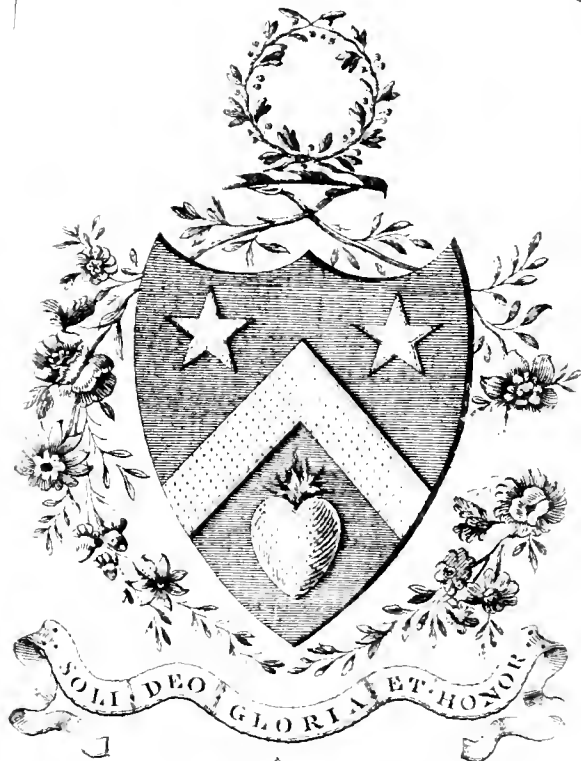




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Apostles and Evangelists,

Writers of the

N E W T E S T A M E N T :

I N W H I C H

The Evidences of the Genuineness of the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and the Book of the Revelation, and the Times when they were writ, are represented in a Light suited to all Capacities.

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R E M A R K S a n d O B S E R V A T I O N S

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I N T H R E E V O L U M E S .

By *NATHANIEL LARDNER, D.D.*

The Second Edition.

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V O L . I .

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A

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OF THE

Apostles and Evangelists,

Writers of the

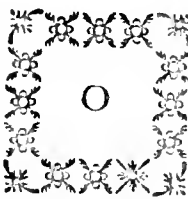
NEW TESTAMENT.



CH A P. I.

*General Denominations of the Collection of
sacred Books, received by Christians.*

- I. *Scripture.* II. *Bible.* III. *Canon.* IV. *Old and New Testament.* V. *Instrument.* VI. *Digest.* VII. *Gospel.*

I.  NE of the general denominations of sacred books is *Scripture*, or *Scriptures*, literally, and primarily signifying writing. But by way of eminence and distinction the books in highest esteem are called *Scripture*, or *the Scriptures*.

This word occurs often in the New Testament, in the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles. Whereby we perceive, that in the time of our Saviour and his Apostles this word was in common use, denoting the books received by the Jewish People, as the rule of their faith. To them have been since added by Christians the writings of Apostles and Evangelists, compleating the collection of books, received by them as sacred and divine.

Some of the places, where the word *Scripture* is used in the singular number for the books of the Old Testament, are these. 2 Tim. iii. 16. *All scripture is given by inspiration of God.* And Luke iv. 21. John ii. 22. Acts i. 16. viii. 32. 35. Rom. iv. 3. Gal. iii. 8. James ii. 18. 23. 1 Pet. ii. 6. 2 Pet. i. 20. *Scriptures*, in the plural number, in these following, and many other places. Matth. xxi. 42. xxii. 29. xxvi. 54. Luke xxiv. 27. 32. 45. John v. 39. Acts xvii. 2. 11. xviii. 24. 28. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 2 Pet. iii. 16.

St. *Peter* applies this word to the books of the New, as well as of the Old Testament, to St. *Paul's* Epistles, in particular. 2 Pet. iii. 16. . . *as also in all his epistles . . which they that*

that are unlearned, wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction. Plainly denoting, that * St. Paul's Epistles are *Scriptures* in the highest sense of the word.

II. *Bible* is another word, which has now *Bible.* been long in use among Christians, denoting the whole collection of writings received by them, as of divine Authority.†

The word, primarily, denotes book. But now is given to the writings of Prophets and Apostles by way of eminence. This collection is *the Book*, or *Bible*, the book of books, as superior in excellence to all other books. The word seems to be used in this sense by *Chrysoptom* in a passage already (a) cited. “ I therefore exhort all of you to procure to yourselves *Bibles*, βιβλία. If you have nothing else, take care to have the New Testament, particularly, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Gospels, for your constant instructors.” And *Jerome* says, “ That (b) the Scriptures being

B 2

“ all

* Hac parte (quod bene notandum est) Petrus canonizat, ut ita loquar, id est, in canonem sacrarum scripturarum ascribit, atque canonicas facit epistolas Pauli. Dicens enim, sicut & ceteras scripturas, utique significat, se etiam illas in scripturarum numero habere. De sacris autem scripturis eum loqui, in confesso est. *Est. in loc.*

(a) *Vol. X. p. 349.*

(b) *The same. p. 158.*

“ all writ by one Spirit, are called one book. We likewise saw formerly a passage of *Augustin*, where he informs us, “ That (c) “ some called all the canonical scriptures “ one book, on account of their wonderful “ harmonie, and unity of design through- “ out.” And I then said: “ It is likely, that this way of speaking gradually brought in the general use of the word *Bible*, for the whole collection of the scriptures, or the books of the Old and New Testament.”

In short, the ancient Christians were continually speaking of *the Divine Oracles*, and *the Divine Books*, and were much employed in reading them, as *Chrysestom* directs in a passage, transcribed (d) below: where he recommends the reading the divine books daily, forenoon and afternoon. At length the whole collection was called *the book*, or *the Bible*.

Dr. *Heumann* has an *Epistle*, or short Dissertation (e) concerning the origin of this name

(c) *Vol. X. p. 256.*

(d) Ἀλλὰ δεῖ πάντα καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν πνευματικῶν λόγων διόλεξιν. . . . Δυνισόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ οἰκίας διατρέχεις, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐσίασιν, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐσείσεως μετὰ χεῖρας λάβοις τὰ δεῖα βιβλία τὴν ἐξ ἀολῶν καρπῶσαι ὠφέλειαν. *In i. Gen. hom. x. T. 4. p. 81. C. Bened.*

(e) *De origine nominis Bibliorum. Heum. Poccile. Tom. i. p. 412. . . 415.*

name of our sacred collection of books. And for some while he was of opinion, that (*f*) it was so called, as being the most excellent of all books: in like manner as the Jews had before called their collection *the Scriptures*, by way of eminence. So Acts xviii. 24. and 28. But (*g*) afterwards he suspected, that the origin of this name was in those words of *Paul*, 2 Tim. iv. 13. *The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books.* καὶ τὰ βιβλία. For he believed, that thereby the ancient Christians understood the sacred code. But he afterwards acknowledgeth, that he had not found any instance of that interpretation in ancient writers. It seems to me therefore, that this conjecture should be dropt, as destitute of foundation: and that it should be better for us to adhere to the forementioned origin of this name, which appears to have in it a good deal of probability.

B 3

III. Ca-

(*f*) Suspiciari deinde coepi, ideo *Biblia* dictum esse sacrum codicem, quod tanquam liber omnium praestantissimus κατ' ἐξοχὴν dictus sit τὰ βιβλία. Suppetias conjecturae huic ferre videbatur illa appellatio, qua idem divinum opus vocari solet αἱ γραφαί. c. gr. Act. xviii. 24. 28. *Id. ib. p.* 413.

(*g*) *Ib. p.* 414.

Canon.

III. *Canon* is originally a Greek word, signifying a rule or standard, by which other things are to be examined and judged.

As the writings of the Prophets and Apostles and Evangelists contain an authentic account of the revealed will of God, they are the rule of the belief and practise of those who receive them.

Sometimes *canon* seems equivalent to a list or catalogue, in which are inserted those books, which contain the rule of faith.

Du Pin says, “ This (*b*) word signifies
 “ not only a law or rule, but likewise a ta-
 “ ble, catalogue, list. Some have supposed,
 “ that the canonical books were so called,
 “ because they are the rule of the faith. But
 “ though it be true, that they are the rule of
 “ our faith ; yet the reason of their being
 “ called canonical, is, because they are placed
 “ in the catalogue of sacred books.”

Perhaps, there is no need to dispute about this. For there is no great difference in
 those

(*b*) Le mot signifie non seulement une loi, une règle, mais aussi une table, un catalogue, une liste. . . . Quelques-uns ont cru, que les livres canoniques étoient ainsi appellez, parcequ'ils sont la règle de la foi. Mais quoique cela soit vrai, ce n'est pas ce qui leur a fait donner le nom de canoniques, qu'ils n'ont que parceque l'on a nommé canon le catalogue des livres sacrez. *Diff. Prelim. l. 1. ch. 1. §. ii.*

those two senses. And there may be passages of ancient writers, where it would be difficult to determine, which of them is intended.

St. *Paul* has twice used the word *canon*, or rule. Gal. vi. 16. *As many as walk according to this rule.* Upon which verse *Theodoret's* comment is to this purpose: "He (*i*) " calls the forementioned doctrine a rule, as " being strait, and having nothing wanting, " nor superfluous." Again, says St. *Paul*, Philip. iii. 16. *Whereunto we have already attained, let us walk according to the same rule.* Where he speaks of the doctrine of the gospel in general, or of some particular maxim of it: not of any books, containing the rule of faith. However, his use of the word may have been an occasion of affixing that denomination to the books of scripture. For it is of great antiquity among Christians.

Irenæus, speaking of the scriptures, as the words of God, calls (*k*) them the rule, or

B 4

canon

(*i*) Κανόνα ἐκάλεσε τὴν προκειμένην διδασκαλίαν, εἰς εὐθύτητι κοσμημένην, καὶ μήτε ἑλλῆσπου τί, μήτε περιστῆδου ἔχουσαν. *Theod. in loc.*

(*k*) Nos autem unum et solum verum Deum doctorem sequentes, et regulam veritatis habentes ejus sermones, de
 iidem

canon of truth. Here *canon* is not a catalogue, but the books, or the doctrine contained in the books of scripture.

Clement of Alexandria, referring to a quotation of the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, says with indignation: “ But (*l*) they
 “ who choofe to follow any thing, rather
 “ than the true Evangelical Canon, [or the
 “ canon of the Gospel,] infift upon what fol-
 “ lows there as faid to *Salome*.” In another place he fays: “ The (*m*) ecclefiastical ca-
 “ non is the confent and agreement of the
 “ Law and the Prophets with the testament
 “ delivered by the Lord.”

Eufebe, as (*n*) formerly quoted, fays of *Origen*: “ But in the firft book of his Com-
 “ mentaries upon the Gospel of *Matthew*,
 “ obferving (*o*) the ecclefiastical canon, he
 “ declares, that he knew of four Gospels
 “ only.”

I fhall

īīfdem femper eadem dicimus omnes. *Iren.* l. 4. c. 35. al. 69. f. p. 277.

(*l*) See Vol. ii. p. 529. or 527.

(*m*) Κανὸν δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἢ συνωδία ἢ ἡ συμφωνία νόμου τε καὶ προφητῶν τῇ κατὰ τὴν τῷ κυρίῳ παρεσίαν παραδιδόμενῳ διαθήκῃ. *Cl. Strom.* l. 6. p. 676. C.

(*n*) *Cb.* 38. vol. iii. p. 235.

(*o*) . . . τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φυλάττων κανόνα. *Ap. Euseb.* l. 6. c. 25. p. 226. B.

I shall add a few more passages from later writers, chiefly such as have been already quoted in the foregoing volumes: to which passages therefore the reader may easily have recourse.

Atbanafius (*p*) in his Festal Epistle speaks of three sorts of books, the *canonical*, the same, which are now received by us, such as were *allowed to be read*, and then of such as are *apocryphal*: by which he means books forged by heretics.

In the *Synopsis of Scripture*, ascribed to him, but probably not writ till above a hundred years after his time, near the end of the fifth centurie, is frequent mention (*q*) of canonical and uncanonical books.

The Council of *Laodicea*, about 363. ordains, that (*q*) “no books, not canonical, should be read in the church, but only the canonical books of the Old and New Testament.”

Rufin, enumerating the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, makes (*r*) three
forts

(*p*) See vol. viii. p. 228. 229.

(*q*) See vol. viii. p. 243. . . 245.

(*q*) The same. p. 291.

(*r*) See vol. x. p. 187. 188.

forts of books, such (*s*) as are *included in the canon*, such as are *not canonical*, but *ecclesiastical*, allowed to be read, but not to be alleged for proof of any doctrine, and lastly, *apocryphal* books, which were not to be publicly read.

Jerome likewise often speaks of the canon of Scripture, as we saw in his chapter, where he says: “*Ecclesiasticus*, (*t*) *Judith*, “*Tobit*, and *the Shepherd*, are not in the canon:” and “that (*u*) the Church reads, or “allows to be read, *Judith*, *Tobit*, and the “*Maccabees*, but does not receive them among the canonical scriptures: and that “they, and the books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*, may be read for the edification of “the people, but not as of authority, for “proving any doctrines.” And for the Old Testament he recommends (*x*) the true *Jewish* canon, or *Hebrew verity*. I refer below
to

(*s*) Haec sunt, quae patres intra canonem concluderunt, & ex quibus fidei nostrae assertiones constare voluerunt. . . . Sciendum tamen est, quod alii libri sunt, qui non sunt canonici, sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt. . . . Quae omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Ceteras vero scripturas apocryphas nominarunt, quas in ecclesiis legi noluerunt. *Rufin. citat. ubi supra p. 185. not. (g)*.

(*t*) *Vol. x. p. 41.* (*u*) . . . *p. 43.* (*x*) . . . *52.*

(y) to another place relating to the books of the New Testament.

The third Council of *Carthage*, about 397. ordains, “ that (z) nothing beside the canonical scriptures be read in the Church under the name of Divine Scriptures.”

Augustin, in 395. and afterwards, often (a) speaks of *canonical scriptures*, and *the (b) whole canon of scripture*, that is, all the sacred books of the Old and New Testament. We “ (c) read of some, says he, that *they searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so.* Acts xvii. 11. What scriptures, “ I pray, except the canonical scriptures of “ the Law and the Prophets? To them have “ been since added the Gospels, the Epistles “ of Apostles, the Acts of the Apostles, and “ the Revelation of *John.*” Of the superior authority of the canonical scriptures to all others, he speaks frequently in passages afterwards alleged (d) in the same chapter.

Chrysostom in a place already cited (e) says :
“ They

(y) *Vol. x. p. 86.*

(z) . . . *p. 193.*

(a) *The same p. 207.*

(b) *Totus autem canon scripturarum . . . his libris continetur. Ib. not. (r) p. 208.*

(c) . . . *p. 252.*

(d) *See p. 253. 256. 259. . . 268.*

(e) *Vol. xii. p. 126.*

“ They (*f*) fall into great absurdities, who
 “ will not follow the rule (or canon) of the
 “ divine scripture, but trust entirely to their
 “ own reasoning.” I refer to another place
 (*g*) to the like purpose.

Says *Isidore of Pelusium*, about 412. “ that
 “ (*i*) these things are so, we shall perceive,
 “ if we attend to the rule [canon] of truth,
 “ the divine scriptures.”

And *Leontius, of Constantinople*, about 610.
 having cited the whole catalogue of the
 books of scripture from Genesis to the Re-
 velation (*k*) concludes: “ These (*l*) are the
 “ ancient and the new books, which are re-
 “ ceived in the Church as canonical.”

By all which we discern, how much the
 use of these words, *canon* and *canonical*, has
 obtained among Christians, denoting those
 books, which are of the highest authority,
 and the rule of faith: as opposed to all other
 what-

(*f*) Ὅρας, εἰς ὅσων ἀτοπίαν ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ μὴ βεβημένοι τῷ
 τῆς θεᾶς γραφῆς κατακολεθεῖν κανόνι κ. λ. *In Gen. cap. 33.*
hom. 58. T. 4. p. 566. B.

(*g*) *Vid. hom. 33. in Act. Ap. sub fin.*

(*i*) Ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα ἔτις ἔχει, τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας,
 τὰς θεᾶς φημι γραφὰς, καταπλεύσωμεν. *Isid. ep. 114. l. 4.*

(*k*) *See Vol. xi. p. 381.*

(*l*) Ταῦτά ἐσι τὰ κανονιζόμενα βιβλία ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ
 παλαιὰ καὶ νέα. *Citat. ibid. p. 380. not. (e).*

whatever, particularly, to ecclesiastical, or the writings of orthodox and learned catholics, and to *apocryphal*, the productions, chiefly, of heretics, which by a specious name and title made a pretension to be accounted among sacred books.

IV. The most common and general division of the canonical books is that of *ancient and new*, or *the Old and New Testament*. The Hebrew word, *berith*, from which it is translated, properly signifies (*m*) covenant. St. Paul 2 Cor. iii. 6. . . . 18. shewing the superior excellence of the gospel-covenant, or the dispensation by *Christ*, above the legal covenant, or the dispensation by Moses, useth the word *testament*, not only for the covenant itself, but likewise for the books, in which it is contained. At least he does so, in speaking of the legal covenant. For, representing the case of the unbelieving part of the Jewish People, he says v. 14. *Until this day remaineth the same veil untaken away in reading the Old Testament.*

*Old and
New Test-
ament.*

It is no wonder therefore, that this way of speaking has much prevailed among Christians.

(*m*) Notandum, quod *Britb*, verbum Hebraicum, Aquila συνθήκην, id est, *pactum*, interpretatur: LXX semper διαθήκην, id est, *testamentum*: et in plerisque scripturarum locis testamentum non voluntatem defunctorum sonare, sed pactum viventium. *Hieron. in Malach. cap. ii. T. 3. p. 1816.*

ans. *Melito*, Bishop of *Sardis* about the year 177. went into the East, to get an exact account of the books of the Law and the Prophets. In his letter to his friend *Onesimus*, giving an account of his journey, and reckoning up the books in their order, he calls them (*n*) the ancient books, and (*o*) the books of the Old Testament. *Eusebe* calls it (*p*) “ a catalogue of the acknowledged scriptures of the “ Old Testament.” Our Ecclesiastical Historian elsewhere (*q*) speaks of the scriptures of the New Testament. I shall remind my readers of but one instance more. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, introducing his catalogue of scriptures received by the Christian Church, says : “ These (*r*) things we are taught by the divinely inspired scriptures of the Old and “ New Testament.” Many other like examples occur in the preceding volumes of this work.

Instrument. V. Instead of *testament* Latin writers sometimes use the word *instrument*, denoting writing,

(*n*) Ἐπι δὲ καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων ἐβελήθη ἀκριβοῦσαν. κ. λ. *Ap. Euseb. l. 4. c. 27. p. 148. D.*

(*o*) . . . καὶ ἀκριβῶς μαθεῖν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία. *Ib. p. 149. A.*

(*p*) *Ibid. p. 148. D.*

(*q*) *See Vol. viii. p. 197.*

(*r*) *The same. p. 267.*

ting, charter, record. We find it several times in *Tertullian*, reckoned the most ancient Latin writer of the Church now remaining. In a passage already (*s*) cited he calls the Gospels, or the New Testament in general, the Evangelic Instrument. And says: “How (*t*) large chafms *Marcion* has made in the epistle to the *Romans*, by leaving out what he pleases, may appear from our entire Instrument:” or our unaltered copies of the New Testament, particularly of that epistle. Speaking of the Shepherd of *Hermas*, he says, it (*u*) was not reckoned a part of the Divine Instrument: thereby meaning, as it seems, the New Testament. Which passage was quoted by us (*x*) formerly. He calls (*y*) the Law and the Prophets the Jewish Instruments: that is, writings, or scriptures. He speaks
of

(*s*) See *Vol. ii. p. 577.*

(*t*) Quantas autem foveas in ista vel maxime epistola [ad Romanos] Marcion fecerit, auferendo quae voluit, de nostri Instrumenti integritate patebit. *Adv. Marcion. l. 5. cap. 13. p. 601.*

(*u*) Sed cederem tibi, si scriptura Pastoris — divino instrumento meruisset incidi. . . *De Pudicit. cap. 10. p. 727. A.*

(*x*) See *Vol. ii. p. 638.*

(*y*) Aut nunquid non iusti Judaei, & quibus poenitentia non opus esset, habentes gubernacula disciplinae, & timoris instrumenta, Legem & Prophetas. *De Pudicitia. cap. 7. p. 722. B.*

of the antiquity (*z*) of the Jewish Instruments, or Scriptures. He (*a*) seems in one place to use the word *instrument*, as equivalent to scriptures, containing the doctrine of revelation, or the revealed will of God.

Digest.

VI. *Digest* is another word used by *Tertullian* in speaking of the scriptures. “*Luke’s* (*b*) *Digest*, he says, is often ascribed to *Paul.*” He calls (*c*) the Gospels, or the whole New Testament, *our Digest*, in allusion, as it seems, to some collection of the Roman Laws digested into order. Those two passages were cited in the chapter of *Tertullian*. I now transcribe the later below (*d*) more at large, it having also the word

(*z*) Primam instrumentis istis auctoritatem summa antiquitas vindicat. *Apol. cap. 19. p. 19. B.*

Sed quoniam edidimus, antiquissimis Judaeorum instrumentis sectam istam esse suffultam. *Apol. cap. 21. in. p. 20.*

(*a*) Sed quo plenius et impressius tam ipsum, quam dispositiones ejus et voluntates adiremus, instrumentum adjecit literaturae, si quis velit de Deo inquirere. *Apol. cap. 18. p. 18. C.*

(*b*) See *Vol. ii. p. 581. or 579.*

(*c*) *The same. p. 629. or 630.*

(*d*) Si vero Apostoli quidam integrum evangelium contulerunt, de sola convictus inaequalitate reprehensi, Pseudapostoli autem veritatem eorum interpolârunt, et inde sunt nostra digesta: quod erit germanum illud Apostolorum instrumentum, quod adulteros passum est? *Adver. Marc. l. 4. cap. 3. p. 504. B.*

word instrument, as equivalent to the New Testament. He likewise calls the Jewish Scriptures (*e*) *Sacred Digests*. He seems to use the word digest (*f*) elsewhere, as equivalent to writing, or work, in general.

I shall not take notice of any other general denominations of the sacred scriptures.

VII. My chief concern is with the New *Gospel.* Testament, which, as is well known, consists of Gospels, the Acts, and Epistles. The only word, that needs explanation is the first.

Gospel is a translation of the Greek word *εὐαγγέλιον*, the Latin word, *evangelium*, which signifies any good message or tidings. In the New Testament the word denotes the doctrine of salvation, taught by Jesus Christ, and his Apostles. Which indeed is gospel by way of eminence, as it is the best tidings that ever were published in this world. Says *Theodoret* upon Rom. i. 1. “He (*g*)
“ calls

(*e*) Sed homines gloriae, ut diximus, et eloquentiae folius libidinosi, si quid in sanctis offenderunt digestis, exinde regestum pro instituto curiositatis ad propria verterunt. *Apol. cap. 47. p. 41. B.*

(*f*) Elegi ad compendium Varronis opera, qui rerum divinarum ex omnibus retro digestis commentatus, idoneum Te nobis scopum exposuit. *Ad Nation: l. 2. cap. 1. p. 64. C.*

(*g*) Ἐὐαγγέλιον δὲ τὸ κήρυγμα προσηγόρευται, ὡς πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ὑπερβόρεια χρηματῶν. Ἐὐαγγελίζεσθαι γὰρ τὰς τῶν
Vol. I. * C. 366

“ calls it *gospel*, as it contains assurance of
 “ many good things. For it proclaims peace
 “ with God, the overthrow of Satan, the
 “ remission of sins, the abolishing of death,
 “ the resurrection of the dead, eternal life,
 “ and the kingdom of heaven.”

Says St. *Matthew* iv. 23. *And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom.* Καὶ κηρύσσω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας. *Mark* xiii. 10. *And the gospel [τὸ εὐαγγέλιον] must first be preached to all nations.* Ch. xvi. 15. *Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.* Κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. It is called *the word of truth, the gospel of our salvation.* *Eph.* i. 13. And in like manner, in other places.

But by *gospel*, when used by us concerning the writings of the Evangelists, we mean the *historie of Christ's preaching, and miracles.* The word seems also to be so used by St. *Mark* i. 1. *The begining of the gospel of Jesus Christ.* Which may be understood, and
 para-

θεῦ καὶ ἀλλαγῆς, τὴν τῆ διαβόλου κατέλυσιν, τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὴν ἄφεσιν, τῆ θανάτου τὴν παύλαν, τῶν νεκρῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν ἑρανῶν. *In ep. ad Rom. T. 3. p. 10. B.*

paraphrased thus: "Here (A) begins the
 " Historie of the life and doctrine of Jesus
 " Christ, the Son of God, and Saviour of
 " mankind."

St. *Luke*, referring to the book of his Gos-
 pel, says: Acts i. 1. 2. *The former treatise*
have I made, o Theophilus, of all that Jesus
began to do and teach, until the day in the
which he was taken up, after that he through
the Holy Ghost had given commandments unto
the Apostles, whom he had chosen. But St.
Luke, as it seems, there puts the principal
 part for the whole. For he has therein writ
 also the historie of our Lord's miraculous
 birth, and divers extraordinarie events at-
 tending it: and likewise the historie of the
 birth of *John* the Baptist, and divers circum-
 stances of it, and his preaching and death.

In this sense the word Gospel is frequent-
 ly understood by us. A Gospel is the histo-

C 2

rie

(A) *That is Dr. Clarke's Paraphrase.* But I am sensible, it
 will not be allowed by all. *Oecumenius* says, that by gospel
Mark does not intend his own writing, but Christ's preach-
 ing. Μάρκος, ἀρχὴν ποιεῖ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἢ
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συγγραφὴν καλεῖ εὐαγγέλιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῷ χριστῷ
 κήρυγμα. *Oecum. in Act. Ap.* He proceeds to say, that the
 faithful afterwards called the writings of the Evangelists
Gospels, as truly containing the gospel, that is, the doctrine of
 Christ. See *Vol. xi. p. 413.*

rie of Jesus Christ, his doctrine, miracles, resurrection, and ascension : not excluding the historie of his fore-runner, who (B) also is said to have *preached the gospel*, that is, the doctrine of the gospel, or the Kingdom of God.

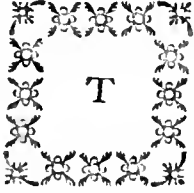
The Gospel according to *Matthew, Mark, Luke, John*, is the historie of Jesus Christ, as writ by those several Evangelists.

(B) Matt. iii. 1. 2. *In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea, and saying: Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Compare Mark i. 4. Luke iii. 1. 2. And says St. Luke iii. 18. And many other things in his exhortation preached he unto the people. Πολλὰ μὲν ἄν ἕτερα παραικάλων, ἐνηγγελίζετο τὸν λαόν. Which may be literally rendred thus: And exhorting many other like things, he evangelized [or preached the gospel to] the people.*



CHAP. II.

General Observations upon the Canon of the New Testament.

I.  HE canonical books of the New Testament, received by Christians in this part of the world, are the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, Fourteen Epistles of St. *Paul*, Seven Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation.

II. There may be different canons of the New Testament among Christians.

Indeed, there have been in former times, and still are, different sentiments among Christians, concerning the number of books to be received as canonical. The (*a*) canon of the *Syrian* churches is not the same as ours. *Jerome* tells us, that (*b*) in his time some of the Latins rejected the epistle to the

(*a*) See *Vol. ix. p. 221. Vol. xi. p. 270. . . 275.*

(*b*) *Vol. x. p. 122. 123.*

Hebrews, and some of the Greeks the book of the Revelation. From *Chrysoftom's* works we perceive, that (c) he did not receive the second epistle of *St. Peter*, nor the second and third of *St. John*, nor the epistle of *St. Jude*, nor the Revelation. And there is reason to think, that (d) *Theodoret's* canon likewise was much the same with *Chrysoftom's*, and that of the churches in *Syria*. Nevertheless, we have observed in the course of this work, that about the same time the *Egyptians*, and the Christians in divers other parts of the world, had the same number of canonical books, that we have.

But to come nearer our own time. *Calvin* (e) *Grotius* (f) *Le Clerc* (g) *Philip Limborch* (h) and some other learned moderns, have not admitted the epistle to the
He-

(c) *The same*. p. 341.

(d) *Vol. xi.* p. 88. 89. 91.

(e) Ego ut Paulum agnoscam auctorem, adduci nequeo. *Calvin. argum. in ep. ad Hebr.*

(f) Facillima refutatu est postrema haec opinio, ideo quod Paulinae epistolae inter se sint germanae, pari charactere ac dicendi modo : haec vero manifeste ab iis discrepet, selectiores habens voces Graecas, leniusque fluens, non autem fracta brevibus incisus, ac salebrosa. . . . *Grot. Prooem. in ep. ad Hebr.*

(g) *Hist. Ec. Ann.* 69. p. 455. . . 461.

(h) *Prolegom. in ep. ad Hebr.*

Hebrews to have been writ by St. Paul: though (i) they were willing to allow it to be the work of an apostolical man, and a valuable part of sacred scripture. But I cannot say, that they were in the right in so doing. For it appears to me to have been a maxim of the ancient Christians, not to receive any doctrinal or preceptive writing, as of authority, unless it were known to be the work of an Apostle. Consequently, the epistle to the *Hebrews*, if writ by an apostolical man only, should not be esteemed canonical.

Grotius (k) likewise supposed the second

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epistle

(i) Hisce argumentis utrinque attente expensis dicendum videtur, Paulum epistolae hujus scriptorem non videri
 . . . Quis vero illius scriptor sit, incertum est. Alii eam Lucae, alii Barnabae, alii Clementi adscribunt. . . Interim divinam hujus epistolae auctoritatem agnoscimus, multisque aliis, quas ab Apostolis esse scriptas, constat, ob argumenti quod tractat praestantiam praeferendam judicamus. *Limb. ibid. Vid. et Calvin. ubi supra.*

(k) Jam olim veterum multi credidère, non esse apostoli Petri, argumento tum dictionis ab epistola priorè multum diversae, quod agnoscunt Eusebius & Hieronymus, tum quod multae olim ecclesiae hanc non receperint. . . Scriptorem autem hujus epistolae arbitror esse Simeonem sive Simonem, episcopum post Jacobi mortem Hierosolymis, ejusdemque Jacobi, cujus epistolam habemus, successorem & imitorem. . . . Unde etiam constat, vixisse hunc post excidium Hierosolymitanum ad Trajani tempore, & tunc pro nomine Christi crucifixum. *Annot. in Ep. Petri secund.*

epistle ascribed to *Peter*, not to have been writ by the Apostle *Simon Peter*, but by *Simeon*, chosen Bishop of *Jerusalem* after the death of *James* the Just, whose epistle we have. Which *Simeon* lived to the time of *Trajan*, when he was crucified for the name of Christ. Upon which I only observe at present, that if this *Simeon* be the writer of this epistle, it should not be a part of canonical scripture.

The same learned man supposeth (l) the second and third epistles, called *St. John's*, not to have been writ by *John* the Apostle, but by another *John*, an Elder or Presbyter, who lived about the same time, and after him, at *Ephesus*.

And the epistle called *St. Jude's*, he thought (m) to have been written by one of that

(l) Hanc epistolam, & eam quae sequitur, non esse Johannis Apostoli, veterum multi jam olim crediderunt, a quibus non dissentiunt Eusebius & Hieronymus. Et magna sunt in id argumenta. Nam duos fuisse Johannes Ephesi, Apostolum, ac Presbyterum, ejus discipulum, semper constitit ex sepulchris, alio hujus, alio illius: quae sepulchra vidit Hieronymus. *Grot. Annot. in ep. Joan. secund.*

(m) Quare omnino adducor, ut credam esse hanc epistolam Judae Episcopi Hierosolymitani, qui fuit Adriani temporibus, paullo ante Barchochebam. *Id. in Ennot. ad ep. Judae.*

that name, who was Bishop of *Macedonia* in the time of the Emperor *Adrian*, and not till after there had been several other bishops of that church, since the death of the forementioned *Simcon*. If so, I believe, all men may be of opinion, that this epistle ought not to be placed in the canon of the New Testament.

It may not be thought right, if I should here entirely omit Mr. *Whiston*, whose canon consisted of the (n) Apostolical Constitutions, and divers other books, as sacred, beside those generally received : and (o) the Consti-
tutions

(n) “ The sacred books of the New Testament still extant, both those in the 85. canon, and those written afterwards, are the same, which we now receive: together with the eight books of Apostolical Constitutions, and their epitome, the Doctrine of the Apostles : the two epistles of *Clement*, the epistle of *Barnabas*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*: and perhaps the second book of apocryphal *Ejibras*, with the epistles of *Igratius* and *Polycarp*.” *Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions. ch. i. p. 70. 71.*

(o) “ If any one has a mind to sort the several books of the New Testament, he may in the first place set the Apostolical Constitutions, with it's extract, or Doctrine of the Apostles, as derived from the body, or College of the Apostles, met in Councils. In the next place he may put the four Gospels, with their appendix, the Acts of the Apostles. The Apocalypse of *John* also cannot be reckoned at all inferior to them, though it be quite of another nature from them. In the third rank may stand the Epistles of the Apostles, *Paul*, *Peter* and *John*. In the fourth rank may stand the Epistles of the brethren

tutions, in particular, as the most sacred of all the canonical books of the New Testament.

Concerning which I beg leave to observe, *first*, that the receiving the Constitutions as a sacred book, and part of the rule of faith, would make a great alteration in the Christian scheme. Some might be induced to think it no great blessing to mankind, and scarcely deserving an apologie. *Secondly*, Mr. *Whiston's* canon is not the canon of the Christian churches in former times: as is manifest from the large collections, made by us in the preceding volumes, from ecclesiastical writers of every age, to the beginning of the twelfth centurie. *Thirdly*, Mr. *Whiston*, notwithstanding all his labours, made few converts to this opinion. Which I impute to the knowledge and learning of our times. And as the Christian Religion is built upon facts, the studie of Ecclesiastical Antiquity will

brethren of our Lord, *James* and *Jude*. In the fifth and last rank may stand the epistles and writings of the companions and attendants of the Apostles. *Barnabas*, *Clement*, *Hermas*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*. All which, with the addition perhaps of apocryphal *Esdrae*, and of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and the *Acts of Paul*, were they now extant, I look upon, though in different degrees, as the sacred books of the New Testament." *Ibid.* p. 72. 73.

will be always needful, and may be of use, to defeat various attempts of ingenious, but mistaken and prejudiced men.

III. A short canon of Scripture is most eligible.

Religion is the concern of all men. A few short histories and epistles are better fitted for general use, than numerous and prolix writings. Besides, if any writings are to be received as the rule of faith and manners, it is of the utmost importance, that they be justly entitled to that distinction. Otherwise men may be led into errors of very bad consequence. If any books pretend to deliver the doctrine of infallible, and divinely inspired teachers, such as Jesus Christ and his Apostles are esteemed by Christians: great care should be taken to be well satisfied, that their accounts are authentic, and that they are the genuine writings of the men, whose names they bear. The pretensions of writings, placed in high authority, to which great credit is given, ought to be well attested.

Dr. *Jortin*, speaking of the work, called *Apostolical Constitutions*, says: “ The (*p*)
au-

(*p*) *Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History. Vol. i. p. 229.*

“ authors of them are, it is pretended, the
 “ twelve Apostles and St. *Paul* gathered to-
 “ gether, with *Clement* their amanuensis.

“ If their authority should appear only
 “ ambiguous, it would be our duty to reject
 “ them, lest we should adopt as divine doc-
 “ trines the commandments of men. For
 “ since each Gospel contains the main
 “ parts of Christianity, and might be suffi-
 “ cient to make men wise to salvation ; there
 “ is less danger in diminishing, than in en-
 “ larging the number of canonical books :
 “ and less evil would have ensued from the
 “ loss of one of the four Gospels, than from
 “ the addition of a fifth and spurious one.”

In my opinion, that is a very fine and valuable observation.

And I shall transcribe again an observation of *Augustin*, formerly (*q*) taken notice of.
 “ Our canonical books of scripture, which
 “ are of the highest Authority with us, have
 “ been settled with great care. They ought
 “ to be few, lest their value should be di-
 “ minished. And yet they are so many, that
 “ their agreement throughout is wonder-
 “ ful.”

IV. I

(*q*) See *Vol. x. p. 289.*

IV. I have been sometimes apt to think, that the best canon of the New Testament would be that, which may be collected from (r) *Eusebe* of *Caesarea*, and seems to have been the canon of some in his time.

