# The First Gospel, the Gospel of the Poor

A New Reconstruction of Q and Resolution of the Synoptic Problem based on Marcion's Early Luke

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# The First Gospel, the Gospel of the Poor: A New Reconstruction of Q and Resolution of the Synoptic Problem based on Marcion's Early Luke by Mark G. Bilby <sup>1</sup>

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*Textbooks... being pedagogic vehicles for the perpetuation of normal science, have to be rewritten in whole or in part whenever the language, problem-structure, or standards of normal science change.* — Kuhn 137

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This iterative open access book brings to bear a revolutionary open science approach fully for the first time upon the foundational texts of Christianity, specifically the earliest Joshua Jesus tradition texts known as the Gospels.

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- *As the Bandit Will I Confess You: Luke 23, 39-43 in Early Christian Interpretation*. Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 13. Strasbourg: University of Strasbourg; Turnhout: Brepols, 2013. <u>ISBN</u> <u>9782503550497</u> [open access version at <u>unglue.it/work/482690/</u>]
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#### Project Endorsements/Reviews and Global Open Peer Review Invitation

Tite, Philip L. "A Statement on 'Cascading Christianity' and Ancient Gospel Studies: A Reflection and an Invitation." August 8, 2020. doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3977017

"Dr. Mark Bilby has initiated a new research on the New Testament Gospels, notably drawing upon the non-canonical Gospel of Marcion. His unique and significant use of this understudied Gospel, as well as his methodological approach... carries the potential to transform our field of study... [B]ased on what I have read and our many discussions on this project, I believe that his work is potentially the most innovative and cutting-edge work to arise in Gospel studies in nearly a century. What sets his work apart from other efforts... is the methodological sophistication and interdisciplinary application of acoustical methods in tracing linguistic echoes in the texts. He does not treat these texts as singular moments of literary dependence (i.e., does Matthew and Luke use Mark and Q or does Luke use Matthew and Mark, etc.?), but rather he identifies a series of 'cascading' moments of textual activation and literary production between these texts, thereby allowing these texts to be studied as malleable works continually being received, interpreted, and modified in antiquity until they are more firmly set as monolithic works by ca. 200 CE (or the 180s CE when Irenaeus wrote...). This cascading approach... is a paradigm shift in our study of these texts."

#### Open Science Approach and Global Open Peer-Review Invitation

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# Abbreviations and Chronological-Stratigraphical Hypotheses

#	shorthand for page number, section number, or word count
٢٦	upgrade
ار با	emendation/correction
$\langle \rangle$	explicit restoration
«»	improvised restoration
t	indicates signal tag is based on explicitly attested and restored wording
‡	indicates signal tag is based on improvised restored wording
}	indicates signal tag is noted elsewhere
	Signal 1, independent use of Source by Mediator or Sole Receptor $(1 \rightarrow 2)$
	Signal 2, independent/unaffected use of Source by Receptor $(1 \rightarrow 3)$
•:	Signal 3, dependent/synthesized use of Source via Mediator(s) by Receptor $(1 \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow 3)$
	attested signal equally matches designated strata
=	
~	attested signal matches different elements from designated strata
>	attested signal matches former stratum more closely than later stratum
<	attested signal matches later stratum more closely than former stratum
A###	SQE parallel set (usually cross-references in and to our Comparative Restoration)
Ac	Acts of the Apostles, c. 117–138 CE
Adm	Ps-Origen, Adamantius Dialogue, early 4 <sup>th</sup> century CE
anw	attested but no wording is restored and/or restorable
Bakhuyzen	W. H. van de Sande Bakhuyzen, <i>Der Dialog des Adamantius</i> , GCS 4 (Leipzig, 1901)
Baur	F. C. Baur, <i>Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien</i> (Fues, 1847)
В	J. D. BeDuhn, The First New Testament (Salem, OR, 2013)
BP	Biblioteca Patristica (Florence, 1981–)
BPM	Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia
Buchheit	V. Buchheit, <i>Tyrannii Rufini Librorum Adamantii Origenis</i> , STA 1 (Munich, 1966)
Butterfield	H. Butterfield, The Origins of Modern Science, 1300-1800 (London, 1949)
c]	concluding tag indication of a clear signal, free of prior gospel vocal noise
Caspari	C. P. Caspari, <i>Kirchenhistorische anecdote</i> (Oslo, 1883)
CBM	Chester Beatty Monographs

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CCSA	Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CEQ	J. M. Robinson et al, <i>Critical Edition of Q</i> (Minneapolis, 2000)
CENP	tag and dataset indication for Clear and Explicitly Not Present in Ev
CINP	tag and dataset indication for Clear and Implicitly Not Present in Ev
CL	Computational Linguistics
Couchoud	P-L. Couchoud, <i>Jésus: Le Dieu fait homme</i> , 2 vols (Paris, 1937)
CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum (Turnhout, 1973–)
CPL	Clavis Patrum Latinorum (Steenburgis, 1995 <sup>3</sup> )
c[ltr]	Canonical version of Pauline letter, distinct from m[ltr] or Marcionite version
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
d]	concluding tag indication of a doubled signal
D	Cambridge: Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, 5 <sup>th</sup> century CE
Darwin	C. Darwin, On the Origin of Species (New York, 1889 <sup>2</sup> )
Dx	<i>Didache</i> , early 2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE
E	Epiphanius (typically with citations of his <i>Panarion</i> unless otherwise indicated)
Early Luke	Lk1 or Marcion's Gospel in its earliest form, created c. 80s CE
ESD	Early-orthodox Signal Degradation
ET	English translation
Ev	Marcion's Gospel (aka Early Luke, Lk1, or the Third Gospel)
Evans	typically as editor of Adversus Marcionem, sometimes for other works (see 4.5)
f'	"Family 1": mss 1, 118, 131, 205, 209, 1582, 2193, etc.
f <sup>13</sup>	"Family 13": mss 13, 69, 124, 174, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983, 1689, etc.
G	P. A. Gramaglia, <i>Marcione e il Vangelo (di Luca)</i> (Turin, 2017)
gawn	generally attested within narrative, but no wording is restored and/or restorable
GCS	Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller
GLB	Geschichte der Lateinischen Bibel
GThom	<i>Gospel of Thomas</i> , created 2 <sup>nd</sup> century CE
Hahn 1823	A. Hahn, <i>Das Evangelium Marcions</i> (Königsberg, 1823)
H	A. Hahn, "Evangelium Marcionis" in I.C. Thilo, <i>Codex apocryphus</i> (Leipzig, 1832)
Harting	D. Harting, <i>Quaestionem de Marcione Lucani Evangelii</i> (Utrecht, 1849)

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HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
Hilg	A. Hilgenfeld, Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justin's (Halle, 1850)
IDD	Indexed Data Dictionary: Vocal Strata Profiles (section 3.7)
Jesus	protagonist of various Gospel strata developed after 70 CE outside of Judea
Joshua	protagonist of the pre-70 CE Gospel; closest approximation to the Historical Jesus
Jn1	Gospel of John Redaction 1, created c. 100–110 CE
Jn2	Gospel of John Redaction 2, created c. 110–117 CE
Jn3	Gospel of John Redaction 3, created c. 140s CE
JnR1	Gospel of John Redactor 1, working c. 100–110 CE
JnR2	Gospel of John Redactor 2, working c. 110–117 CE
JnR3	Gospel of John Redactor 3, working c. 140s CE
JSNTSS	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSSS	Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement
Κ	M. Klinghardt, The Oldest Gospel, 2 vol. (Leuven, 2021)
Knox	J. Knox, Marcion and the New Testament (Chicago, 1942)
Kuhn	T. S. Kuhn, <i>The Structure of Scientific Revolutions</i> (Chicago, 1970 <sup>2</sup> )
Lieu	J. Lieu, Marcion and the Making of a Heretic (New York, 2017)
Lk1	Gospel of Luke Redaction 1 (aka Early Luke or Marcion's Gospel), created c. 80s CE
Lk2	Gospel of Luke Redaction 2, created c. 117–138 CE
LkR1	Gospel of Luke Redactor 1 (aka Early Luke or Ev Redactor), working c. 80s CE
LkR2	Gospel of Luke Redactor 2, working c. 117–138 CE
LXX	Septuagint
M	the author(s) of this work
Magdalene	epic epithet used outside Judea after 70 CE to denigrate and displace Miryam/Mary
Miryam	protagonist of the pre-70 CE Gospel; closest approximation to the Historical Mary
Mk1	Gospel of Mark Redaction 1, created c. 75–80 CE
Mk2	Gospel of Mark Redaction 2, created c. 140s CE
Mk3	Gospel of Mark Redaction 3, created c. 140s CE
MkR1	Gospel of Mark Redactor 1, working c. 75–80 CE
MkR2	Gospel of Mark Redactor 2, working c. 140s CE
MkR3	Gospel of Mark Redactor 3, working c. 140s CE
m[ltr]	Marcionite version of Pauline letter, typically following Vinzent's reconstruction
ms(s)	manuscript/manuscripts

Mt1	Gospel of Matthew Redaction 1 (aka Early Matthew), created c. 90s CE
Mt2	Gospel of Matthew Redaction 2 (aka Late Matthew), created c. 140s CE
MtR1	Gospel of Matthew Redactor, working c. 90s CE
MtR2	Gospel of Matthew Redactor 2, working c. 140s CE
N	C. Gianotto and A. Nicolotti, <i>Il Vangelo di Marcione</i> (Turin, 2019)
na	not attested
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichean Studies
NLP	Natural Language Processing
np	not present
NT	New Testament
NTG	E. Nestle et al, Novum Testamentum Graece (Stuttgart, 2013 <sup>28</sup> )
OECT	Oxford Early Christian Texts
Pl	Early Collection of the Letters of the Apostle Paul, c. 100 CE
Q	Quelle ("Source"), the First Gospel as traditionally reconstructed
Qn	Quelle Neue ("New Source"), the First Gospel as scientifically reconstructed
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
РО	Patrologia Orientalis
Pretty	R. A. Pretty, Adamantius: Dialogue on the True Faith in God (Leuven, 1999)
Pt	Gospel of Peter, c. 115–117 CE
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
R	D. T. Roth, The Text of Marcion's Gospel (Leiden, 2015)
Ritschl	A. Ritschl, Das Evangelium Marcions (Tübingen, 1846)
Sanday	W. Sanday, The Gospels in the Second Century (London, 1876)
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SBLWGRW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Greco-Roman World
SC	Sources chrétiennes
Schwegler	F. C. A. Schwegler, <i>Das nachapostolische Zeitalter</i> , 2 vol. (Tübingen, 1846)
SES	Socio-Economic Status
SQE	Aland et al, Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum
STA	Studia et Testimonia Antiqua (Munich, 1966-); STA 1 = Buchheit
Т	Tertullian (typically cited as author of Adversus Marcionem)
Th	Theodotus

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Thilo	J. C. Thilo, Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti (Leipzig, 1832)
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
Ts	K. Tsutsui, "Das Evangelium Marcions" AJBI 18 (1992) 67–132
Tyson	J. B. Tyson, <i>Marcion and Luke-Acts</i> (Columbia, 2006)
Vinzent	M. Vinzent, Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels (Leuven, 2013)
Volckmar	G. Volckmar, Das Evangelium Marcions: Text und Kritik (Leipzig, 1852)
UBS	B. Aland et al, <i>The Greek New Testament</i> , 5 <sup>th</sup> ed. (Stuttgart, 2019)
V	A. von Harnack, <i>Marcion: Das Evangelium vom Fremden Gott</i> (Leipzig, 1924 <sup>2</sup> )
Ζ	T. Zahn, Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons 2.2 (Erlangen, 1892)

For Gospel ms abbreviations (e.g.,  $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ ,  $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ ,  $\mathfrak{K}$ , A, B,  $\Gamma$ , W,  $\Delta$ ,  $\Theta$ , K,  $\Lambda$ , L,  $\Pi$ ,  $\Psi$ , W, etc.), see critical editions such as *Nestle-Aland*, *United Bible Societies*, and *Society of Biblical Literature*.

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## Open Science / Access / Data Research Abstract

More than any other sort of normal research, the problems of paradigm articulation are simultaneously theoretical and experimental. — Kuhn 33

As principal investigator and project lead, Mark G. Bilby (PhD Virginia, MSLIS Drexel) announces he has discovered a scientific solution to the Synoptic Problem and the restoration of the lost gospel of Qn, the pre-70 CE Judean gospel about Joshua of Nazareth—a text being painstakingly, scientifically, and gradually reconstructed here in most of its breadth and depth for the first time, together with interconnected reconstructions of the earliest versions of the gospels of Mark, Luke, and Matthew. The New Q or Neue Quelle (Qn) is a major excision, expansion, emendation, and simplification of the Q text that New Testament scholars generally accept as the earliest known gospel created by Joshua followers. The discovery and reconstruction of Qn puts Marcion's *Gospel*—which has not previously been taken as the primary and earliest textual basis for resolving Q together with the Synoptic Problem—at the center of the puzzle of our earliest Joshua texts and traditions.

Part 1 introduces readers to a groundbreaking approach to the study of the compositional history of the gospels and the Synoptic Problem—as the tracing of audio-textual signal transmission cascades and syntheses. The *CEQ* Comparison tables show at a glance our major findings, that the first gospel stratum (Qn) aligns substantially with traditional reconstructions of Q yet goes beyond them, outlining how the first gospel was not just a sayings source, but instead a more robust Hellenistic romance with teachings, fables, healings, a death and resurrection. Next, we detail Ten Assumptions about Marcion's Gospel (hereafter, Ev, Early Luke, or Lk1)-i.e., the early-orthodox heresiological biases that have stunted prior analyses and reconstructions-and then counter with a rival set of Socratic assumptions. A brief history of Source Criticism follows, reimagined here as signal cascade analysis and mapping. The call for a New Quest for the Historical Marcion sets the life and work of this person within early second century CE Roman and Jewish history. The Primer on Distilling Scientifically Useful Signals Data describes the method and rationale to transform past critical editions into datasets useful for Computational Linguistics and also likens dataset restoration to professional art restoration. Our Three-Way Signal Tracing Method to Locate Historical Gospel Relationships aims to trace, tag, and triangulate signals in order to sequence vocal strata within and among gospels. Finally, our twelve Criteria for Evaluating Gospel Strata Sequential Hypotheses initiates an expanded scientific method for human use and machine learning.

Part 2 details the Five Hypotheses to Recover and Restore the First Gospel (the New Q or Qn). The first hypothesis demolishes Synoptic Gospel studies and begins construction on a scientifically valid and sustainable project built on the foundation of the *Gospel* of Marcion having two primary sources: Qn and Early Mark (Mk1). The second hypothesis builds the ground floor of the Qn building, showing how Ev corroborates most of the previously established Q materials and confirms numerous Qn sayings that have been debated yet typically have parallels in Matthew and/or the *Gospel of Thomas*. The third hypothesis proceeds to the next floor by realigning the support beams, restoring several Qn sayings sequences to their original and correct Lukan order. The fourth hypothesis goes a level higher

by clearing obstructions and impediments that have kept Qn from reaching its full height. Numerous passages that have long been incorrectly attributed to Q are removed, most notably the introduction of John the Baptist, the Baptism, and the Temptation. Finally, the fifth hypothesis crowns our construction, adding an array of new passages to Qn for the first time in history: most notably three sequential passages about women supporters (Qn 7.12–8.3), the Transfiguration (Qn 9.28–31a, 33–35), the fable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Qn 16.19–31), a short form of the story of Zacchaeus (Qn 19.2, 6, 8–10), and the only pre-70 CE gospel passion and resurrection stories.

Part 3 contains a massive, expanding set of scientific proofs of the five hypotheses. The Cluster Analysis of Markan and Lukan Passages shows clearly that an early version of the Gospel of Mark was the primary source for two segments of Ev, which elsewhere followed a different primary source (Qn). The Statistical Analysis of Single, Double, and Triple Traditions confirms a systematically disproportionate lack of single traditions and surplus of double and triple traditions in Ev at all levels of granularity. The next proof renders the hypothetical L source invalid, correctly repartitioning its signals either as part of the Qn layer, the Lk2 redactional layer, or a nuanced combination of both.

The digital book layout then shifts to tabloid landscape for our most involved and detailed proofs. First we compile a lengthy and growing tabulation and binominal distribution probabilities of Lk2 characteristic features that are clustered in that stratum and disproportionately missing from the Qn and Lk1 strata, proving the distinct voice of the Lk2 redactor was absent from Ev. We next provide a short Demonstration of Criteria for Evaluating Gospel Strata Sequential Hypotheses. The project's heart is a comprehensive Signals Synopsis for Gospel Data Scientists, i.e., the Comparative Restoration, Analysis, and Triangulation of Signals. Our analysis traces signal transmissions, cascades, and syntheses across strata between the 60s and 150s CE. Thereafter follows a massive Indexed Data Dictionary, an iterative space to index, unmask, disambiguate, and partition signature features of each vocal stratum, features regularly cross-referenced in the Comparative Restoration footnotes. Finally, we have Signal Tabulations and Reports that sum up Comparative Restoration proximity and signal transmission tags and clarify source-switching and synthesizing patterns.

Part 4 sets forth a feast of Resources for the Academic and Popular Study of Qn and Lk1. First comes a Dataset and Code Repository that brings transparency to our Computational Linguistics work by sharing it openly with scholars and the public. Next comes a working translation of the First Gospel (Qn), which aims for simplicity and follows the structure of a play or dramatic script. Last in this part is a regularly revised Critical Edition and Translation of the Third Gospel Stratum.

The concluding materials open with a critique of the intellectual apathy and technological weakness besetting Gospel Studies, followed by an ambitious call for the creation of a Digital Humanities platform that models and annotates diverse signal transmission paths across over a dozen major textual redactors/compilers in 1st-2nd centuries CE. The major sections in Part 3 are rapid prototypes of this DH platform. Thereafter follows an Open Library and a smattering of creative writings. Easter Eggs are strewn throughout this digital book, and new ones are added regularly. (Find them all if you can!) Friends and donors are welcome to request new Easter Eggs in future versions of this LODLIB.

#### Invitation

Qn is nothing less than the birth of an open access scholarly movement and digital community of practice focused on illuminating for the whole world's benefit the cascading vocal datasets at the core of the emergence of the world's largest religion. It is long past time for Christianity, both in its study and practice, to participate fully in the discourse of open science, open data, and open-source software, and concurrently to come to terms with its actual Jewish and Greco-Roman historical, political, and mythological roots. Qn is the moment and the movement. We invite you to join us.

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## 1.0. Gospel Data Science Revolution Code: Studies in Signal Strata and Cascades

religious myth: the earliest gospels were four books written by four first century apostolic evangelists scientific fact: these gospels were composites of multiple vocal strata of vocal signals cascading across a century *caveat lector*: reading this book might show you how deep the cosmic rabbit hole goes

Just because it is a transition between incommensurables, the transition between competing paradigms cannot be made one step at a time, forced by logic and neutral experience. Like the gestalt switch, it must occur all at once (though not necessarily in an instant) or not at all. — Kuhn 150

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#### 1.1. Evolutionary Cascade Visual and Highlights of Findings

Qn (65-69 CE)

Mk1 (75–80 CE): Qn + MkR1

Lk1/Ev (80s CE): Qn + Mk1 + LkR1

Mt1 (90s CE): Qn + Mk1 + Lk1/Ev + MtR1

Jn1 (100s CE): Qn + Mk1 + Lk1/Ev + Mt1 + JnR1

Jn2 (110s CE): Qn + Mk1 + Lk1/Ev + Mt1 + Jn1 + JnR2

#### Do you see the overall pattern? If it looks like a natural phenomenon, that is because it was.

#### The gospel was adaptive, like a virus. The first gospel, Qn, was its initial RNA.

Scientifically speaking, the reception of textual traditions is an ever-expanding phenomenon, like the universe and life itself. Every viable textual tradition has a cascade of its own in reception history, especially when texts are individually and/or collectively taken as sacred. To be immersed fully in an eclectic and growing sacred conversation, yet to contribute something new and meaningful: that is how traditions are preserved and expanded. The Rabbis knew that very well, and the pattern is evident in the history of both Jewish and Christian sacred literature. Yet as a more assimilationist religion for the Greco-Roman masses, Christianity emerged far more susceptible to historical amnesia, far less inclined to value memory chains and complex debate than in Rabbinic Judaism. Hence the only reliable way to recover the actual historical origins of the gospels is through a rigorous data science methodology that traces the synthesis and evolution of transmissions from one textually embedded temporal vocal stratum to the next. Each oral-textual stratum/recording is essentially a signal station broadcasting through their re-broadcasters, isolate and cluster signature features of each voice/stratum, trace and sequence interdependencies, and extrapolate source-switching patterns to restore the maximal breadth of elements of the earliest recordings that have been degraded or silenced, whether through suppression or neglect.

# Summary Highlights of the Newly Discovered First Gospel (Qn, c. 65-69 CE)

- 1. Joshua of Nazareth (his Hebrew name) is pictured from first to last in Qn as a new Aesop: a brilliant, witty, justice-minded slave who speaks truth to power. The Qn opening quotation, "Physician, heal yourself" (Luke 4.23), recalls Aesop's fable, "The Frog and the Fox." Joshua nearly being thrown off a (geographically non-existent) cliff in Nazareth (Luke 4.29–30) imitates the *Aesop Romance*, which ends with him thrown off a cliff. The Aesop opening of Qn casts Joshua's escape from Nazareth as the story of a runaway Galilean slave who had been Hellenized. As a famous slave and gifted storyteller who proved himself more intelligent than his master and rival philosophers, Aesop routinely got into trouble by speaking truth to power. The resurrected Joshua's final saying in Qn (Luke 24.25), "O dullards and sluggards in heart", is a verbatim metrical quotation from two Aesopian fables: "The Fox and the Goat at the Well" and "The Frogs at the Wedding of the Sun".
- 2. Joshua in Qn performs a creative array of prophetic, restorative speech-acts (blessing the poor; cursing the rich; healing words; oracles; moral guidance; aphorisms; fables) all aimed at freeing people from slavery, debt, and social stigma, and at the just distribution of food and money.
- 3. Like the Gospel of Mark, **Qn has no birth**, **infancy**, **or childhood narratives**. Unlike the Gospel of Mark, **Qn has no baptism, temptation, or opening heavenly portent making Joshua the messiah**.
- 4. In Qn, the first male follower of Joshua is a Roman centurion, who is there from the start of his public life to its end at the crucifixion.
- 5. In Qn, the first patrons of Joshua were women, and a woman (likely Miryam, i.e., the Mary later called Magdalene) is the one who anoints him as messiah through sexual congress. The early stratum of Mark (Mk1) later misogynistically undermined and displaced all of this by having Jesus baptized in the Jordan river by a man (John the Baptist) and affirmed as the "son of god" (the Davidic messiah) directly by god as a father figure through a heavenly portent. In Mk1, Jesus then calls *twelve male disciples* at the start of his ministry after going up a mountain as if divinely orchestrated; but all of this is absent from Qn. Mk1 also likely omitted the tradition of Miryam anointing Joshua as messiah, only for it to reappear in later strata of Mark in keeping with its displacement by JnR1 to the end of the ministry of Jesus.
- 6. The transfiguration in Qn serves a clear, unique purpose as the start of a new exodus and the first occasion where Joshua is openly recognized as messiah by a group of men (three disciples, Moses, and Elijah) and by a heavenly portent. Moses and Elijah are paradigmatic prophet-leaders of resistance movements. Mk1 later borrows the male witness and heavenly portent motifs ("this is my beloved son") and narrates them back into Jesus' baptism (which was not present in Qn), yet still copied and transformed the Qn Transfiguration story, leading to redundant messianic heavenly portents in Mk1 and its heirs (Mt1, Lk2, Jn2, etc.).
- 7. In Qn, the seventy apostles of Joshua are armed with staffs, comprising what looks to be a formidable gang of would-be bandits ready to loot rich Romans and their wealthy Judean enablers.
- 8. Qn contains our earliest retrievable form of the Lord's Prayer, a form distinctive for its simple monotheism and pleas for revolutionary empowerment, food distribution and debt forgiveness.
- 9. **Qn contains the entire fable of the Rich Man and Lazarus**. This earliest major, signature fable likely influenced retellings such as the raising of Lazarus in the Gospel of John, and signature fables such as the sheep and goats in Matthew 25 and the Good Samaritan in Lk2.
- 10. **Qn concludes** with a **female-led revolutionary resurrection story** for Joshua where Miryam, now partnered to James, still leads the movement, the empty tomb signifies the rebirth of political revolution which Moses and Elijah bless *incognito*, all the while the men do not believe the women.

# Summary Highlights of the Scientifically Reconstructed Third Gospel (Ev, 80s CE)

- 1. Ev had two and only two sources: Qn (65–69 CE) and Early Mark (Mk1, 75–80 CE). Hundreds of triangulated signal transmissions confirm this, even based on minimalist critical reconstructions.
- 2. Ev was not a later version of Luke significantly contaminated by Matthew. Instead, Ev was an earlier version of Luke (Lk1) used often by Early Matthew (Mt1). Dozens of triangulated signal transmissions confirm this, both for materials originally sourced in Qn and Mk1.
- 3. Ev was more of an inspirational source than a verbatim textual source for the Gospel of John. Only a few clear signal transmissions appear, but broader narrative frames and themes (e.g., the miraculous catch of fish, post-resurrection appearance tied to eating fish, Dionysian tropes for Jesus) are clear.
- 4. Ev was not based on canonical Luke. Instead, Ev was, alongside early strata of Mark, Matthew and John, used as the main source of the canonical Luke redaction. Hundreds of diverse, triangulated signal transmissions confirm this, as do the next several points.
- 5. Almost all of the most artistically and dramatically powerful stories in Luke were not randomly missing or later excised from Ev; they were never part of it: prologue, birth of John foretold, annunciation, visitation, birth of John the Baptist, nativity, adoration of the infant Jesus, John preaching repentance and to tax collectors, genealogy of Jesus, baptism of Jesus, temptation of Jesus, decision to go to Jerusalem, woes against Galilean towns, Good Samaritan, visit to Mary and Martha, warning against Herod, Prodigal Son, weeping over Jerusalem, widow's mite, Pilate declaring Jesus innocent, lamenting women, divergent criminals, two of the last sayings of Jesus, (most of) Emmaus Road, and the ascension.
- 6. Ev is disproportionately missing hundreds of clusters of consistent, distinctive, skillful and erudite Lk2 features involving thousands of diffuse and diverse data points: not only characteristic/distinctive words and phrases, but also themes/devices such as affairs of state, genealogy, angelic characters, aristocratic connections, character emotion/motivation, cities as addressees and settings, chronological details, collective action/speech, complaints against protagonists, deference to authority, philosophical dialogue, *exitus-reditus* journeys, family/filial piety, geographical details, haste, hospitality decorum, internal thinking/dialogue, imitations of Euripides, Josephus, and Socrates, LXX quotations, oracular/poetic speech, proxied communication, ritual/temple piety, property/slave-owner concerns, repentance, salvation-history fulfillment, ethical/piety/gender character synkrisis, trial proceedings, triangulated characters, etc.
- 7. The editor of Ev tended to stick close to the content of its two sources, even while taking liberty to reword source material and create transitions between source materials. These minor edits tend to play up themes of amazement at Jesus' teaching and miracles and Jesus' piety in seeking solitude and prayer.
- 8. The editor of Ev tended to stay close to the order of materials within sources, seldom reordering them, occasionally leaving out whole episodes, and attempting to reconcile sources by moving strategically between them. Much of Early Mark is ignored not because specific episodes are skipped but instead because the editor of Ev followed Qn as his main source.
- 9. The editor of Ev rarely added new episodes or created new material, but when doing so, it tended to be focused on fish, the revelation of Jesus through tokens, partnership among the apostles, Peter's self-deprecation, and the portrayal of Jesus as a new Dionysus. The miraculous catch of fish (5.1–11) is the epitome of the creativity of LkR1, but the two brief concluding resurrection appearance stories in Ev —not originally a part of Qn or Early Mark—also recall these themes.
- 10. The text of Ev is often best attested when its materials are absent from Mark and Matthew. E.g.: woes, rich man and Lazarus, warning against avarice, etc. Note the first two points above. Later hostile witnesses to Ev tended to focus on its unique content, not its content that overlapped significantly with Mk1 (as a Ev source) and Mt1 (as a Ev receptor).

# 1.2. CEQ Comparison with Sources of the Third Gospel Stratum (Marcion's Gospel)

Looking at a contour map, the student sees lines on a paper, the cartographer a picture of a terrain... Only after a number of such transformations of vision does the student become an inhabitant of the scientist's world, seeing what the scientist sees and responding as the scientist does. — Kuhn 111

			WIKI Source. Section 1
SQE. Shorthand	CEQ	Ev	Source
A013a. Historical preface		3.1a–b	LkR1
A035. Capernaum lesson		4.31-32	Mk1 1.21–22
A036. Synagogue demon		4.33-35	Mk1 1.23–26
A033. Escaping Nazareth	4.16	4.16, 23, 29–30	Qn 4.16, 23, 29–30
A038. Sick healed		4.40b-41	Mk1 1.34
A039. Leaving Capernaum		4.42-43	Mk1 1.35b, 38
A041. Miraculous catch		5.1-4, 6-7, 9-11	Mk1 1.16–20, 4.1–2 + LkR1
A042. Leper(s) cleansed		5.12-14	Mk1 1.40–42, 44
A043. Healing of paralytic		5.18, 20–22a, 24–26	Mk1 2.3, 5–8a, 10–12
A044. Tax collector called		5.27-28, 31	Mk1 2.14, 17a
A045. Fasting question		5.33-35, 37-38, 36	Mk1 2.18–22
A046. Grain-plucking		6.1–4	Mk1 2.23–26
A047. Withered hand		6.6–10, 5	Mk1 3.1–5, 2.27–28
A049. Twelve chosen		6.12–14, 16	Mk1 3.13–14, 16, 19

#### Mk1 Source: Section 1

Qn Source: Section 1

SQE. Shorthand	CEQ	Ev	Source
A077. Speech setting	¥	6.17, 19–20a	Qn 6.20a + Lk1
A078. Blessings	6.20b-23	6.20b-23	Qn 6.20b-23
A079. Curses	6. <del>24–26</del>	6.24–26	Qn 6.24–26
A080. Impartial love	6.27–28, 35b, 29–32,	6.27–30a, 31–32b,	Qn 6.27–30a, 31–32b,
A000. Impartial love	34, 36	34a, 35b-36	34a, 35b–36
A081. Judging	6.37-42	6.37-40, 6.42	Qn 6.37-40, 6.42
A082. Tree known by fruit	6.43-45	6.43, 45	Qn 6.43, 45
A083. Lord lord	6.46-49	6.46	Qn 6.46
A085. Centurion	7.1, <del>2</del> , 3, <del>4–6a</del> , 6b–8, 9bd, 10b	7.1b-2a, 3, 6, 7b–8, 9bd, 10b	Qn 7.1-3, 6-10
A086. Widow's son raised		7.12b, 14b–15a, 16	Qn 7.12b, 14b–15a, 16
A106. Messages with John	7.18–19, <del>20–21</del> , 22–23	7.18b–19, 20b, 22– 23	Qn 7.18b–19, 20b, 22– 23
A107. Identity of John	7.24–28, [[29–30]], 31–35	7.24bc, 25b, 26b– 28, 31–35	Qn 7.24bc, 25b, 26bc, 28, 31–35
A114. Anointing		7.36b, 37c, 38, 44b, 46b, 45b, 50	Qn 7.36b, 37c, 38, 44b, 46b, 45b, 50
A115. Women patrons		8.2-3	Qn 8.2–3
A122. Sower fable		8.4-8	Qn 8.4–8
A125. Disclosure		8.16-18	Qn 8.16–18

# Mk1 Source: Section 2

SQE. Shorthand	CEQ	Ev	Source
A135. Real family		8.20-21	Mk1 3.32–33
A136. Storm stilled		8.22-25	Mk1 4.35, 37-39, 41
A137. Graveyard demoniac		8.27-28, 30-32	Mk1 5.2, 7, 9–13a
A138. Hemorrhage healed		8.42b-46, 48	Mk1 5.24b-25, 27, 30-31, 34
A142. Students sent		9.1-3, 5-6	Mk1 6.7–8, 11 + Lk1
A143. Herod hears of Jesus		9.7-9	Mk1 6.14–16
A146. Five thousand fed		9.10b–11, 13, 15, 14,	Mk1 6.32-34, 37-44
		16-17	
A158. Peter's confession		9.18–21	Mk1 8.27-30
A159. Passion prediction		9.22	Mk1 8.31
A160. Call of discipleship		9.24, 26	Mk1 8.35, 38
A161. Transfiguration		9.28–31a, 33–35	Qn 9.28–31a, 33–35
A163. Faithless generation		9.37-41	Mk1 9.14, 17–19c
A164. Son of man given over		9.44b	Mk1 9.31b
A166. True greatness		9.46–48	Mk1 9.34, 36–37

Qn Source: Section 2

Qn Source: Se			
SQE. Shorthand	CEQ	Ev	Source
A175. Samaritan rejection		9.52-55	Qn 9.52–55
A176. Following Joshua	9.57–60, [[ <del>61–62</del> ]]	9.57-62	Qn 9.57–62
A177. Seventy sent	10.4, 2–12	10.1–5, 7b, 9–	Qn 10.1–5, 7b, 9–
	10.1, 2 12	11	11
A179. Representation	10.16	10.16	Qn 10.16
A180. Snakes and scorpions		10.19a	Qn 10.19a
A181. Thanksgiving	10.21–24	10.21-24	Qn 10.21–24
A182. Shema	10. <del>25–28</del>	10.25-28	Qn 10.25–28
A185. Lord's prayer	11. <del>1–2a</del> , 2b–4	11.1-4	Qn 11.1–4
A186. Midnight begging	11.[[ <del>5-8</del> ]]	11.5, 7-8	Qn 11.5, 7–8
A187. Summons to pray	11.9–13	11.9–13	Qn 11.9–13
A199 Decleshuh dismute	11.14–15, 17–20, [[21–	11.14–15, 18–	Qn 11.14–15, 18–
A188. Beelzebub dispute	22]], 23	21a, 22a, 23	21a, 22a, 23
A190. Benediction	11.?27–28?	11.27b-28	Qn 11.27b–28
A191. No sign	11.16, 29–32	11.29bd	Qn 11.29bd
A192. Light and sight	11.33–35, [[ <del>36</del> ]]	11.33-35	Qn 11.33-35
	11.?39a?, 42, 39b, [[ <del>40</del> ]],	11.37-43, 46-	Qn 11.37-43, 46-
A194. vs. Pharisees/Lawyers	41, 43–44, 46b, 52, 47–51	48, 52	48, 52
A195. Pharisees' leaven		12.1	Qn 12.1
A196. Fearless confession	12.2–9	12.2-5, 8-9	Qn 12.2–5, 8–9
A197. Blasphemous speech	12.10	12.10	Qn 12.10
A198. Inspired speech	12.11–12	12.11-12	Qn 12.11–12
A199. Inheritance division	12.[[ <del>13_15</del> ]]	12.13-14	Qn 12.13–14
A200. Rich fool	12.[[ <del>16–20</del> ]], <del>21</del>	12.16, 18–21	Qn 12.16, 18–21
Acor D. It		12.22b-24, 27-	Qn 12.22b-24, 27-
A201. Don't worry	12.22b–31, <del>32</del>	28, 30–31, 32b	28, 30–31, 32b
A202. Divest and donate	12.33-34	12.33a	Qn 12.33a
A203. Be watchful	12.[[ <del>35-38</del> ]], 39-40, 42-46	12.35–37a, 38– 45ac, 46–47ace, 48a	Qn 12.35–37a, 38– 45ac, 46–47ace, 48a
A204. Family divisions	12.[[49]], 50–53	12.49a, 51, 53	Qn 12.49a, 51, 53
A205. Interpreting signs	12.[[54-56]]	12.56	Qn 12.56
A206. Avoiding trials	12.57–59	12.57-59	Qn 12.57–59

		_	Qn Source: Section 3
SQE. Shorthand	CEQ	Ev	Source
A208. Woman released		13.11a, 12b, 13b, 14b, 15–16a, 16c	Qn 13.11a, 12b, 13b, 14b, 15–16a, 16c
A209. Mustard seed similitude	13.18–19	13.18–19	Qn 13.18–19
A210. Leaven similitude	13.20-21	13.20-21	Qn 13.20–21
A211. Exclusion from kingdom	13.24–27, 29, 28, [[30]]	13.24–28	Qn 13.24–28
A215. Inclusive feasts	14.[[11]]	14.12-14	Qn 14.12–14
A216. Great supper fable	14. <del>15</del> , 16–18, ?19– 20?, 21, <del>22</del> , 23, <del>24</del>	14.16-24	Qn 14.16-24
A218. Insipid salt	14.34-35	14.34-35	Qn 14.34-35
A219. Lost sheep fable	15.4–5a, <del>5b–6</del> , 7	15.4-7	Qn 15.4–7
A220. Lost coin fable	15.[[8–10]]	15.8–10	Qn 15.8–10
A222. Unjust steward fable		16.2, 4–7, 9a	Qn 16.2, 4–7, 9a
A223. Faithfulness in mammon		16.11–12	Qn 16.11–12
A224. Serving two lords	16.13	16.13	Qn 16.13
A225. Pharisees reproved		16.14-15	Qn 16.14–15
A226. Concerning law	16.16-17	16.16-17	Qn 16.16–17
A227. Concerning divorce	16.18	16.18	Qn 16.18
A228. Rich man and Lazarus		16.19-31	Qn 16.19–31
A229. Scandals	17.1-2	17.1-2	Qn 17.1–2
A230. Forgiveness	17.3-4	17.3b-4	Qn 17.3b-4
A233. Ten lepers cleansed		17.12a, 11b, 12b, 14, 4.27, 17.15, 16b, 18– 19	Qn 17. 12a, 11b, 12b, 14, 4.27, 17.15, 16b, 18–19
A234. Kingdom within	17.[[20-21]]	17.20-21	Qn 17.20–21
A235. Day of the son of man	17. <del>22</del> , 23–24, <del>25</del> , 37, 26–27, ?28–29?, 30–32, 34–35	17.22, 25–26, 28, 32	Qn 17.22, 25–26, 28, 32
A236. Judge and widow fable		18.1-8	Qn 18.1, 2a, 3ac, 4b–5a, 6–8a
A237. Pharisee and publican		18.10–11, 13–14	Qn 18.10–11, 13– 14
A254. Rich young man		18.18-23	Qn 18.18–23
A264. Blind beggar healed		18.35–36a, 37–39, 42–43a	Qn 18.35–36a, 37– 39, 42–43a
A265. Zacchaeus		19.2, 6, 8–10	Qn 19.2, 6, 8–10
A266. Pounds fable	19.12–24, <del>25</del> , 26, [[ <del>27</del> ]]	19.11, 13, 22–23, 26	Qn 19.11, 13, 22– 23, 26

Qn Source: Section 4

SQE. Shorthand	CEQ	Ev	Source Section 4
A276. Authority questioned		20.1-8	Qn 20.1–8
A280. Caesar's tribute		20.19, 24–25	Qn 20.19, 24–25
A281. Resurrection question		20.27–29, 33–36, 39	Qn 20.27–29, 33–36, 39
A283. David's son?		20.41, 44	Qn 20.41, 44
A288. End signs		21.7–11	Qn 21.7–11
A289. Persecutions foretold		21.12–17, 19	Qn 21.12–17, 19
A290. Desolation		21.20	Qn 21.20
A292. Son of man comes		21.25-28	Qn 21.25–28
A293. Fig tree fable		21.29-33	Qn 21.29–33
A295. Take heed, watch		21.34–35a	Qn 21.34–35a
A301. Temple teaching		21.37-38	Qn 21.37–38
A305. Pascha approaches		22.1	Qn 22.1
A307. Betrayal by Judas		22.3-5	Qn 22.3–5
A308. Pascha preparations		22.8, 14	Qn 22.8, 14
A311. Last supper		22.15, 17, 19–20	Qn 22.15, 17, 19–20
A312. Betrayal foretold		22.22b	Qn 22.22b
A315. Denial predicted		22.33-34	Qn 22.33–34
A330. Gethsemane		22.41	Qn 22.41
A331. Arrest		22.47-48	Qn 22.47–48
A332. Sanhedrin and denial		22.63-64, 66-67, 69-71	Qn 22.63–64, 66–67, 69–71
A334/A336. Pilate trial		23.1-3	Qn 23.1–3
A337. Herod trial		23.7-9	Qn 23.7–9
A339. Barabbas		23.18–19	Qn 23.18–19
A341. Pilate condemns		23.25	Qn 23.25
A344. Crucifixion		23.32b-34a	Qn 23.32b-34a
A347. Death		23.44-46	Qn 23.44–46
A350. Funerary honors		23.50-53, 55-56	Qn 23.50-53, 55-56
A352. Women at the tomb		24.1, 3-7, 9	Qn 24.1, 3–7, 9
A353. Women emissaries		24.10-11	Qn 24.10–11
A355. Sighting by two		24.13, 15, 18, 21a, 25-	Qn 24.25 + LkR1
		26, 30–31	
A356. Sighting by disciples		24.37-39, 41-43	LkR1
A365. Commission		24.47	LkR1

# 1.3. Ten Assumptions about Marcion's Gospel: Early-orthodox vs. Socratic

To reject one paradigm without simultaneously substituting another is to reject science itself. — Kuhn 79

Prejudicial assumptions and accusations about Marcion of Sinope have led to the dismissal, denigration, and disintegration of his memory and his *Gospel (Euangelion)* for over 1,800 years now. Early-orthodox heresiologists and polemicists caricatured Marcion and his *Gospel* as frauds. In their telling, Marcion cut out the parts of the Gospel of Luke that he did not like and edited the parts he did, then tried to pitch it, pass it off, and popularize it as if it were the only, original, canonical *Gospel*, written by Jesus himself and edited by Paul. Together with this gospel he included a second volume in his collection, a similarly pen-knifed version of some of Paul's letters he called the *Apostolikon*.

