

# Evidence for the Crucifixion of Christ

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## 1 The Problem of Docetism

### 1.1 Ignatius opposing docetism.

One of the earliest writers against docetism in the time after the New Testament is Ignatius of Antioch. We can use his letters to understand and define this early form of docetism: In the heresy of docetism of his time it is denied that Jesus had a real and permanent human body and consequently it is also denied that he really suffered and died in a real bodily sense at the cross. Docetism derives from the Greek word  $\delta\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  and means in this context "to seem", "to look like". It only looked as if Christ had a body or as if he died. He did not really have a body and did not really die.

According to Schaff<sup>1</sup> Ignatius was bishop of Antioch "at the close of the first century and the beginning of the second"

1. Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church - Volume II Ante-Nicene Christianity A.D. 100-325 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1985), p. 47-48.

and was condemned to death in 107 C.E. or between 110 and 116, "transported to Rome, and thrown before wild beasts in the Colosseum". Some of his epistles are disputed, but "the seven shorter Greek Ep. are genuine".<sup>2</sup> He wrote his seven epistles on his journey to his martyrdom in Rome:

Eusebius and Jerome put them in the following order:

- (1) To the Ephesians;
- (2) to the Magnesians;
- (3) to the Trallians;
- (4) to the Romans;
- (5) to the Philadelphians;
- (6) to the Smyrneans;
- (7) to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna.

The first four were composed in Smyrna; the other three later in Troas.<sup>3</sup>

To the Ephesians, VII, 2:

There is one Physician who is possessed both of flesh and spirit; both made and not made; God existing in flesh; true life in death; both of Mary and of God; first passible and then impassible, even Jesus Christ our Lord.<sup>4</sup>

2. Schaff, *History of the Christian Church - Volume II Ante-Nicene Christianity A.D. 100-325*, p. 47.

3. *ibid.*, p. 656.

4. Philip Schaff, ANF01. *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1886), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.html>, p. 76. The Greek according to O. de Gebhardt, A. Harnack, and Th. Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera - editio quinta minor* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 89 reads: εἷς ἰατρός ἐστίν, σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν

To the Trallians, X:

But if, as some that are without God, that is, the unbelieving, say, that He only seemed to suffer (they themselves only seeming to exist),<sup>5</sup> then why am I in bonds? Why do I long to be exposed to the wild beasts? Do I therefore die in vain? Am I not then guilty of falsehood against [the cross of] the Lord?<sup>6</sup>

To the Smyrneans I, 1-III, 3:

I Glorify God, even Jesus Christ, who has given you such wisdom. For I have observed that ye are perfected in an immoveable faith, as if ye were nailed to the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, both in the flesh and in the spirit, and are established in love through the blood of Christ, being fully persuaded with respect to our Lord, that He was truly of the seed of David according to the flesh, and the Son of God according to the will and power of God; that He was truly born of a virgin, was baptized by John, in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled by Him; and was truly, under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch,

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σαρκί γενόμενος θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν.

5. The Greek according to Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* - editio quinta minor, p. 99 reads: λέγουσιν, τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι αὐτόν, αὐτοὶ ὄντες τὸ δοκεῖν

6. Schaff, ANF01. *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, p. 102.

nailed [to the cross] for us in His flesh.<sup>7</sup> Of this fruit we are by His divinely-blessed passion, that He might set up a standard for all ages, through His resurrection, to all His holy and faithful [followers], whether among Jews or Gentiles, in the one body of His Church.

Now, He suffered all these things for our sakes, that we might be saved. And He suffered truly, even as also He truly raised up Himself, not, as certain unbelievers maintain, that He only seemed to suffer, as they themselves only seem to be [Christians].<sup>8</sup> And as they believe, so shall it happen unto them, when they shall be divested of their bodies, and be mere evil spirits.

For I know that after His resurrection also He was still possessed of flesh, and I believe that He is so now. When, for instance, He came to those who were with Peter, He said to them, "Lay hold, handle Me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit."<sup>9</sup> And immediately they touched Him, and believed, being convinced both by His flesh and spirit. For this cause also they despised death, and were found its conquerors. And after his resurrec-

7. The Greek according to Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* - editio quinta minor, p. 107 reads: ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ Ἡρώδου τετράρχου καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκί

8. The Greek according to *ibid.*, p. 107 reads: καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν, ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτόν, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄπιστοὶ τινες λέγουσιν, τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτόν πεπονηέναι, αὐτοὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ὄντες·

9. The Greek according to *ibid.*, p. 108 reads: Ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτόν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα. 2. καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον.

tion He did eat and drink with them, as being possessed of flesh, although spiritually He was united to the Father.<sup>10</sup>

To the Smyrneans IV,2:

But if these things were done by our Lord only in appearance, then am I also only in appearance bound.<sup>11</sup>

To the Smyrneans V,2:

For what does any one profit me, if he commends me, but blasphemes my Lord, not confessing that He was [truly] possessed of a body?<sup>12</sup> But he who does not acknowledge this, has in fact altogether denied Him, being enveloped in death.<sup>13</sup>

To the Smyrneans VI,1:

Let no man deceive himself. Both the things which are in heaven, and the glorious angels, and rulers, both visible and invisible, if they believe not in the blood of Christ, shall, in consequence,

10. Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, p. 122-123.

11. *ibid.*, p. 124. The Greek according to Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera - editio quinta minor*, p. 108 reads: εἰ γὰρ τὸ δοκεῖν ταῦτα ἐπράχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, κἀγὼ τὸ δοκεῖν δέδεμαι.

12. The Greek according to *ibid.*, p. 108 reads: τὸν δὲ κύριόν μου βλασφημεῖ, μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν σαρκοφόρον;

13. Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, p. 125.

incur condemnation.<sup>14</sup> “He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.”<sup>15</sup>

To the Smyrneans VII,1-2:

They abstain from the Eucharist and from prayer, because they confess not the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father, of His goodness, raised up again.<sup>16</sup> Those, therefore, who speak against this gift of God, incur death in the midst of their disputes. But it were better for them to treat it with respect, that they also might rise again. It is fitting, therefore, that ye should keep aloof from such persons, and not to speak of them either in private or in public, but to give heed to the prophets, and above all, to the Gospel, in which the passion [of Christ] has been revealed to us, and the resurrection has been fully proved.<sup>17</sup> But avoid all divisions, as the beginning of evils.<sup>18</sup>

14. The Greek according to Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* - editio quinta minor, p. 109 reads: ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσωιν εἰς τὸ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, κἀκείνους κρίσις ἐστίν.

15. Schaff, ANF01. *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, p. 125.

16. The Greek according to Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* - editio quinta minor, p. 109 reads: Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν, τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ἣν τῇ χρηστότητι ὁ πατὴρ ἤγειρεν.

17. The Greek according to *ibid.*, p. 109 reads: προσέχειν δὲ τοῖς προφήταις, ἐξαρέτως δὲ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πάθος ἡμῶν δεδήλωται καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τετελείωται.

18. Schaff, ANF01. *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, p. 126.

## 1.2 Irenaus about the docetism of Basilides.

Irenaus (Against Heresies I, xxiv, 4-5) gives the following summary of the teaching of Basilides who spread his teaching in Alexandria in Egypt. The key idea which is interesting for our subject is that Simon of Cyrene was crucified and not Jesus. The framework of the ideas of Basilides according to Irenaus is also given so that it becomes clearer why Basilides might have thought it wise to see Simon as the crucified.

1. Arising among these men, Saturninus (who was of that Antioch which is near Daphne) and Basilides laid hold of some favourable opportunities, and promulgated different systems of doctrine—the one in Syria, the other at Alexandria...

3. Basilides again, that he may appear to have discovered something more sublime and plausible, gives an immense development to his doctrines. He sets forth that Nous was first born of the unborn father, that from him, again, was born Logos, from Logos Phronesis, from Phronesis Sophia and Dynamis, and from Dynamis and Sophia the powers, and principalities, and angels, whom he also calls the first; and that by them the first heaven was made. Then other powers, being formed by emanation from these, created another heaven similar to the first; and in like manner, when others, again, had been formed by emanation from them, corresponding exactly to those above them, these, too, framed another third heaven; and then from this third, in downward order, there was a fourth succession of descendants; and so on, after the same fashion, they

declare that more and more principalities and angels were formed, and three hundred and sixty-five heavens.<sup>2942</sup> Wherefore the year contains the same number of days in conformity with the number of the heavens. 4. Those angels who occupy the lowest heaven, that, namely, which is visible to us, formed all the things which are in the world, and made allotments among themselves of the earth and of those nations which are upon it. The chief of them is he who is thought to be the God of the Jews; and inasmuch as he desired to render the other nations subject to his own people, that is, the Jews, all the other princes resisted and opposed him. Wherefore all other nations were at enmity with his nation. But the father without birth and without name, perceiving that they would be destroyed, sent his own first-begotten Nous (he it is who is called Christ) to bestow deliverance on them that believe in him, from the power of those who made the world. He appeared, then, on earth as a man, to the nations of these powers, and wrought miracles. Wherefore he did not himself suffer death, but Simon, a certain man of Cyrene, being compelled, bore the cross in his stead; so that this latter being transfigured by him, that he might be thought to be Jesus, was crucified, through ignorance and error, while Jesus himself received the form of Simon, and, standing by, laughed at them. For since he was an incorporeal power, and the Nous (mind) of the unborn father, he transfigured himself as he pleased, and thus ascended to him who had sent



him, deriding them, inasmuch as he could not be laid hold of, and was invisible to all. Those, then, who know these things have been freed from the principalities who formed the world; so that it is not incumbent on us to confess him who was crucified, but him who came in the form of a man, and was thought to be crucified, and was called Jesus, and was sent by the father, that by this dispensation he might destroy the works of the makers of the world. If any one, therefore, he declares, confesses the crucified, that man is still a slave, and under the power of those who formed our bodies; but he who denies him has been freed from these beings, and is acquainted with the dispensation of the unborn father. 5. Salvation belongs to the soul alone, for the body is by nature subject to corruption. He declares, too, that the prophecies were derived from those powers who were the makers of the world, but the law was specially given by their chief, who led the people out of the land of Egypt...<sup>19</sup>