The canon should consist of two classes. In the first should be those books, which he assures us were then *universally acknowledged*, and had been all along received by all catholic Christians. These are the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen epistles of *St. Paul*, one epistle of *St. Peter*, and one epistle of *St. John*. These only should be of the highest authority, from which doctrines of religion may be proved.

In the other classe should be placed those books, of which *Eusebe* speaks, as contradicted in his time, though well known: concerning which there were doubts, whether they were writ by the persons, whose names they bear, or whether the writers were Apostles of Christ. These are the epistle to the *Hebrews*, the epistle of *James*, the second of *Peter*, the second and third of *John*, the epistle of *Jude*, and the Revelation. These should be reckoned doubtful, and contradicted: though many might be of opinion, that

(r) *Vol. viii. p. 90. . . 105.*

that there is a good deal of reason to believe them genuine. And they should be allowed to be publicly read in Christian assemblies, for the edification of the people: but not be alleged, as affording, alone, sufficient proof of any doctrine.

That I may not be misunderstood, I must add, that there should be no third class of sacred books: forasmuch as there appears not any reason from Christian antiquity to allow of that character and denomination to any Christian writings, beside those above-mentioned.

In this canon the preceding rule is regarded. It is a short canon. And it seems to have been thought of by some (A) about the time of the Reformation.

V. Ne-

(A) We learn from *Paul Sarpi's* *Historie of the Council of Trent*, that one of the doctrinal articles concerning sacred scripture, extracted, or pretended to be extracted out of *Luther's* works, was this: "that no books should be reckoned
 " a part of the Old Testament, beside those received by the
 " Jews: and that out of the New Testament should be
 " excluded the epistle to the *Hebrews*, the epistle of *James*,
 " the second of *Peter*, the second and third of *John*, the
 " epistle of *Jude*, and the *Revelation*." And there were some
 Bishops in that Council, " who would have had the books
 " of the New Testament divided into two classes: in one of
 " which should be put those books only, which had been al-

" ways

V. Nevertheless that, which is now generally received, is a good canon.

For it contains only those books, which were acknowledged by all in the time of *Eusebe*, and from the beginning, and seven other, which were then well known, and were next in esteem to those before mentioned, as universally acknowledged: and were more generally received as of authority, than any other controverted writings. Nor is there in them any thing inconsistent with the facts, or principles, delivered in the universally acknowledged books. And moreover, there may be a great deal of reason to think, that they are the genuine writings of those, to whom they are ascribed, and that the writers were apostles. This evidence will be carefully examined, and distinctly considered, as we proceed.

In this canon likewise the above-mentioned rule is regarded. It is a short canon. For out of it are excluded many books, which
might

“ways received without contradiction: and in the other
“those, which had been rejected by some, or about which
“at least there had been doubts.” And *Dr. Courayer*, in his notes, seems to favor this proposal. See his *French translation of the Historie of the Council of Trent. Liv. 2, ch. 43. Tom. i. p. 235. and ch. 47. p. 240. and note i.*

might seem to make a claim to be ranked among sacred and canonical scriptures.

VI. There are not any books, beside those now generally received by us, that ought to be esteemed canonical, or books of authority.

I suppose this to be evident to all, who have carefully attended to the historie in the several volumes of this work : and that there is no reason to receive, as a part of sacred scripture, the epistle of *Barnabas*, the epistle of *Clement*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Recognitions*, the *Clementin Homilies*, the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, the *Apostolical Constitutions*, the *Gospel of Peter*, or *Matthias*, or *Thomas*, the *Preaching of Peter*, the *Acts of Peter and Paul*, of *Andrew and John and other Apostles*, the *Revelation of Peter*, and *Paul*, their *Travels or Circuits*. That these books were not received, as sacred scripture, or a part of the rule of faith, by Christians in former times, has been shewn. Nor can they therefore be reasonably received by us as such.

The only writing of all these, that seems to make a fair claim to be a part of sacred scripture, is the epistle of *St. Barnabas*, if genuine,

genuine, as I (*s*) have supposed it to be. Nevertheless, I think, it ought not to be received as sacred scripture, or admitted into the canon, for these reasons.

I. It was not reckoned a book of authority, or a part of the rule of faith, by those ancient christians, who have quoted it, and taken the greatest notice of it.

Clement of Alexandria has (*t*) quoted this epistle several times, but not as decisive, and by way of full proof, as we shewed. Nor is it so quoted by (*u*) *Origen*. Nor is the epistle of *Barnabas* in any of (*x*) *Origen's* catalogues of the books of Scripture, which we still find in his works, or are taken notice of by *Eusebe*. By that Ecclesiastical Historian, in one place it is reckoned (*y*) among *spurious* writings, that is, such as were generally rejected and supposed not to be a part of the New Testament. At other times it is called by him (*z*) a *contradicted* book, that is, not received by all.

Nor is this epistle placed among sacred

(*s*) See *Ch. i. Vol. i. p. 23. . . . 30.*

(*t*) See *Vol. ii. p. 521. . . . 523.*

(*u*) See *Vol. iii. p. 305. 306.*

(*x*) *The same p. 234. . . . 243.*

(*y*) *Vol. viii. p. 97. 167.*

(*z*) *P. 96. 97.*

scriptures by following writers, who have given catalogues of the books of the New Testament. It is wanting, particularly, in the Festal Epistle (a) of *Athanasius*, in (b) the catalogue of *Cyril of Jerusalem*, of (c) the Council of *Laodicea*, of (d) *Epiphanius*, (e) *Gregorie Nazianzen*, (f) *Amphilochius*, and (g) *Jerome*, (h) *Rufin*, (i) the Council of *Carthage*, and (k) *Augustin*. Nor has it been reckoned a part of canonical scripture by later writers.

2. *Barnabas* was not an Apostle.

For he was not one of the twelve Apostles of Christ. Nor was he chosen in the room of *Judas*. Nor is there in the Acts any account of his being chosen into the number of Apostles, or appointed to be an Apostle by Christ, as *Paul* was. What St. *Luke* says of *Barnabas* is, *that he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, and of faith*. Acts xi. 24. And in ch. xiii. 1. he is mentioned among *Prophets and Teachers* in the church of *Antioch*. But St. *Luke* speaks in the like manner of *Stephen*, of whom he says, he

(a) *Vol. viii. p. 227. . . . 229.*

(c) *P. 291. . . 293.*

(e) *Vol. ix. p. 133.*

(g) *Vol. x. p. 76. 77.*

(i) *P. 193. 194.*

(b) *P. 269. 270.*

(d) *P. 303. 304.*

(f) *P. 147. 148.*

(h) *P. 177. 178.*

(k) *P. 210. 211.*

he was *a man full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost.* vi. 5. *full of faith and power.* v. 8. *full of the Holy Ghost.* vii. 55. And all the seven were *full of the Holy Ghost, and wisdom.* vi. 3.

That *Barnabas* was not an Apostle, I think, may be concluded from Gal. ii. 9. where *Paul* says : *And when James, and Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given to me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of Fellowship.* By grace I suppose *St. Paul* to mean the favour of the apostleship. So Rom. i. 5. *By whom we have received grace and apostleship,* that is, the favour of the apostleship. Ch. xii. 3. *For I say, through the grace given to me,* meaning the especial favour of the apostleship. And see ch. xv. 15. 1 Cor. xv. 10. Eph. iv. 7. compared with ver. 11.

If *Barnabas* had been an Apostle, in the fullest sense of the word, *St. Paul* would not have said in the above cited place from the second to the *Galatians*, *when they perceived the grace given to me,* but, *when they perceived the grace given to me, and Barnabas.* And in the preceding part of the context, particularly, in ver. 7. 8. he twice

says *me*, where he would have said *us*, if *Barnabas* had been an Apostle. For he had been mentioned before, in ver. 1.

Indeed, in the Acts, where *Paul* and *Barnabas* are mentioned together, *Barnabas* is sometimes first named, as Acts xi. 30. xii. 25. xiii. 1. 2. and 7. xiv. 14. xv. 12. 25. Which, I think, not at all strange, among persons, who were not intent upon precedence : when too *Barnabas* was the elder in years and discipleship. But in several other places *Paul* is first named, as in Acts xiii. 43. 46. xv. 2. 22. 35. of which no other reason can be well assigned, beside that of *Paul's* apostleship.

Moreover, wherever they travelled together, if there was an opportunity for discoursing, *Paul* spake. So at *Paphos*, in the island of *Cyprus*. Acts xiii. 6. . . 12. And at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*. ch. xiii. 15. 16. See also ch. xiv. 12.

And that *Paul* was the principal person, appears from that early account, after they had been in *Cyprus*. ch. xiii. 13. *Now when Paul and his companie loosed from Paphos, they came to Perga, in Pamphylia.*

However, there are some texts, which must be considered by us, as seeming to afford objections.

ACTS xiv. 4. *But the multitude of the city was divided. Part held with the Jews, and part with the Apostles: that is, Paul and Barnabas, who were then at Iconium. And afterwards, at Lystra. ver. 14. Which when the Apostles, Barnabas and Paul, heard,* Here *Barnabas* is stiled an *Apostle*, as well as *Paul*.

To which I answer, *first*. Both being now together, and meeting with the like treatment, might be called *Apostles*: though only one of them was, properly, so. *Secondly*, it is not unlikely, that *Barnabas* and *Paul* are here stiled by St. *Luke* *Apostles*, in regard to what had been done at *Antioch*, as related by him. ch. xii. 1. . . 4. when by an express order from heaven, they were sent forth from the church at *Antioch*, upon a special commission, in which they were still employed. That designation, however solemn, did not make either of them *Apostles* of Christ in the highest sense. It was not the apostolical, which is a general commission. But it was a particular commission, as appears from that whole historie, and from what is said at the conclusion of the journey, which they had taken. ACTS xiv. 26. *And thence they sailed to Antioch, from whence they had*

been recommended to the grace of God, for the work, which they had fulfilled. Nevertheless, they are not unfitly called Apostles upon account of it. So 2 Cor. viii. 13. *Whether any do inquire of Titus, he is my partner, and fellow-helper concerning you: or our brethren be enquired of, they (1) are the messengers of the churches, literally, apostles of the churches, and the glorie of Christ.* If those brethren, which had been appointed by the churches to go to *Jerusalem*, with the contributions, which had been made for the relief of the poor saints in *Judea*, might be called Apostles; there can be no doubt, but *Paul* and *Barnabas* might be called Apostles in regard to the work, to which they had been solemnly appointed by the church at *Antioch*.

Again 1 Cor. ix. 5. 6. *Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other Apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Or I only, and Barnabas, have not we power to forbear working?*

Some may think, that *Barnabas* is here supposed to be an Apostle. I answer, that though *Barnabas* was not an Apostle properly,

(1) ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν.

perly, or equally with himself, yet *Paul*, out of an affectionate respect to his friend, companion, and fellow-laborer, might be disposed to mention him, upon this occasion, in the manner he has done. This is said, supposing all before-mentioned to have been Apostles of Christ, in the highest sense. But, *secondly*, it is not certain, that all, before-mentioned, were strictly Apostles. It seems to me more likely, that by *the brethren of the Lord* some are intended, who were not Apostles. If so, *Paul* might reasonably, and without offense, gratify his friendly disposition : and insert here the name of *Barnabas*, who had shared with him many fatigues and difficulties in the service of the gospel, though he was not an Apostle.

I do not therefore discern any good reason from the New Testament, why *Barnabas* should be reckoned an Apostle. But quite otherwise.

The sense of the primitive Christians is agreeable hereto. Few or none of them have thought *Barnabas* an Apostle.

Clement of Alexandria has quoted *Barnabas* (m) five or six times. Twice he calls

D 4

him

him *Apostle*. In another place he calls him the *apostolic Barnabas*, who was one of the *seventy*, and fellow-laborer of *Paul*. These are the highest characters, which he intended to give to *Barnabas*, and what he means, when he calls him *Apostle*, as is fully shewn in the place just referred to.

By *Tertullian*, as cited by us (*n*) formerly, *Barnabas* is plainly reckoned no more, than (*o*) a companion of Apostles.

Eusebe, in a chapter concerning those who were disciples of Christ, says: “The
 “ (*p*) names of our Saviour’s Apostles are
 “ well known from the Gospels. But there
 “ is no where extant a catalogue of the
 “ seventy disciples. However, it is said, that
 “ *Barnabas* was one of them, who is express-
 “ ly mentioned in the Acts, and in *Paul’s*
 “ epistle to the *Galatians*.” That learned
 writer therefore did not know, that *Barna-*
bas

(*n*) . . . P. 606. . . . 608.

(*o*) Volo tamen ex redundantia alicujus etiam comitis Apostolorum testimonium superducere, idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure disciplinam Magistrorum. Exstat enim & Barnabae titulus ad Hebraeos. *Tertull. de Pudicit. cap. 20. p. 741.*

(*p*) . . . Τῶν δὲ ἐξ ἑβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν κατάλογος μὲν εἰς εὐαγγέλιον φέρεται. λέγεται γὰρ μὲν εἰς αὐτῶν βαρναβᾶς. κ. λ. *H. E. l. 1. cap. xii.*

bas was an Apostle. In (q) another place of the same work, his Ecclesiastical Historie, he quotes a passage from the seventh book of *Clement's* Institutions or *Hypotoposes*, where *Barnabas* is stiled one of the seventy. In his Commentarie upon *Isaiab* (r) *Eusebe* computes fourteen Apostles, meaning the twelve, and *Paul*, added to them, and equal to them, and *James* the Lord's brother, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, whom *Eusebe* did not think to be one of the twelve. Nor does he here say, that (s) he was equal to them, or *Paul*. However, from all these places we can be fully assured, that our learned Ecclesiastical Historian did not so much as suspect *Barnabas* to have been an Apostle, in the highest sense of the word.

Jerome, in the article of *Barnabas*, in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers, says, *he* (t) *was ordained with Paul an Apostle of the Gentils*. But authors, who write in haste, as *Jerome* often did, do not always express themselves exactly and properly. *Jerome* did not think, that *Barnabas* was equally an
Apostle

(q) *L. 2. cap. i. p. 38. D.*

(r) *Comm. in Es. p. 422.*

(s) *See Vol. viii. p. 154. 155.*

(t) *See Vol. x. p. 142. 143.*

Apostle with *Paul*. This may be concluded from what there follows: *He wrote an epistle for the edification of the Church, which is read among the apocryphal scriptures.* If *Barnabas* had been an Apostle, strictly speaking, *Jerome* would not have said, *he wrote an epistle for the edification of the Church.* Which any man might do. Nor would his epistle have been reckoned apocryphal, as *Jerome* here, and elsewhere (*u*) calls it. When *Jerome* says, that *Barnabas* was ordained with *Paul* an Apostle of the Gentils; it is likely, he refers to the historie in Acts xiii. 1. . . . 4. of which I have already said all that is needful.

Theodoret, as formerly quoted, says: “The
 “ (*x*) all-wise Deity committed the culture
 “ of a barren world to a few men, and those
 “ fishermen, and publicans, and one tent-
 “ maker.” And to the like purpose often.
 Which shews, that he did not reckon *Barnabas* an Apostle in the fullest meaning of the word. If he had, he must have added, *and one Levite.* The same observation may be applied to *Chrysofom*, who (*y*) in his ma-
 ny

(*u*) See again, as before, Vol. x. p. 143.

(*x*) Vol. xi p. 96. See also p. 97. 99. 103.

(*y*) See Vol. x. p. 366. . . . 370.

ny passages shewing the wonderful progresse of the gospel, often mentions the Apostles *Peter*, a fisherman, and *Paul* a tent-maker, but never *Barnabas* a Levite.

If then *Barnabas* was not an Apostle, an epistle writ by him cannot be received as canonical, or a part of the rule of faith : forasmuch as no men, beside Apostles, have the privilege of writing epistles, or other works, preceptive, and doctrinal, that shall be received by the churches, in that quality. This has been said several times in the course of this (z) work. And I still think it right.

Mark (a) and *Luke*, apostolical men, may write histories of our Lord's and his Apostles preaching, and doctrine, and miracles, which shall be received as sacred, and of authority. But no epistles, or other writings, delivering doctrines and precepts, (except only in the way of historical narration,) can be of authority, but those writ by Apostles.

Says *Jerome* of *St. John* : “ He (*b*) was
“ at once Apostle, Evangelist, and Prophet :
“ Apos-

(z) See *Apostles* in the alphabetical Table of principal Matters.

(a) See *Vol. ii. p. 525.*

(b) *Vol. x. p. 101.*

“ Apostle, in that he wrote letters to the
 “ churches as a master : Evangelist, as he
 “ wrote a book of the Gospel, which no o-
 “ ther of the twelve Apostles did, except
 “ *Matthew* : Prophet, as he saw the Reve-
 “ lation in the island *Patmos*, where he was
 “ banished by *Domitian*.”

Frederic Spanheim, in his Dissertation concerning the twelve Apostles, readily acknowledgeth this to be one prerogative of Apostles : “ That (*c*) they may write epistles,
 “ which shall be received as canonical, and
 “ be of universal and perpetual authority in
 “ the Church.”

3. *Barnabas* does not take upon himself the character of an Apostle, or a man of authority.

Near the begining of the epistle he says :
 “ I (*d*) therefore, not as a teacher, but as one
 “ of you, shall lay before you a few things,
 “ that you may be joyful.”

And

(*c*) Decimus nobis character apostolicæ ἐπεροχῆς est potestas scribendi ad ecclesias plures, vel ad omnes, τοῖς καθόλου πιστέϊς, hujusmodi epistolas, quae in canonem referri mererentur, id est, quae forent canonicae, universalis et perpetuae in Ecclesia auctoritatis. *Diff. prima de Apostol. Duod. num. xi. Opp. T. 2. p. 310.*

(*d*) Ego autem non tanquam doctor, sed unus ex vobis, demonstrabo pauca, per quae in plurimis lactiores sitis. *Barn. ep. cap. i.*

And somewhat lower : “ Again, (*e*) I en-
“ treat you, as one of you.”

He writes as a man, who had gifts of the Spirit, but not that full measure, which was a prerogative of Apostles. “ He (*f*) who
“ put the engrafted gift of his doctrine in us,
“ knows, that no man has received [or learn-
“ ed] from me a truer word. But I know,
“ that you are worthie.”

I shall add a few more very modest expres-
sions, not suitable to an Apostle.

“ Thus (*g*) as much as in me lies, I have
“ writ to you with great plainesse. And I
“ hope, that according to my ability, I have
“ omitted nothing conducive to your salva-
“ tion in the present circumstance.”

In the last chapter : “ I (*b*) beseech you :
“ I ask it as a favour of you, whilst you are
“ in this beautiful vessel of the body, be
“ wanting in none of these things.”

And

(*e*) Adhuc & hoc rogo vos, tamquam unus ex vobis. *Ib.*
cap. 4.

(*f*) Οἶδεν ὁ τὴν ἔμφροτον δαρεῖν τῆς διδασχῆς αὐτῆ δέμεν
ἐν ἡμῶν γὰρ ἰσχυρότερον ἔμαθεν ἀπὸ ἐμοῦ λόγου. Ἀλλὰ
δοῖδα, ὅτι ἔξισιο ἐσὲ ὑμεῖς. *Cap. 9.*

(*g*) Ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν ἐν δυνατῶ καὶ ἀπλότῃσι δηλαῶσαι ὑμῶν ἐλ-
πίζει με ἡ ψυχὴ τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ με μὴ παραλελοιπέναι μέ τι
τῶν ἀνηκόσων ὑμῶν εἰς σατυρίαν, ἐνεσάτων. *Cap. 17.*

(*b*) Ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς, χάριν αἰτέμεν. κ. λ. *Cap. 21.*

And still nearer the conclusion. “Wherefore I have endeavoured to write to you, according to my ability, that you might rejoice.”

Upon the whole, this epistle well answers the character given of *Barnabas* in the Acts, particularly, ch. xi. 24. *He was full of the Holy Ghost.* The writer of this epistle had the gift of the Spirit, though not that measure, which was peculiar to Apostles. *He was full of faith.* The writer of this epistle had an earnest zeal for the truth and simplicity of the gospel. He was also *a good man.* In this epistle we observe the mildness and gentleness, by which *Barnabas* seems to have been distinguished. But we do not discern here the dignity and authority of an Apostle.

Consequently, this epistle may afford edification, and may be read with that view. But it ought not to be esteemed by us, as it was not by the ancients, a part of the rule of faith.

(i) Διὸ μᾶλλον ἐσπέδασα γράψαι, ἀφ’ ὧν ἠδυνήθην, εἰς τὸ εὐφραίνειν ὑμᾶς. *Ibid.*



C H A P. III.

Of the Method, in which the Canon of the New Testament has been formed.

THE canon of the New Testament is a collection of books, writ by several persons, in several places, and at different times.

It is therefore reasonable to think, that it was formed gradually. At the rise of the Christian Religion there were no written systems or records of it. It was first taught and confirmed by Christ himself in his most glorious ministrie: and was still farther confirmed by his willing death, and his resurrection from the dead, and ascension to heaven. Afterwards it was taught by word of mouth, and propagated by the preaching of his Apostles and their companions. Nor was it fit, that any books should be writ about it, till there

there were converts to receive and keep them, and deliver them to others.

If St. *Paul's* two epistles to the *Thessalonians* were the first written books of the New Testament, and not writ till the year 51. or 52. about twenty years after our Saviour's ascension, they would be for a while the only sacred books of the new dispensation.

As the Christians at *Thessalonica* had received the doctrine taught by *Paul*, *not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God.* 1 *Theff.* ii. 13. they would receive his epistles, as the written word of God. And himself taught them so to do, requiring, that they should be solemnly *read unto all the holy brethren.* 1 *Theff.* v. 27. He gives a like direction, but more extensive, at the end of his epistle to the *Colossians.* iv. 16. requiring them, after they had read it *amongst themselves, to cause it to be read also in the church of the Laodiceans: and that they likewise read the epistle, that would come to them from Laodicea.*

All the Apostle *Paul's* epistles, whether to churches or particular persons, would be received with the like respect by those to whom they were sent, even as the written word of
 God,

God, or sacred scriptures. And in like manner the writings of all the Apostles and Evangelists.

They who first received them would, as there were opportunities, convey them to others. They who received them, were fully assured of their genuineness by those who delivered them. And before the end of the first century, yea not very long after the middle of it, it is likely, there were collections made of the four Gospels, and most of the other books of the New Testament, which were in the hands of a good number of churches and persons.

From the quotations of *Irenaeus*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, and other writers of the second century, of *Origen* in the third, and of *Eusebius* in the fourth century, it appears, that the greatest part of the books, which are now received by us, and are called canonical, were universally acknowledged in their times, and had been so acknowledged by the elders and churches of former times. And the rest, now received by us, though they were then doubted of, or controverted by some, were (a) well known,

(a) See *Eusebius Vol. viii. p. 96. 97.*

and approved by many. And *Athanasius*, who lived not long after *Eusebius*, (having flourished from the year 326. and afterwards) received all the same books, which are now received by us, and no other. Which has also been the prevailing sentiment ever since.

This canon was not determined by the authority of Councils. But the books, of which it consists, were known to be the genuine writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, in the same way and manner that we know the works of *Cesar*, *Cicero*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Tacitus*, to be theirs. And the canon has been formed upon the ground of an unanimous, or generally concurring testimonie and tradition.

In the course of this long work we have had frequent occasion to observe, that the canon of the New Testament had not been settled by any authority universally acknowledged, particularly, not in the time of (b) *Eusebius*, nor of (c) *Augustin*, nor of (d) *Cassiodorius*: but that nevertheless there was a general agreement among Christians upon this head.

That

(b) *Vol. viii. p. 103.*

(c) *Vol. x. 207. . . 211.*

(d) *Vol. xi. 279.*

That the number of books to be received as sacred and canonical had not been determined by the authority of any Council, or Councils, universally acknowledged, is apparent from the different judgements among Christians, in several parts of the world, concerning divers books, particularly, the epistle to the *Hebrews*, and the *Revelation*: which were received by some, rejected, or doubted of by others. Not now to mention any of the Catholic Epistles. There was no catalogue of the books of scripture in any canon of the Council of *Nice*. *Augustin* (e) giving directions to inquisitive persons, how they might determine, what books are canonical, and what not, refers not to the decisions of any Councils. *Cassiodorius*, in the sixth centurie, has (f) three catalogues, one called *Jerome's*, another *Augustin's*, another that of the ancient version. But he refers not to the decree of any Council, as decisive. And it seems to me, that in all times Christian people and churches have had a liberty to judge for themselves, according to evidence. And the evidence of the genuinnesse of most of the books of the New Testament has been

(e) *Vol. x. p. 207.*(f) *Vol. vi. p. 303. . . 306.*

so clear and manifest, that they have been universally received.

The genuinnesse of these books, as before said, is known in the same way with others, by testimonie or tradition. The first testimonie is that of those who were contemporarie with the writers of them. Which testimonie has been handed down to others.

That in this way the primitive Christians formed their judgement concerning the books proposed to be received as sacred scriptures, appears from their remaining works. Says *Clement of Alexandria*: “ This (g) we
 “ have not in the four Gospels, which have
 “ been delivered to us, but in that according
 “ to the *Egyptians*.” *Tertullian* may be seen largely to this purpose. Vol. ii. 576. . . 581. I pass on to *Origen*, who says: “ As
 “ (b) I have learned by tradition concerning
 “ the four Gospels, which alone are received
 “ without dispute by the whole Church of
 “ God under heaven.” So *Eusebe*, in his *Ecclesiastical Historie*, often observes, what books of the New Testament had been quoted by the ancients, and what not. And having rehearsed a catalogue of books uni-
 verfully

(g) *Vol. ii. p. 496, and 529.*

(b) *Vol. iii. p. 235.*

verſally received, and of others controverted, he ſays : “ It (*i*) was needful to put down
 “ theſe alſo : diſtinguiſhing the ſcriptures,
 “ which according to eccleſiaſtical tradition
 “ are true, genuine, and univerſally acknow-
 “ ledged, from thoſe which are controverted,
 “ and yet appear to have been known to
 “ many : that by this means we may know
 “ them from ſuch as have been publiſhed
 “ by heretics, under the names of Apoſtles.
 “ Which books none of the eccleſiaſtical
 “ writers in the ſucceſſion from the times of
 “ the Apoſtles have vouchſafed to mention
 “ in their writings.” I may not tranſcribe,
 but only refer to (*k*) *Athanaſius* in his Feſtal
 Epiſtle, to (*l*) *Cyriſ of Jeruſalem*, (*m*) *Ru-
 ſin*, and (*n*) *Auguſtin*.

However, beſide obſerving the teſtimonie
 of writers in former times, they criticiſed the
 books, which were propoſed to them : ex-
 amining their ſtile and contents, and com-
 paring them with thoſe books, which had
 been already received as genuine upon the
 ground of an unanimous teſtimonie, and un-
 doubted tradition. Says honeſt *Serapion*,

E 3

Bishop

(*i*) *Vol. viii. p. 97. 98. See likewise p. 99. . . . 102.*

(*k*) *Vol. viii. p. 225. (l) P. 268.*

(*m*) *Vol. x. p. 193. (n) P. 207. 208.*

Bishop of *Antioch*, in an epistle to some, who had too much respect for a writing, entitled *the Gospel of Peter*: “ We (o) brethren, receive *Peter*, and the other Apostles, as Christ: but as skilful men, we reject those writings, which are falsely ascribed to them: well knowing, that we have received no such.” And he adds, that upon perusing that work, he had found the main part of it agreeable to the right doctrine of our Saviour: but there were some other things of a different kind. And *Eusebe* adds in the place transcribed above: “ The (p) stile also of these books is entirely different from that of the Apostles. Moreover the sentiments and doctrine of these writings differ from the true orthodox Christianity. All which things plainly shew, that they are the forgeries of heretics.”

It has been sometimes said, that the Council of *Laodicea* first settled the canon of the New Testament. But it may be justly said to have been settled before. At least there had been long before a general agreement among Christians, what books were cano-

(o) *Vol. ii. p. 558.*

(p) *Vol. viii. p. 98.*

canonical, and what not : what were the genuine writings of Apostles and Evangelists, and what not. From the decree of the Council itself it appears, that there were writings already known by the title of canonical. That Council does nothing in their last canon, but declare, “ That (*q*) private
 “ psalms ought not to be read in the church,
 “ nor any books not canonical, but only
 “ the canonical books of the Old and New
 “ Testament.” After which follows a catalogue or enumeration of such books. The same may be said of the third Council of *Carthage*, whose 47. canon is to this purpose : “ Moreover (*r*) it is ordained, that
 “ nothing beside the Canonical Scriptures
 “ be read in the church, under the name of
 “ Divine Scriptures.”

I shall now transcribe below a long and fine passage of Mr. *Le Clerc*, wherein he says :

“ We (*s*) no where read of a Council of the

E 4

“ Apostles,

(*q*) *Vol. viii. p. 291. 292.*

(*r*) *Vol. x. p. 193.*

(*s*) Nusquam quidem legimus, Collegium Apostolicum, aut coetum ullum Rectorum Ecclesiarum Christianarum coactum esse, qui pro auctoritate desuierint hunc numerum Evangeliorum esse admittendum, non majorem, nec minorem. Sed nec opus fuit, cum omnibus constaret, ex testimonio et consensu aequalium, quatuor haec Evangelia
 eorum

“ Apostles, or of any assemblie of the Gover-
 “ nours of Christian churches, convened, to
 “ determine by their authority, that such a
 “ number of Gospels, neither more nor few-
 “ er, should be received. Nor was there any
 “ need of it, since it is well known to all
 “ from the concurring testimonie of contem-
 “ poraries, that these four Gospels are the ge-
 “ nuine writings of those whose names they
 “ bear: and since it is also manifest, that
 “ there is in them nothing unworthie of those,
 “ to whom they are ascribed, nor any thing
 “ at all contrarie to the revelation of the Old
 “ Testa-

eorum vere fuisse, quorum nomina praeferunt: cumque nihil in iis legatur quod scriptoribus dignum non sit, vel revelationi Veteris Testamenti, rectaeve rationi, vel minimum adverteretur: aut quod inferius aevum, recentiorumque manus ullo modo respiciat. Non opus fuit synodo Grammaticorum, qui, pro imperio, pronunciarent ea scripta, verbi causa, Ciceronis et Virgilio, quae eorum esse non dubitamus, re verâ tantorum ingeniorum foetus fuisse, et posteritati ea in re consulerent. Omnium consensus, non quaesitus, non rogatus, sed sponte significatus, prout occasio tulit, resque ipsae omnibus, qui postea vixere, dubitationem omnem anteverterunt. . . Sic et Evangeliorum auctoritas merito constituta est, et invaluit, perpetuo consensu, sine ullo Rectorum Ecclesiae decreto.

Idem dixerimus de Epistolis Apostolicis, quae nullius ecclesiastici conventus iudicio, sed constanti omnium christianorum testimonio, rebusque ipsis, quas complectuntur, auctoritatem omnem suam debent. *Cleric. H. E. ann. 100. num. iii. iv. Vid. et ann. 29. num. xcii.*

“ Testament, nor to right reason. There
 “ was no need of a synod of Grammarians,
 “ to declare magisterially what are the works
 “ of *Cicero*, or *Virgil*. . . In like manner the
 “ authority of the Gospels has been establish-
 “ ed by general and perpetual consent, with-
 “ out any decree of the Governours of the
 “ Church. We may say the same of the
 “ Apostolical Epistles, which owe all their
 “ authority, not to the decisions of any eccle-
 “ siastical assemblie, but to the concurring
 “ testimonie of all Christians, and the things
 “ themselves, which are contained in them.”

Mr. *James Basnage* (*t*) has several chapters, shewing how the canon of the New Testament was formed, without the authoritative decisions of Councils. I likewise refer to (*u*) Mr. *Jones* upon this subject. I must also remind my readers of (*x*) *Augustin's* excellent observations, in his arguments with the *Manicheans*, concerning the genuinnesse and integrity of the books of the New Testament. I shall transcribe from him here a few lines only, which are very much to the present purpose. “ We (*y*) know the wri-
 “ tings

(*t*) *Hist. de l'Eglise*. l. 8. ch. v. vi. vii.

(*u*) *New and full Method*. Part. i. ch. v. vi. vii.

(*x*) See *Vol. vi. p. 375. . . 381.* (*y*) *P. 379.*

“ tings of the Apostles, says he, as we know
 “ the works of *Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Varro,*
 “ and others. And as we know the writ-
 “ ings of divers ecclesiastical authors : foras-
 “ much as they have the testimonie of con-
 “ temporaries, and of those who have lived
 “ in succeeding ages.”

Upon the whole, the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists are received, as the works of other eminent men of antiquity are, upon the ground of general consent and testimonie. Nor does the canon of the scriptures of the New Testament owe it's establishment to the decisions of Councils : but it is the judgement of Christian people in general. And so far as we are able to perceive, after a long and careful examination, it is a right and reasonable judgement. And it may induce us to believe, that if men were encouraged to think freely, in other matters also, and to judge for themselves, according to evidence, and proper assistances were afforded them, it would not be at all detrimental to the interests either of truth or virtue.



CHAP. IV.

*Of the Time of writing the Gospels, especially,
the first three.*

S E C T. I.

That the Gospels are not mentioned, nor referred to, in the Epistles of the New Testament.

EUSEBE intimates, that (a) many before him supposed, that when *Paul* in his epistle speaks of his own gospel, he intended the Gospel according to *Luke*. We will therefore consider those texts, and some other of a like kind.

I. *St. Paul* says Rom. ii. 16. . . *in the day, when God shall judge the secrets of men, according to my gospel.* The same phrase occurs again ch. xvi. 25. and 2 Tim. ii. 8. Remember, that *Jesus Christ, of the seed of David,*

(a) Ἰασὶ δὲ, ὡς ἄρα τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίον μνημονεύουσι ὁ πᾶυλος εἶπεν, ὅτινίκα ὡς περὶ ἰδίου τινὸς εὐαγγελίου γράφου ἔλεγε, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου. *Euf. H. E. l. 3. c. 4. p. 73. D.*

vid, was raised from the dead, according to my gospel.

In all which places, I apprehend, it must be reasonable to understand, not any written Gospel, or historie of Jesus Christ : but the doctrine of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which had been preached by *Paul*. Which is also the opinion of learned modern interpreters in general.

II. 2 Cor. viii. 18. *And we have sent with him the brother, whose praise is in the gospel, throughout all the churches.*

Many have been of opinion, that St. *Luke* is the *brother*, here intended, and that *St. Paul* refers to *Luke's* written Gospel. This (*b*) is said to be *Origen's* interpretation. But I do not clearly perceive it. *Origen* (*c*) speaking of the four Gospels, says : “ The (*d*) third is that according to *Luke*, the Gospel, commended by *Paul*.” I say, I do not perceive it to be clear, that *Origen* had an eye to

(*b*) “ Who this brother was, is much contested. Antiquity “ has carried it for St. *Luke*, *worthy of praise in all the churches* “ for the Gospel, which he wrote. The authority of this as- “ fertion seems to rest upon the words of *Origen*, the interpo- “ lated *Ignatius*, and St. *Jerome*.” So *Whitly upon the Place*.

(*c*) Καὶ τρίτον τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν, τὸ ὑπὸ Πάυλου ἐπαινόμενον εὐαγγέλιον. *Ap. Euf. l. 6. cap. 25. p. 226. C.*

(*d*) See Vol. iii. p. 235.

to 2 Cor. viii. 18. He might intend Rom. ii. 16. or xvi. 25. or 2 Tim. ii. 8. However, whether it be *Origen's* interpretation of that text, or not, it is *Jerome's*: who writing the historie of St. *Luke* in his book of Illustrious Men, says: "He (*e*) wrote a Gospel, of which *Paul* makes mention, saying: *And we have sent with him the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel.*" To the same purpose (*f*) also in the prologue to his Commentarie upon St. *Matthew*: and likewise in (*g*) his Commentarie upon the epistle to *Philemon*.

Chrysofom upon the place speaks after this manner. "And (*b*) who is this brother? "Some say, *Luke*: and think, that the Apostle refers to the historie, writ by him. "Others say, *Barnabas*. For by *gospel* he intends unwritten preaching." *Theophylact* (*i*) speaks to the like purpose. *Theodoret*

(*e*) See Vol. x. p. 94.

(*f*) The same, p. 83.