Several scholars in recent decades have challenged the prejudicial portrayals of Marcion as little more than a heretic in beliefs and texts. Still, the belief that Marcion's *Gospel* (hereafter, Ev ) is essentially a later fraud or evisceration of an earlier canonical gospel is still the controlling framework for most modern scholarship on Marcion, Ev, and the study of early Gospels. The way this stereotype nowadays persists among scholars is of course not outright accusations of Ev being fraudulent. It endures through the perpetuation of biased assumptions, including the prejudicial accusation that Marcion removed and edited content in the canonical Gospel of Luke, and that he did so following his own theological biases:

- an anti-Jewish bias that Jesus, just like the Apostle Paul, did not practice the Jewish law
- an anti-Jewish bias that the God of the Old Testament was not the same as the God of the New Testament and the Father of Jesus Christ
- a docetic or gnostic bias that Jesus only appeared to be human, that he did not really die on the cross, and that he did not really rise bodily from the dead
- a Pauline bias that deplored and removed traditions about any apostles other than Paul
- a reformer's bias that made Marcion want to change the texts and the church of his day by retrieving sources from an idealized past that no longer existed

These assumptions about Marcion's editorial agenda are contradicted by the evidence of the actual text of Ev and have thus been challenged by several scholars. However, scholarly bias persists in reconstructions of Ev, even in recent major academic treatments of that text and its relationships with other Gospel traditions. The way this bias endures is through unfounded assumptions about Ev that have gone unquestioned and unchallenged by most scholars:

- 1. If texts from canonical Luke are attested as not present in Ev, then they must have been removed or left out on purpose by Marcion
- 2. If texts from canonical Luke are not attested for Ev, then this cannot be taken seriously as possible evidence, either for or against the presence of this material in Ev
- 3. Witnesses to Ev often harmonized Ev with parallels in canonical Mark and Matthew, which were earlier, complete, unified, distinct, authoritative, and largely static texts

- 4. Attestations to Ev often show how it was influenced by the so-called Western readings found among manuscripts, lectionaries, and Latin and Syriac translations of Luke
- 5. When Ev has a unique reading unrepresented in manuscripts, lectionaries and translations of canonical Luke, then such a reading cannot be correct or trusted
- 6. More generally, Ev cannot be understood, appreciated, or used as a reliable witness to an independent or early textual tradition
- 7. More generally, Ev is a heavily edited, abridged, and eviscerated version of canonical Luke
- 8. More generally, Ev is an early- to mid-second century text, while canonical Luke is a late-first century text
- 9. More generally, Ev is an inconsistent and self-contradictory cut and paste job, a hodgepodge lacking in thematic coherence, creative vision, and programmatic integrity
- 10. More generally, Ev is a poorly evidenced text, a conjectural condensation of a diffuse, haphazard array of quotations, paraphrases, allusions, and summaries by early Christian writers who were opponents of Marcion; as such Ev lacks grounds for a complete Greek critical edition in stark contrast to its canonical counterparts such as Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, given their comparatively consistent and plentiful attestation in manuscripts

For those with ears to hear, these assumptions ring of reinforcing bias against a person and text the early-orthodox sought to displace and destroy. Sadly, this prejudice is still pervasive, even in much of the scholarship being uncritically published and accepted as normative today for Ev.

By way of equipping ourselves and our readers with a critical methodology of informed doubt and deliberate resistance to these prevailing assumptions, let us elaborate a rival set of assumptions stated in the form of Socratic questions:

- 1. What if Lk2<sup>1</sup> texts attested as not present in Ev were not excisions by Marcion but instead later additions to Lk2 not part of the earlier gospel tradition that Marcion received?
- 2. What if Lk2 passages and verses that are unattested for Ev were not excisions by Marcion nor largely even attestation gaps but instead mostly later additions to Lk2?
- 3. What if when Ev has unique parallels with Mark and/or Matthew against Lk2, such examples reveal how early Mark was a source for Ev and how Ev was a source both for later Matthean and Markan strata that were still evolving well into the second century?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In this text, we use "Late Luke" or Lk2 in place of "Luke" to sidestep the anachronistic, prejudicial, evidence-free assumption that this text was static in content or a distinctive, authoritative, and named text prior to the mid-second century. Distinctive Lk2 material is first anonymously quoted by Justin Martyr and the text in its entirety is first attested and assigned pseudonymous subapostolic attribution by Irenaeus around 177 CE. For a judicious overview of the lack of evidence for the reception of Lk2 and Acts up until Irenaeus, see Andrew Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003). Gregory says that Marcion may be "the first witness to sustained use not just of *Luke* but of any discrete Gospel, and that he may in fact have been a conservative editor of a shorter form of *Luke* than that known today, a form with strong affinities to the western text" (210). On its fictive attribution, see Mark G. Bilby, "Luke the Evangelist: Christianity", *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception* 17:132–36 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019); doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3746994.

- 4. What if when Ev aligns with so-called Western readings found in manuscripts, lectionaries and Latin and Syriac translations of Luke, then Ev is their earlier source?
- 5. What if when Ev has a variant unrepresented in known manuscripts, lectionaries, and early translations of Luke, then Ev is a credible source of an early, unique textual tradition?
- 6. More generally, what if Ev can be understood, appreciated, and used as a uniquely reliable source of our earliest textual traditions?
- 7. More generally, what if Ev is an earlier, simpler edition than the longer and more erudite and creative version of the evolving text that later came to be known as the Gospel of Luke?
- 8. More generally, what if Ev was edited in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century, but Lk2 mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century?
- 9. More generally, what if Ev is a consistent even if reconstructed text, stands up on its own as a whole in its own right, and displays ample thematic coherence, creative vision, and programmatic integrity?
- 10. More generally, what if Ev is a richly and reliably evidenced text: echoed across hundreds of variants and thousands of non-variants among hundreds of manuscripts, translations, and lectionaries of its second edition (Lk2); holding close, mutually informing relationships with 10,000s of parallel words found among other gospel strata; and attested over 700 times by over fifteen witnesses, critics of Marcion who typically cited his gospel to refute him from his own text and often quoted its exact words at key points of difference to show the ways they believed Marcion had eviscerated and changed their purportedly earlier, apostolic version of Luke?

Let us close our Socratic questions with a Socratic suggestion: if we persist in calling Lk1 the *Gospel* of Marcion after its first known popularizer, for parity we should call Lk2 the Gospel of Irenaeus.<sup>2</sup>

Many others before us have challenged the early orthodox position and/or argued positively that canonical Luke is not only later than Ev, but also dependent on Ev (= the "Schwegler hypothesis") or dependent on an early version of Luke that was closer overall to Ev than to canonical Luke (= the "Semler hypothesis").<sup>3</sup> Rather than carefully rehearsing the whole history of arguments for Ev priority

<sup>3</sup> For recent accounts of these lines of inquiry in the history of scholarship, see B(79-92), Claudio Gianotto's introduction in N(xlv-lxviii), and esp. R(8-45), along with Roth's earlier article, "Marcion's Gospel and Luke: The History of Research in Current Debate", *JBL* 127 (2008) 513–27. Among the more notable figures and works are: Johann Salomon Semler in Richard Simon, *Richard Simons Kritische Historie* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Based on the traces that remain of the internecine polemics of the last half of the second century and early third century, Early Luke (Lk1) was likely the most frequently referenced and clearly the most highly debated gospel of the time. This includes non-extant works by Justin Martyr (CPG 1078, *Fragmenta genuina*) and Clement of Alexandria (CPG 1396, *Fragmenta contra Marcionem*), as well as the extant polemical commentary by T, the first gospel commentary ever composed (!). For a thorough list of mid-second to early-third century polemics against Marcion, see Marcus Vinzent, "Marcion's Gospel and the Beginnings of Early Christianity", *ASE* 32.1 (2015) 55–87 at 68, listing: Justin Martyr, *To Marcion* (pre-151; in Eusebius, *HE* 4.18.9); an "unknown Asian Presbyter of Rome"; Dionysius of Corinth, *Letter to Nicomedia* (ca. 171; *HE* 4.23.4); Philippus of Gortyna, *Against Marcion* (ca. 171/172; *HE* 4.25); Theophilus of Antioch, *Against Marcion* (ca. 169–183; *HE* 4.24); Irenaeus of Lyon, *Against Marcion* (pre-177; *HE* 4.25, 5.8.9); Rhodo, *To Marcion's School* (ca. 180–192; *HE* 5.13); Modestus, *Against Marcion* (*HE* 4.25); Bardesanes, *On Marcion's Dialogues* (*HE* 4.30.1); Hippolytus of Rome, *To Marcion* (*HE* 4.22.1). This deluge of polemics coincided with the early-orthodox formation and initial defense of the four gospel canon together with the canonized forms of those gospels.

of unfortunately often fall (which far too deaf ears because entrenched on fideistic/canonical/mythological bias), we simply start by invoking T.S. Eliot's counsel for reading: start afresh from a place of readerly empathy and an open mind and avoid the tendency toward instantaneous, knee-jerk rejection based on pre-existing conceptual frameworks. We invite readers to join us for a new and exhilarating intellectual adventure among the earliest Joshua texts.

If our hypotheses really do lead to the optimal solution to the Synoptic Problem, the most scientifically valid assemblage of the myriad pieces of the intriguing puzzle of early Gospel texts and traditions, we do not expect that everyone will be persuaded, but we know that *many* will. If you do not find yourself

des Textes des neuen Testaments (Halle: Bey J.J. Gebauers Witwe and Joh. Jacob Gebauer, 1776), unnumbered preface; Heinrich Corrodi, Versuch einer Beleuchtung der Geschichte des jüdischen und christlichen Bibelkanons, 2 vol. (Halle: Curts Witwe, 1792); Josias F.C. Loeffler, "Marcionem Paulii epistolas et Lucae evangelium adulterasse dubitatur", ComTh 1 (1794) 180-218; Johann E.C. Schmidt, "Ueber das ächte Evangelium des Lucas, eine Vermuthung", MRP 5 (1796) 468–520; Leonhard Bertholdt, Historischkritische Einleitung in sämmtliche kanonische und apokryphische Schriften des alten und neuen Testaments, 5 vol. (Erlangen: Johann Jacob Palm, 1813); Albert Schwegler, Das nachapostolische Zeitalter in den Hauptmomenten seiner Entwicklung, 2 vol. (Tübingen: Fues., 1846); Albrecht Ritschl, Das Evangelium Marcions und das kanonische Evangelium des Lucas (Tübingen: Osiander'sche Buchhandlung, 1846); Ferdinand Christian Baur, Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien, ihr Verhältnis zu einander, ihren Charakter und Ursprung (Tübingen: Fues., 1847); Paul-Louis Couchoud, The Creation of Christ: An Outline of the Beginnings of Christianity, trans. C. Bradlaugh Bonner, 2 vol. (London: Watts & Co., 1939); John Knox, Marcion and the New Testament: An Essay in the Early History of the Canon (Chicago: U Chicago Press, 1942); R. Joseph Hoffmann, Marcion: On the Restitution of Christianity, An Essay on the Development of Radical Paulinist Theology in the Second Century, AAR Academy Series 46 (Chico: Scholars, 1984); Markus Vinzent, "Der Schluß des Lukasevangeliums bei Marcion" in Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung: Marcion and His Impact on Church History, ed. Gerhard May, Katharina Greschat, and Martin Meiser (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002) 79-94; idem, Christ's Resurrection in Early Christianity and the Making of the New Testament (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); idem, Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels, SPS 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014); idem, "Marcion's Gospel" (2015), cited above; Joseph Tyson, Marcion and Luke-Acts: A Defining Struggle (Columbia: U South Carolina Press, 2006); Jason BeDuhn, "The Myth of Marcion as Redactor: The Evidence of 'Marcion's' Gospel against an Assumed Marcionite Redaction", Annali di storia dell'esegesi 29 (2012) 21-48; idem, The First New Testament: Marcion's Scriptural Canon (Salem, OR: Polebridge, 2013); idem, "New Studies of Marcion's Evangelion," ZAC 21.1 (2017) 8–24; Matthias Klinghardt, "Markion vs. Lukas: Plädover für die Wiederaufnahme eines alten Falles", NTS 52 (2006) 484-513, idem, "The Marcionite Gospel and the Synoptic Problem: A New Solution", Novum Testamentum 50 (2008) 1-27; idem, Das älteste Evangelium und die Entstehung der kanonischen Evangelien, TANZ 60 (Tübingen: Francke Verlag, 2015; 2020<sup>2</sup>), translated as The Oldest Gospel and the Formation of the Canonical Gospels, 2 vol, BTS 41 (Leuven: Peeters, 2021); idem, "Das marcionitische Evangelium und die Textgeschichte des Neuen Testaments: Eine Antwort an Thomas Johann Bauer und Ulrich B. Schmid", ZAC 21.1 (2017) 110-120; Daniel A. Smith, "Marcion's Gospel and the Resurrected Jesus of Canonical Luke 24," ZAC 21.1 (2017) 41-62 at 61 concludes a "modest case" that Ev is the source for Lk2 but remains open to the Semler hypothesis; *idem*, "Marcion's Gospel and the Synoptics: Proposals and Problems", in Jens Schröter, Tobias Nicklas, and Joseph Verheyden, ed., Gospels and Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Experiments in Reception, BZNW 235 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019) 129–74; idem, "Critical Source Problems: Canonical Luke and Marcion's Gospel", in Joseph Verheyden, John S. Kloppenborg, Geert Roskam, and Stefan Schorn, ed., On Using Sources in Graeco-Roman, Jewish and Early Christian Literature, BETL 327 (Leuven: Peeters, 2022), 369-89.

among the convinced, we welcome you to let us know why and how after you have really thought it all through. If you do find yourself among the convinced, we ask you to let us know why and how, and more than that we invite you to join our work, build on it, nuance it, deepen its foundations, and expand it in new and creative directions.

Either way, we hope readers reserve judgment until after giving us the courtesy of a full and fair hearing. Our hypotheses will likely come across as deeply disruptive to most of our discipline's traditional faith-based frameworks, which are wrapped up in church-based institutional expectations and funding. Be that as it may, if these scientifically testable hypotheses are valid, if they elucidate the actual historical transmission and interrelationships at play in the composition of these texts, then this scientific reality will ultimately prevail, whether you like it or not.

To borrow a line from Neil deGrasse Tyson, "The good thing about science is that it's true whether or not you believe in it." If your faith- or church-funded academic vocation cannot accommodate the critical use of data science (esp. CL and NLP), then it's time to rethink that faith and come to new terms with that vocation. All truth is god's truth, as some have said. If you worship a god that is real and transcendent, then nothing could ever destroy that god. All that can ever be destroyed are the feeble idols and ideas that we have made and lifted up in place of god.

With so much of New Testament scholarship, moving one piece can disrupt many, many others.<sup>4</sup> Giving Ev serious consideration and even pride of place as the collection of the earliest and most important textual materials for the solution of Q and the Synoptic Problem dramatically upends the tables upon which scholars have spent centuries gathering together to assemble numerous variations of the complicated puzzle of the earliest Joshua texts and traditions. Our solution can only be modeled on a newly assembled table, one where we invite readers not only to visit but also to serve and to linger. You are our intellectual guests in this open access project.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John A.T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976) 9: "the chronology of the New Testament has scarcely been subjected to fresh examination... It is only when one pauses to do this that one realizes how thin is the foundation for some of the textbook answers and how circular the arguments for many of the relative datings. Disturb the position of one major piece and the pattern starts disconcertingly to dissolve." On this see also Tyson, *Marcion*, 1–3.

#### 1.4. Overview and Reimagining of the Synoptic Problem

Perhaps the most striking feature of the normal research problems... is how little they aim to produce major novelties, conceptual or phenomenal. Sometimes... everything but the most esoteric detail of the result is known in advance, and the typical latitude of expectation is only somewhat wider. — Kuhn 35

The overarching question we put to the reader is to decide whether our overall reconstruction is scientifically sound and thus more reasonable and compelling as a model of the intricate complexity of early Joshua texts and their relative relationships of interdependence than is the traditional Q school, its many variations, and its numerous rivals.<sup>5</sup>

In our view, much of the back and forth in the literature illustrates that the Q hypothesis as traditionally conceived holds significant strengths and insurmountable weaknesses. On the one hand, the Q hypothesis has obvious value in explaining how Luke and Matthew have so much shared content not found in Mark, how their authors use and edit that content differently and often independently of each other, and how their common source reflects an earlier stage in the social and literary production and reception of traditions. On the other hand, the Q hypothesis as traditionally argued simply fails to make sense of cross-contaminations (in both directions) between Luke and Matthew, nor can it elegantly account for the relationship between Q and Mark or the minor agreements. Stratigraphic and multiversion approaches to Q exacerbate these inherent problems, complicating the picture more than clarifying it. Statistically significant validation is lacking from the testing of proposed solutions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Stephen Carlson lists five different major groups and diagrams some 20–25 different theories depending on how they are counted: http://www.hypotyposeis.org/synoptic-problem/2004/09/overview-of-proposedsolutions.html. The main groups are: Two Source Hypothesis; Farrer Hypothesis; Griesbach or Two-Gospel Hypothesis; the traditional Augustinian Hypothesis; and Others. For a more thorough elaboration of the history of scholarship, along with carefully crafted figures, see John S. Kloppenborg, Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000) 13, 31, 37, 45, 47, 277, 281, 296, 299, 301, 318, 334–35. Missing from these compilations are a few additional variations and alternatives of fairly recent mint. John Dominic Crossan argued that Gos. Peter, which he called the "Cross Gospel", was the earliest known gospel, appropriated as a source by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John; see The Cross that Spoke: The Origins of the Passion Narrative (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988). Thomas L. Brodie has reconstructed an idiosyncratic "Proto-Luke" (with material from 25 chapters of Luke-Acts), explained as an imitation of the LXX and a source behind all four canonical Gospels; see esp. The Birthing of the New Testament: The Intertextual Development of New Testament Writings, NTM 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2004). Dennis R. MacDonald has offered an idiosyncratic reconstruction of "Q+", a version of Matthew known to Papias that also included overlapping Markan-Matthean parallels, all enacting an extensive imitation of Deuteronomy; see esp. Two Shipwrecked Gospels: The Logoi of Jesus and Papias's Exposition of Logia about the Lord (Atlanta: SBL, 2012). Matthias Klinghardt has recently published several articles and books arguing for Ev as the earliest Gospel and as a source for all four canonical gospels; see esp. "The Marcionite Gospel and the Synoptic Problem", Das älteste Evangelium and its 2021 English translation, The Oldest Gospel, all cited above.

Most of the past approaches are fundamentally flawed because of similar underlying problems: *the assumption of a single edition of Luke, Matthew, and/or Mark*; *the geographical and/or chronological isolation of performative communities*; and *the refusal to trace influence in reciprocal directions*.

This open science book envisions and enacts a Hegelian *tertium quid*, a synthesis that reconciles the traditional Q hypothesis with its many rivals (e.g., Griesbach, Farrer-Goulder, etc.). Keep the basic idea of a Q gospel, remove the assumption of artificial barriers between creative/performative communities, leverage prior redaction-critical analyses for preliminary guidance,<sup>6</sup> approach all the data as data (i.e., vocal signals and voice strata), and trace transmissions across many potential paths:

1. $Q \rightarrow Mk1$	13. Mk1 $\rightarrow$ Mk2
2. $Q \rightarrow Mk1 \rightarrow Lk1$	14. Mk1 $\rightarrow$ Lk1
3. $Q \rightarrow Mk1 \rightarrow Lk1 \rightarrow Mt1$	15. Mk1 $\rightarrow$ Lk1 $\rightarrow$ Mt1
4. $Q \rightarrow Mk1 \rightarrow Lk1 \rightarrow Lk2$	16. Mk1 $\rightarrow$ Lk1 $\rightarrow$ Mt1 $\rightarrow$ Lk2
5. $Q \rightarrow Mk1 \rightarrow Lk1 \rightarrow Mt1 \rightarrow Lk2$	17. Mk1 $\rightarrow$ Lk1 $\rightarrow$ Lk2
6. $Q \rightarrow Lk1$	18. Mk1 $\rightarrow$ Lk1 $\rightarrow$ Lk2 $\rightarrow$ Mk2
7. $Q \rightarrow Lk1 \rightarrow Mt1 \rightarrow Mt2$	19. Mk1 $\rightarrow$ Mt1 $\rightarrow$ Mt2
8. $Q \rightarrow Lk1 \rightarrow Lk2$	20. Mk1 $\rightarrow$ Mt1 $\rightarrow$ Lk2
9. $Q \rightarrow Lk1 \rightarrow Mt1 \rightarrow Lk2$	21. Mk1 $\rightarrow$ Mt1 $\rightarrow$ Lk2 $\rightarrow$ Mk2
10. $Q \rightarrow Mt1 \rightarrow Mt2$	22. Mk1 $\rightarrow$ Mt1 $\rightarrow$ Mk2
11. $Q \rightarrow Mt1 \rightarrow Lk2$	23. Mk1 $\rightarrow$ Lk2
12. $Q \rightarrow Mt1 \rightarrow Mk2$	24. Mk1 $\rightarrow$ Lk2 $\rightarrow$ Mk2

This brief snapshot of the fluid and variegated transmission of vocal signals across vocal strata is hardly complete, since many more originating and mediating strata come into play. The above visual of the Evolutionary Cascade is a helpful snapshot of this, but even it does not account for all strata and all potential signal transmission paths. What is needed to model this effectively is an entirely new Digital Humanities platform, for which we provide a proposal at the end of this book. But here at the outset, we do not want to be unnecessarily complicated or get too far ahead of ourselves. Let it suffice to repeat what we said in the initial announcement of our findings on July 7, 2020:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> We should note here the pioneering work of the gifted Catholic Biblical scholar Raymond Brown who took to heart Pius XII's encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu* and subsequently uncovered and detailed the three layers/recensions of the Gospel of John in his groundbreaking work, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979). For a similar, pioneering approach to uncover two strata in the Gospel of Matthew, see Kathryn J. Smith (formerly Silberling), *Text and Tradition in Matthew: A Case for Literary Stratigraphy in the Gospel of Matthew* (PhD dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1997). For a thorough debunking of canonical Luke depending on canonical Mark, see Kari Pekka Tolppanen, "A Source Critical Reassessment of the Gospel of Luke: Was Canonical Mark Really Luke's Source?", PhD diss, St. Michael's College, 2009. Numerous scholars have previously made cases for early versions of Mark and Luke as well. We will add more of this history of scholarship in future versions. For now we simply note that scholars doing careful work on these texts have frequently challenged the dominant hypotheses and identified multiple strata in the gospels, but until now we have not brought all of this technical work together into a grand, unifying theory of the ever-expanding universe of cascading gospel signals.

Most modeling of proposed solutions to the Synoptic Problem looks like so many modest flow charts, with anywhere from a few to a dozen boxes and lines drawn between them.

Life is not a flow chart.

One way to confirm that you've reached a deep level of scientifically reliable and verifiable knowledge is that it matches the patterns we see in nature itself.

Life is a cascade.

That's why, when I realized that the *Gospel* of Marcion was the original and only two-source Gospel, that it fit perfectly into the third stratum of Gospel composition and brought everything else into nature's perfect alignment—that's when I had my eureka moment and knew I had found the definitive solution to the Synoptic Problem and the key to unlock the history of the transmission of the earliest Gospel traditions.

Our new reconstruction of Q (i.e., Neue Quelle or Qn) and resolution to the Synoptic Problem, then, rests on the fairly uncommon but not truly radical idea that Luke was in fact produced in two major versions: Lk1 and Lk2, compiled decades apart. Once that two-stage composition is acknowledged, then it becomes clearer than ever before that there is merit both to the Q school and its rivals. Qn was in fact a real text, used by Mk1, Lk1 and Mt1. While Lk1 did not use Mt1, Lk2 certainly did.

The traditional two-source hypothesis (Q + Mark) is *very largely* adequate to explain the Gospel sources behind Mt1, but it is still incomplete, because it does not account for the influence of a third source, i.e., Lk1. The two-source hypothesis is largely inadequate to explain the production of the canonical Gospel of Luke (Lk2), whose compiler echoed no fewer than six prior Gospel strata/voices.

Where the two-source hypothesis fits *elegantly* is to explain *almost all contents* found in Lk1, i.e., Ev, particularly if one can conceive of Q having more content than was used in Matthew, which is entirely reasonable. The editors of the Mk1, Mt1 and Mt2 strata were not obliged to use all of Q, and Q scholars generally agree that Luke evinces far more devotion to the wording and order of Q than does Matthew.

The gospel that Marcion received and shared is not only a two source-Gospel. It is *the original and definitive two-source gospel*, closely recounting its two sources (Qn and Mk1) and alternating between them with minimal redactional stitching and reordering. Ev bears no editorial affinities with the elaborate Mt1 program of thematic recompilation and expansion within discrete sermons, nor does it evidence the erudite and expansive intergeneric (novelistic, biographical, historiographical, genealogical, geographical, epic, theatric, philosophical) overlay of verisimilitude in Lk2-Acts, and not just in the missing infancy, childhood, genealogy, baptism, temptation, and ascension narratives.

Ev taken at face value without prejudice does not bear any indications of a destructive impulse to remove earlier, offending traditions. Rather in its simplicity and brevity it exemplifies an earlier time in the development of Gospel strata, enacting a less sophisticated approach to retransmission that sought more to preserve earlier textual traditions than to rework, transform, reorganize, and recompile them. By contrast it shows that a much later, fresh, and vigorous round of redactional and

compositional creativity took hold in the second major edition of Luke, a version that drew its main structure and materials from Ev while also building on and trying to surpass the Mt1 literary feat.

Though they may begin to lose faith and then to consider alternatives, they do not renounce the paradigm that has led them into crisis. They do not, that is, treat anomalies as counter-instances, though in the vocabulary of philosophy of science that is what they are. — Kuhn 77

[T]here is no such thing as research without counter-instances. — Kuhn 79

The table on the next page details six among the more popular proposed solutions to the Synoptic Problem, showing how each model has explanatory value and yet how meager that value is, failing to account for most of the data.<sup>7</sup> As if to illustrate Kuhn's description of the Hanover Institute experiment and related metaphor of upside-down lenses,<sup>8</sup> our signals analysis points to an inverse relationship between the model's popularity in current scholarship and the robustness of its explanatory value! In any case, the main point of this heuristic exercise is to lead readers away from narrow, rigid flow chart modeling and toward fluid, variegated, synthesizing, evolving signal cascade modeling.

The middle column outlines the different paths that signals can take within the model. The indications come courtesy of our triangulation method ( $\cdot$  = direct, unmediated transmission; " = bypassed or unaffected mediated transmission;  $\cdot$ : = synthesized or piggybacked transmission). The rightmost column notes when *all* transmissions in a given synoptic passage set fall within the transmission paths of that model. For simplicity we leave out single tradition passages (Markan, Matthean, or Lukan), highly complicated passage sets that involve four or more strata (which most sets do!), multiple strata numbering (e.g., Mk1, Mk2, Mk3), and other compilations (e.g., John, Ev, GThom, etc.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The thumbnails are gratefully used with permission of Stephen C. Carlson, "Overview of Proposed Solutions", from <u>www.hypotyposeis.org/synoptic-problem/2004/09/overview-of-proposed-solutions.html</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> "An experimental subject who puts on goggles fitted with inverting lenses initially sees the entire world upside down. At the start his perceptual apparatus functions as it had been trained to function in the absence of the goggles, and the result is extreme disorientation, an acute personal crisis. But after the subject has begun to learn to deal with his new world, his entire visual field flips over... Literally as well as metaphorically, the man accustomed to inverting lenses has undergone a revolutionary transformation of vision" (112).

# Notable Models of the Synoptic Problem

76 1 1		
Model	Paths	Matches
Mk Q Mt Lk 2SH	3· Q·Mk Q·Mt Q·Lk 2 <sup>°°</sup> Q <sup>°°</sup> Mt Q <sup>°°</sup> Lk 2·∶ QMk·∶Mt QMk·∶Lk	A078, A193, A210, A216, A219
Mk ↓ Mt Lk FH	3∙ Mk∙Mt Mk∙Lk Mt∙Lk 1¨ MkïLk 1∙: MkMt∙:Lk	A020, A083b, A147, A187, A192, A193, A201, A202, A206, A210, A217, A224
Mt Lk Mk 2GH	3∙ Mt∙Lk Mt∙Mk Lk∙Mk 1¨ Mt¨Mk 1∙: MtLk∙:Mk	A083b, A130, A144, A148, A152, A153, A180, A193, A201, A202, A204, A206, A210, A217, A218, A272, A274, A275
Mk Mt Lk Wilke	3∙ Mk•Lk Mk•Mt Lk•Mt 1¨ Mk¨Mt 1∙: MkLk•:Mt	A003, A006, A007, A011, A014, A147, A170-A172, A189, A205, A213, A216, A219, A237, A266
Lk Mt Mk Büsching	3∙ Lk∙Mt Lk∙Mk Mt∙Lk 1¨ Lk¨Mk 1∙: LkMt∙:Mk	A003, A006, A007, A011, A014, A017, A037, A124, A130, A144, A148, A150, A151, A152, A153, A170-A172, A180, A189, A195, A205, A213, A216, A219, A237, A255, A262, A271, A272, A275
Lk Mk Mt Lockton	3∙ Lk∙Mk Lk∙Mt Mk∙Mt 1¨ Lk™t 1∙: LkMk∙:Mt	A003, A006, A007, A011, A014, A030/032, A098, A123, A147, A168, A174, A180, A189, A205, A237, A252, A269, A274, A278

Choose your preferred solution. No matter which of the six you adopt, the other solutions ultimately and collectively invalidate yours. Sometimes overlaps exist between solutions, but not in most cases. Ultimately these flow-chart models are mutually exclusive rather than complementary. It's like rock-paper-scissors, just with six tools, six tribes, and no winners... ever. Or, for Computational Linguistics coders implementing these models, like a bad remake of *WarGames*. It's mutually assured Davidide destruction played out in the game of so-called scholarship on the gospels.

The Q hypothesis does not effectively model most signal sets, including most Q signal sets (!), because of persistent Matthean influence in Luke, and occasional Lukan influence in Matthew. It does not effectively model many triple traditions because of Lukan and Matthean influence in Mark.

# FH + 2GH + Wilke + Büsching + Lockton defeat Q.

FH does not effectively model most signal sets, not just double traditions where Luke differs in content and order from Matthew, but also triple traditions, because Mark often contains syntheses from both Luke and Matthew and because of occasional Lukan influence in Matthew.

# Q + 2GH + Wilke + Büsching + Lockton defeat FH.

2GH does not effectively model most signal sets because of frequent Markan influence in Matthew and Luke, and occasional Lukan influence in Matthew.

# Q + FH + Wilke + Büsching + Lockton defeat 2GH.

Wilke does not effectively model most signal sets because of frequent Matthean influence in Luke and occasional Lukan and Matthean influence in Mark.

## Q + FH + 2GH + Büsching + Lockton defeat Wilke.

Büsching does not effectively model most signal sets because of frequent Markan and Matthean influence in Luke, and frequent Markan influence in Matthew.

## *Q* + *FH* + 2*GH* + *Wilke* + *Lockton defeat Büsching.*

Lockton does not effectively model most signal sets because of frequent Matthean and Markan influence in Luke, and occasional Matthean influence in Mark.

# Q + FH + 2GH + Wilke + Büsching defeat Lockton.

The more complex flow chart solutions do not resolve these issues, but only obscure them further. All of the flow chart models subject the data to underfitting, trying to cram hundreds of differing shapes into a few predetermined openings and to force many transmissions to run opposite to their obvious directions. After centuries of such futility—all the while our colleagues in the hard sciences are imaging black holes, mapping genomes, and creating robots and AI—you'd think we would have learned by now to follow the data wherever they may lead and model them accordingly.

#### 1.5. Computational Linguistics and the Synoptic [Signals] Problem

Claims of this sort are particularly likely to succeed if the new paradigm displays a quantitative precision strikingly better than its older competitor. The quantitative superiority of Kepler's Rudolphine tables to all those computed from the Ptolemaic theory was a major factor in the conversion of astronomers to Copernicanism. — Kuhn 153–54

2021 is set to be the year when Computational Linguistics (CL) and Natural Language Processing (NLP) decisively transforms the study of Gospel authorship and the Synoptic Problem. Why it has taken this long is astonishing, given that groundbreaking studies of other difficult texts, including religious texts and the disputed Federalist Papers, were done over a decade ago. One team has shown that the Book of Mormon, traditionally assumed to have two authors, was the collective work of at least seven different authors/voices.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> On the sevenfold heavenly human authorship of the Book of Mormon, see Matthew L. Jockers, Daniela M. Witten, and Craig S. Criddle, "Reassessing Authorship of the Book of Mormon using Delta and Nearest Shrunken Centroid Classification", Literary and Linguistic Computing 23.4 (2008) 465-91, doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqn040; and Matthew L. Jockers, "Testing Authorship in the Personal Writings of Joseph Smith Using NSC Classification", Literary and Linguistic Computing 28.3 (2013) 371-81, doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqs041. For notable studies in computational author attribution over the last two decades, see: John Burrows, "Questions of Authorship: Attribution and Beyond", Computational Humanities 37.1 (2002) 5-32, www.jstor.org/stable/30204877 and idem, "All the Way Through: Testing for Authorship in Different Frequency Strata", Literary and Linguistic Computing 22.1 (2007) 27-47, doi.org/10.1093/llc/fgi067; Graeme Hirst and Ol'ga Feiguina, "Bigrams of Syntactic Labels for Authorship Discrimination of Short Texts", Literary and Linguistic Computing 22.4 (2007) 405-17, doi.org/10.1093/llc/fgm023; Marina Iosifyan and Igor Vlasov, "And Ouiet Flows the Don: The Sholokhov-Kryukov Authorship Debate", Digital Scholarship in the Humanities 35.2 (2020) 307-18, doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqz017; David L. Hoover, "Statistical Stylistics and Authorship Attribution: An Empirical Investigation", Literary and Linguistic Computing 16.4 (2001) 421–44, doi.org/10.1093/llc/16.4.421; Matthew L. Jockers and Daniela M. Witten, "A Comparative Study of Machine Learning Methods for Authorship Attribution", *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 25.2 (2010) 215–23, <u>doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqq001</u>; Patrick Juola, "Authorship Attribution", Foundations and Trends in Information Retrieval 1.3 (2006) 233-334, doi.org/10.1561/1500000005, and *idem*, "The Rowling Case: A Proposed Standard Analytic Protocol for Authorship Questions", Digital Scholarship in the Humanities 30.1 (2015) i100-i113, doi.org/10.1093/llc/fqv040; Patrick Juola and Darren Vescovi, "Empirical Evaluation of Authorship Obfuscation using JGAAP", AISec '10: Proceedings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> ACM Workshop on Artificial Intelligence and Security (2010) 14-18, doi.org/10.1145/1866423.1866427; Dmitri V. Khmelev and Fiona J. Tweedie, "Using Markov Chains for Identification of Writers", Literary and Linguistic Computing 16.3 (2001) 299-307, doi.org/10.1093/llc/16.3.299; Moshe Koppel, Jonathan Schler, and Shlomo Argamon, "Authorship Attribution in the Wild", Language Resources and Evaluation 45 (2011) 83-94, doi.org/10.1007/s10579-009-9111-2; Moshe Koppel, Jonathan Schler, and Elisheva Bonchek-Dokow, "Measuring Differentiability: Unmasking Pseudonymous Authors", Journal of Machine Learning Research 8 (2007) 1261-76, www.jmlr.org/papers/volume8/koppel07a/koppel07a.pdf; Moshe Koppel and Yaron Winter, "Determining if Two Documents are Written by the Same Author", Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology 65.1 (2014) 178-87, doi.org/10.1002/asi.22954; Kim Luyckx and Walter Daelemans, "Authorship Attribution and Verification with Many Authors and Limited Data", Proceedings of the 22<sup>nd</sup> International Conference on Computational Linguistics, vol. 1 (2008) 513-20, www.aclweb.org/anthology/C08-1065; Yanir

Neglect and/or skepticism about statistical approaches to author disambiguation and identification has been the norm in Gospel Studies. At the turn of the millennium, a thorough survey of previous attempts at statistical analysis for author attribution of New Testament texts concluded this way:<sup>10</sup>

no matter how advanced one's quantitative and statistical methods may be, and how developed a linguistic model one might adopt, it is still at best questionable that matters regarding the authorship of the New Testament documents can be decided on the basis of statistical analysis. I am not convinced that a linguistic fingerprint, pointing back to the author, can ever be found in the results of such studies. Instead, they are able to assist in the description of register and style, that is, they are exercises in "style by numbers."

