writer shows no acquaintance with any Gospel. And it should be plain to any unprejudiced person who reads the first two chapters thoughtfully that in the mind of the writer there was no idea of a personal association between the pillar Apostles and a human Jesus. The legends about Paul, his persecution of the early church, and the appearance of Jesus to him, are still unknown. Since, however, the original Epistle, if it contained verse 9 of chapter i, must be later than Second Corinthians, chapter xi, the most probable date for it is between the years 90 and 100.

There is some reason to think that the Jewish Christian community at Jerusalem was Ebionitish. Epiphanius¹ states that after the fall of Jerusalem the church migrated to Pella and the neighbouring regions, and that the Ebionitish doctrine originated there. He would naturally affirm this in conformity with the catholic teaching that the early Christian doctrine was simple and homogeneous. But it is probable that there had been Ebionites at an earlier date. Epiphanius proceeds to assert that Ebionite missionaries spread outwards from the neighbourhood of Pella into Asia, Rome, and Cyprus, and that they insisted upon the necessity of circumcision and of the strict observance of the Mosaic law, apart from which no Christian could be saved. It is reason-

¹ *Haer.* xxx.

able to suppose that these were in reality the people who began to trouble the Christians at Antioch, and that therein lies the germ of truth inherent in the stories related in Acts and Galatians. The trouble, then, which occasioned the composition of the Epistle to the Galatians cannot have occurred very many years after the fall of Jerusalem ; so that, if the conjecture here put forward is correct, it is more likely that the Epistle was composed before than after 100 A.D. It was mentioned before that R. Steck inferred from verse 3 of chapter ii a considerably later date, arguing that the assertion that Titus was not circumcised is a counter-stroke to Acts xvi, 3, where Paul is said to have circumcised Timothy. Steck's reasoning may be sound ; but it only proves that the verse in question, which is almost certainly an interpolation, was written later than Acts.

At least three subsequent editions of the first four chapters can be recognized ; one of them, indicated by the insertion of verses 7, 9, 10, 12b to 14 of chapter i, and another by the insertion of the section iv, 21 to 31. It may be conjectured that the second of these is the earlier, but there is no internal evidence upon which their relative priority can be decided. It is inferrible from a statement by Tertullian¹ that the Gnostic section was contained in Marcion's edition of the Epistle, for, after stating that Marcion had deleted the name "Abraham" from verse 7 of chapter iii, Tertullian says, referring to the section in question, that he had left the latest mention of Abraham, and then quotes verse 22 of chapter iv. The statements of Tertullian are not very reliable ; in this case, however, he had probably seen in Marcion's *Antitheses* some comment upon the section, which, on the whole, would have suited his purpose, the son born after the flesh being subject to the Creator, the Demiurge, and the children of promise being children of the true God. Tertullian argues against him that both Covenants were made by the Creator. It may be conjectured, on the other hand, that Marcion's edition did not contain the verse i, 7, since he had argued that the two gospels are the gospels respectively of the two Gods.

The next, and fourth, edition was that of R2 ; to be dated about 120 A.D. From internal evidence we know that the fifth edition, which was the first to contain chapter v and

¹ *Adv. Marc.* v, 4.

chapter vi, verses 1 to 10, is later than 120. For it was shown in section 2 that verse 21 of chapter v contains a reference to First Corinthians vi, 9, an interpolation by R2 into that Epistle. Dr. van den Bergh van Eysinga,¹ in reference to these chapters, indicates, as evidence of a late date, that when it was written catechisms were necessary for catechumens, so that they might communicate the word to their teachers (vi, 6); an advanced stage of ecclesiastical organization must therefore have been reached.

It was shown before that verses 11 to 16 were not the work of any of the other writers of this Epistle, and there is reason to think that the section was added last of all. Its position at the end makes that probable, and the writer appears to have had chapter v before him, since verse 15 is an almost exact reproduction of v, 6. The phrase "our Lord Jesus Christ" is also an evidence of lateness. It is used by very few of the writers, but is usually found in the catholic formulæ with which the Epistles now open and close, and which were obviously added by a late editor. It was used several times by the late editor R2, who may of course have written the opening and closing verses of other Epistles in addition to those of the Epistle to the Romans. Elsewhere it occurs rarely; never in the sections which are Gnostic or characteristically Pauline. Irenæus quoted from both chapters v and vi. It may be inferred that these chapters are earlier than Romans xv and xvi, First Corinthians xvi, and Second Corinthians viii, xiii, and possibly ix.

9.—GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

The original Epistle was written by a Pauline Gnostic a short time before the year 100 A.D. The doctrine is based upon the Gnostic sections of the Epistle to the Romans, which had not yet been adulterated by the interpolations of the catholic editor R2. Though the writer may not have been docetist, he appears to have distinguished, as R1 did, between Jahveh the Creator, and the Supreme Being. He, no doubt, was writing for Gentiles as well as Jews, and yet he seems as he wrote to have been thinking principally of Jews; which would be sufficiently remarkable if the Epistle had been meant for the Galatians only. The fact stated is proved by such passages as: "before faith came we were

¹ *Radical Views about the New Testament*, p. 80.

kept in ward under the law"; "How turn ye back to the weak and beggarly rudiments,¹ whereunto ye desire to be in bondage over again. Ye observe days and months and seasons and years." These arguments and reproaches would be pointless addressed to Gentiles. Gentiles had not been in bondage to the law. The law had not been a tutor to them. Gentiles could not turn *back* to the rudiments, the observance of days, months, and seasons, so as to be in bondage *over again*. Really the case is no other than one ought reasonably to have expected. It is very unlikely that churches predominantly Gentile were in serious danger from the Judaizing propaganda. Surely the observances of the Jewish law must have been irksome, not to say repugnant, to them. It is unlikely enough that the Judaizers would have had great success among Gentile Christians even at the close of the first century; that they could have had any in a Gentile church founded by Paul himself is incredible, especially if the affection of the converts for their teacher had been such that they had received him as an angel of God, and had been ready to pluck out their eyes and give them to him. What could the names of Peter, James, and John have meant to Gentiles who possibly had never even heard of them before certain men came from Jerusalem? The situation becomes more possible when the lapse of time, a generation or more, and modification of doctrine, had weakened the personal influence of Paul, and it is conceivable that then in churches where there was a strong Jewish element, or where doctrine was founded upon the Jewish scriptures, Gentiles may have been amenable to the arguments of the Judaizers. But for Pauline Gentile converts who had been taught to reject the Jewish scriptures and to believe that the law had been abrogated in Christ Jesus, the authority of unknown Jews of an earlier generation cannot have been sufficient to induce them to submit to irksome or repulsive rites, and to abandon the principles which their first teacher had impressed upon them. No injunction of Jesus himself was quoted in the course of this controversy until the appearance of certain Gospels early in the second century. The great danger to which the Judaic propaganda exposed the infant church was not so much the persuasion of Gentiles on a large scale as the rending of it in twain by the wedge thus driven between the Jewish and

¹ Verses 1 to 3 of chap. iv prove that by "rudiments" the ritual ordinances of the Jewish law are meant.

Gentile Christians. And, as the Epistle to the Galatians plainly shows, it was chiefly to the Jewish Christian converts that the Pauline and catholic writers had to address their appeals. The law of Moses might mean something to them even if they were Greek Jews ; and to them the opinions of the early leaders of the church at Jerusalem might have been quoted with effect.

Since the controversy about circumcision continued until the second quarter of the second century, there must have been more Jewish Christians in the churches than has commonly been supposed. That, however, is not surprising, seeing that some at least of the Pauline churches had previously been Jewish Gnostic synagogues, containing probably more Jews than Greeks. The evidence of the Pauline Epistles proves that the early Pauline communities were predominantly Jewish, and that the Jewish element in them remained strong into the second century. The writer of the Gnostic Epistle of R1 in Romans had Jews principally in view when he wrote, for in chapter vii, verse 1, he says : " I speak to men who know the law." The extreme Gnostics who were troubling the congregations about 80 A.D., and later, had endeavoured to increase their authority by a reference to their Jewish nationality, which would have been unavailing if the congregations had been predominantly Greek. But it is plain that Jewish nationality did at that time enhance the authority of a teacher, for the writer of Second Corinthians xi, 22, in his defence of Paul and the true Pauline doctrine, considered it important to say : " Are they Hebrews ? so am I. Are they Israelites ? so am I." And we have now seen that the writer of Galatians, at the extreme end of the first century, is addressing communities in which the Jewish element must still have been important. R2, who wrote a good deal later, is addressing himself to Gentiles. There was, of course, an early mission to the Gentiles, though Paul may have been less exclusively a missionary to the Gentiles than he is generally thought to have been. The writer of the Acts of the Apostles tries to disguise the fact that Paul first preached in Jewish Gnostic synagogues by pretending that he had to go first to the Jews, as if on each occasion he began by addressing orthodox, nationalistic Jews. If that were a correct representation, it is a very strange thing that Paul, after repeatedly declaring that he will henceforth go to the Gentiles, continues in every town to go first to a Jewish

synagogue. That extraordinary inconsistency is now explicable. Paul made no such declaration. He went deliberately to the synagogue of the Hellenistic Jews. It was not they who raised a tumult against him. R3, who wrote somewhat later than R1, claims to be especially an apostle of Gentiles.¹ It would be interesting if we might infer from these considerations that Apollos was in a greater degree than Paul an apostle to the Gentiles. I believe that eventually more truth will be reached through such inferences than by accepting as literal truth the deliberately falsified history of the Acts of the Apostles and the symbolism of the Gospels. There is a wide field here waiting to be explored by theological critics as soon as they can prevail upon themselves to leave off running after the rainbow. Perhaps that will not happen until the radical school has done most of the work.

The statement made above that G probably distinguished between the Creator and the Supreme Being is deducible from the fact that he was writing chiefly for Jews. After writing in verse 8 of chapter iv, "not knowing God, ye were in bondage to them which by nature are no gods," he proceeds immediately, without any break: "but now that ye have come to know God.....how turn ye back to the weak and beggarly rudiments, whereunto ye desire to be in bondage over again? Ye observe seasons," etc. In the immediately preceding passage also he had been addressing Jews, saying that the heir who had been in wardship to the law had now received the sonship. Such terms, as before observed, are quite inapplicable to Gentiles. He, therefore, is telling his Jewish readers that they had not previously known God, and were in bondage to them which by nature are no gods. These that are no gods are the weak and beggarly elements, new moons, sabbaths, and seasons depending upon the heavenly bodies, with which perhaps angels were connected. The *Preaching of Peter* says the same thing: before Christ the Jews had not known God any more than the Gentiles had. As the latter worshipped metals, stones, and beasts, so the former worshipped angels and archangels and observed the month and the moon.² But if the opinion of the writer was that the Jews had not known God before Christ revealed him, then also in his opinion Jahveh was not God. He is included among those which by nature are no gods.

¹ Rom. xi, 13.

² Quoted by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi, 5, 39 to 41.

For this writer, then, Jahveh was not the Supreme Being, but the Gnostic Demiurge. The phrase in verse 9, "or rather to be known of God," is really conclusive on this question. What do commentators make of the statement of the writer that his readers had not previously been known by God? We have here what scientific observers term a crucial fact, one, namely, which decides imperatively between two theories. Yet theologians have passed it by as if it had no significance. It is implied throughout the Old Testament that all the nations of the world were within the knowledge of Jahveh, however little they might know *him*. He was their Creator, and, in the view of the prophets, he would one day bring them all to a knowledge of himself. They would then learn to know *him*; but he was already acquainted with them. It cannot be of Jahveh that the words "or rather to be known of God" were written. Note, too, that the knowledge of men by God is regarded by the writer as a fact of greater doctrinal importance than their knowledge of him. That idea has no place in Judaic or catholic theology.¹ On the other hand, some Gnostics believed, as this verse states, that before the coming of Christ into the world, which was the special domain of Jahveh, separated from the highest heaven of the true God by seven heavens under the rule of the "archons of this æon," men, the subjects of Jahveh, had neither known the true God, nor yet been known by him.²

Another inference which can be drawn is that at first the assertion of the Judaic party was that, for Jews at any rate, the whole of the Mosaic law was still in force. The reasoning in the Epistle is not concerned particularly with circumcision. That is only incidentally mentioned. The question in debate was: Is the law still valid or not? The question of circumcision was not specially prominent; it was included in the larger question. If the law was still valid, circumcision was necessary; but so also were the observance of days, months, and seasons, and the avoidance of certain kinds of food. This is rather an important point, since it is capable of furnishing an indication of date. When the section, verses 21 to 31 of chapter iv, was written, the subject of dispute was still the law as a whole; circumcision is not even mentioned in it. It may be inferred that the section is not very

¹ The double aspect of *gnosis*, knowledge of God and God's knowledge, has been well brought out by Prof. Drews, *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, pp. 66-72.

² He was, of course, supposed to know that men existed.

late. It might be as late as A.D. 120, however. For R2 in Romans iii to v is still arguing upon the question of the validity of the whole law. Circumcision is not treated as an isolated topic. The word is there no more than a metonym for the law, or those who are under it.

In chapter v, verse 3, of Galatians, however, we read: "I testify again to every man that receiveth circumcision, that he is a debtor to do the whole law." It is obvious that those words could not have been written until circumcision as an essential condition of salvation had been separated from the rest of the law. The change indicates that the anti-legal party had gained ground; the Judaic party were endeavouring to compromise. They were now willing to agree that if Christians (whether Gentile as well as Jew is not quite certain) would submit to circumcision, no other legal burdens should be laid upon them. It is observable that in Matthew's Gospel the claim of the Judaic party still is that the whole law is valid. Not a jot or tittle shall be removed from it, is the declaration there. But circumcision is not specially referred to. It is thus evident that chapters v and vi of Galatians are of decidedly later date than the first four chapters.¹

The original Epistle, which did not contain verses 21 to 31 of chapter iv, terminated with verse 1 of chapter v. If there was a formal conclusion, it has been lost. It has been rather considerably interpolated by R2. Verses 11 to 16, and possibly 17, of chapter vi were added separately, and probably last of all. Chapters v and vi were not taken from some other Epistle, but were written by the editor who added them. That is shown by their general character and subject matter. They were evidently inspired by the earlier chapters; and in verse 3 of chapter v there is a reference to iii, 10. The section verses 10 to 14 is an interpolation; not made by R2, however. It is possible that it may have been inserted by the editor who added iv, 21-31.