(*g*) De quo [Luca] et in alio loco: *Misi*, inquit, *cum illo fratrem, cujus laus est in evangelio per omnes ecclesias. . . &c.* In *Philem. T. 4. P. i. p. 454.*

(*b*) Καὶ τίς ἔτιός ἐστιν ὁ ἀδελφός; τινὲς μὲν τὸν λυκᾶν. Καί φασι, διὰ τὴν ἰσορίαν ἠνπερ ἔγραψε. Τινὲς δὲ τὸν βαρυάβαν. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀγραφον κήρυγμα εὐαγγέλιον καλεῖ. In 2. ep. ad Corinth. hom. 18. Tom. x.

(*i*) In loc. p. 389.

doret (*k*) by the brother understood Barnabas. And therefore could not think of any written Gospel, no such work having been ascribed to him by the ancients. Oecumenius's note is to this purpose. "Many (*l*) say, this brother is Luke, mentioned upon account of the Gospel composed by him. Many others suppose him to be Barnabas. For, as they say, unwritten preaching is here called *gospel*. Which is the more likely. For what follows is more suitable to Barnabas : whose praise is in the *gospel*. As much as to say : he not only preaches, but commendably." And afterwards. "The meaning is, he not only evangelizeth, and preacheth the *gospel* admirably, and commendably, but he has been chosen to travel with us, with this grace also." Such are the sentiments of the ancients upon this text.

Let us now observe the interpretations of some judicious moderns.

Grotius says : " he (*m*) does not dislike the

(*k*) Τὸν τρισμακάριον βαρνάβαν τὰ ἐρημίονα χαρακτηρίζει:
Theod. in loc. T. 3. p. 243.

(*l*) Oecum. in loc. Tom. i. p. 663.

(*m*) Mihi non displicet sententia illorum, qui hic Lucam designari putant : ita tamen ut per evangelium non intelligatur liber, qui tunc editus nondum erat, sed ipsum munus evangelistae,

the opinion of those, who think *Luke* to be here intended. But he does not think, that *St. Paul* refers to his book of the Gospel, which was not then published : but to the office of an Evangelist, which *Luke* had discharged in several places, or to his preaching the gospel. And he says, that *in the gospel* may be the same as *by the gospel*. So in ch. x. 14. of the same epistle.”

Estius likewise says, that (*n*) *by gospel* is to be understood preaching : not *St. Luke's* Gospel, which we are not certain was then published.

Le Clerc, in his French Testament, translates in this manner : *one of our brethren; who is praised on account of the gospel in all the churches.* And in his notes says, “ that generally *St. Luke* is here supposed to be intended : though *St. Paul* refers rather to his preaching the gospel, than to the book of his Gospel.”

Beaufobre

evangelistae, quod Lucas Pauli vice multis in locis fideliter obierat, sive ipsa evangelii praedicatio, ut infra x. 14. *et in pro sua per. Grot. ad 2. Cor. viii. 18.*

(*n*) Neque enim Paulus de Evangelio scripto loquitur, sed quo modo passim alibi, de evangelio praedicato. Deinde, nec satis constat, Evangelium Lucae tum editum fuisse, quando Paulus hanc epistolam scripsit. *Est. in loc.*

Beaufobre translates after this manner: one of the brethren, who has made himself famous in all the churches by [preaching] the gospel. And says in his notes: “that though
 “some of the ancients have hereby understood St. *Luke*, and his Gospel; he thinks,
 “that by *the gospel* is here intended the
 “preaching of the gospel. Besides, there is
 “no proof, that St. *Luke* had as yet writ his
 “Gospel. It is rather reasonable to think,
 “he had not.”

Upon the whole, though we cannot certainly say, who is *the brother*, whose praise was in the gospel: whether (o) *Luke*, or *Barnabas*, or *Silas*, or *Apollos*: I presume we are sufficiently warranted to say, that by *gospel* is here intended neither the gospel according to *Luke*, nor any other written Gospel whatever.

III. 1 Tim. vi. 20. O *Timothie*, keep that which is committed to thy trust.

Hereby some have been disposed to understand a written Gospel. But they are not favored by the best interpreters. *Grotius* says, that (p) this deposit, or thing committed to
Timothie's

(o) *Vid. Est. in 2. Cor. viii. 18. et Beaufobr. in ver. 18. et 23.*

(p) *Vocat autem depositum sacram doctrinam evangelii, quia*

Timothie's trust, is the sacred doctrine of the gospel. *Estius* (*q*) says the same. I place below likewise (*r*) a part of *Beza's* note upon this text. *Le Clerc* in his notes explains it thus: "the doctrine of the gospel, which was a sacred deposit, committed by the Apostles to their disciples." And *Beaufobre* thus: "the doctrine, which had been committed to, or entrusted with *Timothie*." See also, says he, 1. Tim. i. 18. and 2. Tim. ii. 2. I say no more to this text.

IV. 2. Tim. i. 13. 14. *Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me. . . . That good thing, which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost, which dwelleth in us.*

Hereby some may understand a written Gospel, or historie of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, I think, I need not add much here to what has been already said of the pre-

quia et res est alterius, nempe Christi, et pastoribus fida ejus custodia incumbit. *Grot. ad 1. Tim. vi. 20.*

(*q*) Iterum serio et graviter admonet, ut acceptam fidei doctrinam conservet, ne locum relinquat ulli peregrino dogmati. Nomine *depositi* metaphorice significatur doctrina successori credita, ac per manus tradita. *Est. in loc.*

(*r*) *Depositum* proculdubio vocat sanam evangelii doctrinam, et dona quaecunque ad Ecclesiae aedificationem, veluti depositum, Deus commiserat Timotheo. *Bez. in loc.*

ceding text, it being nearly parallel. The meaning of both is much the same. *Timothie* is here again exhorted, and required, to retain with all fidelity those *sound words*, that pure doctrine of the gospel, which he had been taught by the Apostle, and had often heard from him.

It does not appear, then, that there are in the apostolical epistles of the New Testament any references to written Gospels, or histories of Jesus Christ. I do not say, this is a proof, that no such histories were then written. Nevertheless, I have thought it not improper to shew, that there is no notice taken of any such histories in these epistles: and therefore they cannot afford any evidence of their being then writ and published. I think likewise, that it was not amiss to embrace this occasion to shew the true meaning of some texts, which have been often misinterpreted.

S E C T. II.

*Observations of ancient Christian Writers,
leading to the true time, when the Gospels
were writ.*

I. **S**AYS *Irenaeus*, as formerly (*s*) quoted,
 “ For (*t*) we have not received the
 “ knowledge of the way of our salvation
 “ from any others, than those, by whom the
 “ gospel has been brought to us. Which
 “ gospel they first preached, and afterwards
 “ by the will of God committed to writing,
 “ that for time to come it might be the
 “ foundation and pillar of our faith. Nor
 “ may any say, that they preached, before
 F 2 “ they

(*s*) See *Vol. i t. 273.*

(*t*) Non enim per eos disposuimus in illis nostras cognovimus, quam per eos, per quos & evangelium pervenit ad nos : quod quidem tunc praecognoverunt, & ante scripturam voluntatem in scripturis nobis tradiderunt, ut in eis esset columna fidei nostrae futurae. Hinc enim factum est, quoniam ante praedicaverunt, quam postea habebant agnitionem, sicut quidam audent dicere, gloriantes, ostentatores se esse Apostolorum. Postea enim quam surrexit Dominus noster a mortuis, & induti sunt supervenientis Spiritus Sancti virtutem ex alto, de omnibus adimpleti sunt, & habuerant perfectam agnitionem, exierunt in fines terrae, ea quae a Deo nobis bona sunt evangelizantes, & coelestem pacem hominibus annunciantes : qui quidem & omnes gentes & linguli eorum habentes evangelium Dei. *Iren. adv. Haer. . . 3. cap. 1.*

“ they had a compleat knowledge of the
 “ doctrine of the gospel. For after that
 “ our Lord rose from the dead, and they
 “ [the Apostles] were endowed from above
 “ with the power of the Holy Ghost coming
 “ down upon them, they received a perfect
 “ knowledge of all things. They then went
 “ forth to all the ends of the earth, declar-
 “ ing to men the blessing of heavenly peace,
 “ having all of them, and every one alike,
 “ the gospel of God.”

He then proceeds to speak of the Gospels
 of the four Evangelists severally, and the
 times and occasions of writing them. All
 which will be taken down by us hereafter in
 proper places. Here is sufficient to induce
 us to think, that the written Gospels, or his-
 tories of Jesus Christ, were not published,
 till some good while after our Lord’s ascen-
 sion. For the Apostles first preached, he
 says, before they wrote.

2. Says *Eusebe* in a long passage formerly
 quoted: “ Those (*u*) admirable and truly
 “ divine men, the Apostles of Christ,—
 “ neither knew, nor attempted, to deliver the
 “ doctrine of their master with the artifice
 “ and eloquence of words . . . Nor were they
 “ greatly

(*u*) *Vol. viii. p. 90. . . 92.*

“ greatly concerned about the writing of
 “ books, being engaged in a more excellent
 “ ministrie, which is above all human power.
 “ Infomuch that *Paul*, the most able of all
 “ in the furniture both of words and thoughts,
 “ has left nothing in writing, beside a few
 “ epistles Nor were the rest of our Sa-
 “ viour’s followers unacquainted with these
 “ things, as the seventy disciples, and many
 “ others, beside the twelve Apostles. Ne-
 “ vertheless of all the disciples of our Lord,
 “ *Matthew* and *John* only have left us any
 “ memoirs: who too, as we have been in-
 “ formed, were compelled to write by a
 “ kind of necessity.” And what follows.

3. This passage should be compared with
 another of (*x*) *Origen*. And they who please
 may also consult our remarks (*) upon what
 has been now transcribed from *Eusebe*.
 Which may be of use to caution us, not to
 be too precipitate in giving a very early date
 to the Gospels, as if they were writ imme-
 diatly after our Lord’s ascension: when there
 is reason to think, they were not writ, till af-
 ter numerous converts had been made, who
 expressed their desires to have written histo-

F 3

ries

(*x*) See Vol. iii. p. 236.

(*) Vol. viii. p. 124, . . . 127.

ries of what they had heard, for refreshing their memories.

4. Says *Theodore*, Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, in the later part of the fourth centurie, about the year 394. “ After (y) the Lord’s ascension to heaven the disciples staid a good while at *Jerusalem*, visiting the cities in it’s neighborhood, preaching chiefly to the Jews : until the great *Paul*, called by the divine grace, was appointed to preach the gospel to Gentils openly. And in proceffe of time Divine Providence, not allowing them to be confined to any one part of the earth, made way for conducting them to remote countreys. *Peter* went to *Rome*, the others elsewhere. *John*, in particular, took up his abode at *Ephesus*, visiting however at seasons the severall parts of *Asia* About this time the other Evangelists, *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, published their Gospels, which were soon spread all over the world, and were received by all the faithful in general with great regard.” . . . He proceeds to say, “ that nevertheless, the Christians in *Asia*, having brought those Gospels to him, earnestly entreated him to write a farther account of such things,

(y) See *Vol. ix. p. 403. 404.*

“ things, as were needful to be known, and
 “ had been omitted by the rest. With
 “ which request he complied.”

This remarkable passage, upon which divers observations were made, when it was first quoted, may dispose us to think, that all the four Gospels were writ about the same time, and that none of them were published till after, or about the sixtieth year of our Lord's Nativity.

5. By divers ancient Christian writers it is said, that (*z*) *Mark*, the disciple and interpreter of *Peter*, at the desire of the brethren of *Rome*, wrote a short Gospel, according to what he had heard related by *Peter*. So *Jenome* (*a*) beside others, as before quoted, in his book of Illustrious Men.

St. *Peter*, I reckon, did not come to *Rome* before the reign of *Nero*, probably, not till the second time that *Paul* was in that city, in the year 63. or 64. And yet, at this time, the Christians at *Rome* desired *Mark* to give them in writing an account of *Peter's* preaching, for refreshing their memories concerning what the Apostle had said of Christ, and his doctrine. The consequence

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is

(*z*) See Vol. i. p. 247. . . 249. ii. 472. . . 489. vii. 305.
 . . 306. xi. p. 31. (a) Vol. x. p. 92.

is manifest. They had not then any written Gospel in their hands. Nor did they know, that there was one. “The truth is, says “Mr. Jones (*b*), if St. Mark, or any one else, “had had St. Matthew’s Gospel, at Rome, “there would have been no need of St. “Mark’s writing.”

These are general observations in the ancients, or deduced from them, which may be of no small use to lead us to the true time of writing the first three Gospels.

S E C T. III.

That the first three Gospels were published before the destruction of Jerusalem, which happened in the year of the Christian epoch LXX.

Concerning this I transcribe below (*c*) a very good argument of *Le Clerc* from his Dissertation upon the four Evangelists.

The

(*b*) *Vindication of the former part of St. Matthew’s Gospel* p. 54. chap. vi.

(*c*) *Quinetiam, si ex Veterum nonnullorum testimoniis antea adductis, de re judicemus, affirmabimus, Matthaeum, Marcum, et Lucam, ante ultima Neronis tempora, quibus occisi sunt Petrus et Paulus, Evangelia scripsisse. Quod non levi argumento confirmari potest, ducto ex Matth. cap. xxiv.*

Marc.

The Jewish war began, according (*d*) to *Josephus*, in the Month of May, in the 66. year of the Christian epoch, and ended in September, in the year 70. in the desolation of the city of *Jerusalem* and the temple. And I think, it may be shewn to be very probable, that the first three Gospels were writ before the year 66. when the final troubles and calamities of the Jewish People were coming on.

This must appear to have a great deal of probability from the predictions therein recorded concerning the destruction of the temple, the overthrow of the city of *Jerusalem*, the ruin of the Jewish State and People in *Judea*, together with divers circumstances of

Marc. xiii. Luc. xxi. ubi narratur Jerosolymae excidii praedictio, quasi rei etiamnum futurae, eo tempore, quo Evangelia ab iis scribebantur. Si enim eam praedicationem post eventum scripsissent Evangelistae memorati, verbulo saltem monuissent, praedictionem fuisse eventu confirmatam. Quod tantum abest ut faciant, ut Matthaeus et Marcus hac admonitione, *ὁ ἀναγνώσκων νοέτω*, qui legit, intelligat, quam subjiiciunt praefagiis Jerosolymitanae cladis, admonere videantur Christianos in Judaea viventes, ut diligenter futura illa praefagia attendant, quo possint vitae suae consulere. Vide Matth. xxiv. 15. Marc. xiii. 14. et ad ea loca interpretes. *Chric. Diss. iii. de quatuor Evangelis. num. vii. p. 541.*

(*d*) *Vid. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. 20. cap. xi. n. c. Ec. B. I. l. 6. cap. x.*

of these events, and many troubles and calamities preceding them. These predictions are recorded in the histories of our Saviour's ministrie, which we call Gospels, without any the least hint, either exprefs and designed, or accidentally dropping from the writers, that those predictions had been fulfilled and verified, or that the things spoken of had happened. Those prophecies are recorded in Matth. xxiii. 34. . . 39. and xxiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi. St. *Luke* has also elsewhere recorded the affectionate concern, which our Lord expressed in the view and prospect of those impending evils. ch. xiii. 34. 35. and xix. 41. . . 44. These things are also referred to, and spoken of, in divers other discourses, some plain, some parabolical, or otherwise figurative: as Matth. xxi. 33. . . 46. xxii. 1. . . 7. Mark xii. 1. . . 12. Luke xiii. 1. . . 9. xx. 9. . . 20. xxi. 5. . . 13. In none of all which places does there appear any intimation, that the things spoken of were come to pass. And in recording the presages of this final and total overthrow of the Jewish nation the historians have inserted warnings and admonitions, proper to excite the attention of readers, and induce those who lived in *Judea*, to take care of their
 own

own safety, without delay. Matt. xxiv. 15. . . . 18. *When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand :) then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains. Let him which is on the house-top not come down to take any thing out of his house. Neither let him which is in the field, return back to take his cloths.* And what follows. And to the like purpose in Mark xiii. 14. . . 16. When these discourses were recorded, the things spoken of had not yet come to pass. There were men living, to whom these admonitions might be useful for securing their safety.

Moreover, though these predictions must have been recorded, before they were accomplished; I think, the fulfilment was then near at hand, and not far off. This seems to be implied in that expression: *Let him that readeth, understand.* And indeed it must have been difficult and hazardous to publish such things in writing. How offensive these sayings must have been to the Jewish People, and perhaps to some others likewise, is easie to conceive from the nature of the things spoken of. And it may be confirmed by divers instances. When our Lord had spoken
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the parable of the vineyard, let out to husbandmen, recorded in Luke xx. 9. . . 18. it is added by the Evangelist. ver. 19. 20. *And the Chief Priests, and the Scribes, the same hour sought to lay hands on him. But they feared the people. For they perceived, that he had spoken this parable against them. And they watched him, and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of his words, that so they might deliver him unto the power and authority of the Governour.* And among the odious charges brought against our Saviour by false witnesses, this was one, *that he said : I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days.* Matth. xxvi. 61. With this he was reproached likewise, when hanging on the cross. xxvii. 40. The like offensive charges were brought against Stephen. Acts. vi. 14. *We have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs, which Moses delivered to us.* And, possibly, he did say somewhat not very different. So likewise St. Matthew, and the other Apostles, might repeat in the hearing of many what Christ had said to them, and in part to others also, concerning the overthrow of the temple, and
the

the Jewish state. Yea, very probably, they had often repeated these things to attentive hearers. But speaking and writing are different. And I apprehend, it could not have been safe, nor prudent, to record these predictions, (many of which are very plain, and all intelligible,) soon after our Lord's ascension.

These prophecies therefore of our Lord, as recorded in the first three Gospels, afford at once an argument, that they were written and published before the destruction of *Jerusalem*: and that they were not published many years before it, or however, not many years before the commencement of the war at the time above-mentioned.

S E C T. IV.

An Argument, shewing the true Time of writing the Gospels, taken from the Acts, and the beginning of St. Luke's Gospel.

NONE can suppose, that the book of the Acts of the Apostles was composed before the year 62. or 63. as the historie is there brought down to the period of St. Paul's two years imprisonment at *Rome*.

And,

And, very probably, the Gospel, to which St. *Luke* refers at the beginning of that book, had not been writ long before. This I suppose to be now the common opinion of learned men. And for giving the greatest satisfaction to all my readers, I shall transcribe below at large the sentiments of several to this purpose, such as that of the late (e) Mr *Jones*, and (f) *Estius*, (g) *Mill*, (*) *Dod-*

(e) "Hence we see near to what time this historie of the Acts was written: viz. either in the year 62. or not long after: it being altogether probable, that St. *Luke* would not defer writing long after his departure from St. *Paul*. Which seems to have been now, when the Apostle was set at liberty from his confinement at *Rome*. . . That he wrote both the Gospel and the Acts in the same year, seems very probable: as it is certain, that one of them is only to be looked upon as the second part, or continuation of the other." *Jones New and Full Method, &c. Part. 4. ch. x-vi. Vol. 3. p. 158. See him also ch. xi. p. 115.*

(f) Deinde, nec satis constat, Evangelium Lucae jam tum editum fuisse, quando Paulus hanc epistolam scripsit. Nam Acta quidem Apostolica scripsisse videtur statim post Evangelium, tanquam ejusdem voluminis libros primum et secundum. Scripsit autem Acta post biennium Pauli Romae commorantis, id est, multis annis post hanc epistolam. Quare circa idem tempus Evangelium ab eo scriptum fuisse, credibile est. *Est. ad 2. Cor. viii. 18.*

(g) Voluminis hujus D. Lucae partem posteriorem, seu λόγον δεύτερον quod attinet, librum dico Actuum Apostolorum, haud dubium est. . . . quin is scriptus sit statim post λόγον πρώτον, sive Evangelium. *Mill. Prol. num. 121.*

(*) *Dodwell*, and (*b*) *Basnage* : though the thing appears to me very obvious. And if so, we have gained very nearly the date of one of the four Gospels.

Grotius supposeth, that (*i*) when *Paul* left *Rome*, he went into *Spain* : and that at the same time *Luke* went into *Greece*, and there wrote both his Gospel and the Acts. *Jerome* supposeth, that (*k*) the book of the Acts was writ at *Rome*. But that makes no difference in point of time : since he allows, that it reaches to the end of *St. Paul's* two years imprisonment at *Rome*.

This

(*) Sunt enim Acta δεύτερος ejusdem operis λόγος, cujus πρώτον λόγον ipse suum agnoscit Evangelium. Act. i. 1. *Dodav. Diff. Iren. i. num. xxxix.*

(*b*) Non multum vero interjectum fuisse temporis inter Actuum Apostolicorum et Evangelii confessionem, conjectura ex praefatione ad Theophilum duci potest. *Primum quidem librum confeci. . . Actuum ergo liber continuatio est, seriefque Evangelii, . . . Multum vero abiisse temporis antequam a priore libro omnibus numeris expleto ad posteriorem transiret Lucas, nulla ratione cogimur ad credendum. &c. Basnag. Ann. 60. num. xxviii.*

(*i*) Librum autem et hunc, et qui de Actibus Apostolorum, scriptum atbitror, non multo postquam *Paulus* Româ abiit in Hispaniam. Nam in id tempus desinit Actuum liber, qui si ferius scriptus esset, in ulteriora etiam tempora narrationem protenderet. Puto autem, Româ iisse *Lucam* in Achaïam, atque ibi ab eo conscriptos quos habemus libros. *Grot. Pr. in Evang. Lucae.*

(*k*) See Vol. x. p. 94. 95.

This one consideration, so far as I am able to judge, overthrows the opinion, that St. *Luke's* Gospel was writ about fifteen years after our Lord's ascension. Yea, it evidently shews, that it was not writ till the year 60. or afterwards.

And the begining of St. *Luke's* Gospel affords an argument, that the other two Gospels of St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*, were not writ sooner. For this Evangelist knew nothing of them. Consequently, they were not then writ, and published: or, but lately. Every word of his introduction shews this. Let us observe it.

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things, which are most surely believed among us. . . . It seemed good unto me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus: that thou mightest know the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed.

When St. *Luke* says, that *many* had undertaken to write histories of our Saviour, he cannot mean *Matthew* alone, nor *Matthew* and *Mark* only. For they are not *many*. He must intend them, and others, or some different

The Evangelist

different from them. Which last will appear most likely, if we consider what there follows.

Of those *many* he says, they *had taken in hand*, undertaken, or attempted. St. *Luke* would not have spoken thus of *Matthew*, or *Mark*. Indeed, we may suppose, that (1) those narrations, to which St. *Luke* refers, were not false and fabulous, nor heretical. But they were defective.

Crotius says, the (*m*) word is of a middle meaning. And that it does not necessarily imply, that the writers, here intended, had failed to perform what they undertook.

Nevertheless the ancient Christians, to several of whom the Greek language was natural, understood the word differently. And their judgements must be of value in this

(1) Quod istos ait Lucas, non satis commode praestitisse : minime tamen, opinor, fabulosas, immo etiam impias narrationes intelligens, tandem Ecclesiae, sub Nicodemi, Thomae, Aegyptiorum nominibus impudentissime obtrusas. Nec tamen hic recte colligunt, Lucam post Matthaeum et Marcum hanc suam historiam edidisse. *Bez. in Luc. cap. i. ver. 1.*

(*m*) *Ἐπεχείρησαν. aggressi sunt.* Bene notavit vir eruditissimus, vocem esse mediam : neque enim ex ea colligi posse, non praestitum ab illis scriptoribus quod aggressi sunt. *Crot. in loc.*

case. Origen's observations upon St. Luke's introduction may be seen. vol. iii. p. 316. . . 319. where he says, " St. Luke's expression, *taken in hand*, implies a tacit accusation of those, who without the gift of the Holy Ghost took upon them to write Gospels. For *Matthew*, and *Mark*, and *Luke*, and *John*, did not *take in hand* to write : but being full of the Holy Ghost wrote Gospels." In which words, and afterwards, continually, he distinguisheth the four Evangelists from the writers, referred to by St. Luke. To the like purpose (n) *Ambrose*, who either copied, or closely imitated *Origen*. And says *Eusebe* : " *Luke* (o) at the beginning assigns the reason of his writing, declaring, that whereas many others had rashly undertaken to compose relations of the things, which were most firmly believed, he therefore thought himself obliged, in order to divert us from the uncertain relations of others, to deliver in his Gospel a certain account of those things, of which he was fully assured." Which passage

(n) See Vol. iii. p. 245.

(o) . . . διακόν ὡς ἕτα πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων προπετέστερου ἐπιτηδευούτων ἐλήγησεν ποιῆσαι· αὐτὸς ἀπὸ πληροφόρητο λόγῳ, κ. λ. *Euseb. l. 3. c. 24. p. 96. C.*

passage was transcribed by us (*p*) formerly. And *Epiphanius*, whom (*q*) I now place below, plainly affixed a disadvantageous meaning to this word.

Beaufobre readily allows, that (*r*) we ought to follow the ancients in their interpretation of this word, and to suppose, that *St. Luke* here speaks of some attempts, and essays, that had not been well executed.

This may be sufficient to satisfy us, that *St. Luke* does not speak of any of our Evangelists. Mr. (*) *Dodwell* was of the same opinion.

But we may have yet farther assurance of it by observing what *St. Luke* says of himself,

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and

(*p*) *Vcl. viii. p. 95.*

(*q*) . . ὁράσων, ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχέρισαν· ἵνα τινος ἐπιχειρητὸς δέξῃ σὸν δὲ τὸς περὶ κήρυθον, ἢ μῆρυθον, ἢ τὸς ἄλλας. *H. 51. num. vii. p. 428.*

(*r*) Ce mot Grec, ἐπεχέρισαν, est certainement tres equivoque, et peut fort bien signifier *des tentatives malheureuses, des efforts qui ont mal réussi.* *St. Epiphane* ne l'a pas entendu autrement. *Origene* de même, dans sa preface sur *S. Luc.* et après lui la plupart des *Interprètes Grecs.* Quand il s'agit de la signification des termes Grecs, et que les auteurs Grecs, qui les expliquent, n'ont aucun intérêt à leur donner des sens forcés, ces derniers semblent dignes de créance. *Beauf. Remarques sur Luc. ch. i. p. 100.*

(*) Ut plane alios fuisse necesse sit evangelicæ historiae scriptores a Luca visos, a nostris, quos habemus Evangelisticis. *Diff. Iren. i. num. xxxiv.*

and his own design. Which is to this purpose: “That it had seemed good to him, “to send to *Theophilus* in writing a distinct “and particular historie of Jesus Christ: “that he might better know, and be more “fully confirmed in the truth of those things, “in which he had been instructed by word “of mouth.”

In my opinion, this implies a supposition, that *Theophilus* had not yet in his hands any good written historie of the words and works of Jesus Christ.

Consequently St. *Luke* at the year 62. and possibly somewhat later, did not know of St. *Matthew's* and St. *Mark's* Gospels. And therefore we must suppose, that they were not yet writ and published, or however, but lately. For if they had been published several years, St. *Luke*, who had accompanied *Paul* in *Greece*, *Asia*, *Palestine*, and *Rome*, could not have been unacquainted with them.

This argument appears to me valid. At least I cannot discern, where it fails. It has long seemed to me a clear and obvious argument, that the Gospels of St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* were not writ till the year
60.

60. or afterwards. For if they had been writ sooner, they would by this time have been in the hands of St. *Luke*, and *Theophilus*, and all the faithful in general. And St. *Luke* could not have expressed himself, as he does in this introduction: nor indeed would he have writ any Gospel at all.






C H A P. V.

St. Matthew, Apostle, and Evangelist.

I. *His Historie.* II. *Testimonies of ancient Writers to his Gospel.* III. *Remarks upon them, for discerning the Time of this Gospel.* IV. *Characters of Time in the Gospel itself.* V. *The Language, in which it was writ.*

I.  *Matthew* (A) called also (B) *Levi*, son of (C) *Alpheus*, was a Publican, or (D) Toll-gatherer under the *Romans*. He was, undoubtedly, a native

(A) The historie of our Lord's calling this disciple is in Matth. ix. 9. . . 13. Mark ii. 13. . . 16. Luke v. 27. . . 32.

(B) This Evangelist, in his account of his being called by Christ, names himself *Matthew*, ch. ix. 9. But St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* in their accounts of it call him *Levi*. Mark ii. 14.

a native of *Galilee*, as the rest of Christ's Apostles

ii. 14. Luke v. 27. & 29. This has induced *Grotius* to argue, that *Matthew* and *Levi* are different persons: though he cannot deny, that the circumstances of the historie lead us to think, one and the same person to be intended. *Vide* omnes hodie ita existimare, hunc eundem esse, quem *Marcus* & *Lucas* *Levi* nominant. Et sane congruunt circumstantiæ. *Grot. ad Mat. ix. 9.* It is observable, that *Heracleon*, the *Valentinian*, as cited by *Clement of A. Str. l. 4. p. 502.* reckons among Apostles, who had not suffered martyrdom, *Matthew*, *Philip*, *Thomas*, and *Levi*. By *Levi*, probably, *Heracleon* meant *Lebbeus*, otherwise called *Thaddæus*. *Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. 5. T. 3. p. 126. Coteler. Annot. in Constitut. l. 8. cap. 22. Dodrv. Diff. Iren. i. n. 24.* It is certain, that *Eusebe* and *Jerome* thought *Matthew* and *Levi* to be only two names of one and the same person. See in this work, vol. viii. p. 83. Vol. x. p. 83. and 89. Moreover, in the catalogues of the Apostles, which are in *Mark iii. 18.* *Luke vi. 15.* *Acts i. 13.* is the name *Matthew*. It is likely, that *Levi* was the name, by which the Apostle was called in the former part of his life: and *Matthew* the name, by which he was best known afterwards.

(c) That is said by *St. Mark* only ch. ii. 14. But we do not perceive, who *Alpheus* was. *Tillemont* observes to this purpose. “*St. Mark* gives him the surname of *Alpheus*: τὸν τῷ ἀλφάιῳ. Which may have been the name of his father. This has given occasion to some of the ancients, and to all the modern Greeks, to say, that *James* the son of *Alpheus* was his brother: though it be entirely destitute of all probability. Quoiqu’il il n’y ait en cela aucune apparence.” *Tillem. S. Matt. init. Mem. T. i.*

Dr. Doddridge, *Family Expositor*. Sect. 44. Vol. i. p. 280. says roundly, “that *Matthew*, otherwise called *Levi*, was the son of *Alpheus*, and the brother of *James*. *Comp. Mark iii.*

Apostles were: but of what city in that country, or which tribe of the people of *Israel*, is not known.

As he sat at the *Receipt of Custom*, by the *sea side*, in the city of *Copernaum*, or near it, *Jesus said unto him: Follow me. And he arose, and followed him.* Which needs not to be understood to imply, that *Matthew* did not make up his accounts with those, by whom he had been employed, and entrusted.

After-

“ 18. Luke vi. 15. Acts i. 13.” But I do not think, those texts can afford sufficient proof, that *Matthew*, and *James* the son of *Alpheus*, had the same father, and were brothers. If that had been the case, their relation to each other would have been hinted, or plainly declared in the Gospels.

I do not love bold conjectures in others, and would not indulge my-self in them. But I suspect, that these words in Mark ii. 14. *son of Alpheus*, τὸν τῆ ἀλφείου, are an interpolation, some how or other, undesignedly, and accidentally inserted in that place. What is truly said of *James*, has been also applied to *Matthew*. The curious may do well to consider, whether this conjecture be not countenanced by the singularity of the thing, said no where else, and by the various readings of that text, which may be seen in *Beza*, *Mill*, and *Wetstein*.

(D) “ His office seems more particularly to have consisted in gathering the customs of commodities, that came by the sea of *Galilee*, and the tribute, which passengers were to pay, that went by water.” *Cave's Lives of the Apostles*, p. 177.

Afterwards (E) he made an entertainment, at his house, where Jesus was present, and likewise divers of his disciples. And there sat at table with them many Publicans, and others, of no very reputable character in the eye of the Pharisees, who were strict in external purifications, and other like observances. *Matthew*, it is likely, was willing to take leave of his former acquaintance in a civil manner. He was likewise desirous, that they should converse with Jesus, hoping, that they might be taken with his discourse. And Jesus, with a view of doing good, and to shew, that he did not disdain any man, made no exceptions to this design of his new disciple. Nor is it unlikely, that the ends aimed at were obtained, in part at least. *Matthew's* former friends did, probably, discern somewhat extraordinarie in
Jesus,

(E) That this entertainment was not made by *Matthew* on the very day that Christ called him to attend on him, is argued by Mr. *Jones* in his *Vindication of the former part of St. Matthew's Gospel*, p. 129. . . 137. and by Dr. *Doddridge*. *Family Expositor*, Vol. i. sect. LXXI. note (a). who says :
 “ It is certain, the feast was after the day of his calling, per-
 “ haps, some months after : when he had made up his ac-
 “ counts, and regularly passed his business into other hands :
 “ which, to be sure, from a principle of justice, as well as
 “ prudence, he would take care to do.”

Jesus, so far as to induce them to think, it was not unreasonable in him to leave his former employment, for the sake of the companie of Jesus, and the advantages, which in time he might receive from him. The Pharisees made reflections. But our Lord vindicated himself. And all the three Evangelists have recorded this instance of our Lord's amiable familiarity and condescension, which is one of the distinctions of his shining character. And it is a proof, that at the time of their writing, severally, their Gospels, they were molded into the temper and principles of him, whose historie they wrote. .

Jesus now called *Matthew* to be with him, to be a witnessse of his words and works, and he put him into the number of his Apostles. Thenceforward he continued with the Lord Jesus. And after his ascension, he was at *Jerusalem*, and partook of the gift of the Holy Ghost, with the other Apostles. Together with them he bore testimonie to the resurrection of Jesus : and, as may be supposed, preached for some while at *Jerusalem*, and in the several parts of *Judea*, confirming his doctrine with miracles, which
 God

God enabled him to perform in the name of Jesus.

In his own catalogue of the twelve Apostles, ch. x. he is the eighth in order. In St. *Mark's* ch. iii. and St. *Luke's* ch. vi. he is the seventh. He is also named in the eighth place, Acts i. 13. Nor is there any particular account in the Gospels of the call of any of the Apostles, except his, and four other, *Andrew* and *Peter*, and the two sons of *Zebedee*, who were called before (F).

Clement of Alexandria says, that (a) the Apostle *Matthew* used a very sparing diet, eating no flesh, but only vegetables. But, perhaps, this is said upon the ground only of some uncertain tradition, not well attested.

Socrates, in the fifth centurie, says, that (b) when the Apostles went abroad to preach

(F) St. *John* says ch. i. 43. *The day following, Jesus would go forth into Galilee, and findeth Philip, and saith unto him: Follow me. If Philip was then called by our Lord to be an Apostle, he ought to be added to the others above named.*

(a) Ματθαῖος μὲν ἔν ὁ ἀπόστολος σπερμάτων, καὶ ἀκροδρύων, καὶ λαχάνων, ἀνευ κρεῶν μετελάμβανεν. *Clem. Paed. l. 2. p. 148. D.*

(b) Ἠνίκα οἱ ἀπόστολοι κλήρω τὴν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πύρρειαν ἐποιεῖτο, θωμάς μὲν τὴν πάρθον ἀποστολὴν ὑπεδέχετο· ματθαῖος δὲ ἀιθιοπίαν. κ. λ. *Socr. H. E. l. 1. c. 19.*

preach to the Gentils, *Thomas* took *Parthia* for his lot, *Matthew* *Ethiopia*, and *Bartholomew* *India*. And it is now a common opinion, that *Matthew* (c) died a Martyr in *Ethiopia*, in a city called *Nadabbar*, or *Nadaver*: but by what kind of death, is altogether uncertain. However, some others speak of his preaching, and dying in *Parthia*, or *Persia*. And the diversity of those accounts seems to shew, that they all are without good foundation.