To cite but one example, the engineers at Google Scholar would find such skepticism unwarranted, given their successful use of CL and NLP to identify and cluster signature signals to identify and disambiguate the authorship of millions of scholarly publications, including multi-author writings. This deep-seated anti-science and anti-technology mindset shows how compartmentalized and isolated Gospel Studies has become from Statistical and CL science. Part of the problem is learned skepticism, i.e., taking cues from leading scholars at the interdisciplinary juncture between Gospel Studies and Linguistics who have assumed that the Synoptic Problem is far too complicated to model and solve. Stanley Porter, the world's most prolific scholar in New Testament linguistics for several decades and the editor of the book quoted above, has stated as much:

I have no vested interest in defending any particular view of Synoptic origins, especially in relation to the standard theories of Markan priority or Matthean priority. I suspect that the relations among the Gospels probably were much more complex than we typically imagine, and that the process was less like that of a German scholar in his study copying from a source book than the standard theories imagine, and certainly less like that of a modern scholar compiling a text by using a cut-and-paste function.<sup>11</sup>

Seroussi, Ingrid Zukerman, and Fabian Bohnert, "Authorship Attribution with Topic Models", *Computational Linguistics* 40.2 (2014) 269–310, <u>doi.org/10.1162/COLI a 00173</u>; O. Uzuner and B. Katz, "A Comparative Study of Language Models for Book and Author Recognition", *Lecture Notes in Computer Science*, LNCS 3651 (Berlin: Springer, 2005), <u>doi.org/10.1007/11562214\_84</u>; Ying Zhao and Justin Zobel, "Effective and Scalable Authorship Attribution using Function Words", *Lecture Notes in Computer Science*, LNCS 3689 (Berlin: Springer, 2005), <u>doi.org/10.1007/11562382\_14</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Matthew Brook O'Donnell, "Linguistic Fingerprints or Style by Numbers? The Use of Statistics in the Discussion of Authorship of New Testament Documents", in Stanley E. Porter and David A. Carson, ed., *Linguistics and the New Testament: Critical Junctures*, LNTS 168 (New York: Bloomsbury, 1999) 206–54 at 254.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Stanley E. Porter, *Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament: Studies in Tools, Methods, and Practice* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2015) 264. This book provides a helpful overview of Porter's career in linguistics, covering a variety of approaches (systemic functional linguistics, corpus linguistics, sociolinguistics, and discourse analysis) to study the New Testament, including the ways his work has dovetailed at points with CL and the Synoptic Problem. For an earlier collection of his works see *idem*, *Studies in the Greek New Testament: Theory and Practice*, SBG 6 (New York: Peter Lang, 1996). See also

While not attempting to offer a new solution himself, based on his linguistics research Porter still finds occasion to critique and lament the inadequacy of the current solutions:

Standard Gospel source theories (including variations on the two- and four-source hypotheses, Matthean priority, etc.), are woefully inadequate for satisfactorily addressing and explaining the complexity of these relationships.<sup>12</sup>

Most experts in New Testament studies, including New Testament linguistics, have been either uninterested in or incapable of putting forward and attempting to prove new scientific solutions to the Synoptic Problem. This is attributable to a failure of multidisciplinary imagination, expertise, and collaboration between Humanists and Scientists/Technologists. Some efforts on the side of the latter are notable for their attempts to bridge this divide.

At the turn of the millennium a group of experts in Human System Science based mainly out of the Tokyo Institute of Technology (Miyake et al) surveyed the major proposed solutions to the Synoptic Problem, used factor analysis to prove them invalid, and stressed that a new technological and scientific approach would be required to solve the Synoptic Problem.<sup>13</sup> Two years later, they published a report on their prototype of an NLP-based webtool called the "Tele-Synopsis" that would facilitate the process of human-driven queries and comparisons of parallel sets and benefit from iterative inputs.<sup>14</sup> Earlier in their report, in section V, they lamented:

Although a large number of studies have made various assumptions of their genealogical interdependence, what seems to be lacking is a computational humanities technology enabling the Gospel researchers to present valid arguments grounded on authentic discourse segmentation methodology.

It is unclear if their announced software was ever released to the public, but the research team did make use of it for a third article, published in 2006, that drew upon correspondence analysis (CA) and taxicab correspondence analysis (TCA) to confirm their previous findings and ultimately lead to the

*idem, The Criteria for Authenticity in Historical-Jesus Research: Previous Discussion and New Proposals,* JSNTSup 191 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); and *idem*, "Matthew and Mark: The Contribution of Recent Linguistic Thought", in *Mark and Matthew: Comparative Readings*, part 1, *Understanding the Earliest Gospels in Their First-Century Settings*, ed. Eve-Marie Becker and Anders Runesson, WUNT 271 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011) 97–119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ibid., 276.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Maki Miyake, Hiroyuki Akama, Migaku Sato, and Masanobu Nakagawa, "Approaching to the Synoptic Problem by Factor Analysis", *Tokei suri (Proceedings of the Institute of Statistical Mathematics)* 48 (2000) 327–37; English abstract: <u>www.ism.ac.jp/editsec/toukei/abstract/48-2e.html#327</u>; Japanese article: <u>www.ism.ac.jp/editsec/toukei/pdf/48-2-327.pdf</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Maki Miyake, Hiroyuki Akama, Migaku Sato, Masanobu Nakagawa, and Nobuyasu Makoshi, "*Tele-Synopsis* for Biblical Research: Development of NLP based Synoptic Software for Text Analysis as a Mediator of Educational Technology and Knowledge Discovery", *Proceedings of the IEEE International Conference on Advanced Learning Technologies* (2014) 931–35, <u>doi.org/10.1109/ICALT.2004.1357724</u>.

proposal of their own "genealogical tree", essentially a modified two Gospel hypothesis wherein Proto-Matthew is a source for Mark, while Proto-Matthew and Mark are sources for Luke.<sup>15</sup>

Starting in 2004, two other scholars from the Tokyo Institute of Technology (Murai and Tokosumi), specifically the Department of Value and Decision Science, started publishing extensively on network analysis of citations to understand canonical Christian texts.<sup>16</sup> In 2006, they turned specifically to the Synoptic Problem, taking a network clustering approach.<sup>17</sup> Numerous articles since then have explored different iterations and custom applications for their approach.<sup>18</sup>

Starting in 2006 and over the last fifteen years, the leading figure in the statistical study of the Synoptic Problem has been Andris Abakuks, who has found his work welcomed among advocates of the Farrer-Goulder hypothesis. Rather than theorizing a new solution, Abakuks evaluates the two leading theories, honing in on the "triple-link" method that Honoré elaborated in 1968 and advocating for Farrer-Goulder as preferable to the Q hypothesis.<sup>19</sup> Honoré himself had found confirmation of the 2DH, with the double-link method supporting Q and the triple-link method supporting Markan priority.<sup>20</sup> Abakuks certainly represents a major improvement on earlier analyses in terms of conceptual clarity, statistical accuracy, and data and source code transparency.

<sup>17</sup> Hajime Murai and Akifumi Tokosumi, "Synoptic Network Analysis of the Four Gospels", *SCIS&ISI2006* (2006 Sept) 1590–95, <u>doi.org/10.14864/softscis.2006.0.1590.0</u>.

<sup>19</sup> Andris Abakuks, "A Statistical Study of the Triple-Link Model in the Synoptic Problem", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* A 169 (2006) 49–60; *idem*, "The Synoptic Problem and Statistics", *Significance* 3 (2006) 153–57; "A Modification of Honoré's Triple-Link Model in the Synoptic Problem", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* A 170 (2007) 841–50; *idem*, "The Synoptic Problem: On Matthew's and Luke's Use of Mark", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* A 170 (2007) 841–50; *idem*, "The Synoptic Problem: On Matthew's and Luke's Use of Mark", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* A 175 (2012) 959–75; *idem*, *The Synoptic Problem and Statistics* (London: CRC Press, 2014); "A Statistical Time Series Approach to the Use of Mark by Matthew and Luke", in John C. Poirier and Jeffrey Peterson, ed., *Marcan Priority without Q: Explorations in the Farrer Hypothesis* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015) 119–39.

<sup>20</sup> A.M. Honoré, "A Statistical Study of the Synoptic Problem", *Novum Testamentum* 19 (1968) 95–147, doi.org/10.2307/1560364.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Vartan Choulakian, Sylvia Kasparian, Maki Miyake, Hiroyuki Akama, Nobuyasu Makoshi, and Masanobu Nakagawa, "A Statistical Analysis of the Synoptic Gospels", *Journées internationales d'Analyse statistique des Données Textuelles* (2006) 281–88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Hajime Murai and Akifumi Tokosumi, "A Network Representation of Hermeneutics Based on Co-Citation Analysis", *WSEAS Transactions on Information Science and Applications* 11.6 (2004) 1513–17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> E.g., Hajime Murai and Akifumi Tokosumi, "Co-citation Network Analysis of Religious Texts", *TJSAI* 21.6 (2006) 473–81, <u>doi.org/10.1527/tjsai.21.473</u>; *idem*, "Network Analysis of the Four Gospels and the Catechism of the Catholic Church", *JACIII* 11.7 (2007) 772–79,

www.bible.literarystructure.info/2007SCISISIS.pdf. Hajime Murai, "Introducing Scientific Methods for the Interpretation of the Bible: Quantitative Analysis of Christian Documents", *2012 13<sup>th</sup> ACIS International Conference on Software Engineering, Artificial Intelligence, Networking and Parallel/Distributed Computing* (2013) 391–98; *idem*, "Exegetical Science for the Interpretation of the Bible: Algorithms and Software for Quantitative Analysis of Christian Documents", in Roger Lee, ed., *Software Engineering, Artificial Intelligence, Networking and Parallel/Distributed Computing* (Studies in Computational Intelligence 492; Heidelberg: Springer, 2013), doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-00738-0\_6.

In 2007, John Lee, a student in Spoken Language Systems at the MIT Computer Science and Artificial Intelligence Laboratory took a class on the Gospel of Luke taught by François Bovon at Harvard, and his class assignment was published. Lee developed a computational model that started from the assumption of the 2DH; his findings confirmed the lexical similarity between Luke and Mark across specific segments. Lee clearly benefited from Bovon's expertise about the range of scholarly positions on Gospel sources and dependencies. Nevertheless, he did not develop his model into third-party software and ultimately concluded that the modeling depended on preexisting scholarly frameworks and that the parameters were inherently susceptible to bias.<sup>21</sup>

When tuned on the text-reuse hypothesis of a certain researcher on the train text, it favors the hypothesis of the same person on the test text. This demonstrates the model's ability to capture the researcher's particular understanding of text reuse. While a computational model alone is unlikely to provide definitive answers, it can serve as a supplement to linguistic and literary-critical approaches to text-reuse analysis.

In 2016, István Czachesz took stock of previous CL research into the gospels, noting how previous research has focused largely on word frequencies, "bag-of-words" approaches.<sup>22</sup> Noting recent research on co-occurrence and word-association networks, "types rather than tokens", <sup>23</sup> he shows how Network Theory can map the deep linguistic structure of passages within clusters of nodes connected by edges, even extending to deep structural alignments between passages (e.g., Paul's description of the Eucharist in 1 Cor 11.23-26 and the feeding of the five thousand in Mark 6.35–44). While not aiming to solve the Synoptic Problem or focused on mapping the redactional evolution of semantic networks, Czachesz's primer is a highly valuable model of integrating data science, cognitive studies, and classically-trained New Testament scholarship.

A new crop of PhD students and professors have recently emerged with cross-disciplinary expertise in New Testament and Computer Science, as well as a commitment to Open Data and Open Science principles and methods. Joey McCollum of Virginia Tech has recently applied non-negative matrix factorization (NMF) to group manuscripts and identify contamination in the manuscript tradition and

First Gospel LODLIB v4.07 2024-09-25 vol. 1 p.43 © 2024 by Mark G. Bilby 🕖 2000-2003-0100-6634 archived under a CC-BVNC-ND 4.0 international license. Base DOI to cite: doi org/10.5281/zenodo.3927056. Return to TOC

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> John Lee, "A Computational Model of Text Reuse in Ancient Literary Texts", *Proceedings of the 45<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Association of Computational Linguistics* (2007) 472–79, quotation at 479. See also Dominic Widdows and Trevor Cohen, "Semantic Vector Combinations and the Synoptic Gospels", *Quantum Interaction*, LNCS 5494 (2009) 251–65, <u>doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-00834-4\_21</u>, who used semantic vector analysis on the KJV to confirm the similarity of the three synoptic gospels and their difference with John, and the similarity of the gospels compared to all other texts in the Bible. Gabriele Cantaluppi and Marco Passarotti, "Clustering the Four Gospels in the Greek, Latin, Gothic and Old Church Slavonic Translations", *CLADAG 2013: 9<sup>th</sup> Scientific Meeting of the Classification and Data Analysis Group of the Italian Statistical Society* (Padova: CLEUP, 2003) 81–84, <u>doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3938896</u>, found that, even across languages, the three synoptic gospels consistently cluster in contrast with John, and that Matthew and Luke cluster in segments in contrast with Mark, confirming the 2DH.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Istvan Czachesz, "Network Analysis of Biblical Texts", *JCH* 3.1–2 (2016) 43–67 at 44; <u>doi.org/10.1558/jch.31682</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ibid., 45.

has released an open toolkit for users to download and customize the Coherence Based Genealogical Method software developed at Uni Münster.<sup>24</sup> As part of his PhD program in Biblical Studies, Brett Graham has recently developed an NLP algorithm designed to identify intertextual allusions, running it on the epistle of Titus to find all of its likely references to the Septuagint.<sup>25</sup> Claire Clivaz has noted the rise of Virtual Research Environments to coordinate efforts and take an iterative approach to problem-solving in New Testament studies.<sup>26</sup>

While the digital signs are auspicious, experts in CL, NLP, and Statistics still have not built a novel solution to the Synoptic Problem that explains its full complexity in a compelling way. Nor have experts in Gospel Studies taken full advantage of CL, NLP, or Statistics to theorize and build novel solutions to the Synoptic Problem that explain its full complexity in a compelling way. The collaborative expertise is available to solve the Synoptic Problem. So what is standing in the way?

Three things: 1) invalid initial assumptions; 2) inaccurate articulations of the problem; 3) our slow, prejudiced, elitist, expensive publishing ecosystem in Biblical Studies.

1) Invalid initial assumptions have plagued prior attempts to resolve the Synoptic Problem, both by Gospel scholars and scientists/technologists. Such assumptions include the unscientific beliefs that:

- Matthew, Mark, and Luke are meaningful names for the authors of these texts
- Matthew, Mark, and Luke are each the product of a single author
- Matthew, Mark, and Luke are self-consistent, unified compositions
- Matthew, Mark, and Luke are mostly if not entirely first century compositions
- Matthew, Mark, and Luke made use of fictive first century sources (L, M, Nativity, etc.)
- Matthew, Mark, and Luke drew upon nebulous and untraceable "oral tradition"
- Matthew, Mark, and Luke are rooted in "eyewitness" testimony
- Matthew, Mark, and Luke should be analyzed and related in isolation from other datasets
- Q (if it existed) was a sayings gospel that could not have had a passion and resurrection

2) Inaccurate articulations of the problem have also plagued most prior scholarship by Gospel scholars and scientists/technologists. The "Synoptic Problem" is typically framed thus:

"Mark, Matthew, and Luke have a high degree of similarity. How are they related to each other?"

Articulating the problem in this way isolates these datasets and excludes other datasets from consideration by default. It also narrows the scope of the problem so that any proposed solution is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Joey McCollum, "Biclustering Readings and Manuscripts via Non-Negative Matrix Factorization, with Application to the Text of Jude", *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 57.1 (2019) 61–89. The open-cbgm code is shared at <u>github.com/jjmccollum/open-cbgm</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Brett Graham, "Using Natural Language Processing to Search for Textual References", in David Hamidovič, Claire Clivaz, and Sarah Bowen Savant, ed., *Ancient Manuscripts in Digital Culture: Visualisation, Data Mining, Communication*, DBS 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), doi.org/10.1163/9789004399297\_008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Claire Clivaz, "The Impact of Digital Research: Thinking about the MARK16 Project", *Open Theology* 5 (2019) 1–12; <u>doi.org/10.1515/opth-2019-0001</u>.

limited to these texts. When scholars propose other texts for serious consideration (e.g., the *Gospel* of *Peter, Gospel of Thomas*, the *Gospel* of Marcion, the *Exposition* of Papias), their work is typically dismissed or ignored by the scholarly majority as untenable because it is not isolated to synoptic datasets, which—following from the invalid assumptions above—are exclusively given pride of place by default. The Synoptic Problem thus becomes a confusing maze bounded by circular logic.

To be solved, the Synoptic Problem cannot use only three datasets. We must include not only canonical Matthew, Mark, Luke, but also the three discrete recensions of the Gospel of John, the *Gospel* of Marcion, the *Gospel of Peter*, the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *Didache*, the *Exposition* of Papias, the authentic and inauthentic letters of Paul, the Fayyum fragment, the writings of Justin Martyr, the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, and many other texts.<sup>27</sup> Only by accommodating all relevant datasets in our modeling and analysis can we show, understand, and explain their internal and external connections.

To be solved scientifically, the Synoptic Problem cannot be defined in isolation. It must be redefined on the micro- and macro-level as an all-encompassing Historical Signal Transmission Problem:

"What are all the Joshua-tradition signals that broadcast in audio-visual form (i.e., as texts) between the years 50 and 150 CE? In what stratum/recording did they first broadcast? How did they evolve and cascade over time? How can we restore signals and strata to their maximum fidelity?"

To solve the Synoptic Problem we must redefine it as a basic human communication problem.

3) Biblical Studies publishing is absurdly slow, thoroughly biased, profoundly elitist, technologically inept and insular, and ridiculously expensive for researchers. Journal articles often take 2–3 years to go through the cycle of review and publication. Books can go even more slowly. Reviewers and editors at major presses often have religious and political prejudices that prevent potentially disruptive approaches (e.g., myth criticism) from gaining an audience. A lot of publishing and teaching in Biblical Studies props up religious ideological prejudices with a veneer of academic respectability, instead of contributing to scientific progress. Scholarship is only generally considered valid and meritorious when it conforms to a narrow and restrictive range of genres, i.e., books, articles, and chapters, and certainly not datasets, code, or DH platforms or applications, even less citizen-science or crowd-sourcing initiatives. Getting published with elite presses is believed to convey prestige, but such volumes often cost hundreds of dollars, making them unaffordable for most researchers and even most libraries. With cost as a major barrier to access, scientific progress is stunted.

For the Historical Signal Transmission Problem to be solved for the Joshua tradition, we need to reimagine and reinvent scholarly research and publishing within an Open Science and Linked Open

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Along similar lines, see John S. Kloppenborg, "Conceptual Stakes in the Synoptic Problem," in Mogens Müller and Heike Omerzu, ed., *Gospel Interpretation and the Q-hypothesis*, LNTS 573 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2018), 13–42 at 15–17: "In fact the 'Synoptic Problem' has been undergoing an expansion of its purview for quite some time: textual materials are examined that display significant resemblance to the Synoptic Gospels such as Didache 1.3b–2.1; 16.3–8; *1 Clement* 13; the *Gospel of Thomas*; the *Gospel of Peter*; the *Dialogue of the Saviour*; the Longer (Secret) Gospel of Mark; *P.Egerton II*, and several other documents, with the goal of producing a 'map' on which to place these various documents."

Data ecosystem. The tools and expertise to tackle challenges exist within the global community. This LODLIB—both in its foundational hypotheses and ideas as well as its mode of publication—serves as a blueprint and hub to bring together a global collaboration of Humanists and Scientists. It is both a guidebook and a repository for how open science can resolve the most trenchant issues and questions in Gospel Studies for the first time in history.

Our problem at its core in academic publishing is also a basic human communication problem. We need to cultivate virtuous habits and patterns of rapid, transparent, verifiable signal transmissions, respecting commercial interests but not allowing them to control our scholarly communication and monopolize our scholarly knowledge products. Real power ultimately belongs to humanist-scientists who do original thinking, researching, creating, and writing. Academic authors must resist being made mere means to the ends of publisher profits. We are the ones who must make commercial publishers the means to the end of scientific and humanistic progress for the common good.

### 1.6. Half of a Love Letter to Advocates of the Marcionite Hypothesis

The decision to reject one paradigm is always simultaneously the decision to accept another, and the judgment leading to that decision involves the comparison of both paradigms with nature and with each other. — Kuhn 77

Many contemporary scholars, including Hoffmann, Trobisch, Tyson, Vinzent, BeDuhn, and Klinghardt, have chalked up the creation and/or redaction of one or more of the canonical Gospels as a response to Marcion, and there is a lot of truth in their arguments.<sup>28</sup> While many scholars prejudicially dismiss any mid-second century construals of the creation and/or redaction of one or more of the canonical gospels as completely untenable and out of the mainstream, we must take them seriously. Works representing the Marcionite hypothesis are enormously valuable because they give us much of the picture, each one a window into the final ten to seventy years of a complex, hundred-year long process of interconnected vocal-textual signal transmission and strata formation.

My recovery of more accurate dataset contents and sequencing of the earliest gospel strata (Qn in 65– 69 CE, Early Mark c. 75–80, Early Luke or Marcion's *Gospel* c. 80s, and Early Matthew c. 90s) confirms the traditional/majority scholarly view that a Q gospel existed, and that Mark, Luke, and Matthew were all originally late first century compositions, and *at the same time* reconciles and connects these starting points of textual formation with the canonical forms that took shape from several coordinated redactional programs of the mid-second century that may well have been anti-Marcion.

The implications of this discovery cut both ways.

Put bluntly, it should now be considered nonsense for any serious historical-critical scholar to refer to Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John as if any of them are singular productions or entirely first century creations. Saying "Matthew", "Mark", "Luke", "John", or "the Evangelist" for any of them—if referring to singular compositions or singular authors—should now be considered tantamount to intellectual dishonesty if said anywhere outside of the performative drama of the liturgy. All these texts have two or three major, scientifically demonstrable strata evidencing different voices, vocabularies, priorities, social settings, educational levels, etc. All these gradually accruing textual formations were being thoroughly reworked well into the second century. Ultimately, the Gospels in our Bibles and on which many commentaries are written are multi-stage compilations that did not reach a relatively static state until the mid-second century, which is to say that most Gospel scholarship written prior to 2020 is *skubala* because it is unscientific and anachronistic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Hoffmann, *Marcion*; David Trobisch, *The First Edition of the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts*; Vinzent, *Christ's Resurrection*; *idem*, "Der Schluß des Lukasevangeliums bei Marcion;" BeDuhn, "The Myth of Marcion as Redactor"; *idem*, *First New Testament: Marcion's Scriptural Canon*; Klinghardt, "Markion vs. Lukas: Plädoyer für die Wiederaufnahme eines alten Falles;" *idem*, "The Marcionite Gospel and the Synoptic Problem: A New Solution;" *idem, Das älteste Evangelium und die Entstehung der kanonischen Evangelien*; *idem, The Oldest Gospel and the Formation of the Canonical Gospels*.

Gospel scholars: *please stop treating these texts as flat, one-off creations by singular first-century apostolic authors. That mythological, hagiographical, ideological bias is absolutely rampant in New Testament studies. It is naive, unscientific, and baseless, and it has to end.* 

To state it more politely, let us borrow the words of Judith Lieu:

Both at the macro- and at the micro-level any solution to the origins of Marcion's "Gospel" – or indeed of all Gospel relationships – that presupposes relatively fixed and stable written texts, edited through a careful process of comparison, excision, or addition, and reorganisation, seems doomed to become mired in a tangle of lines of direct or indirect dependency, which are increasingly difficult to envisage in practice. Marcion's "Gospel" is to be located in the midst of these multiple trends.<sup>29</sup>

To resume our rant: *piecemeal, scattered allusions, paraphrases and/or quotations from dubiously dated figures and texts of the so-called Apostolic Fathers* (e.g., Clement of Rome, Papias, Ignatius, *Didache, Barnabas*, Hermas, *Ep. Diognetus*, Polycarp, et al) *to material found within the canonical gospels do not establish the existence nor fixity of the entirety of the canonical forms of those gospels. Intertexts amounting to less than 1% of the corresponding words in a canonical text are paltry evidence for 100% of the canonical form of that text.* 

All the commentaries, books, and articles that treat the Gospel of Mark, for example, as if it were a coherent, unified, static production by a single author at a single moment in time in the 70s CE are essentially committing gross anachronism in a way that is ignorant, blind, and obfuscating, completely misunderstanding and mishandling its distinct strata. The editor(s) of the second (Mk2) and third (Mk3) strata of Mark—whether this is the same voice or different voices, we are still seeking to clarify and disambiguate—frequently borrowed Lk2 redactions and focused on agriculture, genealogy, and priestly authority, which we can see in the expansions in many of the parallel sets noted below. If we take the unique vocal signatures and redactional priorities as self-reflective (as we must), then his/their signals make him/them out to belong to a group holding ecclesiastical authority and an aristocratic pedigree, comfortable with civic life yet quite possibly owning rural land, and living around the mid-second century.

Put positively, Gospel scholars: *we must change and rethink everything found within these multistage audio-textual communal performances in terms of discrete signal transmissions.* In *every text we examine*, our focus, method and challenge must be to find *the earliest, simplest version of a signal among all strata (whether later considered canonical or not), then trace its syntheses from point to point across each vocal stratum (whether later considered canonical or not).* Sometimes that signal tracing process involves circling back to the same text. As we see in Mark, Matthew, and Luke, the simplest signal can sometimes be found in the substratum of the very same Gospel that simultaneously carries the most synthesized, composite version of that signal among the canonical texts.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Judith Lieu, "Marcion and the Synoptic Problem" in Paul Foster, ed., *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem, Oxford Conference April 2008: Essays in Honour of Christopher M. Tuckett*, BETL 239 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011) 731-51 at 746n2.

The nuances of the scholarly reconstruction and analysis are highly technical, and snapshots are worth thousands of words, so I simply point readers to review the current state of my work in numerous parallel sets below, especially A046 (Grain-plucking), A135 (Real family), A136 (Storm stilled), A137 (Graveyard demoniac), and A138 (Hemorrhage healed). All of them show how important Ev / Lk1 (an 80s CE composition) is as a witness to the text of early Mark (c. 75–80) *and also* how we can see MkR2 and/or MkR3 (c. 140s CE) picking up and expanding on Lk2 (c. 117–138 CE) redactions. All of them illustrate how vitally important an encompassing and scientific signal tracing methodology is to clarify each vocal/redactional stratum among the Gospels.

The more we follow this method, the clearer each vocal stratum will become to us. These voices belonged to actual, historical people, and they deserve to be heard! Right now, in terms of signals tracing and vocal stratum compiling, scholarship on the compositional history of the Gospels is a big, fuzzy acoustical mess, because we have been foolish enough to adopt the early-orthodox mythical framing of heroic individual apostolic authors instead of thinking like data scientists, acoustical samplers/detectives, gospel virus RNA sequencers, and/or vocal-textual geologists.

To summarize, the Gospel of Mark is not a single composition written by a unitary subaltern in the 70s: it is a combination of a subaltern stratum speaking on behalf of male Jewish War survivors from the late 70s together with at least two major, closely connected, aristocratic, Homer-imitating early-orthodox strata from around the 140s that are heavily dependent on Luke-Acts.

The Gospel of Matthew is not a coherent compilation brought together in the 80s or 90s: it is a wellintegrated hybrid of a major Qn-based sermonic stratum from the 90s and a novelistic, LXX prooftexting, early-orthodox stratum from around the 140s that builds on Luke-Acts.

The Gospel of Luke is not a singular Greco-Roman eyewitness history or apologetic biography composed in the 60s–90s in concert with Acts. If we take the first Gospel (Qn) as its first layer, then Luke is a triplex: an Aesopian style romance and collection of *fabulae* that recounted the Jewish slave revolts of 36–37 CE and renewed the call for slave revolt in the late 60s CE; a Pauline and Dionysian rewriting from around the 80s CE that reconciled the primal Aesopian script with the male subaltern post-war account in early Mark; and finally a grand early-orthodox epic, apologetic, historiographic, geographic, theatric, philosophic, and novelistic overlay created together with Acts, answering to Pliny the Younger, expressive of Hadrian's Hellenistic cosmopolitan and intellectual vision, and yet deeply committed to the preservation of traditional forms of Jewish textual and ritual piety.

#### The Late Date of Canonical Luke

*Conversions will occur a few at a time until, after the last holdouts have died, the whole profession will again be practicing under a single, but now a different, paradigm.* — Kuhn 152

Because we love tables a lot and because the history of scholarship is vast, here we begin a tabular compilation of scholarship that sets canonical Luke and/or Acts (typically both together) well within the second century, quite often doing so with little or no related discussion of Ev. We note that defenders of the early-orthodox view of Ev, scholars such as Schmid, Moll, and Roth, assume a comparatively early date for canonical Luke (not to mention canonical Matthew and Mark) and ignore most of the recent scholarship on the late date of Luke unless it pertains directly to Ev. It is not merely that the customary date in the 80s often assumed in scholarship is no longer consensus. Such a position has become untenable in light of a massive amount of critical scholarship presenting a wide and compelling diversity of evidence that has yet to be seriously answered or challenged.

Scholar	Abbreviated Title	Date	Lk2-Acts Date
M. Schneckenburger	Über den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte	1841	mid-2nd cent.
F.C. Baur	Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi	1845	mid-2nd cent.
A. Schwegler	Das nachapostolische Zeitalter	1846	110/130
F.C. Baur	Kritische Untersuchungen Evangelien	1847	135/150
E. Zeller	"Überlieferung"	1848	post-Marcion
A. Hilgenfeld	Kritische Untersuchungen	1850	2nd cent.
G. Volckmar	Das Evangelium Marcions	1852	2nd cent.
E. Simons	Evangelist	1880	2nd cent.
F.C. Burkitt	The Gospel History	1907	95/105
P-L. Couchoud	Jésus: Le Dieu fait homme	1937	130/150
J. Knox	Marcion and the New Testament	1942	140/150
J.C. O'Neill	The Theology of Acts	1961	115/130
G. Klein	Die zwölf Apostel	1961	mid-140s
W. Schmithals	Das kirchliche Apostelamt	1961	140/150
J. Knox	"Acts and the Pauline Letter Corpus"	1966	125
M.S. Enslin	"Once Again, Luke and Paul"	1970	140/150
S. Schulz	Die Mitte der Schrift	1976	115/130
Perrin & Duling	The New Testament	1982	110
J.T. Townsend	"The Date of Luke-Acts"	1984	mid-2nd cent.
R.J. Hoffman	Marcion: On the Restitution	1984	150

Scholar	Abbreviated Title	Date	Lk2-Acts Date
D. Trobisch	Endredaktion des Neuen Testaments	1996	mid-2nd cent.
C. Mount	Pauline Christianity	1997/2002	pre-130
J.B. Tyson	"Legacy of F.C. Baur"	2001	post-Marcion
M. Vinzent	"Das Schluß des Lukasevangeliums"	2002	post-Marcion
R.M. D'Angelo	"ANHP Question in Luke-Acts"	2002	Trajanic/Hadrianic
J.B. Tyson	"Date of Acts: A Reconsideration"	2002	110/150
R. Pervo	"Dating Acts"	2002	115
A. Gregory	Reception of Luke and Acts	2003	120/125
J.B. Tyson	Marcion and Luke-Acts	2006	120/125
R. Pervo	Dating Acts	2006	110/120
M. Klinghardt	"Markion vs. Lukas"	2006	mid-2nd cent.
M. Klinghardt	"The Marcionite Gospel"	2008	mid-2nd cent.
J.V.M. Sturdy	Redrawing the Boundaries	2007	110
L.S. Nasrallah	"The Acts of the Apostles"	2008	Hadrianic
R. Pervo	Acts: A Commentary	2009	115
M.G. Bilby	"Pliny's Correspondence" (presented)	2009	post-Pliny
T.E. Phillips	"How Did Paul Become" (presented)	2010	post-Pliny
S. Matthews	Perfect Martyr	2010	120/130
R.P. Thompson	"Luke-Acts"	2010	mid-140s
M. Vinzent	Christ's Resurrection	2011	140/145
J. BeDuhn	"Myth of Marcion as Redactor"	2012	mid-2nd cent.
J. BeDuhn	The First New Testament	2013	mid-2nd cent.
M. Morehead	"Jerusalem Destroyed"	2013	mid-2nd cent.
A. Gregory	"Among the Apologists?"	2013	c. Justin Martyr
C. Mount	"Constructing Paul as a Christian"	2013	post-Pliny
J.B. Tyson	"Acts and the Apostles"	2013	mid-2nd cent.
J. Moles	"Time and Space Travel in Luke-Acts"	2013	100/110
R. Carhart	"Second Sophistic and Paul in Acts"	2013	early 2nd cent.
J.S. Kloppenborg	"Literate Media in Christ Groups"	2014	early 2nd cent.
M. Vinzent	Marcion and the Dating	2014	140/145
D.R. MacDonald	Gospels and Homer, Luke and Vergil	2015	115/130
M. Vinzent	"Marcion's Gospel and the Beginnings"	2015	140/145
D. Landry	"Reconsidering the Date of Luke"	2015	"after 115"
M. Klinghardt	Das älteste Evangelium	2015/2020	mid-2nd cent.

Scholar	Abbreviated Title	Date	Lk2-Acts Date
J. BeDuhn	"New Studies of Marcion's Evangelion"	2017	mid-2nd cent.
D.R. MacDonald	Dionysian Gospel	2017	115
M. Klinghardt	"Marcion's Gospel"	2017	mid-2nd cent.
M.G. Bilby	"Pliny's Correspondence and the Acts"	2017	117/150
T.E. Phillips	"How Did Paul Become a Roman Citizen"	2017	post-Pliny
M. Klinghardt	"Marcion's Gospel"	2018	mid-2nd cent.
S. Matthews	"Does Dating Luke-Acts Second Century"	2018	100/130
M.G. Bilby	"Redactional and Imitational Layers"	2019	post-Pliny
M. Monier	Temple and Empire	2020	Trajanic
M. Monier & J.E. Taylor	"Tatian's Diatessaron"	2021	early 2nd cent.
C. Mount	"Acts", T&T Clark Handbook Paul	2022	130
Bilby & A. Lefteratou	"Dramatic Heist of Epic Proportion"	2022	Hadrianic

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The transfer of allegiance from paradigm to paradigm is a conversion experience that cannot be forced. — Kuhn 151

All of this reminds me of what a former Hebrew Bible faculty colleague had on his office door:

"The Pentateuch is a Post-Exilic Creation."

Yes, the Pentateuch had many pre-exilic sources, but a massive amount of post-exilic editorial work was what created the Pentateuch as a standardized collection. The Gospels that found their way into the early-orthodox canon are not fundamentally different. Thus, the same kind of sign should be posted on the office doors of critical New Testament scholars:

"The Canonical Gospels are Coordinated Mid-Second Century Early-orthodox Productions."

Hebrew Bible scholars have grown quite comfortable referring to: First Isaiah (an 8th century BCE layer) Second Isaiah (a 6th century BCE exilic layer), and Third Isaiah (a 5th century BCE post-exilic layer)

New Testament scholars, after a couple years of discomfort, will need to get used to similar, scientifically sound labels in our spoken and written work:

Matt One (Mt1) and Matt Two (Mt2)

Mark One (Mk1), Mark Two (Mk2), and Mark Three (Mk3)

Qn (or GPoor), Luke One (Lk1), and Luke Two (Lk2); and

John One (Jn1), John Two (Jn2), and John Three (Jn3)—not to be confused with the epistles

When and if new layers come to light in addition to these, then we can and will adjust accordingly.

Our labels and language must remain agile in order to reflect scientific reality.

[C]rises begin with the blurring of a paradigm and the consequent loosening of the rules for normal research. - Kuhn 84

# Hypothesis (v1.33): *Marcionism arose out of Joshua-centric Jewish ritual-communities as traumatized deference to Pliny killing christianos and as opposition to the Kitos War and bar Kochba revolts.*

For now we set forth this hypothesis and a few pages of reflections as the beginning of a significant line of research. We welcome other researchers to join. This hypothesis should be reasonable and uncontroversial to any objective student of history, but unfortunately, given the insularity of Church history from Roman history, Gospel studies from Classical studies, and the anti-semitic character of Christian scholarship on Marcion, it may be.