The system of Basilides is antisemitic and gnostic. Salvation is only for the soul, matter is inferior and there is the body which is made of matter. Therefore the idea that the Savior would become flesh is nonsensical and ridiculous. People who confess Jesus as the crucified Christ have not yet the real knowledge or insight (= gnosis in Greek).

19. Schaff, ANF01. The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, p. 499-500.

### **1.3 Summary of the examples of both schools of docetism.**

There were more gnostic schools teaching docetism. These two may suffice as examples. In the world views both of the docetism Ignatius was opposing and the docetism of Basilides reasons can be found why both would deny the real suffering of Jesus and his having a real human body. One main reason seems to be that matter is thought to be evil or inferior and the spirit world to be superior and not compatible with the world of matter. The Savior figure therefore can not really become flesh and can not really suffer in the flesh or body. Salvation can not be based on the shedding of the blood of an innocent person. As we find this gnostic denial of the suffering of Jesus of Nazareth in the body of flesh and blood in the second century we may ask what evidence was there in that time or is today which can be used to affirm that Jesus of Nazareth really died at the cross.

## **2 Evidence from Non-Christian Sources**

Before we turn to "Christian" testimonies about the fact and the importance of the death of Jesus at the cross, let us look at non-Christian testimonies first. There are some Jewish and Roman testimonies.

## 2.1 Jewish Sources

### 2.1.1 The Talmud

F.F. Bruce says about the Jewish witness from the Talmud:<sup>20</sup>

As the Mishnah is a law-code, and the Talmuds commentaries on this code, there is little occasion in these writings for references to Christianity, and what references there are are hostile. But, such as they are, these references do at least show that there was not the slightest doubt of the historical character of Jesus.

According to the earlier Rabbis whose opinions are recorded in these writings, Jesus of Nazareth was a transgressor in Israel, who practiced magic, scorned the words of the wise, led the people astray, and said he had not come to destroy the law but to add to it. He was hanged on Passover Eve for heresy and misleading the people. His disciples, of whom five are named, healed the sick in his name.

It is clear that this is just such a portrayal of our Lord as we might expect from those elements in the Pharisaic party which were opposed to Him. Some of the names by which He is called bear witness directly or indirectly to the Gospel record. The appellation Ha-Taluy ('The Hanged One') obviously refers to the manner of His death; another name given to Him, Ben-Pantera ('Son of Pantera'), probably refers, not (as has sometimes been

20. F. F. Bruce, *The New Testament Documents - Are they reliable?* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1978), p. 101.

alleged) to a Roman soldier named Pantheras, but to the Christian belief in our Lord's virgin birth, Pantera being a corruption of the Greek parthenos ('virgin').<sup>1</sup> This does not mean, of course, that all those who called Him by this name believed in His virgin birth.

### 2.1.2 Josephus Flavius

Josephus was a first-century Jew who witnessed the Jewish war and became attached to the Flavian family because he had foretold the Roman commander Vespasian that he would become Caesar.<sup>21</sup> Living in Rome he authored several books about the Jewish history. In his "Antiquities" (XX, 9, 1) Josephus relates the death of James, the brother of Jesus and gives so an indirect testimony to the existence of Jesus and to the fact that his brother James was important for the church in Jerusalem:

...but this younger Ananus, who, as we have told you already, took the high-priesthood, was a bold man in his temper, and very insolent; he was also of the sect of the Sadducees, who are very rigid in judging offenders, above all the rest of the Jews, as we have already observed; when, therefore, Ananus was of this disposition, he thought he had now a proper opportunity [to exercise his authority]. Festus was now dead, and Albinus was but upon the road; so he assembled the sanhedrim of judges, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, whose name was James, and some others, [or, some of

21. Bruce, *The New Testament Documents - Are they reliable?* p. 103.

his companions]; and when he had formed an accusation against them as breakers of the law, he delivered them to be stoned.<sup>22</sup>

There is another testimony about John the Baptist in Antiquities XVIII, 5, 2. The following testimony about Jesus has probably some Christian interpolations in them because it seems improbable that Josephus as a Pharisaic Jew could have written everything which is included in the following paragraph (Antiquities XVIII, 3,3):

Now, there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works - a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews, and many of the Gentiles. He was [the] Christ. And when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day; as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him; and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.<sup>23</sup>

Bruce after having discarded certain elements as Christian interpolations,<sup>24</sup> retains the following elements of the Testimo-

22. Flavius Josephus, *The Works of Flavius Josephus, Volume IV: Antiquities of the Jews XVIII-XX / Flavius Josephus Against Apion / Concerning Hades / Appendix / Index*, Whiston, William <trans> (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1988), p. 139-140.

23. *ibid.*, p. 11.

24. Bruce, *The New Testament Documents - Are they reliable?* p. 108-112.

nium Flavianum:

We have therefore very good reason for believing that Josephus did make reference to Jesus, bearing witness to (a) His date, (b) His reputation as a wonderworker, (c) His being the brother of James, (d) His crucifixion under Pilate at the information of the Jewish rulers, (e) His messianic claim, (f) His being the founder of 'the tribe of Christians', and probably (g) the belief in His rising from the dead.

## 2.2 Roman Sources

The evidence from the Roman historian Tacitus about the death of Jesus under Pontius Pilate is related to the rumor that Nero himself had ordered fire to be laid to the parts of Rom which he wanted to rebuild in new glory:<sup>25</sup>

But all human efforts, all the lavish gifts of the emperor, and the propitiations of the gods, did not banish the sinister belief that the conflagration was the result of an order. Consequently, to get rid of the report, Nero fastened the guilt and inflicted the most exquisite tortures on a class hated for their abominations, called Christians by the populace. Christus, from whom the name had its origin, suffered the extreme penalty during the

25. Cornelius Tacitus, *The Annals*, trans. Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb, The Internet Classics Archive, [accessed February 6, 2013] (109), <http://classics.mit.edu/Tacitus/annals.html>, Book XV, 44.

reign of Tiberius at the hands of one of our procurators, Pontius Pilatus, and a most mischievous superstition, thus checked for the moment, again broke out not only in Judaea, the first source of the evil, but even in Rome, where all things hideous and shameful from every part of the world find their centre and become popular. Accordingly, an arrest was first made of all who pleaded guilty; then, upon their information, an immense multitude was convicted, not so much of the crime of firing the city, as of hatred against mankind. Mockery of every sort was added to their deaths. Covered with the skins of beasts, they were torn by dogs and perished, or were nailed to crosses, or were doomed to the flames and burnt, to serve as a nightly illumination, when daylight had expired. Nero offered his gardens for the spectacle, and was exhibiting a show in the circus, while he mingled with the people in the dress of a charioteer or stood aloft on a car. Hence, even for criminals who deserved extreme and exemplary punishment, there arose a feeling of compassion; for it was not, as it seemed, for the public good, but to glut one man's cruelty, that they were being destroyed.

### **2.3 Summary of the Non-Christian Sources**

Neither the Roman witnesses nor the Jewish have any problem with the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth. The death of Jesus is attested in both areas. His death is no problem. His resurrection is neither acceptable for the Gentile mindset nor for

Rabbinical Judaism.

### 3 Evidence from the New Testament

#### 3.1 The Use of the Noun "Cross" in the New Testament

##### 3.1.1 The cross in the Gospels

**The cross of the disciple in the Gospels.** Even when the Gospels speak of the cross of the believers who follow Jesus, it is implied that they only carry their own cross by following Jesus who goes in front and carries his cross. So even here the cross of Christ is implied: Mt 10:38; Mt 16:24; Mark 8:34; Lk 9:23; 14:27.