I think, it may be of use to take here at length a passage of *Eusebe*, at the beginning of the third book of his Ecclesiastical history, after having in the preceding book spoken of the many calamities in *Judea*, when the war was just breaking out. “ This, “ says he, was the state of things with the “ Jews. But the holy Apostles and disciples “ of our Saviour being dispersed abroad, “ preached in the whole world. *Thomas*, “ as we learn by tradition, had *Par-* “ *thia* for his lot, *Andrew* *Scythia*, *John* “ *Asia*. Who having lived there a long “ time died at *Ephesus*. *Peter*, as it seems, “ preached to the dispersed Jews in *Pon-* “ *tus*

(c) See *Cave's Lives of the Apostles*, and his *Hist. Lit.*

“ *tus*, and *Galatia*, *Bitbynia*, *Cappadocia*,
 “ and *Asia*. At length coming to *Rome*, he
 “ was crucified, with his head downward,
 “ as he had desired. What need I to speak
 “ of *Paul*, who fully preached the gospel of
 “ Christ from *Jerusalem* to *Illyricum*, and
 “ at last died a Martyr at *Rome*, in the time
 “ of *Nero* ? So says *Origen* expressly in the
 “ third tome of his Expositions of the book
 “ of *Genesis*.”

Thus writes our Ecclesiastical Historian. But, as *Valesius* observes, it (*d*) is not easie to determine exactly, where the quotation from *Origen* begins.

However, from this passage, as it seems, we may conclude, that at the begining of the fourth centurie, there were not any certain and well attested accounts of the places, out of *Judea*, in which many of the Apostles of Christ preached. For if there had, *Eusebe* must have been acquainted with them. In particular we may hence infer, as I apprehend, that there was no certain account, whither *Matthew* went, when he left *Judea*. For
 there

(*d*) Cum Eusebius hic dicat, superiora ex libro tertio Explanationum Origenis in Genesim esse desumpta, dubitari merito potest, unde incipiant Origenis verba, &c. *Vales. Annot.*

there is no notice taken of him in this passage. Nor does *Jerome* in his article of *St. Matthew*, in his book of *Illustrious Men*, formerly (*e*) transcribed at large, take any notice of the countreys, in which he preached. Nor do I recollect, that in any other of his genuine works he has said any thing of the travels of this Apostle.

Heracleon, a learned *Valentinian*, in the second centurie, as cited by *Clement* of *Alexandria*, reckons (*f*) *Matthew* among those Apostles, who did not dye by martyrdom. Nor does *Clement* contradict him.

It is also observable, that (*g*) *Chrysostom* has a commendation of *Matthew*, consisting of divers articles: his humility, mercifulness or liberality, piety, general benevolence, writing a Gospel, finally, fortitude, inasmuch as he came from the presence of the Council rejoicing: referring, I suppose, to *Acts* v. 41. But says nothing of his martyrdom. Which may induce us to think, that there was not any

(*e*) *Vol. x. p. 89. 90.*

(*f*) Οὐ γὰρ πάντες οἱ σοφίζμενοι ὁμολόγησαν τὴν διὰ τῆς ζωῆς ὁμολογίαν, καὶ ἐξῆλθοι· ἐξ ἑν ματθαῖος, φίλιππος, θωμᾶς, λευῖς, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. *Clem. Str. l. 4. p. 502. B.*

(*g*) *In Matth. hom. 48. al. 49. T. 7. p. 491.*

any tradition about it among Christians at that time, or that it was not much regarded.

II. Having thus given the historic of this Apostle, I proceed to the consideration of his Gospel, one of the universally acknowledged books of the New Testament. Two things principally are to be the subjects of our inquirie, the time of writing it, and the language in which it was writ. And I propose to recite here briefly all, or most of the authors, that have been largely quoted in the former volumes, so far as relates to those two particulars.

*Testimonies
to his Gos-
pel.*

Papias, Bp of *Hierapolis*, about A. D. 116. by some supposed to have been acquainted with *John* the Apostle, by others with *John* the Elder only, in his five books, entitled *Explications of the Oracles of the Lord*, which seem to have been collections of ancient stories and traditions, makes (*b*) express mention of *Matthew's Gospel*, and says, that he wrote the Divine Oracles in the *Hebrew* tongue.

Irenacus, Bishop of *Lyons*, about the year 178, who was born in *Asia*, and in his youth was acquainted with *Polycarp*, disciple of
St.

(*b*) See of this work, Vol. i. p. 242. the second edition.

St. *John*, says: “*Matthew* (*i*) then among
 “ the Jews wrote a Gospel in their own
 “ language, while *Peter* and *Paul* were
 “ preaching the gospel at *Rome*, and found-
 “ ing [or establishing] the church there.
 “ And after their exit, [that is, death, or de-
 “ parture,] *Mark* also the disciple and inter-
 “ preter of *Peter*, delivered to us in writing,
 “ the things that had been preached by
 “ *Peter*. And *Luke*, the companion of
 “ *Paul*, put down in a book the gospel
 “ preached by him. Afterwards *John*, the
 “ disciple of the Lord, who leaned upon
 “ his breast, likewise published a Gospel,
 “ whilst he dwelt at *Ephesus*, in *Asia*.” In
 another place he says, “ the (*k*) Gospel ac-
 “ cording to *Matthew* was delivered to the
 “ Jews.”

Origen, about 230. says, “ that (*l*) ac-
 “ cording to the tradition received by him,
 “ the first Gospel was written by *Matthew*,
 “ once

(*i*) Ὁ μὲν δὲ ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς ἑβραίοις τῆ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ
 καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τῷ πέτρῳ, καὶ τῷ παύλῳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ
 εὐαγγελιζομένου καὶ θεμελιέντου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. κ. λ. *Act.*
Haer. 1. 3. cap. i. Et ap. *Euseb.* 1. 5. c. 8. And in this work
Vol. i. p. 353.

(*k*) See *Vol. i. p. 356.*

(*l*) *Vol. iii. p. 235.*

“ once a Publican, afterwards a Disciple of
 “ Jesus Christ : who delivered it to the Jew-
 “ ish believers, composed in the *Hebrew*
 “ language.” And in another place he says,
 “ that (*m*) *Matthew* wrote for the *Hebrews*.”

Says *Eusebe*, about 315, “ *Matthew* (*n*)
 “ having first preached to the *Hebrews*,
 “ when he was about to go to other people,
 “ delivered to them in their own language
 “ the Gospel according to him, by that
 “ writing supplying the want of his pre-
 “ fence with those whom he was leaving.”

Athanasius, in his Festal Epistle (*o*) does
 not say, where, or in what language, *Mat-*
thew wrote. But in the Synopsis, ascribed
 to him, it is said, “ that (*p*) *Matthew* wrote
 “ his Gospel in *Hebrew*, and published it at
 “ *Jerusalem*.”

Cyril of Jerusalem says, “ that (*q*) *Mat-*
thew wrote in *Hebrew*.”

Epiphanius likewise says, “ that (*r*) *Mat-*
thew wrote in *Hebrew*.” And afterwards.

(*m*) P. 278. (*n*) Vol. viii. p. 92. See also p. 177.

(*o*) Vol. viii. p. 227. (*p*) P. 249.

(*q*) P. 271. (*r*) P. 304. and 305.

“ *Matthew* (s) wrote first, and *Mark* soon after him, being a follower of *Peter*, at *Rome*.” If *Mark* did not write till after *Peter* came to *Rome*, and *Matthew* but a little before him; it follows, that *Matthew*’s Gospel was not writ so soon, as many later writers have supposed.

Gregorie Nazianzen, in his catalogue, says, “ that (t) *Matthew* wrote for the *Hebrews*.”

And *Ebedjesu*, “ that (u) *Matthew*, the first Evangelist, published his Gospel in *Palesine*, writ in *Hebrew*.”

Theodore of Mopsuestia says, “ that (x) for a good while the Apostles preached chiefly to *Jews* in *Judea*. Afterwards Providence made way for conducting them to remote countreys. *Peter* went to *Rome*, the rest elsewhere, *John*, in particular, took up his abode at *Ephesus*. . . . About this time the other Evangelists, *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, published their Gospels, which were soon spread all over the world.” This supposeth a late date of the Gospels, as was argued vol. ix. p. 405, that is, after the begining

(s) Εὐθὺς δὲ μετὰ τὸν ματθαίου ἀκόλουθος γενόμενος ὁ μάρκος τῷ ἁγίῳ πέτρῳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ. *Citat. ib. p. 305.*

(t) *Vol. ix. p. 133. Comp. p. 134.*

(u) *P. 216.*

(x) *P. 403.*

beginning of Nero's reign, when *Peter* went to *Rome*, and not long before the war in *Judea*, which broke out in 66. about which time *John* left that countrey, and settled at *Ephesus*.

Says *Jerome* in the prologue to his Commentarie upon St. *Matthew*: “The (y) first
 “ Evangelist is *Matthew*, the Publican, sur-
 “ named *Levi*, who wrote his Gospel in
 “ *Judea*, in the *Hebrew* language, chiefly
 “ for the sake of the *Jews* that believed in
 “ *Jesus*, and did not joyn the shadow of
 “ the law with the truth of the gospel.”
 To the like purpose in the article of St. *Matthew*, in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers: “*Matthew* (z) called also *Levi*, of a
 “ Publican made an Apostle, first of all wrote
 “ a Gospel in *Judea* in the *Hebrew* language,
 “ for the sake of those of the circumcision,
 “ who believed. Who afterwards translated
 “ it into *Greek*, is uncertain.

Chrysostom in the introduction to his homilies upon this Gospel: “*Matthew* (a) is
 “ said to have writ his Gospel at the request
 “ of the Jewish believers, who desired him
 “ to put down in writing what he had
 H 2 “ taught

(y) *Vol. x. p. 83.*

(z) *P. 89.*

(a) *P. 315.*

“ taught them by word of mouth. And
 “ he is said to have writ in *Hebrew*.” He
 speaks with hesitation, and is not positive
 about the occasion of writing this Gospel,
 or the language, in which it was writ.
 Afterwards he says : “ In (*b*) what place
 “ each one of the Evangelists wrote, cannot
 “ be said with certainty.”

Cosmas, of *Alexandria*, about the year
 535, says : “ *Matthew* (*c*) is the first Evan-
 “ gelist, that wrote a Gospel. There being
 “ a persecution, when *Stephen* was stoned,
 “ and he also being about to go from that
 “ place, the believers entreated him to leave
 “ with them a written instruction, with
 “ which request he complied.” And what
 follows.

The Author of the Imperfect Work upon
 St. *Matthew*, in the sixth centurie, about the
 year 560, observes to this purpose : “ The
 “ (*d*) occasion of *Matthew*'s writing is said
 “ to be this. There being a great Persecu-
 “ tion in *Palestine*, so that there was danger,
 “ least all the faithful should be dispersed :
 “ that they might not be without teaching,
 “ though

(*b*) P. 316.

(*c*) Vol. xi. p. 266.

(*d*) P. 327. 328.

“ though they should have no teachers,
 “ they requested *Matthew* to write for them
 “ a historie of all Christ’s words and works,
 “ that wherever they should be, they might
 “ have with them the ground of their faith.”

This writer does not say, that this was the persecution, that arose about the time of the death of *Stephen*. He seems to speak of a later, and more general persecution and dispersion, such as may be well supposed to have been in *Judea*, near the war, in 66. When most, or all the Apostles, and many of the Jewish believers, removed, and were dispersed into other countreys.

In the Paschal Chronicle, a work composed in the seventh centurie, as formerly cited, it is intimated, that (e) St. *Matthew* published his Gospel in *Palestine*, about fifteen Years after our Lord’s ascension, and soon after the Council at *Jerusalem*, of which an account is given Acts xv.

And, to draw to a conclusion of this list of writers. *Theophylact*, in the eleventh centurie, says: “ *Matthew* then (f) first wrote a

H 3

“ Gospel

(e) See Vol. viii. p. 178.

(f) Vol. xi. p. 419. 420.

“ Gospel in the *Hebrew* language, for the
 “ sake of the *Hebrew* believers, eight years
 “ after our Saviour’s ascension.”

Lutbymius in the begining of the twelfth
 centurie : “ That (g) *Matthew’s* Gospel was
 “ the first, and writ in *Judea*, in *Hebrew*,
 “ for the Jewish believers, eight years after
 “ our Lord’s ascension.”

Nicephorus Callisti, in the fourteenth cen-
 turie, says : “ *Matthew (b)* having preached
 “ the saving word to the Jews, when he
 “ was about to go abroad to the Gentils,
 “ thought it best to write in his native lan-
 “ guage an account of his preaching, to sup-
 “ ply the want of his presence. Which he
 “ did at about fifteen years after our Saviour’s
 “ ascension.”

Remarks.

III. Who now of all these writers de-
 serves the greatest regard? *Irenaeus*, I think,
 as being the most ancient. And with him
 agree *Epiphanius*, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*,
 and the Author of the Imperfect Work, as
 it seems. Nor is he contradicted by *Eusebius*
 of *Cesarea*, so far as I can (i) perceive. He
 says,

(g) P. 435.

(b) P. 442.

(i) See Vol. viii. p. 177. . . 179.

says, “ that when *Matthew* was about to go to other people, he delivered his Gospel to the *Hebrews* in their own language.” But he does not say in his Ecclesiastical Historie, nor any where else, when this Apostle left *Judea*. Some (*k*) may have understood him to mean about eight years after our Saviour’s ascension, and others about fifteen years after it, as *Nicephorus*, and perhaps the Paschal Chronicle. But himself has not expressly mentioned the time. And he may have been undetermined in his mind about the time, when *Matthew* left *Judea*. Moreover, he has inserted (*l*) in his Ecclesiastical Historie the passage of *Irenaeus* above quoted, upon which we insist. And a late date of the Gospels is agreeable to his own, and others observations, before taken notice of, that the Apostles of Christ did not write many books, and were not very forward to write, but as they were compelled by a kind of necessity.

There are divers learned moderns of good judgment in these matters, who pay a great regard to this testimonie of *Irenaeus*, parti-

H 4

cularly,

(*k*) See Vol. viii. p. 176. &c.

(*l*) L. 5. cap. 8. p. 172. C.

culatly, (*m*) *Fabricius*, (*n*) *Mill*, (*o*) *S. Basnage*, and before them (*p*) *Martin Chemnitzius*.

Mill supposed it to be highly probable, that (*q*) *Irenaeus* had this account from *Papias*. *Le Clerc* (*r*) likewise seems to have thought, that *Irenaeus* found this in the five books of *Papias*. But that is only conjecture. *Eusebe* quoting *Papias* observes, that he said, *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*. But he does not say, that *Papias* mentioned the time of writing his Gospel. However, it was the opinion of *Irenaeus*. And it may be reckoned not improbable, that he had a tradition to that purpose, which he relied upon as right. For he speaks of it without hesitation. It might

(*m*) De tempore, quando scripserit, cui potius fidem habeamus, quam S. Irenaeo, temporibus illis proximo, qui tradit eum edidisse Evangelium, τὸ πέτρον καὶ τὸν πάυλον ἐν ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐυαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιώσασιν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. *Bib. Gr.* l. 4. c. 5. T. 3. p. 126.

(*n*) *Prolegom. num.* 61.

(*o*) *A.* 64. n. xii.

(*p*) *Examen Concil. Trid.* p. 16.

(*q*) Tamen Irenaeus l. 3. c. i. expresse dicit, ex auctoritate Papias, nullus dubito, qui παράδοσιν hanc a Joanne Presbytero, Apostolorum familiari, acceperat, Matthaëum Evangelium suum edidisse, cum Petrus et Paulus evangelizarent Romae, et fundarent ecclesiam. *Proleg. num.* 61.

(*r*) *Vid. Diss. de ev. Evang. sub init.*

might be derived from several, one of whom was *Papias*.

Irenaeus says, that “*Matthew* published his Gospel, when *Peter* and *Paul* were preaching at *Rome* :” that is, says (*s*) *Mill*, in the year 61. “For, adds he, I understand “him of the first time, that *Paul* was at “*Rome*.” But if *Irenaeus* says right, it must have been at the second time that *Paul* was at *Rome*. For we have no reason to believe, that *Peter* was at all in that city, when *Paul* was sent thither by *Festus*. But, very probably, *Peter* and *Paul* were there together afterwards, and suffered martyrdom there, about the same time. That is the season, to which we should be led for fixing the writing of St. *Matthew*’s Gospel, if *Irenaeus* may be relied upon. Accordingly *Basnage* (*t*) in his *Annals* speaks of St. *Matthew*’s Gospel

(*s*) Atque hoc ipso quidem anno LXI. prodiiſſe videtur Evangelium Matthaei. . . Ego quidem de priori adventu intelligendum Irenaeum omnino arbitrator. *Ib. num. 61. 62.*

(*t*) Quo tempore Petrus Paulusque Romae operam dabant evangelio, Matthaeus, si creditur Irenaeo, Evangelium exaravit suum. . . Annum tamen perinde atque locum, ubi a Matthaeo conditum est, in incerto esse, facile patimur. . . Nos nonnisi Nerone rerum domino editum fuisse, persuasum habemus, etsi de anno locove divinare non possumus. Nulla tamen

Gospel at the year 64. And though, as he says, he does not know the year, nor the place, where St. *Matthew's* Gospel was published, yet he expresseth himself, as if he was inclined to think, it was not writ, till *Nero's* reign was somewhat advanced, in the year 64. or 65. the time of that Emperour's persecution of the Christians.

Other learned men are for an earlier date. Whose opinions also, undoubtedly, ought to be taken notice of, and considered by us.

Cave thought, that (u) St. *Matthew's* Gospel was writ about the fifteenth year after our Saviour's ascension, in the year 48. a short time before the council of *Jerusalem*, or soon after it.

Baronius

tamen se magis veri specie commendat chronologia, quam illa *Irenaei*: quod nempe Paulo et Petro Romanos instituentibus, scribendo *Matthaeus* operam dederit: ut Ecclesiae aliquid monumenti esset, quo ob ortum ex persecutione *Neronis* dolorem leniret, sanctorumque Apostolorum eo fluctu oppressorum faciem in Evangelio videre sibi videretur Ecclesia. *Basu. Ann. 64. n. xii.*

(u) Scripsisse Evangelium suum viii. a Christi resurrectione anno vulgo dicitur. Quod tamen ad annum a Christi assumptione 15. referunt auctor Chr. A. et *Nicephorus*. Et sane eum ante annum a passione Christi 12. Apostolis Judaeae sinibus egredi non licuit, vix ante ann. 15. chr. 48. finita synodo Hierosolymitana, ad suam quisque sortem abierunt, adeo ut paullo ante *Matthaeus* Evangelium suum condidisse videtur. *H. L. in Matthaeo. p. 13.*

Baronius was of opinion, that (x) this Gospel was published in the year 41. soon after that *Peter*, had begun to preach to Gentils at the house of *Cornelius* in *Cesarea*.

Grotius (y) and *G. I. Vossius* (z) were likewise of opinion, that St. *Matthew's* Gospel was writ about eight years after *Christ's* ascension.

Tillemont argues, “ That (a) St. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel about three years after the crucifixion of *Christ*. For it must have been writ before the Apostles left *Judea*. The time of their going abroad, as he owns, is uncertain. But it must have been about the year 36. forasmuch as it appears, that in the year 37. when *Paul* came to *Jerusalem*, there were no other Apostles there, beside
Peter,

(x) *Baron. Ann. 41. num. ix. xvi.*

(y) *Grot. Pr. ad Matth.*

(z) Si quidem *Matthaeus* in *Palestina* scribebat, idque intra proximum a passione *Christi* octennium. *Voss. de Gen. J. C. cap. 4. §. ii.*

(a) Il semble mesme necessaire de dire, que S. *Matthieu* a écrit trois ans seulement après la mort de J. C. . . Le temps de cette division des Apôtres est incertain. Il semble néanmoins, que ç'a été vers l'an 36. puisqu'il paroît, qu'il n'y avoit aucun Apôtre à *Jerusalem*, lorsque S. *Paul* vint en 37. hors S. *Pierre*, et S. *Jacque le mineur*. *S. Matthieu. Mem. T. i.*

Peter, and *James* the Less." But that argument is of no value. For the Apostles might be all at *Jerusalem*, or in it's neighborhood, though *Paul* saw none, beside the two just mentioned.

Mr. *Jones* earnestly contends, that (*b*) this Gospel was writ about eight years after our Lord's ascension, in the year 41. But I do not think it needful to take any farther notice of his arguments, than has been done (*c*) already.

Mr. *Wetstein* has lately declared in favour of the same opinion. " And (*d*) hence, says he, " we discern the reason, why this Evangelist has inserted so many discourses about
" the

(*b*) *New and full Method. &c. Vol. iii. ch. v. p. 59. . . 64.*

(*c*) *See Vol. viii. p. 176. . . 179.*

(*d*) *Magno consensu perhibent Patres, Matthaeum in gratiam credentium ex Judaeis in Palaestina Evangelium suum exscripsisse, et quidem, ut multi addunt, Hierosolymis, octavo post ascensionem Christi anno, qui Claudii Imperatoris primus fuit. Cur illorum testimonium in dubium vocetur, causam non video : quin ista hypothese admessa, plurima non infeliciter existimo explicari posse, quorum aliter ratio vix invenitur. Hinc enim intelligimus, cur Matthaeus primum in ordine Evangelistarum occupet locum, quia nimirum primus omnium scripsit : cur item tam multas de Judaeorum superstitionibus referat disputationes, quibus apud alias nationes, vel templo jam everso, vel paulo post evertendo, locus vix fuisset.*
Wetst. N. T. Tom. i. p. 223.

“ the Jewish superstitions : which could be
 “ of little or no use to other people, and
 “ among other nations, when the temple
 “ was once destroyed, or was near being def-
 “ troyed.” But I am not able to discern
 any force in that way of reasoning, because
 I perceive not any superfluities in this, or any
 of the Evangelists. Our Lord’s reproofs of
 Jewish superstitions, his declarations of the
 superiority of moral virtue, or righteousness
 and true holiness, above the righteousness
 of the Scribes and Pharisees, his censures of
 the pride and covetousness, false maxims, and
 hypocritical conduct of the same men, will
 be useful to all people, so long as the world
 stands. As our Lord was a Jew, and his
 ministrie was employed among those people
 in *Judea* ; it is no wonder, that in his dis-
 courses, recorded by St. *Matthew*, whenever
 he wrote, there should be frequent allusions
 to their laws, customs, and worship. The
 like (*e*) are in the other two first Evangelists.

And

(*e*) When Mr. *Wetstein* speaks of *the many discourses about Jewish superstitions*, which are in St. *Matthew*’s Gospel : I imagine, he may particularly refer to Matt. xxiii. 1. . . 30. Nevertheless divers of those things occur also in the Gospels of St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*. See Mark xii. 38. . . 40.

Luke

And in St. *John's* Gospel, the last of the four, are as long discourses with the cavilling Jews, as in any of the rest.

I therefore readily assent to those, who think, that this Gospel was writ in the time of the Emperour *Nero*, not till about thirty years after our Saviour's ascension. I am not able to assign the year, in which it was writ. But I am somewhat inclined to the year 63. 64. or 65. of the vulgar epoch. This is agreeable not only to the testimonie of *Irenaeus*, and some other ancients, but to the circumstances of things. At the year 64. or thereabout, the gospel had been propagated in many Gentil countreys, the times were troublefome in *Judca*, and the war was coming on: severall of the Apostles were dead, others of them, who survived, were gone, or going abroad, and many of the Jewish believers were about to seek shelter elsewhere. Now was a proper time, to write a historie of Christ, and his miracles. Moreover in this Gospel are recorded

Luke xi. 42. . . 52. and xx 46. 47. And both *Mark* viii. 14. . . 21. and *Luke* xii. 1. 2. have recorded our Lord's injunctions, to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and Sadducees, or Herodians, as well as *Matthew* xvi. 6. . . 12. Not now to mention any other like things.

corded divers plain predictions of the miseries and desolations of *Jerusalem*, and the overthrow of the temple, and the Jewish state, beside many other figurative intimations of the same things in many of our Lord's discourses and parables. Which could not be well published to all the world in writing, till about this time. The suitability of St. *Matthew's* Gospel to the state of the Christian Religion, and of the Jewish People, about the year 64. or 65. leads to that time. And however unwillingly, from private apprehensions and prejudices, we may admit the thought of protracting so long the writing the historie of our Lord's ministrie; the circumstances of things will constrain us to acquiesce in this season, as the most likely.

IV. This leads me now to observe some characters of time in the Gospel itself.

*Marks of
Time in
this Gospel.*

It is well known, and allowed by all, that (*f*) for a while our Lord's disciples labored under Jewish prejudices: and that they did not fully understand all his discourses,

(*f*) There are many proofs of this in the Gospels. See particularly John xvi. 7. . . 14. and likewise the historie in the Acts. ch. x.

courses, at the time when they were spoken. They did not, they could not, clearly discern the comprehensive design of the evangelical dispensation, till after *Peter* had been at the house of *Cornelius*, and there received into the Church Gentil converts, without circumcision: nor till after the gospel had been preached abroad in foreign countreys by *Paul*, and other Apostles, and ministers. Let us therefore now observe the book itself of *St. Matthew*, and see what knowledge he appears to have had of the scheme of the gospel.

1. His account of the commission, which our Lord gave to the twelve Apostles is in ch. xxviii. 19. *Go ye therefore into all the world, and teach all nations.* *Matthew* did not then think, that the Apostles of Jesus were to teach Jews only, but that they were required to teach all people, and all nations in general.

2. I suppose, that he fully understood our Lord's doctrine, when he recorded that summarie account of it, which is in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of his Gospel. The beatitudes, at the begining, are a proof of it. And at the conclusion, they who *heard and did those sayings*, are compared to

to a man that built his house upon a rock: though there had been nothing said to enforce the rituals of the Mosaic law.

3. And that he well understood the spirituality, and the freedom of the gospel, appears from what he has recorded ch. xv. 10. . . 20.

4. His clear discernment of the design of the gospel-dispensation appears even in his account of our Saviour's nativity, particularly, in what he says ch. i. 21. of the message of the angel to *Joseph*. *And thou shalt call his name Jesus. For he shall save his people from their sins.*

5. If he had not known, that our Saviour was designed to be, or was already become a blessing to Gentils, he would scarcely have thought of inserting the historie of the Magians coming from the East to *Jerusalem*, to inquire after the birth of the King of the Jews. Chap. ii.

6. It is also very likely, that he understood those words of *John* the Baptist, recorded by him ch. iii. 9. *God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham.*

7. St. *Matthew's* knowledge of the calling of the Gentils, and the rejection of the Jews, may be concluded from many things re-

corded by him. In the historie of our Lord's healing the Centurion's fervant at *Capernaum* he inserts our Lord's commendation of his faith, and that declaration : *Many shall come from the East and the West, and sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven : but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out.* ch. viii.

10 . . 12.

8. The admission of the Gentils to equal privileges with the Jews must be intimated in the parable of the laborers hired into the vineyard at several hours of the day. ch. xx.

1 . . 16.

9. The calling and acceptance of the Gentils, and the rejection of the Jewish People, and even their overthrow, are plainly declared in the parable of the vineyard, let out to husbandmen, and the discourse, which follows. xxi. 33 . . 46. The same things are intimated in the parable of the King that made a wedding-feast for his son, which is at the begining of the next chapter.

xxii. 1 . . 14.

10. I might likewise take notice of the historie of our Lord's curing the daughter of the woman of *Canaan*. ch. xv. 21 . . 28.

11. It is also very likely, that St. *Matth*
thew

them had some good knowledge, and a distinct apprehension of the extent of our Lord's kingdom, and the progress of his doctrine, when he recorded those parables in the thirteenth chapter of his Gospel: where our Lord has compared the kingdom of heaven, or the preaching his gospel, to a grain of mustard-seed, the least of all seeds, but becomes a tree: to leaven, by which a large lump is leavened: to a net, that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind. And, explaining the parable of the tares, our Lord says, ver. 37, 38. *He that soweth the good seed is the Son of Man. The field is the world.* And what follows.

12. It is probable, that this Evangelist had some knowledge of the gospel having been preached out of Judea, when he put down that declaration of our Lord concerning the woman, that poured the rich ointment upon his head: *Wheresoever the gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall this also, that this woman has done, be told for a memorial of her.* ch. xxvi. 13.

13. In his account of the institution of the eucharist. ch. xxvi. 28. our Lord says: *This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many,* that is, for all men, *for the*

remission of their sins. And in ch. xx. 28. our Lord says: *The son of man came . . . to give his life a ransom for many.*

14. There is also an expression used by him once or twice, intimating, that it was some considerable space, since the time of the event and his writing about it. ch. xxviii. 8. *Wherefore that field was called the field of bloud to this day.* Having related the affair of the soldiers, and the directions given to them by the Jewish Council to say, that *his disciples came by night, and stole him away,* he adds: *And this saying is commonly reported among the Jews untill this day.* ver. 15. Such an expression does not denote any certain period. But one would think, that, in this case, thereby must be intended a considerable space of time, more than eight, or ten, or fifteen years.

15. I formerly (g) shewed divers advantages of the late publication of the Gospels. The life of Jesus could not be forgotten in thirty, or forty years. His life and death were very public, as well as very extraordinary. His resurrection and ascension were most publicly attested by his Apostles, and others, as we know from the book of the Acts.

(g) See Vol. viii. p. 124. . . 137.

Acts. And from that time forward there were many, who were continually speaking of the things said and done by him, and of the evidences of his resurrection and exaltation. They were soon known to multitudes of people, small and great, and men of all ranks and characters. As *St. Paul* says to *Festus*, in a very great assemblie. Acts xxvi. 36. *For the King knoweth of these things, before whom also I speak freely. For I am persuaded, that none of these things are hidden from him. For this thing was not done in a corner.* And was it not the cry at *Theſſalonica*? Acts xvii. 6. *These that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also.* The account of *St. Paul's* manner of living at *Rome*, about the years 61. and 62. is, that *he dwelled two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, . . . teaching those things, which concern the Lord Jesus Christ.* Acts xxviii. 30. 31. Whilst there were men, who at the hazard of their lives taught, and others that embraced, the things concerning the Lord Jesus, they could not be forgotten. And if about thirty years after our Lord's ascension, his historie was writ by eye-witnesses, or their companions, it was soon enough. Yea, it was the fittest time of

all. At the year sixty, of our Lord's nativity, according to the vulgar aera, and later, there certainly were enough such persons, as those just mentioned, still living, to record his words and works, and more, who were willing, and desirous to read written histories of him, than before : and also more to transcribe and copy out those histories for their own use, and for the use and benefit of others, than in any preceding time.

*It's original
Language.*

V. It remains, that we consider, in what language this Gospel was writ: because many of the ancients, whose testimonies have been lately recited, though they allow the other Gospels to have been writ in *Greek*, have delivered it as their opinion, that this Gospel was writ in *Hebrew*.

Of this I have already spoken several times, particularly, in the chapter of *(b) Papias*, and in the chapter of *(i) Origen*, and *(k)* of *Eusebius of Cesarea* : where also the opinions of divers learned moderns were alleged, who think, it was writ in *Greek*. To them I now add *(l) Le Clerc*, who has an argument upon this head, proper to be consulted by those

(b) Vol. i. p. 243. 244.

(i) Vol. iii. p. 403. . . 408.

(k) Vol. viii. p. 184. . . 189.

(l) Diff. iii. De iv. Evangeliiis.

those who have leisure, but too long to be inserted here : and his learned successor Mr. *Wetstein*, who says : “ Here (*m*) we are of
 “ opinion, that the Fathers do not so properly
 “ bear testimonie, as deliver their own con-
 “ jecture : which needs not to be admitted,
 “ if it be not supported by good reasons, or
 “ may be refuted by probable arguments.
 “ Supposing, and taking it for granted, that
 “ *Matthew* wrote for the Jews in *Judea*,
 “ they concluded, that he wrote in *Hebrew*.
 “ But there is no weight in that reason. The
 “ *Greek* language was at that time much used
 “ throughout the whole Roman Empire,
 “ and particularly in *Judea*. *Papias*, who first
 I 4 “ ad-

(*m*) Neque tam facile assentimur sententiae eorundem Patrum statuentium, Matthaeum scripssse Hebraice, hoc est, Syriace, sive Chaldaice, quâ linguâ tunc temporis Judaei in Palaestina utebantur. . . Existimamus enim Patres hic jam non testimonium dicere, sed conjecturam suam in medium proferre, non admittendam, si aut idoneis rationibus non sit fulta, aut verosimilibus argumentis refutari possit. Quod enim putant necesse fuisse ut Hebraeis scribens Hebraice scriberet, verum non est: cum constet eo tempore linguam Graecam per totum Imperium Romanum, et in Judaea praesertim, in usu fuisse. . . Videntur ergo vetustissimi Patres, et inter eos Papias, homo simplex et credulus, re non explorata, inani Nazaraeorum jactantiae fidem habuisse. . . Nullum sane in nostro Matthaeo reperitur indicium, unde colligi possit, ex alia in aliam linguam fuisse conversam. Plurima vero aliud suadent. *Wetsten. N. T. Tom. i. p. 224.*

“ advanced this opinion, was a weak and credulous man. Nor are there in our *Greek Gospel* any marks of it's being a translation “ from another language.”

Mr. *Jones* (n) has a long argument, well deserving to be read, shewing, that this Gospel was originally writ in *Greek*.

Mr. *Basnage* (o) is of the same side, and has argued exceeding well for it. I should transcribe him, if I had room. As I have not, I refer to him.

Says (*) Dr. *Jortin* : “ In the time of Christ and his Apostles the Greek was really the universal language. The New Testament is a proof of it, if proof were wanting. And this is one reason amongst many others, why St. *Matthew* probably wrote his Gospel in *Greek*. See *Wetstein's N. T.* p. 224. St. *Matthew* ch. v. 47. 48. says : “ Ὅτι τελῶναι ὕτω ποιῶσιν. Ἔσεσθε ἔν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι . . . that is, be not τελῶναι, but τέλειοι. Videtur autem Matthaeus vocem τέλειοι hic adhibuisse, ut τελῶναις opponeret. *Wetstein.*”

(n) See his *Vindication of the former part of St. Matthew's Gospel* ch. 17. . . 19. p. 180. . . 186.

(o) *Ann.* 64. n. xiii.

(*) See his *Discourses concerning the Christian Religion*, p. 176. note (o) the third edition.

Wetstein. Add to this, that *τελώνης* and *τέλειος* are both derived from the same word, *τέλος*. So again, ch. vi. 16. we find an antithesis in the words, *ἀφανίζεσι τὰ πρόσωπα, ὅπως φάνωσι*. Eleganter dicitur: *Tegunt faciem, ut appareant, &c.* Wetstein.

And many others of the same sentiment might be mentioned, who are men of great learning and good judgement.

I shall now propose some observations relating to this point.

1. If St. *Matthew* did not write till about thirty years after our Lord's ascension, we must be led to think, he would use the *Greek* language. That he did not write sooner, I suppose to have been shewn to be very probable. If indeed there were good reasons to think, his Gospel was writ within the space of eight years after Christ's ascension, we might well conclude, that he wrote in *Hebrew*. But, to me it seems, that we may be fully satisfied, that *Matthew* did not write within that space, nor so soon as fifteen years after our Lord's ascension, nor till some good while afterwards. St. *James*, residing at *Jerusalem*, writes an epistle about the year of Christ 60. as is supposed. It is addressed to the twelve tribes scattered abroad.

And

And he writes in *Greek*, as is allowed. Why, then, should not St. *Matthew* use the same language ?

2. There was very early a *Greek* Gospel of St. *Matthew*. It is quoted, or referred to by *Clement of Rome*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, *Justin Martyr*, not now to mention any others : none of whom intimate, that they made use of a translation.

3. Though many of the ancients say, that St. *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*, they seem not to have fully believed it. For they have shewn very little regard to the *Hebrew* edition of it. This has been particularly shewn in the chapters of (*p*) *Origen*, (*q*) *Eusebius of Cesarea*, and (*r*) *Jerome*, the most likely of any of the ancients to make use of that edition, if they had been persuaded, that it was authentic and original.

4. There are not in our *Greek* Gospel of St. *Matthew* any marks of a translation. So said Mr. *Wetstein* in the passage just transcribed. And this observation was before made by us in the chapter of (*s*) *Papias*.