A brief overview of scholarship on both Pliny the Younger and Marcion suggests that scholars across disciplines have made little connection between these two figures of consequence, even though they were contemporaries whose life and work overlapped in Pontus. For classicists and historians of the Roman empire, overlooking Marcion in their treatments of Pliny is quite understandable, given the apparent lack of contemporaneous Roman accounts of the man.<sup>30</sup> Sherwin-White is something of an exception, briefly noting in his commentary on Pliny's famous letter about the Christians (*ep.* 10.96) that "the notorious Marcion, his contemporary, came from Sinope", citing Eusebius on this point.<sup>31</sup>

Connecting Pliny and Marcion has happened in fits and starts among historians of Christianity. Wilken's chapter on Pliny carefully narrates his journey east and then back west as legate and governor of the twin provinces of Bithynia-Pontus, but he only pauses briefly in his description of Sinope to mention that this "beautiful city on a peninsula in the Black Sea and one of the chief trading centers of the area... was also the home of Marcion, an early Christian heretic."<sup>32</sup> Harnack only passingly names Pliny in his 1921 book on Marcion,<sup>33</sup> and among the numerous mentions of Pliny in his encompassing history of early Christianity, Marcion goes almost entirely unmentioned.<sup>34</sup> Pliny is not to be found in the volume of Gerhard May's collected works on Marcion.<sup>35</sup> Moll's published dissertation on Marcion's life never mentions Pliny once, nor do Roth's dissertation and critical edition

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Among the works on Pliny that do not mention Marcion are William Melmouth and W.M.L. Hutchinson, *Pliny: Letters*, LCL, 2 vol. (London: William Heinemann: 1931–1935).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Adrian N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) 694. The citation of Eusebius is *Hist. eccl.* 4.23.185–186.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Robert Louis Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them*, 2d ed. (New Haven: Yale, 2003) 13.
 <sup>33</sup> Marcion: Das Evangelium vom Fremden Gott, 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, trans. J. Moffatt (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961) 1.69, 156, 180, 196, 230n2, 238, 359, 371; 2.3, 25, 94, 186–188, 210, 335. *V*briefly mentions Marcion on 2.188 in reference to Christian communities in Asia, including Sinope "the home of Marcion, whose father is said to have been the local bishop", citing Hippolytus in E (52.1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Greschat, Katharina and Martin Meiser, ed., *Gerhard May: Markion: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, VIEGM 68 (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2005).

of Marcion's Gospel, nor his several articles on Marcion.<sup>36</sup> Tyson's monograph on Marcion also never mentions Pliny.<sup>37</sup> Among Vinzent's several articles and books on Marcion, Pliny is only passingly mentioned.<sup>38</sup> Lieu mentions Pliny several times in her monograph, mainly to confirm the historical existence of Christians in Pontus and describe the general character of the province.<sup>39</sup> BeDuhn devotes one full page to Pliny's correspondence with Trajan as part of the introductory section on "Marcion's Homeland."<sup>40</sup> Of the treatments of Marcion surveyed thus far, Hoffmann gives the most thorough historical context, with several pages considering the letters of Pliny to understand Pontus and its Christian communities.<sup>41</sup> But even Hoffmann considers Pliny in relation to a pre-existing Marcionite movement, not as a key impetus for the direction of his life.

By and large, scholars have interpreted Marcion in light of his much later detractors, rather than in the context of the most significant political leaders and historical events of his own time. The detachment of the study of Marcion, his life, his piety, and his texts from the major policies, precedent-setting judgments, and official imperial correspondence *of his own local governor, the emperor Trajan's legate*—who also happens to be the first Roman on record to mention and kill *christianos*— is utterly bizarre and tantamount to historiographical malpractice.

By way of starting a new chapter in the quest for the historical Marcion, let me raise a series of Socratic questions informed by early second century CE Roman and Jewish historical studies.

What if Pliny was not mere background for Marcion's life, beliefs, and texts?

What if Marcion's efforts were clear responses to the major events and leaders of his time?

What if Jewish and Roman religionists alike cared less about right beliefs than proper ritual piety?

What if Marcion—by all accounts a wealthy benefactor—was not a deviant from the ritual practices of his correligionists in Pontus, but instead a fellow practitioner and major supporter of them?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Sebastian Moll, *At the Left Hand of Christ: The Arch-Heretic Marcion* (dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2009), published as *The Arch-Heretic Marcion* (WUNT 250; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010). Dieter T. Roth, *Towards a New Reconstruction of the Text of Marcion's Gospel: History of Research, Sources, Methodology, and the Testimony of Tertullian* (dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2009); *The Text of Marcion's Gospel* (Brill: Leiden, 2015); and many articles cited elsewhere in this work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Joseph Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts: A Defining Struggle* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Marcus Vinzent, *Christ's Resurrection in Early Christianity and the Making of the New Testament* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011) at 195 and 197 mentions Pliny's famous letter 10.96 in regard to early Christians commemorating the resurrection of Jesus early on Sunday mornings. Vinzent's several other writings on Marcion, including his major monograph, make no mention of Pliny.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Judith Lieu, *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic: God and Scripture in the Second Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2015) 102, 317–18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> BeDuhn, *First New Testament*, 15–16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> R. Joseph Hoffmann, *Marcion: An Essay on the Development of Radical Paulinist Theology in the Second Century*, AAR Academy Series 46 (Chico: Scholars, 1984) 15–19.

What if Marcion was initially a practitioner and supporter of the kosher and aniconic ritual practices in Pontus that occassioned public riots and trials under Pliny?<sup>42</sup>

What if Pliny's trials, verdicts, and public executions of *christianos* were traumatic and formative moments in the life of Marcion and his correligionists in Pontus?

What if Marcion was deeply troubled by news of the anti-Roman revolts of the Kitos War and the growing support for Simon bar Kochba?

What if Marcion thought that Luke-Acts (probably composed in Asia Minor) had taken the wrong approach to reconcile Pauline (Asia Minor) and Petrine (Rome) communities by keeping Jesus and his followers embedded in certain traditional forms of Jewish temple and ritual piety?

What if Marcion perceived Torah-devotion—especially during Hadrian's reign—as extremely dangerous, the sort of devotion that got Haninah ben Teradion and others killed?

What if Marcion—if he did actually visit Rome<sup>43</sup>—brought not only a gesture of benefaction, but also the form of ritual, textual, and philosophical piety that ritual communities in Pontus had developed to distance Joshua and Paul from the Torah study and ritual practices that Hadrian had outlawed?

What if Marcion was rejected by other Jesus-following Jewish messianics who sought to preserve post-Pharisaic Torah piety in Greek and updated and coordinated their Jesus narratives accordingly?

The ways had not yet parted. They were only starting to part, and not in two directions, but several. Joshua, Paul, and their first century followers were not "Christians". They were Jews. Some generations later, Marcion held a special devotion to Jesus and Paul, but that was not what led him to decouple ritual piety to Jesus from some traditional forms of Jewish ritual piety. Pliny did that, as did the emperor Trajan and Pliny's close friend and successor as governor of Bithynia-Pontus, Julius Cornutus Tertullus—the same oppositional figure likely evoked in Acts 24.<sup>44</sup> The anti-Jewish campaigns and pro-Hellenistic policies of the emperor Hadrian only reinforced this tendency.

<sup>44</sup> Bilby, "Pliny's Correspondence"; Phillips, "How Did Paul Become a Roman 'Citizen'?"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Marcus Vinzent has written an especially brilliant defense of Marcion's Jewishness along with a thorough overview of ancient sources and recent scholarly literature on the Jewishness not only of Jesus and Paul, but also of many early Christians throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> through 4<sup>th</sup> centuries. See "Marcion the Jew", *Judaïsme Ancien – Ancient Judaism* 1 (2013) 159–201, <u>doi.org/10.1484/J.JAAJ.1.103527</u>. On the kosher and conservative liturgical/ritual tendencies of Marcionite Christians (e.g., preserving the second century practice of giving milk and honey to the newly baptized, obviously evocative of Jewish promised land traditions), see Alistair Stewart-Sykes, "Bread and Fish, Water and Wine: The Marcionite Menu and the Maintenance of Purity", in Gerhard May and Katharina Greschat, ed., *Marcion and seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung*, TU 150 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 207–220. It should also be noted that Stewart-Sykes is the only one out of eighteen contributors to that volume on Marcion to mention—quite briefly—Pliny the Younger, and only with respect to the prevailing social pattern of separate seating for different groups in meal settings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> R. Joseph Hoffmann usefully summarized his previous argument for Marcion's journey to Rome as fictive and anachronistic, presuming an early-orthodox, universal, Rome-centered Petrine ecclesiastical authority that did not exist in his day; see "A New Preface to Marcion-Studies", in *Marcion: On the Restitution of Christianity* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2013) xi–xii.

Anachronism is the greatest barrier to clear historical understanding. When we use the word "Christians" in regard to Pliny's correspondence, we are not speaking of some separate non-Jewish or even para-Jewish religious group, nor a group with a clearly defined, coherent, and self-consistent set of beliefs. Instead, to say *christiani* in the time of Pliny was tantamount to saying "messianics", devoted followers of the last major messianic candidate in Jewish circles prior to the rise of Simon bar Kochba. When historians use the word "heretic" for Marcion, we are committing gross anachronism. There was no such thing yet as orthodoxy or Christianity as anything fixed, settled or separate from Judaism.

We have no evidence whatsoever that Marcion was considered by the co-religionists of his own time and region as an aberrant separatist in beliefs or practice. What little we can know of the historical Marcion from his later detractors, filtering out the polemical overlays, is that he was an educated Greek, a wealthy benefactor and a religious and intellectual leader. He inherited texts from a Jewish messianic movement and lived in an area with a significant Jewish population. For example, Aquila, a major translator of Hebrew scriptures into Greek and by later reputation a disciple of Akiva and relative of the emperor Hadrian, was also from Sinope. As a patron to Jesus-followers in Pontus, it stands to reason that Marcion was entrenched in the Jewish messianic practices, texts, and rituals that Pliny interpreted as both Dionysian and atheistic. In the aftermath of major public riots, Pliny began executing Marcion's correligionists. The trauma of those executions for Marcion and his messianic compatriots in Pontus must have been enormous. They would not and could not be the same.

In a previously published chapter, I have argued that Pliny and Marcion are both pivot-points between major redactional stages in the composition of both Luke and John.<sup>45</sup> Pliny was pivotal to Marcion, and both were pivotal to the editorial development of early-orthodox ritual texts, which maintained and expanded storied devotion to Jesus (as opposed to Simon bar Kochba) as a pacifist philosopher while stitching it together thoroughly with traditional Jewish ritual and textual piety.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> "First Dionysian Gospel: Imitational and Redactional Layers in Luke and John" in Mark G. Bilby, Michael Kochenash, and Margaret Froelich, ed., *Classical Greek Models of the Gospels and Acts*, CSNTCO 3 (Claremont: Claremont Press, 2018) 49–68, <u>doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3745622</u>.

#### 1.7. Primer on Distilling Scientifically Useful Signals Data

or, Why Scientific Confidence Requires Normalized Data, not Fuzzy Feelings

The scientist must, for example, be concerned to understand the world and to extend the precision and scope with which it has been ordered. That commitment must, in turn, lead him to scrutinize, either for himself or through colleagues, some aspect of nature in great empirical detail. — Kuhn 42

The nuance of Roth's 2015 critical reconstruction of Marcion's *Gospel* is impressive, to say the least. By our count, it has no fewer than eleven (!) indications for the relative confidence of restored wording: 1) **secure**, 2) *very likely*, 3) probable, 4) *possible*, 5) (precise wording not attested), 6) [likely present], 7) [may have been present], 8) [likely not present], 9) [may not have been present], 10) [possibly not present], and 11) [readings with ambiguous options]. And this does not count the additional indication for {uncertain word order}. The following snapshot of the first page of that reconstruction allows readers to see what this elevenfold continuum of confidence looks like in practice.

In the following reconstruction of Marcion's Gospel according to the sources, as has been the case throughout this volume, the chapter and verse numbers follow that of canonical Luke. Following the reference, italicized cross-references to the chapter and section of this monograph where a verse or pericope is discussed are provided within [brackets].

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1:1-2:52 [6.4.1; 8.1]—Not Present
3:1 [5.1; 6.4.1; 7.4.1; 8.2]—έν τῷ {ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτω} τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου
  Καίσαρος ἐπι τῶν χρόνων Ποντίου Πιλάτου...
3:2-20—Unattested [though indirectly attested as not present]<sup>5</sup>
3:21-4:13 [4.4.2; 6.4.1]-Not Present
4:14-15-Unattested
4:31 [5:3; 7.4.1; 8.4] — ... κατήλθεν [έφάνη may have appeared in the Antitheses]
  εἰς Καφαρναούμ πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας,... ἦν διδάσκων... ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ.
4:32 [4.4.1] — ... έξεπλήσσοντο δέ πάντες ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῆ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐν ἐξουσία ἦν ὁ
  λόγος αὐτου.
4:33-Unattested
4:34 [4.4.2] —... τί ήμιν και σοί Ἰησοῦ [Ναζαρηνέ may not have been present];
  ήλθες ἀπολέσαι ἡμας; οἶδα [σε likely present] τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ.
4:35 [5.4]—... ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς...
4:16 [5.2; 8.3] — ... Ναζαρέθ...
4:17-22—Unattested [and possibly not present]
4:23 [5.2; 8.3] — ... (ἰατρέ, θεράπευσον σεαυτόν)...
4:24-26-Unattested
[4:27 is found below before 17:14]
4:28—Unattested
4:29 [5.2; 8.3]—... ἐξέβαλον αὐτόν... ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἕως ὀφρύος τοῦ ὄρους...
         Dieter T. Roth, The Text of Marcion's Gospel (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 412.
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For the purpose of creating a maximalist critical edition of Ev/Lk1 and its main source (Qn), we do not need to replicate these indications. Instead, we need to take a scientific approach to data normalization and restoration. While our effort will be imperfect (as all prior critical editions are) and iterative, we hope it proves to be the most reliable, accurate, and consequential restoration of Ev yet attained, and the first restoration of Qn ever made. Despite the advice of Matthew 5.48, we refuse to let the perfect be the enemy of the good, or, if we might turn an Islamic phrase, to let the Mother of the Book keep us from the restoration of these books.

Scientifically speaking, ancient Gospels are essentially visualized audio scripts or transcripts. Therefore, to replay, sample, and compare them in a consistent, scientific way, we must treat them as textual recordings, i.e., as records whose data is imprinted with letters. A record with eleven different kinds of labels all over it describing its intricately careful reconstruction may be impressive, but it is unfortunately *unplayable*. Our critical edition began simply by distilling down these eleven indications to three binary, normalized datatypes, one positive, one positive-negative, and one negative:

- Regular font represents words that should be *played* or *read aloud* with reasonable confidence, words Roth judged as "secure", "very likely", "probable", "likely", or "likely present"
- [Brackets] represent words that should *not be read or played aloud* but merely visually noted on the record's middle label—words judged by Roth as "possible", "possibly not present", "may have been present", "may not have been present", where precise wording is not attested or ambiguous options are attested
- Readings designated by Roth as [likely not present] were simply left out of this edition, or *off the record*, so to speak

After this distillation, based on our own fresh analysis of relevant primary source texts, we have taken liberty to upgrade many words from bracketed [not read aloud] to regular font, to be read aloud. These upgrades are indicated by interpolation marks on either side of the 'word' or 'group of words'. Emendations based on explicitly attested words are indicated with dotted interpolation marks on either side of the 'word' or 'group of words'. Quite often, these upgraded and/or corrected words are clearly attested word for word in witnesses to Ev, whether in Greek, Latin, Syriac, or Armenian, and are often included in other editions of Ev (e.g., by Harnack, Klinghardt, Nicolotti, and/or implicitly in BeDuhn's English reconstruction). The stated reasons for Roth downgrading the reliability of words vary, but the explanations often convey one or more of the ten early-orthodox biased assumptions elaborated in the introduction. We instead hold to the rival set of Socratic assumptions about Ev, doing so ultimately in an honest and deliberate effort to allow the witnesses to Ev to speak for themselves about the text they knew firsthand. Still, we supply regular references to the technical discussions in Roth and other Ev editions so that readers can easily cross-check the relevant evidence.

Following a scientific, maximalist approach to data restoration, we also restore many words that do not appear in Roth's reconstruction of Ev. When restorations are based on *wording explicitly attested in established witnesses to* Ev, we indicate them with single angle markers on either side of the restored (word) or (group of restored words). When restorations are improvised based on Mk1 as a

major source of Ev /Lk1 and/or on receptors of Qn (Mk1) and/or Lk1/Ev (Mt1, Jn1, Jn2, Lk2, D or Codex Bezae, or other manuscript variants), we indicate such restorations with double angle markers on either side of the restored 《word》 or 《group of restored words》. We endeavor to detail in the footnotes the ways our restorations often align with those of other major Ev editors.

In the age of open data science, evidential scarcity can no longer veil fundamentalist prejudice. The data available for the *Gospel* of Marcion are not meager but rather abundant: over 700 distinct attestations by more than fifteen witnesses, hundreds of variants and thousands of non-variants among hundreds of Lk2 manuscripts, translations, and lectionaries, and 10,000s of interdependent parallel words across other gospel strata and early Christian texts. While patristic attestations do not exist for specific words in many Ev verses, that is no excuse for failing to make binary decisions (present or not present) and attempted restorations for *every verse and indeed every Greek word*. The divergent linguistic-syntactical, rhetorical, literary, topical, and sociological patterns established in material clearly attested as *present and as not present* must inform decision-making about what and how to *restore and not restore* other content. With underlying sources (Mk1 and Qn) and subsequent receptors (Mt1, Jn1, Jn2, Lk2, Mk2, Mt2, Mk3, GPet, GThom, etc.) clarified, restorations can and should be made in concert with them, informed by their respective histories of scholarship, which contain highly valuable guidance to help make judicious decisions about restoring the *Gospel* of Marcion. At the same time, Humanities scholars must accommodate and integrate Computational Linguistics to bring scientific objectivity and validation to all of these efforts.

Data opacity and sentimental static can no longer be used as a veil either. The public should insist that all recent editors of Ev and their publishers make all critical editions of Ev open access as normalized human- and machine-readable datasets. That will not only exponentially expand the readership and citations of these works, but more importantly serve the progress of science. Failing to do so is nothing less than apathy, ignorance, and/or cowardice.

On a closing note, given my oft-cited, grateful indebtedness to previous critical editions, I make a point of articulating the legal basis for my own. What follows is an iterative, self-archived critical edition that draws on several prior editions of Ev yet goes beyond them through a rigorous process of correction, distillation, augmentation, annotation, and translation, all for public use and scientific verification. All of this enacts a major transformative use for the benefit of scientific progress as enshrined in the US Constitution (art. I, § 8) and protected under the provisions of Fair Use in 17 U.S.C. § 107 (2012). The iterative versions of this work are archived under a CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 international license for nonprofit educational purposes. This work is also unique and transformative in providing the first ever reconstruction of Qn, careful delineation of Qn and Mk1 sources in and numerous later receptors of Ev; the first scientific analysis of the text of Marcion's *Gospel* to accommodate and effectuate the triangulation of signal transmissions (our scientific method for the historical sequencing of interdependent textual strata), and correct for Early-orthodox Signal Degradation (ESD).

#### Pensées sur la restauration des peintures et des évangiles

[I]f that scrutiny displays pockets of apparent disorder, then these must challenge him to a new refinement of his observational techniques or to a further articulation of his theories. — Kuhn 42

Great musea restore great works of art. Such is their province. Sometimes these restoration projects take years, even decades. During the process, the public typically cannot witness the painstaking work taking place behind the scenes minute by minute, hour upon hour, day after day. In recent years, however, musea have started inviting fascinated audiences to witness this divine drudgery.

My work to restore the third gospel stratum (Marcion's *Gospel* or Early Luke) and the first gospel stratum (Qn) has taken an enormous amount of time and will take far more. Still, I know at the core of my being that both connected restoration projects are worth every moment and effort spent.

While my restorations are not complete, I promised a public viewing of the progress, and so here it is. Any errors and omissions are my own fault. I fully acknowledge that there is far, far more painstaking work to be done and that the careful reflections and scrutiny of other professional textual restorationists can only improve my work, which is by necessity far from perfect.

Each day I stand in awe at the prior work of restoration done on Marcion's *Gospel* by my esteemed colleagues. While my ten Socratic assumptions and five foundational hypotheses have led to a very different restoration of Marcion's *Gospel* than those who came before me, I cannot commend them highly enough for the years of rigorous effort they made compiling and analyzing so many of the attestations to Marcion's *Gospel* and noting the contours of the scholarly debates. Their critical editions are crucial to an informed discussion of nearly every verse in Marcion's *Gospel*.

Be that as it may, it must be stated clearly and forcefully that my maximalist restoration provides a far more substantial and consequential public, scientific contribution than any prior restorations.

Space—both surrounding and internal—is highly significant in any presentation of art, including literary art. To identify content as "not present" in Marcion's *Gospel* is an indication of *space*, but where spaces are located is *enormously* consequential, since spaces themselves are *surpassingly* meaningful. While prior reconstructions often plot spaces *within* Marcion's *Gospel* as *lacunae*—that is, *later* removals from an *earlier and larger* work—I locate anything and everything "not present" in Marcion's *Gospel* as *external* and *subsequent* to it, not ever part of its composition or pre-history. This surrounding blank space brings the actual, historical work of literary art that was the Third Gospel into clear and elegant relief.

Passages, verses, and phrases Roth labeled as "not attested" or "attested but no wording can be gained" are another matter. Such notices sometimes entail that corresponding Lk2 content was not present, even if no witness to Marcion's Gospel passed on formal notice of such. At other times, however, we know for a certainty that unattested verses and/or words *were present* as part of *generally attested narratives*, even though we do not know *exactly* what each word of that unattested content was.

In a great painting, when figures are blurred or faded, it does not become the professional restorationist to throw up one's hands and tape pieces of paper over such spots with facile labels written in large letters: "paralytic here" or "leper here" or "tax collector here" or "centurion here." Instead, our solemn responsibility is to restore as much of the detail and color underneath as possible so as to bring back the artwork as close to its original state as possible. That is the essence of a maximalist approach to textual restoration. It entails making *consequential decisions* about *everything in an artwork*, both what to restore (as originally present even if not explicitly attested) and what not to restore (as originally not present and thus unattested). A professional restorationist cannot just say "I don't know" about some portion of her work; she must make decisions about everything that matters. When recovering an underlying historical-artistic reality in the service of the public, there is no unattested. There is only present or not present. Feelings of confidence may vary widely within one restorationist or among many, but what matters are the actual decisions made in each choice of line and color. Each decision becomes data, and data are the only path to scientific confidence.

Professional art-data restoration means becoming comfortable with making provisional and imperfect choices about detail and color. Such choices must be made in the service of the viewing public to give everyone the *best restoration attainable*. Such work requires technical knowledge, lest it devolve into mere whimsy or flights of fancy. It also requires a certain courage and artistic skill, improvising based on patterns seen clearly elsewhere, even when they run counter to conventional wisdom. Such work cannot be dismissed as idiosyncratic subjectivity or marginalized as mere conjecture, especially in this day of natural language processing, signals analysis and clustering, and machine learning to tackle text criticism, intertextual dependency, and voice recognition and disambiguation. The more actual data we feed our models, the more precisely we can test, refine, and hone them in cycles of continuous improvement. Our choices, however imperfect, must be made and remade and remade again to move us toward greater and greater precision and vocal fidelity in an iterative and collaborative process. Our methods must transform into a collective endeavor to build and re-build finely-tuned satellite dishes capable of detecting and reconstructing the distinctive voices echoing to us from our deep literary past, voices that come to the present us/humans through the past us/humans.

Simply refusing to supply any data for numerous chunks of a well-known and abundantly attested text may play well in historical and current religious studies scholarship, but it does not comport with scientific methods nor the advancement of scientific knowledge. Sophistic argumentative obfuscation and rhetorical hemming and hawing is commonplace in Biblical Studies as a means of keeping up appearances of professional decorum: exhibiting caution, bowing respectfully to other colleagues, remaining intellectually astute and dispassionate, and deferring to the history of scholarly erudition.

So what's a girl coder-scholar to do when nearly an entire field and its history of scholarship are radically unscientific and ideologically prejudiced in their assumptions, methods and conclusions? While I value caution, collegiality, the history of scholarship, and a certain kind of stoic rationalism, I value scientific progress, evidence, truth, and conclusions more. Many of our contemporary colleagues may never understand. Even so, I am persuaded that many of my contemporaries and the vast majority of my future colleagues—both in the Humanities and the Sciences—will. Here I stand:

with Open Science, Democratic Humanism, and a faith born of Deep Time. I can do no other than throw a digital inkwell at the reigning devil of Fundamentalist Capitalist Consumerist Christianity.

The day has come for a Scientific, Technological, and Humanist Reformation aimed directly at the core of Christianity, equipping a new generation of digital genealogists of gospel viruses, digital detectives peeling back editorial-mythological layers, digital geologists charting discrete yet shifting textual strata, digital coders using NLP and signals analysis to refine datasets into historical voices of near perfect clarity, digital paleographers fitting papyrus fragments into place within a global linked open data puzzle. The time has come to enlist the full panoply of scientific methods in Gospel studies in order to realize a skillful, bold, courageous, nuanced, and artistic vision aimed at recovering and restoring the earliest textual strata whose importance cannot be overstated in regard to the history of the last 2,000 years of global civilizations.

The evidence and scientific proofs summoned below show that Marcion's *Gospel* was the third major Gospel stratum created and popularized within the Joshua tradition. Objective analysis and scientific testing of my five hypotheses and all the related evidence will lead open and honest readers to an even more radical conclusion. The First Gospel created and popularized within the Joshua tradition supplied most of the content of the Third Gospel. Remove the content of the Second Gospel (Mk1) that found its way into the Third (Lk1), then remove the unique additions and edits made to the Third, and we are left with the First (Qn). Therefore, the fullest possible restoration of the Third Gospel stratum.

Let the careful, curious, encompassing yet always and happily imperfect work of restoration continue.

### How to Find and File Gospel Minority Reports

What then challenges him is the conviction that, if only he is skillful enough, he will succeed in solving a puzzle that no one before has solved or solved so well. Many of the greatest scientific minds have devoted all of their professional attention to demanding puzzles of this sort. — Kuhn 38

History is written by the victors, except when it isn't, and multiple witnesses are more reliable than a single witness, except when they aren't.

Like many rules, these truisms have exceptions. Sometimes history is written by the losers, and most of the time history cannot and should not be boiled down to a simple game of winners and losers. Sometimes minority witnesses are the most reliable and least biased, and most of the time events cannot and should not be limited to testimonies, one of several types of data sources.

Text criticism inclines us to follow the above rules rigidly, rules incapable of uncovering strata that existed historically prior to the canonized textual formation.<sup>46</sup> Retrieving the earliest gospel strata requires making an art and a science out of finding and filing credible minority reports. To do so, we must make use of three main evidentiary sources, three types of datasets:

**1. Patristic Polemical Testimonies**. Our most important guidance to uncover the earliest gospel strata is embedded in patristic testimonies, not just to canonical scriptures, but most especially to the *scriptures of their earliest opponents*. Our quest for veracity has to wade through the vitriol. To borrow a saying from Robert Wilken, the early-orthodox were progressive, creating new syntheses, compromises, and solutions. Their opponents were sometimes the dogged traditionalists.

**2. Extant Gospel Manuscripts**. The manuscripts (including early translations and lectionaries) of Lk2 are crucial sources to find and file minority reports about Lk1. As Klinghardt has noted, over 75% of over 500 variants peculiar to Lk1 are attested as minority readings in the manuscripts of Lk2.<sup>47</sup> *Caveat:* collating gospel manuscripts without taking seriously the former and latter types of datasets is doomed to circular logic that does not open itself to the scientific reality of the historical data.

**3. Neighboring Gospel Strata**. We need to start thinking of each early gospel substratum as an evolutionary transition species. With a mere shoulder blade, a trained paleontologist can reconstruct an entire skeleton and make 3D visualizations of a newly discovered species. While textual RNA is inherently more susceptible to change and reorganization than biological RNA, the analogy is still useful. The more we can reconstruct the full breadth and detail of surrounding gospel strata, the easier it is to locate, sequence, and reconstruct each given stratum. To put it differently, we are very unlikely to find the earliest gospel compilations hiding in the ground of an archeological dig or in an unmarked manuscript on a library or monastery shelf, but data science makes it possible for us to clarify distinct

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Matthias Klinghardt, "Marcion's Gospel and the New Testament: Catalyst or Consequence?" *NTS* 63 (2017) 318–23 at 322–23; <u>doi.org/10.1017/S0028688516000461</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 322.

substrata in comparison with their closest historical neighbors based not only on vocal patterns, but also patterns of sourcing, preservation, transformation, and transmission. The earliest gospel strata are *preserved and audible (even as re-samplings) in later, better attested textual formations.* Scholars only need to learn how to sample and restore these scientifically.

That should be an encouraging thought, not just for scientists but also persons devoted to Jewish and Christian traditions. As the original textual RNA of the Joshua movement, Qn has been hiding in plain sight in the Gospel of Luke (Lk2) now for nearly 1900 years. While there are numerous edits that Lk2 made to QnLk1, and some edits that Lk1 made to Qn, through this transmission process Qn was still preserved with a high degree of fidelity. The parent has lived on through its children, much of its genome preserved across theirs.

Thus, whether we are aware of it or not, we still encounter Qn by and large whenever we read the Gospel of Luke in our Bible. It's merely a matter of knowing which verses and words preserve the earlier RNA. To a lesser extent, this is also true of the canonical gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, as well as several non-canonical gospels, all of which preserved unique genetic elements of Qn.

So while ours will be the first generation in 1900 years to restore Qn fairly close to its original fidelity using data science methods, ours is certainly not the first generation to encounter Qn.

When Francis of Assisi heard the Gospels, he heard Qn. What moved him most within the Gospels was Qn. What transformed his life was Qn. It is safe to say the same about Pope Francis I. It was Francis of Assisi, and beyond and behind him, Qn that has inspired the bold and creative humanist inclusivity that the Holy Father has modeled in word and action.

The same was true 1000 years before when Saint Anthony the Great heard the words that led him to sell his possessions, devote his life to prayer, and become the founder of Christian desert monasticism. He heard Qn and lived Qn.

The same was true in the 20th century with Dorothy Day, Mahatma Ghandi, and Martin Luther King, Jr., who all heard in Qn the teachings of non-violence and non-retaliation and found in them the inspiration and methods for transforming whole societies and nations.

While for the purposes of developing testable, open scientific hypotheses and methods, for public awareness, and a touch of sensationalism, we have spoken of finding, retrieving, and restoring "the lost Gospel of Qn", in many ways Qn was never lost.

It's always been there, speaking to us, inspiring us, waiting for us to discover and rediscover not just as a text but even more so as a kind of philosophy, a way of thinking and living, the transformative seeds of humanist social movements.

The canonical gospels contain the seeds of their origins, their destruction, and their rebirth.

## 1.8. Signal Triangulation Tracing Method to Sequence Historical-Textual Strata

Any new interpretation of nature, whether a discovery or a theory, emerges first in the mind of one or a few individuals. It is they who first learn to see science and the world differently, and their ability to make the transition is facilitated by two circumstances that are not common to most other members of their profession. Invariably their attention has been intensely concentrated upon the crisis-provoking problems; usually, in addition, they are men so young or so new to the crisis-ridden field that practice has committed them less deeply than most of their contemporaries to the world view and rules determined by the old paradigm. — Kuhn 144

A big part of the challenge we face, especially in the study of Gospel texts, is that:

1) the main content does not offer clear, external historical references as to time of composition and/or editing (very unscientific of them, not to date and time stamp and version control their work!); and

2) manuscripts tend to fabricate and improvise anachronistic historical references, such as putting the names of legendary leaders, "Mark", "Matthew", "Luke", "John", "Peter", etc., at the beginning (incipits) of texts within manuscripts, attributions to singular great authors that the textual data itself may not merit.

Thus, without clear external historical references and yet burdened by mythic/traditional notions of singular apostolic authors, Gospel scholars often give up on dealing with questions of actual historical importance.

For those of us who do try to get at the history of and behind these texts, we still have not learned how to approach our work in a truly scientific way.

Attempting to show that one text copied another is not enough on its own to prove how those two texts are related historically. Right now I can quote or paraphrase a portion of a 2000 year old text next to me, but that does not put me into a close relationship of historical proximity to that text.

Unfortunately, most of the analysis and discourse of Biblical studies is structured in terms of mere two text comparisons. We look primarily for simple dependencies, not layered dependencies.

Even when we add a third or fourth text to the mix in a parallel set—as we so often do in our synopses and academic literature—we still find the task of persuading our colleagues of our reconstructions difficult if not impossible. It all seems so subjective, and our entrenchments in traditional schools of thought (Q, Farrer-Goulder, Matthean priority, Matthean posteriority, etc.) only makes it worse.

To be scientific and develop historically consequential proofs, we need to come back to basics. How do scientists date stuff, especially old stuff?

Well, there are two kinds of phenomena in the world: dead things and living things.

Dead things degrade. They decay. That is why and how scientists can date them reliably, using carbon dating. The older it is, the more degradation can be detected. Just like telescopes look at the deep past of the stars, carbon dating looks back at the deep time of our planet and its life forms.

Living things, however, flourish. They copy themselves. They multiply. Whenever they multiply, they carry information about their origins. That information often transforms as it is transmitted or reproduced.

Evolution meet Gospels.

This scientific life-principle applies fully to *living texts, especially sacred texts* whose heirs are committed to reproduce them, but who also cannot help but transform them in the reproducing.

But how can you chart sequential relationships in the editing and multiplication of texts in a scientific way? Genetics are one thing. But texts are something different.

In a phrase, a well-designed three-point signals analysis.

The best way to establish historical relationships among a group of interdependent yet otherwise undatable source and receptor strata, following the principles of science (particularly math and physics), is to start from a three-point comparison.

Text 1-Text 2-Text 3

The hypothesis itself is built into the chronological ordering of the texts: Earlier–Middle–Later.

To put that in signals terms, that would be:

Node 1—Node 2—Node 3

The hypothesis would posit: Starting Signal Generator-Signal Mediator-End Signal Receiver

To prove the sequential relationships of interdependence among these texts, you must find and analyze three types of signal transmissions.

It is essentially the same as this scientific thought experiment. You are tasked with determining the relative geographical position of signal station locations. You do not have GIS or satellites, but you do have access to transmission systems and signals. In this experiment, all signals can only travel one direction. How would you approach this problem?

You would do so by grouping transmission stations into subsets of three and then start running a bunch of signals, looking for *three specific types of transmission receptions*.

Transmission Type 1. Node 2 receives a transmission directly from Node 1 ( $1 \rightarrow 2$ ; direct transmission)

Transmission Type 2. Node 3 receives a transmission from Node 1 independent of (or mediated but unaffected by) Node 2 ( $1 \rightarrow 3$ ; bypassed transmission)

Transmission Type 3. Node 3 receives a transmission originating from Node 1 that was transformed, repackaged or piggybacked by a transmission from Node 2 ( $1 \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow 3$ ; synthesized transmission)

Once you have repeated confirmation of these three signal transmission types, you have strong proof that Node 2 is somewhere between Node 1 and Node 3. The more data you run, the stronger your proof and the more certain your hypothesis.

For textual signals that we endeavor to map across time rather than space, you would do essentially the same thing. Select and isolate a subset of three textual strata with obvious interdependent relationships and arrange them in parallel according to your hypothesis of their historical, sequential relationships, from earlier/originator (Stratum 1) to middle/mediator (Stratum 2) and finally to last/receiver (Stratum 3).

Reception Type 1. Stratum 2 receives/copies Stratum 1 ( $1 \rightarrow 2$ ; direct transmission)

Reception Type 2. Stratum 3 receives/copies Stratum 1 independent of (or mediated yet unaffected by) Stratum 2 ( $1\rightarrow 3$ ; bypassed transmission)

Reception Type 3. Stratum 3 receives/copies Stratum 1 as transformed, repackaged, or piggybacked by Stratum 2 ( $1\rightarrow 2\rightarrow 3$ ; synthesized transmission)

Once you have detected *all three reception types*, well, then you've got it.<sup>48</sup> You have established a historical, sequential relationship among these strata. Again, the more evidence and data you run in your analysis, the higher your confidence can be in your hypothesis.

Try it in reverse, and it would not work, because the mediator stratum does not piggyback backwards in time, from a later stratum to an earlier stratum. The signal synthesizing process can only move one direction in time: forward. That forward directionality is what makes historical sequencing possible. All living things, including sacred texts, are time-bound.<sup>49</sup>

Showing *exactly* how far apart chronologically a group of three interrelated textual strata might be is something else entirely. At some point, externally verifiable points of reference must come into play.

For the Gospels, the destruction of the 2nd Temple of Jerusalem in 70 CE is certainly one of those external events. A close runner-up is *christiani* facing trial and execution under Pliny the Younger

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> In v1.8 and earlier of this book proposal I had incorrectly stated that we needed to identify a fourth type: an independent signal from Node 2 to Node 3. Proof of that transmission signaling is already accounted for by the first type (direct, unmediated transmission) and third type (synthesized or piggybacked transmission). Furthermore, seeing *independent* transmission between Node 2 and Node 3 is not necessary to show that there is in fact transmission between Node 2 and Node 3. It is already evident and built into the *dependent* transmission running from Node 1 to Node 3 *through* Node 2. In v2.19 we added "(or mediated yet unaffected by)" for reception type 2 to clarify the method further. In v2.20 we clarified the description of the types.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> *A note to smart, doubtful Gospel scholars.* Some of you at this point may be thinking about those crafty scribes who liked to erase, change, or add elements to texts and muddy the picture. While that is certainly a factor, scribal tampering—especially with ancient texts—would not prevent or falsify the scientific historical-temporal sequencing of strata. Whatever examples of tampering might show up in an analysis, the data—especially if you are dealing with dozens or hundreds of textual signals or tradition-receptions and well-defined earlier strata—will reliably point in a clear sequential direction. The early-orthodox and orthodox scribes did love to tamper with, update, and standardize manuscripts, but they were not capable of making time-bound historical strata relationships run in reverse! In fact, a well-designed strata delineation and signal tracing tool could detect scribal tampering, turning up those very signals that do not match the transmission patterns of all the other signals.

around 110 CE, the first clear mention of anything of this sort in the historical records. As an imperial legate to Bithynia-Pontus, Pliny's records are exquisitely thorough and historically anchored, far beyond anything the early *christiani* wrote. Pliny's correspondence provides not only our first reference to the word "christian" outside of internal Jesus tradition texts, but also the first extant reference to that label in any text.<sup>50</sup> Besides the mention of James the brother of Jesus by Josephus (*Ant.* 20.9), Pliny is the first external source to mention anything about the later followers of Jesus. While Tacitus and Suetonius write about *christus / chrestus / christiani / chrestiani* (whatever they intended to convey by their inconsistent terminology), they are both subsequent to Pliny, knew Pliny quite well, had read his work, and had their own political agendas guiding their writing and rewritings of history.<sup>51</sup> (Roman officials talked together, even if they did not always know about what they spoke.) Therefore, Pliny is a major historical anchor for our dating of the early Joshua-tradition texts. The Kitos War of 115–117 CE is probably the third most important anchor, and the Bar Kochba revolts in 132–135 CE next. (Noticing the recurring pattern of revolt against Roman imperial authority in the eastern provinces? That should explain quite a bit of the RNA of Qn for you. But I digress.)