**The cross of Jesus Christ in the Gospels.** Jesus is bearing his own cross to Golgotha in John 19:17. Carson sheds light on this:

This refers to the cross-member, the horizontal bar (Lat. patibulum). The condemned criminal bore it on his shoulders to the place of execution, where the upright beam of the gibbet was already fastened in the ground. The victim was then made to lie on his back on the ground, where his arms were stretched out and either tied or nailed to the patibulum. The cross-member was then hoisted up, along with the victim, and fastened to the vertical beam. The victim's feet were tied or nailed to the upright, to which was also sometimes attached a piece of wood that served as a kind of



seat (Lat. *sedecula*) that partially supported the body's weight. This was designed to increase the agony, not relieve it.<sup>26</sup>

The cross of Jesus is carried by Simon of Cyrene in Mt 27:32, Mk 15:21, and Lk 23:26, probably because Jesus broke down under the burden after having been tortured and having lost blood.<sup>27</sup> In Jn 19:19 the reason for the condemnation of Jesus is written and put on the cross:

Pilate also wrote an inscription and put it on the cross. It read, "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews."<sup>28</sup>

People who pass by mock Jesus that he should come down from the cross (Mt 27:40; Mk 15:30), the Chief priests and scribes and elders did the same (Mt 27:42; Mk 15:32).<sup>29</sup>

The mother of Jesus, Mary was standing with at least three other women and the writer of the fourth Gospel, John, close

26. D. A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John* (Leicester, UK: Apollos Inter-Varsity, 1991), 715 pp, p. 608.

27. See *ibid.*, p. 609.

28. If not noted otherwise, the English quotations are from Good News Publishers, ed., *English Standard Version*, [Accessed May 9, 2011], 2001, <http://www.crosswire.org/sword/modules/ModInfo.jsp?modName=ESV>.

29. See Mt 27:39-44: 39 And those who passed by derided him, wagging their heads 40 and saying, "You who would destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days, save yourself! If you are the Son of God, come down from the cross." 41 So also the chief priests, with the scribes and elders, mocked him, saying, 42 "He saved others; he cannot save himself. He is the King of Israel; let him come down now from the cross, and we will believe in him. 43 He trusts in God; let God deliver him now, if he desires him. For he said, 'I am the Son of God.'" 44 And the robbers who were crucified with him also reviled him in the same way.

to the cross (Jn 19:25).<sup>30</sup> Jesus was taken dead from the cross on the day of preparation before the great Sabbath and buried by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus in a nearby and never used tomb (Jn 19:31-41).<sup>31</sup>

### 3.1.2 The cross in Paul's letters

The cross in Paul's letters is the cross of Jesus Christ. The cross of Christ is the power of God (1 Cor 1:17-18).<sup>32</sup> Justification comes by the cross of Christ alone, not by circumcision of the flesh and keeping the whole law. This is the offense of the cross of Christ (Gal 5:11).<sup>33</sup> Whoever preaches the Cross of Christ as the only way of salvation is persecuted and rejected. The cross of Christ is salvation from one's own flesh and from the world and the door to become a new creation in Christ. As believers we can and should boast in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ (6:12; 6:14).<sup>34</sup>

30. See John 19:24b-27: 24 ... So the soldiers did these things, 25 but standing by the cross of Jesus were his mother and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene. 26 When Jesus saw his mother and the disciple whom he loved standing nearby, he said to his mother, "Woman, behold, your son!" 27 Then he said to the disciple, "Behold, your mother!" And from that hour the disciple took her to his own home.

31. John 19:31: Since it was the day of Preparation, and so that the bodies would not remain on the cross on the Sabbath (for that Sabbath was a high day), the Jews asked Pilate that their legs might be broken and that they might be taken away.

32. 1:17 For Christ did not send me to baptize but to preach the gospel, and not with words of eloquent wisdom, lest the cross of Christ be emptied of its power. 18 For the word of the cross is folly to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved it is the power of God.

33. 5:11 But if I, brothers, still preach circumcision, why am I still being persecuted? In that case the offense of the cross has been removed.

34. Gal 6:12-16: 12 It is those who want to make a good showing in the flesh who would force you to be circumcised, and only in order that they may not

Through the cross of Christ God has reconciled Israelites and Non-Israelites to God in one body, thereby killing the hostility (Eph 2:16).<sup>35</sup>

Jesus Christ is God who became man and obeyed his heavenly Father always leading a holy life free from sin, loving the Father even more than his own life, becoming obedient to die, to die at the cross. The climax of his love for God and the lost world is his self-humiliation, losing his life and all of his honor at the cross. In answer to this God has raised him from the dead and above all, so that all have to honor Jesus Christ, the crucified and risen Lord and God (Phil 2:8)<sup>36</sup>

The enemies of the cross of Christ perish, those who love the cross of Christ and follow his example will be glorified

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be persecuted for the cross of Christ. 13 For even those who are circumcised do not themselves keep the law, but they desire to have you circumcised that they may boast in your flesh. 14 But far be it from me to boast except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world. 15 For neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation. 16 And as for all who walk by this rule, peace and mercy be upon them, and upon the Israel of God.

35. Eph 2:14-16: 14 For he himself is our peace, who has made us both one and has broken down in his flesh the dividing wall of hostility 15 by abolishing the law of commandments and ordinances, that he might create in himself one new man in place of the two, so making peace, 16 and might reconcile us both to God in one body through the cross, thereby killing the hostility.

36. See Phil 2:5-11: 5 Have this mind among yourselves, which is yours in Christ Jesus, 6 who, though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, 7 but made himself nothing, taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men. 8 And being found in human form, he humbled himself by becoming obedient to the point of death, even death on a cross. 9 Therefore God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name that is above every name, 10 so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, 11 and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

(Phil 3:18).<sup>37</sup>

The only way of reconciliation for everything is the blood of Christ (Col 1:20). God the Father reconciles the whole world to himself by the blood of Christ. This also means that whoever rejects the blood of Christ has no reconciliation (Col 1:23! Faith is necessary!).<sup>38</sup>

The fullness of God dwelled in the crucified Christ forgiving all our sins and triumphing over all enemies (Col 2:14).<sup>39</sup>

37. Phil 3:17-21: 17 Brothers, join in imitating me, and keep your eyes on those who walk according to the example you have in us. 18 For many, of whom I have often told you and now tell you even with tears, walk as enemies of the cross of Christ. 19 Their end is destruction, their god is their belly, and they glory in their shame, with minds set on earthly things. 20 But our citizenship is in heaven, and from it we await a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, 21 who will transform our lowly body to be like his glorious body, by the power that enables him even to subject all things to himself.

38. Col 1:15-20: 15 He is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation. 16 For by him all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions or rulers or authorities - all things were created through him and for him. 17 And he is before all things, and in him all things hold together. 18 And he is the head of the body, the church. He is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead, that in everything he might be preminent. 19 For in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell, 20 and through him to reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven, making peace by the blood of his cross.

39. Col 2:9-15: 9 For in him the whole fullness of deity dwells bodily, 10 and you have been filled in him, who is the head of all rule and authority. 11 In him also you were circumcised with a circumcision made without hands, by putting off the body of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ, 12 having been buried with him in baptism, in which you were also raised with him through faith in the powerful working of God, who raised him from the dead. 13 And you, who were dead in your trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, God made alive together with him, having forgiven us all our trespasses, 14 by canceling the record of debt that stood against us with its legal demands. This he set aside, nailing it to the cross. 15 He disarmed the rulers and authorities and put them to open shame, by triumphing over them in him.

### 3.1.3 The cross in Hebrews

The cross of Christ in Hebrews 12:2 is the way from shame to glory from death to eternal life and joy and so an example for us to follow Christ on the same way (Heb 12:1-2).<sup>40</sup>

## 3.2 The Use of the Verb "Crucify" in the New Testament

In the Old Testament the verb is used once in Esther 7:9 in the LXX for the execution of Haman.<sup>41</sup>

### 3.2.1 Used for the disciples of Christ

Jesus predicts that some of his disciples (prophets, wise men, scholars of the Scriptures) will be crucified Mt 23:34).<sup>42</sup>

40. Heb 12:1-2: 1 Therefore, since we are surrounded by so great a cloud of witnesses, let us also lay aside every weight, and sin which clings so closely, and let us run with endurance the race that is set before us, 2 looking to Jesus, the founder and perfecter of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is seated at the right hand of the throne of God.

41. Then Harbona, one of the eunuchs in attendance on the king, said, "Moreover, the gallows that Haman has prepared for Mordecai, whose word saved the king, is standing at Haman's house, fifty cubits high." εἶπεν δὲ Βουγαθαν εἰς τῶν εὐνούχων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰδοὺ καὶ ξύλον ἡτοιμάσεν Ἀμαν Μαρδοχαίῳ τῷ λαλήσαντι περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ὄρθωται ἐν τοῖς Ἀμαν ξύλον πηχῶν πενήκοντα. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σταυρωθήτω ἐπ' αὐτοῦ. If not noted otherwise, the LXX text is given according to Alfred Rahlfs, ed., Septuaginta, Ninth (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung Stuttgart, 1971).