There is a curious expression in chapter iv, verse 19: "My little children, of whom I am again in travail until Christ be formed in you." The conception of a second travail with the same children is awkward. And the point of the metaphor can only be understood in the light of First Corin-

¹ In the opinion of C. H. Weisse, verse 3 of chapter v is an interpolation. That opinion is very likely correct. But verse 2 also implies that the necessity of circumcision was now the main issue between the Catholic and Judaic parties.

thians iv, 15, to which it is an obvious reference, though not a happy one, since in the earlier passage the writer likens himself to a father, and his converts to the children he has begotten in Christ. The writer in Galatians says that his converts, having forsaken the truth of the Gospel, must be born over again; but he is thinking of himself as their mother. In addition to this reference to another Epistle, it has been pointed out that i, 9, refers to Second Corinthians xi, 4. The metaphor commented upon above would not have been very intelligible to the readers unless they had been acquainted with the earlier Epistle. But in i, 9, the writer actually takes for granted that his readers are acquainted with the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. He begins with the words: "As we have said before." Now when a man, writing to certain people, says to them "As we have said before," he must believe that he is writing to the same people that he wrote to before. But one of the letters is addressed to the Corinthians, and the other to the Galatians. How is that explicable? There is only one explanation possible. The Epistles are not letters in the usual sense; they are pamphlets or tractates in the form of a letter. They all had the same circle of readers in view; and that circle can only have been the whole body of Pauline Christians.

Another rather strange expression which possibly has its explanation in a passage contained in an earlier Epistle is found in chapter v, verse 11: "If I still preach circumcision, why am I still persecuted?" If those words were written by Paul, they would imply (1) that he had at some time preached circumcision, (2) that he had been persecuted in consequence. The chapter cannot have been written by Paul, and the verse itself confirms that conclusion. There is no evidence that he had ever preached circumcision, and it is not possible that, if he had, he can have been persecuted for doing so. The verse must be a product of the later time when attacks were being made upon the Pauline party by the Judaizers, and when Paul, no longer living, was being abused by them. In that case, the words quoted might be understood to imply that Paul had in fact preached circumcision and had been a Judaic Christian. But all the evidence we have opposes that opinion. It is more likely that the explanation is to be found in Romans ii, 25: "circumcision indeed profiteth if thou be a doer of the law." The Judaizers may have quoted that verse as a proof that Paul was not an opponent of circumcision. The question,

"If I still preach circumcision, why am I still persecuted?" is the reply of the Pauline party; its significance is: Granting that Paul once wrote in terms which express a qualified approval of circumcision, if he continued to preach circumcision why did the Judaizers hate him so much and try to kill him?

10.—THE POSSIBLE IDENTITY OF C4 AND G

There are some reasons for thinking that C4, the writer of chapters x to xii of Second Corinthians, may have been identical with G. It was pointed out that, while the style of C4 could scarcely be termed elegant, it was nervous, vigorous, and naturally good. Imagery was effectively employed, and there was occasional use of irony. The style of G has the same characteristics. He, like C4, is able to make the reader feel that he is writing under the stress of strong feeling. But passion is not overdone; there is strength without exaggeration. The style is, on the whole, naturally good, without any apparent artifice or straining after effect. Irony is seen in the description of the pillar Apostles who were "reputed to be somewhat," and in the question: "Am I become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?" That question may be compared with Second Corinthians xii, 15: "If I love you more abundantly, am I loved the less?" Lively figurative writing is apparent in the phrases: "if possible, ye would have plucked out your eyes and given them to me," "the weak and beggarly rudiments," and in the representation of the law as a tutor or guardian. In one place, as previously mentioned, the writer has rather let his imagination run away with him, in the verse: "My little children, of whom I am again in travail." Both the sections are decidedly Gnostic, and in these two alone of all the New Testament writings is found the statement that Paul had some infirmity, or thorn in the flesh. Similar phrases and expressions occur, some of which have already been quoted. We may also compare Second Corinthians xi, 31, "The God and Father of the Lord Jesus.....knoweth that I lie not," with Galatians i, 20, "touching the things which I write to you, before God I lie not."

It was mentioned that C4 expressed a purpose sometimes by the infinitive mood alone, an unusual idiom, and that in the section written by him the infinitive mood was only once preceded by the definite article. The same

peculiarity is found in the original Epistle to the Galatians. The infinitive mood is preceded by the definite article only three times, in each case to indicate time—ii, 12, *πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τινας* (“before certain men came”); iii, 23, *πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν* (“before faith came”); and iv, 18, *ἐν τῷ παρῆναι μὲ* (“when I am present”). An example of the simple infinitive used to express a purpose is found in ii, 4, *οἵτινες παρεισῆλθον κατασκοπεῖσαι* (“who came in [in order] to spy out”). The conjunction *ὅτι* may mean *that*, *for*, or *because*; it is equivalent to *for* when it introduces the reason for which the speaker makes a statement, *because* when it gives the cause of the fact stated. Some of the writers, e.g., R1 and C1, never use the conjunction in this last sense, others rarely, none more than twice, except R2 who has it five times, and C4 and G each of whom has it three times with the meaning *because*. *Μήπως* (“lest”) occurs seldom; outside the two sections we are now considering it is found only four times in the four Epistles. But in Second Corinthians x to xii it occurs three times, and in Galatians twice.

Against these facts, which constitute a weighty body of evidence in favour of identity of authorship, there are two points of difference, which may not be very important. In the original Epistle to the Galatians the conjunction *ὥστε* (“so that”) occurs three times,¹ in each case followed by the indicative mood. In the three chapters x to xii of Second Corinthians, *ὥστε* does not occur at all. The writer C4 never unites the two names “Christ” and “Jesus.” In the original Epistle to the Galatians “Christ Jesus” is found four times, “Christ” alone eight times. I consider that in deciding the question of identity of authorship much greater weight ought to be attached to points of difference than to points of resemblance, but I am not prepared to say that in this case the two points of dissimilarity are sufficiently important to outweigh the evidence on the other side, though the second of the two is rather important. Possible early corruption of the text must, of course, be considered. The reader has the evidence before him, and can form his own opinion.

¹ ii, 13; iii, 24; iv, 7.

11.—THE ORIGINAL EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS¹

“Paul, an apostle [and all the brethren which are with me] unto the churches of Galatia.

“I marvel that ye are so quickly removing from him that called you into grace, unto a different gospel. As we have said before, so say I now again : If any man preacheth unto you any gospel other than that which ye received, let him be anathema. For I make known to you, brethren, as touching the gospel which was preached by me, that it is not after man. For neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but when it was the good pleasure of him, who set me apart even from my mother’s womb to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the Gentiles ; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood ; neither went I up to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me ; but I went away into Arabia ; and again I returned unto Damascus.

“Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas, and tarried with him fifteen days. But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Brother of the Lord. Now touching the things which I write unto you, behold, before God I lie not. Then I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia. And I was still unknown by face unto the churches of Judæa which were in Christ. Then after the space of fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas. And I went up by revelation ; and I laid before them the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately before those who were of repute, lest by any means I should be running, or had run, in vain, and that because of the false brethren privily brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage ; to whom we gave place in the way of subjection, no, not for an hour ; that the truth of the gospel might continue with you. But from those who were reputed to be somewhat (whatsoever they were, it makes no matter to me ; God accepts no man’s person)—they, I say, who were of repute imparted nothing to me ; but contrariwise, when they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel of the uncircumcision [even as Peter with the gospel of the circumcision (for he that wrought for Peter unto the apostleship of the circumcision wrought for me also unto the Gentiles) ;]

¹ Note. Passages enclosed in square brackets are of doubtful originality.

and when they perceived the grace that was given unto me, James and Cephas and John, they who were reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of friendship, that we should go unto the Gentiles, and they unto the circumcision; only they would that we should remember the poor; which very thing I was also zealous to do.

“But when Cephas came to Antioch I withstood him to the face because he was condemned. For before certain men came from James, he ate with the Gentiles; but when they came he drew back and separated himself, fearing them that were of the circumcision. And the rest of the Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that even Barnabas was carried away with their dissimulation. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest in the manner of the Gentiles and not in that of the Jews, how compellest thou the Gentiles to follow the customs of the Jews? We, being Jews by nature [and not sinners of the Gentiles], yet knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, even we believed on Christ Jesus. But if I build up again those things which I destroyed, I prove myself a transgressor. For I through the law died unto the law, that I might live unto God. I have been crucified with Christ; yet I live; and yet no longer I but Christ liveth in me; and that life which I now live in the flesh I live in faith, the faith which is in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself up for me.

“But before faith came we were kept in ward under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed. So that the law became our tutor to bring us to Christ. But now that faith is come we are no longer under a tutor. For ye are all sons of God, through faith, in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as were baptized unto Christ did put on Christ. There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.

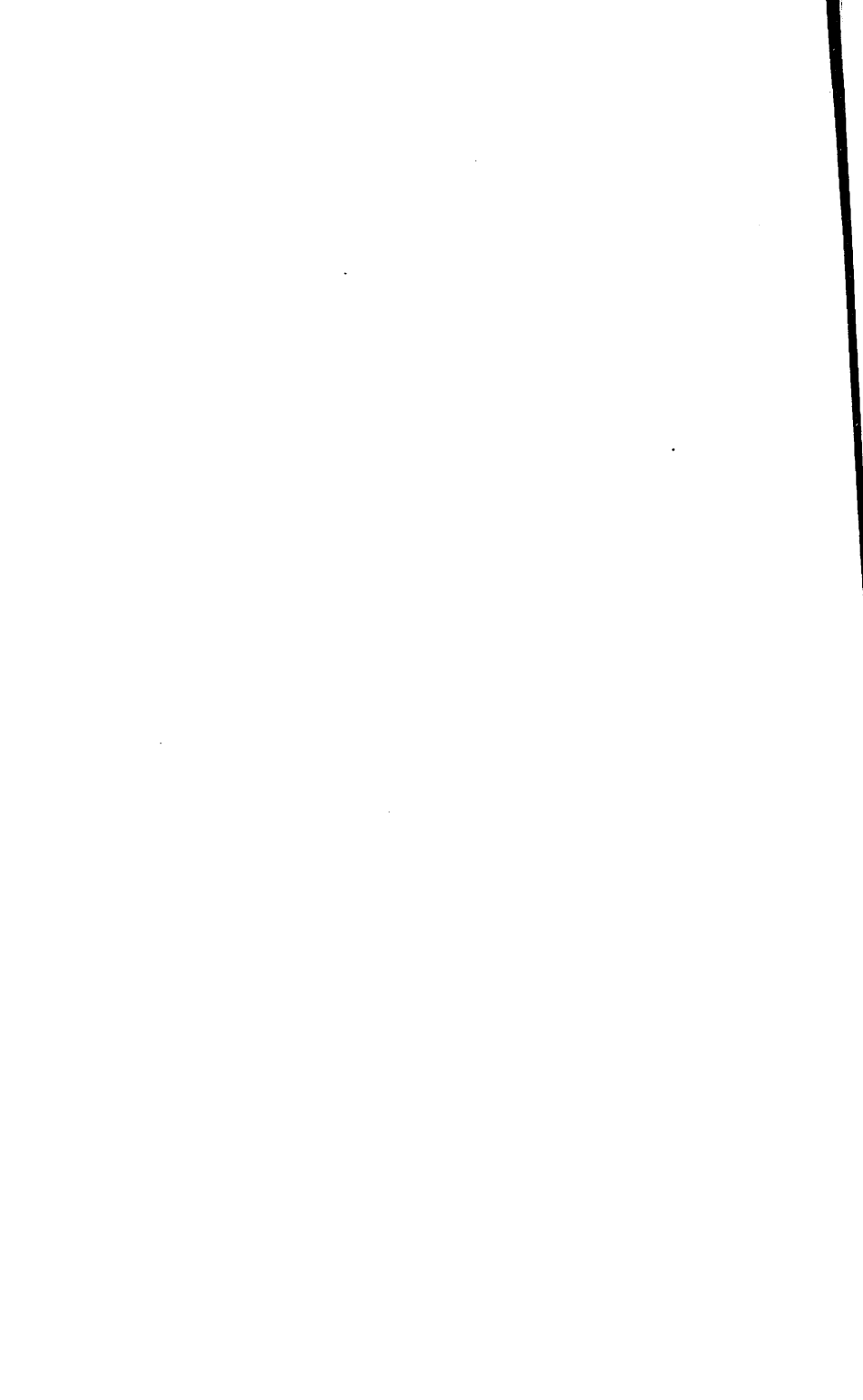
“But I say that so long as the heir is a child he is different in nothing from a bondservant, though he is lord of all; but is under guardians and stewards until the appointed time of the father. So we also, when we were children, were held in bondage under the rudiments of the world. But when the fulness of time came God sent forth his Son [born of a woman, born under the law] that we might receive the son-

ship. And [because ye are sons] God sent forth the spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying Abba, Father.

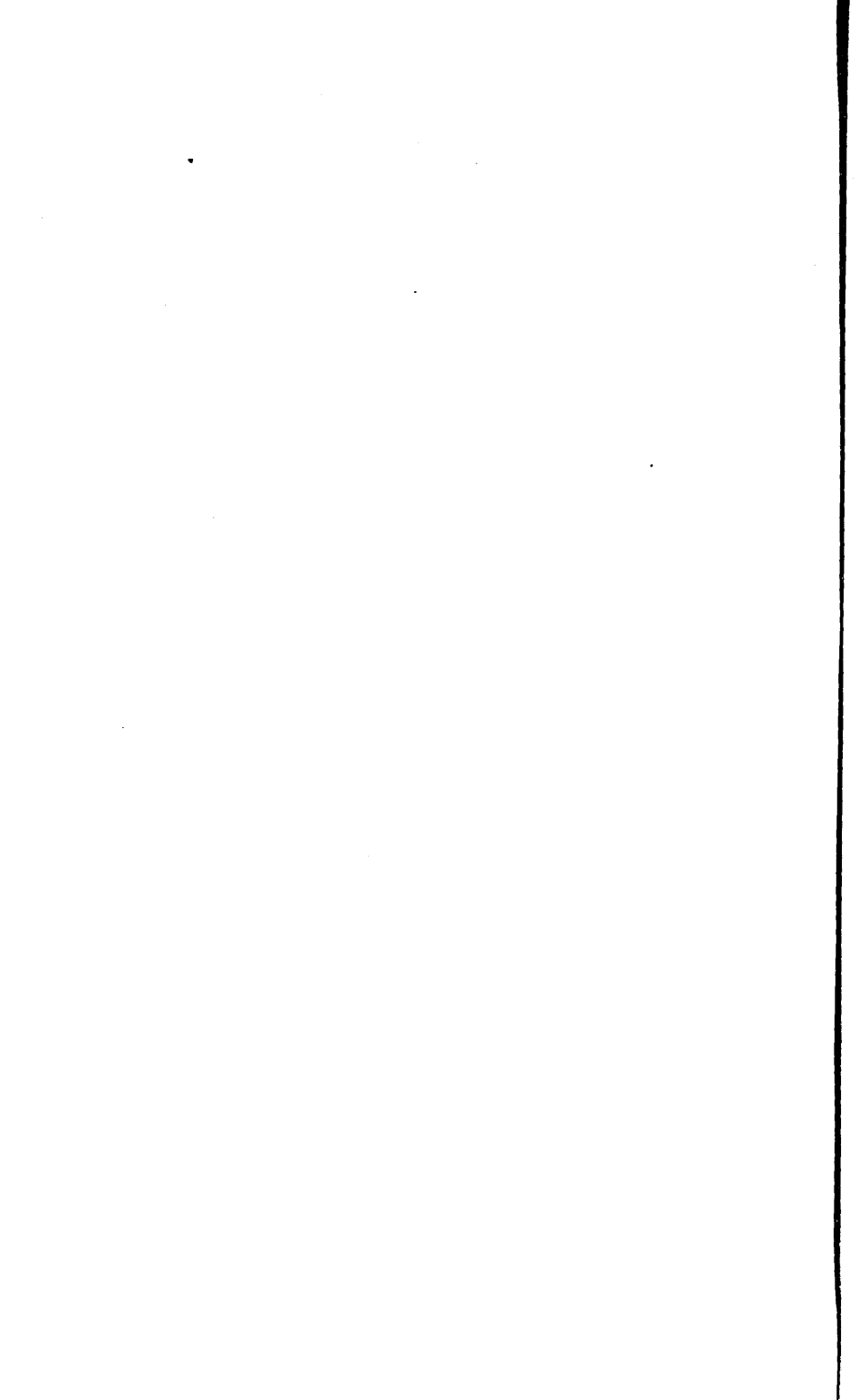
“Howbeit at that time, not knowing God, ye were in bondage to them which by nature are no gods; but now that ye have come to know God, or rather to be known of God, how turn ye back again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire to be in bondage over again? Ye observe days and months and seasons and years. I am afraid of you, lest by any means I have bestowed labour upon you in vain.