So, three-way signal reception analysis and the occasional external historical marker—that's essentially how we can date the relative sequence and interdependent relationships of the various Gospel textual strata.

Author's caveat and disclosure: So, to be perfectly honest, I have no idea if the method I have elaborated above is already a well-known thing in the hard sciences or not or if I've come up with something genuinely new. I doubt it's new. It seems too obvious if you just think like a scientist and not a religious ideologist. Fortunately, I loved math and science a lot as a young person before I ever took an interest in religious studies, so this was just what made sense to me as I started to think creatively about solving these historical-textual puzzles. Natural Language Processing might dovetail with the above approach or provide a completely different angle. It's precisely because I am not an expert in the domains of Signals Analysis, CL, and NLP that I have reached out to experts to advise and help us. If you know of interested experts, please send them our way. Also, while I obviously trust my own carefully considered hypotheses and conclusions enough to put them out there publicly (risking looking like a fool if I'm wrong, yet scientifically confident I am on the right track), I trust the shared analysis and conclusions of the whole community of scientific experts and authorities more than I trust myself. So I will learn and adjust as I go and make corrections and even confessions/retractions if and as needed. Every version of this iterative book has been permanently

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Given that Acts and 1 Peter date after Pliny, and that the reference to the "tribe of the Christians" in the Testimonium Flavianum of Josephus' *Antiquities* is likely a later Christian interpolation, Pliny's reference to "Christians" is the first mention in any extant text, whether external or internal to Judaism and nascent Jewish-Christianity, of that term.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> For a convincing case on Tacitus depending on Pliny the Younger for his information about Christians, see Christopher M. Hansen, "The Problem of *Annals* 15.44: On the Plinian Origin of Tacitus's Information on Christians," *Journal of Early Christian History* 13.1 (2023), 1–19, <u>doi.org/10.1080/2222582X.2023.2173628</u>.

archived in an Open Science repository, so scholars and historians can scrutinize, if they wish, the whole history of the conversation.

*Overall take:* Verifiability, transparency, and reproducibility are foundational to legitimate scientific discourse, method, and practice. That is exactly what we need to start bringing to the historical-critical study of the signals and strata of the Gospels.

#### 1.9. Criteria for Evaluating Gospel Strata Sequential Hypotheses

How are they able, what must they do, to convert the entire profession or the relevant professional subgroup to their way of seeing science and the world? — Kuhn 144

Having had a few months to reflect on my signal triangulation method, I have realized that it needs more nuance and testing with the help of experts in Natural Language Processing and Signals Analysis. Furthermore, it is only one tool, just one part of a robust scientific method, not its entirety. The section below (Demonstration of Criteria for Evaluating Gospel Strata Sequential Hypotheses) shows why. The three tag types are certainly useful and illuminating in practice, and I will continue using them accordingly. When strata are placed in the correct sequential order, the tags function as they should and indicate valid signal transmissions and syntheses. However, when strata are not placed in their correct sequential order, then the three tags yield false indications. A broader set of objective, verifiable scientific methodological criteria for sequencing strata is thus necessary.

To that end, I have compiled a more expansive set of twelve criteria that together provide a more comprehensive and reliable scientific method for sequencing textual strata manually.<sup>52</sup> I anticipate that these criteria and others can and will eventually be developed as algorithms and further nuanced via machine learning. As is evident, nine of these criteria can be evaluated regardless of what hypothetical sequence is used for strata. The other three criteria can be evaluated properly only within the context of a given hypothetical sequence. The section below entitled, "Demonstration of Criteria for Evaluating Gospel Strata Sequential Hypotheses", will prototype manually how both sequence independent and sequence dependent criteria play out in practice.

To attain maximal confidence in a hypothetical strata sequence, all of these criteria should be evaluated at every level, from verses to parallel sets to entire strata. There will certainly be exceptions and oddities, but the patterns that prove most consistent across the most criteria and at all levels are the most likely to reflect valid strata sequence hypotheses. The triangulated tags that seemed problematic on reconsideration actually fit quite nicely into criterion #11.

For the purposes of demonstrating the usefulness of this more encompassing scientific method, we focus initially on one parallel set: A078, the Beatitudes, a set very well attested for Ev. Awarding one point for each criterion, we find that Ev almost certainly contains the earliest vocal stratum. It 1) has distinctive vocal traits that are evident in other strata; 2) is tied for the briefest number of signals in the set; 3) is the least dense stratum at an average signal word count of 9.8; 4) exhibits the simplest conceptuality of all strata; 5) has the fewest transitional and clarifying terms; 6) has a clear sequence match in a later stratum; 7) points to the lowest Socio-Economic Status; 8) exercises honor and shame in general terms rather than lionizing or vilifying specific groups or characters; 9) does not draw on

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Some of these criteria have been articulated previously both in Biblical text criticism and in Computational Linguistics. In future versions of this LODLIB we plan to review prior scholarship and determine how our twelve criteria fit within prior scholarship. In v1.45 we relabeled the eleventh criterion from "Source Alternation" to "Concentrated Alternation" and modified the description accordingly.

any secondary intertexts; 10) has none of its words omitted across later strata; 11) exhibits an authentic source switching pattern from a primary source base text to an occasional alternate/secondary source; 12) exhibits some signal weakness in later strata.

As evidenced by some of the same criteria, Mt1 is probably the second stratum and Lk2 the third. Mt1 has 1) distinctive/signature terms ("reward", "righteousness", etc.) partly preserved in Lk2, while distinctive/signature Lk2 terms ("now", "that day") are not evident in Mt1; 2) the second lowest linguistic density with an average signal word count of 12.4 as compared to Lk2 having 14.6; 10) a relatively modest number of Mt1 words missing in Lk2 (8 in 4 places), compared to Lk2 having a high number of words missing in Mt1 (19 in 6 places).

While our research has turned up other patterns, these are not yet sufficiently tested or independent as to be listed among the useable criteria. For example, we have observed in many places a pattern of **grafting reinforcement**. Like a grafted plant or a scabbed over wound, surplus redactional activity often accrues in places where two sources are being synthesized.

For now, though, let us simply enumerate our twelve criteria.

# Sequence Independent Criteria

**1. Identifying Signatures.** Each vocal stratum has signature elements that exhibit greater proportional density in that stratum compared to all others. These are the identifying signatures of that vocal stratum. Any given text may contain multiple vocal strata accumulated through successive redactions. Natural Language Processing and/or manual signature detection tagging and clustering can delineate distinct vocal strata within a text. Once a unique and consistent voice has been identified, its signature elements should be noted as less likely to appear in strata prior to the signature stratum and more likely to appear in strata subsequent to the signature stratum.

**2. Expansion/Multiplication**. Signals tend to expand and/or multiply over time and across strata. Generally speaking, the earlier the stratum, the fewer the signals; the later, the more. Signal tracing maps the expansion and/or multiplication of signals across strata from the least to the most.

**3. Rhetorical Density**. Signals tend to become more densely worded over time and across strata. Earlier strata tend to have consistently thinner and shorter signals, while later strata tend to have consistently denser and longer signals. Signal tracing maps the thickening of signals across strata.

**4. Conceptual Density**. Signals tend to complexify conceptually over time and across strata. Signal tracing maps the nuancing of ideas across strata from the simplest to the most complex.

**5. Transitional Smoothness**. The earlier the stratum, the more abrupt and staccato the transitions within and between signals and episodes, and the fewer the clarifying, transitional, and staging terms used. Conversely, the later the stratum, the clearer, smoother and more elaborate the transitions and the more clarifying, transitional, and staging terms are employed. Redaction is like sandpaper; the more times a text has been worked over, the smoother its edges and connections.

**6. Sequence Preservation.** The earlier the stratum, the more likely its signal order will be replicated in one or more later strata. Conversely, the later a stratum, the less likely it will yield a sequence match with other parallel signal sets.

**7. Upward Mobility**. Signals over time and across strata tend to exhibit more features corresponding to higher levels of education, class, wealth, rhetorical training, and public discourse, both for the narrative itself and for characters portrayed sympathetically and self-reflexively within the narrative.

**8.** Honor / Shame Delineation. Signals over time and across strata tend to elevate the reputation and status of protagonists, degrade the reputation and status of rivals or antagonists, and create increasing separation and differentiation between the honored and the shamed/displaced, along with justifications or obfuscations of prior associations, events, or sayings later considered problematic.

**9. Intertextual Hybridity.** Signals tend to complexify intertextually over time and across strata, pulling from more strata, from more diverse locations within those strata, and from more diverse sources and models in general, both internal and external to the community. Signal tracing involves mapping the intertextuality of signals across strata from the least to the most hybridized.

## Sequence Dependent Criteria

**10. Element Preservation**. The earlier the stratum, the more likely that most or all of its elements will be preserved (even if transformed) somewhere across later strata, and the less likely that any of its elements will be missing across all later strata. Conversely, if a later stratum is placed early in a hypothetical reconstruction, it will exhibit high numbers of words skipped and numerous locations where words are skipped across later strata.

**11. Concentrated Alternation**. Synoptic gospel stratum transmitters exhibit consistent, selective, and concentrated patterns of source switching, typically between a primary source and one or more secondary sources at a time. If the hypothetical strata sequence exhibits source switching that is choppy, piecemeal, fragmented, diffuse, and/or haphazard, or outside of the transmitter's normal pattern, then a strata temporal sequence hypothesis is less likely to be valid.

**12. Occasional Weakness**. Authentic human transmissions exhibit occasional degradation, loss, or weakness in later strata. If a hypothetical signal source never exhibits signal degradation, loss, or weakness in later receptors, i.e., if all of its signals and all of the content of those signals seem to exhibit strong and clear reception in all receptors, then the hypothesis is less likely to be valid.

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1.10. Five Hypotheses to Recover and Restore the First Gospel (the New Q or Qn)

in this scholarly *vade mecum* we intentionally build our scientific hypotheses in a scaffolded way with each one supporting the next moving from the least controversial to the most provocative hypotheses about Ev with each hypothesis the alterations to Q become more and more profound and transformative we ask readers to test the strength of our edifice from bottom to top and to climb courageously as high with us as you feel you can go Hypothesis 1. <u>The vast majority of attested materials in Ev consistently reflects a simple two source</u> program, drawing on Early Mark (Mk1) and Qn, modestly editing and paraphrasing them, and rotating back and forth between them with minimal redactional stitching. Evaluating this hypothesis involves a *preliminary level of trust* in the reconstruction of Ev as an accurate and thorough representation of Early Luke (Lk1). Building this first level of confidence will generate some excitement and momentum and likely lead some scholars to take Ev seriously for the first time as of potentially significant value to the historical debates about Q.

Hypothesis 2. When Luke has parallels with Matthew and/or *Gos. Thomas* and those parallels are explicitly corroborated by Ev, then this confirms their existence in Qn. This is especially helpful for passages that the *Critical Edition of Q* committee marked as uncertain or stricken. This hypothesis involves an *initial level of trust* in the reconstruction of Ev as an accurate representation of Lk1. Of note here is that wording within confirmed Qn passages is often very densely and confidently attested in Ev. Climbing to this floor will open new views and insights about Ev and its place in the composition history of early Jesus texts and traditions.

Hypothesis 3. When Ev attests to the presence of Qn passages and verses in Luke, the order of these materials is preferable to the ordering of Qn materials in Matthew. The ordering of Qn based on Ev involves a *moderate level of trust* in its reconstruction as an accurate representation of Lk1. Lk2 only confirms this trust, inserting new content into Lk1 but still preserving most of the content and order of its base text. Early Matthew (Mt1) by comparison extensively recompiles and reorders materials from its sources. This floor rises above current notions about the order of Q and reconfigures its structural lines.

Hypothesis 4. When Matthew has a parallel with Luke that is *not present* in Ev, this is *not Qn*, and when it is *unattested* for Ev, it is *probably not Qn*. This hypothesis involves a *high level of trust* in the reconstruction of Ev as an accurate, thorough representation of Lk1. This is where our solution to the Synoptic Problem dovetails deeply with key passages and arguments outlined by proponents of the Farrer-Goulder hypothesis showing how the text of Luke does in fact depend on that of Matthew at many points. While the view from here may be disconcerting for traditional Q scholars, feeling like nothing less than open surrender to sworn enemies, those who climb to this height will savor some stunning views and see the Synoptic Problem in a completely new way.

Hypothesis 5. When Ev has a parallel in Luke that is not in Matthew or Mark, then these are *additions to Qn*. This hypothesis involves *the highest level of trust* in the reconstruction of Ev as an accurate and thorough representation of Early Luke. Essentially, this idea involves accepting that the textual strata of Matthew omitted parts of Q that appear comfortably in both Lk1 and Lk2. While there is no reason to think this would be problematic, it certainly runs counter to centuries of scholarly habituation and discourse considering Matthew and Lk2 as the primary bases for reconstructing Q. This is where the Ev solution reaches its most exhilarating heights, where completely new horizons appear for the study of the Gospels and the earliest Joshua traditions and the history of his followers.

## 1.10.1. Hypothesis 1: Two Sources of Ev

By Neue Quelle, "the New Q", or Qn we mean the actual and ancient Q, i.e., the closest possible reconstruction of the earliest gospel as that text was known and circulated. Based on the evidence that follows, Qn was in fact an actual text evidencing both linguistic and thematic coherence, indeed far more such coherence than scholars up to this point have conceived. Qn consisted of a compilation of Joshua's sayings, teachings, and fables, but not just these sorts of materials. Qn was a sayings source, but not *merely* a sayings source. That sapiential *a priori* assumption has overdetermined previous scholarly accounts of its contents. Nevertheless, Qn was indeed an *early and crucial source* in the production of both the first major edition of Matthew (Mt1) and the first major edition of Luke (Lk1), i.e., the text that has come down to us as Marcion's *Gospel* or Ev.

The above paragraph may cause inspiration for some and consternation for others. We set it forth merely as a miniature model of the building plan that we aim to construct. For us to be successful and convincing, for us to build something that moves minds and stands the test of time, it will take careful planning, detailed blueprints, rigorous labor, and even some artistry to realize our vision one floor at a time. First, we must begin from the firmest of foundations.

We envision this hypothesis as the first stage in the construction of a new building. As such, it requires nothing less than the complete demolition of the condemned building of Synoptic Gospel and Q Studies, tearing it down to its foundations, only then starting to build it back up one floor at a time. (For Q scholars we have just offended, please know that the new building will still be a Q-type building in the end, just more streamlined, accommodating, and structurally sound.)

Now that the metaphorical work of demolition is done, we need to clean out the site and then inspect and test the foundations thoroughly, specifically to find out what foundations are really there in Ev. The instrument we will use to carry out this inspection is a simple yet nuanced hypothesis, our first of five.

Hypothesis 1. <u>The vast majority of attested materials in Ev consistently reflects a simple two source</u> program, drawing on Early Mark (Mk1) and Q, modestly editing and paraphrasing them, and rotating back and forth between them with minimal redactional stitching.<sup>53</sup>

Non-scientific bias always ultimately falls victim to circular reasoning. Scientific truths are selfevident. Scientifically testable hypotheses that reflect reality can be proven and confirmed in innumerable ways. Such proofs inevitably demonstrate statistical significance.

In the sections below starting with the "Cluster Analysis of Markan and Lukan Passages", we begin development of an expanding set of proofs of the first hypothesis using an array of scientific methods and approaches that treat the gospels strictly as data, as past phenomena that can be scientifically compiled, compared, analyzed, and tested for statistically significant correlations.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> In v1.29 we changed "Mark" to "Early Mark (Mk1)" to clarify and nuance this hypothesis, though we had indicated two strata of Mark (Mk1 and Mk2) in the first release of the LODLIB.

#### 1.10.2. Hypothesis 2: Confirming Qn from Ev

Now that we have cleared out the basement, as it were, and thoroughly inspected its structure and strength, we are ready to move forward with the construction of the ground level of our building. Most of this floor is built simply by confirming most of the content that traditional Q scholars have posited was part of Q, i.e., passages where the *Critical Edition of Q* overlaps considerably or entirely with parallel passages in Marcion's *Gospel*. For close analysis of these confirmations, see the Comparative Restoration. For a quick summary of *CEQ* passages confirmed in Marcion's *Gospel*, see the *CEQ* Comparison with Sources of the Third Gospel Stratum (Marcion's *Gospel*).

Now that most of the ground floor is built, we can complete it with some contributions to traditional Q scholarship by making use of our second hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2. <u>When Luke has a parallel in Matthew and/or *Gos. Thomas* and those parallels are explicitly corroborated by Ev, then this confirms their existence in Qn. We regard this hypothesis as requiring only an *initial level of trust* in the critical reconstruction of Ev as an accurate representation of Early Luke.</u>

Our findings show that several passages about which Q scholars have gone back and forth are often attested densely and with high degrees of confidence in Ev. We supplement the confirmations with word counts based on Roth's critical edition of Ev.

SQE. Shorthand	Matt	CEQ	GThom	Ev word counts <sup>54</sup>
A079. Curses	5.3–12 <sup>55</sup>	6. <del>24-26</del>		6.24–26. <b>8 <i>27</i></b> 3 <i>4</i>
A176. Following Joshua	8.18-22 <sup>56</sup>	9.[[ <del>61_62</del> ]]		9.61–62. <b>1</b> 4 ( <i>5</i> )
A188. Beelzebub dispute	12.29	11.[[ <del>21 22</del> ]]	35	11.21–22. <b>4</b> ( <i>1</i> )
A190. Benediction		11.?27–28?	79.1-2	11.27b–28. <b>8</b> <i>15 1</i> ( <i>2</i> )
A199. Inheritance division		12. <del>13-15</del>	72.1-2	12.13–14. <b>5</b> 11
A200. Rich fool		12.[[ <del>16–20</del> ]], <del>21</del>	63.1-3	12.16, 18–20. <b>17</b> <i>1</i> 1 <i>2</i> ( <i>2</i> )
A203. Be watchful	24.46, 42;	12.[[35-38]]	21.7	12.35–38. <i>14</i> 3
	$25.1 - 13^{57}$			
A204. Family divisions	10.34-36	12.[[49]]	10	12.49a. <b>5</b> 1
A216. Great supper	$22.5^{58}$	14.?19–20?	64.2–9	14.19–20. <b>3</b> (1)(1)
A216. Great supper	22 <b>.</b> 10–14 <sup>59</sup>	14. <del>22, 24</del>		14.22, 24. <i>4</i> 1
A234. Kingdom within		17:[[20]]	113.1-2	17.20. <b>8</b> 11
A234. Kingdom within	24.23	17:[[21]]	3.1-3,	17.21. <i>14 1</i>
			113.3-4	

Two Witness Parallel CEQ Candidates Confirmed as Qn

<sup>55</sup> The Matthean beatitudes (5.3–12), like the Lukan (6.20b–23), are certainly not verbatim parallels to the Curses of Luke 6.24–26, but they are in fact *topically inverted* and grammatically consistent parallels to them. It is partly for this reason that the Curses have been treated ambiguously in Q scholarship, sometimes as authentic to Q and sometimes not, depending on whether a given scholar or group opts for Matthew or Luke as more authoritative in reconstructing Q at this point.

<sup>56</sup> Matthew's account has Jesus responding to two people about the sacrificial commitment involved in being a follower of Jesus, whereas Lk2 has three people. While the third exchange in Lk2 does not have a direct textual parallel in Matthew, the confirmation of the overall back and forth conversation with multiple persons on the same subject has led to Luke 9.61–62 at least being considered as a candidate by Q scholars.

<sup>57</sup> See also Mark 13.33–34, 37, 35–36.

<sup>58</sup> Matt 22.5 ("one to his own field, another to his business" / μὲν εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἀγρόν, ὅς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμπορίαν αὐτοῦ) reads well as an abridged summary of the fairly repetitive succession of persons in Lk1 who make excuses as to why they cannot attend the banquet, including 14.18 (which *CEQ* accepts, "I bought a field" / ἀγρὸν ἠγόρασα) and 14.19 (which *CEQ* does not accept, "I bought a yoke of oxen" / ζεύγη βοῶν ἠγόρασα). It is not too far of a stretch also to include Matt 22.5 in Qn as an abridged parallel that also suggests awareness of the next excuse, from 14.20: "I married a woman" / γυναῖκα ἔγημα.

<sup>59</sup> Again, Matthew provides an indirect parallel, describing the wedding hall being filled with guests (22.10) while Qn 14.22 says "there is still room" / ἔτι τόπος ἐστίν. Matt 22.11–14 describes the host's anger and punishment of a man not wearing wedding clothes, while Qn 14.24 has what may be either a selective or generalized statement of punishment, "no one... will taste" / οὐδεἰς... γεύσεταί.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Here for the Ev word counts we simply rely on the reconstructed critical edition by R (2015) and do not make any effort to challenge, question, or simplify its assessments. Instead, we distill its nuanced indications into word counts for quick, independent evaluation of the density and reliability of attested words in these passages: **bold** = secure; **bold** *italics* = very likely; regular type = probable; *italics* = possible; (parentheses) = precise wording not attested. Other indications are absented from the word count.

#### 1.10.3. Hypothesis 3: Ordering Qn with Ev

The third hypothesis is that <u>when Ev attests to the presence of Qn passages and verses in Luke, the</u> <u>order of these materials is preferable to the ordering of Qn materials in Matthew</u>. This requires a *moderate level of trust* in Ev as an accurate representation of Early Luke.

At first glance, both the lack and multiplicity of attestations of Ev appear not to lend themselves to a precise verse by verse order. However, both Tertullian's and Epiphanius's polemics against Marcion our first and second most thorough witnesses of Ev —usually proceeded sequentially. Thus their ordering of contents is highly valuable. Along with Tertullian and Epiphanius, Hippolytus—who with them assumed that Lk2 was the earlier text—noted when he found material that deviated from what he believed to be the original, authentic order of Luke.<sup>60</sup> Their two (or three) exceptions prove the rule.<sup>61</sup> Almost all the attested Ev materials were in the same order as in Lk2. The redactor of Lk2 inserted lots of new materials, including longer and shorter stories, narrative color and details, and terms intended to clarify, instruct, or transition smoothly between content. But seldom were Lk2 passages or sayings shifted out of their earlier order in Ev.

Furthermore, as seen across this book, Ev demonstrates a consistent tendency to preserve the order of its other source, Mk1. In two specific sections, Ev shows itself far more apt than MtR1 to preserve the order of Mk1 passages. This coincides with the tendency of Ev to engage in a modest amount of editorial reworking of Mk1 source content. Given these clear editorial tendencies of LkR1, the same should be acknowledged for the use of Qn in the other sections of Ev. Moreover, besides its minimal editorial stitching between Mk1 and Qn sources, LkR1 treats Mk1 and Qn as separate sources in separate sections. By contrast, MtR1 engaged in a massive project of sorting, compiling, combining, and repurposing materials to create an elaborate homiletical mosaic (pun intended). The formidable creativity of MtR1 is also its undoing as a reliable source for the order of Qn. Put bluntly, the Matthean order, whenever it differs from Lk1Lk2, should never be retroactively imposed on Qn.

The following catalog notes the passages and verses where the *CEQ* adopts a different order for Q sayings than the order of Luke (both Ev /Lk1 and Lk2). The call to revert to Luke as the primary basis for the order of Qn in most passages should not be controversial, because scholars working on Q have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> The immediate transition of Lk1 3.1 into Lk1 4.31 (see A035) was noted by T (*Marc.* 4.7.1; SC 456:92) and Hippolytus (*Haer.* 7.31.5–6; PTS 25:313). The Ev location of the saying about Elisha and Namaan (Luke 4.27) within the story of the ten lepers (Luke 17.12b–19) is noted by T (*Marc.* 4.35.6; SC 456:432) and E (*Pan.* 42.11.6 μη (48), 42.11.17 Σχ. μη (48), 42.11.17 "Eλ μη (48)). E uniquely mentions Lk1 6.3–4 between his references to Lk1 9.44 and 10.21: "Apart from Luke 4:27, which is explicitly stated to have occurred in a different location in Marcion's Gospel, this is the only verse that appears out of canonical order in Epiphanius' list" (R 6.4.6). But this is more likely a reflection of the list of E being out of order here than a reflection of a different order for Ev. *Z*(414) speculated that it reflected E using loose leaves of paper to compile his list.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> While no Ev witness provides explicit notice of such, a third verse, Lk1 6.5, was also likely in a different location than in Lk2 and its other synoptic counterparts (Mark 2.28, Matt 12.8), appearing after Lk1 6.10, a conclusion based on the mutual corroboration of T (*Marc.* 4.12.1; Evans 310; SC 456:152, 154) and mss D and d. For further explanation, see A047 in the Comparative Reconstruction.

usually taken Luke as a much closer reflection of the ordering of Q. Scholars have long recognized that the Lukan presentation of Q materials is typically more linear and closer to its source, while Matthew reflects a more sophisticated exercise in recompiling, reordering, and expanding Q materials topically. In recent decades, it has become more common to prefer Matthew for the ordering of some materials, especially *within* pericopes. This is understandable, given the precise deliberations over words and sayings, the framing of Q as a sapiential sayings collection, and the assumption of Matthew as a source sometimes preferable to Lk2 for reconstructing Q. The confirmation of Qn as one of the two major sources of Ev makes the task of ordering Q materials far simpler.

For A080, *CEQ* reorders and clusters the traditions within Q 6.27–35 as follows, apparently owing in part to Matthean influence.

1. Q 6.27–28, 35b (Love Your Enemies) = Matt 5.43–44, 45

- 2. Q 6.29–30 (Renouncing One's Rights) = Matt 5.39–42a
- 3. Q 6.31 (Golden Rule) = Matt 7.12
- 4. Q 6.32a, 34 (Impartial Love) = Matt 5.46, 5.42

As will be later shown, 6.30b and 34b were not present in Qn. 6.32a was likely present: while possibly unattested, and it shares a perfect parallel with 6.34a that was clearly attested. For the verses that were present, the Lk1Lk2 order is preferable and should be restored: Qn 6.27–28 (in *Marc.* 4.16.1), Qn 6.29 (in *Marc.* 4.16.2 and 4.16.6), Qn 6.30a (in *Marc.* 4.16.8), Qn 6.31 (in *Marc.* 4.16.13), Qn 6.34a (and possibly Qn 6.32a in *Marc.* 4.17.1), Qn 6.35f (in *Marc.* 4.17.5–6), Qn 6.36 (in *Marc.* 4.17.8).

For A188, Q 11.16 is unattested in Ev and was probably not part of Qn, thus the *CEQ* decision to relocate 11.16 (part of Lk2's Beelzebub passage in A188) to sit within the Sign of Jonah passage (A191) to match the Matthean order (Q 11.16 = Matt 12.38; Q 11.29–32 = Matt 12.39–42) is irrelevant.

For A194, *CEQ* reorders the *logia*: 11.?39a?, 42, 39b, [[40]], 41, 43–44, 46b, 52, 47–48. The corresponding Matthean order of these sayings is: 23.?1-2a?, 23, 24, [[<del>26a</del>]], 5–7, 27–28, 4, 13, 29–32. The *CEQ* order was not apparently influenced by the Matthean order but instead reflects other rationales. In any case, the order in Luke, well reflected in Tertullian's running work on Ev, should be preserved. We should note that the speech introduction in Qn 11.39a is unattested but implicit and reconstructed as a necessary transition between QnLk1 11.38 and 11.39b. Qn 11.38 is attested first by Tertullian in *Marc.* 4.27.2, then 11.39 immediately afterward, and Qn 11.40 immediately after that. Qn 11.41 is attested in *Marc.* 4.27.3, Qn 11.42 in *Marc.* 4.27.4, and Qn 11.43 in *Marc.* 4.27.5. Luke 11.44 is unattested in Ev and was likely not present in Qn. Tertullian attests Qn 11.46b in *Marc.* 4.27.6, Qn 11.47–48 in *Marc.* 4.27.8, and Qn 11.52 in *Marc.* 4.27.9.

For A201 and A202, *CEQ* places Q 12.22b–31 after Q 12.33–34 following the Matthean order (Q 12.33–34 = Matt 6.19–20; Q 12.22b–31 = Mt1 6.25–34). 12.33b–34 were not present in Qn. 12.33a was likely present, but without a compelling reason to move it, the Lk1Lk2 order remains preferable.

For A211, *CEQ* places Q 13.29 after Q 13.28. Epiphanius confirms that Luke 13.29 was not present in Ev, thus this switch is irrelevant.

For A219, *CEQ* relocates Q 15.4–7 (lost sheep) and Q 15.[[8–10]] (lost coin) after Q 17.1–2 in keeping the Matthean order (Q 17.1–2 = Matt 18.7, 6; Q 15.4–7 = Matt 18.12–14). The order in Lk1Lk2 should be restored.

For A235, *CEQ* relocates Q 17.33 (finding/losing one's life) to fit between Q 14.27 (taking one's cross) and Q 14.34–35 (insipid salt), apparently for reasons of thematic coherence. Again, the order in Lk1Lk2 should be restored.

## 1.10.4. Hypothesis 4: What Qn Was Not

Here we arrive at our fourth hypothesis. <u>When Matthew has a parallel with Luke that is attested as</u> *not present* in Ev, this is *not Qn*, and when it is unattested for Ev, it is *probably not Qn*.<sup>62</sup> This hypothesis requires a *high level of trust* in the reconstruction of Ev as an accurate and thorough representation of Early Luke.

We have thus far demonstrated that Ev /Lk1 is in fact a simply structured two-source gospel (Mk1 + Qn) *and* an earlier and more reliable witness to Qn than either Lk2 (which uses yet transforms Qn through Ev ) or Mt1 (which sometimes, but does not always share unique, common readings with Qn). On that basis, we reordered Q passages according to the Lukan tradition. Now we come to an even more radical proposal.

Most prior scholars working on Ev have assumed that it should nearly always be closer to Luke than to Matthew, but what a unprejudicial, careful analysis shows is that Ev is often closer to Matthew, *both in its Mk1 sections and its Qn sections.* Most of the evidence does not show Matthean contamination in Ev, as has been typically assumed, but instead the influence of Ev on Mt1. To put it differently, Mt1 is sometimes a more faithful witness to Qn and Lk1 than Lk2 is to Lk1. Ev is not a late text influenced by Mt1 or Mt2; it really is an earlier version of Luke (Lk1) and thus more deserving of trust than Lk2 or Matthean strata as the basis for reconstructing Qn.

Essentially, this hypothesis and the following one extend this assessment of the reliability and applicability of Ev, taking it from confirming previously viable candidates for Q and confirming its order to use it as the basis to remove traditional Q content that was not actually part of Qn, which was, at its core, Ev with Mk1 and some minor redactions removed. This excision cuts out not only verses here and there, but also whole passages that have been core to the understanding of Q from the inception of the hypothesis.

Even between this floor and its ceiling, we want to build out our steps progressively. Some scholars may only feel confident about removing passages from Q when Marcion's witnesses asserted that those passages were not present in his gospel. Other scholars may find their confidence in the reconstruction of Ev rising to the point where even its unattested passages should be taken seriously as likely candidates for removal from Q and reassignment to the creative work of the redactor of Lk2 and/or the Lk2 dependence on Mt1 and other sources.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> v1.29 note: the word "probably" was added to the Fourth Hypothesis after months of bracketing out from Qn all Lukan materials not present or unattested in Ev. By applying that strict standard, we were able to establish baseline vocal stratum patterns for Qn, Lk1, Mt1, and Lk2. These clarified vocal stratum patterns now permit us to circle back and start to make scientifically sound restorations to Qn for signals that are unattested for Ev. In v1.29, such restorations included 7.34–35 (glutton and drunkard), 12.33a (divest and donate), 13.24 (narrow gate), and 14.34–35 (insipid salt).

v1.30 note: previously the Fourth Hypothesis lumped together "not present" and "unattested" as one category, but starting with this version we nuance more carefully between these distinct categories.

Passages and/or Verses Removed from Q	Passages	and/or	Verses	Removed	from	Q
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SQE. Shorthand	CEQ	Ev
A013b. John introduced		
	<del>3.[[0]], 3:1a</del> , 3.2b–3a, <del>3b–4</del>	Not present (indirectly)
A014. John preaches repentance	3.7-9	Not present (indirectly)
A016. John's messianic message	3.16b-17	Not present (indirectly)
A018. Baptism	3.[[21-22]]	Not present
A020. Desert flight	4.1-4, 9-12, 5-8, 13	Not present
A081. Judging	6.41–42c	Unattested
A083. Houses built on rock or sand	6.47–49	Unattested
A107. Identity of John	7.[[29–30]]	Unattested
A177. Seventy sent	10.12	Unattested
A178. Cities cursed	10.13–15	Unattested
A187. Summons to pray	11.10	Unattested
A188. Beelzebub dispute	$11.16 - 17^{63}$	Unattested
A189. Return of unclean spirit	11.24–26	Unattested
A191. Sign of Jonah	11.30-32	Not present
A193. Sound eye	11.[[36]]	Unattested
A194. vs. Pharisees/Lawyers	11.44, 49–51	Unattested
A196. Fearless confession	12.6–7	Not present
A202. Treasures in heaven	12.33b-34	Unattested
A204. Family divisions	12.50, 52	Unattested
A205. Interpreting signs	12.[[54–56]]	Unattested
A211. Exclusion from kingdom	13.29, [[30]]	Not present
A213. Jerusalem lament	13.34-35	Not present
A214. Dropsy healed	14. <del>1-6</del>	Unattested
A215. Inclusive feasts	14.[[11]], <del>15</del>	Unattested

Whether "not present" or "unattested" for Lk1, most of this content should be familiar to objectors to the traditional Q hypothesis. Many of these passages are—by no coincidence in our view—often adduced as key proof of Lukan dependence on Matthew or Matthean dependence on Luke.

As noted in our introduction, the scientific discovery and reconstruction of Qn cuts both ways. It confirms the Q hypothesis at a fundamental level and corroborates most of its content. Yet it also cuts out a significant amount of Mt1 and/or Lk2 material that has been incorrectly and anachronistically applied to Q.

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 $<sup>^{63}</sup>$  *CEQ* lumps Q 11.16 in with A191 the Sign of Jonah out of deference to the Matthean order (Q 11.16 = Matt 12.38; Q 11.29–32 = Matt 12.39–42). As elaborated in the previous chapter, the Lukan order is more faithful to Qn.

## 1.10.5. Hypothesis 5: More of What Qn Was

Lastly, we come to our fifth hypothesis. <u>When Ev has a parallel in Lk2 that never appears in Matthew</u> <u>or Mark, then these are *additions to Qn*</u>. This hypothesis requires *the highest level of trust* in the reconstruction of Ev as an accurate and thorough representation of Lk1 and its use of Qn as one of its two sources. This entails that MtR1 omitted parts of Qn that appear in both Lk1 and Lk2. While there is no self-evident reason to think this would be problematic, it certainly runs counter to decades of scholarly habituation to consider Matthew and Lk2 as the primary bases for reconstructing Q. Sometimes the unique Lk1-Lk2 parallels are entire passages (e.g., A086, A115, A175, A186, A228, A337, A353, A355), but typically are micro-parallels (words and phrases).

We begin by compiling verses that scholars have previously considered as possible candidates for Q, then list verses that scholars have not generally or ever considered as candidates for Q.

		Qn Additions Considered in CEQ
Passage	CEQ	Ev
A177. Seventy sent	10. <del>1</del>	10.1
A182. Shema	10. <del>25–28</del>	10.25–28
A185. Lord's prayer	11. <del>1–2a</del>	11.1–2a
A186. Midnight begging	11.[[5-8]]	11.5, 7–8
A204. Family divisions	12.[[49]]	12.49a
A205. Interpreting signs	12.[[56]]	12.56
A206. Avoiding trials	12. <del>57</del>	12.57
A235. Day of son of man	17. <del>22</del> , ?28?, <del>32</del>	17.22, 28, 32

#### Qn Additions Not Listed in CEQ: Part 1

Passage	CEQ	Ev
A033. Escaping Nazareth		4.23, 29–30
A086. Widow's son raised		7.12, 14–16
A114. Anointing		7.36–38, 44c–46, 50
A115. Women patrons		8.2-3
A122. Sower fable		8.4-8
A125. Disclosure		8.16–18
A161. Transfiguration		9.28–31a, 33–35
A175. Samaritan rejection		9.52–55
A180. Snakes and scorpions		10.19
A195. Pharisees' leaven		12.1
A208. Woman released		13.11–16
A222. Unjust steward fable		16.2, 4–7, 9a
A223. Faithfulness in mammon		16.11–12

Qn Additions Not Listed in CEQ: Part 2

Passage	CEQ	Ev
A225. Pharisees reproved		16.14-15
A228. Rich man and Lazarus		16.19–31
A233. Ten lepers cleansed		17.12b, 14, 4.27, 17.15–19
A236. Judge and widow fable		18.1-8
A237. Pharisee and publican		18.10–11, 13–14
A254. Rich young man		18.18-23
A264. Blind beggar healed		18.35-43
A265. Zacchaeus		19.2, 6, 8–10
A276. Authority questioned		20.1-8
A280. Caesar's tribute		20.19, 24–25
A281. Resurrection question		20.27-29, 33-36, 39
A283. David's son?		20.41, 44
A288. End signs		21.7-11
A289. Persecutions foretold		21.12–17, 19
A290. Desolation		21.20
A292. Son of man comes		21.25–28
A293. Fig tree fable		21.29-33
A295. Take heed, watch		21.34–35a
A301. Temple teaching		21.37-38
A305. Pascha approaches		22.1
A307. Betrayal by Judas		22.3-5
A308. Pascha preparations		22.8, 14
A311. Last supper		22.15, 17, 19–20
A312. Betrayal foretold		22.22b
A315. Denial predicted		22.33-34
A330. Gethsemane		22.41
A331. Arrest		22.47-48
A332. Sanhedrin and denial		22.63-64, 66-67, 69-71
A334/A336. Pilate trial		23.1-3
A337. Herod trial		23.7-9
A339. Barabbas		23.18–19
A341. Pilate condemns		23.25
A344. Crucifixion		23.32b-34a
A347. Death		23.44-46
A350. Funerary honors		23.50-53, 55-56
A352. Women at the tomb		24.1, 3–7, 9
A353. Women emissaries		24.10–11
A355. Sighting by two		24.25

Scholars have produced an extensive amount of research about Q vis-à-vis matters of wealth and poverty.<sup>64</sup> For now our primary goal is simply to assemble a catalog of Qn passages focused on wealth and poverty that have been questioned, overlooked, and/or omitted in prior reconstructions and analyses of Q. It is clear that many of the most trenchant criticisms of the wealthy and vindications of the poor have been absented from traditional reconstructions of Q. The pattern suggests that the teachings and vocation of Joshua—a poor slave calling upon divine justice on behalf of other poor slaves—have been domesticated in European and North American scholarship by an ethic of upward social mobility and respectability.