5. There

(*p*) *Vol. iii. p. 403. . . 408.*

(*q*) *Vol. viii. p. 185. . . 189.*

(*r*) *Vol. x. p. 170. . . 172.*

(*s*) *Vol. i. p. 244.*

5. There is no where any probable account, who translated this Gospel into *Greek*. No particular translator was mentioned by *Papias*, as may be concluded from the accounts given of his books by *Eusebe*. Nor is any translator of this Gospel named by *Irenaeus*, *Eusebe*, or any of the writers of the first three centuries, that are come down to us. Nor is there any reason to think, that he was named in any other : forasmuch as no notice is taken of him by *Eusebe*, or *Jerome*, who saw many writings of ancients now lost, both catholics and heretics. *Jerome* having said, that *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*, presently adds : “ Who (*t*) afterwards translated him into *Greek*, is uncertain.” And all the accounts of a translator, since given, are too late to be credited, and are likewise very improbable. In the Synopsis ascribed to *Athanasius*, but not writ till long after his time, it is said, “ That (*u*) *Matthew*’s Gospel was translated into *Greek* by *James*, the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*.” Which is very improbable. It would be more reasonable to imagine, that he translated it out of *Greek* into *Hebrew*. But
as

(*t*) *Vol. x. p. 89.*

(*u*) *Vol. viii. p. 249.*

as that is not said by the ancients, so neither have we reason to say it. Moreover, the same reasons, as one may think, which would induce *James* to make a *Greek* translation, should have induced *Matthew* to write in *Greek*. Nevertheless *Dr. Mill* (x) has pitched upon that person for the translator, and formed an argument thereupon. Which only serves to shew, that there is nothing, for which something may not be said by those, who indulge themselves in suppositions, without ground. *Theophylact* informs us, that (y) in his time it was said, that *John* translated this Gospel into *Greek*. But it was only a common report. And indeed it could be no more. However, out of a regard to such reports and testimonies,

Mr.

(x) Quis in Graecum transfuderit, incertum est. Papias de hoc nihil ab Aristione aut Joanne presbytero accepit, aut tradidit. Auctor Synopses S. Scripturae Jacobo fratri Domini diserte adscribit hanc versionem. Theophylactus, ex fama duntaxat, Joanni Evangelistae. Ego ad priorem illam sententiam, seu magis verisimilem, accedo. Satis enim probabile est, Evangelium in Hebraeorum usum linguâ ipsorum patriâ primum exaratum, ab ipsorum Episcopo primario Jacobo, Episcopo Hierosolymitano, in sermonem Graecum, per provincias, in quas dispersi erant ex gente ista plurimi, Judaeis pariter ac aliis in usu familiaris, translatum fuisse, &c. *Proleg. num. 66.*

(y) Μετέφρασε δὲ τὸτο ἰωάννης ἀπὸ τῆς ἑβραϊδος γλώττης εἰς τὴν ἑλληνίδα, ὡς λέγουσι. *Theoph. Pr. in Matth. p. 2. D.*

Mr. *Lampe* (z) has very properly reckoned a translation of this Gospel among the works falsely ascribed to St. *John*.

6. Once more, I apprehend, we may discern the origin of this opinion, that St. *Matthew's* Gospel was writ in *Hebrew*. There was soon made a translation of his *Greek* Gospel into *Hebrew*. We have seen proofs, that (a) in very early days of Christianity there was a *Hebrew* Gospel. And many, not examining it particularly, nor indeed being able to do it, for want of understanding the language, imagined, that it was first writ in *Hebrew*. *Jerome* expressly tells us, that (b) by many in his time the Gospel according to the *Hebrews* was reckoned the true and authentic Gospel of *Matthew*.

To

(z) *Matthaei Evangelium Graece a Joanne Evangelista versum esse, refert Euty chius Tom. i. Annalium p. 328. et Nicetas praefatione ad Catenam in Matthaeum. Lampe Prolegom. in Joan. l. i. cap. 7. num. 31.*

(a) *See ch. xiv. Vol. i. p. 320. 321.*

(b) *In Evangelio, quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitae, quod nuper in Graecum de Hebraeo sermone transfulimus, et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthaei authenticum. Hier. in Matth. cap. xii. T. 4. P. i. p. 47.*

In Evangelio juxta Hebraeos . . . quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum Apostolos, sive ut plerique juxta Matthaeum. Act. Pelag. l. 3. sub in T. 4. p. 533.

To this *Hebrew* translation of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, possibly, are owing divers things said by the ancients : as that *Matthew* published his Gospel at *Jerusalem*, or in *Judea*, for the Jewish believers, and at their request, before he went abroad to other people. I say, I do suspect the truth of these, and some other like things, said of St. *Matthew*, and his Gospel. All which may have had their rise from the *Hebrew* edition of his Gospel, which they imagined to be the original. For I think, that St. *Matthew's*, and all the other Gospels were writ, and intended, for believers of all nations. His Gospel was writ for the Jews, but not for them only, but for Gentils also : as manifestly appears from the Gospel itself, or the things contained in it.

I am also ready to say, with (c) Mr. *Basnage*, that I do not know where it was published, whether in *Judea*, or somewhere else. But as I think, the Nazaren Gospel to be St. *Matthew's* Gospel translated from *Greek*, with (d) the addition of some other things,

(c) Annum tamen perinde atque locum, ubi a Matthæo conditum est, in incerto esse, faciles patimur. *Ann.* 64. *num.* xii.

(d) Distinguendum enim inter hoc Evangelium, quale initio

things, taken from the other Gospels, and from tradition : So I reckon, that the Gospel of *Matthew*, writ in *Greek*, was the Gospel, which first came into their hands, and which they gladly received, and made use of. I say again, the notion of St. *Matthew*'s writing in *Hebrew*, probably, had it's rise from the *Hebrew* edition of his Gospel. For allowing that date of his Gospel, which to me appears most probable, I cannot conceive the reason, why *Matthew* should write in *Hebrew* any more than any of the other Evangelists. For it may be reckoned highly probable, or even certain, that he understood *Greek*, before he was called by Christ to be an Apostle. Whilst a Publican, he would have frequent occasions both to write and speak *Greek*. And could not discharge his office, without understanding that language.

This *Hebrew* Gospel may likewise have been the cause, why so many ancient Christian writers say, that *Matthew* wrote first.

This

initio fuit, et illud, quale paullatim fiebat, Nazaraeis varia addentibus. . . Primitus nihil habuit, nisi quod in Graeco nunc legimus. . . Porro Nazaraei plusecula suis locis interseruerunt, quae ab Apostolis, vel Apostolicis viris, fando accepissent. G. J. Voss. *De Genal. J. C. cap. ii. num. i.*

This may be true. But I do not think, it was said upon the ground of any certain knowledge, or good information. I apprehend it not to be easie to say, which Gospel was first writ. For all the first three Gospels were writ about the same time. And St. *Luke's*, for any thing that I know, may have been writ first. Which (*e*) was the opinion of Mr. *Basnage*.


(*e*) *Ann. 60. num. 31.*





C H A P. VI.

Of the Time, when the Apostles left Judea, to go and preach the Gospel in other Countreys.


 S many ancient Christian writers, whom we have lately quoted, say, that St. *Matthew*, having preached some while in *Judea*, was desired by the believers there, to leave with them in writing, before he went away, a historie of what he had taught by word of mouth: this may not be an improper place to inquire, how long it was after the ascension of *Jesus*, before *Matthew*, and the other Apostles, left *Judea*, to go abroad into foreign countreys.

And *first* of all, we will observe some remarkable passages of ancient writers, relating to this matter. And then, *secondly*, we

will consider what light the book of the Acts may afford upon this subject.

Clement of Alexandria, about 194. quotes from a work, entitled the *Preaching of Peter*, this passage: “Therefore (a) *Peter* says, “that the Lord said to the Apostles: If any “Israelite will repent, and believe in God “through my name, his sins shall be forgiven. After twelve years go ye out into “the world, that none may say: We have “not heard.”

The next passage is that of *Apollonius*, undoubtedly, in part contemporarie with *Clement*, and placed by *Cave* at the year 192. by me at 211. as near the time of his writing against the *Montanists*. “Moreover, “says (b) *Eusebe*, he relates as from tradition, “that our Saviour commanded his Apostles, “not to depart from *Jerusalem* for the space “of twelve years.” Which passage has been already cited in this (c) work.

By

(a) Διὰ τὸ αὐτὸ φησιν ὁ πέτρος, εἰρηκέναι τὸν κύριον τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· Ἐάν μὲν ἔν τις θελήσῃ τὴν ἰσραὴλ μετανοήσαι [forte μετανοήσας] διὰ τὴν ὀνόματός μου πιστεύειν εἰς τὸν θεόν, ἀφεθήσονται αὐτῷ ἁμαρτίαι. Μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐξέλθετε εἰς κόσμον, μή τις ἔειπῃ· Ὁυκ ἠκούσωμεν. *Clem. Str.* l. 6. p. 636. *Conf. Cav. H. L. T. i.* . 5. et *Grabe Spic. T. i.* p. 67.

(b) *H. E. l. 5. cap. 18. p. 136.*

(c) *Ch. xxxi. Vol. iii. p. 16.*

By these two passages *Cave* was induced to think, that (*d*) for twelve years after Christ's ascension the Apostles did not depart from the neighborhood of *Jerusalem*. Supposing our Saviour to have been crucified, and to have ascended to heaven in the year 29. of the vulgar æra, which was a common opinion of the ancients, these twelve years ended in the year 41. Supposing those great events to have happened in the year 33. which is a common opinion of learned moderns, those twelve years would reach to the year 45.

Beside those two passages alleged by *Cave*, and other learned men, I shall take notice of some others also.

Origen says in general, "That (*e*) when the Jews did not receive the word, the Apostles went to the Gentils.

Chrysostom in a homilie upon Acts xi. 19. and what follows, speaks to this purpose. "They heard, that *Samaria* had received the word, and they sent *Peter* and *John*. "They heard what had happened at *Anti-*

K 2

"och,

(*d*) *Hist. Lit. T. i. p. 5. et 13.*

(*e*) . . . μὴ παραδεξαμένων Ἰουδαίων τὸν λόγον, ἀπεληλύθησαν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη. In *Matth. T. i. p. 225. E. Huet.*

“ *och*, and they sent *Barnabas*. For (*f*) that
 “ was at a great distance. And it was not
 “ fit, that the Apostles should go so far as
 “ yet, lest they should have been esteemed
 “ deserters, and thought to have fled from
 “ their own people. But it then became ne-
 “ cessarie for them to separate, [or go from
 “ thence] when the Jews shewed themselves
 “ to be incurable.”

In the Paschal Chronicle are these expres-
 sions, speaking of *Paul*. “ Afterwards (*g*)
 “ he coming to *Jerusalem* with *Barnabas*,
 “ and finding there *Peter*, and the rest of the
 “ Apostles, with *James* the Lord’s brother,
 “ the Apostles send an epistle to *Antioch* in
 “ *Syria*, establishing their church. And *Paul*
 “ and *Barnabas* carry the epistle to *Antioch*,
 “ as

(*f*) Πολύ γὰρ τὸ διάστημα, καὶ ἐκ ἕδει τῆς ἀποστόλης τέως
 χωρισθῆναι ἐκείθεν, ἵνα μὴ νομισθῶσιν εἶναι φυγάδες, καὶ τῆς
 αὐτῶν πεφευγέναι· τότε ἀναγκάσιως χωρίζονται, ὅτε λοιπὸν
 ἀνάτα ἔχεν ἐδόκει τὰ κατ’ αὐτές. In *Act. hom.* 25. *Tom.* 9.
 p. 202. 203.

(*g*) Μετέπειτα ἔλθων εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ βαρνάβα, καὶ
 εὐρῶν πέτρον καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀποστόλης ἅμα ἰακάβω τῶ ἀδελφῶ
 τῷ κυρίῳ, γράφουσιν ἐπιστολὴν οἱ ἀπόστολοι εἰς ἀντιόχειαν τῆς
 συρίας, θεμελιῶντες τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ διακονῶσι τὴν
 ἐπιστολὴν εἰς ἀντιόχειαν αὐτῶς πᾶυλος καὶ βαρνάβας, ὡς διηλῆσιν
 αἱ πρόξεις. Εκ τούτου δέκνυται, ὅτι καὶ τὰς καθολικὰς αὐτῶν
 οἱ ἀπόστολοι τότε γράφουσιν, πρὸ τῆς διασπορᾶς αὐτῶν. *Chr.*
Pasch. p. 233. *B. C.*

“ as the Acts shew. By this it appears, that
 “ the Apostles then wrote their catholic epi-
 “ stles, before their dispersion.”

Such are the passages of ancient writers, which must be reckoned to be of some weight.

Let us now observe the historie in the Acts. And it seems to me, there is reason to conclude, that the Apostles staid in *Judea*, till after the Council at *Jerusalem*, of which an account is given in the xv. chapter of that book. For St. *Luke* does continually speak of the Apostles, as being at *Jerusalem*, or near it. Acts viii. 1. *And at that time, there was a great persecution against the church, which was at Jerusalem. And they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the Apostles. One of those persons, who then left Jerusalem, was Philip, the Deacon and Evangelist: who went to Samaria, and preached Christ unto them, and with good effect. Whereupon at ver. 14. Now when the Apostles, which were at Jerusalem, heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John. This needs no Comment. Here is proof, that when the rest of the disciples were scattered abroad, Peter and John,*

and the other Apostles, were still at *Jerusalem*.

In Acts ix. 26. . . 30. is St. *Luke's* account of *Paul's* coming to *Jerusalem*, after his conversion. Where he says, that *the disciples were afraid of him. . . . But Barnabas took him, and brought him to the Apostles.* St. *Paul* speaking of the same journey, Gal. i. 18. 19. says: *Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem, to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. But other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother.* Here we find, that at this time, three years after his conversion, *Paul* saw two Apostles only, *Peter* and *James*. But St. *Luke's* words, as seems to me, imply, that all the Apostles were then at *Jerusalem*, though *Paul* saw two only, the rest for some reasons declining to shew themselves in person to him. Dr. *Doddridge* has this note upon ch. ix. 27. “ *Paul* himself tells us, that upon his going up to *Jerusalem*, he saw no other Apostles, but *Peter* and *James*. Gal. i. 19. *Beza* well observes, we are quite uncertain, on what occasion, the rest were then absent from *Jerusalem*. Had they been there, though *Paul* staid but about a fortnight, he would no doubt have seen
“ them.”

Ch. VI. *when the Apostles left Judea.*

“them.” Nevertheless the solution of this difficulty appears to me very easie. The Apostles were now all at *Jerusalem*, or near it. But they lived privately, because it was a time of persecution. *The great persecution against the church*, which began with the death of *Stephen*, was not yet over. The Apostles therefore could not appear abroad without danger. And it was sufficient, that they spoke to *Paul*, and received him, by *Peter* and *James*. Which I take to be the true import of St. *Luke*’s expression. *But Barnabas took him, and brought him to the Apostles.*

After *Peter* had been at the house of *Cornelius*, it is said. Acts xi. 1. *And the Apostles and brethren that were in Judea, heard, that the Gentils also had received the word.* Another proof, that all the Apostles, or most of them, were still at *Jerusalem*. But I do not suppose, that the Apostles, like many other of the Jewish believers, were offended at what *Peter* had done. Or, if they were at first somewhat offended, they were soon, and easily satisfied, and were very willing to testify their approbation of *Peter*’s conduct.

From the 12. chapter of the Acts we know, that *James* son of *Zebedee*, and brother

of *John*, and *Peter*, were at *Jerusalem*, in the year 44. or thereabout, near the end of the reign of *Herod Agrippa*: the former of whom was beheaded, and the other imprisoned. And at ver. 17. is mention made of another *James*, supposed to be the Lord's brother, and always resident at *Jerusalem*.

From the account of the Council of *Jerusalem*, and of the occasion of it, all the Apostles appear to have been then in *Judea*, and at *Jerusalem*, or in its neighborhood. Acts xv. *When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and disputation with them, they determined, that Paul, and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem, unto the Apostles and Elders about this question.* ver. 4. *And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the church, and of even the Apostles and Elders. . . .* ver. 6. *And the Apostles and Elders came together, that is, met in Council, for to consider of this matter. . .* ver. 22. *Then pleased it the Apostles, and Elders, with the whole church, to send chosen men of their own companie, to Antioch. . .* ver. 23. *And they wrote letters by them after this manner: The Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren send greeting. . .* ver. 33. *And after they had tarried there a space, that is, at Antioch,*

tiob, they were let go in peace from the brethren unto the Apostles.

In all these places *the Apostles* must intend all the Apostles, or the Apostles in general. For how can the expression be understood otherwise?

If it should be said, that the Apostles might be at the Council at *Jerusalem*, though several of them had been before in other countreys: I think, that would be said without ground and reason. It does not appear, that the Apostles were sent to, invited, or called in from abroad, to attend this Council. But the Christians at *Antioch* supposed, or rather knew, that the Apostles were at *Jerusalem*, and therefore directly sent thither to them.

Indeed none of the Apostles are expressly named as speakers in the debates of the Council, beside *Peter* and *James*. But all the rest may have been there. So upon divers other occasions in the Gospels, and at the beginning of the Acts, *Peter* only spake, though all the rest were present. In Gal. ii. 8. 9. 10. *St. Paul* giving an account of a journey to *Jerusalem*, supposed to be the same with this to the Council, speaks of conferences, which he had with three, namely *James*, *Cephas*,
and

and *John*, who *seemed to be pillars*. Here * is one more mentioned as present at *Jerusalem*, beside the two before taken notice of. And there must have been others beside these three, who *seemed to be pillars*, or were the most eminent.

The first time, that we meet with the mention of any one of the twelve, as being out of *Judea*, is that in Gal. ii. 11. after this Council, as is generally allowed, when *Peter* was at *Antioch*. It is very observable, Acts xi. 19. . . . 22. when *tidings came to the ears of the church at Jerusalem*, that many Gentils had been converted at *Antioch* by some of those who were scattered abroad by the persecution, *they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch*. None of the Apostles went, not so much as one, to accompany him. And afterwards ch. xiii 1. . . 3. in the account of the extraordinarie mission of *Paul* and *Barnabas* from *Antioch* to *Cyprus*, and other parts, there is no mention made of any Apostle, as present at *Antioch*. And it is plain, there was not one there.

All

* *Theodoret* has a like argument : Ἐξ ὧν ῥάδιον κατισθῆν. ὡς ἐδέετο καταλείπει τὴν ἱερουσαλήμ ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος ἰωάννης.
Theodr. Pr. in ep. ad Eph. Tom. 3. p. 290.

All these considerations induce me to think, that none of the twelve Apostles left *Judea* to teach either Jews or Gentils in other Countreys, untill after this Council.

Having now, as I apprehend, shewn this to be very probable, I shall mention some remarks. Whereby there may be an opportunity for answering objections, though several have been already obviated.

1. There was a fitnesse in it. It was very proper, and even expedient, that the Apostles should stay a good while in *Judea*, to assert and confirm the truth of Christ's resurrection by teaching, and by miraculous works, and do their utmost to bring the Jewish People to faith in Jesus as the Christ.

2. As this was fit, it is likely, that they had received some command from Christ himself, or some direction from the Holy Ghost, to stay thus long in *Judea*.

3. There were considerations, that would incline them to it, and induce them to do what was fit to be done, and was agreeable to the mind of Christ. One was the difficulty of preaching the gospel in foreign countreys. This would induce them to stay in *Judea*, till the circumstances of things facilitated their farther progresse, or called them
to

to it. Another thing was their affection for the Jewish People, their countrey-men, especially those of *Judea*, with whom they had been brought up, and among whom they dwelt, together with a persuasion of the great value of the blessing of the gospel. This last consideration, I apprehend, would induce them to labor in *Judea*, with earnest desires, and some hopes, of bringing all, or however, many, to faith in Jesus. This influenced *Paul* also to a great degree, and for a good while. Nor was he without hopes of persuading his brethren and countrey-men to what appeared to himself very certain and evident. So he says in his speech to the people at *Jerusalem*. Acts xxii. 17. . . 20. He assures them, that whilst he was worshipping at *Jerusalem*, in the temple, he had a transe or extasie: that he there saw Christ, who said to him: *Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem. For they will not receive thy testimonie concerning me.* *Paul* pleaded, that they must needs pay a regard to his testimonie, who was well known to have been for some while very zealous in opposing his followers, and was now convinced and persuaded. But the Lord said unto him: *Depart. For I will send*

send thee far hence unto the Gentils. This transe, or vision, seems to have happened in the year 44. after that *Paul* had preached at *Antioch* with great success among Gentils. Nevertheless he had an earnest desire to make one attempt more among the Jews of *Judea*, where was the body of that people. And if they could have been persuaded, many abroad would follow their example. And it required an express and repeated order from Jesus Christ, in vision, to induce him to lay aside that design, and to proceed to preach to Gentils in remote parts.

It is a most affectionate concern, which he expresses for the Jewish people in divers places of the epistle to the *Romans*, writ so late as the year 58. ch. ix. 1. . . . 5. x. 1. 2. xi. 4. *if by any means, says he, I may provoke them to emulation which are my flesh, and might save some of them.* Nor can it be questioned, that the like sentiments prevailed in the other Apostles. If it needs any proof, let *St. Peter's* discourses at the beginning of the book of the *Acts* be consulted, particularly ch. ii. 38. . . . 40. iii. 22. . . . 26. not to refer to any other.

4. There were many advantages attending the stay of the Apostles in *Judea*. Many more Jews were by this means converted, than otherwise there would have been. St. *Luke* says, *Acts* iv. 4. that *the number of the men was five thousand*. But when *Paul* came to *Jerusalem* some years afterwards, *James* says to him, *Thou seeest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe*. *xxi. 20*. And it is very likely, that the Jewish believers had better, and freer principles, than otherwise they would have had. They were, it is true, for observing the law themselves : *ver. 20*. but they agreed, that the Gentils were under no such obligations. *ver. 25*. Farther, by this means every step taken in planting the Christian Religion, and spreading the gospel in the world, had the sanction of all the Apostles, and of the whole church of *Jerusalem*.

Upon occasion of the persecution at *Jerusalem*, many were scattered abroad, who went every where preaching the word. Then *Philip* went down to the city of *Samaria*, and preached *Christ* unto them. *Acts* viii. 45. Now when the Apostles, which were at *Jerusalem*, heard, that *Samaria* had received the word of God, they sent unto them *Peter* and *John*.
This

This was the first step taken in carrying the gospel to any, beside native Jews, and profelytes to their religion. And what had been done by *Philip* at *Samaria*, was approved and ratified by all the Apostles.

The next step was preaching to Gentils, which work was solemnly allotted to *Peter*. *And the Apostles and Elders that were in Judea, heard that the Gentils also had received the word of God.* ch. xi. 1. Upon *Peter's* rehearsing to them the whole affair, and what had happened at the house of *Cornelius* at *Cesarea*, all were satisfied. *They glorified God, saying : Then hath God also to the Gentils granted repentance unto life.* ver. 18.

Soon after this, some of those who were scattered abroad upon the persecution, went to *Antioch*, and there spake to the Greeks, or Gentils, *preaching the Lord Jesus.* *And a great number believed, and turned to the Lord.* *Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of the church, which was at Jerusalem.* *And they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch.* ver. 19 22. This step therefore was also approved and ratified by the whole church of *Jerusalem*, including the Apostles.

And henceforward no objections could be
made

made by wise men against preaching to Gentils, and receiving them, but what arose from the difficulty of the work. Nevertheless some good while after this, there was a dispute raised at *Antioch* by some bigotted Jews, who asserted it to be necessarie, that the Gentil believers *should be circumcised after the manner of Moses*. This occasioned the Council of *Jerusalem*. Where the controverſie was fully determined by the Apostles and Elders. Which was a great advantage. By this means the manner of receiving Gentils was fixed, and settled beyond dispute, and beyond opposition. Or, if any should be made afterwards, it could not be successful, nor very troublesome. And we may be assured, that all the Apostles, and their disciples, would be harmonious, and preach the same doctrine to Jews and Gentils, wheresoever they went.

5. There was a necessity of the Apostles staying in *Judea*, till about this time. Otherwise, they could not have sufficiently testified the doctrine concerning Jesus in *Judea*, nor have fully taught the Jewish People, so as to render them inexcusable, if they did not believe, and repent.

If we consider the state of things in *Judea*,
we

we may discern, that in the year 44. the Apostles had not had an opportunity to fulfill their ministrie in that countrey. It must be evident to all from the historie in the Acts, that for some while, soon after our Lord's ascension, the Apostles were grievously harassed, and hardly used by the Jewish Council or Rulers. Which was the more so, because of the weaknesse of *Pilate's* government, for some time before he was dismissed from the province. And afterwards, about the time of his removal, *Stephen* was stoned, and a great persecution began. Which, as I apprehend, continued from the beginning of the year 36. to the beginning of the year 40. When the churches had rest. Of which rest undoubtedly the Apostles made good use. *St. Luke's* words are : *Then had the churches rest throughout Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.* ch. xi. 31. After which follows an account of *Peter's* passing throughout all quarters, his going to *Lydda*, and there healing *Eneas*, then to *Joppa*, where he raised *Tabitha* : and from thence to *Cesarea*, and there preaching to *Cornelius*, and his companie : and of some other matters,

reaching to ch. xi. 26. How long that rest, or peace and tranquillity continued, in all it's fullnesse, we cannot say exactly. Perhaps it lasted a year, or more. And it is not unlikely, that in that space of time other Apostles, beside *Peter*, travelled in *Judea*, and the several parts of it, preaching the gospel, and confirming the disciples. But upon *Herod Agrippa* being made King of all *Judea* by *Claudius* in the year 41. that peace would be abated, if not interrupted. From the beginning of his reign, especially from his arrival in *Judea*, and during the remainder of it, the disciples must have been under many difficulties and discouragements, Prince and People being of one mind. And toward the end of his reign he became an open and violent persecutor, till Divine Providence smote him, that he died. After his death *Judea* came to be in the hands of Roman Procurators, *Cuspius Fadus*, *Tiberius Alexander*, *Cumanus*, *Felix*, *Festus* : When, probably, the disciples of Jesus had for several years together more liberty, than they had had at any time, since the resurrection of Jesus, excepting the interval of rest and tranquillity, before taken notice of. For those Governours, or Procurators, had no orders from the Roman Emperour to persecute

secute or disturb any Jews. And that those Governours were not disposed to disturb the Christians, may be argued from the treatment given to *Paul* by *Felix*, and *Festus*, and the officers under them. Now therefore from the year 44. to the time of the Council in 49. or 50. and afterwards, the Apostles went on fulfilling their ministrie. All of them, as I apprehend, staid in *Judea* till the time of the Council. Soon after which some did, probably, go abroad. However, several of them might stay there a good while longer, and not remove, till a little before the commencement of the Jewish war in 66.

6. We may now perceive, the benefit of the early choice and call of *Paul* to be an Apostle. Who having been several years employed and exercised in preaching to Jews in *Judea*, and out of it, was ready to preach to Gentils likewise, as soon as a door was opened for applying to them at *Antioch*, and other places: as there was, after *Peter* had received *Cornelius* at *Cesarea*: whilst it was not as yet fit for any of the twelve Apostles to leave the land of *Israel*.

7. We now obtain some assistance for interpreting those expressions of *Paul*: Gal. ii. 7. 8. 9. *When they saw, that the gospel of the un-*

circumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was committed unto Peter. For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentils. And they gave unto me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the Heathen, and they unto the circumcision. And Rom. xi. 13. inasmuch as I am the Apostle of the Gentils, I magnify my office. Those expressions cannot be intended to signify, that *Paul* was Apostle of the Gentils only, and exclusive of the Jews: or that *Peter* and the other of the twelve, were Apostles of the circumcision only, exclusive of the Gentils. For an Apostle is a teacher or master of the whole world. They were appointed to be so by Christ himself. Nor could their commission be limited by any compact among themselves. Our Lord's commission given to his twelve Apostles, is, in *Matthew*, to this purpose: *Go ye therefore, and teach all nations. xxviii. 19.* and in *Luke*: *xxiv. 46. 47. he said to them, that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. And Acts i. 8. And Ye shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost*

uttermost part of the earth. And Mark xvi. 15. *And he said unto them : Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.* And ver. 20. *And they went forth and preached every where.* Of Paul the Lord says in a vision to *Ananias at Damascus : He is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentils, and Kings, and the children of Israel.* Acts ix. 5. *And Paul says to King Agrippa : I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision : but shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coast of Judea, and then to the Gentils, that they should repent, and turn to God.* ch. xxvi. 19. 20. Moreover we know from the historie of *Paul's* preaching recorded in the Acts, that he always first addressed himself to Jews, in all the places where he came, if there were any, and if they had there a synagogue.

It should be observed likewise, that *Peter* had actually preached to Gentils, in *Judea*, and was the first disciple of Jesus, that did so. There is a particular account of it in the book of the Acts ch. x. and xi. And himself takes notice of it in his speech at the Council of *Jerusalem.* ch. xv. 7.

The reason therefore, why the gospel of the circumcision is said to have been com-

mitted unto *Peter*, and the other Apostles with him, is, that for a good while, their ministry was soly, or however very much, and chiefly, employed among Jews in *Judea*: though afterwards they preached very freely to Gentils, in several parts of the world. And *Paul* is called the Apostle of the Gentils, and the gospel of the uncircumcision is said to have been committed unto him, because he got the start of all the rest in preaching to Gentils, and had labored among them for a good while in divers countreys, with great successe, and had formed many churches in divers places: whilst they were still in *Judea*, teaching Jews, and had made no addressees to Gentils abroad in other countreys.

It may be also implied in what *St. Paul* says in the epistle to the *Galatians*, that (*b*)
several

(*b*) Alterum, quod ex dicto Pauli ad Galatas colligimus, illud est, Joannem etiam post discessum Pauli cum duobus collegis per aliquod temporis intervallum Hierosolymis, et in *Judaea* substituisse. Gentium enim conversione Paulo et Barnabae demandata, ipsi inter Judaeos se operam porro locuturos declarant. Quae etiam causa est, cur Joannis et sociorum in Actis Apostolicis vix mentio occurrat, quia postquam primordia Ecclesiae Christianae inter Judaeos memorata erant, nihil amplius videbatur addendum, nisi ut narretur, quomodo primitiae Gentium essent introductae. *Lamp. Proleg. in Jo. l. 1. cap. 3. §. vii.*

several of the first twelve Apostles intended to stay still somewhat longer in *Judea*. This they were the more willing to do, being fully satisfied with the preaching of *Paul* in foreign countreys : insomuch that they encouraged him to proceed, as he had begun.

8. Once more, we may now be reconciled to the supposition of the late date of the Gospels. For they were not to be published, till the doctrine concerning Jesus had been preached in divers parts, and many converts had been made, to whom they would be useful, for whom they would be needful, by whom they would be received with joy, be highly valued, frequently read, and often copied. Written histories of Jesus could be little wanted by the Jewish believers in *Judea*, whilst all the Apostles were still in that countrey, and there were also still living among them many sincere followers of Jesus, and eye-witnesses of his person and ministrie. Very probably, therefore, there was no written gospel, till after the Council at *Jerusalem*.

Still there may be objections, which should be stated and considered.

Obj. 1. It may be said : Was not the progresse of the gospel by this means much retarded ? I answer : No. And this objec-

tion, methinks, should be of little moment now, after all that has been said of the many advantages of the Apostles stay in *Judea*.

However, some considerations shall be here added to what has been already said. Though the Apostles did not leave *Judea* themselves, they encouraged those who did, who preached the gospel abroad, whether to Jews or Gentils. Of this there is an instance with regard to the church of *Antioch*, related Acts xi. 19 . . 22. And there may have been some other like instances. Moreover the Apostles were very useful by their stay in *Judea*, as has been already shewn. They made many converts among the Jews. During their stay in that countrey, if there was any measure of public liberty for the believers, the Apostles would all, or most of them, be at *Jerusalem*, at the great feasts, to which there was a general resort of Jews from all countreys. Here the inquisitive of that People would have an opportunity of conversing with the Apostles. And if they were convinced, and persuaded by them, they would carry the doctrine of the gospel into the places of their usual residence, and propagate it there.

Obj. 2.

Obj. 2. But, if the Apostles had attempted to make a long stay in *Judea*, it seems, that they must have been all destroyed. I answer, that doubtless they met with many and great difficulties. What they were from the time of our Lord's ascension to the year 44. was briefly rehearsed just now. After that, for several years, as I apprehend, their difficulties would not be so great, as they had been. Yea, during that space would be the best opportunity that ever they had, to promote the interests of the gospel, as I said before. For (*i*) the Jewish People had not the power of life and death in their own hands. And the Roman Procurators were
not

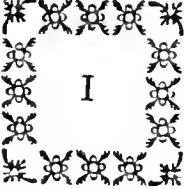
(*i*) Contra persuasum habeo, hoc emblemata supponere, Ecclesiam jam longo admodum tempore fuisse afflictam . . . Ne jam dicam, non constare ex historia Ecclesiae, quinam illi sint *Martyres*, quorum *sanguis*, praeter eum *Stephani*, et utriusque *Jacobi*, de quorum altero ex Luca, altero ex Josepho liquet et Hegesippo, a Judaeis fusus fuerit. Judaei enim, excepto brevi intervallo regni Agrippae, rerum suarum non erant domini : et licet in Christianos pessime affecti fuerint, a Praefidis tamen Romanis prohibebantur, pro lubitu in innocuos Jesu Christi discipulos saevire. Quae enim junior Ananus tentavit in Jacobum fratrem Domini, et *τινὰς ἑτέρας*, quosdam *alios*, Christianae professionis homines, ut constat ex Josepho, Festo mortuo, et Albino adhuc in itinere agente, peracta sunt. *Campeg. Vitring. in Apoc. cap. vi. ver. 12. §. xxx.*
p. 303.

not disposed to give any men disturbance upon account of difference of opinion in religious matters. Finally, the Apostles of Jesus Christ, we have reason to think, had an especial direction, and an especial protection. They, who were employed in teaching so important a doctrine, and were enabled to work miracles upon others for confirming it, may be reasonably supposed to have been the subjects of some wonderful interpositions of Providence. And it must be reckoned very probable, that affairs would be so over-ruled and influenced, as that these chosen men should be upheld, and enabled to fulfill their ministrie, and bear such a testimonie to Jesus, as should be sufficient to lay a good foundation for the establishment of his Church in the world, and leave all those of the Jewish People, who did not receive him as the Messiah, absolutely inexcusable.

C H A P. VII.

St. Mark, *Evangelist.*

- I. *That the Evangelist is the same as John Mark, and nephew to Barnabas.* II. *His Historie from the New Testament.* III. *From other Writers.* IV. *Testimonies to his Gospel, in ancient Writers.* V. *Remarks upon them.* VI. *The Time of writing his Gospel, according to these ancient Writers, and the Sentiments of learned Moderns.* VII. *Characters of Time in the Gospel itself.* VIII. *Observations upon this Gospel.*

I.  T is generally, or even universally, allowed, that *Mark*, mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13. is the *Evangelist*. But it has been doubted, whether he be the same as *John Mark* mentioned in the *Acts*, and some of *St. Paul's* epistles. And it appears from our collections out of ancient authors, that there were

The Evangelist the same as John Mark.

were doubts about this in the minds of some in former times.

Divers learned moderns are persuaded, that they are different persons. Of this number are (a) *Cave*, [who nevertheless thinks him (b) the same *Mark*, that is mentioned by St. *Paul* in his second epistle to *Timothie*,] (c) *Grotius*, (d) *Du Pin*, and (e) *Tillemont*. Which last, in his Ecclesiastical Memoirs, makes two different articles for this name : one entitled, *St. Mark the Evangelist, Apostle of Egypt, and Martyr* : the other, *St. John Mark, disciple and cousin of St. Barnabas*. On the other hand they are reckoned one and the same by (f) *Jer. Jones*, (g) *Lightfoot*, and (h) *Wetstein*.

I shall

(a) S. Marcus Evangelista, quem cum Joanne Marco, de quo Act. xii. 12. male nonnulli confundunt. *H. L. T. i. p. 24.*

(b) Cum enim illum epistola secunda ad Timotheum — Romam accersiverat Paulus — *Id. ib.*

(c) *Gr. Pr. in Marc.*

(d) *Diff. Prelim. l. 2. ch. ii. §. iv.*

(e) *Mem. Ec. Tom. 2.*

(f) *New and full Method. vol. 3. ch. vi. p. 65 . . 70.*

(g) *Lightfoot* is making observations upon the first epistle of St. *Peter*. " He sends this epistle, says he, by *Silvanus*, *Paul's* old attendant, but now with *Peter* . . His naming of
Mark

I shall now without delay consider the reasons of those, who think there are two *Marks* mentioned in the New Testament.

1. They say, that *Mark* the Evangelist was converted and baptised by *Peter*, because he calls him *his son*. 1 Pet. v. 13. But there is no reason to suppose this of *John Mark*.