“I beseech you, brethren, be as I am, for I am as ye are. Ye did me no wrong; but ye know that because of an infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you the first time. And that which was a temptation to you in my flesh ye despised not nor rejected; but ye received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where then is that gratulation of yourselves? For I bear you witness that, if possible, ye would have plucked out your eyes and given them to me. So then am I become your enemy because I tell you the truth? My little children, of whom I am again in travail until Christ be formed in you, yea, I could wish to be present with you now, for I am perplexed about you.

“With freedom did Christ set us free; stand fast therefore and be not entangled again in a yoke of bondage.”



Confirmations and Conclusion



CONFIRMATIONS AND CONCLUSION

1.—THE EVIDENCE OF TERTULLIAN

IN the introductory section to the chapter on the Epistle to the Romans reasons were given for the opinion that Tertullian did not possess a copy of Marcion's edition of the Epistles. His statement that Marcion had mangled a Gospel and some Epistles was in large measure a conclusion deduced from the assumed major premise that a heretic must necessarily have corrupted the Scriptures so as to bring them into accordance with his own false doctrine. He stated the principle quite plainly, as follows: "Where there is diversity of doctrine there also corruption of the scriptures and of their interpretation *must be imputed*. Whoever has undertaken to teach differently *must of necessity* have given a different disposition to the authorities of doctrine. For it would not have been possible for them to teach otherwise unless that through which they taught had also been different."¹

It is generally supposed that Tertullian's quotations in his work against Marcion are from Marcion's own Gospel and Epistles. But when the attempt is made to reconstruct the text of Marcion's Gospel from those quotations, the result is so discordant with the statements of Epiphanius as to prove that it was not Marcion's text from which the quotations were made. The conclusions reached in this book cannot therefore be confirmed by the direct application to them of the quotations and statements of Tertullian. But since the Father in his confutation of Marcion's *Antitheses* went pretty thoroughly through the Epistles, either replying to arguments which Marcion had founded upon a verse or attacking his main position, it will often be possible to infer that Marcion had, or had not, a particular passage in his MS. And, of course, my position is that it was Tertullian's MS. which had been interpolated and corrupted, and that Marcion,

¹ *De praescrip. haer.* cap. 38.

wherever his evidence can be obtained, is a witness to an earlier and purer form of the text. It will, at any rate, surely be admitted that, if the evidence of Marcion repeatedly confirms my reconstruction, the coincidence establishes both the comparative purity of Marcion's text and the correctness of the reconstruction.

Tertullian's arguments may be divided into three classes. First, an argument which deals unambiguously with a comment by Marcion upon a certain verse; in which case obviously the verse must be inferred to have been in Marcion's MS. Second, an argument in which Tertullian uses a verse or passage in order to controvert Marcion's doctrine in general, and in which it is evident that he had before him nothing written by Marcion upon the passage. In such cases there will be a probability that the passage was absent from Marcion's MS. Not necessarily so, of course; therefore the confirmation must consist in showing that, whenever Marcion can be confidently inferred to have had a certain passage in his MS., that passage is one which has been proved to have been in one of the earlier strata of the Epistles; and that in respect to all the late interpolations, Marcion can be inferred to have had nothing to say. In the third class of argument, Tertullian's expressions are not sufficiently definite to justify a decision as to whether Marcion had commented upon a verse or no.

Tertullian begins his polemic with the Epistle to the Galatians, and continues with those to the Corinthians and then that to the Romans. Probably Marcion had dealt with them in that order. Some inferences from Tertullian with regard to Marcion's text of Galatians have already been drawn. Galatians ii, 1 to 14, was in Marcion's edition, since he founded upon it a charge against the older Apostles that they had corrupted the Gospel and were Judaizers, which is replied to by Tertullian.¹

Marcion's copy also contained verse 18 of the same chapter; for Tertullian, evidently replying to an argument which Marcion had founded upon the verse, says²: "He (the Apostle) quite properly stated that he would not build up again that which he had destroyed, because the law had to be destroyed." Not, as Marcion had asserted, because it was the law of the Creator; but because, as John had preached

¹ *Adv. Marc.* v, 3.

² *Ibid.*

figuratively (Luke iii, 4 and 5), the asperities (*difficultates*) of the law must be replaced by the simplicity of the Gospel.

The method of Tertullian, when he had no argument of Marcion to deal with, is illustrated in section 3 of his book, where he quotes a text, "for ye are all sons of faith,"¹ and proceeds to develop from it a general argument. It is often supposed that Tertullian was "confuting Marcion out of his own MS.;" so that every text quoted must have been in that MS. But in section 4 Tertullian says that Marcion had omitted everything from iii, 15b, to iv, 2, and the verse quoted above is contained in that section; so that Tertullian quoted it from his own MS. and not from Marcion's; moreover, in the course of his argument, he uses the very section about Abraham which he afterwards charges Marcion with omitting. Also, he says in section 4 that he only deals superfluously with what Marcion had omitted. But the trouble is that he hardly ever specifies what Marcion retained; so that, as before said, it is quite unsafe to assume that every passage he deals with was in Marcion's copy. It is very unlikely that Marcion would have had the reading "ye are all sons of faith," since the received reading, "ye are all sons of God," is doubtless original, and as it implies genuine Pauline doctrine Marcion could have had no reason for altering it.

With regard to the Epistles in general, no one who had not had the suggestion made to him beforehand could possibly imagine that Tertullian was handling any other MS. than his own. In dealing with First Corinthians, for example, he only specifies one word which he supposed to have been excised by Marcion.² He goes through his MS. quoting indiscriminately passages which Marcion no doubt had in his edition and others which he certainly had not. In the case of Galatians, however, he does make a few definite statements which produce the impression that he had a different MS. before him. Whether that MS. was Marcion's is another question. The statement that Marcion had cut out the sections dealing with Abraham is likely enough to be true in the sense that his MS. had never contained them, since they were written by the late Catholic editor R2. Jerome also says that Marcion's MS. did not contain verses 6, 7, and 8 of chapter iii. We need not infer that his mention of those verses in particular implies that no more were missing.

¹ Gal. iii, 26.

² He also mentions one verse which he believed that Marcion had retained.

Verse 9 is so intimately connected with 8, and so impossible as a continuation of 5, that, if verses 6 and 8 were wanting, so also must verse 9 have been. And if the one section on Abraham was absent from Marcion's MS., it is tolerably certain that the other section was absent also. But Tertullian says that the section iii, 15, to iv, 2, had been cut out except the opening words in verse 15: "Brethren, I speak after the manner of men." One does not need to be a skilled critic to perceive that these words are an introduction to what follows and an integral part of the section. Any one who excised the section, leaving those words, was either very unintelligent or completely indifferent to the principles of textual criticism. Tertullian saw that plainly enough, and belaboured Marcion accordingly. He, of course, professed to believe that Marcion was stupid. The procedure imputed is the more strange that there can have been no dogmatic motive. And if Tertullian is to be believed, the section iv, 1 to 7, was cut in two by the removal of verses 1 and 2; an operation which is even less conceivable than the other, since the logical coherence of the whole section must be obvious to the meanest intelligence. The writer says: "as long as the heir is a child, he differeth in nothing from a bondservant;..... so we also, when we were children, were held in bondage under the rudiments of the world." Any one who excised the first half of this passage, leaving the second, must have been dealing with the text of the Epistles in a perfectly reckless manner. Unrestrained by any critical principle whatever, he must simply have blotted out everything which seemed to run in the least degree contrary to his own opinion. Whether Marcion was such a man must be largely a matter of opinion. I think he should have the benefit of the doubt. The dubious evidence of such a witness as Tertullian is not sufficient to convict him.

The Epistles which Marcion had were collected together under the title *Apostolicon*. So that it is very unlikely that Tertullian had one of them without the rest. Probably, therefore, the mangled copy of Galatians which he had was not Marcion's copy at all. He said himself that the disciples of Marcion "daily alter their Gospel as they are daily refuted by us." No party in the second century was free from the vice of tampering with the documents; Tertullian may therefore have got hold of a copy of Galatians which was current among the Marcionites and had been mangled by some of

them.¹ Another definite statement made by him with reference to this copy of the Epistle is that the latest mention of Abraham—viz., in chapter iv, verses 21 to 31—had been preserved, though altered in part. He gives the text of the passage as follows: "Abraham had two children (liberos), one by the handmaid and one by the freewoman. Howbeit the son by the handmaid is born after the flesh, but the son by the freewoman through promise. Which things contain an allegory. For these are two covenants, one from Mount Sinai bearing (offspring) unto bondage into the synagogue of the Jews after the law, the other bearing above every principality, power, dominion and every name that is named, not only in this age but in the future, into the holy church, which we have promised, which is our mother..... Wherefore brethren we are not children of a handmaid, but of the free-woman." It is not credible that the transformed passage was written by Marcion. It is true that the sentence "above every principality, power, dominion, and every name that is named" reproduces Gnostic phraseology; but those are terms in which Gnostics wrote of Christ. Marcion certainly would not have used them in reference to those who were born from the second covenant into the Church. "The holy Church, which is our mother," obviously means the Catholic Church; it is contrasted with the synagogue of the Jews. The passage was not written by a Gnostic but by an anti-Jewish catholic. If the statements of Tertullian were based upon some MS. of the Epistle to the Galatians which he actually had before him at the time, a supposition which, in view of the extraordinary nature of his statements, one might reasonably question, it is fairly certain that the MS. was not Marcion's. Very little is to be learnt from Tertullian with regard to Marcion's text except by way of inference. His categorical statements only have value when they may be supposed to impart information derived from Marcion's own book, the *Antitheses*. Upon chapters v and vi Tertullian has nothing but a few general arguments against Marcion's doctrine. They contain no reference which could raise the slightest suspicion that Marcion had written any comment upon any part of them.

The same remark applies to the first chapter of First Corinthians. But Marcion's MS. contained chapter ii. For

¹ The statement which follows is, however, hardly consistent with that supposition.

Tertullian says,¹ after quoting verse 6, that Marcion had argued that the crucifixion of the Lord by the rulers of this world who were the subjects of the Creator proves that the Lord was the Christ of the other God.² It is obvious that in this case Tertullian obtained his information from Marcion's book.

It is not safe to infer that when Tertullian replies to an argument put forward by some person unnamed that person was Marcion. In some cases he was clearly addressing followers of Marcion, or some other Gnostic; and in a few passages he has mentioned other heretics by name. In any given case, therefore, he may have in view some utterance of one of these. And since he was not an accurate writer or a very conscientious controversialist, he was quite capable of attributing to Marcion opinions expressed by one of his followers. After quoting³ First Corinthians i, 21, he says that: "The most subtle of the heretics" here especially interpret "the world" to mean "the lord of the world"—i.e., the Demiurge. It is probable that Marcion had not in this verse interpreted the word in that sense, since Tertullian does not name him, and he could not well be included among the most subtle of the heretics. His system was simple compared with that of some others—Valentinus, for example. But when later Tertullian, commenting upon First Corinthians iv, 9, observes, "Certainly you say,⁴ he (Paul) means even here by *world*, *the god of the world*, when he says 'we are made a spectacle to the world and to angels and to men,' because if he had meant to signify *men* by *the world* he would not have named 'men' afterwards"; it is presumable that Marcion had so interpreted the word. Since the section of the Epistle in which the verse occurs is most probably to be dated between 75 and 80 A.D., it is quite possible that Marcion's copy contained it. It corresponds to an early edition, probably the second. It may be inferred that Marcion's edition of the Epistles contained chapter x, verses 1 to 21, of First Corinthians. For Tertullian wrote⁵: "It is said by Isaiah: Behold I lay in Sion a stumbling stone and a rock of offence; *and the rock was Christ*; even Marcion preserves it." We have here an example of Tertullian's intellectual dishonesty. The words

¹ *Adv. Marc.* v, 6.

² The text is corrupt at this point, but there can be no doubt as to the gist of Marcion's argument.

³ *Adv. Marc.* v, 5.

⁴ Some MSS. read here "he says."

⁵ *Adv. Marc.* v, 5.

“and the rock was Christ” are taken from the above named chapter of First Corinthians, where “the rock” does not signify a rock of offence at all, but the rock in the wilderness from which Moses procured water for the children of Israel. By quoting the words, which he may have seen quoted also in Marcion’s work, he tries for the purpose of his argument to fasten upon Marcion the admission that Christ had been likened by Paul to a rock of offence. For he quotes the verse from Isaiah while commenting upon verse 23 of chapter i in order to prove that the Christ of Paul is the Christ of the Creator. His argument is quite general, and he evidently knew of no reference by Marcion to that verse. His dragging in a quotation by Marcion from another context proves that Marcion had written nothing upon this one. There is also evidence that Tertullian obtained his knowledge of the fact that the section was in Marcion’s edition from Marcion’s book, and not from a copy of his edition of the Epistles, because later on¹ he has an argument in reply to Marcion’s comment upon the symbolic representation of Christ by the rock in the wilderness. We thus find in the statements of Tertullian and in the character of his reasoning confirmation of our conclusion that chapter x, verses 1 to 21, were contained in the first edition of First Corinthians, and that the greater part of chapter i is a late insertion.²

Tertullian can give us no information at all with respect to the important excisions which he supposes Marcion to have made, but he waxes very eloquent over a few comparatively trifling omissions or alterations of the text. In some of these cases he has apparently obtained his information from Marcion’s own work; in others the alteration is obviously a variant in the MS. readings, which he and others put down to the account of Marcion. For example, he says³ that Marcion omitted the name “Adam” from the second clause of First Corinthians, xv, 45, “the last Adam became a life-giving spirit,” and substituted “Lord.” But it is known from a quotation by Irenæus⁴ that the name “Adam” was absent from this clause in a MS. used by him. No doubt “Lord” may have been interpolated here as in others, but there

¹ *Adv. Marc.* v, 7.