SQE. Shorthand	CEQ	Qn
A079. Curses	6. <del>24–26</del>	6.24–26
A186. Midnight begging	11.[[ <del>5-8</del> ]]	11.5, 7–8
A199. Inheritance division	12.[[ <del>13-15</del> ]]	12.13–14
A200. Rich fool	12.[[ <del>16–20</del> ]], <del>21</del>	12.16, 18–20
A202. Divest and donate		12.33a
A222. Unjust steward fable		16.2, 4–7, 9a
A223. Faithfulness in mammon		16.11–12
A225. Pharisees reproved		16.14–15
A228. Rich man and Lazarus		16.19–31
A236. Judge and widow fable		18.1-8
A254. Rich young man		18.18–23
A265. Zacchaeus		19.2, 6, 8–10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Giovanni Bazzana, "From Thesauroi to Purses: Wealth and Poverty between Q and Luke", in Joseph Verheyden and John S. Kloppenborg, ed., *Luke on Jesus, Paul, and Christianity: What Did He Really Know?* (Leuven: Peeters, 2017) 193–217; and *idem, Kingdom of Bureaucracy: The Political Theology of Village Scribes in the Sayings Gospel*, BETL 274 (Leuven: Peeters, 2015); Sarah E. Rollens, *Framing Social Criticism in the Jesus Movement*, WUNT 2.374 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014); Thomas E. Phillips, *Reading Issues of Wealth and Poverty in Luke-Acts*, SBEC 48 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2001); Ronald Allen Piper, "Wealth, Poverty, and Subsistence in Q", in Jon Ma. Asgeirsson, Kristin de Troyer, and Marvin W. Meyer, ed., *From Quest to Q: Festschrift James M. Robinson*, BETL 146 (Leuven: Peeters, 2000) 219–64. For issues of wealth and poverty in broader Greco-Roman society and literature, see the various contributions to Estelle Galbois and Sylvie Rougier-Blanc, ed., *La pauvreté en Grèce ancienne: forms, représentations, enjeux*, Scripta Antiqua 57 (Bordeaux: De Boccard, 2014).

Scholars have traced the gradual erasure, subjugation, and displacement of women in the emergence of the canonical texts of the New Testament as well as the material history of early Christianity.<sup>65</sup> Women played an important role as leaders (patrons, apostles, deacons) in the early Pauline communities, only for the later Pastoral Epistles to refuse women the right to teach and for scribes copying later manuscripts to change female names to male names. Inscriptions of women ecclesiastical leaders and martyr shrines are evident across the first centuries of Christianity, but a concerted catholic program in the late fourth century sought to erase and rewrite much of this history.<sup>66</sup>

If our hypotheses are correct, then scholars working on Q across the better part of two centuries have done something similar, almost entirely erasing the stories and significance of women from the earliest gospel stratum. Here we present another simple catalog of passages obscured, overlooked, and/or omitted in previous reconstructions and analyses of Q. The focus this time is not on wealth and poverty, but instead on women, and not just female recipients of healing or female characters in the fables, but also significant female leaders/patrons in the movement/community. The focus on women leaders/patrons at the beginning and end of the story of Joshua outlines a defining *inclusio*.

SQE. Shorthand	CEQ	Qn
A086. Widow's son raised		7.12, 14–16
A114. Anointing		7.36–38, 44c–46, 50
A115. Women patrons		8.2-3
A190. Benediction	11.?27–28?	11.27b–28
A220. Lost coin fable	15.[[8–10]]	15.8–10
A236. Judge and widow fable		18.1-8
A350. Funerary honors		23.50-53, 55-56
A352. Women at the tomb		24.1, 3-7, 9
A353. Women emissaries		24.10–11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Several compendia contain many contributions: Joan Taylor and Ilaria Ramelli, ed., *Patterns of Women's Leadership in Early Christianity* (New York: Oxford, 2021), including a focus on the *Gospel of Mary* and Ev in the chapter by Marcus Vinzent, "More 'Holy Women' in Early Christianity", 131–150; Ross Shepard Kraemer and Mary Rose D'Angelo, ed., *Women & Christian Origins* (New York: Oxford, 1999); Ulla Tervahauta, Ivan Miroshnikov, Outi Lehtipuu, and Ismo Dunderberg, ed., *Women and Knowledge in Early Christianity* (Leiden: Brill 2017); Luise Schottroff, Marie-Theres Wacker, Martin Rumscheidt, *Feminist Biblical Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012). Several feminist Bible commentaries are also valuable: Carol A. Newsom, Sharon H. Ringe, and Jacqueline E. Lapsley, ed., *Women's Bible Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2012<sup>3</sup>); Catherine Clark Kroeger and Mary J. Evans, *The IVP Women's Bible Commentary* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2002); and the numerous volumes of the Liturgical Press Wisdom Commentary series.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> See esp. Nicola Denzey Lewis, *The Bone Gatherers: The Lost Worlds of Early Christian Women* (Boston: Beacon, 2007); Ute E. Eisen, *Women Officeholders in Early Christianity: Epigraphical and Literary Studies* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000).

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1.11. Scientific Proofs of the Five Hypotheses

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## 1.11.1. Cluster Analysis of Markan and Lukan Passages

A panoramic overview of the two-source findings may be found above in the *CEQ* Comparison. The bulk of the scientific evidence proving the First Hypothesis is found below in the Comparative Restoration and related signal tabulations. Here our formal proofs begin with a cluster analysis of Markan and Lukan traditions at the passage level.

Skipping the diverse introductions in the synoptic gospels, let us first consider the opening passages in Mark and note how all of them are not received in Ev and yet uniformly present in Lk2. We simply note that while Matthew and Lk2 both show perfect consistency as receptors of underlying Markan source passages, Ev shows none, and that all these passages were attested by witnesses of Ev as "not present".

SQE. Shorthand	Mark	Lk1 (80s)	Mt1 (90s)	Lk2 (117–138)
A013b. John introduced	1.2-6		3.1-6	3.1c-6
A016. John's messianic message	1.7-8		3.11-12	3.15-18
A018. Baptism	1.9–11		3.13-17	3.21-22
A020. Desert flight	1.12–13		4.1–11	4.1–13
A030/A032. Ministry in Galilee	[1.14-15]		[4.12–17]	4.14-15

Synoptic Receptions of Mark 1.2-15

Markan and Lukan strata thus demonstrate here only one relational pattern, designated as type 1:

• Type 1:  $(Mark = Lk2) \neq Ev: #5$ 

According to our signals analysis, the first four passages were present in early Mark (Mk1), but the combined passages with brackets (A030/A032) were likely not part of Mk1 but instead represent later additions that drew upon Lk2.<sup>67</sup> For the sake of the argument we still include these later redactions in our counts, as is also the case for verses and passages marked with brackets on the following pages.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Starting in v1.35, we combined A030 and A032 into one passage so as to bring our analysis of the Markan source into better alignment with our analysis of the Single, Double, and Triple traditions. These two parallel sets in *SQE* are extremely brief and it makes perfect sense to treat them as a single passage. We have adjusted the totals below accordingly, recalculating percentages based on 113 total Markan passages instead of 114 and adjusting them to include tenths of percentages. In the same version, we also double-checked our calculations and summations for this section and corrected several minor errors.

In the next set, Ev and Lk2 share most of a large Markan cluster both in content and order.

		1 1	or Mark 1.10–3.19a
Mark	Lk1 (80s)	Mt1 (90s)	Lk2 (117–138)
1.16-20, 4.1-	5.1-7, 9-11	4.18–22, 13.1–3a	5.1-11
2			
1.21-22	4.31-32	4.13, 23; 7.28–29 [d]	4.31-32
1.23–26,	4.33-35		4.33-37
[27-28]			
[1.29-31]		[8.14-15]	4.38-39
1.[32-33], 34	4.40b-41	8.16-17	4.40-41
1.[35a], 35b,	4.42-43	4.1	4.42-43
[36-37], 38,		[4.23-24]	4.44
[39]			
1.40-42,	5.12-14	8.2-4	5.12-16
[43], 44, [45]			
2.[1-2], 3,	5.18, 20-	9.1-8	5.17-26
[4], 5–8a,	21, 24–26		
[8b–9], 10–12			
2.[13], 14,	5.27-28, 31	9.9, [10–11], 12,	5.27-32
[15–16], 17a,		[13]	
[17b]			
2.18-22	5.33-38	9.14–17	5.33-39
2.23-28	6.1–5	12.1-4, 8	6.1-5
3.1-5, [6]	6.6–11	12.9–14	6.6–11
[3.7–11a],	6.17, 19a	[4.24], 25,	6.17–19
11b [12]		12.15-16	
3.13–14,	6.12–16	10.1-4	6.12–16
[15], 16, [17–			
18], 19			
	$\begin{array}{c} 1.16-20, 4.1-\\ 2\\ 1.21-22\\ 1.23-26,\\ [27-28]\\ [1.29-31]\\ 1.[32-33], 34\\ 1.[35a], 35b,\\ [36-37], 38,\\ [39]\\ 1.40-42,\\ [43], 44, [45]\\ 2.[1-2], 3,\\ [4], 5-8a,\\ [8b-9], 10-12\\ 2.[13], 14,\\ [15-16], 17a,\\ [17b]\\ 2.18-22\\ 2.23-28\\ 3.1-5, [6]\\ [3.7-11a],\\ 11b [12]\\ 3.13-14,\\ [15], 16, [17-\\ \end{array}$	1.16-20, 4.1- $5.1-7, 9-11$ 2 $1.21-22$ $4.31-32$ $1.23-26,$ $4.33-35$ $[27-28]$ $$ $[1.29-31]$ $$ $1.[32-33], 34$ $4.40b-41$ $1.[32-33], 34$ $4.40b-41$ $1.[35a], 35b,$ $4.42-43$ $[36-37], 38,$ $[39]$ $1.40-42,$ $5.12-14$ $[43], 44, [45]$ $$ $2.[1-2], 3,$ $5.18, 20 [4], 5-8a,$ $21, 24-26$ $[8b-9], 10-12$ $26$ $[8b-9], 10-12$ $26$ $2.[13], 14,$ $5.27-28, 31$ $[15-16], 17a,$ $17-28, 31$ $[17b]$ $5$ $2.18-22$ $5.33-38$ $2.23-28$ $6.1-5$ $3.1-5, [6]$ $6.6-11$ $[3.7-11a],$ $6.17, 19a$ $11b [12]$ $5$ $3.13-14,$ $6.12-16$ $[15], 16, [17 26$	1.16-20, 4.1- 2 $5.1-7, 9-11$ $4.18-22, 13.1-3a$ $1.21-22$ $4.31-32$ $4.13, 23; 7.28-29 [d]$ $1.23-26,$ $[27-28]$ $4.33-35$ $$ $[1.29-31]$ $$ $[8.14-15]$ $1.[32-33], 34$ $4.40b-41$ $8.16-17$ $1.[32-33], 34$ $4.40b-41$ $8.16-17$ $1.[35a], 35b,$ $[36-37], 38,$ $4.42-43$ $4.1$ $[36-37], 38,$ $[39]$ $[4.23-24]$ $2.[1-2], 3,$ $[4], 5-8a,$ $[4], 5-8a,$ $[21, 24-26]$ $9.1-8$ $[4], 5-8a,$ $[8b-9], 10-12$ $9.9, [10-11], 12,$ $2.[13], 14,$ $[15-16], 17a,$ $[17b]$ $5.27-28, 31$ $[17b]$ $9.9, [10-11], 12,$ $2.18-22$ $5.33-38$ $9.14-17$ $9.14-17$ $2.23-28$ $6.1-5$ $12.1-4, 8$ $3.1-5, [6]$ $6.6-11$ $12.9-14$ $[3.7-11a],$ $(15], 16, [17-]$ $6.12-16$ $10.1-4$ $10.1-4$

Synoptic Receptions of Mark 1.16–3.19a

Markan and Lukan strata now demonstrate a second relational pattern:

- Type 1: (Mark = Lk2) ≠ Ev: #1 (A037). According to our signals analysis, this passage was not likely not part of Mk1 but instead reflective of later redactions to the synoptics.
- Type 2: Mark = Ev = Lk2: #13. In this dense, extended cluster of shared materials, both Ev and Lk2 consistently follow the Markan order except for when they both push the calling of the disciples (A034/A041) later than Mark and when they invert the order of A048 and A049. The fidelity of Ev in this section (13 out of 14 passages), while not as high as Lk2 itself (14 out of 14), is quite extraordinary.

The next set corresponds to a large gap or leap forward in the shared sequences of Ev and Lk2 (from 6.16 to 8.4), revealing by contrast a significant amount of intervening non-Markan material, most of which is also found in Matthew and thus traditionally ascribed to Q.

SQE. Shorthand	Mark	Lk1 (80s)	Mt1 (90s)	Lk2 (117–138)
A116. Insanity concern	3.19b-21			
A117. Collusion with satan	3.22-27	11.14–15, 18–23 [q]	12.22-30	11.14–15, 17–23 [q]
A118. Sin against spirit	3.28-30	12.1, 6.43, 45 [q]	12.31-37	12.10, 6.43–45 [q]
A135. Real family	3.31-35	8.20-21	12.47-48	8.19–21
A122. Sower fable	4.1-9	8.4-8 [n]	13.1–9	8.4-8
A123. Reason for fables	[4.10-12]		[13.10-17]	8.9–10
A124. Sower fable meaning	[4.13-20]		[13.18-23]	8.11-15
A125. Disclosure	4.21-25	8.16–18 [n]	5.15, 10.26, 7.2, 13.12 [q]	8.16–18 [n]
A126. Secret seed fable	4.26–29			
A128. Mustard seed similitude	4.30-32	13.19 [q]	13.31–32 [q]	13.18–19 [q]
A130. Use of fables	[4.33-34]		[13.34-35]	

Synoptic Receptions of Mark 3.19b-4.34

As many scholars have maintained, the lack of reception of A116 and A126 in any Gospel besides Mark is likely due to the neglect of offensive, embarrassing, or otherwise problematic traditions. A130 is only shared between Mark and Matthew.

Three distinct relational patterns are now evident among Markan and Lukan strata:

- Type 1. (Mark = Lk2) ≠ Ev. #2: A123–124. According to our signals analysis, these passages missing from Ev reflect later, connected redactions to Lk2 and Mk2/Mk3.
- Type 2. Mark = Ev = Lk2. #3: A135, A122, A125. A135 is typically understood as coming from the Markan source. We trace A122 and A125 back originally to Qn. This content shares a parallel sequence across all strata, though with intervening redactions in Lk2 and Mk2/Mk3.
- Type 3. Mark ≈ (Ev = Lk2). #3: A117–118, A128. This traditional Q content was used but displaced in Mark. Rather than following the Markan dislocation of this content, the editors of Ev and Lk2 preserved it in its original Q order.

Next Ev and Lk2 again share an extended, dense, sequential cluster of Markan source material, as well as large clusters of intervening material uniquely shared between Mark and Matthew.

SQE. Shorthand	Mark	Lk1 (80s)	Mt1 (90s)	Lk2 (117–138)
A136. Storm stilled	4.35, 37-39,	8.22-25	8.23-27	8.22-25
	41			
A137. Graveyard demoniac	5.1–13a	8.26-32	8.28-34	8.26-39
A138. Hemorrhage healed	5.24b-34	8.42b-46, 48	9.18–26	8.40-56
A139. Nazareth rejection	6.1–6a	4.16, 23, 29–30 [n]	13.53-58	4.16–30 [n]
A142. Students sent	6.6b-13	9.1-3, 5-6	10.1, 7–11, 14	9.1-6
A143. Herod hears of Jesus	6.14–16	9.7-9	14.1-2	9.7-9
A144. John dies	[6.17-29]		[14.3-12]	3.19–20 [d]
A145. Apostles return	[6.30-31]		14.12b–13a [d]	9.10a
A146. Five thousand fed	6.32-44	9.10b-17	14.13-21; 9.36	9.10b-17
A147. Walking on water	[6.45-52]		[14.22-33]	
A148. Gennesaret healings	[6.53–56]		[14.34-36]	
A150. Defilement	[7.1-23]	11.37–41 [q/n]	[15.1-20]	11.37–41 [q/n]
	[7.1-23]	6.39, 45 [q]		6.39, 45 [q]
A151. Foreigner's daughter	[7.24-30]		[15.21-28]	
A152. Deaf mute healed	[7.31-37]		[15.29–31]	
A153. Four thousand fed	[8.1-10]		[15.32-39]	
A154. Pharisees seek sign	[8.11-13]	11.29, 12.56 [q]	[16.1-4]	11.16, 29, 12.54–56 [q]
A155. Pharisees' leaven	[8.14-21]	12.1 [n]	[16.5–12]	12.1 [n]
A156. Bethsaida blind healed	[8.22-26]			
A158. Peter's confession	8.27-30	9.18–21	16.13-20	9.18–21
A159. Passion prediction	8.31-33	9.22	16.21–23	9.22
A160. Call of discipleship	8.34-9.1	9.24, 26	16.24–28	9.23-27

Synoptic Receptions of Mark 4.35–9.1

Here again we find the same three relational patterns as in the last set.

- Type 1. (Mark = Lk2) ≠ Ev. #2: A144–145. Ev lacks any notice of the death of John the Baptist (A144). Radically displaced from the Markan order, this passage in Lk2, located before the public ministry of Jesus, may align with earlier passages in Qn, where John's imprisonment (7.18–24) foregrounds the women joining Joshua as his first patrons (7.26–8.3).
- Type 2. Mark = Ev = Lk2. #9: A136–138, A142–143, A146, A158–160. Despite intervening redactions in Mark, this content reflects a dense, sequential Markan cluster in Ev and Lk2.
- Type 3. Mark ≈ (Ev = Lk2). #4: A139, A150, A154–155. Most of this content has traditionally been ascribed to Q, but some of it is content newly ascribed here to Qn. All of it was used but displaced in Mark. Rather than following the Markan dislocation of this content, the editors of Ev and Lk2 preserved this content in its original Q/Qn order. It should be noted that A139 and A154 show far more elaborate traditions in Lk2 than in Ev.

The next section also contains a significant cluster of Markan content shared in Ev and Lk2.

SQE. Shorthand	Mark	Lk1 (80s)	Mt1 (90s)	Lk2 (117–138)
A161. Transfiguration	9.2–10	9.28–30a, 32–35 [n]	17.1–9	9.28-36
A162. Elijah comes	[9.11-13]		[17.10-13]	
A163. Faithless generation	9.14–29	9.37-41	17.14–21	9.37-43a
A164. Son of man given over	9.30-32	9.44	17.22-23	9.43b-45
A166. True greatness	9.33-37	9.46-48	18.1-5	9.46-48
A167. Strange exorcist	[9.38-41]		[10.42]	9.49-50
A168. Temptation warnings	[9.42-50]	17.1–2 [q]	[18.6–9], <sub>5.13</sub>	17.1-2, 14.34-35
A251. Departure to Judea	[10.1]		[19.1-2]	9.51
A252. Divorce and celibacy	[10.2–12]	16.18 [q]	[19.3–12]	16.18 [q]

Synoptic Receptions of Mark 9.2–10.12

Besides just one passage (A162) missing from both Ev and Lk2, we again find confirmation of the same three relational patterns found in the two prior sets.

- Type 1. (Mark = Lk2) ≠ Ev. #2: A167, A251. According to our signals analysis, these passages reflect later redactions to Mark.
- Type 2. Mark = Ev = Lk2. #4: A161, A163–164, A166. Despite minor intervening redactions in Mark, this content reflects a dense, sequential Markan cluster in Ev and Lk2 continued from the set on the previous page. A161 is traditionally seen as Markan in origin, and its comparable position in the narratives of Mk1 and Lk1 could suggest Mk1 was the source of Lk1, but our analysis shows Ev having an earlier, distinctive, and simpler version of the transfiguration as found in Qn.
- Type 3. Mark ≈ (Ev = Lk2). #2: A168, A252. While originating from bits of content traditionally ascribed to Q, these passages also reflect later redactions to Mark. Note how the Type 1 and Type 3 passages together reflect a cluster of four sequential passages in this set.

The next Markan section corresponds to an enormous leap forward in the sequence of both Ev and Lk2 (9.51 to 18.15), reflecting a massive amount of intervening non-Markan material, most of which is also found in Matthew and has thus been traditionally ascribed to Q. No similarly enormous leap is to be found in Matthew, which continues to track well with the sequence and content of Mark because of its consistent pattern of alternating between Markan and Q materials. This section reveals several dense and extended clusters of material shared between Mark and Luke, but not Ev.

SQE. Shorthand	Mark	Lk1 (80s)	Mt1 (90s)	Lk2 (117–138)
A253. Children welcomed	[10.13-16]		[19.13-15]	18.15-17
A254. Rich young man	10.17-22	18.18–23 [n]	19.16–22	18.18-23
A255. Riches vs. rewards	[10.23-31]		[19.23-30]	18.24–30, 22.28–30
A262. Passion prediction 3	[10.32-34]		[20.17–19]	18.31-34
A263. Disciple rank	[10.35-45]		[20.24–28]	22.24–27
A264. Blind beggar healed	10.46-52	18.35-43 [n]	20.29-34, 9.27-31	18.35-43
A269. Triumphal entry	[11.1-10]		[21.1-9]	19.28–40
A271. Entering Jerusalem	[11.11]		[21.10-17]	19.45-46, 39-40, 21.37
A272. Fig tree cursed	[11.12–14]		[21.18–19]	[cp. 13.6-9]
A273. Temple cleansed	[11.15–17]		[21.12-13]	19.45-46
A274. Priestly conspiracy	[11.18–19]			19.47-48
A275. Fig tree withered	[11.20-26]		[21.20-22], 6.14-15	
A276. Authority inquiry	11.27-33	20.4–8 [n]	21.23-27	20.1-8
A278. Husbandmen fable	[12.1–12]		[21.33-46]	20.9–18
A280. Caesar's tribute	12.13-17	20.19, 24–25 [n]	22.15-22	20.19–26
A281. Resurrection inquiry	12.18-27	20.27-36, 39 [n]	22.23-33	20.27-40
A282. Great command	12.28-34	10.25–28 [n]	22.34-40	10.25–28 [n]
A283. David's son?	12.35-37a	20.41, 44 [n]	22.41-46	20.41-44
A284. Woes to scribes	[12.37b-40]		[23.1-36]	20.45-47
A286. Widow's mite	[12.41-44]			21.1-4
A287. Jerusalem's fall	[13.1-2]		24.1-2	21.5-6

Synoptic Receptions of Mark 10.13–13.2

A272 and A275 are absent from Ev /Lk2. Other passages show the same three relational patterns:

- Type 1. (Mark = Lk2) ≠ Ev. #12: A253, A255, A262–263, A269, A271, A273–274, A278, A284, A286–287. Our signals analysis shows these passages to be later redactions to Mark. A263 is missing from Ev and shows LkR2 following a different order than Mark and Matthew, relocating A263 to follow A310 (Jesus foretells his betrayal) instead of A262 (the third passion prediction).
- Type 2. Mark = Ev = Lk2. #6: A254, A264, A276, A280–281, A283. While often attributed to the Markan source, these passages in Ev reveal simpler, pre-Markan traditions.
- Type 3. Mark ≈ (Ev = Lk2). #1: A282. Though indicated as stricken in *CEQ*, this passage has been ascribed to Q by some scholars.

The final section shows considerable alignment with Mark and the same three relational patterns.

				JI WIAIK 13.3-10.0
SQE. Shorthand	Mark	Lk1 (80s)	Mt1 (90s)	Lk2 (117–138)
A288. Signs before end	13.3-8	21.7–11 [n]	24.3-8	21.7–11
A289. Persecutions foretold	13.9–13	21.12–17, 19 [n]	24.9–14	21.12–19
A290. Fleeing Judea	[13.14-20]	21.20 [n]	[24.15-22]	21.20-24
A291. False messiahs	13.21–23	21.8 [n]	24.23-28	17.23–24, 21.8
A292. Son of man coming	13.24–26, [27]	21.25–28 [n]	24.29-30, [31]	21.25-28
A293. Fig tree fable	13.28-32	21.29–33 [n]	24.32-36	21.29-33
A294. Take heed, watch	[13.33-37]	21.34–35a [n]	25.13-15	21.34-36
A305. Pascha approaches	[14.1-2]	22.1 [n]	26.1-5	22.1-2
A306. Bethany anointing	[14.3-9]	7.36–50 [n]	[26.6–13]	7.36–50 [n]
A307. Betrayal by Judas	14.10–11	22.3–5 [n]	26.14-16	22.3-6
A308. Pascha preparations	14.12–17	22.8, 14 [n]	26.17-20	22.7-14
A310. Betrayal foretold	[14.18-21]	22.22b [n]	26.21-25	22.21-23
A311. Last supper	14.22–25	22.15, 17, 19–20 [n]	26.26-29	22.15-20
A315. Denial predicted	[14.26-31]	22.33-34 [n]	26.30-35	22.31-34
A330. Gethsemane	[14.32-42]	22.41 [n]	26.36-46	22.39–46
A331. Arrest	14.43-52	22.47-48 [n]	26.47-56	22.47-53
A332. Sanhedrin trial	14.53-65	22.63-64 [n]	26.57-68	22.54-71
A333. Peter's denial	14.66–72	22.66-67, 69-71 [n]	26.69-75	22.56-62
A334. Sent to Pilate	15.1	23.1 [n]	27.1-2	23.1
A336. Pilate trial	15.2–5	23.2–3 [n]	27.11-14	23.2-5
A339. Barabbas	15.6–14	23.18-19, 22-23 [n]	27.15-23	23.17-23
A341. Pilate condemns	15.15	23.25 [n]	27.24–26	23.24-25
A342. Soldiers mocking	[15.16–20a]		[27.27-31a]	
A343. Road to Golgotha	15.20b-21	23.32 [n]	27.31b-32	23.26-32
A344. Crucifixion	15.22–26	23.33-34 [n]	27.33-37	23.33-34
A345. Mockery on cross	15.27-32a		27.38-43	23.35-38
A346. Co-crucified mocking	15.32b		27.44	23.39-43
A347. Death	15.33-39	23.44-46 [n]	27.45-54	23.44-48
A348. Crucifixion witnesses	15.40-41		27.55-56	23.49
A350. Funerary honors	15.42-47	23.50-53, 55-56 [n]	27.57–61	23.50-56
A352. Women at tomb	16.1-8	24.1, 3-7, 9-11 [n]	28.1-8	24.1-12

Synoptic Receptions of Mark 13.3-16.8

- Type 1. (Mark = Lk2) ≠ Ev. #3: A345–346, A348. This material, absent from Ev, clusters around the crucifixion.
- Type 2. Mark = Ev = Lk2. #26: While attributed often to the Markan source, these passages in Ev consistently reveal simpler, likely pre-Markan traditions.
- Type 3. Mark  $\approx$  (Ev = Lk2). #1: A306. The Qn anointing location is kept in Ev /Lk2.

The following counts may require some explanation, particular for those unfamiliar with *SEQ* formatting and synoptic studies. Subscripts in the tables above indicate when a given passage is not a clearly related parallel to the primary source(s) being considered in a parallel set. #m stands for passages completely missing, #d signifies passages whose content has been disjointed and displaced in the reception, #q means passages traditionally assigned to Q, and #n means passages newly proposed as belonging to Qn (the first gospel) as reconstructed following our five hypotheses.

Mark	Lk1 (80s)	Mt1 (90s)	Lk2 (117–138)
1.2–15	0/5 (0%) 5m	5/5 (100%)	5/5 (100%)
1.16-3.19a	13/14 (92.9%) 1m	12/14 (85.7%) 1d 1m	14/14 (100%)
3.19b-4.34	1/11 (9.1%) 5m 3q 2n	7/11 (63.6%) 2m 2q	4/11 (36.4%) 3m 3q 1n
4.35-9.1	9/21 (42.9%) 8m 2q 2n	19/21 (90.5%) 1d 1m	11/21 (52.4%) 1d 6m 1q 2n
9.2-10.12	3/9 (33.3%) 3m 2q 1n	9/9 (100%)	7/9 (77.8%) 1m 1q
10.13-13.2	0/21 (0%) 14m 7n	19/21 (90.5%) 2m	18/21 (85.7%) 2m 1n
13.3-16.8	0/31 (0%) 4m 27n	31/31 (100%)	29/31 (93.5%) 1m 1n
Totals	26/112 (23.2%)	102/112 (91.1%)	88/112 (78.6%)

#### Tabulation of Synoptic Receptions of Markan Passages by Section

Tabulation of Synoptic Receptions of Markan Passages by Type

	Missing	Disjointed/Displaced	Q	Qn
Lk1 (80s)	40/112 (35.7%)	0/112 (0%)	7/112 (6.3%)	39/112 (34.8%)
Mt1 (90s)	6/112 (5.4%)	2/112 (1.8%)	2/112 (1.8%)	0/112 (0%)
Lk2 (117-138)	13/112 (10.7%)	1/112 (0.9%)	5/112 (4.5%)	5/112 (4.5%)

The totals are telling. Compared to Matthew (5.4%) or Lk2 (10.7%), Ev is missing a disproportionate amount of Markan passages (35.7%). If Ev is indeed based on Lk2, then Ev should be missing roughly the same percentage of Markan passages and these overall patterns make no logical sense, either as a Marcionite redactional program (an abridgement removing richly integrated Markan material), or as a pattern of early-orthodox suppression, or as byproducts of random attestation and disintegration.

The subtotals are also telling. Ev and Lk2 are both *very faithful* to reproduce Mark 1.16–3.19a passages in both order and content. Even as a sporadically attested text, Ev here has a higher rate of fidelity to reproduce Markan passages than does Matthew (92.9% vs. 85.7%)! For Mark 4.35–9.1 passages, Ev and Lk2 are both *somewhat faithful* to reproduce the order and content of a Markan source (42.9% vs. 52.4%).<sup>68</sup> For Mark 3.19b–4.34 and 9.2–10.12 passages, however, Ev exhibits meager devotion to a Markan source, and much less than Lk2 (9.1% vs. 36.4% and 33.3% vs. 77.8%). Finally, when it comes to the introduction (Mark 1.1–15) and last half (Mark 9.2–16.8), Ev is *completely untethered* from any Markan source, while Lk2 is *extremely close to Mark*, only missing 4 out of 66 passage

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> *Very faithful* to Mark 4.35–9.1 is more accurate. When we remove from our counts the ten bracketed passages not part of the Mk1 stratum, then Lk1 and Lk2 receptions rise identically to 9 of 11 (82%) 1m 1q.

receptions, just two more than Matthew in those corresponding sections! In this same space, Lk2 rarely bypasses a Markan tradition in favor of Q (1 example) or Qn (2 examples) traditions.

As a supplement, let us compile the Markan passages that appear *neither* in Ev nor in Lk2.

SQE. Shorthand	Mark	Matt
A116. Insanity concern	3.19b-21	
A126. Secret seed fable	4.26–29	
A130. Use of fables	[4.33-34]	[13.34-35]
A147. Walking on water	[6.45-52]	[14.22-33]
A148. Gennesaret healings	[6.53–56]	[14.34-36]
A151. Foreigner's daughter	[7.24-30]	[15.21-28]
A152. Deaf mute healed	[7.31-37]	[15.29-31]
A153. Four thousand fed	[8.1-10]	[15.32-39]
A156. Bethsaida blind healed	[8.22-26]	
A162. Elijah comes	[9.11-13]	[17.10-13]
A272. Fig tree cursed	[11.12-14]	[21.18–19]
A275. Fig tree withered	[11.20-26]	[21.20-22]
A342. Soldiers mocking	[15.16-20a]	[27.27-31a]

Markan Passages neither in Ev nor Lk2

Only 13 out of a total of 112 Markan passages (10.7%) are missing *from both* Ev and Lk2, which is identical to all the Markan passages missing from Lk2. Yet Ev is missing an additional 27 Markan passages, for a total of 40 passages or 35.7%. To put that into perspective, Ev in one subsection (1.16–3.19a) reaches a passage reception fidelity rate as high as 92.9% (13 of 14) and a passage reception absence rate as low as 7.1% (1 of 14). Despite that high topline for reception fidelity and low bottom-line for reception absence, Ev overall exhibits a meager 23.2% Markan passage reception fidelity rate and a high passage absence rate of 35.7%. The only scientifically sound explanation for this is that Ev was not based on Lk2, but *vice versa*. As an earlier edition of Luke, Lk1/Ev used Mk1 as its primary source in two and only two major sections (1.16–3.19a, 4.35–9.37) and in other sections relied primarily on another source (Qn).

Diving deeper into clustering patterns in Mark vis-à-vis Ev and Luke, here we compile segmented and total counts of passage relational patterns identified in each section. We add a fourth column to account for the remainder of passages and also identify the originating stratum of all passages, whether implicitly (Mk = Mk1 source passage missing from Ev ) or explicitly (q, n, Mk1, etc.).

- Type 1.  $(Mark = Lk2) \neq Ev$
- Type 2. Mark = Ev = Lk2
- Type 3. Mark  $\approx$  (Ev = Lk2)

Section	Type 1	Type 2	Туре 3	Remainder
1.2-15	5/5 (100%) 5Mk1	0/5 (0.0%)	0/5 (0.0%)	0
1.16–3.19a	1/14 (7.1%) 1Mk1	13/14 (92.9%) 13Mk1	0/14 (0.0%)	0
3.19b-4.34	2/11 (18.2%) 2Mk1	3/11 (27.3%) 2n 1Mk1	3/11 (27.3%) 3q	2Mk1 1Mt2
4.35-9.1	2/21 (9.5%) 2Mk1	9/21 (42.9%) 9Mk1	4/21 (19.0%) 2q 2n	1Mk1 1Jn1
				1Mk2 3Mt2
9.2-10.12	2/9 (22.2%) 2Mk1	4/9 (44.4%) 1n 3Mk1	2/9 (22.2%) 2q	1Mt2
10.13-13.2	12/21 (57.1%)	6/21 (28.6%) 6n	1/21 (4.8%) 1n	2Mt2
	12Mk1			
13.3-16.8	3/31 (9.7%) 3Mk1	26/31 (83.9%) 26n	1/31 (3.2%) 1n	1Mt1
Totals	27/112 (24.1%)	61/112 (54.5%)	11/112 (9.8%)	13/112 (11.6%)
	27Mk1	35n 26Mk1	7q 4n	

#### Tabulation of Markan-Lukan Relational Patterns by Section

Type 1 reflects the 27 Markan passages missing from Ev yet present in Lk2, as noted above. That nearly 25% of relational patterns fall into this category, their consistent presence across all sections, and yet their dense clustering in Mark 1.2–15 (100%) and 10.13–13.2 (57.1%) is strong evidence against Ev being a random or malign evisceration of Lk2 and strong evidence for Lk2 being a programmatic expansion to Ev and connecting to multiple, discrete strata of Markan material.

Type 2, the most prevalent relational pattern, corresponds to alignments across Markan and Lukan strata. Even so, not all alignments are alike. Less than half of the alignments (26/60 or 43.4%) derive from the early Markan source. More often (35/61 or 57.4%) the traditions newly identified as Qn reflect the earliest and simplest signals within these alignments. Both of these different kinds of alignments reflect separate clustering, with Mk1 sourced passages highly prevalent in 1.16–3.19a (92.9%) and across 4.35–9.1 and 9.2–10.12 (42.9% and 44.4%, respectively), while the Qn-based alignments are densely clustered in 13.3–16.8 (83.9%).

Type 3 might seem at first glance to favor Lk2 priority, given that Ev sometimes (9.8% of passages) shares similar content with Lk2 that is presented quite differently in Mark, whether in content, order, or both. But a closer, careful analysis and more compelling scientific explanation for even this pattern turns out to favor Ev priority and the antiquity of a larger Q (Qn) source than traditionally conceived. The Markan formation shows a systematic, however sporadic pattern of using yet displacing Q/Qn materials from their shared Ev /Lk2 order.

For our cluster analysis of Lukan traditions in Ev, we sort passages into two groups: 1) attested as not present and 2) unattested.<sup>69</sup> For content attested as not present, two extensive clusters occupy the opening of Lk2 (1.1–2.52, 3.2b–4.13). Smaller clusters appear elsewhere (13.31–35; 19.28–47a).