To which I answer. That needs not to be reckoned the constant meaning of the expression. It may denote only great affection and tenderneſſe, and a reſpect to faithful ſervices: in like manner as *Paul* ſays of *Timothie*. Philip. ii. 22. that *as a ſon with the father he had ſerved with him in*
the

Mark with him calls our thoughts back to what has been mentioned of *Mark* heretofore: his being with *Paul* at *Rome*, and his coming from him into the Eaſt. To ſuppoſe two *Marks*, one with *Peter*, and another with *Paul*, is to breed confuſion, where there needeth not. . . It is eaſily ſeen, how *John Mark* came into familiarity with *Paul* and *Peter*. And other *Mark* we can find none in the New Teſtament, unleſs of our own invention. . . He it was, that wrote the Goſpel. *Lightfoot Harm. of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 336.*

(b) Nihil vetat, quo minus ſimpliciter cum Viſtore et Theophylaſto hunc eundem Marcum intelligamus, quoties illius nomen in Actis et Epistoſis reperimus, *Weſt. Pr. in Marc. Tom. i. p. 551.*

the gospel. Grotius (*i*) and Du Pin (*k*) who mention this reason, seem not to have judged it conclusive. Moreover, if *Mark* was a convert of *Peter*, it does not follow, that he was not an early believer. For he might be one of that Apostle's converts at his first preaching the gospel at *Jerusalem*. *Mark* the Evangelist, upon that supposition, could not be one of the seventy: but he might be among the first believers, and the son of *Marie*. However, I choose not to insist upon this, but chiefly upon what was before mentioned: that the appellation, *my son*, needs not to be understood rigorously, as meaning a convert begotten to the faith of the gospel.

2. It is said, that (*l*) *Mark*, the companion of *Paul*, was called *John*: but the Evangelist

(*i*) Adde, quod Joannes Marcus inter primos Christianos: Marcus hic, ut videtur, Petri opera conversus. 1 Pet. v. 13. Nam tales peculiariter filios suos Apostoli vocabant. 1 Cor. iv. 15. Gal. iv. 19. Gr. Pr. in Marc.

(*k*) Il y a plus d'apparence, qu'il a reçu l'évangile de S. Pierre, qui l'appelle fils, peut-être parcequ'il l'avoit engendré en J. C. *Diff. Prel. l. 2. ch. 2. §. iv.*

(*l*) Joannes quoque ille Mariae filius, Barnabae con- sanguineus, . . . Marcus vocabatur: quem multi hunc nostrum scriptorem putant. Quibus quo minus assentiar;

moveor

Evangelist is never so called by the ancients, who mention him.

To which I answer. It is true, that *Paul's* companion is sometimes called *John*, as Acts xiii. 5. and 13. But we are also informed that he was surnamed *Mark*. So Acts xii. 12. *And when he had considered the thing, he came to the house of Marie, the mother of John, whose surname was Mark. And ver. 25. . . . and took with them John, whose surname was Mark.* And he is several times mentioned by the surname, *Mark*, only. Acts xv. 39. 2 Tim. iv. 11. Col. iv. 10. Philem. ver. 24. *Secondly*, such of the ancients, as supposed *Mark*, the Evangelist, to have been the same with him mentioned in the Acts, must also have supposed, that he was called *John*, as well as *Mark*, though they have generally mentioned him by his surname.

3. It is said, that (*m*) *John Mark* was
much

moveor veterum auctoritate, qui hunc scriptorem Joannem nunquam, Marcum semper vocant. . . . *Grot. Pr. in Marc.*

L' Evangeliste n'est appellé nulle part du nom de Jean, qui étoit le nom propre de celui-ci. *Du Pin, ubi supra.*

(*m*) Et ita Petro addunt [Veteres] comitem, ac discipulum, ut non tantum de Barnaba, sed et de Paulo, quem

Joannes

much with *Paul*, *Mark*, the Evangelist, with *Peter*. So say the ancients in general.

I answer : It is not at all impossible, but that *Mark* might be sometimes with *Paul*, at other times with *Peter*. As may appear by and by.

As these reasons therefore do not appear to me conclusive, I rather think, that there is but one *Mark* in the New Testament, *John Mark*, the Evangelist, and fellow-laborer of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and *Peter*.

*His historie
from the
N.T.*

II. I now proceed to write the historie of *John Mark* from the New Testament, mentioning, as they offer, some observations, shewing his acquaintance with *Peter*, as well as with *Paul*. After which I shall take notice of some other things said of him by the ancients.

He was the son of *Marie*, a pious woman at *Jerusalem*, and an early believer, at whose house the disciples used to meet, and that in troublesome and difficult times, as well as at other seasons. *Peter* having been de-

Joannes Marcus post illud frigusculum festatus est . . . nihil meminerint. *Grot. ibid.*

Il étoit disciple de S. Pierre, et attaché à lui, dans le tems que l' autre étoit avec S. Paul, et S. Barnabe. *Du Pin. Ibid.*

delivered out of prison by an angel, *came to the house of Marie, mother of John, whose surname was Mark, where many were gathered together praying.* Acts xii. 12. So that the very first mention of *John Mark* assures us of *Peter's* intimacie in that familie.

That deliverance of *St. Peter* happened in the year 44. about the same time that *Paul* and *Barnabas* came to *Jerusalem* from *Antioch* with contributions for the relief of the brethren in *Judea* in the time of a famine, or scarcity. And it is said at the end of that chapter. *And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their ministrie, and took with them John, whose surname was Mark.* This, with some other things to be hereafter mentioned, may dispose us to think, that this *John Mark* is the same, who in *Col. iv. 10.* is called *sister's son to Barnabas.*

Mark therefore went now from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, with *Paul* and *Barnabas.* And, when some short time afterwards, they went abroad to other countreys, *Mark* accompanied them, as *their minister.* Acts xiii. 5. They went to *Cyprus*, and preached the word in that countrey. But when they returned to the continent, and came on shore

at *Perga in Pamphylia*, he departed from them, and returned to *Jerusalem*. ver. 13. He therefore did not attend them in their farther progresse to *Antioch in Pisidia*, *Iconium*, and other places, but went to *Jerusalem*.

And now, very probably, he conversed again with *Peter*, and the other Apostles, and was present with them at their discourses, and their devotions. For, as I apprehend, all the Apostles were still in *Judea*, except *James* the son of *Zebedee*, who had been beheaded by *Herod Agrippa*, in the beginning of the year 44.

Paul and *Barnabas* having finished their progresse, returned to *Antioch*, and there abode. Whilst they were there, debates arose about circumcising Gentil converts. Which determined *Paul* and *Barnabas* to go to *Jerusalem*. That controversie being decided, they returned to *Antioch*.

Some time afterwards *Paul* said unto *Barnabas*: Let us go again, and visit our brethren, in every city, where we have preached the word, and see how they do. And *Barnabas* determined to take with them *John*, whose surname was *Mark*. But *Paul* thought it not good to take him with them, who had departed from them from *Pamphylia*, and went not
with

with them to the work. *Barnabas*, however, persisted in his resolution, and went with *Mark* to *Cyprus*. And *Paul* chose *Silas* to accompany him. Acts xv. 36 41.

Hereby we perceive the good temper of *Mark*. He was now at *Antioch*, and was willing to attend *Paul* and *Barnabas* in their journeys, and actually went with *Barnabas* to *Cyprus*. And though *Paul* would not now accept of his attendance, he was afterwards fully reconciled to him. *Mark* is mentioned in several of his epistles sent from *Rome*, during his confinement there. I suppose, I shall hereafter shew, that *St. Paul's* second epistle to *Timothie* was writ in the summer of the year 61. not long after *Paul's* arrival at *Rome*. In that epistle he writes to *Timothie*, to come to him. And he desires him to bring *Mark* with him. 2 Tim. iv. 11. *Take Mark, and bring him with thee : for he is profitable to me for the ministric.* Where *Mark* then was, does not clearly appear. It is probable, that he was either at *Ephesus*, or at some other place, where *Timothie* would find him in his journey from *Ephesus* to *Rome*. And, unquestionably, *Mark* did come with *Timothie*. He is mentioned in two of the epistles writ by the Apostle at

Rome. Philem. ver. 24. and Col. iv. 10. *Aristarchus salutes you, and Mark, sister's son to Barnabas, touching whom ye received commandments. If he come unto you, receive him.* Mark is not mentioned in the epistle to the *Philippians*. Perhaps he was not acquainted there, or upon some occasion was absent from the Apostle, when that epistle was writ. Or rather, he is comprehended in those general expressions. ch. iv. 21. *The brethren that are with me, greet you.* For in the epistle to the *Philippians* St. Paul does not mention his fellow-laborers by name, as he does in the epistles to the *Colossians*, and to *Philemon*. Nor is he mentioned in the epistle to the *Ephesians*. To those who admit the true date of that epistle the reason will be obvious. It was writ, and sent away, before Mark came to be with St. Paul at Rome.

This is all we can say concerning St. Mark from the New Testament. But from that we can collect his excellent character, and may conclude, that after this time he no longer attended on Paul. It is not improbable, that going now into Asia, he there met with St. Peter, and accompanied him, till that Apostle came to Rome, where he suffered martyrdom. Where likewise Mark wrote,

wrote, and published the Gospel that goes by his name.

III. We will now inquire, whether there is any thing in other writers to illustrate the historie of this Evangelist. *From other Writers.*

Cave says, without hesitation, that (*n*) *Mark* was a *Levite*. But he does not say, upon what authority. I do not remember, that it is in any of the writers, of which I have given a particular account, excepting (*o*) *Bede*. It is also in a commentarie upon *St. Mark's* Gospel, usually joyned with *Jerome's* works, though (*p*) allowed not to be his. That writer says, that (*q*) *Mark* was a *Levite*, and a Priest. It is not unlikely, that this was inferred from *Mark's* relation to *Barnabas*, who was a *Levite of Cyprus*.

M 3

Comp.

(*n*) S. Marcus, Evangelista, quem cum Johanne Marco, de quo Act. xii. 12. male nonnulli confundunt, erat Levites. *H. L. T. i. p. 24.*

(*o*) Tradunt autem hunc, natione Israelitica, et sacerdotali ortum profapia, ac post passionem ac resurrectionem Domini Salvatoris, ad praedicationem Apostolorum Evangelica fide a sacramentis imbutum, atque ex eorum fuisse numero, de quibus scribit Lucas, quia multa etiam turba sacerdotum obediebat fidei. *Bed. Prolog. in Marc.*

(*p*) *Vid. Benedictin Monitum, et Petav. Animadv. ad Epiph. H. 21. num. vi. p. 88.*

(*q*) Marcus Evangelista Dei, Petri discipulus, Leviticus genere, et sacerdos, in Italia hoc scripsit Evangelium. *Praef. in Marc. ap. Hierom. T. v. p. 886.*

Comp. Acts. iv. 36. and Col. iv. 10. But then *Cave* should not have denied; as he does in the same place, that *Mark* the Evangelist is the same as *John Mark*, mentioned in the Acts. For that, as I apprehend, is to remove out of the way the sole ground of this opinion.

By *Eusebe* we are informed, it (*r*) was said, that *Mark* going into *Egypt*, first preached there the Gospel, which he had writ, and planted there many churches. And afterwards, in another chapter, he says, that (*s*) in the eighth year of *Nero*, *Anianus*, the first Bishop of *Alexandria* after *Mark*, the Apostle and Evangelist, took upon him the care of that church. Of which *Anianus* he gives a great character, as beloved of God, and a wonderful man.

Epiphanius says, that soon after *Matthew*, *Mark*, companion of *Peter*, composed his Gospel at *Rome*. And having (*t*) writ it, he

(*r*) Τῦτον δὲ μάρκου πρῶτον φασιν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰγύπτου σελάμενον, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ δὴ καὶ συνεγράφατο κηρύξαι, ἐκκλησίας τε πρῶτον ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀλεξανδρείας συστήσασθαι. κ. λ. *H. E. l. 2. cap. 16.*

(*s*) . . . πρῶτος μετὰ μάρκον τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγέλιστῃν, τῆς ἐν ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας ἀνιανὸς τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται· ἀτὴρ θεόφιλος καὶ πάντα θαυμάσιος. *Ib. cap. 24.*

(*t*) . . . καὶ γράφας ἀποστέλλεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πέτρου εἰς τὴν τῶν αἰγυπτίων χώραν. *H. 51. num. vi.*

he was sent by *Peter* into the countrey of the *Egyptians*.

Jerome, in his article of *St. Mark*, as (*u*) before quoted, after other things, says :
 “ Taking (*x*) the Gospel, which himself
 “ had composed, he went to *Egypt*, and at
 “ *Alexandria* founded a church of great
 “ note . . . He died in the eighth year of
 “ *Nero*, and was buried at *Alexandria*,
 “ where he was succeeded, as Bishop, by
 “ *Anianus*.”

From all these accounts, I think, it must appear to be probable, that if indeed *Mark* preached at all in *Egypt*, and founded a church at *Alexandria*; it must have been after he had writ his Gospel, and after the death of *Peter* and *Paul* at *Rome*. Nevertheless, when presently afterwards *Eusebe*, and *Jerome* likewise, speak of *Mark's* converts, and *Philo's* Therapeuts, as all one, they seem to have imagined, that *Mark* had very early preached in *Egypt*. But what

M 4

they

(*u*) *Vol. x. p. 92. 93.*

(*x*) Assumto itaque Evangelio, quod ipse confecerat, perrexit ad Aegyptum, et primus Alexandriae Christum annuntians constituit ecclesiam . . . Denique Philo . . . videns Alexandriae primam ecclesiam adhuc judaizantem, quasi in laudem gentis suae, librum super eorum conversatione conscripsit. *De V. L. cap. 8.*

they say upon that head is exceeding strange and unaccountable. For they both suppose, that *Mark* had writ his gospel at *Rome*, before he went into *Egypt*: and that his Gospel was not writ before the reign of *Nero*. If therefore *Mark* went at all to *Alexandria*, it was later, in the same reign: and *Philo's* Therapeuts could not be Christians, nor *Mark's* converts: but were a sort of people, who had a being, and had formed their institution, before the gospel could be published in *Egypt*, and before the rise of the Christian Religion.

By *Baronius* (*y*) and many others, it is said, that *St. Mark* died a Martyr. This is admitted by (*z*) *Cave*, and the (*a*) late *Mr. Wetstein*. But it is disputed by (*b*) *S. Basnage*: and as seems to me, with good reason. For *St. Mark* is not spoken of as a Martyr by *Eusebe*, or other more ancient writers.

And

(*y*) *An. 64. §. i. ii.*

(*z*) *Alexandriae primus Episcopus factus Martyrium ibi subiit: quo vero anno, mihi haecenus incompertum. H. L. p. 24.*

(*a*) *Tandem vero in Aegyptum concessisse, atque Alexandriae sanguine suo doctrinam Christi confirmasse, historia ecclesiastica testatur. J. F. Wetsten. N. T. Tom. i. p. 551.*

(*b*) *Ann. 66. num. xix. xxx.*

And *Jerome*, as before quoted, says, *St. Mark* died in the eighth year of *Nero*, and was buried at *Alexandria*. He does not say, that he was crowned with martyrdom: as he would have done, if he had known of it. And his expressions seems to imply a natural death. *Fabricius* (c) in his account of *St. Mark*, says nothing of his having been a Martyr.

IV. Having thus writ the historie of *St. Mark*, I shall now recollect the testimonies to his Gospel, which we have seen in ancient writers, particularly, with a view of ascertaining the time of it: observing likewise whatever may farther lead us into the knowledge of his station and character, and whether he was one of *Christ's* seventy disciples, or not.

The first writer to be here taken notice of is *Papias*, about A. D. 116. He says, “ That (d) the Elder, from whom he had
 “ divers informations, said: *Mark*, being the
 “ interpreter of *Peter*, wrote what he re-
 “ membered: but not in the order, in which
 “ things were spoken and done by *Christ*.

For

*Testimonies
 to his Gos-
 pel.*

(c) *Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. u. iii. Tom. 3. p. 130.*
 ... 132.

(d) *Vol. i. p. 241.*

“ For he was not a hearer of the Lord, but
 “ afterwards followed *Peter*.”

Irenaeus, as before (*e*) cited, about 178. says: “ After the death of *Peter* and *Paul*,
 “ *Mark*, the disciple and interpreter of *Peter*,
 “ delivered to us in writing the things that
 “ had been preached by *Peter*.” In another
 place (*f*) he calls *Mark* “ the interpreter
 “ and follower of *Peter*.”

Clement, of *Alexandria*, about the year of
 Christ 194. says: “ That (*g*) *Peter*’s hearers
 “ at *Rome*, not content with a single hear-
 “ ing, nor with an unwritten instruction in
 “ the divine doctrine, entreated *Mark*, the
 “ follower of *Peter*, that he would leave
 “ with them in writing a memorial of the
 “ doctrine, which had been delivered to
 “ them by word of mouth. Nor did they
 “ desist, untill they had prevailed with him.
 “ Thus they were the means of writing the
 “ Gospel, which is called according to *Mark*.
 “ It is said, that when the Apostle knew
 “ what had been done, he was pleased with
 “ the zeal of the men, and authorised that
 “ scripture to be read in the churches.”

That

(*e*) Vol. i. p. 354.

(*f*) P. 357.

(*g*) Vol. ii. 472.

That passage is cited from *Eusebe's Ecclesiastical Historie*.

Again, *Eusebe* says: “*Clement* (*b*) informs us, that the occasion of writing the Gospel according to *Mark* was this. *Peter*, having publicly preached the word at *Rome*, and having spoken the gospel by the Spirit, many who were there, entreated *Mark* to write the things that had been spoken, he having long accompanied *Peter*, and retaining what he had said: and that when he had composed the Gospel, he delivered it to them, who had asked it of him. Which when *Peter* knew, he neither forbade it, nor encouraged it.”

Many remarks were (*i*) formerly made upon these accounts of *Clement*, which cannot now be repeated. But it may be needful to say something here for reconciling *Irenaeus* and him. *Irenaeus* said, that *Mark* published his Gospel *after the death of Peter and Paul*: whereas *Clement* supposes *Peter* to have been still living, and that this Gospel was shewn to *Peter*, who did not disapprove of it. But the difference is not great.

Clement

(*b*) P. 475.

(*i*) *Vol. i. p. 245. . . 249. Vol. ii. p. 476. . . 493.*

Clement says, that *Mark's* Gospel was writ at *Rome* at the request of the Christians there, who were hearers of *Peter*. If so, it could not be composed long before *Peter's* death. For I take it to be certain, that *Peter* did not come to *Rome*, untill the reign of *Nero* was far advanced, nor very long before his own death. So that it may be reckoned not improbable, that *Mark's* Gospel was not published, or did not become generally known, till after the death of *Peter* and *Paul*, as *Irenaeus* says.

Tertullian, about the year 200. speaks of *Mark* as (*k*) an apostolical man, or companion of Apostles: and says, "That (*l*) " the Gospel, published by *Mark*, may be " reckoned *Peter's*, whose interpreter he " was."

Says *Origen*, about 230. "The (*m*) second Gospel is that according to *Mark*, " who wrote it as *Peter* dictated it to him. " Who therefore calls him his son in his catholic epistle." See 1 *Peter* v. 13.

Eusebe, about 315. may be supposed to agree in the main with *Clement* and *Irenaeus*, whose

(*k*) See Vol. ii. p. 576. . . 588.

(*l*) P. 581.

(*m*) Vol. viii. p. 235.

whose passages he has transcribed, and inserted in his Ecclesiastical Historie. And in a long passage of his Evangelical Demonstration, formerly (*n*) transcribed by us, he says: “*Peter* out of abundance of modestie
 “ thought not himself worthie to write a
 “ Gospel. But *Mark*, who was his friend
 “ and disciple, is said to have recorded
 “ *Peter’s* relations of the acts of *Jesus.*”
 At the end of which passage he says: “ And
 “ (*o*) *Peter* testifies these things of himself.
 “ For all things in *Mark* are said to be me-
 “ moirs of *Peter’s* discourses.” He likewise
 says, “ that (*p*) *Mark* was not present to hear
 “ what *Jesus* said.” Nor (*q*) does it appear,
 that he thought the writer of the Gospel to be
John, surnamed *Mark*, nephew to *Barnabas*.
 But unquestionably he supposed him to be
 the same that is mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13.

Mark is mentioned among the other
 Evangelists by (*r*) *Athanasius*, without other
 particularities. But in the Synopsis, ascribed
 to him, and by many supposed to be writ
 by another *Athanasius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*,
 near the end of the fifth centurie, it is said,
 That

(*n*) Vol. viii. 86... 88.

(*o*) P. 88.

(*p*) P. 86.

(*q*) P. 143.

(*r*) Vol. viii. p. 227.

“ That (s) the Gospel according to *Mark*
 “ was dictated by *Peter* at *Rome*, and pub-
 “ lished by *Mark*, and preached by him in
 “ *Alexandria*, and *Egypt*, and *Pentapolis*,
 “ and *Lybia*.”

The author of the Dialogue against the *Marcionites*, about 330. says, that (t) *Mark* was one of Christ's seventy disciples.

Epiphanius, about 368. says: “ *Matthew*
 “ (u) wrote first, and *Mark* soon after him,
 “ being a companion of *Peter* at *Rome*.”
 Afterwards he says, “ That (x) *Mark* was
 “ one of Christ's seventy disciples, and like-
 “ wise one of those who were offended at
 “ the words of Christ, recorded John vi. 44.
 “ and then forsook him: but he was after-
 “ wards recovered by *Peter*, and being filled
 “ with the Spirit wrote a Gospel.”

Upon the last passage of *Epiphanius Petavius* says: “ *Mark* (y) might, possibly,
 have

(s) *Vol. viii. p. 250.*

(t) *P. 255.*

(u) *P. 305.*

(x) *P. 306.*

(y) Dissentit Papias apud Eusebium. . . . Quod autem afferunt nonnulli, Marcum non vidisse Dominum, viderit necne non affirmo. Videre quidem potuisse, temporum ipsa ratio persuadet. Neque vero damnanda est Epiphanius sententia, dum illum e LXXII discipulorum numero fuisse tradat, etsi contrarium alii patres tradant. *Petav. ad loc. Animadv. p. 88.*

have seen Christ, and have been one of the seventy: but it is said by very few ancient writers of the Church.”

In the Constitutions *Mark* (z) is reckoned with *Luke* a fellow-laborer of *Paul*. Which may induce us to think, that the author supposed *Mark*, the Evangelist, to be *John Mark*, mentioned in the Acts, and some of *St. Paul's* epistles.

Gregorie Nazianzen says, “That (a) *Mark* wrote his Gospel for the *Italians*,” or in *Italie*.

Ebedjesu says, “The (b) second Evangelist is *Mark*, who preached [or wrote] “ in Latin, in the famous city of *Rome*.”

Jerome's article of this Evangelist, in his book of illustrious Men, is to this purpose: “ *Mark* (c) the disciple and interpreter of “ *Peter*, at the desire of the brethren at “ *Rome*, wrote a short Gospel, according to “ what he had heard related by *Peter*. “ Which when *Peter* knew, he approved “ of it, and authorised it to be read in the “ churches: as *Clement* writes in the sixth “ book of his Institutions, and also *Papias*, “ Bishop

(z) *Vol. viii. p. 393.*

(a) *Vol. ix. p. 133.*

(b) *P. 216.*

(c) *Vol. x. p. 92. 93.*

“ Bishop of *Hierapolis*. *Peter* also makes
 “ mention of this *Mark* in his epistle writ
 “ at *Rome*, which he figuratively calls *Ba-*
 “ *bylon*. . . Taking the Gospel, which him-
 “ self had composed, he went to *Egypt*, and
 “ at *Alexandria* founded a church of great
 “ note. . . . He died in the eighth year of
 “ *Nero*, and was buried at *Alexandria* : where
 “ he was succeeded, as Bishop, by *Anianus*.”

In the prologue to his Commentarie upon
 St. *Matthew*, *Jerome* says : “ The (c) second
 “ Evangelist is *Mark*, interpreter of the
 “ Apostle *Peter*, and the first Bishop of
 “ *Alexandria* : who never saw the Lord
 “ himself, but related things as he had them
 “ from his master, very truly, but not ex-
 “ actly in the order, in which they were
 “ done.”

In his Commentarie upon *Philem.* ver. 24.
 he says : “ He (d) thinks, that *Mark* there
 “ mentioned is the writer of the Gospel.”
 That *Mark* may be well supposed to be *John*
Mark, mentioned in the Acts, and in Col.
 iv. 10. where he is stiled nephew to *Barnabas*.
 Whether that *Mark* was the Evangelist, was
 doubted of by some. Nor was *Jerome* posi-
 tive.

(c) P. 83.

(d) P. 93.

tive. But he was inclined to think him the same.

Augustin (e) calls *Mark* and *Luke* disciples of Apostles; and says, that (f) *Mark* follows *Matthew*, as his abridger. Upon which some remarks were (g) made.

By *Chrysoftom* (h) *Mark* is said to have writ his Gospel in *Egypt*, at the request of the believers there. However, at the end of that passage he says: “In (i) what place each one of the Evangelists wrote, cannot be said with certainty.” He likewise (k) calls *Mark* disciple of *Peter*, and *Peter* his master. He must have supposed him the same, that is mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13. But I do not recollect him to have any where said, that he was the same as *John Mark*.

Victor, writer of a Commentarie upon St. *Mark's* Gospel, about the year 401. says: “He (l) was also called *John*: that he “wrote a Gospel after *Matthew*, and was “the son of *Marie*, mentioned Acts xii. “For a while he accompanied *Paul*, and his “relation *Barnabas*. But when he came

(e) P. 228.

(f) P. 229.

(g) P. 233. . . . 270.

(h) P. 315.

(i) P. 316. . . 318.

(k) P. 318. 319. 322.

(l) Vol. xi. p. 30. 31.

“ to *Rome*, he joyned *Peter*, and accom-
 “ panied him. For which reason he is
 “ mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13. *Mark* is also
 “ mentioned by *Paul*, Col. iv. 10. 2 Tim.
 “ iv. 11. . . . When he was obliged to go
 “ from *Rome*, and was earnestly desired by
 “ the believers there to write a historie of
 “ the preaching of the heavenly doctrine,
 “ he readily complied. This, as he adds,
 “ is said to have been the occasion of writing
 “ the Gospel according to *Mark*.”

Cosmas, of *Alexandria*, about 535. says :
 “ *Mark* (*m*), the second Evangelist, wrote
 “ a Gospel at *Rome*, by the direction of
 “ *Peter*.”

By *Isidore*, of *Seville*, about 596. *Mark* (*n*)
 is said to have writ his Gospel in *Italie*.
 Afterwards, he seems to say, it (*o*) was writ
 at *Alexandria*. But perhaps no more is
 meant, than that *Mark* preached at *Alexan-*
dria the Gospel, which he had writ.

Oecumenius, about 950. upon Acts xiii.
 13. says: “ This (*p*) *John*, who is also
 “ called *Mark*, nephew to *Barnabas*, wrote
 “ the Gospel according to him, and was
 “ also disciple of *Peter*, of whom he says
 “ in

(*m*) P. 267.

(*n*) P. 367.

(*o*) P. 375.

(*p*) P. 413.

“ in his first epistle : *Mark, my son, saluteth*
 “ *you.*”

Theophylact flourished about 1070. His preface to St. *Mark* is to this purpose: “ The
 “ (q) Gospel according to *Mark* was writ
 “ at *Rome* ten years after Christ’s ascension,
 “ at the request of the believers there. For
 “ this *Mark* was a disciple of *Peter*, whom
 “ he calls his son spiritually. His name was
 “ *John*. He was nephew to *Barnabas*, and
 “ was also a companion of *Paul*.”

Euthymius, about 1110. says: “ The (r)
 “ Gospel of *Mark* was writ about ten years
 “ after our Lord’s ascension, at *Rome*, as some
 “ say, or in *Egypt*, according to others.
 “ He says, that at first *Mark* was much
 “ with his uncle *Barnabas*, and *Paul*. Af-
 “ terwards he was with *Peter* at *Rome*, as
 “ the first epistle of the Apostle shews, whom
 “ he there calls his son. From whom also
 “ he received the whole historie of the Gos-
 “ pel.”

Nicephorus Callisti, about 1325. says:
 “ Two (s) only of the twelve, *Matthew* and
 “ *John*, have left memoirs of our Lord’s
 “ life on earth: and two of the seventy,
 “ *Mark* and *Luke*.” And somewhat lower:

N 2

“ After

“ After this *Mark* and *Luke* published their
 “ Gospels by the direction of *Peter* and
 “ *Paul*.”

I add here one author more, not particularly mentioned in the preceding part of this work, *Eutybius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, in the tenth centurie: who says, “ that (*t*) in
 “ the time of the Emperour *Nero*, *Peter* the
 “ prince of the Apostles, making use of the
 “ pen of *Mark*, wrote a Gospel at *Rome*, in
 “ the *Roman* language. And he published
 “ it under *Mark*'s name.” By the *Roman*, probably, meaning the *Greek* language, which then very much prevailed in the *Roman* Empire, as (*u*) *Selden* has observed.

Remarks
 upon them.

V. Let us now briefly recollect what has passed before us, in several articles.

1. All the ancient writers in general suppose, the Evangelist *Mark* to have been a companion of *Peter* in the later part of his life, and to have had great advantages from that Apostle's preaching for composing a Gospel.

2. Though

(*t*) Et tempore Neronis Caesaris scripsit Petrus, Apostolorum princeps, Evangelium Marci, dictante Marco, lingua Romana, in urbe Romae. Sed adtribuit illud Marco. *Eutyb. Ann. p. 335. Conf. ejusd. Origines. p. 35.*

(*u*) Vid. *Selden in Eutyb. Origin. not. 28. p. 152.*

2. Though some have doubted, who *Mark* was, many have been of opinion, that he was *John Mark*, son of *Marie*, a pious Jewish woman, and an early believer, of *Jerusalem*, and nephew to *Barnabas*.

3. If *Mark*, the Evangelist, be *John Mark*, as seems to me very probable, he was well acquainted with *Barnabas* and *Paul*, and other Apostles, and disciples, eye-witnesses of Jesus, beside *Peter*.

4. Some of the ancient writers, quoted by us, thought *Mark* to have been one of Christ's seventy disciples. Which, I apprehend cannot be either affirmed, or denied with certainty. But, if he was not one of them, he was an early believer, and an early disciple and companion of Apostles, and intimately conversant with them. Whereby, and by hearing *Peter* preach in *Judea*, and other places, and lastly at *Rome*, he was well qualified to write a Gospel.

S. *Basnoge* has some observations upon this point, which deserves to be taken notice of.

“ *Epiphanius* (x) and the Author of the Dia-

N 3

“ logue

(x) Marcum de LXX discipulis unum fuisse, credit Epiphanius. . . . Nobis tamen non arridet ea sententia cum incredibile sit, Petrum Marco filii nomen addidisse, si de septuaginta

“ logue against the *Marcionites*, suppose,
 “ *Mark* to have been one of Christ’s seventy
 “ disciples. But that opinion, says he, does
 “ not appear to me well grounded. It seems
 “ incredible, that *Peter* should call *Mark*, his
 “ son, if he was one of the seventy, who had
 “ a commission from Christ himself, and
 “ were almost equal to Apostles. That an-
 “ cient writer, *Papias*, excludes him from
 “ that number, saying, that *Mark* was not a
 “ hearer or follower of the Lord. . . . And
 “ *Tertullian* calls *Mark* *Peter’s interpreter*,
 “ which office would be below the character
 “ of one of the seventy. . . . Nor does *Origen*
 “ make him one of the seventy, whose autho-
 “ rity must be of great weight. . . . However,
 “ it seems to me very probable, that *Mark*
 “ was one of the five hundred brethren, who
 “ saw Christ after his resurrection. And
 “ having

tuaginta discipulis unus fuisset, quos Christus ipse legaverat,
 quique ab omni fere parte aequales erant Apostolis. Papias
 quoque vetustus ille auctor LXX discipulis Marcum eximit. . .
 Ex Tertulliano quoque scimus, Marcum interpretis officio
 functum fuisse, quod infra LXX dignitateum fuit. . . . Neque
 LXX discipulis eum apposuit Origenes, cujus non minimi
 ponderis est testimonium. . . . Nobis tamen est admodum pro-
 babile, Marcum unum fuisse quingentorum fratrum, qui
 Christum a morte revocatum contemplati sunt. Cuique, ut
 testi oculato, commissa est scribendi Evangelii provincia.
Basn. Ann. 66. num. xxvii.

“ having been an eye-witnesse of that, he
 “ was qualified to write a Gospel.”

Upon which I observe: The supposition, that *Mark* might be one of the five hundred, spoken of by *St. Paul* 1. Cor. xv. 6. is a mere conjecture, without any authority, either in Scripture, or antiquity. But I would add a thought or two for strengthening the argument, that *Mark* was not one of the seventy disciples. *Eusebe* (*y*) in his Ecclesiastical Historie, has a chapter concerning the Disciples of our Saviour. But *Mark* is not there named, as one of them. Nor does *Jerome* say any thing of it in his book of Illustrious Men: nor elsewhere, that I remember. The silence of *Origen*, *Eusebe*, and *Jerome*, upon this head, must amount to an argument of no small weight, that there was not in their times any prevailing tradition, that *Mark* was one of the seventy. It may be also reckoned an argument, that he was not of that number, in that he has not, in his Gospel taken any notice of them, or of the commission given to them. Which is in *St. Luke* only. ch. x. 1. . . 17.

I therefore conclude with saying, that *Mark* was an early believer, and an early

(y) *H. E. l. 1. cap. xii.*

disciple and fellow-laborer of Apostles. But that he ever saw, or heard the Lord Jesus, is not certain.

5. The general account of the above named writers is, that *Mark* wrote his Gospel at *Rome*. In this there is a remarkable agreement, with a very few exceptions. *Chrysof-tom* indeed speaks of it's being writ in *Egypt*. But he is almost singular. That it was writ at *Rome*, or in *Italie*, is said not only by *Epi-phanus*, *Jerome*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Victor*, and divers others: but the *Egyptian* writers likewise all along say the same thing: that it was writ by *Mark* at *Rome*, in the companie of the Apostle *Peter*. So say *Clement*, of *Alexandria*, *Athanasus*, the supposed author of the Synopsis of Scripture, *Cosmas*, and *Euty-chius*, all of *Alexandria*. *Ebedjesu* likewise, in his catalogue of *Syrian* writings, says, that *Mark* wrote at *Rome*. And the Latin author of the commentarie upon St. *Mark's Gospel*, quoted some while ago, says, that it was writ in *Italie*.

6. This leads us to think, that St. *Mark's Gospel* was not writ before the year 63. or 64. For we cannot perceive any good reason to think, that St. *Peter* was at *Rome*, till about that time. And this date is supported by the testi-

testimonie of that ancient writer, *Irenaeus*, that *Mark* published his Gospel *after the decease of Peter and Paul*.

VI. These are observations, which the above cited testimonies seem naturally to afford. But before we proceed any farther, it will be fit for us to take notice of the sentiments of learned moderns concerning the time of *St. Mark's* writing his Gospel.

*The Time
of this
Gospel.*

Cave supposes *St. Mark* to have published his Gospel at *Rome*, in the year of *Christ* 65. His argument for it I place (z) below.

Mr. Jones's opinion was, that (a) this Gospel was published between the year 64. and

(z) Rogatus Romae a fratribus, scripsit Evangelium, a Petro approbatum, idque Graeco sermone Romanis fatis familiari. Factum id circa ann. 65. Petro et Paulo jam morte sublatis. Cum enim illum epistola secunda ad Timotheum non longe ante martyrium scripta, Romam accersiverat Paulus, probabile est, Marcum vel eodem, vel saltem sequenti anno illuc venisse, ibique Evangelium vel primum condidisse, vel prius conditum in publicum edidisse. Certe *Irenaeus*, l. 3. cap. i. et apud *Eusebium*, l. 5. c. viii. S. Marcum *μετὰ τὴν τρίτων ἔξοδον* Evangelium suum conscripsisse discrete tradit. *Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 24.*

(a) *Mr. Jones's* words are these: "These, with some other reasons, make it evident to me, that *St. Peter* was not at *Rome*, till the year of *Christ* 63. or 64. and consequently, that the Gospel of *St. Mark* was not written before this time, but between that and the martyrdom of this *Apostle* and *St. Paul*, in the year of *Christ* 67. or 68." *New and full Method. Vol. 3. p. 88.*

and 67. or 68. when, according to his computation, *Peter* and *Paul* suffered martyrdom.