² Tertullian’s statement appears to be contradicted by Epiphanius; the discrepancy, however, only concerns Marcion’s text. The conclusion reached in this book with regard to chapter x, 1-21, is unaffected, as will be seen later.

³ *Adv. Marc.* v, 10,

⁴ *Contra omni. haer.* v, 2,

is no reason to suppose that Marcion was the interpolator. Irenæus quotes : "The first Adam was created by *the Lord* a living soul." Tertullian apparently based his charge upon the mere fact of a difference of readings ; he knows of no comment which Marcion had made upon the verse, for he he has to invent for him a reason for the alteration which he supposes him to have made. "Of course," he says, "he was afraid lest, if he should hold the last Lord also to be Adam, we should maintain that the Christ who was the last Adam must be the Christ of the same God who was the God of the first." It is evident that when Tertullian expatiates as he does upon a slight variation of this kind he would have eagerly fixed upon Marcion, if he could, the guilt of his supposed much more extensive excisions and interpolations. Note that Tertullian in quoting the verse quotes it from his own MS. In the same chapter he also quotes verse 47 ; and since he quotes it without comment as giving the words of the Apostle, he was obviously reproducing in that case also the reading of his own MS. "The first man, he (Paul) says, is of the earth, earthy ; the second *Lord* is of heaven." His own MS., therefore, had the word "Lord" instead of "man" in this verse ; a fact which very strongly confirms the supposition that the same word stood instead of "Adam" in verse 45 in some MSS. And when we observe, as in this and other instances, that where Tertullian's charge against Marcion of corrupting his MS. can be tested, it resolves itself usually into an example of a difference of MS. readings, while not once can Tertullian by a direct comparison of his own MS. with Marcion's state definitely that a certain passage was wanting from the latter, no other conclusion is possible than that Tertullian had not Marcion's MS. before him.

Marcion, however, must have quoted frequently from his MS. in the course of his written dissertations, so that Tertullian knew, and can let us know, a good deal about what Marcion's MS. contained. He might, of course, have inferred from Marcion's silence something about what it did not contain ; but he does not seem to have done so. When he has nothing written by Marcion before him, he engages in a general attack upon the docetic position. Marcion apparently had written nothing upon First Corinthians chapter xvi, and it is even somewhat doubtful whether Tertullian's own MS. contained it. Upon chapter vi of First Corinthians, again, Tertullian merely reasons briefly from verses 13 to 15 against

Marcion's doctrine that there is no resurrection of the body. He argues rather sophistically that since it is said, "God raised up the Lord and will raise us up," it must be in the body, because "the body is for the Lord and the Lord for the body." He obviously knows of nothing written by Marcion upon this chapter. The same remark applies to chapter ix; he has no comment by Marcion upon this chapter to reply to; he only writes a few lines upon verses 9 and 10, which quote a law of Moses, in order to prove that the God of the Apostles was the God of the law—that is to say, of the Creator.

There is reason to think that when Tertullian is quoting a verse which has been quoted by an adversary he repeats the quotation, introducing it by the conjunction "if," and then proceeds to reply to the argument that had been founded on it. That is quite clearly his method in some cases, so that it may be inferred to be so in others. Thus quoting Second Corinthians iii, 6, he writes: "*if* the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life, each act is his who says, 'I kill and I make alive.' We proved before that the power of the Creator is of two kinds, judgment and goodness, killing by the letter through the law, and making alive by the spirit through the Gospel. They who, even if they spoke of diverse actions, previously attributed them to one God, cannot be held to imply two." In this case the "if" prefixed to the quotation may indicate that Marcion had interpreted the verse in the manner implied in Tertullian's comment on it.

Marcion's copy of Second Corinthians contained verse 4 of chapter iv, a portion of the Gnostic Epistle. For Tertullian tells¹ us that Marcion in this verse punctuated the phrase "in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of the unbelieving," as we have it in our versions, correctly. "We on the contrary," writes Tertullian, say that it should be punctuated thus: "In whom is God" (in quibus deus). Then: "He has blinded the minds of the unbelieving of this age" (aevi hujus excaecavit mentes infidelium). It is evident that Tertullian obtained his information from Marcion's book, because he gives Marcion's comment upon the verse. Marcion had observed that since it shows that the Creator is the God of this æon, it implies the existence of another God, the God of the other æon. Marcion was, of course, quite correct, both

¹ *Ibid.* v, 11.

in his punctuation and his exegesis. The Gnostic writer of the section did intend the phrase "the God of this æon" to signify the Creator, the Demiurge.¹

It is as certain as any inferential knowledge can be that the quotation of verse 6 was made by Tertullian from his own MS. He quotes: "Since God, who commanded light to shine out of darkness, shined in our hearts to give the light of his knowledge in the person of Christ." From this quotation the word "glory" is omitted after "knowledge," though it is found in a quotation of the same verse by Tertullian elsewhere.² The omission of the word cannot be due to Marcion. It is not credible that Marcion had the verse in the form quoted, whether with the word "glory" or without it. If he ever cut anything out of any document, he certainly did not leave a statement which is so absolute a refutation of his fundamental doctrine as to render valueless any other excision whatever. If the God who shined in our hearts to give the light of the gnosis in the person of Christ was the same God who said "Let there be light," Marcion's God was the Creator; and his whole system is shipwrecked upon the rock of this verse. Tertullian, after quoting it, of course at once interjects the fatal question: "Who was it who said: Let there be light?" Marcion knew well that Paul could not have written what is here implied, but he did not need to excise from his MS. words which had never been contained in it; and it would have been a senseless proceeding to cut out the one word "glory," to which he could have had no objection, and leave a whole line out of which he must have known that his doctrine would be refuted. During the greater part of the second century a battle was being carried on by the contending parties through the interpolation and falsification of documents. In the present instance a catholic editor first inserted the line "who commanded light to shine out of darkness" and subsequently, in order to blunt the effect of it, a Gnostic changed the words into "who said, Light shall shine out of darkness," by the slight alteration of the infinitive λάμψαι ("to shine") into the future λάμψει ("shall shine"). The English revisers preferred λάμψει, though for the reason above given it is probably the later of the two. It is, of course, the reading of the oldest existing MSS., but

¹ Modern theologians pretend that by "the God of this æon" Satan is meant. Tertullian knew better. Satan could be termed by Paul "Angel" or "Archon," but not God. See later, p. 383.

² *De Carn. Resur.* 44,

the other seems to have been the prevalent reading in the second century; it is quoted by Justin and Tertullian, also later by Origen and Theodoret. It is the reading of the Codex Claromontanus, and several ancient latin versions.¹

Another example of a similar kind which also proves that Tertullian's quotations are from his own MS. is First Corinthians xv, 49: "As we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly." Catholics of the second century rightly understood this verse to be a denial of a corporeal resurrection; the future *φορέσομεν* was consequently altered into the subjunctive mood *φορέσωμεν* ("let us bear"). The importance attached to the verse by both parties and the point of the alteration is illustrated by Tertullian's argument against Marcion. He says: "The words (let us bear) do not refer to the substance of the resurrection, but to the discipline of the present time. For he says *let us bear*, as an injunction, not *we shall bear*, as a promise, wishing us to behave not as carnal men." The falsification is so obvious in this case that in spite of good MS. authority for *φορέσωμεν*² the translators of both our English versions preferred the future indicative *φορέσομεν*. Now it is certain that Marcion would not have in his MS. the catholic reading; Tertullian, however, not only quotes it, but is evidently quite unconscious of the fact that Marcion's reading was different. Moreover, Tertullian quotes the same verse elsewhere with the same reading *φορέσωμεν*.³

We know that Marcion had verse 1 of chapter v in his copy, that also being a section of the Gnostic Epistle; for Tertullian⁴ replies to an argument of Marcion with regard to it. Marcion had contrasted the house not made with hands, a gift from the supreme God, with those things which, being made with hands, are the property of the Creator and accordingly subject to decay; and had argued therefrom that our bodies are completely and finally dissolved after death.

In his twelfth chapter Tertullian writes: "If also he commands that we should cleanse ourselves from defilement of flesh and blood, he is not denying that the kingdom of God admits matter, but that it admits the works of matter (i.e., of the flesh⁵), and if he is resolved to present the church as a pure virgin to Christ, in any case it is as a bride to a bride-

¹ Adopted by the translators of the A.V.

² N, A, C, D, and others.

⁴ *Adv. Marc.* v, 12.

³ *De Carn. Resur.* 49.

⁵ Second Corinthians vii, 1, and xi, 2.

groom ; the figure of a thing cannot imply an idea which is hostile to the thing itself."¹ Between the two quotations in this passage there is a gap of four chapters, vii to x, although the two verses are thrown together in a single sentence. It may be confidently inferred that Marcion had written nothing upon the intervening chapters. But, more than that, when we consider the thorough manner in which Tertullian went through these Epistles, using as a weapon against Marcion's position every verse, even though he sometimes had to strain the meaning of it, which he could make available for the purpose, we must recognize the probability that in Tertullian's own MS. two verses quoted by him in a single sentence were not separated by four complete chapters. Attention has previously been drawn to some evidence which appears to indicate that chapters viii and ix at least were wanting in Tertullian's MS. The comment on verse 1 of chapter vii, which really belongs to the closing section of chapter vi, and was no doubt in Marcion's copy, being an early Gnostic interpolation, seems to be a reply to some argument. The text may have been used by Marcion in support of the Gnostic view of the essential impurity of matter. Tertullian's comment is intended to show that it need not have that significance. It will be noted that each verse is introduced by the conjunction "if," which, as previously pointed out, is an indication that Tertullian is rebutting some argument which had been founded upon it. Tertullian's reply in the case of the second one is not fully intelligible without a knowledge of the argument which elicited it. His point seems to be that the use of the figure of bride and bridegroom implies approval of marriage, which Marcion deprecated.

That the section, chapters x to xii, is an addition to the original Epistle is, as before mentioned, admitted by some of the best critics, but as it is Gnostic in character and not very late, Marcion may have had it in his MS. There are two other quotations from the same chapter, xi, which are introduced in the same way : "If also he says that they are false apostles, deceitful workers, transformers of themselves," etc., and "If Satan transforms himself into an angel of light." It was pointed out before that, where Tertullian replies to an adversary unnamed, it cannot with certainty be inferred that

¹ I have adopted the text-reconstruction of Kroymann.

the adversary was Marcion. It is possible that Marcion may have employed the first of the two verses as a weapon against the Jewish Apostles, but also it is possible that Tertullian had in mind the use which Marcion had made of Galatians ii, 14, for that purpose. Some Gnostics had evidently interpreted the Satan of the second verse as a figure for the Creator. It is, however, not likely that Marcion himself had done so; for Tertullian says: "For the Creator, being a god, not an angel, would have been said to have transformed himself into a god of light, not an angel, if the name had not signified that Satan whom both we and Marcion know to be an angel." The question, therefore, whether Marcion had chapters x to xii in his edition is indeterminate from the evidence of Tertullian, though on the whole it seems likely that he had. Upon chapters xii and xiii Tertullian has very little to say. It is evident that he knew of nothing written by Marcion upon chapter xiii; he scarcely touches it, and his slight comment upon it is quite general.

Tertullian begins his discussion of the Epistle to the Romans with the quotation, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel"; which, as was proved in the chapter upon that Epistle, were originally the opening words of it. Upon chapters iii to v, a late insertion by R2, he bases a short argument upon Marcion's general position. He shows no knowledge of any comment by Marcion upon those chapters; and he quotes no more than three verses from the whole of them. It is evident that he knew of nothing written by Marcion with reference to them. Referring to v, 1, he writes: "He (Paul) warns us that we should have peace with God through being justified by faith in Christ, not through the law. With which God? With the God whose enemies we have nowhere been? Or with him against whose law and nature we have rebelled?" His comments upon the other two verses are of the same general character.

Quoting vii, 7, "What then shall we say? Is the law sin? God forbid," Tertullian exclaims "Blush, Marcion!," and continues: "And yet he says even more—'the law is holy.' If he venerates the law of the Creator to such a degree, how he is destroying it I do not know." Those who believe that Marcion made extensive excisions from a Gospel and Epistles, and yet think that he retained passages which so obviously could be used against him, must suppose him to have been as wanting in intelligence as Tertullian did when he wrote:

"It is sufficient for me to receive as due to his carelessness and blindness what he did not see fit to erase." But Marcion was neither careless nor blind. And Tertullian can give us no information as to what he did erase. He makes use of the passages quoted as a weapon against Marcion, but there is nothing to show that Marcion had them.

After having been confined to general reasoning throughout chapters iii to v and a considerable portion of chapters vi and vii, presumably because he had no comments or arguments of Marcion relative to them, Tertullian appears to be aware of a comment made by him upon viii, 3. For he says: "If the Father sent him in the likeness of sinful flesh, let it not be said on that account that it was not flesh which was seen in him.....Consider now that when likeness of substance is spoken of, the reality of the substance will not thereby be denied."¹ He also quotes the words of some adversary: "why should he be said to have been in the likeness of flesh if it was real?" (*cur ergo similis si vera*). Marcion is not named, so that it is not quite certain that it is he who is being addressed. It is probable, however. And, at any rate, the important thing to notice is that so long as Tertullian is dealing with a section which I proved to be a late insertion, his argument is general, whereas when he comes to a chapter which formed part of the early Gnostic Epistle and was doubtless contained in Marcion's edition, he at once has a definite argument to reply to.

Marcion had apparently commented upon vii, 4, which is also a part of the early Gnostic Epistle. For Tertullian quotes, in order to answer it, an argument which had been used by a docetist, presumably Marcion, to the effect that, even though "the body of Christ" might be spoken of, it did not follow that Christ's body was a fleshly one: "*potest corpus contendere, non statim caro.*"

In the course of his discussion of Romans viii, 1 to 5, Tertullian introduces and comments upon a verse from First Corinthians (xv, 50), in such a way as to show that Marcion had probably used it in support of an argument which Tertullian desired to refute by interpreting the verse in the light of this passage of Romans. He says: "And here moreover

¹ Observe that Tertullian did not, as modern theologians do, draw a distinction between "flesh" and "sinful flesh." All flesh is sinful flesh; and sinless flesh would be the same flesh. Though the words "of sin" have probably been interpolated, it makes no real difference whether they are admitted or not,

he (Paul) himself, explains in what manner he wishes us not to be in the flesh, viz., that we should not be given to the works of the flesh, since, of course, we are actually in the flesh; and he thus shows that that is the sense in which he wrote—‘flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.’ Not thereby condemning matter but the works of it.” That verse of First Corinthians is contained in a fairly early Gnostic section.