42. Mt 23:34-35: 34 Therefore I send you prophets and wise men and scribes, some of whom you will kill and crucify, and some you will flog in your synagogues and persecute from town to town, 35 so that on you may come all the righteous blood shed on earth, from the blood of innocent Abel to the

Paul sees the cross for a believer as a means for a changed life (Gal 5:24),<sup>43</sup> and as a radical change in the relationship of the believer towards the world (Gal 6:14).<sup>44</sup>

Paul asks "Was Paul crucified for you?" which has an emphatic "No!" as answer (1 Cor 1:13). Thus Paul underlines the uniqueness of Christ, the crucified.

### 3.2.2 Used for the two robbers.

crucify related to the two robbers on the left and on the right of Jesus (Mt 27:38; Mk 15:27; Lk 23:33; Jn 19:18;

### 3.2.3 Used for Christ.

Jesus predicts his crucifixion (Mt 20:19;<sup>45</sup> Mt 26:2).<sup>46</sup>

Pilate asks what he should do with Jesus. Pilate himself wanted to release Jesus (Lk 23:20). The people request his crucifixion (Mt 27:22; Mt 27:23; Mt 27:26; Mk 15:13; Mk 15:14; Mk 15:15; Lk 23:21; Lk 23:23; Jn 19:6; Jn 19:15; Jn

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blood of Zechariah the son of Barachiah, whom you murdered between the sanctuary and the altar.

43. Gal 5:24: And those who belong to Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires.

44. Gal 6:14: But far be it from me to boast except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world.

45. Mt 20:17-19: 17 And as Jesus was going up to Jerusalem, he took the twelve disciples aside, and on the way he said to them, 18 "See, we are going up to Jerusalem. And the Son of Man will be delivered over to the chief priests and scribes, and they will condemn him to death 19 and deliver him over to the Gentiles to be mocked and flogged and crucified, and he will be raised on the third day."

46. Mt 26:1-2: 1 When Jesus had finished all these sayings, he said to his disciples, 2 "You know that after two days the Passover is coming, and the Son of Man will be delivered up to be crucified."

19:16). Pilate says to Jesus that he has the authority to release him or to crucify him (Jn 19:10).

Jesus is mocked and then crucified (Mt 27:31; Mt 27:35; Mk 15:20; Mk 15:24; Mk 15:25; Lk 23:33; Jn 19:18). Jesus was crucified near the city with his "guilt" written over his head in three languages (Jn 19:20). The four soldiers who crucified Jesus divided his garments into four parts and cast lots for his tunic (Jn 19:23). Near the place where Jesus was crucified was a garden tomb where Jesus was laid (Jn 19:41).

Jesus, the crucified, is used almost like a new title of Christ after his resurrection (Mt 28:5; Mk 16:6). The two angels tell the women that Jesus had foretold his crucifixion and resurrection on the third day (Lk 24:7). The two Emmaus disciples report the crucifixion of Jesus to Jesus (Lk 24:20).

The house of Israel is informed by Peter that they have crucified Jesus but God has made him both Lord and Christ in fulfillment of Ps 110:1 (Acts 2:36). Peter inform the Sanhedrin and all of Israel that "by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom you crucified, whom God raised from the dead - by him this man is standing before you well (Acts 4:10).

Paul preaches "Christ crucified"<sup>47</sup> ... the power of God and the wisdom of God" (1 Cor 1:23). Paul preached Christ crucified in Corinthus (1 Cor 2:2).<sup>48</sup>

According to Paul the rulers of this age did not understand God's wisdom (1 Cor 2:8), otherwise the crucifixion would never have happened. Christ was "crucified in weakness, but lives by the power of God" (2 Cor 13:4).

47. Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον

48. 1 Cor 2:2: For I decided to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ and him crucified. οὐ γὰρ ἔκρινά τι εἰδέναι ἐν ὑμῖν εἰ μὴ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τοῦτον ἐσταυρωμένον•

Gal 3:1). gives us a good impression of Paul's way to evangelize:

O foolish Galatians! Who has bewitched you?  
It was before your eyes that Jesus Christ was publicly portrayed as crucified.

The two witnesses in Rv 11 will be killed in Jerusalem (Rv 11:8).

And their dead bodies will lie in the street of the great city that symbolically is called Sodom and Egypt, where their Lord was crucified.

### 3.3 The Use of the Verb "Crucify With" in the New Testament

This verb is used for the robbers who were crucified with Christ and mocked him as the others did (Mt 27:44; Mark 15:32).<sup>49</sup> In John 19:32 their legs are broken by the soldiers.<sup>50</sup>

Paul uses this same word in Romans 6:6 for believers who are crucified with Christ so that God frees them thus from the power of sin:

We know that our old self was crucified with him in order that the body of sin might be brought

49. Mt 27:44: And the robbers who were crucified with him also reviled him in the same way.

50. Jn 19:32: So the soldiers came and broke the legs of the first, and of the other who had been crucified with him.



to nothing, so that we would no longer be enslaved to sin.<sup>51</sup>

The idea in Gal 2:20 is basically the same.<sup>52</sup>

### 3.4 The Use of "Tree" for Cross

In the following verses the word "tree" or "wood"<sup>53</sup> is used for the cross. The Old Testament background to this use seems to be found in Dt 21:22-23 (cf. Gal 3:13):

22 And if a man has committed a crime punishable by death and he is put to death, and you hang him on a tree, 23 his body shall not remain all night on the tree, but you shall bury him the same day, for a hanged man is cursed by God.<sup>54</sup> You shall not defile your land that the LORD your God is giving you for an inheritance.

Acts 5:30:

51. Rom 6:6: τούτο γινώσκοντες ὅτι ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος συνεσταυρώθη, ἵνα καταργηθῇ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας, τοῦ μηκέτι δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ. If not noted otherwise, the Greek New Testament quotations are from Michael W. Holmes, ed., The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition, [accessed May 19, 2011], 2010, <http://www.crosswire.org/sword/modules/ModInfo.jsp?modName=SBLGNT>.

52. Gal 2:20: I have been crucified with Christ. It is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me. And the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me.

53. τὸ ξύλον

54. The Lxx has: οὐκ ἐπικοιμηθήσεται τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου, ἀλλὰ ταφῆ θάψετε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, ὅτι κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου·

30 The God of our fathers raised Jesus, whom you killed by hanging him on a tree. 31 God exalted him at his right hand as Leader and Savior, to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins.

Acts 10:39-40:

39 And we are witnesses of all that he did both in the country of the Jews and in Jerusalem. They put him to death by hanging him on a tree, 40 but God raised him on the third day and made him to appear, 41 not to all the people but to us who had been chosen by God as witnesses, who ate and drank with him after he rose from the dead.

Acts 13:29-31:

29 And when they had carried out all that was written of him, they took him down from the tree and laid him in a tomb. 30 But God raised him from the dead, 31 and for many days he appeared to those who had come up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are now his witnesses to the people.

Gal 3:13-14:

13 Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse for us—for it is written, “Cursed is everyone who is hanged on a tree”— 14 so that in Christ Jesus the blessing of Abraham might come to the Gentiles, so that we might receive the promised Spirit through faith.

1 Pet 2:24:

He himself bore our sins in his body on the tree, that we might die to sin and live to righteousness. By his wounds you have been healed.

### **3.5 The relationship of the Synoptics and John**

When it comes to the witness of the four Gospels, certain verses in John (Jn 13:1; 13:27; 18:28; 19:14.31.36.42) have led to the assumption that John on the one hand and the Synoptic Gospels on the other hand may have used different calendars. After weighing the evidence, Carson is of the opinion that the given verses of John do not necessarily imply different calendars for the four gospels.<sup>55</sup> One recent book in favor of different calendars has been written by Colin J. Humphreys.<sup>56</sup>

### **3.6 The death of Jesus verified.**

According to Mk 15:44 Pilatus checked from the Centurion whether Jesus had already died before granting the corpse of Jesus to Joseph of Arimathea. In John 19:33-35 the reader is informed that the legs of Jesus were not broken by the soldiers because Jesus was already dead. "But one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and at once there came out blood and water" (John 19:34). The piercing of the side of Jesus with the coming out of blood and water already separated was proof that Jesus was really dead.

55. Carson, *The Gospel According to John*, p. 55 and under the given verses in the commentary.

56. Colin J. Humphreys, *The Mystery of the last Supper: Reconstructing the final days of Jesus* (Cambridge UP, 2011).

### **3.7 Evidence from the Lord's Supper**

We have four accounts within the New Testament who testify to the fact that Jesus knew about his death beforehand and that he also knew about his death being the foundation of a new world order with forgiveness of sins in fulfillment of Jer 31:31ff. The fact that so many different churches and denominations from the beginning celebrated and still celebrate the Lord's supper is a strong pointer to the historicity of the death of Christ at the cross as a fact and the means of salvation.