ƒ *A. Fabricius* (*b*) was for the year of Christ 63. the ninth of *Nero*.

Mill says, that (*c*). *St. Mark* published his Gospel at *Rome* in the year of Christ 63. after that the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* had been gone from thence, as *Irenaeus* says.

But here I beg leave to observe, that, probably, *Irenaeus* does not speak of these two Apostles removal from *Rome*, but of their decease. Secondly, *Dr. Mill* has no reason to suppose, that *Peter* was at *Rome*, during the time of *Paul's* two years imprisonment there, especially at the period of it. But there is a great deal of reason to think otherwise. For we have several epistles of *St. Paul*, writ near the end of that confinement, in which no notice is taken of *Peter*.

Basnage,

(*b*) *Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. Tom. 3. p. 124. et 131.*

(*c*) Post Pauli ac Petri exsors, seu discessum ab urbe Roma. . . . *Marcus discipulus et interpres Petri, et ipse quae a Petro annuntiata erant, per scripta nobis tradidit.* Inquit *Irenaeus* . . . *Scripsit igitur Marcus Evangelium, juxta Irenaeum, paullo post horum duorum Apostolorum discessum a Roma, qui accidisse videtur anno aerae vulgaris Lxiii.* *Mill. Proleg. num. 101.*

Bafnage (*d*) clofely following *Irenaeus*, fays, *Mark's* Gospel was published in the year 66. after the deceafe of *Peter* and *Paul*: whose martyrdoms, according to him, happened in (*e*) the year 65.

So that it has been of late the opinion of many learned men, of the beft judgement in thefe matters, that *St. Mark's* Gospel was not published, till after the year of *Chrift* 60. I readily affent to them fo far. And as I am difpofed to place the martyrdoms of thefe two great *Apoftles* at *Rome*, in the later part of the year 64. or in 65. it feems to me probable, that *St. Mark's* Gospel was compofed in the year 64. or 65. and made public by him the firft fair opportunity, foon afterwards, before the end of the year 65. That I mention as the lateft date. I do not prefume to fay the time exactly. For it might be finished, and published in the year 64.

I hoped to have had affiftance from *Mr. Wetstein* in this difquifition. But have been
fome-

(*d*) De Marci Evangelio legimus apud Irenaeum . . .
Post vero horum exceffum . . . Quae traditio magis apud nos
valet, quam alia quaelibet de tempore editi a Marco Evan-
gelistae chronologia. *Bafn. ann.* 66. n. vii.

(*e*) *Vid. ann.* 65. num. ix.

somewhat disappointed. In his preface to St. *Mark's* Gospel he concludes from Col. iv. 10. and Philem. ver. 23. that (*f*) St. *Mark* had been with the Apostle *Paul* at *Rome*, in the time of his confinement there: that from thence he went to *Colosse*, and afterwards returned to *Rome*, where he is said to have writ his Gospel. Accordingly, as one would think, St. *Mark's* Gospel could not be published before the year 64. or 65. But in his preface to St. *Luke's* Gospel the same learned writer expresseth himself to this purpose. “According (*g*) to some ecclesiastical writers *Luke* published his Gospel fifteen, according to others two and twenty years after Christ's ascension That he transcribed many things from *Matthew*, and yet more from *Mark*, is manifest.”

But

(*f*) Inde Romam venit, Paulumque captivum invisit. Col. iv. 10. Philem, 23. Inde ad Colossenses abiit, a quibus rogatu Pauli Romam rediit. 2 Tim. iv. 11. ubi Evangelium conscripsisse dicitur. *Wetsten. N. T. Tom. i. p. 551.*

(*g*) Evangelium autem edidit xv, aut secundum alios xxii. post Christi adscensionem annis. . . . Lucam multa ex *Matthæo*, ex *Marco* plura descripsisse, ex collatione patet. *ib. t. 645.*

But if St. *Luke* wrote within two and twenty years after Christ's ascension, and transcribed a great deal from St. *Mark*; St. *Mark's* Gospel must have been first published, and very early. If St. *Mark's* Gospel was not published, till the year 64. and St. *Luke* transcribed from him; St. *Luke* could not write, till a good while after two and twenty years from Christ's ascension. I do not perceive therefore, that Mr. *Wetstein* had any determined opinion concerning the date of these two Gospels. Nor can I, as yet, persuade myself, that any of the Evangelists transcribed each other.

VII. I will now observe some characters of time in the Gospel itself, like those before taken notice of in St. *Matthew*.

*Marks of
Time in the
Gospel it-
self.*

1. From ch. vii. 14 . . 23. it appears, that St. *Mark* fully understood the spirituality of the doctrine of Christ, recommending righteousness and true holiness, without an obligation to Jewish ritual ordinances and appointments.

2. His historie of the *Greek* or *Gentil* woman, in the same chap. vii. 24 . . 30. who besought Jesus to heal her daughter, and obtained her request, deserves notice here.

3. The

3. The call of the Gentils, and the rejection of the Jews, as a People, are intimated in ch. xii. 1 . . 12. in the parable there recorded, of the Householder, who planted a vineyard, and let it out to husbandmen : to whom after a while he sent servants, and then his son, to receive from them the fruit of the vineyard. But they abused the servants, and killed the son. It is added : *What therefore will the lord of the vineyard do? He will destroy the husbandmen, and will let out the vineyard unto others.* And what follows.

4. In ch. xiii. are predictions concerning the destruction of the temple, and the desolations of the Jewish People. And, particularly, at ver. 14 . . 16. are remarkable expressions, intimating the near approach of those calamities, and suited to excite the attention of such as were in danger of being involved in them.

5. In his account of the institution of the eucharist our Lord says : ch. xiv. 24. *This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many :* that is, for all men, not for Jews only, but for Gentils also.

6. In ch. iv. 30 . . 32. is the parable of the *grain of mustard seed, the least of all seeds, which*

which becometh greater than all herbs : representing the swift and wonderful progresse of the gospel in the world. Of which it is very likely, St. *Mark*, at the time of writing, had some knowledge.

7. It is manifest, that he well understood the extent of our Saviour's commission to the twelve Apostles. For he has recorded it in these words, ch. xvi. 15. *Go ye therefore into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature* : or the whole creation, that is, Jews and Gentils, all mankind of every denomination.

8. Yea, it appears from the conclusion of his historie, that before he wrote, the Apostles (at least divers of them,) had left *Judea*, and had preached in many places. ver. 20. *And they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following.*

9. Ch. xvi. 18. *They shall take up serpents.* Some may think, that here is a reference to the historie, which we have in Acts xxviii. 3 . . 6. I do not say, there is. But allowing it, I should not reckon it an objection to the genuinnesse of this part of that chapter. It would only be an argument for the late date of this Gospel. And it has been so understood

derstood by (*b*) some. For my own part, I cannot say, that St. *Mark* has referred to it. But I make no question, that he was acquainted with the event there related, when he wrote his Gospel.

Observations upon this Gospel.

VIII. I shall conclude this chapter with some observations upon St. *Mark's* Gospel.

I. It confirms the accounts given by the ancients, that it is the substance of *Peter's* preaching.

This was taken notice of just now in our recollection. But I choose to enlarge upon it here, and shew, that the Gospel itself affords evidences of it's being writ according to that Apostle's discourses, or according to informations and directions given by him to this Evangelist.

1.) In the first place I would here remind my readers of a long passage of *Eusebius*, the learned

(*b*) Postremo, in ipsis Evangeliiis quaedam exflare videntur criteria, ex quibus ea fero esse conscripta colligi potest. Phrasibus μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, usque ad hunc diem. Mat. xxviii. 15. justum spatium inter Christi resurrectionem et Evangelium exaratum postulare videtur. Ita quae Marcus cap. xvi. 18. de serpentibus a Christi discipulis sine damno tollendis habet, ad Paulum, Romam tendentem, et quod ei in itinere in insula Mileto contigit, respicere videntur. *Herman. Venema Diss. secund. de titulo ep. ad Ephes. Cap. v. num. iv.*

learned Bishop of *Cesarea*, formerly transcribed, of which I take here a very small part only.

Having observed several things very honorable to *Peter*, related in the other Gospels, he adds: "Though (*i*) such things were said to *Peter* by Jesus, *Mark* has taken no notice of them: because, as is probable, *Peter* did not relate them in his sermons. For he did not think fit to bear testimonie to himself by relating what Jesus said to him, or of him. Therefore *Mark* has omitted them. But what concerned his denial of Jesus, he preached to all men, because he wept bitterly. . . . For all things in *Mark* are said to be memoirs of *Peter's* discourses."

2.) And (*k*) *Chrysofom*, reconciling *Matthew's* and *Mark's* accounts of *Peter's* denying Christ, says: "These things *Mark* had from his master. For he was a disciple of *Peter*. And what is very remarkable, though he was a disciple of *Peter*, he relates his fall more particularly, than any of the rest."

(*i*) Vol. viii. p. 86. . . . 88.

(*k*) Vol. x. p. 318.

3.) The (l) same great preacher explaining the historie of our Lord's paying the didrachm or tribute-money to the temple, which is in Matth. xvii. 24. . . 27. and particularly those words : *That take, and give unto them for me and thee*, says, "*Mark*, who was a disciple of "*Peter*, omits this, because it was honorable "*to that Apostle*. But he relates the historie "*of his denial of Christ*. And perhaps his "*master forbid him to insert such things, as* "*tended to aggrandise him.*"

4.) No one has more largely treated this point, than Mr. *Jones*, who has (m) a catalogue of several places in the Gospels, containing things tending to *Peter's* honour, which are not mentioned in *St. Mark's* Gospel.

(1.) The account of Christ's pronouncing *Peter* blessed, when he had confessed him : Christ's declaring, that he had his faith and knowledge from God : the promise of the keys, and of that large power, which is made to him : are omitted by *St. Mark*, though the former and the succeeding parts of this discourse are both told by him. See *Matt.* xvi. 16. . . 20. compared with *Mark* viii. 29. 30.

(2.) The

(l) P. 319.

(m) See new and full Method. Part 3. p. 79. . . 81.

(2.) The relation of *St. Peter's* being commissioned by Christ to work the miracle, by getting money out of the fish's mouth, to pay the tribute-money, is told by *St. Matthew*. ch. xvii. 24. . . 28. but omitted by *St. Mark*: though the preceding and subsequent stories are the very same as in *St. Matthew*. See *Mark* ix. 30. . . 33.

(3.) Christ's particular expressions of love and favour to *St. Peter*, in telling him of his danger, and that he prayed particularly for him, that his faith might not fail, is omitted by *St. Mark*, but related *Luke* xxii. 31. 32.

(4.) *St. Peter's* remarkable humility above the rest of the Apostles expressed in an unwillingness, that Christ should wash his feet, which none of the rest did express, with Christ's particular discourse to him. *John* xiii. 6. &c. is omitted by *Mark*.

(5.) The instance of *St. Peter's* very great zeal for Christ, when he was taken, in cutting off the High-Priest's servant's ear. *John* xviii. 10. is not mentioned by *Mark* in particular, but only told in general, of a certain person that stood by. *Mark* xiv. 47.

(6.) *St. Peter's* faith in casting himself into

the sea, to go to Christ. John xxi. 7. is not mentioned by St. *Mark*. (A)

(7.) Christ's discourse with Peter concerning his love to him, and his particular repeated charge to him, to feed his sheep. John xxi. 15. is omitted by St. *Mark*.

(8.) Our Saviour's predicting to *Peter* his martyrdom, and the manner of it. John xxi. 18. 19. is not related by St. *Mark*.

“ These, adds that diligent author, are some instances of things, tending to St. *Peter*'s honour, recorded by the other Evangelists, none of which are so much as hinted by St. *Mark*. . . . All which cannot be accounted for any way more probable, than supposing, that this Apostle did not publish those circumstances, which were so much to his honour.”

Indeed, I think, they do confirm the accounts given of this Gospel by the ancients. For these omissions cannot be so well ascribed to any thing, as to St. *Peter*'s modestie and reservedness, who had not mentioned such things in his preaching, and discouraged the putting them down in writing : insomuch, that

(A) There is a like thing, and more extraordinarie, related by *Matthew* only. ch. xiv. 28. . . 31. I do not know, why Mr. *Jones* omitted it.

that as *Tertullian* says, the (*n*) Gospel published by *Mark*, may be said to be *Peter's*.

5.) Nevertheless I must acknowledge, that there are some things in *St. Mark's* Gospel honorable to *Peter*, which are not in any other. I shall mention two or three.

Says *St. Mark* ch. i. 36. *And Simon, and they that were with him, followed after him.* If thereby be intended the whole companie of the Apostles, that way of describing them is very honorable to *Peter*. But some may suppose, none to be intended, beside those mentioned ver. 29. If so, it resembles *Luke* ix. 32. *But Peter, and they that were with him*: meaning *John* and *James*, and referring to ver. 28.

In *Mark* xiv. 3. *Peter* is mentioned, as one of the four Apostles, to whom our Lord addressed himself, when he foretold the destruction of the temple, and the calamities attending it. Which is a passage peculiar to *St. Mark*.

And *Ch. xvi. 7.* The message, which the angels sent to the disciples by the women at the sepulchre, is thus expressed: *But go your way. Tell his disciples, and Peter, that he goes before you into Galilee.* *Peter* is not men-

O 3

tioned,

(*n*) See *Vol. ii. p. 581.*

tioned, upon this occasion, by *Matthew* xxviii. 7. nor by any other of the Evangelists.

Upon this text *Whitby* says very well :
 “ *Peter* is here named, not as Prince of the
 “ Apostles, but, as the Fathers say, for his
 “ consolation, and to take off the scruple,
 “ which might be upon his spirit : whether
 “ by his threefold denial of his master, he
 “ had not forfeited his right to be one of
 “ Christ’s disciples.”

I now proceed to another observation.

2. *St. Mark’s* Gospel, as is evident to all, is the shortest of the four. *Jerome*, as before cited, says, *Mark* (o) wrote a short Gospel. And *Chrysofom* observed, that (p) *Mark* had the conciseness of *Peter*, following his master.

3. Nevertheless there are in *St. Mark* many things peculiar to himself, not mentioned by any other Evangelist.

I shall here put down several such things, and not those, which are omitted by *Matthew* only, but such things, as are in *Mark*, and in no other of the Evangelists.

1.) In the account of our Saviour’s temptation in the wilderness, *St. Mark* says, ch. i. 13. *and was with the wild beasts* : not mentioned

(o) See here. p. 175.

(p) See Volume x. p. 322.

tioned by any other Evangelist, and yet very proper to shew the hardships, which our Lord underwent at that season.

2.) Ch. i. 20. In the account of the call of *James and John*, the sons of *Zebedee*, he says, *they left their father in the ship, with the hired servants.* A circumstance not mentioned by any other.

3.) Ch. i. 29. *And forthwith, when they were come out of the synagogue, they entred into the house of Simon, and Andrew, with James and John.* In *Matt. viii. 14.* it is only, *come into Peter's house.* In *Luke iv. 38.* *and entred into Simon's house.*

4.) Ch. i. 33. *And all the city was gathered together at the door.* Not in any other Evangelist. Compare *Matt. viii. 16.* *Luke iv. 40. 41.*

5.) Ch. i. 35. *And in the morning rising up a great while before day, he went out, and departed into a solitarie place, and there prayed.* 36. *And Simon, and they that were with him, followed after him.* 37. *And when they had found him, they said unto him: All men seek thee.* This is not at all in *Matthew*, and is here much fuller, and with more particulars, than in *Luke iv. 42.*

6.) Ch. i. 45. Of the leper, cured by our Saviour, he says : *But he went out, and began to publish it much, and to blaze abroad the matter.* Not particularly mentioned by the other Evangelists. Compare Matth. viii. 4. Luke v. 14. 15.

7.) In the cure of the paralytic. ch. ii. 2. *And straitway many were gathered together, insomuch that there was no room to receive them, not so much as about the door.* 3. *And they come unto him, bringing one sick of the palse, which was born of four.* 4. *And ——— they uncovered the roof. . .* No other Evangelist has so particularly described the croud. In *Mark* only is it said, that this sick man was *born of four*. He likewise more particularly describes the uncovering the roof. Compare Matt. ix. 1. 2. Luke v. 18. 19.

8.) In the historie of the man with a *withered hand*, cured in the synagogue, on a sabbath. ch. iii. 5. *And when he had looked round about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardnesse of their hearts, he saith unto the man : Stretch forth thy hand.* Not so full in any other Evangelist. Compare Matt. xii. 9. . . 13. Luke vi. 6. . . 11.

9.) Ch. iii. ver. 6. *And the Pharisees went forth, and straitway took counsel with the Herodians*

rodians against him. Matt. xii. 14. mentions *Pharisees* only. Luke vi. 11. mentions no persons by name.

10.) Ch. iii. 17. *And James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of James. And he named them Boanerges.* Not in any other Evangelist.

11.) Ch. iii. 19. . . *And they went into the house.* 20. *And the multitude cometh together again, so that they could not so much as eat bread.* 21. *And when his friends heard of it, they went out to lay hold of him. For they said: He is beside himself.* Whether that expression *he is beside himself*, is to be understood of Christ, or of the multitude, this passage is peculiar to St. Mark.

12.) Ch. iv. 26. *And he said: So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast his seed into the ground,* 27. *and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how.* 28. *For the earth bringeth forth fruit of itself, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear.* 29. *But when the fruit is ripe, immediatly he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come.* This parable is peculiar to St. Mark. See *Whitby* upon the place, and likewise (q) *Grotius*.

13.)

(q) Haec parabola, aliis omiffa, cum suam hic explicationem

13.) After the parable of the grain of mustard-seed, beside other things common to him and *Matthew*, he adds. ch. iv. 24. *And when they were alone, he expounded all things to his disciples.* Compare *Matt.* xiii. 31. . . 34. This particular leads us mightily, to think, that either *Mark* was an eye-witnesse, or had the best and fullest information of things.

14.) *Mark* iv. 36. *And when they had sent away the multitude, they took him even as he was in the ship.* This circumstance, peculiar to *St. Mark*, enables us to account for our Lord's fast sleep in his passage to the countrey of the *Gadarens*. We perceive from *St. Mark*, that this voyage was undertaken in the evening, after the fatigue of long discourses in public, and without any refreshment. Our Lord's sleep in the midst of a storm is mentioned by all three Evangelists. *Matt.* viii. 24. . . 26. *Mark* iv. 37. 38. *Luke* viii. 23. 24. But this Evangelist alone leads us to discern the occasion of it.

15.) Farther, in the same ver. 36. of ch. iv. *And there were also with him several other little ships.* A particular, peculiar to *St. Mark*.

16.) Ch.

nem non habeat, explicari debet ex simili comparatione, quae est apud *Matth.* xiii. 24. *Grot. ad Marc.* iv. 26.

16.) And in the account of this voyage cross the sea, he says ver. 38. that our Lord was *in the hinder part of the ship, asleep on a pillow*: two circumstances, wanting in the other Evangelists.

17.) Certainly, these, and other things, are sufficient to assure us, that either *Mark* was an eye-witnesse: or, that he wrote things, as related to him by an eye-witnesse, even *Peter* himself, as all the ancients say.

18.) In *Matt.* viii. 28. . . 34. *Mark* v. 1. . . 19. *Luke* viii. 26. . . 39. are the several accounts of our Lord's healing the demoniac, or demoniacs, in the countrey of the *Gadarens*. For *Matthew* speaks of two, *Mark* and *Luke* of one only. In *St. Mark's* historie are divers things, not in the other Gospels. In him alone it is said, that *the man was always night and day in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones*. And he only mentions the number of swine, that perished in the sea, saying, *they were about two thousand*.

19.) All the first three Evangelists have given a historie of our Lord's raising the daughter of *Jairus*, and healing the woman with an issue of blood, both in connexion. *Matt.* ix. 18. . . 26. *Mark* v. 22. . . 43.
Luke

Luke viii. 41. . . 56. St. *Mark* has several things, which are in neither of the other. Of the woman he says ver. 26. *she had suffered much of many Physicians . . . and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse.* At ver. 29. *And she felt in her body, that she was healed of that plague.* At ver. 41. he inserts the very words, which Jesus spake, when he raised the daughter of *Jairus*: *Talitha Kumi.* I have omitted some other things, peculiar to St. *Mark* in the account of these two miracles.

20.) Ch. vi. 13. In the account of the commission given to the twelve by Christ in his life-time, he says: *they anointed many with oyl, and healed them.* Which is mentioned by no other Evangelist, as was observed of old by (r) *Victor.*

21.) Mark vii. 2. 3. 4. What is there said of the Jews washing themselves, when they come from the market, before they eat: and of their *cleansing cups, pots, brasen vessels, and tables,* is peculiar to St. *Mark.* Comp. Matt. xv. 1. 2.

22.) Ch. vii. 21. 22. Are the things, that defile men. St. Matthew, ch. xv. 19. mentions seven things only. St. *Mark* has thirteen.

(r) See Vol. xi. p. 34.

teen. And two of them, *an evil eye*, and *foolishness*, are very singular.

23.) Ch. vii. 31. . . 37. Our Lord bestows hearing and speech upon a deaf and dumb man.

24.) Ch. viii. 22. . . 26. Our Lord cures a blind man at *Bethsaida*.

These two miracles are peculiar to St. *Mark*, being related by no other Evangelist.

25.) Ch. x. 46. . . 52. is the account of the miracle on the blind man near *Jericho*. St. *Mark*, ver. 46. calls him blind *Bartimeus*, *son of Timaeus*. Not mentioned by the other Evangelists. See *Matt.* xx. 29. . . 34. *Luke* xviii. 35. . . 43. And at ver. 50. *he casting away his garment, rose, and came to Jesus*. A circumstance peculiar to St. *Mark*. Which shews his exact knowledge of the historie, as did likewise his calling the man by his name.

26.) Ch. xi. 13. *For the time of figs was not yet* : that is, the time of gathering was not yet come. A most useful observation peculiar to this Evangelist, shewing, that as there were leaves, it was reasonable to expect fruit on this fig-tree, if it was not barren. Upon this text might be consulted (*s*) *Bishop Kidder*, and (*t*) *Mr. Hallet*.

27.) Ch.

(*r*) *Demonstration of the Messiah. Part 2. ch. ii. p. 38. 39.*

(*t*) *Notes and Discourses. Vol. 2. p. 114. . . 125.*

27.) Ch. xiii. 3. 4. *And as he sat upon the mount of Olives, over against the temple, Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, asked him privately . . . When shall these things be?* No other Evangelist has mentioned the names of the disciples, who put this question to our Saviour. Comp. Matt. xxiv. 1. . . 3. Luke xxi. 5.

28.) In Mark xii. 41. . . 44. and Luke xxi. 1. . . 4. is the account of the people casting their gifts into the chests of the treasury, in the temple. St. Mark says: *And Jesus sat over against the treasury.* In which expression there is great propriety. And he alone mentions the value of the poor widow's two mites, saying: *Which make a farthing.*

29.) Ch. xiv. 51. *And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body. And the young men [the guards] laid hold on him. 52. And he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked.* A particular, in no other Evangelist, yet very fitly taken notice of, as intimating the usual noise and disturbance, when a man is taken up in the night-time, as a malefactor, and is carried before a magistrate. By (u) the

(u) Non de Apostolorum grege . . . sed ex villa aliqua horto proxima,

the noise of the people passing along that young person was excited to come hastily out of the house, where he was, to inquire, what was the matter. Mr. *Le Clerc*, in his French Testament, has an useful note upon this place. He observes the natural simplicity of the Evangelists narration. Which, as he justly says, confirms the truth of their historie.

30.) Ch. xv. 21. *And they compell one Simon, a Cyrenian, who passed by, coming out of the countrey, the father of Alexander and Rufus, to bear his crosse.* That particular, *the father of Alexander and Rufus*, is in no other Evangelist. Comp. Matt. xxvii. 32. and Luke xxiii. 26.

31.) Ch. xvi. 3. 4. *And they said among themselves : Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre. For it was very great.* In no other Evangelist.

32.) Ch. xvi. 7. *But go your way. Tell his disciples, and Peter, that he goes before you into Galilee.* The mention of *Peter* is peculiar to St. Mark. For in Matt. xxviii. 7. it is : *Go quickly, and tell his disciples.* St. Luke has not recorded that message.

33.) I

proxima, strepitu militum excitatus, et subito accurrens, ut conspiceret, quid ageretur. *Grot. ad Marc. xi. 51.*

33.) I add nothing more of this kind. I have omitted many things, which are in this Gospel, and no other, being apprehensive, that if I enlarged farther, I should be charged with prolixity.

34.) The particulars that have been alleged, are sufficient to assure us, that St. *Mark* is not an epitomiser of another author : and that he was well acquainted with the things, of which he undertook to write a historie. He writes as an eye-witnesse, or as one, who had full and authentic information at the first hand. In a word, St. *Mark's* Gospel, though short, is a very valuable, and masterly performance.

4. It may be proper for me to add one thing more : That I suppose the twelve verses at the end of the sixteenth chapter to be a genuine part of this Gospel. If any doubt of it, I would refer them for their satisfaction to Dr. *Mill*, and to the observations of *Grotius* at the beginning of that chapter, and to *Beza* upon the ninth verse. And for explaining those twelve verses, and reconciling them with the other Evangelists, I refer to *Grotius*, and other Commentators.



C H A P. VIII.

St. Luke, Evangelist.

- I. *His Historie from the N. T.* II. *Testimonies of ancient Christian Writers to St. Luke, and his two Books, his Gospel, and the Acts.* III. *Remarks upon those Testimonies.* IV. *The Time of writing his Gospel and the Acts.* V. *Internal Characters of Time in the Gospel.* VI. *The Place, where it was writ.* VII. *A general recollection of St. Luke's Character.* VIII. *Observations upon his Gospel.* IX. *Observations upon the Book of the Acts.*

I. * * * * * H E first time that we find any *His Historie*
 * * * * * T * * * * * mention of St. *Luke* in the books *from the*
 * * * * * of the New Testament is in *N. T.*
 his (A) own historie. Acts xvi. 10. 11.
 Whereby

(A) From some words in the *Cambridge* manuscript Bp.
 Vol. I. * P *Pearson*

Whereby it appears, that he was in *Paul's* companie at *Troas*, before the Apostle took ship-

Pearson has argued, that *Luke* was in *Paul's* companie from the year 43. Dein paragrati [Paulus] Phrygiam et Galatiam, et per Mysiam venit Troadem, ubi se illi comitem adjunxisse indicat Lucas xvi. 10. Qui antea etiam Antiochiae cum Paulo fuit, et jam eum Troade affecutus est: ut colligere licet ex Act. xi. 23. ubi Codex Cantabr. habet, συνεσπαρμένων δὲ ἡμῶν. Ab anno igitur 43. per octennium discipulus fuerat Antiochiae. *Annal. Paulin. p. 10.* But it is not safe to rely upon one manuscript only, different from all others, and of no great authority. As Mr. *Tillemont* took notice of this observation of *Pearson*, I transcribe his thoughts about it. Selon le manuscrit de Cambridge S. Luc dit qu'il estoit avec S. Paul à Antioche, dès l'an 43. ce que *Pearson* a receu. Mais il ne feroit pas feur de fier à un manuscrit different de tous les autres. Et quand cela se pourroit en quelques occasions, ce ne feroit pas à l'égard du manuscrit de Cambridge, qui est plein d'additions et alterations contraires au veritable texte de S. Luc. *Mem. Ec. T. 2. S. Luc. note iii.* Some may argue from these words, that *Luke* was a Gentil, converted by *Paul* at *Antioch*. And others might argue, that he is the same as *Lucius*, mentioned Acts xiii. 1. But I should think it best for neither side to form an argument from this reading. Mr. *Wetstein* has referred us to a place of St. *Augustin*, where this text is quoted very agreeably to the *Cambridge* manuscript. In illis autem diebus descenderunt ab Hierosolymis Prophetae Antiochiam. Congregatis autem nobis, surgens unus ex illis, nomine Agabus. &c. *De Serm. Dom. l. 2. c. 17.* But it is observable, that *Irenaeus l. 3. c. 14. init.* a more ancient writer, enumerating St. *Luke's* journeys in St. *Paul's* companie, begins at *Troas*. Acts xvi. 8. . . . 10. I presume, it must be best to rely upon him, and the general consent of all manuscripts, except one, in the common reading.

shipping to go into *Macedonia*: in which voyage St. *Luke* was one of the companie. ver. 8. *And they passing by Mysia, came to Troas.* 9. *And a vision appeared to Paul in the night. There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying: Come over into Macedonia, and help us.* 10. *And when he had seen the vision, immediatly we endeavored to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering, that the Lord had called us to preach the gospel to them.* 11. *Therefore loosing from Troas, we came with a strait course to Samothracia.*

In that journey St. *Paul* went from *Samothracia* to *Neapolis*, and thence to *Philippi*. 11. . . 17. So far St. *Luke* speaks in the first person plural. But having finished his account of the transactions at *Philippi*, which reaches to ver. 40. the last of that chapter: at the beginning of the next ch. xvii. 1. he (B) changeth the person, and says: *Now when they had passed through Amphipolis, and Apollonia,*

(B) Nevertheless it is supposed by many, that *Luke* continued with *Paul*. *Irenaeus* calls him *Paul's* inseparable companion, after his coming to be with the *Apostle* at *Troas*. *Adv. H. l. 3. c. 14.* So likewise *Cave*. *Cujus perinde sectator erat, et omnis peregrinationis comes. H. L. T. i. p. 25. See also Tillam. St. Luc. Mem. Et. T. 2.*

lonia, they came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews.

Nor does he any more expressly speak of himself, untill *Paul* was a second time in *Greece*, and was setting out for *Jerusalem* with the collections, which had been made for the poor saints in *Judea*, Acts xx. 1. . . 6. *And after the uproar [at Ephesus,] was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and there abode three months. And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia. And there accompanied him into Asia Sopater, of Berea. . . These going before, tarried for us at Troas. And we sailed away from Philippi . . . and came unto them at Troas in five days, where we abode seven days. So that Luke accompanied Paul, at that time, from Greece through Macedonia to Philippi, and also went with him from thence to Troas.*

And it appears from the sequel of the historie in the Acts, that *Luke* was one of those, who accompanied the Apostle to *Jerusalem*, and staid with him there. And when the

Apostle

Apostle was sent a prisoner from *Cesarea* to *Rome*, he was in the same ship with him, and staid with him at *Rome* during the whole time of his two years imprisonment there, with which the historie of the Acts concludes.

From St. *Paul's* epistles writ at *Rome*, in the time of that confinement, we have proofs of *Luke's* being with him. He is mentioned as with the Apostle. 2 Tim. iv. 11. an epistle writ, as I suppose, in the summer, after the Apostle's arrival there. In Philem. ver. 24. he is one of those, who send salutations to *Philemon*, and is mentioned by the Apostle, as one of his fellow-laborers. And, if *Luke the beloved Physician*, mentioned Col. iv. 14. be the Evangelist, that is another proof of his being then with the Apostle.

St. *Luke* is also supposed by some to be *the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the churches*. 2 Cor. viii. 18. But that is not certain.

As I think, that all St. *Paul's* epistles, which we have, were writ, before he left *Rome* and *Italie*, when he had been sent thither by *Festus*; I must be of opinion, that the New Testament affords us not any materials for the historie of St. *Luke*, lower than his own book

of the Acts, which brings us down to the end of that period.

From ancient authors.

II. I now therefore proceed without farther delay, to observe what light may be obtained from ancient Christian writers. And as St. *Luke's* two books, his Gospel and the Acts, were all along universally received ; I intend here, for avoiding prolixity, to allege, chiefly, such passages only, as contain something, relating to the historie and character of St. *Luke*, or the time of writing his two above-named works.

Irenaeus, as before quoted : “ And (a) “ *Luke*, the companion of *Paul*, put down “ in a book the Gospel preached by him.” And the coherence seems to imply, that this was done after the writing of St. *Mark's* Gospel, and after the death of *Peter* and *Paul*. In a passage formerly cited (b) at length, *Irenaeus* shews from the Acts, as we did just now, that *Luke* attended *Paul* in several of his journeys and voyages, and was his fellow-laborer in the gospel. He likewise says : “ that (c) *Luke* was not only a companion, but “ also a fellow-laborer of the Apostles, especially of *Paul*.” Again, he calls him “ a

(a) *Vol. i. p. 354.*

(b) *P. 361. . . 363.*

(c) *P. 363.*

“ a (*d*) disciple and follower of the Apostles.”
 “ The (*e*) Apostles, he says, envying none
 “ plainly delivered to all the things which
 “ they had learned from the Lord. So like-
 “ wise *Luke*, envying no man, has delivered
 “ to us what he learned from them, as he
 “ says : *Even as they delivered them unto us,*
 “ *who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and*
 “ *ministers of the word.*”

By all which it seems, that *Irenaeus* reckon-
 ed *Luke* to have been a disciple of the Apo-
 stles, not a hearer of Jesus Christ himself.

Clement of Alexandria has bore a large tes-
 timonie to this Gospel, and the Acts, as well
 as to the other books of the New Testament.
 And as we learn from *Eusebe*, “ in (*f*) his
 “ Institutions, he mentions a tradition con-
 “ cerning the order of the Gospels, which he
 “ had received from Presbyters of more an-
 “ cient times, and which is to this purpose.
 “ He says, that the Gospels containing the ge-
 P 4 nealogies

(*d*) P. 361.

(*e*) Sic Apostoli simpliciter nemini invidentes quae didice-
 rant ipsi a Domino haec omnibus tradebant. Sic igitur et
 Lucas nemini invidens, ea quae ab eis didicerat, tradidit
 nobis, sicut ipse testatur dicens : Quemadmodum tradiderunt
 nobis qui ab initio contemplatores et ministri fuerant verbi,
Adv. H. l. 3. cap. 14. n. 2.

(*f*) Vol. ii. p. 475.

“ nealogies were writ first :” According to that tradition therefore St. *Matthew*’s and St. *Luke*’s Gospels were writ before St. *Mark*’s. Which, according to the same *Clement*, and the tradition received by him, was writ at *Rome*, at the request of St. *Peter*’s hearers, or the Christians in that city.

Tertullian (g) speaks of *Matthew* and *John*, as disciples of Christ, of *Mark* and *Luke*, as disciples of Apostles. Therefore, I think, he did not reckon these to have been of the seventy, or hearers of Christ. However, he ascribes a like authority to these, and says : “ that (b) the Gospel, which *Mark* published, may be said to be *Peter*’s, whose interpreter *Mark* was. For *Luke*’s Digest also is often ascribed to *Paul*. And indeed it is easie to take that for the masters, which the disciples published.” Again : “ more-over (i) *Luke* was not an Apostle, but apostolical : not a master, but a disciple : certainly less than his master, certainly so much later, as he is a follower of *Paul*, the last of the Apostles.” This likewise shews *Tertullian*’s notion of St. *Luke*’s character.

Origen

(g) *Vol. ii. p. 587. 588.*

(b) *P. 581.*

(i) *P. 587.*

Origen mentions the Gospels in the order now generally received. “The (*k*) third, “says he, is that according to *Luke*, the Gospel commended by *Paul*, published for the “sake of the Gentil converts.” In his Commentarie upon the epistle to the *Romans*, which we now have in a *Latin* version only, he says, upon ch. xvi. 21. “Some (*l*) say, “*Lucius* is *Lucas* the Evangelist, as indeed it “is not uncommon to write names some- “times according to the original form, some- “times according to the Greek or Roman “termination.” *Lucius*, mentioned in that text of the epistle to the *Romans*, must have been a Jew. Nevertheless, as *Origen* assures us, some thought him to be *Luke* the Evangelist. The same observation we saw in (*m*) *Sedulius*, who wrote a Commentarie upon St. *Paul*’s epistles, collected out of *Origen*, and others.

Eusebius of *Cesarea*, as transcribed formerly, speaking of St. *Paul*’s fellow-laborers, says :

(*k*) *Vol. iii. p. 235.*

(*l*) Sed et Lucium quidam perhibent esse Lucam Evangelistam, qui Evangelium scripsit, pro eo quod soleant nomina interdum secundum patriam declinationem, interdum Graecam Romanamque proferri. *In Rom. T. 2. p. 632. Basil. 1571.*

(*m*) *Vol. xi. p. 182.*

says : “ And (n) *Luke*, who was of *Antioch*,
 “ and by profession a Physician, for the most
 “ part a companion of *Paul*, who had like-
 “ wise more than a slight acquaintance with
 “ the rest of the Apostles, has left us in two
 “ books, divinely inspired, evidences of the
 “ art of healing souls, which he had learned
 “ from them. One of these is the Gospel,
 “ which he professeth to have writ, as *they*
 “ delivered it to him, who from the beginning
 “ were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word :
 “ with all whom, he says likewise, he had
 “ been perfectly acquainted from the very first.
 “ The other is the Acts of the Apostles,
 “ which he composed now, not from what
 “ he had received by the report of others,
 “ but from what he had seen with his own
 “ eyes.”