After quoting Romans viii, 10 and 11, Tertullian writes¹: “And here I leap over a very considerable breach of Scripture which has been cut away” (*Salio et hic amplissimum abruptum intercisae scripturae*). Presumably by Marcion. He then quotes verse 2 of chapter x. If, as one must suppose, Tertullian here accuses Marcion of having cut out from the Epistle to the Romans verses 12 to 39 of chapter viii, it can only be said that the statement is *absolutely incredible*; that it affords as convincing evidence as any one could desire that Tertullian’s acquaintance with Marcion’s edition was of the most superficial character, and that he was completely ignorant of what it contained beyond what he could glean from Marcion’s own writings. Chapter viii of Romans is the most Gnostic chapter of the Epistle, and the section supposed to have been cut out contains more essentially Gnostic doctrine even than the earlier part of the chapter. Marcion would rather have sacrificed the whole Epistle, outside chapter viii, than lose verses 12 to 23 of it. If he had written it himself, it could not have better suited his purpose. “As many as are led by the Pneuma of God, these are the sons of God.” “The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are children of God, joint heirs with Christ.” But, above all, verses 19 to 21: “For the earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the revealing of the sons of God. For the creation was subjected to vanity, not of its own will, but by reason of him who subjected it (the Demiurge!), in hope that the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption (the work of the Creator) into the liberty of the glory of the children of God (Marcion’s own God!).” Are we really expected to believe that Marcion retained verses which are in irreconcilable conflict with his own opinions, such as that Christ was descended from Abraham, of the seed of David according to

¹ *Adv. Marc.* v, 14.

the flesh ; that the law is holy, and that redemption is by faith in the redeeming blood of Jesus Christ, and cut out a passage which gives them more support than almost any other passage in the four Epistles? No unprejudiced person who possesses a grain of critical insight and imagination can possibly believe it. Up to this point Tertullian has not been able to specify a single excision of any importance made by Marcion, and now he attributes to him one which he cannot conceivably have made ! If either of the men was blind it was certainly not the heretic. The one certain conclusion which may be drawn from the statement of Tertullian is that *he knew neither all that Marcion's edition contained nor what was absent from it.* The notion, if any one could possibly entertain it, that the passage escaped being in Marcion's edition through being a very late insertion is quite inadmissible. For chapter viii, as a whole, is a consistent piece, consistent in style and doctrine, and verses 12 to 39 logically follow and complete the reasoning contained in verses 1 to 11. Verses 28b to 37, however, were proved to be a late interpolation. Doubtless those verses were not to be found in Marcion's MS. But in that case neither were chapters iii to v, whose author was the same. And Tertullian was unaware of that omission. If Marcion had verses 1 to 11, he certainly had also verses 12 to 39, with the above specified exception. Moreover, the quotation of verses 19 to 22 by Basilides (about 125 A.D.) proves that the passage existed in an edition then possessed by Gnostics ; and the fact that it was contained in an edition used by Basilides would alone make it probable that Marcion's edition also contained it. Additional evidence that the section is not late is the fact that verse 6 of chapter iv of Galatians is an echo of Romans viii, 14 and 15, and the section of chapter iv of Galatians in which verse 6 occurs, was probably written before 100 A.D. Tertullian no doubt had good grounds for asserting that Marcion had made very extensive excisions from the Epistle to the Romans, even though he himself had no copy of Marcion's Epistle. The knowledge that Marcion's edition showed large gaps when compared with the catholic one must have been widely spread. Marcion probably did excise something, but a considerable portion of the extensive sections missing from his MS. were the sections written by R2 ; which, however, had not been excised from the MS., but had never been in it.

A little later on Tertullian might be thought to be betraying

his ignorance of the contents of Marcion's Epistles. For, after quoting xi, 33, "O the depth of the riches of God," he writes, "If Marcion has taken care to erase this (*haec si Marcion de industria erasit*), what does *his* Apostle exclaim, seeing that he has in view no riches of a God so poor and indigent as one must have been who created nothing, possessed nothing, having descended into the property of another?" It will not do to translate, "if he erased this on purpose," as though the question were simply whether he had done it intentionally. That would be absurd; because, of course, if Marcion erased anything he did it intentionally. And the context proves that Tertullian's question is whether he erased it at all. He says, if Marcion does not allow his Apostle to exclaim this, what could he exclaim, seeing that his God has no riches? One codex, indeed, in this place reads "if Marcion has *not* erased this," which might imply that he had not. The words "de industria" are rather more consistent with the presence of the negative than otherwise, since it would have been absurd to say that Marcion omitted something "on purpose"; but Tertullian might quite likely have said that he left something in on purpose, because he insinuated that Marcion occasionally left intact a passage unfavourable to himself with the artful design of obscuring the fact that he had made excisions elsewhere. The meaning of the sentence would then be: this statement must have been made by my Apostle since Marcion's God has no riches. The argument is, of course, a rhetorical misrepresentation of Marcion's position; and Tertullian may have referred to the verse merely because he saw that he could found upon it an argument against his adversary. He, however, asserts definitely that Marcion had retained the next verse, 34.

Upon chapters xiii and xiv Tertullian has nothing but generalities. He only refers to one verse in chapter xiv, verse 10, and he quotes "the judgment seat of Christ" instead of "the judgment seat of God." The variation cannot be taken as indicating a difference of reading between his own MS. and Marcion's. The phrase, "the judgment seat of Christ," is Messianic, not docetic. Tertullian has nothing at all to say about chapters xv and xvi.

Summing up the results of this investigation, leaving out of account inferences which have been drawn in earlier chapters of this book, we find that from the character of Tertullian's replies to Marcion it can be concluded with

certainty that Marcion's edition contained Galatians ii, 1-14; First Corinthians, chapter ii, and chapter x, 1-21; Second Corinthians iv, 1-6, v, 1-4; Romans, some portion of chapter viii. Also, with a considerable degree of probability, that it contained Romans vii, 1-4; First Corinthians iv, 6-21, xv, 50-54; Second Corinthians iii, 1-18; vi, 14, to vii, 1; xi, 1-15.¹ Of these twelve sections eight were ascribed by me to the first edition of the respective Epistle. Of the other four, First Corinthians iv, 6-21, was shown to be an early interpolation, probably by the editor of the second edition, and xv, 50-54, to be part of a Gnostic section added probably not later than about the year 85; Second Corinthians xi, 1-15, part of a section inserted by an editor whose doctrine was strongly tinged with Gnosticism, probably about 85 A.D.; and Second Corinthians vi, 14, to vii, 1, an early interpolation by R3, the Jewish Gnostic first editor of Romans and First Corinthians. Marcion's MS., therefore, must be held to represent substantially the form and contents of these Epistles as they existed towards the close of the first century in a Gnostic circle. Tertullian knew of nothing written by Marcion upon any section which I have proved to be a late interpolation; and, in particular, it may be inferred with the utmost confidence from the character of Tertullian's reasoning that Marcion's MS. contained none of the extensive interpolations of the late catholic editor R2. Tertullian does not once use an argument which there is the slightest reason to suppose to have been a reply to a comment by Marcion upon any passage which in this book has been ascribed to that editor.

2.—THE EVIDENCE OF IRENÆUS AND IGNATIUS

The conclusion that chapters viii and ix of Second Corinthians are late insertions into the Epistle is confirmed by the silence of Irenæus, who does not appear to have known them. He has quotations from chapters ii, iii, iv, v, and xii, but no quotation from any other chapter. As was observed when Tertullian's quotations were being considered, the absence of quotations appears to indicate a gap in the early MSS. between chapters v and xii. It does not, of course, follow that all the intervening chapters were missing. But it is at

¹ Tertullian's assertion that Marcion's MS. contained Romans xi, 34, will be referred to later.

least rather remarkable that neither Tertullian nor Irenæus has any reference to chapters viii and ix. And the fact must be considered to be some confirmation of the opinion which was reached on other grounds that those two chapters are late insertions. The fact suggests that they are later than the edition of R2 ; and that they may with probability be referred to the period 125 to 150.

Irenæus, like Tertullian, has no quotation from chapter xvi of the Epistle to the Romans, though he quotes rather freely from every other chapter of that Epistle. Also he quotes from every chapter of First Corinthians except chapter xvi, which, on other grounds, was shown to be late.

The quotations from, and references to, the Pauline Epistles in the shorter recension of the Ignatian Epistles are so few, slight, and general that no inference of any value can be drawn from them. But the complete absence from them of the doctrines of R2 is an indication, either that the sections written by him were not to be found in the MS. used by Ignatius, or that the latter writer rejected the doctrine. The same alternative is presented to us even more strongly by the longer recension. In that edition of the Epistles there are six quotations from the Epistle to the Romans and six from that to the Galatians, but not one of these is from a section which I have ascribed to R2. The fact may, of course, be the result of accident, but that is certainly very improbable, especially as there are quotations from chapters ii and vi of Romans, but none from chapters iii, iv, or v. This corroboration of the shorter by the longer recension justifies us in concluding that one of the alternatives above stated is true. Certainly when the longer recension of the Ignatian Epistles was written MSS. were in existence which contained the sections inserted by R2, but those sections may not have found their way into the MSS. used by the Ignatian writers. If any one prefers to suppose that the Ignatian writers had these sections in their MSS., but avoided reference to them from dislike of the doctrine taught in them, my conclusion is still confirmed, since such avoidance implies the recognition that the sections were of alien origin, containing doctrine repugnant to that taught in the body of the Epistles. The reasonable and scientific inference is that the sections written by R2 were absent from the MS. used by the writer even of the longer recension of the Ignatian Epistles. A corollary to this conclusion is that the chapters of First Corinthians

written by R2 must also have been wanting in the same MS. There is, in fact, no quotation from chapter ix in the Ignatian Epistles, though there is one each from chapters viii and x, and sixteen altogether. But in the Epistle *ad Tarsenses* verses 9 and 10 of chapter vi are quoted, beginning with the words "Be not deceived." Either, then, I have been mistaken in ascribing this chapter to R2, or the two verses quoted were absorbed by him from the earlier Epistle into the section which he wrote. Now, the writer C in verse 11 of chapter v instructed his readers not to keep company with a man who is a fornicator or covetous, or an idolater, or a reviler, or a drunkard, or an extortioner. Verse 9 of chapter vi goes on to declare that fornicators, idolaters, revilers, drunkards, and extortioners shall not inherit the kingdom of God. A slight addition is made to the list, but it is obvious that the verses vi, 9 and 10 follow v, 11, in the most natural manner, and could very well have been written consecutively by the same man. Whereas it must be quite plain to every one who has a feeling for style that chapter vi as a whole cannot have been written by C but may have been written by R2. Verses 12 and 13 of chapter 5 must, therefore, be interpolations, and the words "Be not deceived" in verse 9, chapter vi, originally followed v, 11. Verse 12, in fact, comes rather awkwardly after verse 11. Also the injunction "Put the wicked man from among yourselves" in verse 13 is out of place; the writer had finished with that topic in verse 7. In verse 9 he had opened a new, though closely related, one.

The sections written by R2 were therefore absent from a MS. current in the second half of the second century. The date I fixed for them, about 120 A.D., depends upon a single piece of secondhand evidence. But the witness is Origen. If it is correct that Basilides quoted R2, the latter may have written at Alexandria. It would, of course, take time for his insertions to get into MSS. current in Asia Minor.

3.—THE EVIDENCE OF EPIPHANIUS

Dr. Hermann Raschke has recently published a section of a work upon the witness of Epiphanius to the text of Marcion's edition of the Epistle to the Romans.¹ Up to a certain point his conclusions confirm mine in a remarkable manner, being

¹ *Abhandlungen und Vorträge herausgegeben von der Bremer Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft.* Dec. 1926.

reached, as they are, along an entirely different line. He, too, recognizes in the Epistle to the Romans the hands of two different men, those whom I have called R1 and R2, the one early and Gnostic, the other later and catholic. To the former he ascribes, as I do, the greater part of chapters i, vi, vii, and viii; to the latter, chapters iii and iv and the greater part of chapter v. The sections in chapters vi, vii, and viii, which Dr. Raschke ascribes to R2, coincide very approximately with those which I have ascribed to the same writer.¹ Dr. Raschke's purpose, however, was to recover Marcion's text, while mine has been to analyse the Epistles into their different strata. My results do not stand or fall by the constitution of Marcion's text, though I have assumed that his text approximately represents the text of the MSS. as it existed at the beginning of the second century. That assumption may be wrong, and, if Dr. Raschke's conclusions are sound, it is probably not quite correct, since one of his conclusions is that chapters ix to xi were wanting in Marcion's edition of the Epistle to the Romans. If Marcion made excisions, we have to distinguish between the text which he originally received and that which he left in his *Apostolicon*. Further, it is important to decide whether the text he received was an early and comparatively pure one, or whether it was already much adulterated with catholic interpolations. The uncertainty which exists with regard to these questions renders the evidence of Marcion less valuable for our purpose than it otherwise would be. I have supposed that the text he received was comparatively pure, and a good deal of evidence in support of that supposition has been adduced. In order to upset it, it would be necessary and sufficient to discover a single incontrovertible piece of evidence showing that Marcion had retained a late catholic interpolation. There is one piece of evidence which points in that direction, but the value and significance of it is uncertain. Tertullian, referring to Romans iii, 21, wrote: "The law at that time, but now the justice of God through the faith of Christ, of what nature is that distinction which you stress?².....it is a distinction of dispensations, not of Gods." The question is, had Marcion in treating that subject referred to the verse quoted? Con-

¹ Dr. Arthur Drews detected the hands of the three writers whom I have named R1, R2, and R3: see *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, p. 221 et seq.

² *Adv. Marc.* v, 13. Tunc lex, nunc justitia dei per fidem Christi, quae est ista distinctio?

sidering the character of Tertullian's method of controversy, it is impossible to answer the question in the affirmative. The opposition of the Christ of God to the law of the Creator was one of Marcion's antitheses; he must in his work have dealt with it frequently and at length. Tertullian, whenever he found a verse which appeared to lend any support to Marcion's position, made a point of showing that it was susceptible of a different interpretation. It does not therefore follow that because, in connection with this verse, he refers to one of Marcion's fundamental doctrines, Marcion himself had quoted the verse. Dr. Raschke, in the work previously referred to, has shown that Marcion could not have admitted into his text the phrase translated in our versions "righteousness of God," but which Tertullian renders more exactly "the justice of God." For Marcion and other Gnostics justice was peculiarly the attribute of the Creator, Jahveh, love and mercy the attributes of the supreme God, who would neither judge nor punish. The phrase "justice of God" is therefore one which Marcion would be particularly careful to avoid.