SQE. Shorthand	Lk1 (80s)	Lk2 (117–138)	Tradition	Words
A001. Preface	Not present	1.1-4	Single	42
A002. John's birth foretold	Not present	1.5-25	Single	377
A003. Annunciation	Not present	1.26-38	Single	209
A004. Visitation	Not present	1.39-56	Single	232
A005. Birth of John	Not present	1.57-80	Single	326
A007. Birth of Jesus	Not present	2.1-7	Single	104
A008. Adoration	Not present	2.8-20	Single	207
A009. Presentation	Not present	2.21-38	Single	311
A011. Childhood	Not present	2.39-40	Single	31
A012. Boy Jesus at temple	Not present	2.41-52	Single	196
A013b. John introduced	Not present	3.2b-6	Triple	76
A014. John's repentance	Not present	3.7-9	Double: Mt1Lk2	72
A015. John's protreptic	Not present	3.10-14	Single	73
A016. John's messiah	Not present	3.15-18	Triple	86
A017. John imprisoned	Not present	3.19-20	Triple	34
A018. Baptism	Not present	3.21-22	Triple	43
A019. Genealogy	Not present	3.23-38	Single	165
A020. Desert flight	Not present	4.1-13	Double: Mt1Lk2	203
A167. Strange exorcist	Not present	9.49-50	Other: Lk2Mk3	38
A178. Woes against cities	Not present	10.12-15	Double: Lk2Mt2	63
A191. Sign of Jonah	Not present	11.30-32	Triple	72
A194b. Wisdom, Abel, Zechariah	Not present	11.49-51	Triple	58
A207. Repentance or destruction	Not present	13.1–9	Single	169
A212. Beware Herod	Not present	13.31-33	Single	56
A213. Jerusalem lament	Not present	13.34-35	Double: Lk2Mt2	53
A221. Lost son fable	Not present	15.11-32	Single	391
A262. Passion prediction 3	Not present	18.31-34	Triple	61
A269. Triumphal entry	Not present	19.28–40	Triple	193
A270. Jerusalem lament 2	Not present	19.41–44	Single	73
A273. Temple cleansed	Not present	19.45–47a	Triple	34
A278. Husbandmen fable	Not present	20.9–18	Triple	170
A290b. Fleeing Judea	Not present	21.21-24	Triple	79
A316. Two swords	Not present	22.35-38	Single	79
A331b. Ear restored	Not present	22.50-51	Single	31
A346. Criminals contrasted	Not present	23.39-43	Single	73
Totals	Passages: 35		19S; 4D; 11T; 1O	4480

Lk2 Passages Not Present in Ev

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> In v1.46 we split out and expanded these two tables and added more analysis. Previously there was only one table with an incomplete list that combined passages attested as not present with passages unattested.

As with the passages indicated as not present, unattested passages also exhibit clustering (8.9–15; 10.29–42; 17.5–10). The clustering patterns are even more evident when we layer the passages not present over those unattested. Four nearby passages are missing from chapter 11: A189, A191, A193, A194b. Five nearby passages are missing from chapter 23: A338, A343a, A343b, A345, A346.

SQE. Shorthand	Lk1 (80s)	Lk2 (117–138)	Tradition	Words
A030. Ministry in Galilee	Unattested	4.14-15	Triple	31
A037. Peter's in-law healed	Unattested	4.38-39	Triple	38
A083b. House built on rock	Unattested	6.47-49	Double: Mt1Lk2	83
A123. Reason for fables	Unattested	8.9-10	Triple	36
A124. Sower fable meaning	Unattested	8.11-15	Triple	109
A174. Departure to Judea	Unattested	9.51	Triple	19
A183. Good Samaritan	Unattested	10.29-37	Single	156
A184. Mary and Martha	Unattested	10.38-42	Single	90
A189. Unclean spirit returns	Unattested	11.24-26	Double: Lk2Mt2	55
A193. Sound eye	Unattested	11.34-36	Double: Mt1Lk2	63
A202. Divest and donate	Unattested	12.33-34	Double: Mt1Lk2	36
A214. Dropsy healed	Unattested	14.1-6	Single	82
A218. Insipid salt	Unattested	14.34-35	Triple	<del>29</del>
A231. On faith	Unattested	17.5-6	Double: Lk2Mt2	34
A232. Unworthy slaves	Unattested	17.7-10	Single	68
A253. Children welcomed	Unattested	18.15-17	Triple	57
A255. Riches vs. rewards	Unattested	18.24-30	Triple	110
A274. Conspiracy	Unattested	19.47b-48	Other: Lk2Mk3	27
A284. Scribes/Pharisees cursed	Unattested	20.45-47	Triple	48
A286. Widow's mite	Unattested	21.1-4	Other: Lk2Mk3	58
A287. Jerusalem's fall	Unattested	21.5-6	Triple	28
A313. Disciple rank	Unattested	22.24-30	Triple	110
A338. Pilate declares innocent	Unattested	23.13-16	Single	60
A343a. Road to Golgotha	Unattested	23.26	Triple	19
A343b. Daughters of Jerusalem	Unattested	23.27-31	Single	83
A345. Mockery on cross	Unattested	23.35-38	Triple	56
A365b. Ascent	Unattested	24.51-53	Other: Lk2Mk3	35
Totals	Passages: 26		6S; 5D; 12T; 3O	1591

Lk2 Passages Unattested in Ev

These clustering patterns are exactly what we would expect of a concerted editorial program. Both at the micro- and macro-level, intense editorial work across human knowledge production often enacts re-wrappings and re-packaging of earlier contents, with new materials introduced in concentrated blocks at the beginning and end, as well as other strategic places throughout the narrative. The cumulative effect of such editing is to contemporize and transform the subscript in the process of retelling. According to our analysis, all of this content (6071 words altogether) was not present in Ev, excepting A218 (Insipid salt), a brief Qn tradition skipped by Ev witnesses.

The cumulative evidence shows the invalidity of the prejudicial assumptions that have kept Ev from being made central to scholarly conversations about the earliest Joshua textual traditions.

Some (= early) Markan content is conspicuously clustered in Ev,<sup>70</sup> while other (= later) Markan content missing from Ev is conspicuously clustered in canonical Mark,<sup>71</sup> and only *some* of the Markan clusters missing from Ev have corresponding clusters in canonical Luke.

Some (= early) uniquely Lukan content is conspicuously clustered in Ev,<sup>72</sup> while other (= later) uniquely Lukan content missing from Ev is conspicuously clustered in canonical Luke.<sup>73</sup>

There is no logical way to explain these systematic clustering patterns spanning *both* Markan *and* Lukan content, *both inside and outside of Ev,* as the miraculous result of a destructive heretical editorial program, a suppressive early-orthodox campaign, and/or the random vicissitudes of later attestation. These patterns point not to random nor malign omission, but instead to multiple stages and layers of editorial addition.

Nor is there any logical way to explain these systematic clustering patterns spanning *both* Markan *and* Lukan content *both inside and outside of Ev* in support of Ev accessing Markan traditions as mediated through canonical Luke. The clustering patterns in receptions of Markan and Lukan content point to Ev accessing early Markan traditions directly from early Mark, to canonical Luke accessing early Markan traditions typically *through* Ev, and to canonical Luke and canonical Mark sharing a significant amount of content that has no correspondence whatsoever with Ev.

The clustering patterns are clear: Ev (Lk1) used early Mark (Mk1) as a major source, late Luke (Lk2) used Ev (Lk1) as its primary source, and late Mark (Mk2/Mk3) was significantly expanded, partly apart from and partly in close connection with late Luke (Lk2).

Lk1 reflects an editorially simple, selective appropriation of Mk1 as one of its two main sources, while Lk2 reflects an editorially masterful, thoroughgoing rewriting and expansion of Lk1 as its base script.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> For the clustering of early Markan traditions present in Lk1, see the tables above, especially the concluding "Tabulation of Synoptic Receptions of Markan Passages by Section". We note two extended, dense clusters: 1) A034–A036, A038–A040, A042–A049; 2) A136–A138, A142–A143, A146, A158–A160, A163–A164, A166. While there is a considerable amount of intervening material in various locations in the second cluster, according to our signals analysis, these reflect later redactional insertions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> For the clustering of late Markan traditions that are absent from Lk1, see the "Markan Passages Missing from Ev " table below. We note the following clusters: 1) A123–A124; 2) A144–A145; 3) A255, A262–A263; 4) A269, A271, A273. The opening of Mark also has a cluster of material absent from Ev (A013b, A016, A018, A020), but according to our signals analysis this was early Markan material omitted by LkR1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> For the clustering of (early) Lukan single traditions present in Lk1, see the "Lukan Single Tradition Passages" table below. We note three clusters: 1) A199–A200; 2) A222–A223, A225, A228; 3) A236–A237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> For the clustering of (late) Lukan single traditions absent from Lk1, see the tables on the immediately preceding pages: "Lk2 Passages Not Present in Ev " and "Lk2 Passages Unattested in Ev ".

## 1.11.2. Statistical Analysis of Single, Double, and Triple Traditions

Scholars have only scratched the surface of a technologically sophisticated stylometric approach to evaluate and restore Marcion's *Gospel* in close comparison with canonical Luke. A later subsection will summarize the history of scholarship in this regard and put our work into perspective. In this section we begin our foray into this domain, offering yet another set of proofs, both for the Schwegler hypothesis (that Ev is earlier than and the base script for Lk2) and thus also for our related scientific hypotheses and reconstruction of the first gospel (Qn).

Given that Ev in this LODLIB is in a gradual process of scientific restoration, the data below are still fluctuating, updated periodically whenever significant chunks of words are restored to Ev, especially in chapters 12–24.<sup>74</sup> Occasionally words are also being removed from my reconstruction of Ev when they reflect likely contamination from Lk2, contamination owing largely to my initial dependence on previous reconstructions at the start of my research.

Still, static perfection cannot be the enemy of the good of scientific progress. The data compiled below provide a strong, reliable picture of the relationship between Ev and Lk2, a picture that proves consistent across Ev datasets based on other scholarly reconstructions (e.g., Harnack, Roth, BeDuhn, Klinghardt, Nicolotti). See IDD 1.6 for detailed comparisons of these editions.

Our first table in this section covers Lukan single tradition passages. As it shows and as is well known, Luke 1-2 and most of Luke 3 are completely missing from Ev, so there is no surprise there. What may be surprising is the range of word count rates in attested single tradition passages in Ev.

A228 (Dives and Lazarus) in Ev has a word count of 237 compared to 244 in LkR2, an exceptional 97% attestation rate. A070 (Curses) stands next highest at 84%, followed by A190 (Benediction) at 74%, A200 (Rich Fool) at 73%, and A236 (Judge and widow) and A225 (Pharisees reproved) both at 71%. Despite the inconsistency of Ev witnesses, in these high points of attestation we clearly get a sense of the density of the underlying text of Ev. It should be noted that almost all this thoroughly attested content focuses intensely on condemning the wealthy and vindicating the poor, hallmark features of Qn.

Other Ev passages have a meager attestation rate vis-à-vis Lk2, with five different passages failing to reach the 20% line (A033, A175, A220, A222, A337). While this scarcity of attested content was due in part to the poor attestation of Ev by witnesses, we also show in our later parallel sets of those passages that the issue was not simply omission or lack of attestation, but also later addition, i.e., hallmark features added that reflect the creative and consistent editorial work of LkR2. These minimally attested passages include two fables, two stories about Jesus being rejected, and one about affairs of state, all highly probable occasions for LkR2 redactional supplementation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> In v1.46, as part of our release of IDD 1.6, we double-checked, corrected, and updated word counts and calculations in this section, both for Lk1 and Lk2.

Lukan Single Tradition Passages

SQE. Shorthand	Lk1 (80s)	Lk1 Words	Lk2 (117–138)	Unique to Lk2?	<u> </u>
A001–A005. Chapter 1	Not present	0 (0%)	1.1-80	Yes	1186
A007–A009, A011–A012. Chapter 2	Not present	0 (0%)	2.1-52	Yes	849
A013a. Historical preface	Attested	11 (28%)	3.1–2a	Yes	39
A015. John's protreptic	Not present	0 (0%)	3.10-14	Yes	73
A019. Genealogy	Not present	0 (0%)	3.23-38	Mostly	165
A033. Escaping Nazareth	Attested	34 (13%)	4.16-30	Mostly	271
A079. Curses	Attested	36 (84%)	6.24-26	Yes	43
A086. Widow's son raised	Attested	60 (48%)	7.11–17	Yes	126
A115. Women patrons	Attested	20 (32%)	8.1-3	Mostly	62
A175. Samaritan rejection	Attested	24 (44%)	9.52-56	Yes	55
A183. Good Samaritan	Unattested	0 (0%)	10.29–37	Yes	156
A184. Mary and Martha	Unattested	0 (0%)	10.38-42	Yes	90
A186. Midnight begging	Attested	52 (60%)	11.5-8	Yes	86
A190. Benediction	Attested	29 (74%)	11.27b-28	Yes	39
A199. Inheritance division	Attested	22 (41%)	12.13-15	Yes	54
A200. Rich fool	Attested	69 (73%)	12.16-21	Yes	94
A207. Repentance or destruction	Not present	0 (0%)	13.1-9	Yes	169
A208. Woman released	Attested	60 (38%)	13.10-17	Yes	160
A212. Beware Herod	Not present	0 (0%)	13.31-33	Yes	56
A214. Dropsy healed	Unattested	0 (0%)	14.1–6	Yes	82
A215. Inclusive feasts	Attested	33 (21%)	14.7-14	Yes	154
A220. Lost coin fable	Attested	9 (17%)	15.8–10	Yes	53
A221. Lost son fable	Not present	0 (0%)	15.11-32	Yes	391
A222. Unjust steward fable	Attested	25 (13%)	16.1–9	Yes	188
A223. Faithfulness in mammon	Attested	27 (59%)	16.10-12	Yes	46
A225. Pharisees reproved	Attested	27 (71%)	16.14-15	Yes	38
A228. Rich man and Lazarus	Attested	237 (97%)	16.19–31	Yes	244
A232. Unworthy slaves	Unattested	0 (0%)	17.7-10	Yes	68
A233. Ten lepers cleansed	Attested	55 (47%)	17.11–19	Yes	117
A236. Judge and widow	Attested	98 (71%)	18.1-8	Yes	138
A237. Pharisee and publican	Attested	40 (34%)	18.9–14	Yes	117
A265. Zacchaeus	Attested	35 (24%)	19.1–10	Yes	147
A270. Jerusalem lament 2	Not present	0 (0%)	19.41-44	Yes	73
A301. Temple teaching	Attested	14 (45%)	21.37-38	Yes	31
A316. Two swords	Not present	0 (0%)	22.35-38	Yes	79
A331. Ear restored	Not present	0 (0%)	22.50-51	Yes	31
A337. Herod trial	Attested	17 (14%)	23.6-12	Mostly	121
A338. Pilate declares innocent	Unattested	0 (0%)	23.13-16	Yes	60
A343b. Daughters of Jerusalem	Unattested	0 (0%)	23.27-31	Yes	83
A346. Criminals contrasted	Not present	0 (0%)	23.39-43	Yes	73

The double traditions overlap considerably with traditional Q and our Qn. Several passages have a high attestation rate: A226 103%, A083a 100%, A185 92%, A206 88%, and A176 87%. This confirms the dense underlying text of Ev and the strong *halakhic* character of Q/Qn traditions in general.

Double Tradition Pass					
SQE. Shorthand	Lk1 (80s)	Lk1 Words	Lk2 (117–138)	Lk2 Words	
A014. John's repentance	Not present	0 (0%)	3.7-9	72	
A020. Desert flight	Not present	0 (0%)	4.1-13	203	
A078/A051. Blessings	Attested	49 (67%)	6.20b-23	73	
A080. Impartial love	Attested	87 (54%)	6.27-36	161	
A081. Judging	Attested	70 (52%)	6.37-42	135	
A083a. Lord lord	Attested	11 (100%)	6.46	11	
A083b. House built on rock	Unattested	0 (0%)	6.47-49	83	
A085. Centurion	Attested	68 (37%)	7.1-10	186	
A106. Messages with John	Attested	75 (73%)	7.18-23	103	
A107. Identity of John	Attested	60 (30%)	7.24-35	202	
A176. Following Joshua	Attested	102 (87%)	9.57-62	117	
A178. Woes against cities	Not present	0 (0%)	10.12-15	63	
A179. Representation	Attested	10 (53%)	10.16	19	
A181. Thanksgiving	Attested	67 (60%)	10.21-24	113	
A185. Lord's prayer	Attested	68 (92%)	11.1-4	74	
A187. Summons to pray	Attested	50 (67%)	11.9–13	75	
A189. Unclean spirit returns	Unattested	0 (0%)	11.24–26	55	
A191b. Sign of Jonah	Not present	0 (0%)	11.29c-32	77	
A193. Sound eye	Attested	43 (68%)	11.34-36	63	
A194. vs. Pharisees/Lawyers	Attested	128 (55%)	11.42-54	233	
A196. Fearless confession	Attested	85 (58%)	12.2-9	146	
A201. Don't worry	Attested	77 (44%)	12.22-32	175	
A202. Divest and donate	Unattested	7 (19%)	12.33-34	36	
A203. Be watchful (doublet)	Attested	126 (47%)	12.35-48	270	
A204. Family divisions	Attested	45 (56%)	12.49-53	80	
A205. Interpreting signs	Attested	16 (33%)	12.54-56	48	
A206. Avoiding trials	Attested	51 (88%)	12.57-59	58	
A210. Leaven similitude	Attested	7 (29%)	13.20-21	24	
A211. Exclusion from kingdom	Attested	63 (39%)	13.22-30	161	
A213. Jerusalem lament	Not present	0 (0%)	13.34-35	53	
A216. Great supper fable	Attested	41 (23%)	14.15-24	180	
A217. Discipleship conditions	Attested	52 (32%)	14.25-33	163	
A219. Lost sheep fable	Attested	13 (11%)	15.1-7	117	
A224. Serving two lords	Attested	17 (61%)	16.13	28	
A226. Torah and nevi'im	Attested	35 (103%)	16.16–17	34	
A230. Forgiveness	Attested	12 (41%)	17.3b-4	29	
A231. On faith	Unattested	0 (0%)	17.5-6	34	
A266. Pounds fable	Attested	22 (8%)	19.11–27	279	

Compared to 48 single tradition passages and 39 double tradition passages, the 96 triple tradition passages supply an even larger body of evidence that confirms the same pattern of wide ranging attestation, except that the highs are higher and the lows lower.

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Three passages among the triple traditions exceed an attestation rate of 100%: A227 (Divorce, 20 vs. 17 words, or 118%), A197 (Blasphemous Speech, 23 vs. 21 words, or 110%), and A158 (Peter's confession, 67 vs. 66 words, or 102%). A close inspection of these passages does not turn up traces of later editing or anything distinctive that could be ascribed to Marcion himself. They all contain slightly more wordy expressions that are stated slightly more succinctly in Luke. While editors in antiquity and today usually add something of themselves to their texts, even in the most densely attested passages in Ev there is nothing that illustrates the voice or unique concerns of Marcion nor any second-century editor for that matter.<sup>75</sup>

The low end of attestation is occasionally very low among the triple traditions, with several passages that fall below 10%: A305 (Pascha approaches, 1 word vs. 24 words or 4%), A315 (Denial predicted, 1 word vs. 62 words or 2%), A341 (Mob justice, 1 word vs 26 words or 4%), and A365A (Commission, 5 words vs 113 words or 4%). These are all fairly brief, and all of them are saturated with characteristic LkR2 features (e.g., novelistic storytelling, pathos, collective speech, salvation-history, LXX intertexts, etc.) reflective of later significant redactional expansion.

			Triple Tradition Passages, Part 1		
SQE. Shorthand	Lk1 (80s)	Lk1 Words	Lk2 (117–138)	Lk2 Words	
A013b. John introduced	Not present	0 (0%)	3.2b-6	76	
A016. John's messiah	Not present	0 (0%)	3.15-18	86	
A017. John imprisoned	Not present	0 (0%)	3.19-20	34	
A018. Baptism	Not present	0 (0%)	3.21-22	43	
A030. Ministry in Galilee	Unattested	0 (0%)	4.14-15	31	
A035. Capernaum lesson	Attested	21 (78%)	4.31-32	27	
A037. Peter's in-law healed	Unattested	0 (0%)	4.38-39	38	
A038. Sick healed	Attested	30 (58%)	4.40-41	52	
A039/A040. Desert and cities	Attested	21 (39%)	4.42-44	54	
A041a. Disciples called	Attested	78 (76%)	5.1-3, 10-11	102	
A042. Leper(s) cleansed	Attested	47 (48%)	5.12-16	98	
A043. Healing of paralytic	Attested	80 (38%)	5.17-26	212	
A044. Tax collector called	Attested	29 (31%)	5.27-32	94	
A045. Fasting, wineskins, patches	Attested	116 (82%)	5.33-39	141	

#### Triple Tradition Passages, Part 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> See also Judith Lieu, "Marcion and the Synoptic Problem", in Paul Foster et al, ed., *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem, Oxford Conference April 2008: Essays in Honour of Christopher M. Tuckett* (BETL 239; Leuven: Peeters, 2011) 731–51; BeDuhn, "The Myth of Marcion as Redactor"; Klinghardt, *Oldest Gospel*; Smith, "Marcion's Gospel and the Synoptics".

Triple Tradition Passages, Part 2

SQE. Shorthand	Lk1 (80s)	Lk1 Words	Lk2 (117–138)	Lk2 Words
A046. Grain-plucking	Attested	68 (76%)	6.1-5	90
A047. Withered hand	Attested	81 (70%)	6.6-11	115
A049. Twelve chosen	Attested	29 (38%)	6.12–16	76
A077/A050. Speech setting	Attested	26 (36%)	6.17–20a	73
A082. Tree known by fruit	Attested	47 (75%)	6.43-45	63
A114. Anointing	Attested	63 (31%)	7.36-50	202
A122. Sower fable	Attested	76 (84%)	8.4-8	90
A123. Reason for fables	Unattested	0 (0%)	8.9-10	36
A124. Sower fable meaning	Unattested	0 (0%)	8.11-15	109
A125. Disclosure	Attested	37 (61%)	8.16-18	61
A135. Real family	Attested	39 (72%)	8.19-21	54
A136. Storm stilled	Attested	59 (63%)	8.22-25	94
A137. Graveyard demoniac	Attested	72 (25%)	8.26-39	293
A138. Hemorrhage healed	Attested	67 (24%)	8.40-56	281
A142. Students sent	Attested	81 (90%)	9.1-6	90
A143. Herod hears of Jesus	Attested	35 (67%)	9.7-9	52
A146. Five thousand fed	Attested	127 (78%)	9.10b-17	155
A158. Peter's confession	Attested	67 (102%)	9.18-21	66
A159. Passion prediction	Attested	24 (96%)	9.22	25
A160. Call of discipleship	Attested	33 (31%)	9.23-27	106
A161. Transfiguration	Attested	81 (46%)	9.28-36	177
A163. Faithless generation	Attested	55 (44%)	9.37-43a	124
A164. Son of man given over	Attested	10 (19%)	9.43b-45	54
A166. True greatness	Attested	33 (55%)	9.46-48	60
A174. Departure to Judea	Unattested	0 (0%)	9.51	19
A177. Seventy sent (doublet)	Attested	72 (37%)	10.1–11	197
A182. Shema	Attested	50 (69%)	10.25-28	72
A188. Beelzebub dispute	Attested	91 (55%)	11.14-23	164
A191a. No sign	Attested	7 (37%)	11.29b	19
A192. Light and sight	Attested	11 (69%)	11.33	16
A150. Defilement	Attested	28 (38%)	11.37-41	73
A195. Pharisees' leaven	Attested	14 (52%)	12.1	27
A197. Blasphemous speech	Attested	23 (110%)	12.10	21
A198. Inspired speech	Attested	22 (63%)	12.11-12	35
A209. Mustard seed similitude	Attested	16 (40%)	13.18–19	40
A218. Insipid salt	Unattested	22 (76%)	14.34-35	29
A227. Divorce	Attested	20 (118%)	16.18	17
A229. Scandals	Attested	34 (81%)	17.1–3a	42
A234. Kingdom within	Attested	34 (89%)	17.20–21	38
A235. Day of son of man	Attested	34 (14%)	17.22-37	237

Triple Tradition Passages, Part 3

SQE. Shorthand	Lk1 (80s)	Lk1 Words	Lk2 (117–138)	Lk2 Words
A253. Children welcomed	Unattested	0 (0%)	18.15-17	57
A254. Rich young man	Attested	74 (81%)	18.18-23	91
A255. Riches vs. rewards	Unattested	0 (0%)	18.24-30	110
A262. Passion prediction 3	Not present	0 (0%)	18.31-34	61
A264. Blind beggar healed	Attested	84 (78%)	18.35-43	108
A269. Triumphal entry	Not present	0 (0%)	19.28-40	193
A273. Temple cleansed	Not present	0 (0%)	19.45–47a	34
A276. Authority questioned	Attested	30 (25%)	20.1-8	118
A278. Husbandmen fable	Not present	0 (0%)	20.9-18	170
A280. Caesar's tribute	Attested	31 (23%)	20.19-26	133
A281. Resurrection question	Attested	72 (39%)	20.27-40	185
A283. David's son?	Attested	20 (43%)	20.41-44	47
A284. Scribes/Pharisees cursed	Unattested	0 (0%)	20.45-47	48
A287. Jerusalem's fall	Unattested	0 (0%)	21.5-6	28
A288. End signs	Attested	41 (47%)	21.7-11	88
A289. Persecutions foretold	Attested	45 (46%)	21.12-19	98
A290a. Desolation	Attested	7 (50%)	21.20	14
A290b. Fleeing Judea	Not present	0 (0%)	21.21-24	79
A292. Son of man comes	Attested	59 (88%)	21.25-28	67
A293. Fig tree fable	Attested	60 (91%)	21.29-33	66
A295. Take heed, watch	Attested	25 (44%)	21.34-36	57
A305. Pascha approaches	Attested	1 (4%)	22.1-2	24
A307. Betrayal by Judas	Attested	16 (36%)	22.3-6	44
A308. Pascha preparations	Attested	21 (20%)	22.7-14	106
A311. Last supper	Attested	37 (34%)	22.15-20	110
A312. Betrayal foretold	Attested	8 (17%)	22.21-23	46
A313. Disciple rank	Unattested	0 (0%)	22.24-30	110
A315. Denial predicted	Attested	1 (2%)	22.31-34	62
A330. Gethsemane	Attested	11 (13%)	22.39-46	88
A331. Arrest	Attested	9 (7%)	22.47-49, 52-53	124
A332. Sanhedrin trial	Attested	53 (20%)	22.54-71	263
A334/A336. Pilate trial	Attested	43 (48%)	23.1-5	89
A339. Barabbas	Attested	9 (12%)	23.17-23	77
A341. Mob justice	Attested	1 (4%)	23.24-25	26
A343a. Road to Golgotha	Unattested	0 (0%)	23.26	19
A344. Crucifixion	Attested	15 (29%)	23.32-34	51
A345. Mockery on cross	Unattested	0 (0%)	23.35-38	56
A347-348. Death	Attested	25 (26%)	23.44-49	95
A350. Funerary honors	Attested	31 (53%)	23.50-53	58
A352a. Memorializing women	Attested	19 (34%)	23.54-24.1	56
A352b. Missing body	Attested	53 (50%)	24.2-9	107
A365a. Commission	Attested (24.47)	5 (4%)	24.44-50	113

Besides the single, double, and triple traditions, several outliers complete our inventory.

## Unique Lukan-Johannine Parallels

SQE. Shorthand	Lk1 (80s)	Lk1 Words	Jn2 (110-117)	Lk2 (117–138)	Lk2 Words
A041. Miraculous catch	Attested	65 (62%)	21.1-9	5.4-9	105
A365. Sighting in Jerusalem	Attested	45 (45%)	20.9, 19–29, 21.12–13	24.36-43	101

## Unique Lukan-Markan-Johannine Parallels

SQE. Shorthand	Lk1 (80s)	Lk1 Words	Jn2 (110-117)	Lk2 (117–138)	Lk2 Words	Mk3 (140s)
A353. Women	Attested	20 (37%)	20.1–18	24.10-12	54	16.9–11
emissaries						

# Unique Lukan-Markan Parallels

SQE. Shorthand	Lk1 (80s)	Lk1 Words	Lk2 (117–138)	Lk2 Words	Mk3 (140s)
A036. Synagogue demon	Attested	46 (50%)	4.33-37	92	1.23-28
A145. Apostles return	Unattested	0 (0%)	9.10a	8	6.30-31
A167. Strange exorcist	Not present	0 (0%)	9.49-50	38	9.38-40
A180. Snakes and scorpions	Attested	9 (12%)	10.17-20	73	16.17–18
A274. Conspiracy	Unattested	0 (0%)	19.47b-48	27	11.18–19
A286. Widow's mite	Unattested	0 (0%)	21.1-4	58	12.41-44
A355. Sighting by two	Attested	46 (12%)	24.13-35	389	16.12
A365b. Ascent	Unattested	0 (0%)	24.51-53	35	16.19

The longer ending of Mark (Mk3 16.10–20) is typically bracketed by scholars as *sui generis* rather than part of encompassing mid-second century redactions to Mark. The evidence compiled here takes note of several close parallels of the longer ending of Mark with both QnLk1 and Lk2, and not just their post-resurrection narratives. As our parallel sets show, these fit well within numerous late Mark redactions that clearly synthesize, summarize, and expand on earlier QnLk1 and Lk2/Ac traditions.

Here we tally up figures for each category. All tradition types (single, double, triple) exhibit similar tendencies, both for restored passages and word counts. While the numbers from passage to passage swing wildly, the averages are consistent across categories. Regardless of the differences in sources and transmissions across the single, double, and triple traditions, as it regards Ev the average numbers of words and average percentages of words all stay in a moderate range.<sup>76</sup>

Ev Attested I assage word Count and Teremage Averages by Tradition-Type						
Restored Passage Average	Single	Double	Triple	Other		
Word Count	45.0	53.8	40.1	38.5		
Word Count as % of Lk2	42.7%	45.7%	43.2%	28.3%		

Ev Attested Passage Word Count and Percentage Averages by Tradition-Type

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Prior to v1.35, we combined A174 (Lk2 9.51) and A175 (Lk2 9.52–56) as one (single tradition) passage. Starting in v1.35 we split these into one triple (A174) and one single (A175). Starting with v2.24 we split off A145 (Apostles return) from A146 (Five thousand fed) as a distinctive Lukan-Markan parallel, and also moved A167 (Strange exorcist) from the Double traditions to the Lukan-Markan parallels. Other Ev editions vary in attestation rates and percentages but also prove internally consistent across tradition types (IDD 1.6).

The consistent inconsistency, if you will, reveals the integrity of Ev as a substantial text and confirms that its later, hostile witnesses could not be counted on to provide thorough, word for word attestation to its content. The underlying consistency is also helpful to assure us that we are making apples to apples comparisons when we slice the data from a different angle.

Description	Single	Double	Triple	Other	Total
Not Present	19/48 (39.6%)	6/39 (15.4%)	9/96 (9.4%)	0/9 (0%)	34/192 (17.7%)
Unattested	6/48 (12.5%)	4/39 (10.3%)	13/96 (13.5%)	3/9 (33.3%)	26/192 (13.5%)
Attested	23/48 (47.9%)	29/39 (74.4%)	74/96 (77.1%)	6/9 (67.7%)	132/192 (68.8%)

Ev Passage Attestation	by Tradition-Type
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Single (12.5%), double (10.3%), and triple (13.5%) traditions share a low rate of whole passages going unattested. Otherwise, divergences abound. Even though triple traditions are more numerous than single and double traditions combined, for Ev triple traditions are rarely (9.4% of the time) indicated by witnesses as not present. Double traditions are also rarely (15.4%) indicated as not present, but single traditions are indicated as not present far more often (almost 40%). While both triple (77.1%) and double (73.7%) traditions are attested around three-quarters of the time, single traditions are attested less than half the time (47.9%).

## Ev vs Lk2 Word Count by Tradition-Type

Description	Single	Double	Triple	Other	Total
Not Present	3145/6059 (51.9%)	501/4032 (12.4%)	776/8455 (9.2%)	0/936 (0.0%)	4422/19482 (22.7%)
Unattested	1880/6059 (31.0%)	1974/4032 (49.0%)	2663/8455 (31.5%)	705/936 (75.3%)	7222/19482 (37.1%)
Attested	1034/6059 (17.1%)	1557/4032 (38.6%)	3016/8455 (35.7%)	231/936 (24.7%)	5852/19482 (30.0%)

The attested triple and double tradition passages have consistently respectable word counts compared to Lk2 (35.7% and 38.6%, respectively). Single traditions, by contrast, have a word count that sits at a meager 17.1%. The consistent deficit of single to double and triple traditions—which is also evident in the Ev editions of other scholars (IDD 1.6)—makes no sense if Ev is an evisceration of Lk2. It makes perfect sense if Lk2 was a later version and expansion of Ev.

To play devil's advocate, let us entertain the fanciful scenario that others before us have, that Luke 1–2 had been summarily cut from the exemplar or text of Marcion's *Gospel*, which started at Luke 3.1:

	There beenario. Tassage and word Counts				
Description	Single	Double	Triple	Other	Total
Not Present	9/38 (23.7%)	6/39 (15.4%)	9/96 (9.4%)	0/9 (0%)	24/182 (13.2%)
Unattested	6/38 (15.8%)	4/39 (10.3%)	13/96 (13.5%)	3/9 (33.3%)	26/182 (14.3%)
Attested	23/38 (60.5%)	29/39 (74.4%)	74/96 (77.1%)	6/9 (67.7%)	132/182 (72.5%)
Words	1034/4072	1557/3994 (39.0%)	3030/8444	231/937 (24.7%)	5852/17447 (33.5%)
	(25.4%)		(35.9%)		

Fictive Scenario: Passage and Word Counts

Removing Luke 1–2 from our calculations did shift things in certain ways. Instead of single traditions being indicated as not present 39.6% of the time, that number has now fallen to 23.7%. Yet this is still significantly higher than for double (15.4%) and especially triple (9.4%) traditions. The percentage of unattested single passages went up in this fanciful scenario to 15.8%, from a previous number that was more typical across categories (12.5%). The percentage of attested single tradition passages also went up, from 47.9% to 60.5%, a significant improvement, to be sure, but still far below the roughly 75% average of the double and triple traditions. The percentage of total single tradition words also went up considerably, from 17.1% to 25.4%, but again, this is still well below what is typical of the double and triple tradition passages at about 37% on average. Having played out that fictive scenario, let us run internals for Lk2 and set them alongside the internals from Ev.

#### Lk2 Internal Passage and Word Counts

Statistic	Single	Double	Triple	Other
Lk2 Passages	48/192 (25.0%)	39/192 (20.3%)	96/192 (50.0%)	9/192 (4.7%)
Lk2 Words	6107/19482 (31.3%)	4066/19482 (20.9%)	8372/19482 (43.0%)	937/19482 (4.8%)

#### Ev Internal Passage and Word Counts

			•	
Statistic	Single	Double	Triple	Other
Passage Not Present	19/34 (55.9%)	6/34 (17.6%)	9/34 (26.5%)	0/34 (0%)
Passage Unattested	6/26 (23.1%)	4/26 (15.4%)	13/26 (50.0%)	3/26 (11.5%)
Passage Attested	23/132 (17.4%)	29/132 (22.0%)	74/132 (56.1%)	6/132 (4.5%)
Lk1 Words	1034/5852 (17.7%)	1557/5852 (26.6%)	3016/5852 (51.5%)	231/5852 (3.9%)

Single tradition passages make up 25% of Lk2 but only 17.4% of Ev, a 7.6% disparity. Single tradition words make up 31.3% of Lk2 but only 17.7% of Ev, a huge 13.6% deficit, even more striking given that several single tradition passages are among the most densely attested in Ev (e.g., A070, A225, A228, A236). Double tradition passages are close (20.9% for Lk2 and 22.0% for Ev, only 0.3% apart), but Ev has a 5.7% higher word count for double traditions (26.6% instead of 20.9%). Triple tradition passages are found 6.1% more frequently in Ev (56.1%) than in Lk2 (50.0%). Triple tradition words are found 8.5% more often in Ev (51.5%) than Lk2 (43.0%). The internals for the Other traditions are comparable. Overall, Ev has a clear, systematic lack of single traditions compared to double and especially triple traditions. These patterns also hold true across all major reconstructions of Ev, i.e., those by Hahn, Zahn, Harnack, Tsutsui, Roth, BeDuhn, Klinghardt, and Nicolotti (see IDD 1.6).

The Cluster Analysis of Markan and Lukan Passages and the Statistical Analysis of Single, Double, and Triple Traditions become even more compelling when we bring their findings together.

Ev contains:

- 74 of 96 (77.1%) Triple tradition passages
- 29 of 39 (74.4%) Double tradition passages
- 72 of 112 (64.3%) Markan passages
- 23 of 48 (47.9%) Lukan single tradition passages
- 3 of 8 (37.5%) passages uniquely shared between Mark and Luke

Ev lacks (i.e., unattested and attested as not present):

- 22 of 96 (or 22.9%) Triple tradition passages
- 10 of 39 (or 25.6%) Double tradition passages
- 40 of 112 (or 35.7%) Markan passages
- 25 of 48 (or 52.1%) Lukan single tradition passages
- 5 of 8 (or 62.5%) passages uniquely shared between Mark and Luke

Q: How can Ev—as a purportedly abridged version of Luke!—be a fairly reliable witness to Triple and Double tradition passages, a mediocre witness to Markan passages, an unreliable witness to Lukan single tradition passages, and an abysmal witness to unique Markan-Lukan passages? Why are there such discrepancies among underlying tradition types?

A: Because Ev is early Luke and used an early version of Mark (Mk1) as one of its two sources. Here let us recount our earlier list of the 13 Markan passages neither in Ev nor Lk2.

	Ivia	rkan Passages neither in Ev nor Lk2
SQE. Shorthand	Mark	Matt
A116. Insanity concern	3.19b-21	
A126. Secret seed fable	4.26-29	
A130. Use of fables	[4.33-34]	[13.34-35]
A147. Walking on water	[6.45-52]	[14.22-33]
A148. Gennesaret healings	[6.53-56]	[14.34–36]
A151. Foreigner's daughter	[7.24-30]	[15.21-28]
A152. Deaf mute healed	[7.31-37]	[15.29–31]
A153. Four thousand fed	[8.1–10]	[15.32-39]
A156. Bethsaida blind healed	[8.22-26]	
A162. Elijah comes	[9.11-13]	[17.10–13]
A272. Fig tree cursed	[11.12–14]	[21.18–19]
A275. Fig tree withered	[11.20-26]	[21.20-22]
A342. Soldiers mocking	[15.16-20a]	[27.27–31a]

Markan Passages neither in Ev nor Lk2

As the brackets indicate, our signals analysis shows that most of these passages were not in Mk1 but first appeared in Jn1, Mk2, or Mt2. Note the two passages that lack brackets are embarrassing and/or problematic traditions likely in Mk1 then ignored by later compilers.