Mt 26:26-30	Mk 14:22-26	Lk 22:19f.18	1 Cor 11:23-25 23b ... ὅτι ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἧ παρεδίδετο
26 Ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν	22 Καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν	19 καὶ	
λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον καὶ εὐλόγησας	λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐλόγησας	λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας	ἔλαβεν ἄρτον 24 καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν
ἔκλασεν καὶ δοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἶπεν• Λάβετε φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου.	ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν• Λάβετε,	ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων•	καὶ εἶπεν•  Τοῦτό μου ἐστιν τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν•
27 καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον	23 καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον	20 καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι,	τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. 25 ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι,
καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς	εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς,		

λέγων• Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες,	καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. 24 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς•	λέγων•	λέγων•
28 τοῦτο γάρ ἐστίν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης	Τοῦτό ἐστίν τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης	Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινῆ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου,	Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινῆ διαθήκη ἐστίν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι•
τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον	τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.	τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.	
εἰς ἄφρεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν•			τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, ὅσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.
29 λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν,  οὐ μὴ πῖω ἀπ ἄρτι ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω μεθ ὑμῶν καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρός μου.	ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν  ὅτι οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ πῖω ἐκ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω καινὸν	22:18 λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ πῖω ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ γενήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως οὗ	
30 καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.	26 Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.	ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθῃ.	

### 3.8 Evidence from Baptism.

According to Rom 6:3-6 the symbolic meaning of Christian Baptism is related to crucifixion, death, burial and resurrection of Jesus Christ:

3 Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? 4 We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, in order that, just as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life. 5 For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his. 6 We know that our old self was crucified with him in order that the body of sin might be brought to nothing, so that we would no longer be enslaved to sin.

Every baptism in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit points to the spiritual union of the believer with Jesus Christ (1 Cor 6:17). Because the believer is united with Christ he also inherits his "history", his having being crucified, having died, having been buried, having risen from the dead and having been raised to the right hand of God in heaven (Eph 2:6). The Lord's supper and Christian baptism are thus both inseparably linked to the fact of the death of Jesus Christ at the cross. Both proclaim the death of the Lord (1 Cor 11:26).

### 3.9 Important Witnesses to the Text of the New Testament

As we have seen in the word studies, the words used for the cross and the crucifixion of Jesus are mainly in the four canonical gospels Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, in Acts, the letters of Paul, Hebrews and Revelation. How well attested are these books of the New Testament (and the others)? The most important witnesses to the New Testament text are Greek manuscripts, old translations, and quotations in the church fathers.<sup>57</sup> Some important Greek manuscripts are Papyri<sup>58</sup> and

57. This section is based on Bruce Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 36-92.

58. The writing material for books was papyrus and leather. Papyrus was made from the papyrus plant which was growing in the Nile Valley. It was in use already in the third millennium B.C. Later papyrus was exported from Egypt to the whole of the Mediterranean world. Leather was also in use as a writing material from very ancient times, but the invention of parchment out of leather around 200 B.C. brought further advantages. It is more durable than papyrus and easy and from both sides writable. And after scrubbing and scouring them they can be reused. A reused parchment is called palimpsest. Since the 9th century C.E. paper was also used in addition to parchment. Paper had been invented in China in the first century C.E. or even earlier. The ancient form of a book was a scroll made of papyrus or leather. Most of the books of the Bible were first written on separate scrolls and thus circulated. From the first century C.E. onwards we see codices in use which are more like modern books and had many advantages in comparison with scrolls. Both sides of the writing material (papyrus or parchment) could be used and more written content could be united in one book. This meant that several books of the Bible or even the whole Bible could be written in one codex. The Christians seem to have preferred the codex, and the victory of Christianity in the Roman Empire meant also the victory of the codex over the scroll. In the 4th century C.E. the codex overtook the use of scrolls and became the dominant form of the book also in the Middle Ages. See E. Würthwein, *Der Text des Alten Testaments*, edition no. 4 (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1973), 230 pp, p. 7-11.



uncials<sup>59</sup>.

### 3.9.1 Greek manuscripts.

**Papyri.** Two of the most important collections of Papyri<sup>60</sup> were acquired in 1930-31 by (now Sir) Chester Beatty (London) and in 1955-56 by Martin Bodmer (Geneva). The first named collection is now in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (**P**<sup>45</sup>; **P**<sup>46</sup>; **P**<sup>47</sup>).

1. **P**<sup>45</sup>, Chester Beatty I, is from the first half of the third century. This codex contained originally Mt, Mk, Lk, John and Acts on 220 sheets of the format 22.8 x 16 cm.<sup>61</sup> A few fragments of this codex which originally were one sheet out of Mt have surfaced in the Austrian National Library in Vienna. The type of text in Mark stands closer to the Caesarean text than to the Alexandrian or to the Western text. With regard to the other gospels it stands between the Alexandrian and the Western text. In Acts it stands decidedly closer to the Alexandrian text.

59. Manuscripts written in Greek capital letters.

60. For the papyri see Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 36-42.

61. According to E. Nestle and K. Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 2006), p. 686 **P**<sup>45</sup> contains now Mt 20:24-32; 21:13-19; 25:41-26:39; Mk 4:36-40; 5:15-26; 5:38-6:3.16-25.36-50; 7:3-15; 7:25-8:1.10-26; 8:34-9:9.18-31; 11:27-12:1.5-8.13-19.24-28; Lk 6:31-41; 6:45-7:7; 9:26-41; 9:45-10:1.6-22; 10:26-11:1.6-25.28-46; 11:50-12:12.18-37; 12:42-13:1.6-24; 13:29-14:10.17-33; Jn 4:51.54; 5:21.24; 10:7-25; 10:30-11:10.18-36.42-57; Acts 4:27-36; 5:10-21.30-39; 6:7-7:2.10-21.32-41; 7:52-8:1.14-25; 8:34-9:6.16-27; 9:35-10:2.10-23; 31-41; 11:2-14; 11:24-12:5.13-22; 13:6-16.25-36; 13:46-14:3.15-23; 15:2-7.19-27; 15:38-16:4.15-21.32-40; 17:9-17.

2. **P**<sup>46</sup>, Chester Beatty II, is from about 200 C.E. This codex contained originally ten letters of Paul in the following order: Rom, Heb, 1. and 2. Cor, Eph, Gal, Phil, Col, 1 and 2 Thes on 104 sheets of the format 23 x 15 cm.<sup>62</sup> Generally this papyrus stands closer to the Alexandrian than to the Western text.
3. **P**<sup>47</sup>, Chester Beatty III, is from the middle or second half of the third century. This codex containing the book of Revelation had probably originally 32 sheets of the format 20 x 12.5 cm.<sup>63</sup> Generally **P**<sup>47</sup> agrees more often with Codex Sinaiticus than with any other even though its remarkable independence appears quite often.

The other collection of Martin Bodmer is in the Bodmer library in Cologne near Geneva (**P**<sup>66</sup>; **P**<sup>72</sup>; **P**<sup>74</sup>; **P**<sup>75</sup>).

1. **P**<sup>66</sup>, Bodmer II, is a papyrus codex of the Gospel according to John from about 200 C.E. The format of the extant pages is 14.2 x 16.2 cm.<sup>64</sup> The text is a mixed text type with typical Alexandrian and Western elements. In about 20 cases the copyist has made corrections on the

62. According to Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 686 **P**<sup>46</sup> contains now Rom 5:17-6:3.5-14; 8:15-25.27-35; 8:37-9:32; 10:1-11:22.24-33; 11:35-15:9; 15:11-16:27; 1 Cor 1:1-9:2; 9:4-14:14; 14:16-15:15; 15:17-16:22; 2 Cor 1:1-11:10.12-21; 11:23-13:13; Gal 1:1-8; 1:10-2:9.12-21; 3:2-29; 4:2-18; 4:20-5:17; 5:20-6:8.10-18; Eph 1:1-2:7; 2:10-5:6; 5:8-6:6.8-18.20-24; Phil 1:1.5-15.17-28; 1:30-2:12.14-27; 2:29-3:8.10-21; 4:2-12.14-23; Col 1:1-2.5-13.16-24; 1:27-2:19; 2:23-3:11.13-24; 4:3-12.16-18; 1 Thes 1:1; 1:9-2:3; 5:5-9.23-28; Heb 1:1-9:16; 9:18-10:20.22-30; 10:32-13:25.

63. According to *ibid.*, p. 687 **P**<sup>47</sup> contains now Rv 9:10-11:3; 11:5-16:15; 16:17-17:2.

64. According to *ibid.*, p. 687, **P**<sup>66</sup> contains Jn 1:1-6:11; 6:35-14:26.29-30; 15:2-26; 16:2-4.6-7; 16:10-20:20.22-23; 20:25-21:9.

margin or between the lines and the dropped text belongs almost always to the Western tradition while the preferred variants belong to the Alexandrian text type.

2. **P**<sup>75</sup>, Bodmer XIV.XV, is a papyrus codex with the gospel according to Luke and John from about 175 to 225 according to the editors.<sup>65</sup> Out of the original 144 pages of the format 26 x 13 cm 102 pages are fully or partly preserved. The text type stands very close to the Codex Vaticanus. Occasionally the codex is the only Greek witness who supports some interesting variants in agreement with the Sahidic translation.