The basis of the inference that chapters ix to xi were wanting in Marcion's copy is a scholion of Epiphanius, quoting Romans x, 4: "For Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness to every one that believeth." Assuming that in the scholia Epiphanius indicated passages which were missing from Marcion's MS., we must infer that each of these quotations was a salient phrase picked out by Epiphanius and noted as a memorandum indicating the omitted section in which it occurred. For, obviously, the gaps in Marcion's MS. must have been much more extensive than the short sentences thus recorded. The question then is, how much more was wanting? Dr. Raschke argues that in this case the three chapters named were wanting. The conclusion may be held to be supported by the evidence of Tertullian.¹ It has been stated that Tertullian only mentioned one important excision which Marcion had made; and it is evident from the way he speaks of it that the gap was a large one. If three whole chapters had been wanting from Marcion's Epistle to the Romans, the fact would very probably have been known even to men who had not seen his MS., and thus Tertullian may have been aware of it. But that his knowledge was not

¹ Since Marcion knew that Paul had rejected the O.T., he must necessarily have cut out at least the greater part of the three chapters if he had found them.

exact appears from the fact that he supposed the gap to have included the latter part of chapter viii. Except for the concluding verses of chapter xii, Tertullian, in his work against Marcion, has only one quotation from the three chapters—viz., x, 3—and although he does not say definitely that Marcion had retained the verse, he seems to imply belief that he had.¹ As the matter is important, I quote Tertullian's own words: "Salio et hic amplissimum abruptum intercisae scripturae, sed apprehendo testimonium perhibentem apostolum Israheli, quod zelum dei habeant, sui utique, non tamen per scientiam." Then follows the verse cited. Bearing in mind the very rhetorical character of Tertullian's style, we may infer that when he says that while leaping over an immense chasm he catches the apostle bearing witness that the Israelites had a zeal for God, he means it to be understood that he had found that passage unremoved. One may further conjecture that Marcion had commented upon the passage; but with regard to that Tertullian's observation is ambiguous. He says: "here *there will be* an argument on the part of the heretic to the effect that the Jews were ignorant of the superior God." A reason for believing that Marcion had quoted the passage is found in the form in which Tertullian reproduces it, for, instead of "being ignorant of God's righteousness," he writes "being ignorant of God," which, of course, is an exact statement of Marcion's own opinion. The important point for our investigation is not whether Marcion excised the chapters, but whether he found them in the MS. which he originally received. Obviously, if he retained verses 2 and 3 of chapter x, that chapter and presumably the other two were included in the Epistle at the date when the MS. which came into his hands had been written. A fact which is consistent with my conclusion that they formed part of the first composite edition.

The belief that Marcion found the chapters in his original MS. is confirmed by the categorical assertion of Tertullian that Marcion had retained verses 34 and 35 of chapter xi. Tertullian so very rarely in the whole course of his argument makes a definite statement to that effect that we are justified in inferring that he really had good grounds for his assertion on the two or three occasions when he ventured to make it.

As Epiphanius had had the opportunity of examining

¹ *Adv. Marc.* v, 14,

Marcion's MS., we might have expected to receive from him full and definite information about it. Unfortunately, he presents us not so much with information as with a problem. No doubt owing to the irksomeness of having to copy out long passages, and probably also to insufficiency of time, he recorded a number of notes (scholia), many of which evidently were merely memoranda, salient verses which should serve as indications of considerable sections, which, as he supposed, had been omitted, displaced, or transformed. Some years later, having been requested to write an account of Marcion's Gospel and Epistles, he published the scholia with comments. By that time his memory was not always clear as to the purpose for which a scholion had been recorded, or the extent of a section which it was intended to indicate¹; so that now the interpretation of them is uncertain. To many of the scholia on the Gospel he prefixed a defining word, such as "he cut away," "he altered," "he transferred to another context." He states in his introduction that one purpose he had was to confute Marcion out of his own documents, and he seems to have supposed subsequently that every quotation to which he had not prefixed a defining word had been made with that object in view. It is probable, however, that he was mistaken in that supposition. After mentioning that Marcion had cut away the first few chapters of the Gospel, he introduces his list of scholia thus: "He begins therefore at that point and he does not thereafter preserve the proper order, but some things, as I said before, he falsifies, others he turns upside down, not going straight forward, but recklessly twisting everything about, and they are these." It would naturally be inferred that the quotations which follow are examples of the falsification imputed, but in the first ten there are only three in which the supposed alteration is indicated in the scholion itself. Consequently, it is extremely improbable that every scholion which does not contain such indication is a verse which Marcion had not altered or excised, recorded by Epiphanius for the purpose of refutation. The contrary is much more likely. Whether any of them are quotations from Marcion's Gospel, and, if so, which, must be a matter of uncertainty. When we come to the Epistles, we find that all but two or three of the scholia consist merely of a quotation without any statement of the

¹ He himself says on several occasions that he cannot confidently rely upon his memory.

purpose for which they were made ; and there is good reason to think that when he wrote his longer work Epiphanius himself had forgotten it. Dr. Raschke has assumed that all these scholia are memoranda of passages which were absent from Marcion's edition of the Epistles, and the results which he has reached, starting from that assumption, are such that it does not seem possible for him to have been greatly in error. Epiphanius himself, however, says precisely the contrary. He introduces his discussion of the scholia on the Epistles as follows: "I shall now come to the list of apostolic utterances *which were preserved by him* and which are read also among us in the same form."¹ When dealing with the scholia on the Gospel, where Marcion has cut out a verse, Epiphanius shows in what manner he has acted foolishly or wrongly in doing so. When the verse is one which he thinks Marcion had retained, Epiphanius, after quoting it, uses it as a text for an argument against Marcion's doctrine. This is what he does with respect to nearly all the scholia upon the Epistles. He must, therefore, have believed when he wrote against Marcion that the heretic had retained these passages. Yet, for the reason before given, it is almost certain that he was mistaken.

That opinion is entirely confirmed by an examination of the quotations themselves. For example, it is impossible to believe that if Marcion excised anything he could have retained Romans vii, 12 (scholion 5) : "So that the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and righteous and good." The evidence that the section containing this verse is a late catholic insertion is so very strong that the most probable interpretation of the scholion is that it is a memorandum indicating the absence of the section. There must, of course, have been large gaps in Marcion's Epistles compared with the catholic version, and it is hardly credible that Epiphanius should not have noted even so much as one of them. And, if some of the scholia were written with that purpose, the actual gaps must have been much more extensive than the two or three lines usually recorded. Curiosity with regard to the character of Marcion's MS. must have been a principal motive for the examination of it, and it is not to be supposed that the notes made at the time were not intended to give some information about it. The quotation of a comparatively

¹ *Haer.* xlii. Ed. Dindorf ii, 372. ἐλεύσομα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐξῆς τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ῥητῶν παρ' αὐτῷ ἔτι σωζομένων καὶ δι' ἡμῶν πάλιν οὕτως ἀναλεγμένων.

few isolated verses which it contained was useless for that purpose. Epiphanius is known not to have been very accurate, and the tedium resulting from his examination of the Gospel may have caused him to be even less precise in his notes upon the Epistles. Coming back to them some years later, in the absence of a defining introduction such as "he cut out," he supposed that they were all quotations from Marcion's MS. ; but it is very difficult to believe that they can all have been such. Indeed, it is more probable that they are mostly memoranda of excisions.

Consider, again, First Corinthians v, 7b (schol. 5) : " For our passover also hath been sacrificed, even Christ." It is impossible that Marcion can have tolerated such a statement as that in his edition ; moreover, he no doubt knew that Paul himself could not have identified Christ with the Jewish Paschal lamb. There are thirty-eight scholia upon the four Epistles under consideration, of which four refer merely to verbal alterations in the text. Of the remaining thirty-four, at least twenty-four are quotations from the Old Testament, imply the divine origin of the law and, in some measure, its continuing validity, or identify the God and Christ of the Old Testament with the God and Christ of the New. A considerable number of them are of such a character that if Marcion had believed them to have been written by Paul, he could not have upheld his own doctrines in the face of them. If he had found them in his MS. he was bound to excise them as interpolations. Since Epiphanius, at the time when he made his memoranda, subjoined no qualifying words to distinguish one from another, he must, speaking generally, have made them all on the same principle ; and, in spite of his own belief some years later, we must believe that his guiding principle was to note omissions from Marcion's text.

It is possible, and even likely, that in a few cases he noted a verse for some other reason, but, if so, the reason must be apparent in the character of the words quoted themselves. We must, of course, beware of subjective or arbitrary selection. A verse which Marcion may have had in his Epistle is First Corinthians ii, 6 (schol. 3) : " the archons of this æon which are coming to nought." Epiphanius possibly thought that the salient phrase, " archons of this æon," would remind him of the purpose for which he made the quotation ; he does, in fact, use it as a text for a somewhat lengthy argument against

Marcion's doctrine of three supernatural powers; of which two, the Creator and Satan, were "archons of this æon." Tertullian, however, says Marcion believed that Jesus had been killed by the Jews as agents of the chief Archon, Demiourgos.¹ Valentinians regarded the crucifixion by Jews as an earthly counterpart or type of the crucifixion of the heavenly Christ by supernatural powers. The Gospel story, of course, in each case had reacted upon the original dogma. Scholion 1 on Galatians quotes chapter iii, verses 10 to 12, as follows: "Learn that the righteous shall be saved by faith. For as many as are under the law are under a curse; but he that doeth them shall live in them." Even allowing for the omission of the quotation from the Old Testament, which, no doubt, Marcion would have rejected if he had found it, the verses quoted exhibit a striking difference from our text. It is conceivable that Epiphanius recorded them on that ground. But an objection to that explanation is that probably all the quotations in the scholia are from Epiphanius's own MS., and almost invariably where he does note a difference, he quotes his own reading first and then states the alteration which he fancied that Marcion had made. And the jotting down of three short sentences out of a rather long passage is more in the nature of a memorandum intended to cover the whole passage—for what purpose, if not to indicate the absence of it from Marcion's MS.? And it is inferrible from the general character of such memoranda that it was intended to cover more than the passage actually specified. It will be remembered that the whole of this chapter from verse 1 to verse 22 was proved to consist of interpolations; so that Marcion may never have had it in his MS. at all, and one conclusion reached in the chapter on Galatians finds in this scholion some confirmation. It was there stated that in verses 10 to 14 two separate interpolations had been interwoven, and that verse 11 may have actually been written earlier than 10. In the scholion of Epiphanius it is, in fact, quoted before 10. It is true that elsewhere² Epiphanius implies that Marcion had verse 13 in his text; but the implication seems to be only assumption, the Bishop having connected with this verse an argument which has no necessary

¹ Marcion, in fact, recognized two Gods and one archon or angel, Satan. He seems to have understood the expression in ii, 6, as signifying earthly rulers. There is no obvious reason why he should have cut the verse out,

² *Haer.* xlii, 8.

relation to it. Marcion had argued, quite generally, and presumably without any reference to a curse, that if we had been Christ's he would not have needed to buy what was his own. But he went into the world of another (Demiourgos) to buy and to redeem those who were not his. Epiphanius replies that Marcion had improperly confused the two words ἀγοράσαι ("to buy") and ἐξαγοράσαι ("to redeem"). On the whole, therefore, if we conclude that the guiding principle of Epiphanius was the notification of excisions, there does not seem to be sufficient reason for making an exception in this instance.

In some cases the very phraseology of the scholion proves that it signifies an omission—for example, First Corinthians xv, 1-11, 14, etc. (schol. 16): Concerning the resurrection of the dead, "I make known to you, brethren, the gospel which I preached unto you. And that if Christ hath not been raised our preaching is vain," and so on; "So we preach and so ye believed." Here we have a section definitely indicated by the opening and concluding words of it. The intention evidently must have been to note the fact either that Marcion's Epistle did, or that it did not, contain the section in question. Similarly, the words "and so on" (καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς) prove that the phrase which they follow is a memorandum of similar purport. But when a man makes memoranda with regard to the condition of an expurgated document, it is the omissions which he will note. It would have been futile to indicate so precisely the extent of a section which Marcion's Epistle contained when it must have contained many other and much longer sections which are in no way specified. It was proved in the chapter on First Corinthians that the section, verses 1 to 11, is a late interpolation, and that verses 14 to 16 have also probably been interpolated.

A similar case is First Corinthians x, 1-11 (schol. 9): "For I would not have you ignorant¹. . . . Neither let us tempt Christ," up to where he says "Now these things happened unto them by way of example," and so on. Again, the only reasonable supposition is that a section so definitely specified was noted by Epiphanius as missing from Marcion's Epistle. In this case, however, the section was not originally wanting; it was excised by Marcion for the reason that it implies that Christ was the Christ of the Creator. If the whole section, 1

¹ The whole of the section between the two phrases here recorded was quoted by Epiphanius.

to 21, had been continuously missing, Epiphanius would not have marked the limit of the gap in verse 11 and then in scholion 10 quoted verse 19. We must suppose that he had found the intermediate verses, or, at any rate, some verses following 11. In fact, Marcion probably had verses 19 to 21, because the object of scholion 10 is merely to record a difference of reading between Marcion's MS. and his own. Epiphanius says that Marcion read: "What say I then? that a thing sacrificed to a god is anything, or that a thing sacrificed to an idol is anything?" Whereas the reading of his own MS. was: "What say I then? that a thing sacrificed to idols is anything?" Both of these readings differ from the received text. This last inference is, however, not quite certain, since there is reason to think that occasionally Epiphanius, having noted a variation in the MSS., some time afterwards supposed that the variant was the reading of Marcion's MS. It was the custom of the Fathers to put down to the account of Marcion such variations in the text.

If the impression of Epiphanius when he wrote his confutation of Marcion as to the principle which had determined his selection of quotations had been correct, it is impossible to understand the inclusion of those contained in scholia 3, 6, and 7, in particular, on the Epistle to the Galatians. No. 3 is: "I testify again that a man who has been circumcised is a debtor to do the whole law"¹—a text which supports Marcion's position rather than otherwise, since it implies the abrogation of the law, and, in fact, Epiphanius's comment upon it is more a defence of his own position than a refutation of Marcion's. No. 6 consists of a verse which condemns a number of sins and vices which are said to be the works of the flesh.² As Marcion was ascetic and ascribed sin to the corruption of the flesh, there seems to be no reason why he should have objected to the verse, nor any reason why Epiphanius should have noted it if his only object had been to refute Marcion out of his own document. He seems, indeed, to have been himself at a loss, and discourses rather irrelevantly at some length on the introduction of sin through the disobedience of Adam, and, instead of attacking Marcion, defends the catholic doctrine of the resurrection of the body. No. 7, again, is: "They that are of Christ have crucified the flesh with the passions and the lusts thereof"³—a verse which

¹ Gal. v, 3.

² Gal. v, 19-21.

³ Gal. v, 24.

Marcion might have written himself. Scholion 8, again, "For not even they who receive circumcision do themselves keep the law,"¹ is colourless from the point of view of doctrine, though it disparages circumcision. The comment of Epiphanius is in the nature of exegesis; it contains no refutation of Marcion founded upon the verse. But if these scholia from Galatians v and vi cannot have been recorded with the purpose of confuting Marcion out of his own document, they must be notes of omissions from his text.

Considered as a whole, the character of the scholia cannot be reconciled with the principle which is stated to have determined their selection. Consistency appears only when we suppose that with a very few possible exceptions the scholia are short memoranda indicating the absence of sections in which they occur. If that is admitted, an important inference can be drawn from the scholia just quoted. Certain verses were absent from Marcion's MS., and yet those verses contained nothing to which he could have objected; in some cases quite the contrary. If he had found them there is no reason why he should have excised them; the inference is that he did not find them. In other words, his MS. had never contained chapters v and vi of Galatians; a conclusion which accords with the opinion previously and independently arrived at, that those chapters are a late addition to the Epistle.