Of the 27 other Markan passages missing from Ev, 22 are Triple traditions, 1 is a Double tradition with Triple elements (A020), while 4 are uniquely shared between Luke and Mark.

Markan Passages Missing from				
SQE. Shorthand	Mk1 (75–80)	Lk1 (80s)	Lk2 (117-138)	Туре
A013b. John introduced	1.2-6	Not present	3.2b-6	Triple
A016. John's messiah	1.7-8	Not present	3.15-18	Triple
A018. Baptism	1.9–11	Not present	3.21-22	Triple
A020. Desert flight	1.12–13	Not present	4.1-13	Double/Triple
A030/032. Ministry in Galilee	[1.14-15]	Unattested	4.14-15	Triple
A037. Peter's in-law healed	[1.29-31]	Unattested	4.38-39	Triple
A123. Reason for fables	[4.10-12]	Unattested	8.9–10	Triple
A124. Sower fable meaning	[4.13-20]	Unattested	8.11-15	Triple
A144. John dies	[6.17–29]	Not present	3.19-20	Mt2Mk3/Triple
A145. Apostles return	[6.30-31]	Unattested	9.10a	Lk2Mk3
A167. Strange exorcist	[9.38-41]	Unattested	9.49-50	Lk2Mk3
A174/A251. Departure to Judea	[10.1]	Unattested	9.51	Triple
A253. Children welcomed	[10.13–16]	Unattested	18.15-17	Triple
A255. Riches vs. rewards	[10.23-31]	Unattested	18.24-30	Triple
A262. Passion prediction 3	[10.32-34]	Not present	18.31-34	Triple
A263. Disciple rank	[10.35-45]	Unattested	22.24-27	Triple
A269. Triumphal entry	[11.1-10]	Not present	19.28-40	Triple
A271. Entering Jerusalem	[11.11]	Not present	19.45-46	Triple
A273. Temple cleansed	[11.15–17]	Not present	19.45-47a	Triple
A274. Conspiracy	[11.18–19]	Unattested	19.47b-48	Lk2Mk3
A278. Husbandmen fable	[12.1–12]	Not present	20.9–18	Triple
A284. Woes to scribes	[12.37b-40]	Unattested	20.45-47	Triple
A286. Widow's mite	[12.41-44]	Unattested	21.1-4	Lk2Mk3
A287. Jerusalem's fall	[13.1-2]	Unattested	21.5-6	Triple
A345. Mockery on cross	[15.27-32a]	Unattested	23.35-38	Triple
A346. Co-crucified mocking	15.32b	Unattested	23.39	Triple
A348. Crucifixion witnesses	15.40-41	Unattested	23.49	Triple

Markan Passages Missing from Ev

The reason all of these passages were not attested for Ev is because they were not present in Lk1, nor even most of them in Mk1 for that matter. Most of these signal cascades first emerged well into the second century within John or later strata of Luke, Matthew or Mark.

# An Overview of Stylometric and Statistical Scholarship on Ev

In a 1875 article, republished in his 1876 book, William Sanday attempted to show stylometric consistency between Lukan passages that were present in Ev compared to those missing from it. In the preface, he places his work under the aegis of "the Christian Evidence Society", "under the head of Apologetics", which "ought to have no existence distinct from the general and unanimous search for truth" and "must needs stand aside from the path of science" (ix). This fundamentalist bias shapes Sanday's later discussion of Marcion's *Gospel* and ultimately collapses his gambit to separate apologetics from science as distinct forms of truth (222). Brimming with rhetorical-dramatic high-English flair and quasi-scientific confidence, he states:

I... come at once, without further delay, to the one point which seems to me really to decide the character of Marcion's Gospel and its relation to the Synoptic. The argument to which I allude is that from style and diction... here the question can be reduced to one of definite figures and of weighing and measuring. Bruder's Concordance is a dismal-looking volume—a mere index of words, and nothing more. But it has an eloquence of its own for the scientific investigator.

Drawing on Holtzmann's earlier (1863) stylistic analysis of Luke, Sanday limns a long litany of word forms and sequences distinctive to Luke-Acts as compared to other canonical gospels (223–30), only then proceeding into a separate discussion of some thirteen textual variants in Ev (231–32) and noting their "'Western' character" (233).

As succinctly recounted by (the American) John Knox (1939:194–95; 1942:89–90), Sanday's stylometric argument was quickly and widely considered "decisively influential", holding sway for generations to come. Charteris (1880:394) called it "irresistible". It led Lightfoot (1889:186) to reverse his position on the relative priority of Ev to Luke because Sanday's position was "unanswerable". Burkitt (1906:315) deemed it "fatal to the priority of the Marcionite edition". Plummer (1925:lxix) likened it to a scientific "demonstration" whose contrary position would "have been a literary miracle".

Sanday's work has continued to hold sway,<sup>77</sup> despite Knox (1939:195; 1942:90) pointing out the fatal flaw in the case and its resulting consensus:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Cited positively in Christopher M. Hays, "Marcion vs. Luke: A Response to the *Plädoyer* of Matthias Klinghardt", *ZNW*99 (2008) 213–32 at 227–28, <u>doi.org/10.1515/ZNTW.2008.017</u>. Hays also cites Michael Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, HNT 5 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008) 2–3, who had previously attempted to refute Klinghardt's case for the priority of Ev on the basis of Ev having a few supposedly distinctive Lukan idioms, such as the combination of "herald good news" / εὐαγγελίζω@ or "preach" / κηρύσσω@ together with "kingdom of god" / βασιλεία@n\w{1}fs\w+ δ@dgms θεός@ngmsc, which is present in portions of Luke absent from Ev (8.1) and portions present in Ev (4.43, 16.16). *R* (437) cites Wolter along similar lines. All of these scholars somehow fail to note that similar combinations are found throughout Matthew: 4.17, 23, 9.35, 10.7, 24.14. Hays also cites C. Kavin Rowe, "The God of Israel and Jesus Christ: Luke, Marcion, and the Unity of the Canon", *Nova et Vetera* 1 (2003) 359–80 regarding a "narratively constituted ambiguity" (as Hays puts it

Sanday's whole inquiry into the vocabulary and style of Marcion's Gospel seems to have been conducted without any reference to the text of Marcion's Gospel... The consequence is that Sanday's elaborate demonstration resolves itself into a proof merely of the linguistic homogeneity of our Gospel of Luke, a matter which has never been in doubt, and the evidence cited has no necessary relevance to Marcion's Gospel.

Knox penned a stylometric rebuttal to Sanday that featured hand counts of characteristic Lukan features and their distributions across chunks of Lukan parallel material largely found within Ev and chunks not present in Ev (1939:199), all the while noting different frequencies. As later critics noted, Knox's delineation of material was imprecise. Realizing some of these deficiencies, Knox's next attempt at stylometry built extensive vocabulary lists separated into A (Marcionite), B (Non-Marcionite) and C (Uncertain) categories derived from his indexing of Harnack's edition. While impressive for its novelty (even bracketing *Adamantius Dialogue* vocabulary for Ev in a separate section!), Knox's more developed stylometric analysis still suffers from many problems, not only the deficiencies inherent in Harnack's edition on which he depended, but also a lack of transparent data, numerous errors, and no serious attempt to run calculations for statistical significance based on the comparative frequency of features. Knox essentially sought after but could not prove distinct authorship between Ev and Lk2. His later work also led him to take a verse count approach (1942:107–8), finding Lukan Single traditions to be disproportionately missing from Ev compared to traditions with synoptic parallels, but not separating out Double and Triple Traditions.<sup>78</sup>

Joseph Tyson (2006:86-87), previously Knox's student, later made use of these three categories to run his own calculations. He confirmed his mentor's findings, added overall word counts by category and concluding that Ev contains about 40% of Lukan Single tradition but about 70% of Double and Triple traditions, now separated out. Tyson (116–17) also developed an alternate scenario where Luke 1–2 is removed from the calculations; this scenario altered the results to 60% of Single traditions present. While improving on Knox, Tyson's work is also impaired by the lack of a rigorous critical edition of

<sup>78</sup> Knox's work was recently and positively summarized in Vinzent, 255–59.

on 227) between Jesus and the Hebrew god as "lord" /  $\varkappa$ ύριος seen not only in Luke 1.42, 2.11, 3.4–6, but also in Ev 20.41–44. On the contrary, 20.42–43 are unattested for Ev and likely not present, and the ambiguity of the word  $\varkappa$ ύριος applied as a divine and human title is commonplace in Hellenistic Judaism.

The modern day defenders of Sanday (namely Rowe, Wolter, Hays, and Roth) have all completely failed to make anything approximating a serious stylometric argument. As our signals analysis shows, there are hundreds of distinctive words and phrases uniquely shared between Lk1 and Lk2, and many of these echo in portions of Lk2 that are not present in Lk1. That is quite to be expected given that canonical Luke (Lk2) is in fact a second, later edition of Ev (Lk1). What the defenders of Lukan priority must now explain away is the massive amount of evidence compiled below, especially in our "Statistically Significant Signature Features of Qn, Lk1, and Lk2" with its binomial distribution probabilities for hundreds of high frequency features whose clustering in Lk2 and disproportionate absence in Ev proves the systematic, stylometric difference in authorship between the QnLk1 and Lk2 strata. These thousands of clustered datapoints are identified in the footnotes of our Comparative Restoration, further deepening, broadening, and nuancing these findings. Future Computational Linguistics clustering and classification algorithms will only confirm and expand them. The data are overwhelmingly clear: the distinct voice of the Lukan redactor (LkR2) is missing from Ev.

Ev, no open data, and nary an effort to run calculations demonstrating statistical significance. Modern computational linguistics is almost entirely ignored.

More recently, in a 2019 chapter, Daniel A. Smith made use of Roth's 2015 critical reconstruction to comb through the Present, Absent, and Unattested passages in Ev and group them helpfully by Single, Double, and Markan/Triple Traditions.<sup>79</sup> Smith's Appendices are 1) Lukan Single Traditions (159–61); 2) Synopsis of Early Tomb texts (162–64); 3) Double Traditions (Q; 165–67); 4) Markan Traditions (168-71); 5) Attestation percentages by Tradition Type (172); 6) Absence percentages by Tradition Type (173). Most of these succinct, information-dense appendices conclude with calculations of verse counts and percentages, similar to the approach of Knox. Going beyond Tyson's alternative scenario for Single traditions, Smith plays out three such scenarios, i.e., removing Luke 1–3 from Single Traditions. In its nuance, rigor, and use of Roth's critical edition, Smith's work surpasses that of Knox and Tyson. Smith's findings confirm his 2017 chapter focused on resurrection accounts, finding Ev to be earlier than, and likely the source of, canonical Luke.<sup>80</sup> In a similar vein to Gramaglia's 2017 critical commentary on Klinghardt's 2015 edition, Smith also provides a corrective to Klinghardt by showing that the priority of Ev to canonical Luke does not require jettisoning Q nor dismissing Ev 's reliance (to some extent) on Mark (in some form).

Notwithstanding its many strengths, Smith's work is a stepping stone toward a rigorous accounting of all of the pertinent statistical and stylometric data needed to validate scientific hypotheses regarding historical order, dependencies, and authorship of the underlying sources and edited texts of Ev and Lk2. As is typical in Biblical Studies, the reader lacks the open data needed to validate the counts and calculations, though this is not too difficult to do with access to Roth's edition.

Our preceding analysis takes cues from the work of Tyson and Smith, particularly by breaking out Single, Double, and Triple Traditions. Ours differs in a fourth category ("Other"), in how certain materials are categorized, and in tallying passage and word counts, and not merely verse counts. On the whole, our statistical analyses throughout this LODLIB differ in far more radical ways: developing and proving scientifically testable hypotheses; providing a plethora of open data and resources; using computational linguistics and natural language processing methods; and making updates and corrections to the fluctuating datasets and calculations by way of an iterative open science format.

In the following tables, for the sake of simplicity and for the time being, we refrain from parsing out Smith's various alternate scenarios, two of which do not correspond with our approach, and one of which differs, i.e., Smith's alternate scenario for Single Traditions leaves out Luke 1–3, while mine leaves out Luke 1–2. I also here omit my calculations for "Other" passages. The columns fall in order from the least to the most granular, each a different lens to view, analyze, and explain the data.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> "Marcion's Gospel and the Synoptics", cited above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> "Marcion's *Gospel* and the Resurrected Jesus of Canonical Luke", 61, cited above.

Attestation	Tradition Type	Bilby Passages	Smith Verses	Bilby Words
Present	Single	47.9%	27.1%	17.1%
Present	Double/Q	74.4%	55.4%	38.6%
Present	Markan/Triple	77.1%	51.2%	35.7%
Unattested	Single	12.5%	28.7%	31.0%
Unattested	Double/Q	10.3%	32.0%	49.0%
Unattested	Markan/Triple	13.5%	39.8%	31.5%
Not present	Single	39.6%	44.2%	51.9%
Not present	Double	15.4%	12.6%	12.4%
Not present	Markan/Triple	9.4%	9.0%	9.2%

Smith and Bilby Calculations Compared: Passage, Verse, and Word Counts

The absent materials show the most consistency between lenses—especially for Double and Triple traditions. This makes perfect sense, given that attestations of absence lend themselves to consistent counts at every level. At the same time, the absent materials also show that segmentation by passage and even by verse fails to do justice to the amount of absent Single material. Single Tradition passages and verses in Lk2 have considerably more words on average than other kinds of traditions. These patterns—which arise partly from the different writing style of Lk2 and partly from much later decisions to segment chapters and verses—skew the results except at the granular level of word counts.

Next we focus on the materials present. The level of granularity here makes the most difference. Considered as units, passages are far better attested than verses, and verses than words. This also makes perfect sense, whether we follow the Schwegler hypothesis or the early-orthodox hypothesis. The former says that Lk2 added lots of material, and the latter holds that Marcion cut out lots of material. Either way, every lens clarifies Ev as a substantially smaller text than canonical Luke.

Finally, we summarize the unattested materials. Given the inherent ambiguity in the category and the differences between Roth's critical edition and mine, it is not surprising that the findings here have the most noise. My higher percentage for Double/Q words and lower percentage for Markan/Triple words owe to my differing classification of some passages, use of a fourth category for "Other" passages, critical re-evaluation of *CEQ* alongside traditional evidence for Ev, and commitment to identify and remove Lk2 vocal stratum contamination besetting past reconstructions of Lk1.

Overall, our statistical analyses of attestations by tradition type prove complementary and mutually reinforcing. All lenses show Ev has a systematic lack of Single Traditions as compared to Double and Triple Traditions. All lenses show Triple Traditions are very rarely absent from Ev. Both verse and word count lenses reveal Double Traditions as slightly better attested than Triple Traditions. All lenses clarify the overlapping validity of Smith's findings and my hypotheses and proofs. Mark (in some form) and Q (in some form) are both Ev sources.

In the chapter mentioned above, specifically its section entitled "On Not Dispensing with Any of Q", Daniel Smith defended the traditional Q hypothesis and contents, engaging with the work of Klinghardt and BeDuhn, but interestingly not that of Gramaglia, whose whole critically annotated translation of Klinghardt's work was structured around defending Q as used in two redactional stages, in Ev and later (by the same author/editor) in canonical Luke. Smith notes that the wholesale dismissal of Q by Klinghardt faces the same challenges as faced previous advocates of Markan posteriority, how to explain the Markan omission of so much double tradition material.<sup>81</sup> Briefly noting the ideas of Knox and Tyson about Ev as a proto-Luke that drew upon Q,<sup>82</sup> Smith then turns to the more involved, yet still brief treatment that BeDuhn has given to the relationship of Ev and Q.<sup>83</sup> Smith hones in on BeDuhn's claim that material in canonical Luke chapters 3–4 traditionally ascribed to Q but not present in Ev was more likely not original to Q.

While this book confirms the scientific validity of several of BeDuhn's instincts, Smith of course did not have the benefit of our hypotheses and proofs. What Smith did have was occasion to compare Ev and traditional Q passages more thoroughly, noting the absence from Ev of the Sign of Jonah (Q 11.30–32), judgment on "this generation" (Q 11.49–51), judgment on Jerusalem (Q 13.34–35), and the saying about sparrows (Q 12.6–7). Rather than questioning these and other passages as viable candidates for Q, Smith instead defends traditional notions about Q contents by means of a chart showing widely varying levels of agreement between Luke 3–4 and corresponding passages in Matthew, thus ostensibly undermining BeDuhn's argument that this supposed Q material shows a "word-for-word correspondence" atypical of other passages claimed for Q.

Smith summarized Double Tradition / Q material in Appendix 3<sup>84</sup> and all tradition types in Appendix 5,<sup>85</sup> finding that Double/Q Traditions are attested as present more often than Triple/Markan material and far more often than Single Lukan tradition. However, he did not run numbers comparing Ev to canonical Luke as a whole to put these findings in broader perspective. Here we do just that, after double-checking Smith's calculations of verse counts based on Roth's edition.

While Smith finds the total number of Ev verses to be 479 compared to 1151 for canonical Luke, by our calculations, Roth's edition actually has 480.5 verses attested (IDD 1.6), a negligible difference likely owing to me counting half verses as well as 6.8, indicated as having uncertain attestation. In our tabulations, both Smith and I counted verses labeled as attested by Roth even when he claimed that "no wording can be gained".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Smith, "Marcion's Gospel and the Synoptics", 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, 151–55, citing BeDuhn, *First New Testament*, 95n8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 165–67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

According to Smith's own calculations, how often were Single, Double/Q, and Triple/Markan traditions attested as compared to canonical Luke as a whole?

Tradition Type	Ev Verses Attested	Lk2 Verses	Ev Attested / Lk2
Single	135	498	27.1%
Double/Q	128	231	55.4%
Markan/Triple	216	422	51.2%
Total	479	1151	41.6%

Smith Verse Counts: Ev Attested as a Percentage of Lk2

Even without questioning or changing any of the traditional contents considered secure for Q, according to Smith's verse count approach, Q verses are the best attested of any tradition type. That is a highly significant finding on its own.

But what happens if we adjust our method to account separately for the 83 verses *considered but doubted or rejected* within *CEQ?* Of these verses, 31 are Single, 29 Double, and 23 Triple traditions. And of those, a total of 50 are attested for Ev: 19 Single, 16 Double, and 15 Triple traditions. Here we make use of Smith's tabulation of Roth's edition of Ev, adjusting the counts for this scenario.

		J	0
Tradition Type	Ev Verses Attested	Lk2 Verses	Ev Attested/Lk2
Single	116	467	24.8%
Q Secure	112	205	54.6%
Q Doubted/Rejected	50	83	60.2%
Markan/Triple	201	396	50.8%
Total	479	1151	41.6%

Smith Verse Counts Adjusted: Ev Attested as a Percentage of Lk2

For any given verse in Lk2, there is a 41.6% chance that it is attested for Ev. But for verses that scholars have considered yet doubted or rejected for Q, there is a 60.2% chance they will be attested for Ev. How can this be? How can Ev not only have a systematic surplus of Q traditions compared to all other kinds of traditions, but most of all a systematic surplus of *dubious Q traditions*? *How can scholarly doubt about Q contents be the best predictor of verse attestation in Ev*?

The explanation is in our five hypotheses. Q as traditionally reconstructed is too beholden to scholarly subjectivity, yet even in that subjectivity there is collective insight and thus valuable data. Traditional notions about the content of Q do not need to be rigidly maintained as the field begins to relocate Ev scientifically as prior to and the basis for Lk2. Instead, we need to reimagine the entire Q project and reconvene scholarly teams to reconstruct Qn with Ev as our primary evidentiary basis. This will require dispensing with much of Q, adding much to Q, and carefully updating all of the wording for Q based primarily, though not exclusively, on Ev.

In the interest of data transparency, here we list the 83 verses that are questioned, bracketed, or stricken from *CEQ*, sorted by whether they are attested or unattested in Roth's edition, and further sorted by tradition type.<sup>86</sup> Given traditional assumptions about double traditions being the primary basis for Q, it makes perfect sense that in this corrective heuristic we find triple and single traditions running higher than double traditions in the attested materials, and double traditions running higher than triple and single traditions in materials in Ev that are attested as not present and materials that are unattested and thus likely not present.

Туре	Attested	Unattested or Not Present
	3.1, 6.24, 6.25, 6.26, 9.61, 9.62, 11.5, 11.7, 11.8,	11.6, 12.15, 12.17, 12.18, 12.21, 14.1,
Single	11.27, 11.28, 12.13, 12.14, 12.16, 12.19, 12.20,	14.2, 14.3, 14.4, 14.5, 14.6, 14.11
	15.8, 15.9, 15.10 (#19; 61.3%)	(#12; 38.7%)
	7.2, 7.20, 11.1, 12.32b, 12.35, 12.36, 12.37,	7.4, 7.5, 7.10, 7.21, 7.29, 7.30, 11.36,
Double	12.38, 12.49, 12.56, 12.57, 14.19, 14.20, 14.22,	12.50, 12.52, 12.54, 12.55, 13.30,
	14.24, 15.6 (#16; 55.2%)	14.15 (#13; 44.8%)
Triple	4.31, 10.1, 10.25, 10.26, 10.27, 10.28, 11.21a, 11.22a, 11.40, 17.20, 17.21, 17.22, 17.25, 17.28, 17.32 (#15; 65.2%)	3.4, 3.21, 3.22, 17.29, 17.31, 19.25, 19.27, 22.29 (#8; 34.8%)
Total	50 (60.2%)	33 (39.8%)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> In v2.05 we made several minor corrections and improvements to our tallies and calculations: 3.1 and 12.32 were added, 7.10 and 22.29 were removed as unattested in R; unattested verses were listed in full; and all verses were split out into tradition types. It should be noted that we do not include partial verses in these tallies when part of the verse is considered secure and part doubtful in *CEQ*: e.g., 11.2a, 11.39a, and 15.5b are doubted but not included, because 11.2b, 11.39b, and 15.5a are considered secure. None of these corrections altered the overall conclusion and finding of a 60.2% attestation rate of dubious Q traditions when using R's edition. The correlation rate between dubious *CEQ* verses and present Ev verses would be a little higher (62.6%) if we used our own edition, since we conclude that 7.10 and 12.18 were present in Ev.

## 1.11.3. Repartitioning the Fictive L Source to Qn and Lk2 Strata

The scientific validation of three distinct strata in the textual formation of Luke (Qn, Lk1, and Lk2) invalidates the L source hypothesis. The following analysis shows that the entirety of previously posited L source passages are correctly repartitioned as either part of Qn (as witnessed in Ev), part of the Lk2 redaction (i.e., not present or unattested in Ev ), or a nuanced mix of both.<sup>87</sup>

Most of the themes and rhetorical techniques that scholars previously thought distinctive to the L source are largely missing from Qn and instead reflect the unique style, concerns, erudition, and elite social status of the Lk2 Redactor (LkR2), as thoroughly demonstrated in the tables below.

A smaller subset of materials previously attributed to the L source exhibits themes, rhetoric, ethics, and social standing consistent with Qn (wealth/poverty, begging, food distribution, patrons and beneficiaries, son/daughter of Abraham declarations, son of man sayings, and concluding pronouncements about faith, salvation, and/or justification).

According to a standard edition, passages confidently ascribed to the L source are Luke 3.10–14, 4.25–27, 7.11b–15, 7.36–47, 10.30–37a, 10.39–42, 11.5b–8, 12.35–38, 13.1b–5, 13.6b–9, 13.10–17b, 13.31b–32, 14.2–5, 14.8–10, 14.12–14, 14.28–32, 15.8–9, 15.11–32, 16.1b–8a, 16.19–31, 17.7–10, 17.12–18, 18.2–8a, 18.10–14a, 19.2–10.<sup>88</sup> Passages considered as possibly from the L source are [12.16b–20] and [15.4–6].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> In v1.48 we made numerous minor corrections and adjustments to the tables in this section.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Kim Paffenroth, *The Story of Jesus according to L*, JSNTSS 147 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 145. Paffenroth claims that by eliminating the idea of a proto-Luke, "we can now determine how much of the L material is pre-Lukan, how much of that material is probably from a single source, and the characteristics of that source. With such a source we will have *recovered a voice* from earliest Christianity effectively muted or transformed by its incorporation into a larger work of Luke" (23; italics mine). Paffenroth's third chapter on vocabulary and stylometry vis-à-vis Q and L yields decidedly mixed results and often runs directly counter to his argument. Earlier sources should not exhibit unusually high *hapax* density, for example. Other stylometric claims are flimsy, such as the claim (at 88) that  $\pi\alpha\rho\lambda$  + accusative "in the sense of 'more than' or 'beyond'" reflects a "Semiticism found nowhere else in Luke-Acts" outside of L: "3.13; 13.2, 4; 18.14." A quick perusal of TLG shows virtually identical constructions in Plato (*Tim.* 24d), Diodorus Siculus (17.62.7), Philo (*ebr.* 41), Josephus (*Ant.* 20.200) and in the LXX (Ex 18.11, Num 12.3).

	Postulated L Source Texts Repartitioned, T		
SQE. Shorthand	Qn (65–69) Lk1 (80s)	Lk2 (117–138)	
A014. John's protreptic	3.10–14 unattested, though indirectly attested as not present, along with all of 3.2–20	3.10–14 has ethical/philosophical dialogue with questions and answers, several additional character groups, "crowds" (v10), "tax collectors" (v12), and "soldiers" (v14), and collective speech	
A033. Escaping Nazareth	4.17–22, 24–26, 28 unattested; 4.23, 29–30 contain Aesop imitations; 4.27 only references Elisha, not Elijah, and Namaan the Syrian, not widows and is found later, before 17.14	4.17–22, 24–28 adds liturgical/ritual piety, makes a complementary synkrisis between Elijah and Elisha, accentuates healing and kindness to foreigners, focuses on a widow, exhibits learned and creative use of the LXX to supply historical, geographical, and chronological details, and builds out an Elijah-Jesus parallel	
A086. Widow's son raised	7.11, 13 unattested; 7.12, 14– 15 attested without wording, apparently had a widow's son raised from the dead	7.11 adds opening narrative journey and place name (a city called Nain); 7.12–16 adds phrases about city settings and learned and creative use of the LXX to expand the Elijah-Jesus parallel; 7.17 adds closing geographical narrative journey and place name (Judea)	
A114. Anointing	7.36–38, 44–48, 50 has "Pharisee's house" (v36), "the woman standing behind sinful by the feet" of Joshua (v37), who "anoints them with her tears" (v38), a summation (v44–46), and a final pronouncement "your faith has made you well" (v50) as a conclusion	7.36–50 adds hospitality protocols (v36–37), healing oil / "alabaster jar of ointment" (v37), Pharisee's doubt (v39), ethical dialogue and synkrisis in two debtors story within a story (v40–43), episode recast as about repentance, ethical dialogue and synkrisis in story's lesson (v44–47), dialogical question about forgiveness of sins (v49), extended focus on an anonymous pious woman as a disciple of Jesus	
A183. Good Samaritan	10.30–37 unattested, along with all of 10.29–42	10.30–37a has complaint against protagonist, narrative journey and named place (Jericho), crisis/dramatization, plot crisis, ethical character synkrisis, several characters, love in practice, healing oil, kindness to foreigners, a Samaritan positively portrayed, all framed as a fable narrated as a story within a story	
A184. Mary and Martha	10.39–42 unattested, along with all of 10.29–42	10.39–42 has multiple characters with specific roles, hospitality protocols, a complaint made to Jesus, ethical/philosophical dialogue, ethical character synkrisis, and a focus on women as disciples within a domestic setting	
A186. Midnight begging	11.6 unattested; 11.5, 7–8 has a story with a character begging food by "causing trouble" and "knocking" loudly, thus shaming the house-patron into giving	11.6 adds back and forth dialogue, first person speech, friendship piety, a third character's journey and visit (thus necessitating hospitality), and justification of the request; 11.8 removes the public disturbance of "knocking"	

# Postulated L Source Texts Repartitioned, Table 2

SQE. Shorthand	Qn (65–69) Lk1 (80s)	Lk2 (117–138)
A200. Rich fool	12.17–18 unattested; 12.16b, 19–20 has story about a rich man whom god says will die	12.17–18 adds ethical/philosophical internal reflection and soliloquy
A203. Be watchful	12.35–38 has readiness to receive and protect a house- patron	12.36 notes haste (to open the door); 12.37 describes the master serving the slaves, perhaps evoking John 13
A207. Repentance or destruction	13.1–9 not present	13.1–9 has quasi-historiographical references (Pilate, tower of Siloam), ritual purity, repentance, ethical/philosophical dialogue
A208. Woman released	13.16 has "daughter of Abraham"	13.10–17 has numerology, shame, opponents, character emotion, philosophical dialogue
A212. Beware Herod	13.31–32 not present together with all of 13.29–35	13.31b–32 has communication through emissaries, salvation-history fulfillment, third day, official political/diplomatic reply to Herod
A214. Dropsy healed	14.2–5 unattested along with all of 14.1–11	14.1–6 has hospitality protocols, philosophical/ethical dialogue with lawyers and Pharisees, debate about Torah and halakhah, Mk1 and Mt1 tropes
A215. Inclusive feasts	14.8–10 unattested, along with all of 14.1–11; 14.12, 14 urges inclusion of poor and stigmatized at meals; 14.13, 15 unattested	14.7–14 has hospitality protocols, concerns about social rank, honor and shame, decorum and concerns of elites, symposium setting, internal narrative dialogue, climactic pronouncements, repayment, Mt1 tropes
A217. Discipleship conditions	14.28–32 unattested along with all of 14.25–35	14.28–32 has affairs of state, government/public planning and building, military strategy, diplomacy, accounting, and a focus on numbers
A219. Lost sheep fable	15.4–6 has simple narrative, "lost sheep", "found", "rejoice together", "repentant sinner"	15.1–7 has expanded storytelling, Mt1 tropes
A220. Lost coin fable	15.8–9 has simple narrative, "lost coin", "found", "rejoice together", "repentant sinner"	15.8–10 has expanded storytelling, Mt1 tropes
A221. Lost son fable	15.11–32 not present	15.11–32 has expanded storytelling, repentant sinner, self-awareness, Mt1 tropes, dramatization, soliloquy, numerous additional characters, extended character development, plot crisis, distant journeys, ethical synkrisis between brothers, hospitality protocols, aristocratic status, feast setting, haste, property and inheritance rights

SQE. Shorthand	Qn (65–69) Lk1 (80s)	Lk2 (117–138)
A222. Unjust steward fable	16.1, 8 unattested; 16.2, 4–7 "attested but no wording"; 9a says "make friends with mammon of wickedness"	16.1 has sympathetically portrayed rich man; 16.3 has soliloquy; 16.4–7 has negotiations, multiple characters, detailed accounting; 16.9 has "eternal tents"
A228. Rich man and Lazarus	16.19–31 has synkrisis on ethics of wealth and poverty, begging food, afterlife depiction, and father/child language for Abraham/Lazarus	
A232. Unworthy slaves	17.7–10a unattested as part of 17.5–10a; 17.10b not present	17.7–10 has hospitality protocols and slave-owner perspective
A233. 10 lepers cleansed	17.11–12, 4.27, 17.14–19 has "Samaria" (v11) and "Samaritan" (v16), highlights gratitude (v18), concluding pronouncement "your faith has made you well" (v19)	17.11 adds opening narrative journey and place: "going to Jerusalem" and "Galilee"
A236. Judge and widow	18.1–3, 5, 7 has focus on prayer (v1), characters of judge (v2) and poor widow (v3), widow's persistence (v5), a climactic pronouncement (v7)	<ul> <li>18.2, 4, 6, 8 adds "fear of god"</li> <li>(v2, 4), character elaboration (v2, 4, 6), internal ethical soliloquy</li> <li>(v4), haste (v8), answer to rhetorical question (v8), and a second/redundant climactic pronouncement</li> </ul>
A237. Pharisee and publican	18.10–14a has "Pharisee" and "tax collector" characters (v10), synkrisis of contrasting prayers (v11–13), and single concluding pronouncement about the tax collector "going down justified" (v14)	18.9, 14b adds narrative ethical and explanatory introduction to fable (v9) and a second ethical summation / climactic pronouncement (v14b)
A265. Zacchaeus	19.2, 6, 8–10 has "Zacchaeus" (v2) who "welcomed" Joshua (v6), made pledges of charity and restitution (v8), likely (though unattested) "son of Abraham" reference (v9); possibly also the unattested "son of man" "saving the lost" concluding pronouncement (v10)	19.1, 3–5, 7 adds narrative opening referring to "Jericho" (v1), dramatization about the crowd and climbing a tree to see Jesus (v3–4), focus on hospitality protocols (v5) and haste/hurrying (v5–6), complaint of onlookers against Jesus (v7)

# Postulated L Source Texts Repartitioned, Table 3

Other Lukan Single tradition passages absent from Ev strengthen this case for the consistent work of the redactor of Lk2, rather than a self-consistent underlying L source. This includes all the infancy and passion material that scholars have not included as part of the L source.

SQE. Shorthand	Ev	Lk2
A001. Prologue	Not present	1.1-4
A002. John's birth foretold	Not present	1.5-25
A003. Annunciation	Not present	1.26-38
A004. Visitation	Not present	1.39–56
A005. Birth of John	Not present	1.57-80
A007. Birth of Jesus	Not present	2.1-7
A008. Adoration	Not present	2.8-20
A009. Presentation	Not present	2.21-38
A012. Boy Jesus at temple	Not present	2.41-52
A019. Genealogy	Not present	3.23-28

Infancy/Introductory Na	arratives Not Present in Ev	and Their Lk2 Redactiona	Tendencies

SQE	A001	A002	A003	A004	A005	A007	A008	A009	A012	A019
Feature Chapter.Verse	1.1–4	1.5–25	1.26–38	1.39–56	1.57–80	2.1–7	2.8–20	2.21–38	2.41-52	3.23–38
Affairs of State		Х		Х		Х				
Collective Speech					Х		Х			
Complaints against Protagonists		Х			Х				Х	
Crisis/Dramatization		Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	
Deference to Authority/Procedure	Х	Х	Х	Х		Х	Х	Х	Х	
Ethical/Philosophical Dialogue		Х	Х						Х	
Exitus-Reditus Journey		Х	Х	Х		Х	Х	Х	Х	
Historiography/Genealogy	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х
Hospitality Protocols				Х		Х			Х	
LXX Devotion/Quotations/Use	?	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х
Novelistic Storytelling		Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	
Salvation History Fulfillment	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х
Synkrisis of Characters (ethics/piety)		Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	
Triangulated Characters/Dialogue		Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	

SQE. Shorthand	Ev	Lk2
A270. Jesus laments Jerusalem	Not present (as part of 19.29–46)	19.41-44
A316. Two swords	Not present	22.35-38
A337. Jesus before Herod	23.6, 10–12 unattested	23.6, 10–12
A338. Pilate declares innocent	23.13–16 unattested	23.13-16
A343. Road to Golgotha	23.27–31 unattested, 23.32 only "two criminals"	23.27-32
A344. Crucifixion	23.39–43 not present	23.39-43
A355. Sighting by two	24.17, 20, 22–24, 27–29, 32–35 unattested; 13–16, 18–19, 21a, 25–26, 30–31 partly	24.13-35
A365. Last words and ascent	24.44–46, 48–53 unattested, 24.47 has brief commission	24.44-53

Passion Passages/Verses Not Present or Unattested in Ev and Their Lk2 Redactional Tendencies

SQE	A270	A316	A337	A338	A343	A344	A355	A365
Feature Chapter.Verse	19.41–44	22.35-38	23.6–12	23.13–16	23.27–32	23.39-43	24.13-35	24.44-53
Affairs of State	Х		Х	Х				
Collective Speech		Х	Х		X		Х	
Complaints against Protagonists						Х	Х	
Crisis/Dramatization	Х	Х	Х	Х	X	Х	Х	Х
Deference to Authority/Procedure	Х	Х	Х	Х		Х		Х
Ethical/Philosophical Dialogue		Х	Х	Х	X	Х	Х	Х
Exitus-Reditus Journey			Х			Х	Х	Х
Historiography/Genealogy	Х		Х	Х	X			
Hospitality Protocols	Х	Х					Х	
LXX Devotion/Quotations/Use		Х	Х		X	Х	Х	Х
Novelistic Storytelling	Х	Х	Х	Х	X	Х	Х	Х
Salvation History Fulfillment	Х	Х	Х		X	Х	Х	Х
Synkrisis of Characters (ethics/piety)			Х	Х		Х	X	
Triangulated Characters/Dialogue			Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	

Repartitioned L Source Narratives Not Present or Unattested in Ev and Their Lk2 Redactional Tendencies

SQE. Shorthand	Ev	Lk2	
A014. John's protreptic	Not present	3.10-14	
A183. Good Samaritan	Unattested	10.29-37	
A184. Mary and Martha	Unattested	10.38-42	
A207. Repentance or destruction	Not present	13.1–9	
A212. Beware Herod	Not present	13.31-33	
A214. Dropsy healed	Unattested	14.1–6	
A221. Lost son fable	Not present	15.11-32	
A232. Unworthy slaves	Unattested	17.7-10	

SQE	A014	A183	A184	A207	A212	A214	A221	A232
Feature Chapter.Verse	3.10–14	10.29-37	10.38–42	13.1–9	13.31–33	14.1–6	15.11–32	17.7–10
Affairs of State	Х			Х	Х			
Collective Speech	Х				Х			Х
Complaints against Protagonists		Х	Х		Х	Х	Х	
Crisis/Dramatization		Х	Х	Х	Х		Х	
Deference to Authority/Procedure	Х				Х			Х
Ethical/Philosophical Dialogue	Х	Х	Х	Х		Х	Х	Х
Exitus-Reditus Journey		Х			Х		Х	
Historiography/Genealogy				Х	Х			
Hospitality Protocols		Х	Х			Х	Х	Х
LXX Devotion/Quotations/Use					Х	Х		
Novelistic Storytelling		Х	Х				Х	
Salvation History Fulfillment				Х	Х		Х	
Synkrisis of Characters (ethics/piety)	Х	Х	Х	Х			Х	
Triangulated Characters/Dialogue	Х		Х			Х	Х	