**P**<sup>52</sup> has only a size of 6 x 9 cm and contains only a few verses out of the fourth gospel (18:31-33.37-38). It is the oldest copy of any part of the New Testament which so far has become known. Even though Bernhard P. Grenfell already acquired it in 1920, it remained unnoticed until 1934 amongst hundreds of other papyrus fragments. In this year C. H. Roberts recognized its content when he was sorting the unpublished papyri of the John Rylands Library in Manchester. He published it dating it to the first half of the second century. Not all scholars were convinced by his arguments, but eminent paleographers like F. G. Kenyon, W. Schubart, Sir H. I. Bell, A. Deißmann, U. Wilcken and W.H. P. Hatch agreed with him. Therefore in spite of its tiny size **P**<sup>52</sup> is of utmost importance pointing to an early composition of John's Gospel, because it was found in a provincial town at the river Nile far away from its traditionally assumed place of writing (Ephesus in Asia Minor).

<sup>65</sup>. According to Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 688, **P**<sup>75</sup> contains Lk 3:18-22; 3:33-4:2; 4:34-5:10; 5:37-6:4; 6:10-7:32.35-39.41-43; 7:46-9:2; 9:4-17:15; 17:19-18:18; 22:4-24:53; Jn 1:1-11:45.48-57; 12:3-13:10; 14:8-15:10

**Uncial manuscripts.** The following uncials are of special importance.<sup>66</sup>

1. Ⲙ 01 The Codex Sinaiticus from the fourth century originally contained the whole Bible with four columns on every page having the format of 38 x 34.3 cm. Parts of the Old Testament got lost, but the whole of the New Testament is still preserved. This is the only uncial manuscript with the whole of the New Testament. Tischendorf found this codex about the middle of the 19th century in the monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. Generally speaking the text of Codex Sinaiticus belongs to the Alexandrian type but contains also quite a few Western variants. Before this codex left the scriptorium several correctors did their work. The original reading of any manuscript is given with \*, in this case it would be Ⲙ\*. The variants of these correctors are given with the sign Ⲙ<sup>a</sup>. Later, perhaps in the sixth and seventh century, several correctors who worked in Caesarea made a lot of selective changes in the Old Testament as well as in the New.

These readings, designated by the siglum Ⲙ<sup>ca</sup> and Ⲙ<sup>cb</sup>, represent a thoroughgoing effort to correct the text to a different standard, which according to a colophon at the end of the books of Esdras and Esther is stated to have been "a very ancient manuscript that had been corrected by the hand of the holy martyr Pamphilus".<sup>67</sup>

66. For the uncials see Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 42-61 and Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 690-704.

67. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 46.

2. A 02 The Codex Alexandrinus from the fifth century contains the Old Testament (minus a few mutilations) and most of the New Testament.<sup>68</sup> The text type of the Alexandrinus in the gospels is the Byzantine text type making the Alexandrinus the oldest example of this text which is generally seen as less valuable. In the rest of the New Testament the Alexandrinus stands together with B and  $\aleph$  as a typical representative of the Alexandrian text. The reason for this may be that the copyist of these parts used another source than for the gospels.
3. B 03 One of the most valuable amongst all manuscripts of the Greek Bible is the Codex Vaticanus from the middle of the fourth century. It was already listed in 1475 as part of the Vatican library. It never became quite clear why all scholars who wanted to have a deeper look at this manuscript in the 19th century for a long time could not get the permission for this from the administration of the Bibliotheca Vaticana. It was not until 1889-90 that a complete photographic facsimile was published, edited by G. Cozza-Luzi. B contains the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha without Maccabees. Today there are three missing sections: In the beginning almost 46 chapters of Genesis are missing, then about thirty Psalms and finally the last pages of the New Testament are missing from Heb 9:14 onwards (with 1 and 2 Tm, Tit, Phlm, Rv). The script is a small uncial without ornaments. That is seen as a sign that the Vaticanus is a little bit older than the Sinaiticus.

68. According to Nestle and Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, p. 690, the parts of the New Testament which are missing in A are Mt 1:1-25:6; Jn 6:50-8:52; 2 Cor 4:14-12:6.

The text type of the Vaticanus is viewed by many scholars as an eminent representative of the Alexandrian text type.

### 3.9.2 Ancient Versions of the New Testament.

The earliest versions<sup>69</sup> were done by missionaries and church workers to spread the Gospel in Syriac, Latin, Coptic, Gothic, and Armenian. With regard to textual criticism they can be helpful if used with care.

### 3.9.3 New Testament quotations in the Church Fathers.

According to Metzger the quotations from the New Testament in the writings of the early Church Fathers are very numerous:<sup>70</sup>

Indeed, so extensive are these citations that if all other sources for our knowledge of the text of the New Testament were destroyed, they would be sufficient alone for the reconstruction of practically the entire New Testament.

Sometimes it is difficult to recognize whether it is a quotation or a more liberal use according to the sense of a section. Here is a list of more important writers of the first centuries whose books contain numerous quotations from the New Testament.<sup>71</sup>

69. For the ancient versions of the New Testament see Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 67-86.

70. *ibid.*, p. 86.

71. *ibid.*, p. 88-89.

Ambrose of Milan	†397	Hippolytus of Rome	†235
Ambrosiaster	366-384	Irenaeus	†ca. 202
Athanasius	†373	Isidore of Pelusium	†435
Augustine	†430	Jerome	†419/420
Chrysostom	†407	Justin Martyr	†ca. 165
Clement of Alexandria	†ca. 212	Lucifer	†370/371
Cyprian	†258	Marcion	†150/160
Cyrill of Alexandria	†444	Origen	†253/254
Didymus of Alexandria	†ca. 398	Pelagius	4th/5th cent.
Ephraim the Syrian	†373	Primasius	†after 552
Epiphanius of Salamis	†403	Pseudo-Jerome	5th/6th cent.
Eusebius of Caesarea	†339/340	Rufinus of Aquileia	†410
Gregory of Nazianzus	†389/390	Tatian	ca. 170
Gregory of Nyssa	†394	Tertullian	†after 220
Hilary	†367	Theodor of Mopsuestia	†428

### 3.9.4 Summary of the Manuscript Evidence.

With all the Greek manuscripts as evidence, the old versions of the New Testament in other languages and the Church Father quotations there is enormous proof that the cross was always there in the center of the Gospel. In some cases we have manuscripts which are only roughly about 100-150 years away (**p**<sup>45</sup> **p**<sup>46</sup> **p**<sup>47</sup> **p**<sup>66</sup> **p**<sup>75</sup>) from the writing of the autographs<sup>72</sup> (ca. 47-95 C.E.). The papyrus **p**<sup>52</sup> was perhaps copied less than 50 years after the original writing of the Gospel of John. Based on the manuscript evidence we can say that the cross and the resurrection of Christ were always the heart and center of the canonical gospels.

72. Autographs are the very original books, the master copies. We only have copies going back to the first autograph.

### **3.10 Summary of the Evidence from the New Testament**

The evidence for the fact of the crucifixion and death of Jesus of Nazareth in the New Testament is straightforward. His mother and aunt and best friend stood so close to the cross that Jesus could talk to them. His 12 apostles were eyewitnesses to his sufferings at the cross and to his having risen from the dead. From his friends and from his enemies nobody challenged the fact of the death of Jesus Christ at the cross. His enemies questioned whether he really had risen from the dead.

There is no doubt about the words and the language used for "cross" and "to crucify". All four canonical gospels are structured in a way that the most important part of the narrative is the passion and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The death of Christ at the cross and his resurrection are the foundation of eternal salvation and eternal life. In the Lord's supper and Christian baptism the death of Christ at the cross is presented as God's way of salvation already known and proclaimed by Jesus himself.

As far as we know the transmission history of the Greek New Testament going back very close to the time of the writing of the autographs of the gospels<sup>73</sup> and the letters of Paul<sup>74</sup>, the cross of Christ always belonged to the canonical gospels and to the preaching of Paul.

73. The four canonical gospels were probably written somewhere between 50 and 95 C.E.

74. The letters of Paul were probably written somewhere between 47 and 64 C.E.



## 4 Evidence from the Creeds of Christendom

The evidence of the ancient creeds is quite impressive because the creeds were used as a summary of the Christian faith. They are given below in full to give the context for the expressions in which we are interested with regard to our subject. The Symbol of Chalcedon has to be understood together with the Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum. So the mentioning of the crucifixion of Jesus in the latter is also part of the faith proclaimed in Chalcedon.

The Symbol of Chalcedon wants to protect the true faith of salvation by protecting the mystery of the Person of Christ against some ideas which are rejected as heretical. The creeds were affirming faith in God the Father, in the Son and in the Holy Spirit from the beginning. These creeds reflect the beliefs of many churches and denominations over the centuries till today. When it comes to the crucifixion or the suffering of Jesus Christ in the body for our salvation, they all are adamant and agree.