As Epiphanius proceeded with his examination, he seems to have found it grow wearisome, and his memoranda upon the later Epistles are very slight and sketchy. On Second Corinthians he has only three. Scholion 2 on this Epistle is: "For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus as Lord, and ourselves as your servants for Jesus' sake. That it was God who commanded light to shine out of darkness."² In the chapter on Second Corinthians reasons were given for rejecting both these sentences.

Enough for our purpose has now been written on this subject. The conclusions reached by Dr. Raschke confirmatory of mine were stated at the beginning of this section. We may also infer that Marcion did make excisions,³ that he had cut out the greater part of Romans ix, x, xi, and First Corinthians x, 1-21, and that both these sections had pre-

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Steck is very desirous of discovering two parallel passages of such a character that the dependence of one upon the other would be beyond all doubt, so that the relative order of com-

position of the two Epistles might be decisively fixed. The desire is founded upon a misapprehension. He thinks, however, that he has discovered at least one pair of passages which approximately satisfies the desired condition.¹ It consists of First Corinthians iv, 6, *ταῦτα δὲ ἀδελφοί, μετεσχημάτισα εἰς ἐμαυτὸν καὶ Ἀπολλῶν δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται φρονεῖν*, and Romans xii, 3, *λέγω γὰρ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τῆς δοθείσης μοι παντὶ τῷ ὄντι ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν*.

There is here obvious parallelism, which, however, would become insignificant if the verb *φρονεῖν* ("to think") were omitted from the first of the two verses. Now, that verb is not found in the best MSS.² There is thus a certain weakness in Steck's argument. Nevertheless, there are some good reasons for accepting the word. A number of editors have included it in the verse as original. The translators of the Authorized Version did so. It appears in most of the early translations; and if it is omitted there is no verb in the clause at all, though the words *τὸ μὴ* certainly imply one. The translators of the Revised Version have supplied a verb, "to go." Now, the second sentence, "that in us ye might learn not to think beyond the things which have been written" (*φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται*), offers a problem hitherto unsolved. What are the written words here referred to? Steck replies: The parallel passage in Romans. That passage, he says, is a sharply pointed sentence of an individual character, which in the play of words in the expressions, *ὑπερφρονεῖν—ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν—φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν*, has quite the appearance of having been derived from some utterance which had passed into general use, and could accordingly be quoted with the knowledge that it would be recognized. The writer of First Corinthians could therefore apply it and bring to the recollection of his readers the fact that it had been written elsewhere—viz., in the Epistle to the Romans. The expression *ἃ γέγραπται* ("the things which have been written") does not, of course, here indicate a quotation from Scripture. The writer uses the passive form rather than the active, "the things which I have

¹ *Der Galaterbrief*, pp. 158-161.

² It is found in the group of codices named by von Soden K-codices. The text of these is not considered to be as early as the neutral text (H-codices) or the Western text (I-codices); but it has preserved some original readings which the others have lost. The verb is also found in a Syrian version, and in the old Coptic and Armenian; and it is quoted by Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Cyril.

written to you," in order to avoid revealing the truth that the two Epistles were not really addressed and sent to two different communities. Or, perhaps more probably, because the writer of the later section was not, in fact, the writer of the first. If this reasoning is sound, it of course follows, not that the whole First Epistle to the Corinthians is later than that to the Romans, but that the section iv, 6-21, of First Corinthians is later than chapter xii of Romans, in agreement with the conclusion reached in this book that the former was inserted by the second editor of the composite Epistle, while the latter was contained in the first edition of Romans.

Steck also quotes a number of parallelisms between the Epistles and the Gospels. In some of these, however, it is quite possible that the Gospel depends upon the Epistle; or that both rest upon a common source, a collection of "sayings of the Lord," which certainly existed before the Gospels were written. The charge given in First Corinthians vii, 10, may be a written "saying of the Lord." First Corinthians xiii, 2, "If I have all faith so as to remove mountains," is evidently more likely to be an echo of Matthew xii, 20, than that the latter verse should have been built upon the former. If that be so, chapter xiii of First Corinthians must be fairly late.

The quotation in First Corinthians xv, 54, has occasioned perplexity to critics. But the perplexity, as is so very often the case, does not arise out of any inherent difficulty in the text itself, but from the determination of the critics not to perceive the true character of the Pauline Epistles. The Old Testament quotations in these Epistles are almost all of them taken from, or founded upon, the Septuagint translation. But this one cannot possibly be so. For in the Septuagint the verse runs: *κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας*; and in First Corinthians: *κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος*. Nor is it at all probable that the quotation is a translation directly from the Hebrew.¹ Not only is the sense different, but, while there are two or three possible, there is no certain quotation from the Hebrew in the Epistles. The quotation, however, agrees precisely with the form of the verse as it stands in Theodotion's Greek translation of the Old Testament, and several commentators have admitted that there must be some connection between the quotation in First Corinthians and the translation of Theodotion. It is almost certain that the writer

¹ Isaiah xxv, 8.

of First Corinthians xv took the quotation from that translation. Now the date at which the translation was made is uncertain.¹ According to the early authorities, it was made in the second century. But Professor Hort gave reason for thinking that *The Shepherd* of Hermas had been influenced by it. In which case the translation may have been in existence very early in the second century, or even late in the first. But supposing that it was in existence as early as the year 90, a quotation from it in First Corinthians is, on the traditional hypothesis, inexplicable. And it is extremely improbable that a writer who quoted very freely from the Old Testament should have taken one quotation, and one only, from a particular translation. But when we have discovered that the writer of First Corinthians xv, 12-54, wrote no other section of these Epistles, the use by him of a translation used by none of the other writers, so far from being a cause of perplexity, is perfectly natural and easy to understand. If it is established that the quotation was taken from Theodotion's translation, it may be necessary to date the section somewhat later than I have done. In verse 55 we have another quotation from the Old Testament, and in this case the difference between the Greek of the quotation and that of Theodotion's translation is too considerable for it to be supposed that the latter was the origin of the former. It is almost inconceivable that in two consecutive verses a writer would take one quotation from one translation or from the original Hebrew, and a second from another translation; this one is certainly not direct from the Hebrew. But the fact is quite in accordance with my conclusion that verses 55 to 57 are an interpolation by a different writer. This case, indeed, provides what men of science call a crucial experiment.

In verse 45, again, we have a quotation from Genesis ii, 7, in the form ἐγένετο ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ("the first man Adam became a living soul"). This does not agree exactly either with the Septuagint or with Theodotion's translation. The former has καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ("and the man became a living soul"); and the latter (according to Field) καὶ ἐγένετο Ἀδὰμ εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν ("and Adam became a living soul"). The Hebrew word *ādām*, "man," is given by Theodotion as a proper name. Steck supposes in this case that the writer of the verse has used the

¹ See Steck, *Der Galaterbrief*, pp. 218-221,

Septuagint translation, inserting the words ὁ πρῶτος before and Ἀδάμ after ἄνθρωπος to help out his argument. But if the writer of the section habitually used Theodotion's translation, the use of the Septuagint in verse 45 is in accordance with my conclusion that the verse is an interpolation.

Another case in which a quotation from the Old Testament differs too widely from the Septuagint translation for the writer to have used it is found in First Corinthians xiv, 21. In that case we have the evidence of Origen¹ that the quotation agreed with that given by Aquila in his translation of the O. T. Although this translation is said by the early authorities to have been made before Theodotion's, it cannot have been in existence when Paul wrote; and we have again to note the extreme unlikelihood of a single quotation and no more from a particular translation. The bulk of chapter xiv, if not written by Paul, was almost certainly written at a date too early for the writer to have quoted from Aquila's translation of the O. T. But verse 21 was shown by me to be part of an interpolated section, verses 10 to 22. The section, however, is not homogeneous; verses 20 and 21 appear to have been inserted into it subsequently. Once more, therefore, a fact which puzzles the critics is quite in accordance with my conclusion. There is no reason why the interpolator should not have habitually used Aquila's translation.

Many writers have some favourite phrase, expression, or grammatical construction, and, if a few considerable sections are chosen at random from a work, it is very unlikely that such a phrase or expression would be found repeatedly in one or two of them and not at all or very rarely in others. And if a work is composite, consisting of sections written by men each of whom may have his own favourite expressions and forms of speech, it is difficult to imagine a more conclusive test of the correctness of the result when the document has been analysed. If certain words or phrases are found fairly often in one or two of the sections and not in others, or very rarely, when the test is repeatedly applied so as to eliminate chance, the correctness of the analysis ought to be admitted by every unprejudiced person. A partial application of this test has previously been made. I will now give some more examples. "Ἄρα οὖν" ("so then") is used six times by R2, twice

¹ In Philocalia, p. 35. εὐρον γὰρ τὰ ἰσοδυναμοῦντα τῇ λέξει ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀκύλου ἐρμηνείᾳ κείμενα. Quoted by Steck, *Der Galaterbrief*, p. 223, note.

by R1, not at all by R3, C, C1¹, C2², C4, or G—C4 was the writer of Second Corinthians x to xii, and may possibly be identical with G; *μήπως* is used three times by C4 and twice by G, once only by R2 and C respectively, not at all by R1 or R3. *Ἐπαγγελία* ("promise") occurs thirteen times in sections written by R2, four times in sections written by R3, not once in a section written by the Gnostic writers R1, C, C1, C4, and G. The phrase *πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* ("faith of Jesus Christ") is used four times by R2, not once by any of the other writers. The phrase translated in our versions "through faith" may in the Greek be either *ἐκ πίστεως* or *διὰ τῆς πίστεως*, and no doubt each of these forms represents the particular view of faith taken by the respective writers. R2 and R3 alone use the form *ἐκ πίστεως*, the former no less than eleven times, the latter once only, and not in the sense that justification is through faith; he says (Rom. x, 6) that righteousness comes through faith. *Περισσότερος*, with the corresponding adverb *περισσοτέρως* ("more abundantly," "more exceedingly"), is a favourite with C2 and C4, the former of whom uses it five times³ and the latter three⁴ times; none of the other writers specified uses it at all. It is found once elsewhere in an interpolation (Gal. i, 14). The conjunction *ὅτι* may mean either "that" or "because"; it is found rather frequently in the latter sense, but R1 never employs it with that meaning; he uses *διότι* to signify "because" (Rom. i, 19 and 21; viii, 7). The various uses of the conjunction *ὥστε* by the epistolary writers are interesting. The idiomatic uses are (1) to express a consequence which may or may not be realized, having the meaning "so as to" or "so that," in which case it is followed by the infinitive mood; (2) followed by the indicative mood to express an actual consequence, having the meaning "and so," "so then," or "wherefore." Now, the practice of the New Testament writers is not in accordance with the idiomatic usage of classical Greek. One writer will always place the infinitive after the word, and another one always either the indicative or the imperative, never beginning a consecutive clause with *ὥστε*, but using some other construction such as *εἰς τό* with the infinitive mood. In the sections written by C2 *ὥστε* is followed by the

¹ The writer of the early Gnostic Epistle in Second Corinthians.

² The first editor of Second Corinthians.

³ 2 Cor. i, 12; ii, 4, 7; vii, 13, 15.

⁴ 2 Cor. x, 8; xi, 23; xii, 15.

infinitive four times,¹ never by any other mood ; *εἰς τό* followed by the infinitive occurs once only. On the other hand, R1 never places the infinitive after *ὥστε*, but he employs *εἰς τό* with the infinitive four times.² He once writes *ὥστε* followed by the indicative mood with the meaning "wherefore." C also never uses *ὥστε* with the infinitive ; in one place (1 Cor. xi, 33) he puts the imperative mood after it. R2 employs the word *ὥστε* twice, in both cases followed by the indicative mood,³ but *εἰς τό* followed by the infinitive nine times. It is practically impossible that the phenomena here detailed could be exhibited in sections taken at random or selected by a false criterion.

5.—CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

A rigorous analysis of the Pauline Epistles and of other available sources reduces considerably the number of facts which we can claim to know about Paul. Yet the figure which remains, though sketched with fewer lines, is greater and more pleasing than the extraordinary mass of contradictions hitherto presented to us as a portrait. The man who was at once harsh, domineering, and overflowing with love, arrogant, boastful, and yet modest, the propagator of doctrines so fundamentally irreconcilable that they cannot possibly have originated in one mind, is a monstrous fiction. Theological critics have begun to perceive that the very inconsistent opinions attributed to Jesus do not form a homogeneous body of doctrine proceeding from a single mind. It really is time that they realized the highly composite character of the Pauline doctrine, and that if Paul is anywhere represented in it, it is as one of the sitters for a composite portrait. A very few have, of course, recognized this fact. And if I have been successful in extricating from the confusion the features of the man, nothing of any value to admirers of Paul is lost ; quite the contrary. Doctrines which must be repulsive to every wholesome mind are shown not to have originated from nor even to have been taught by him. If we have any of his original writings, they are the two early Gnostic Epistles reproduced in this book ; and they are of such a character as to lead one to form a high opinion of the man who wrote them. They may not be the work of a very deep thinker ;

¹ 2 Cor. i, 8 ; ii, 7 ; iii, 7 ; vii, 7.

² Rom. i, 20 ; vi, 12 ; vii, 4 ; xii, 2.

³ Rom. vii, 12 ; Gal. iii, 9.

but they show us a mind whose religious and ethical conceptions were high and noble, and whose quality was sober, broad, and tolerant. There is nothing shrill, passionate, or narrow in his writing ; it is all calm and dignified ; persuasive, and not over-bearing. There is only one modest reference to himself.

And if we have but little direct knowledge of Paul, we have facts from which it may be inferred that he was a man of character and ability. There was no Christianity before Paul, using the word "Christianity" in its modern sense. The best evidence we have leads to the opinion that the church at Jerusalem was Ebionitish. And though we may term its members Christian in the sense that they revered a Christ who had already come and suffered, their Christ was a purely Jewish one, and they themselves were no more than a Jewish sect strictly observing the law. Without the universalistic propaganda of Paul and his coadjutors, Christianity would not have broken the bonds of Judaism. The Christ Jesus of Paul was not a Jewish Messiah, nor the son of David according to the flesh. He was not even the son of Jahveh. He was a supernatural being, the son of the supreme God of the universe, who appeared among men "in the likeness of flesh" in order to reveal to them the true God. This was a doctrine which could appeal to Greeks. Christian dogma certainly developed considerably from the simple form in which Paul left it ; the Jewish conceptions were too powerful to be kept out of it ; and some of its most fundamental elements, of Jewish origin, are of far greater antiquity than the first century of our era. But when we find a vigorous and aggressive Christianity making its appearance rather suddenly during the lifetime of a man who undoubtedly did travel extensively and carry on propaganda work, and who made so deep a mark upon the thought of his generation that during the immediately following generations he was vehemently abused and attacked by some and by many others held in honour above all his contemporaries, and became a legendary figure, we have sufficient reason to believe that that remarkable movement was largely his work, without, of course, giving to him the whole credit of it, or even supposing that Christianity in the form in which he left it could have become a world religion.

F. C. Baur was the first to perceive the essential difference between the doctrine of Paul and that of the Jewish Apostles.

He realized that there must have been some common factor, otherwise union could never have been attained; and he thought that the only common factor was belief in Christ. Ritschl tried to establish against him the contrary thesis, that the only distinction between Pauline and Jewish Christianity was a practical one, the attitude of each party to the Jewish law.¹ But he was not able in his book to demonstrate any community of doctrine beyond that which relates to the second coming of Christ. An analysis of the Pauline Epistles places the question beyond dispute. In the earliest stratum of the Epistles we find a doctrine which is founded upon the death, burial, and resurrection of a divine Christ Jesus; but the significance of those events and the manner in which they provide mankind with the means of redemption are not at all Judaic, and, as at first enunciated, they could never have formed a basis for agreement in spite of the identity of the central event. Modification had to occur. Baur was right in supposing that modification did occur, certainly on the Pauline side, probably also on the Jewish, though with respect to that the documentary evidence is slight. He was only in error in supposing that the mutual modification, interaction and reaction, leading to an approximation of doctrine sufficient to provide a basis for union, occurred during the lifetime of Paul. A much longer period was necessary; and the absorption by Paulinism of eschatological ideas from some of the apocalypses appears to have constituted the first stage of the process. There is no evidence that in the original teaching a second coming of Christ was contemplated. But the Pauline communities themselves were never homogeneous. In some, at any rate, of them there were at first both docetists and antidocetists. The latter eventually won, and the docetists were expelled. How is it possible that doctrines so diverse that at least seventy years were required to bring them sufficiently close together for union, can have had a common root in an historical event which had occurred only about twenty years before?

Theologians admit now that there was a somewhat important and widely-spread Gnosticism just before the Christian era. It has been proved that some of the pre-Christian Gnostics revered a Son of God under the name "Christos" or "Chrestos." In the second century there was an impor-

¹ *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche.* Zweite Ausgabe, 1857.

tant Christian Gnosticism, so highly elaborated that it cannot have been of very recent origin. Any valid theory of the early development of Christianity must account for that Gnosticism. Surely it ought not to be difficult to see that there must have been some connecting link between the pre-Christian and the highly elaborated Christian Gnosticism of the second century. So long as the Pauline doctrine was obscured by the catholic perversion of it, it was possible to deny that Christian Gnosticism existed in the first century. Now that it has been demonstrated that Pauline Christianity was Gnostic, the connecting link is found. Pauline Christianity was evidently a development from the pre-Christian Gnosticism.

The Gnostic systems of Marcion and Valentinus in the middle of the second century, especially the latter, had been elaborated to a degree which implies development over a considerable period. The diversity of doctrine, again, was such that, assuming the two systems to have had a common root, differentiation must have been going on for a long while. The Catholic writers of the second century do, in fact, trace back the Valentinian gnosis to the time of Simon Magus—that is to say, to the days of the first Apostles. Marcion asserted that he had derived his form of the gnosis from the teaching of Paul, and there is quite sufficient evidence to show that his assertion was justifiable. In the middle of the first century, therefore, we already find these two Gnostic streams, which certainly were simpler and closer together at that time than they afterwards were in the days of Marcion and Valentinus. We have, then, the following facts: it is proved, and admitted by theologians, that a Jewish Gnosticism was in existence at the beginning of the first century; it is further proved, though not yet admitted by theologians, that as early as the middle of that century there were two Gnostic streams which flowed continuously from that point up to the middle of the next century. There is a gap of about fifty years. Surely it is reasonable to suppose that the two streams had a common source in the pre-Christian Gnosticism? In those days the authority of the written word was very great; and so the influence of the Gospel story imparted to the Valentinian gnosis a tinge of Christian doctrine which was quite superficial and unessential. The Pauline Gnosticism appears to have come under the influence of the Greek mystery religions, and the Gospel story reacted

upon it also later. After the death of Paul the main stream of it divided into two branches, one of which, and that the more direct and less adulterated one, grew into the Marcionite Gnosticism of the second century; the other, by coalescing with more Judaic currents of religious thought, produced Catholic Christianity. When Paul went to Rome he found there a Jewish Christian (Messianic) Synagogue; on the rejection of the somewhat Christianized Gnosticism which he laid before the members Paul settled in Rome and formed a Christian Gnostic school there. That school existed until the time of Marcion, who inherited from it the Pauline doctrine and the Pauline Epistles—of course, in an earlier and shorter form than those we now have. The writer of Acts has not been able to disguise the fact that Paul, when he went to Rome, remained quite apart from the Christian church there, and taught independently. And the Marcionites asserted that they had derived their doctrine from Paul. Why should they have said so if it was not true? If it had been universally believed that Paul preached Catholic Christianity, there would have been no point in such an assertion. Gnostic works were attributed to Peter, but the Marcionites did not claim to have derived their doctrine from him. The Pauline communities, on the other hand, became gradually catholicized by the infiltration of Jewish Messianism and eschatology, and the absorption and diffusion of the doctrines of the parties represented in the Epistles by R2 and R3, especially the latter. The evidence of the Ignatian Epistles proves that the doctrines of R2 made their way slowly in Asia Minor.

Theologians have not been able to find any evidence of the existence of Christian Gnosticism in the first century, for the simple reason that they have not looked for it in the right place; and because they have assumed that such Gnosticism, like that of the second century, would have come down to us clearly labelled "Heresy." But Christianity in the Catholic sense did not exist in the first century. There was no canonical doctrine, and consequently no heresy. But there were current many and extremely diverse doctrines, as the Epistles in the New Testament plainly show, however much the catholicizing writers may have endeavoured to create the belief that such differences were insignificant. The Christian Gnostics of the first century are not to be sought in communities antagonistic to a united Catholic Church which did not then exist. They were as much entitled to the name

“Christian” as any others were, and their doctrine is to be found in the Pauline Epistles, in *The Preaching of Peter*, and in the *Gospel according to Peter*. Very naturally, only fragments of the two works last named have survived; since to the Catholic leaders of the second century they must undoubtedly have appeared heretical, and it is known as a fact that their use was discouraged on that ground. The Pauline Epistles survived through their having been rendered innocuous by extensive catholicization. Early Pauline Christianity was not only Gnostic but docetic. The fact has been deliberately obscured through the falsification of the early Pauline documents by catholic theologians, and by the composition for Paul of catholic speeches in the Acts of the Apostles.

If anybody, after reading this book, still believes that the Pauline Epistles were all written by the same person, I would ask him to ponder in particular the following questions and try to give an honest answer to them. Is it likely that a writer would frequently use a favourite phrase, such as *μὴ γένοιτο*, throughout a certain Epistle, and then write another rather long Epistle (Second Corinthians) without making use of it once? Perhaps; conceivably, if very improbably. But, secondly, in that very improbable case, is it likely (one might indeed ask, is it possible?) that that particular phrase would almost always be found in conjunction with a particular doctrine and never, even in the same Epistle, be found in conjunction with another doctrine which is quite different from, indeed irreconcilable with, the first? Further, is it within the bounds of reasonable probability that the particular doctrine should predominate in the Epistle (Romans) in which the phrase continually occurs and be quite absent from the Epistle (Second Corinthians) in which the phrase is not found, and reappear with the reappearance of the phrase in a third Epistle (Galatians), if one and the same person had written all three Epistles? I would ask any one who finds himself able to answer “Yes” to all these questions to consider very seriously whether he is not desiring to stifle the truth in the interests of a prejudice. It is undeniable that theologians have in the past stifled truth in the interests of their systems. Let us not forget Romans i, 18: “Wrath is revealed from heaven against all unrighteousness of men who hold down the truth.” I do not quote the whole sentence because, although no doubt those who stifle or fight against the

truth may be said to be fighting against God, theologians have done it not from ungodliness but from prejudice.

Let me put one more question. Consider the portrait placed before us in the Epistle to the Galatians. Is it possible that a man who exhibited so great distress when he thought that his converts were in danger of choosing the bondage of the law, and boldly declared to the Jewish Apostles that they walked not uprightly according to the gospel, was also the compromiser who to the Jews became as a Jew and to them that were under the law as under the law? If modern theologians cannot see the inconsistency here, Tertullian could see it, and he rebuts an argument which Marcion based upon the vigorous language of Paul at Antioch by quoting First Corinthians ix, 20, as a proof that Paul subsequently tolerated conduct which on that occasion he had condemned.¹ If it be replied that Paul became as a Jew, and conformed on occasion to the ordinances of the law of Moses as a politic measure in order to gain Jews, one can only say that in that case the charge his adversaries brought against him, that he advocated the doing evil that good might come, was justified. For he, at any rate, believed that for a Christian to comply with the Mosaic law was evil. If Paul wrote both Galatians and First Corinthians, chapter ix, he was the first Jesuit, and those who affirm that he did so do no good service to his memory. We might, of course, have been compelled to believe that he wrote both, but there is very good evidence to the contrary.

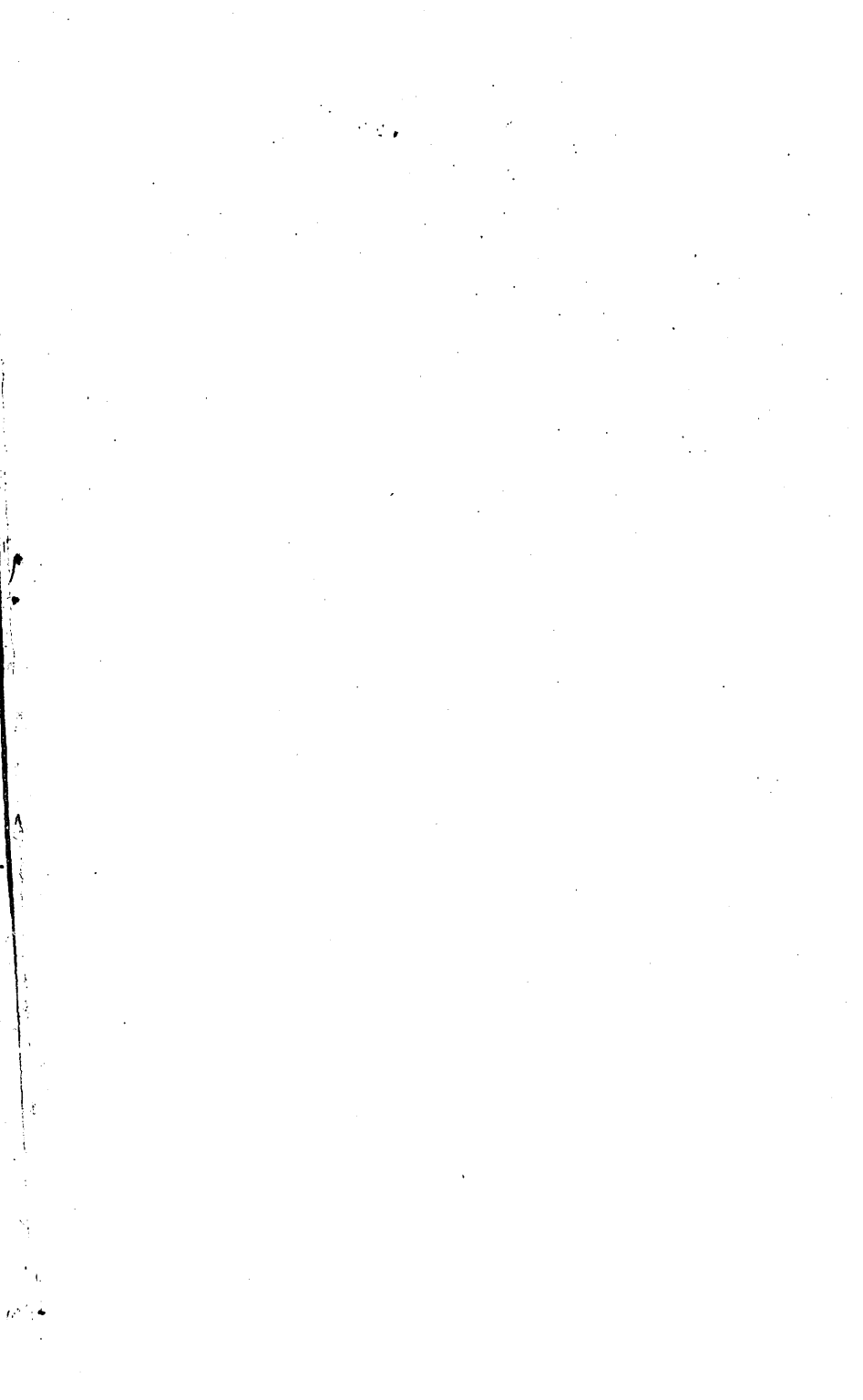
As I have been led in the course of this discussion to refer to what appear to me to be the deficiencies of theological critics, I wish to say that my admiration for the work done by many of them, especially Germans, in textual criticism is beyond expression. But the elucidation of the problems presented by proto-Christianity cannot be effected by textual criticism alone. Some amount of the scientific constructive imagination is called for, and the unbiased application of the principles and maxims which are universally applied when tracing the development of the myths, dogmas, and rites in religions other than Christian, but which even those men who lay them down steadily refuse to apply to Christianity alone. Why?

¹ *Adv. Marc.* i, 20.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

THE DATES IN THE FOLLOWING TABLE ARE ONLY TENTATIVE. IT IS BELIEVED THAT SOME OF THEM ARE VERY APPROXIMATELY CORRECT; BUT, ON THE WHOLE, THEY ARE SUGGESTED AS A BASIS FOR FURTHER INQUIRY.

A. D. 55		The early Gnostic Epistles in Romans and First Corinthians
60		Romans xii and xiii The early Gnostic Epistle in Second Corinthians The Epistle of C First Composite edition of First Corinthians
70	Fall of Jerusalem	Romans ix to xi and xiv and first composite edition of Romans
	Parties of Paul and Apollos	First Corinthians iii, 1-15; iv, 6-21
80	Up to about this time Apostles support themselves	First composite edition of Second Corinthians
	Party of Cephas	Second Corinthians vi, 14-vii, 1
	Extreme Gnosticism begins to be aggressive. Paul's authority is threatened	First Corinthians i, 10-15 Second Corinthians x-xii First Corinthians iii, 16-iv, 5
90		First Corinthians xv, 12-54
	Aggressive Judaism Paul's right to the title of Apostle is disputed	Galatians, original Epistle Galatians iv, 21-31
100		Second Corinthians xiii
		First Corinthians i, 18-31; xvi, 15-19
110		First Corinthians xiii
120	Reconciliation of claims of Paul and Jewish Apostles. Period of Catholicization.	Sections written by R2 Second Corinthians ix Galatians v, 1-vi, 10
130		Second Corinthians viii
		First Corinthians xv, 1-11
140		Galatians vi, 11-17
		Romans xv, First Corinthians xvi, 1-13
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