From the Apostles Creed

4. (Suffered) under Pontius Pilate,  
was crucified (dead), and buried;

παθόντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου,  
σταυρωθέντα, θανόντα, καὶ  
ταφέντα,

From the

Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum

4. He was crucified for us  
under Pontius Pilate;  
And suffered and was buried;

σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν  
ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου,  
καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα,

From the Symbol of Chalcedon  
and in these latter days,  
for us and for our salvation,

born of the Virgin Mary,  
the Mother of God,  
according to the Manhood;  
one and the same Christ,  
Son, Lord, Only-begotten,  
to be acknowledged in two natures,  
inconfusedly, unchangeably,  
indivisibly, inseparably;

the distinction of natures being

by no means taken away by the  
union,  
but rather the property of each  
nature being preserved,  
and concurring in one Person and  
one Subsistence,  
not parted or divided into two  
persons,  
From the so-called Athanasian  
Creed

37. For as the reasonable soul and  
flesh is one man: so God and Man  
is one Christ;

38. Who suffered for our salvation:  
descended into hell (Hades,  
spirit-world): rose again the third  
day from the dead.

ἐπ' ἑσχάτων δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν  
τὸν αὐτὸν δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὴν  
ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν  
ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου  
τῆς θεοτόκου  
κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα,  
ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Χριστόν,  
υἱόν, κύριον, μονογενῆ,  
ἐκ δύο φύσεων [ἐν δύο φύσεσιν],  
ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως,  
ἀδιαρέτως, ἀχωρίστως  
γνωριζόμενον•  
οὐδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν φύσεων  
διαφορᾶς  
ἀνηρημένης διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν,  
  
σωζομένης δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς  
ιδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως  
καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν  
ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης,  
οὐκ εἰς δύο πρόσωπα μεριζόμενον  
ἢ διαιρούμενον,

37. Nam sicut anima rationalis et  
caro unus est homo: ita Deus et  
homo unus est Christus.

38. Qui passus est pro nostra  
salute: descendit ad inferos: tertia  
die resurrexit a mortuis.

#### 4.1 The Apostles' Creed

Symbolum Apostolicum. Forma Recepta.

The Apostles' Creed. Received Text.

The clauses in brackets of the English text<sup>75</sup> are the later additions according to Philip Schaff. For the pre-history of the Greek text<sup>76</sup> given here see Schaff.<sup>77</sup>

English	Greek
1. I believe in God the Father Almighty, (Maker of heaven and earth).	Πιστεύω εἰς ΘΕΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ, παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς.
2. And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord;	Καὶ (εἰς) ἸΗΣΟΥΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ, υἷόν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν,
3. Who was (conceived) by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary;	τὸν συλληφθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου,
4. (Suffered) under Pontius Pilate, was crucified (dead), and buried;	παθόντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, σταυρωθέντα, θανάτῳ, καὶ ταφέντα,
(He descended into Hades);	κατελθόντα εἰς τὰ κατώτατα,
5. The third day he rose again from the dead;	τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν,
6. He ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of (God) the Father (Almighty);	ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καθεζόμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ θεοῦ πατρὸς παντοδυνάμου,
7. From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.	ἐκαίθεν ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.

75. Given according to Philip Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical notes*. Volume I. *The History of Creeds.*, vol. 1 (Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1877), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/creeds1.html>, p. 47-50.

76. Given according to Philip Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical notes*. Volume II. *The Greek and Latin Creeds, with Translations*, vol. 2 (Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1877), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/creeds2.html>, p. 79-81.

77. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical notes*. Volume I. *The History of Creeds.*, p. 33-43 and Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical notes*. Volume II. *The Greek and Latin Creeds, with Translations*, p. 28-75.

8. And (I believe) in the Holy Ghost;	Πιστεύω εἰς τὸ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΤΟ ἍΓΙΟΝ,
9. The holy (catholic) Church; (The communion of saints);	ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἁγίων κοινωνίαν,
10. The forgiveness of sins;	ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν,
11. The resurrection of the flesh (body);	σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν,
12. (And the life everlasting).	ζωὴν <sup>a</sup> αἰώνιον. Ἀμήν.

<sup>a</sup> Correction by Lanz. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical notes. Volume II. The Greek and Latin Creeds, with Translations*, p. 81 has ζῶην instead.

## 4.2 Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum

Symbolum Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum. Forma Recepta Ecclesiae Orientalis. A.D. 381.

The Nicene Creed, as Enlarged A.D. 381. The Received Text of the Greek Church.

According to Schaff the words of the English text<sup>78</sup> in brackets are Western changes. The Greek text<sup>79</sup> is the received text of the Greek Church.

English	Greek
1. We (I) believe in one God the Father	Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓν ΘΕΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ
Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth,	παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς,
And of all things visible and invisible.	ὄρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων.

78. Given according to Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical notes. Volume I. The History of Creeds.*, p. 47-50.

79. Given according to Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical notes. Volume II. The Greek and Latin Creeds, with Translations*, p. 98-99.

2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ,

the only-begotten Son of God,  
Begotten of the Father before all  
worlds;

(God of God), Light of Light.

Very God of very God,

Begotten, not made,

Being of one substance with the  
Father;

By whom all things were made;

3. Who, for us men,

and for our salvation,

came down from heaven,

And was incarnate by the Holy  
Ghost

of the Virgin Mary,

And was made man

4. He was crucified for us

under Pontius Pilate;

And suffered and was buried;

5. And the third day he rose again,

According to the Scriptures;

6. And ascended into heaven,

And sitteth on the right hand of the  
Father;

7. And he shall come again, with  
glory,

to judge the quick and the dead;

Whose kingdom shall have no end.

8. And (I believe) in the Holy  
Ghost,

The Lord, and Giver of life;

Who proceedeth from the Father

(and the Son);

Who with the Father and the Son

together is worshiped and glorified;

Who spake by the Prophets.

Καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον ἸΗΣΟΥΝ  
ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ,

τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,  
τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ  
πάντων τῶν αἰώνων,

φῶς ἐκ φωτός,

θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ,

γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα,

ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ•

δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο•

τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους

καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν

κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν

καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος

ἁγίου

καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου

καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα,

σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν

ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου,

καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα,

καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ

κατὰ τὰς γραφάς,

καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,

καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ

πατρὸς,

καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης

κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς•

οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος.

Καὶ εἰς τὸ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΤΟ ἍΓΙΟΝ,

τὸ κύριον, (καὶ) τὸ ζωοποιόν,

τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον,

-

τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ

συνδοξαζόμενον καὶ

συνδοξαζόμενον,

τὸ λαλήσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν•

9. And (I believe) in one holy catholic and apostolic Church;	εἰς μίαν, ἁγίαν, καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν•
10. We (I) acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins;	ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν•
11. And we (I) look for the resurrection of the dead;	προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν,
12. And the life of the world to come.	καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Ἀμήν.

### 4.3 The Symbol of Chalcedon

Symbolum Chalcedonense - The Symbol of Chalcedon.

Oct. 22d, 451. The words of the English and of the Greek text are given according to Schaff.<sup>80</sup>

English	Greek
We, then, following the holy Fathers,	Ἐπόμενοι τοίνυν τοῖς ἁγίοις πατέρασι
all with one consent, teach men to confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ,	ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν υἱὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν συμφώνως ἅπαντες ἐκδιδάσκομεν,
the same perfect in Godhead and also perfect in manhood;	τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι,
truly God and truly man,	θεὸν ἀληθῶς καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀληθῶς τὸν αὐτὸν,
of a reasonable [rational] soul and body;	ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος,

80. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical notes. Volume II. The Greek and Latin Creeds, with Translations*, p. 103-108

<p>consubstantial [coessential] with the Father          according to the Godhead,          and consubstantial with us          according to the Manhood;          in all things like unto us, without sin;          begotten before all ages of the Father          according to the Godhead,          and in these latter days,          for us and for our salvation,</p> <p>born of the Virgin Mary,          the Mother of God,          according to the Manhood;          one and the same Christ,          Son, Lord, Only-begotten,          to be acknowledged in two natures,          inconfusedly, unchangeably,          indivisibly, inseparably;</p> <p>the distinction of natures being</p> <p>by no means taken away by the union,          but rather the property of each nature being preserved,          and concurring in one Person and one Subsistence,          not parted or divided into two persons,          but one and the same Son,          and only begotten,          God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ,          as the prophets from the beginning          (have declared) concerning him,          and the Lord Jesus Christ himself          has taught us,          and the Creed of the holy Fathers          has handed down to us.</p>	<p>ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ          κατὰ τὴν θεότητα,          καὶ ὁμοούσιον τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν          κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα,          κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον ἡμῖν χωρὶς          ἁμαρτίας•          πρὸ αἰώνων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς          γεννηθέντα          κατὰ τὴν θεότητα,          ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν          τὸν αὐτὸν δι’ ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὴν          ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν          ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου          τῆς θεοτόκου          κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα,          ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Χριστόν,          υἱόν, κύριον, μονογενῆ,          ἐκ δύο φύσεων [ἐν δύο φύσεσιν],          ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως,          ἀδιαρέτως, ἀχωρίστως          γνωριζόμενον•          οὐδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν φύσεων          διαφορᾶς          ἀνηρημένης διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν,          σωζομένης δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς          ἰδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως          καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν          ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης,          οὐκ εἰς δύο πρόσωπα μεριζόμενον          ἢ διαιρούμενον,          ἀλλ’ ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν υἱὸν          καὶ μονογενῆ,          θεὸν λόγον, κύριον Ἰησοῦν          Χριστόν•          καθάπερ ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται          περὶ αὐτοῦ          καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς          Χριστὸς ἐξεπαίδευσεν          καὶ τὸ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν          παραδέδωκε<sup>b</sup> σύμβολον.</p>
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<sup>b</sup> Correction by Lanz. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical notes. Volume II. The Greek and Latin Creeds, with Translations*, p. 108, has *καραδέδωκε* instead.

Symbolum Chalcedonense. Versio Latina.

The Symbol of Chalcedon in Latin. Oct. 22d, 451.<sup>81</sup>

Sequentes igitur sanctos patres, unum eundemque confiteri Filium et Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum consonanter omnes docemus, eundem perfectum in deitate et eundem perfectum in humanitate; Deum verum et hominem verum eundem ex anima rationali et corpore; consubstantialiam Patri secundum deitatem, consubstantialiam nobis eundem secundum humanitatem; 'per omnia nobis similem, absque peccato' (Heb. iv.): ante secula quidem de Patre genitum secundum deitatem; in novissimis autem diebus eundem propter nos et propter nostram salutem ex Maria virgine, Dei genitrice secundum humanitatem; unum eundemque Christum, filium, Dominum, unigenitum, in duabus naturis inconfuse, immutabiliter, indivise, inseparabiliter agnoscendum: nusquam sublata differentia naturarum propter unionem, magisque salva proprietate utriusque naturæ, et in unam personam atque subsistentiam concurrente: non in duos personas partitum aut divisum, sed unum eundemque Filium et unigenitum, Deum verbum, Dominum Jesum Christum; sicut ante prophetæ de eo et ipse nos Jesus Christus erudivit et patrum nobis symbolum tradidit.

#### 4.4 The Athanasian Creed.

Symbolum Quicumque

The Athanasian Creed. Old Translation Revised.<sup>82</sup>

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| <p>1. Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith:</p> | <p>1. Quicumque vult salvus esse: ante omnia opus est, ut teneat catholicam fidem.</p> |
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81. Given according to Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical notes. Volume II. The Greek and Latin Creeds, with Translations*, p. 109.

82. According to *ibid.*, p. 109-114.



2. Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled: without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.
3. And the Catholic Faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity;
4. Neither confounding the Persons: nor dividing the Substance (Essence).
5. For there is one Person of the Father: another of the Son: and another of the Holy Ghost.
6. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one: the Glory equal, the Majesty coeternal.
7. Such as the Father is: such is the Son: and such is the Holy Ghost.
8. The Father uncreate (uncreated): the Son uncreate (uncreated): and the Holy Ghost uncreate (uncreated).
9. The Father incomprehensible (unlimited): the Son incomprehensible (unlimited): and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible (unlimited, or infinite).
10. The Father eternal: the Son eternal: and the Holy Ghost eternal.
11. And yet they are not three eternals: but one eternal.
12. As also there are not three uncreated: nor three incomprehensibles (infinite), but one uncreated: and one incomprehensible (infinite).
13. So likewise the Father is Almighty: the Son Almighty: and the Holy Ghost Almighty.
14. And yet they are not three Almighties: but one Almighty.
2. Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit: absque dubio in æternum peribit.
3. Fides autem catholica hæc est: ut unum Deum in Trinitate, et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur;
4. Neque confundentes personas: neque substantiam separantes.
5. Alia est enim persona Patris: alia Filii: alia Spiritus Sancti.
6. Sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas: æqualis gloria, coæterna majestas.
7. Qualis Pater: talis Filius: talis [et] Spiritus Sanctus.
8. Increatus Pater: increatus Filius: increatus [et] Spiritus Sanctus.
9. Immensus Pater: immensus filius: immensus [et] Spiritus Sanctus.
10. Æternus Pater: æternus Filius: æternus [et] Spiritus Sanctus.
11. Et tamen non tres æterni: sed unus æternus.
12. Sicut non tres increati: nec tres immensi: sed unus increatus: et unus immensus.
13. Similiter omnipotens Pater: omnipotens Filius: omnipotens [et] Spiritus Sanctus.
14. Et tamen non tres omnipotentes: sed unus omnipotens.

15. So the Father is God: the Son is God: and the Holy Ghost is God.
16. And yet they are not three Gods: but one God.
17. So likewise the Father is Lord: the Son Lord: and the Holy Ghost Lord.
18. And yet not three Lords: but one Lord.
19. For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity: to acknowledge every Person by himself to be God and Lord:
20. So are we forbidden by the Catholic Religion: to say, There be (are) three Gods, or three Lords.
21. The Father is made of none: neither created, nor begotten.
22. The Son is of the Father alone: not made, nor created: but begotten.
23. The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son: neither made, nor created, nor begotten: but proceeding.
24. So there is one Father, not three Fathers: one Son, not three Sons: one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.
25. And in this Trinity none is afore, or after another: none is greater, or less than another (there is nothing before, or after: nothing greater or less).
26. But the whole three Persons are coeternal, and coequal.
27. So that in all things, as aforesaid: the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity, is to be worshipped.
28. He therefore that will be saved, must (let him) thus think of the Trinity.
15. Ita deus Pater: deus Filius: deus [et] Spiritus Sanctus.
16. Et tamen non tres dii: sed unus est Deus.
17. Ita dominus Pater: dominus Filius: dominus [et] Spiritus Sanctus.
18. Et tamen non tres domini: sed unus [est] Dominus.
19. Quia sicut singulatim unamquamque personam Deum ac Dominum confiteri, Christiana veritate compellimur:
20. Ita tres deos, aut [tres] dominos dicere, catholica religione prohibemur.
21. Pater a nullo est factus: nec creatus, nec genitus.
22. Filius a Patre solo est: non factus, nec creatus: sed genitus.
23. Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et filio: non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus: sed procedens.
24. Unus ergo Pater, non tres patres: unus Filius, non tres filii: unus Spiritus Sanctus, non tres spiritus sancti.
25. Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius, aut posterius: nihil majus, aut minus.
26. Sed totæ tres personæ coæternæ sibi sunt, et coæquales.
27. Ita, ut per omnia, sicut jam supra dictum est: et Unitas in Trinitate, et Trinitas in Unitate, veneranda sit.
28. Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de Trinitate sentiat.

29. Furthermore it is necessary to everlasting salvation: that he also believe rightly (faithfully) the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.
30. For the right Faith is, that we believe and confess: that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man;
31. God, of the Substance (Essence) of the Father; begotten before the worlds: and Man, of the Substance (Essence) of his Mother, born in the world.
32. Perfect God: and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting.
33. Equal to the Father, as touching his Godhead: and inferior to the Father as touching his Manhood.
34. Who although he be (is) God and Man; yet he is not two, but one Christ.
35. One; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh: but by taking (assumption) of the Manhood into God.
36. One altogether; not by confusion of Substance (Essence): but by unity of Person.
37. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man: so God and Man is one Christ;
38. Who suffered for our salvation: descended into hell (Hades, spirit-world): rose again the third day from the dead.
39. He ascended into heaven, he sitteth on the right hand of the Father God (God the Father) Almighty.
40. From whence (thence) he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
29. Sed necessarium est ad æternam salutem: ut incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat.
30. Est ergo fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur: quod Dominus noster Jesus Christus Dei Filius, Deus [pariter] et homo est;
31. Deus [est] ex substantia Patris, ante secula genitus: et homo ex substantia matris, in seculo natus.
32. Perfectus Deus: perfectus homo, ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens.
33. Aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem: minor Patre secundum humanitatem.
34. Qui licet Deus sit et homo; non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus.
35. Unus autem, non conversione divinitatis in carnem: sed assumptione humanitatis in Deum.
36. Unus omnino; non confusione substantiæ: sed unitate personæ.
37. Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo: ita Deus et homo unus est Christus.
38. Qui passus est pro nostra salute: descendit ad inferos: tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.
39. Ascendit ad [in] cælos: sedet ad dexteram [Dei] Patris [omnipotentis].
40. Inde venturus [est] judicare vivos et mortuos.

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| <p>41. At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies;</p> <p>42. And shall give account for their own works.</p> <p>43. And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting: and they that have done evil, into everlasting fire.</p> <p>44. This is the Catholic Faith: which except a man believe faithfully (truly and firmly), he can not be saved.</p> | <p>41. Ad cuius adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis;</p> <p>42. Et redditori sunt de factis propriis rationem.</p> <p>43. Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam æternam: qui vero mala, in ignem æternum.</p> <p>44. Hæc est fides catholicæ: quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.</p> |
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