And in another place, cited (o) also for-
 merly, he observes, “ that (p) *Luke* had de-
 “ livered in his Gospel a certain account of
 “ such things, as he had been well assured of
 “ by his intimate acquaintance and familiarity
 “ with

(n) Vol. viii. p. 103. 104.

(o) P. 95.

(p) . . . Τὸν ἀσφαλῆ λόγον ἐν αὐτῷς ἰκανῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν
 κατελίθει, ἐκ τῆς ὄρα πάυλοφ συνουσίας τε καὶ διατριβῆς, καὶ
 τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλίας ἀφελήμενος, διὰ τῶ ἰδίῳ
 παρέδωκεν εὐαγγέλιον. H. E. l. 3. c. 24. p. 96. c.

“ with *Paul*, and his conversation with the
“ other Apostles.”

From all which, I think, it appears, that *Eusebe* did not take *Luke* for a disciple of Christ, but of Apostles only.

In the Synopsis ascribed to *Athanasius* it is said, “ that (*q*) the Gospel of *Luke* was dic-
“ tated by the Apostle *Paul*, and writ and
“ published by the blessed Apostle and Phy-
“ sician *Luke*.”

The author of the Dialogue against the *Marcionites* says, “ that (*r*) *Mark* and *Luke*
were disciples of Christ, and of the number
of the Seventy.”

Epiphanius (*s*) speaks to the like purpose.

Gregorie Naziansen says, “ that (*t*) *Luke*
wrote for the Greeks,” or in *Achaia*.

Gregorie Nyssen says, “ that (*u*) *Luke* was
as much a Physician for the soul, as for the
body :” taking him to be the same, that is
mentioned Col. iv. 14.

In the catalogue of *Ebedjesu* it is said,
“ that (*x*) *Luke* taught and wrote at *Alex-*
“ *andria*, in the Greek language.”

The

(*q*) Vol. viii. p. 250.

(*r*) P. 255.

(*s*) P. 306.

(*t*) Vol. ix. p. 133.

(*u*) P. 156.

(*x*) P. 217.

The Author of the Commentarie upon St. *Paul's* thirteen epistles seems to have doubted, whether (y) the Evangelist *Luke* be the person intended Col. iv. 14.

Jerome agrees very much with *Eusebe*, already transcribed. Nevertheless I shall put down here somewhat largely what he says.

“ *Luke* (z) a Physician of *Antioch*, not un-
 “ skilfull in the *Greek* language, a disciple of
 “ the Apostle *Paul*, and the constant compa-
 “ nion of his travels, wrote a Gospel,—and
 “ another excellent volume, entitled the Acts
 “ of the Apostles. . . . It is supposed, that *Luke*
 “ did not learn his Gospel from the Apostle
 “ *Paul* only, who had not conversed with the
 “ Lord in the flesh, but also from other A-
 “ postles. Which likewise he owns at the
 “ begining of his volume, saying: *Even as*
 “ *they delivered them unto us, who from the*
 “ *begining were eye-witnesses and ministers of*
 “ *the word.* Therefore he wrote the Gospel
 “ from the information of others. But the
 “ Acts he composed from his own know-
 “ ledge.”

So writes *Jerome* in his book of *Illustrious Men*.

In

(y) *Vol. ix. p. 367. 368.*

(z) *Vol. x. p. 94. . . 96.*

In the prologue to his Commentarie upon St. *Matthew* he says: "The (a) third Evangelist is *Luke*, the Physician, a *Syrian* of *Antioch*, who was a disciple of the Apostle *Paul*, and published his Gospel in the countries of *Achaia* and *Baeotia*."

He observes elsewhere, "that (b) some said, *Luke* had been a profelyte to Judaism, before his conversion to Christianity." He speaks of St. *Luke* in many other places, which I need not now take notice of.

Augustin says, "that (c) two of the Evangelists, *Matthew* and *John*, were Apostles. . . *Mark* and *Luke* disciples of Apostles."

Chrysofom in the Synopsis, probably his, says: "Two (d) of the Gospels were written by *John* and *Matthew*, Christ's disciples, the other two by *Luke* and *Mark*, of whom one was disciple of *Peter*, the other of *Paul*. The former conversed with Christ, and were eye-witnesses of what they wrote. The other two wrote what they had received from eye-witnesses." And to the like purpose in (e) his first homilie upon St. *Matthew*. Again, he says: "*Luke* (f) had
" the

(a) P. 83. 84.

(b) P. 97.

(c) P. 227. 228.

(d) P. 312.

(e) P. 314. . . 316. And see p. 325.

(f) P. 322.

“ the fluence of *Paul*, *Mark* the concise-
 “ nesse of *Peter*, both learning of their mas-
 “ ters.” And upon Col. iv. 14. he says :
 This (g) is the Evangelist.

Upon Col. iv. 14. *Theodoret* says, “ this (b)
 person wrote the divine Gospel, and the his-
 torie of the Acts.” He says the same upon
 (l) 2 Tim. iv. 11.

Paulinus (m) celebrates *Luke*, as having
 been first a Physician of the body, then of
 the soul.

Here I would refer to the Author of *Quaef-
 tiones et Responfiones*, probably writ in the
 fifth centurie, who (n) reckons both the E-
 vangelists, writers of the genealogies, that is,
Matthew and *Luke*, to have been *Hebrews*.

According to *Euthalius* (o) *Luke* was a dis-
 ciple of *Paul*, and a Physician of *Antioch*.

Isidore of *Seville*, says : “ of (p) the four
 “ Evangelists, the first and last relate what
 “ they had heard Christ say, or had seen him
 “ perform. The other two, placed between
 “ them, relate those things, which they had
 “ learned from Apostles. *Matthew* wrote
 “ his

(g) Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ εὐαγγελιστής. In *Col. hom.* 12. T. xi. p. 412.

(b) See Vol. xi. note (d). (l) In 2 Tim. T. 3. p. 505.

(m) Vol. xi. p. 44. (n) See Vol. i. p. 263.

(o) Vol. xi. p. 211. (p) P. 367.

“ his Gospel first in *Judea*. Then *Mark* in
 “ *Italic*, *Luke*, the third, in *Achaia*, *John*,
 “ the last, in *Asia*.” In another place he
 says: “ Of (*q*) all the Evangelists *Luke*, the
 “ third in order, is reckoned to have been the
 “ most skilfull in the Greek tongue. For he
 “ was a Physician, and wrote his Gospel in
 “ *Greece*.”

In *Theophylact* are these things. In his
 preface to St. *Matthew*'s Gospel he says,
 “ that (*r*) there are four Evangelists, two of
 “ which, *Matthew* and *John*, were of the
 “ choir of the twelve Apostles: the other
 “ two, *Mark* and *Luke*, were of the number
 “ of the Seventy. *Mark* was a disciple and
 “ companion of *Peter*, *Luke* of *Paul*. . . .
 “ *Luke* wrote fifteen years after Christ's as-
 “ cension.” In the preface to his Commen-
 tarie upon St. *Luke* he says, “ that (*s*) from
 “ that introduction it appears, *Luke* was not
 “ from the begining a disciple, but only af-
 “ terwards. For others were disciples from
 “ the begining, as *Peter*, and the sons of *Ze-*
 “ *bedee*, who delivered to him the things
 “ which they had seen or heard.” Upon
 which some remarks were made by us in the
 place referred to. In his comment upon
 the

(*q*) P. 372.(*r*) P. 419, 420.(*s*) P. 422.

the historie of the two disciples, whom Jesus met in the way to *Emmaus*, one of whom is said to be *Cleophas*. Luke xxiv. 18. *Theophylact* says : “ Some (*t*) have thought the
 “ other to be *Luke* the Evangelist, who out
 “ of modestie declined to mention himself.”
 In his preface to the Acts *Theophylact* says :
 “ The (*u*) writer is *Luke*, native of *Antioch*,
 “ by profession a Physician.”

Euthymius says : “ *Luke* (*x*) was a native
 “ of *Antioch*, and a Physician. He was a
 “ hearer of Christ, and, as some say, one of
 “ his seventy disciples, as well as *Mark*.
 “ He was afterwards very intimate with
 “ *Paul*. He wrote his Gospel, with *Paul*'s
 “ permission, fifteen years after our Lord's
 “ ascension.”

So *Euthymius*. But I should think, that very few, who supposed *Luke* to have been a native of *Antioch*, could likewise reckon him a hearer of Jesus Christ. But *Euthymius*, as it seems, puts together every thing he had heard or read, without judgement or discrimination.

What *Nicephorus Callisti* says, is, briefly, to this purpose. “ Two (*y*) only of the
 “ Twelve,

“ Twelve, *Matthew* and *John* left memoirs
 “ of our Lord’s life on earth : and two of
 “ the Seventy, *Mark* and *Luke* . . *Matthew*
 “ wrote about fifteen years after our Savi-
 “ our’s ascension. Long after that *Mark*
 “ and *Luke* published their Gospels by the
 “ direction of *Peter* and *Paul*. The same
 “ *Luke* composed also the book of the Acts
 “ of the Apostles.”

To these authors I now add *Eutychius*, Pa-
 triarch of *Alexandria*, in the tenth centurie,
 who says : “ In (z) the time of the same Em-
 “ perour, (that is, *Nero*,) *Luke* wrote his Gos-
 “ pel in Greek to a noble and wise man of
 “ the *Romans*, whose name was *Theophilus* :
 “ to whom also he wrote the Acts, or the
 “ historie of the Disciples. The Evangelist
 “ *Luke* was a companion of the Apostle
 “ *Paul*, going with him where-ever he went.
 “ For which reason the Apostle *Paul* in one

(z) Etiam tempore hujus Imperatoris scripsit Lucas Evan-
 gelium suum Graece, ad virum nobilem ex sapientibus Ro-
 manis, cui nomen Theophilus, ad quem item scripsit Acta
 feu Discipulorum historiam. Erat autem Lucas Evangelista
 comes Pauli Apostoli, quocumque per aliquod tempus mansit.
 Unde est, quod Paulus Apostolus in quadam epistola sua dicit,
 Lucas Medicus vos salutat. *Eutych. Annal. p. 335. 336.*

“ of his epistles says : *Luke, the Physician,*
 “ *salutes you.*”

Remarks.

III. Having thus recited the testimonies of all these writers concerning the Evangelist *Luke*, I shall now make some remarks.

I. We hence perceive, that the notion, that *St. Luke* was a Painter, is without foundation, no notice having been taken of it in these ancient writers. Indeed this is said by one of our (*a*) authors, *Nicephorus Callisti*, in the fourteenth centurie, from whom a passage was quoted in the way of a summarie conclusion. But we do not relye upon him for any thing not confirmed by other writers, more ancient, and of better credit. Nor is this account received by (*b*) *Tillemont*, or (*c*) *Du Pin*, but rejected by them, as altogether fabulous, especially the later : though our *Dr. Cave* (*d*) was somewhat inclined to admit
 one

(*a*)... ἀρχαῖος δὲ τὴν ζωγράφου τέχνην ἐξεπιστόμενος. *Niceph.*
l. 2. cap. 43. T. i. p. 210.

(*b*) *Saint Luc. Mem. Ec. T. 2.*

(*c*) *Nicephore et les nouveaux Grecs le font Peintre. Et il y a en differens endroits des images de la Vierge, qu'on donne pour l'ouvrage de S. Luc. Ce sont des fictions, qui n'ont ni verité ni apparence. Du Pin Diff. l. 2. ch. 2. §. 5.*

(*d*) Of more authority with me would be an ancient inscription, found in a vault near the church of *S. Mary in via*

one testimonie to this affair, whilst he reject-
ed the rest. For a farther account of St. *Luke's*
pretended pictures of the *Virgin Marie* I re-
fer to (e) Mr. *Bower*.

2. We learn also, what judgement ought
to be formed of the account given of St. *Luke*
by (f) *Hugo Grotius*, and (g) *J. J. Wetstein*:

Q 2

which

via lata at Rome, supposed to be the place, where *S. Paul*
dwelt: wherein mention is made of a picture of the *B.*
Virgin. Una ex vii. a B. Lúca depictis: One of the seven
painted by St. *Luke*. *Cave's Lives of the Apostles, in English,*
p. 222.

(e) See his *Lives of the Popes*. Vol. 3. p. 207. 206.

(f) Nostro autem nomen quidem Romanum fuisse arbi-
tror, sed aliquanto longius. . . . Quare et Lucas, si quid vi-
deo, contractum est ex Romano nomine, quod suspicor fuisse
Lucillum. Nam ea gens tum Romae florebat. . . . Erat nos-
ter hic Syrus, ut veteres consentiunt, et medicinam ferit. . . .
Syria autem multos Romanis servos exhibebat. Et medici-
na, ut ex Plinio atque aliis discimus, munus erat fervile.
Manumissi autem nomen patroni induebant, ut Comaedia-
rum scriptor, Afer cum esset, dictus est a patrono Terentio
Terentius. . . . Ita hic a Lucillio Lucillius, et contracte Lu-
cas. Credibile est, cum Romae medicinam facitasset ali-
quamdiu, acceptâ libertate, rediisse in patriam. &c. *Grot.*
Pr. in S. Lucam.

(g) Exercuisse medicinam Paulus ad Colossenses testatur.
Eusebius autem et Hieronymus addunt fuisse natione Sy-
rum Antiochenum. . . . Interpretes porro conjectura pro-
babili, tum ex nomine, tum ex arte quam profitebatur, col-
ligunt, fuisse servum manumissum. Observant enim primo,
nomen ejus in compendium fuisse redactum, ut pro Lucillio

vel

which is, that he was a *Syrian*, and a slave, either at *Rome*, or in *Greece* : and that having obtained his freedom, he returned to his native place, *Antioch* : where he became a Jewish Profelyte, and then a Christian. Which those learned interpreters endeavor to make out in a somewhat different manner. But neither has alleged any ancient writer, saying, that the Evangelist *Luke* was once a slave, and afterwards became a free-man. Some slaves indeed were skilful in the art of medicine, and practised it in the families of their Roman masters. But does it follow, that because *Luke* was a Physician, that he was also a slave ? This therefore being entirely destitute of foundation in antiquity must be esteemed the fiction of some learned critic, who was much delighted with his own ingenious speculations.

3. The account given of this Evangelist by *Eusebe*, and *Jerome* after him, that he was a
Syrian,

vel Lucano vocaretur Lucas. . . . Observant secundo, servos et praecipue Syros medicinam facitasse. . . . Quod vero quidam exilimant, eum Romae serviisse, et a domino, qui ipsum manumiserit, nomine Lucam appellatum fuisse, non satis certum videtur. Nam praeter familiam Lucilliam, quae Romana fuit, etiam Graecis illud nomen fuit impositum, ut ex Anthologia constat. *Wetf. Pr. ad Luc. T. i. p. 643.*

Syrian, and native of *Antioch*, may be justly suspected.

We do not find it in *Irenaeus*, nor *Clement* of *Alexandria*, nor *Tertullian*, nor *Origen*, nor in any other writer before *Eusebe*. Probably, therefore, it is not founded in any general, or well attested tradition : but was the invention of some conjectural critic, who having first imagined, out of his own head, that *Luke* was originally a Gentil, at length determined, that he was converted by *Paul* at *Antioch*. But all this was taken up without any good ground, or sufficient authority. And *Luke* may have been a believer, before either *Paul* or *Barnabas* went to *Antioch*. The same Account is in *Jerome*. But he only follows *Eusebe*. He does not seem to have had any information about it from any others. Which is an argument, that there was not any early tradition to this purpose.

This storie, I say, is in *Eusebe*, and *Jerome*, and some others, after them, but not in all succeeding writers. Some of the ancients, as *Epiphanius*, and others, supposed *Luke* to have been one of Christ's seventy disciples. Which is inconsistent with his being a native of *Antioch*. If any did not see this inconsistency, and allowed both, it must have been

owing to want of due attention and consideration. And the supposition, made by some, that *Luke* was one of the Seventy, shews, that there was no prevailing, and well attested tradition, that he was a native of *Antioch*. For if there had been any such tradition, it is not easie to conceive, how any should have held the opinion, that he was one of the Seventy.

It was formerly observed, that (*b*) *Chrysof-tom* no where says in his remaining works, that *Luke* was of *Antioch*. Indeed, we (*i*) have lost one of his homilies upon the title and begining of the Acts of the Apostles. Nevertheless it seems, that in some of his many homilies, still remaining upon that book, or elsewhere, we should have seen this particular, if it had been known to him. He takes notice, that (*k*) there might be seen in his time the house, in which *Paul* dwelled at *Antioch*. And he often speaks of the prerogatives of that city, in his homilies preached there. Methinks, this also should have been mentioned as one : that *Luke*, whom, (as is well known,) he often celebrates, was a native of that city. If this had been then
known,

(*b*) Vol. x. p. 328.

(*i*) P. 323.

(*k*) P. 371.

known, or generally believed, it is reasonable to expect, that it should have been frequently mentioned by *Chrysoſtom*, a native and Preſbyter of *Antioch*, who ſhined there as a Preacher twelve years. This has diſpoſed me to think, that in his time there was not at *Antioch* any prevailing tradition to this purpoſe.

Cave ſays, it (*l*) is likely, that *Luke* was converted by *Paul* at *Antioch*. *Mill* (*m*) ſays the ſame, rather more poſitively. Which may now be the opinion of many. I have gueſſed, that it might be the opinion of the perſon, who firſt gave riſe to the account, that *Luke* was a *Syrian*, of *Antioch*, mentioned in *Euſebe*. But I do not remember, that this is expreſſly ſaid by any of the ancient writers, out of whom I have made ſo large collections in the preceding volumes. And the thing is altogether unlikely. If *Luke* had been a *Gentil*, converted by *Paul*, he would have been always uncircumciſed, and unfit to accompany *Paul*, as he did. For the Apoſtle would

Q 4

not

(*l*) . . . a D. Paulo, dum Antiochiae ageret, (uti veriſimile eſt) converſus. *Hiſt. Lit. T. i. p. 25.*

(*m*) Scriptor operi huic ſuſcipiendo, ſi quis unquam, ſumme idoneus : utpote qui ab ipſo tempore converſionis, quae contigit circa annum aerae vulgaris XLI. Ipſum enim ἐλληνιſταῖς illis, qui magno numero Antiochiae converſi ſunt, [Act. xi. 20.] omnino adnumerârim. *Preſt. n. 112.*

not have allowed the *Greeks*, or *Gentils*, of *Antioch*, or any other place, to receive that rite. Nor are there in the *Acts*, or *Paul's* epistles, any hints, that *Luke* was his convert. Whereas, if he had been so, there (c) would have appeared some tokens of it in the affectionate expressions of *Paul* toward him, on the one hand, or in the respectful and grateful expressions of *Luke* toward *Paul*, on the other hand.

4. It has been reckoned doubtful by divers learned men, whether the Evangelist *Luke* was a Physician.

This particular is different from the foregoing. Nor has it any connexion with it. *Luke* may have been of *Antioch*, and not a Physician. He may have been a Physician, and not of *Antioch*. The question is, whether *Luke, the beloved Physician*, mentioned by

(c) This thought occurred to Dr. *Whitby*, who in his preface to St. *Luke's* Gospel speaks to this purpose: "We are told, that *Luke* was converted by *Paul* at *Thebes*. *Answer*. But this we have only from *Nicephorus*. And it is the less credible, not only because it comes to us so late: but also because it appears not from any credible author, that St. *Paul* ever was there. It is more probable from the silence of St. *Luke*, and St. *Paul*, who never calleth him his son, that he was a Christian, or a believer, long before."

by St. *Paul* Col. iv. 14. be the Evangelist. Divers of the ancients, as we have seen, have supposed him there intended. *Chrysofom's* expressions are these: "This (*n*) is the Evangelist. But he does not diminish him by naming him so late. He extols him, as he does *Epaphras*. It is likely, that there were others called by that name." This last particular, perhaps, may deserve to be taken notice of. He affirms, that this is the Evangelist. But he supposeth, that there were others of the same name.

That distinguishing character, *beloved Physician*, not given to the Apostle's companion, and fellow laborer, in any other epistle, has induced divers learned and inquisitive moderns, to doubt, whether one and the same person is intended. Among these are (*o*) *Calvin*,

(*n*) Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ εὐαγγελιστής . . . εἰκός εἶναι καὶ ἄλλους καλεμένους τῷ ὀνόματι τέτρω. *Chry. in Col. iv. hom. 12. T. xi. p. 412.*

(*o*) Non assentior iis, qui Lucam Evangelistam intelligunt. Nam et notiores fuisse iudico, quam ut opus fuerit tali indicatione, et splendidiore elogio fuisset insignitus. Certe coadjutorem suum, aut fidum saltem comitem, et certaminum participem vocasset. Potius conjicio, hunc abfuisse, et alterum medici epitheto ab illo discerni. Quamquam non contendo, ut de re certa, sed tamen conjecturas assero. *Calvin. in Col. iv. 14.*

vin, (p) *Sam. Basnage*, (q) *Dr. Heumann*, whose observations and arguments I transcribe below. On the other hand (r) *Estius*, and (s) *Mr. Jones*, strongly argue, that the same *Luke* is here intended, who is mentioned by *St. Paul* in some other epistles, even our *Evangelist*.

Upon

(p) Sunt tamen in Scripturâ Lucam Evangelistam a Luca Medico distinguendi causæ. &c. *Basnag. Ann. 60. n. xxxiii.*

(q) Lucam Evangelistam fuisse Medicum, Hieronymus aliique probari posse credunt ex Col. iv. 14. Sed ex hoc ipso loco confirmari posse puto contrarium. Si enim isto loco Paulus innuisset comitem suum omnibus notum, Lucam Evangelistam, simpliciter vocasset Lucam, uti fecit. 2 Tim. iv. 11. At ut significaret, se de alio luca loqui, discriminis causa addit ὁ ἰατρός. *C. A. Heuman. Ep. Misc. T. 2. p. 5:8.*

(r) Sunt qui in dubium revocent, num de Luca Evangelista loquatur Apostolus. Hunc enim dicunt notiozem fuisse, quam ut artis nomine eum designaret. Ac saltem, inquam, eum coadjutorem suum, aut fidelem comitem vocasset. Verum, ut vetus et communis, ita probatissima sententia est. . . Lucam Evangelistam, Medicum fuisse, et eum ipsum, cujus hic mentio est: (neque enim alium Lucam Paulo familiarem ulla prodit historia :) Quod vero tacuit hoc loco adjutorem, id diserte expressit ad Philemonem scribens, *Demas et Lucas adjutores mei*. Non enim putavit Apostolus rem satis notam ubique inculcandam esse. Ubi illud observandum est, Apostolum assidue Lucam cum Dema nominare, tam hoc loco, et ad Philemonem, quam etiam in secunda ad Tim. ep. cap. iv. Quis ergo dixerit, alium atque alium esse Lucam cum eodem Dema nominatum? *Com. in Col. iv. 14.*

(s) See *Mr. Jones's New and Full Method*, Vol. 3. p. 103. 104.

Upon the whole, it must be acknowledged, that this distinguishing character, *beloved Physician*, has occasioned a difficulty. Nevertheless, I would hope, that it is not insuperable. It is allowed, that in all other places of St. *Paul's* epistles by *Luke* is intended the Evangelist. We know from the book of the Acts, that *Luke*, the writer of it, went with *Paul* to *Rome*, and staid with him to the end of his captivity there. Nor is there any reason to surmise, that at the time of writing this epistle he might be absent from the Apostle upon some special occasion. For he joyns in the salutations in the epistle to *Philemon*, of *Colosse*, sent at the same time with this epistle to the *Colossians*. Where also he is stiled a *fellow-laborer*. *Philem.* ver. 24. So that I cannot but think it probable, that *Luke*, the Evangelist, was by profession a Physician.

5. St. *Luke* was a Jew by birth, at least by religion.

None of the writers, out of whom we have made collections, call him a Gentil. Some, in *Jerome's* time, whose names we do not know, said, *Luke* had been a Jewish Pro-felyte, that is, had been converted from Gentilism to Judaism, and afterwards became a Christian.

Christian. But none, that I remember, expressly say, that he was converted from Gentilism to Christianity. Unless we should make an exception for *Nicephorus Callisti*, who in one place says so. But he is too late, and of too little credit, to be much regarded: especially, if he is singular. All our writers, who speak of *Luke*, as a companion and disciple of Apostles, must have supposed him to be a Jew. And some have said, that he was one of the Seventy, as we have seen.

That *Luke* was a Jew by birth, or at least by religion, may be argued from his being a constant companion of *Paul* in many places, particularly, at *Jerusalem*. If *Luke* had been an uncircumcised Gentil, some exceptions would have been made to him. Nevertheless nothing of that kind appears either in *St. Paul's* Epistles, or in the Acts. Another thing leading to this supposition is his (*t*) following the Jewish computations of times: such as the Passover, Pentecost, the Faste.

Of

(*t*) Quis vero cum veri specie aliqua Lucam Evangelistam unum ex Judaeis fuisse neget? Lucam qui in designandis temporibus Judaeorum disciplinam adhibet, Pentecostem scilicet, Jejunium, tertiam noctis vigiliam. Quae omnia ex Judaico more petuntur. *Basnag. An. 60. n. xxxiii:*

Of all which instances may be seen in Acts xii. 3. xx. 6. and 16. xxvii. 9.

Here it will be objected, that *Luke the Physician*, mentioned Col. iv. 14. must have been a Gentil, because at ver. 10. 11. the Apostle had mentioned *all those of the circumcision, who were his fellow-workers, and had been a comfort to him.* To which I answer. It is not certain, that *Luke*, the Evangelist, is the *beloved Physician*, there spoken of. We just now saw the reasons of doubting about it. But there is another solution. *St. Paul (u)* needs not to be understood to speak absolutely. There might be several exceptions to that proposition. *Timothee* was one, who joyns with the Apostle in sending the epistle. But he and *Luke* were so well known to all, as faithful to the Apostle, that they needed not to be there mentioned. And *Luke* and *Demas* follow afterwards, somewhat lower, nearer the end of the epistle, very properly. ver. 14. *Luke, the beloved Physician, and Demas greet you.* And I should be unwilling from this text, and the

(u) Adde, quod iste sermo, *hi soli*, non est ita rigide accipiendus, ut absolute excludat omnes alios, sed benigno sensu: Hi fere soli sunt adjucores. *Ep. ad iv. Col. 11.*

the coherence, to conclude, that *Demas* was a Gentil. Says the Apostle: *Philèm. ver. 24. There salute thee Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Lucas, my fellow-laborers.* The two first named were certainly Jews. I suppose, the other two were so likewise. Salutations from believers, of the Jewish People, would be very acceptable and encouraging to Gentil converts.

St. *Luke* says *Acts i. 19. insomuch as that field was called in their proper tongue Aceldama.* Whence some may argue, that he was not a Jew. But it might be observed, that none of the Evangelists, when they speak of the Jews, say any thing, to denote they were of that people. Says St. *Matthew ch. xxviii. 15. And this saying is commonly reported among the Jews untill this day.* *Mark vii. 3. For the Pharisees, and all the Jews, except they wash their hands, eat not.* *John i. 19. The Jews sent Priests and Levites from Jerusalem. ch. v. 1. After this there was a feast of the Jews.* See also *ch. xix. 40.—42.* And does not St. *Paul* say *1 Theff. ii. 14. 15. Ye became followers of the churches of God in Judea. For ye also have suffered like things of your own countrey-men, even as they of the Jews: who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own Prophets.*

phets. It might be not amiss to observe also Acts xxviii. 17. . . 19. And I might refer to other places.

That this Evangelist was a Jew, is the opinion of many learned and judicious moderns: particularly, Mr. *S. Basnage*, whom I have cited at note (*t*) and *J. A. Fabricius*, who (*x*) likewise is clearly of the same opinion. Indeed, I think, it ought not to be questioned.

6. *Luke*, the Evangelist, was, probably, an early Jewish believer, soon after Christ's ascension, if not a hearer of Christ, and one of the seventy disciples.

Our most ancient writers, as we have seen, speak of *Luke* as a disciple of the Apostles. Some have reckoned him one of the Seventy, others have thought him to be *Lucius*, mentioned by St. *Paul* in the epistle to the *Romans*, and others have supposed, that he was
one

(*x*) Lucas, five Lucius, . . . incertum, num idem cum Luca Medico Col. iv. 14. quin Judaeus fuerit, at antequam Christo nomen daret, ne dubito quidem, praecipue si verum est quod legas in Origenis five Adamantii cujusdam dialogis, adversus Marcionitas, et Epiphanii LII. II. cum fuisse e numero LXX. discipulorum. *Bib. Gr. l. 4. c. v. T. 3. p. 132.*

one of the two disciples that met Jesus in the way to *Emmaus*.

The large accounts, which *Luke* has given in the book of the Acts of several, below the rank of Apostles, has made me think, that he was one of the same rank, and possibly one of them. There are three instances of this kind. The first is *Stephen*, one of the seven Deacons, who, as we learn, *was full of faith and power, and did great wonders and miracles among the people*: against whom there arose a strong opposition, so that he was the very first Martyr for Christ and his doctrine, and of whom St. *Luke* has recorded a long discourse before the Jewish Council. ch. vii. The second is *Philip*, another of the Seven, of whom St. *Luke* writes, that he first *preached Christ to the Samaritans*. ch. viii. 5. . . . 8. *so that the people with one accord gave heed to those things, which Philip spake, hearing, and seeing the miracles which he did, and what follows*. The same *Philip* afterwards, having first explained the scriptures to him, and brought him to sincere faith in Jesus as the Christ, baptized the Chamberlain and Treasurer of the Queen of *Ethiopia*, a Jewish proselyte, and a man of great distinction. ver. 26. . . . 40. The third instance of this kind is

is that of the men of *Cyprus* and *Cyrene*, who travelled as far as *Phenice*, *Cyprus*, and *Antioch*, preaching the word to Jews only. Who soon after their coming to *Antioch*, spake unto the Greeks, preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them. And a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord. ch. xi. 19. . . 21. These were the men, who first preached to Gentils out of *Judea*: as *Peter* was the first, who preached to Gentils at the house of *Cornelius* in *Cesarea*. ch. x. and not long before them. We have, as it seems, the names of three of those men. ch. xiii. 1. *Simeon*, called *Niger*, *Lucius* of *Cyrene*, and *Manaen*. The second person, here named, may be our Evangelist.

A like argument may be formed in favour of *St. Luke's* having been one of *Christ's* seventy disciples, in that he, and he only of all the Evangelists, has inserted in his Gospel an account of the commission, which *Christ* gave unto them. ch. x. 1. . . . 20.

And indeed some learned men of later times, as well as formerly, have been of opinion, that *Luke* was one of the Seventy.

Among these is our *Dr. Whitby*, who (*b*)

(*b*) See his Preface to *St. Luke's Gospel*.

reckoned both *Mark* and *Luke* to have been of that number.

Ƴ. *A. Fabricius* (*c*) was inclined to be of the same opinion. And in favour of it refers to the passages of *Adamantius* and *Epiphanius*, before taken notice of by us. This likewise was the sentiment of (*d*) *Mr. Basnage*.

Dr. C. A. Heumann has lately published a dissertation concerning Christ's Seventy Disciples, containing many curious observations. And he supposeth, that (*) these several following were of that number. *Matthias*, chosen in the room of the traitor, *Joseph*, called *Barsabas*, surnamed *Justus*, and probably, the seven Deacons, or however, some of them, and the four teachers and Prophets of *Antioch*, *Barnabas*, *Simeon* called *Niger*,
Lu-

(*c*) . . . praecipue, si verum est, quod legas in Origenis seu Adamantii cujusdam Dialogis adversus Marcionitas, et Epiphani H. LI. n. xi. Neque adeo repugnat et Lucam et Marcum ex illis fuisse, licet Veteres miro consensu, ut Marcum Petri, ita Lucam tradunt Pauli fuisse interpretem et sectatorem. Haud dubie enim Apostolorum etiam prae LXX illis magna praerogativa erat, &c. *Rib. Gr. l. iv. cap. v. T. 3. p. 133.*

(*d*) *Ann. 60. num. xxviii.*

(*) *Dissertatio de Septuaginta Christi Legatis, ap. Nov. Syllog. Dissertat. Part. i. p. 120. . . . 154.*

Lucius of Cyrene, whom he thinks to be our *Luke* the Evangelist, and *Manaen*. Acts xiii. 1.

His argument is to this purpose. We have not in the Gospels the names of those Disciples. Nor did Christ form a college or companie of them, as he did of the Twelve, because it was a temporarie office, which subsisted for a short time only. They were but once sent forth. And when they were returned, their commission was at an end. Nevertheless they hereby became qualified for public service. And it may be reckoned very probable, that if an opportunity was afforded, they would be very willing, after Christ's ascension, to exert themselves in his cause. And it is very likely, that some of these Seventy were chosen, and employed by the Apostles, as men, who had been already exercised in the service of the gospel, and were thereby fitted for farther usefulness.

So that learned writer. And it must be acknowledged, that this is a specious argument. But it is rather founded in an ingenious speculation, than in the authority of testimonie. Which, in this case, would be more valuable.

Indeed *Epiphanius*, beside the places (e) formerly alleged, where he says, *Mark* and *Luke* were of the Seventy, has another: where (f) he mentions a great many, who were said to be of that number: as the seven deacons, all whom he mentions by name, and also *Matthias*, *Mark*, *Luke*, *Justus*, *Barnabas*, *Apelles*, *Rufus*, *Niger*. And therefore, we cannot deny, that in the time of *Epiphanius* there were some, who entertained an opinion, that all these were of Christ's seventy Disciples. Nevertheless we do not find it in *Irenaeus*, or *Clement of Alexandria*, or *Origen*, or any others of the highest antiquity, and best credit: nor in *Eusebe*, or *Jerome*, that I remember, who were acquainted with the writings of those ancient authors, and many others, which are not come to us. *Eusebe* has a chapter concerning the Disciples of our Saviour. He says, the names of Christ's twelve Apostles were well known: but (g) there was no where any catalogue of the Seventy. However, he mentions *Barnabas*, *Matthias*, and the disciple put up with him, and

(e) *Haer. Ll. num. vi. xi.*(f) *H. 20. num. iv.*(g) Τῶν δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν κατάλογος μὲν ἐδ' εἰς ἑδραμῆ φέρεται. *H. E. l. i. c. 12.*

and one or two more, who were said to be of the Seventy. But he takes not here any notice of *Mark*, or *Luke*, or of any of the seven Deacons.

Matthias and *Barsabas* certainly were such men, as are described Acts i. 21. 22. And they may have been of the Seventy. But we cannot be certain, because we have not been assured of it by any accounts, that demand full assent. Some of the seven Deacons may have been of the Seventy, as *Stephen* and *Philip*. But we do not know, that they were. It is very probable, that all those Deacons were not of the Seventy, particularly, *Nicolas*, a profelyte, of *Antioch*. If *Luke*, the Evangelist, be the same as *Lucius*, of *Cyrene*, there ariseth a strong objection against his having been one of the Seventy. *Simeon*, called *Niger*, and *Lucius* of *Cyrene*, mentioned Acts xiii. 1. and *the men of Cyprus and Cyrene*, (of whom those two, just mentioned, were a part :) were early believers, after Christ's ascension, and they may have heard and seen the Lord in person. But they cannot be well supposed to have been of the Seventy. Christ's twelve Apostles were of *Galilee*. It is likely, that the Seventy also were of the same countrey,

or near it. Christ sent them forth from him, to go over the land of *Israel*, and to return to him in a short time, where he should be. And his usual residence was in *Galilee*. It does not appear to me at all probable, that our Lord put into that commission any men, who were born, and usually resided abroad, in other countreys, out of the land of *Israel*.

Hitherto, then, we have not any full proof, that our Evangelist was one of the Seventy. Let us proceed.

St. *Luke* ch. xxiv. 13... 34: relates how two disciples met Jesus after his resurrection, as they were going to *Emmaus*. And he says, that the name of one of them was *Cleophas*. *Theophylact* in his comment upon this place, as (*b*) formerly shewn, observes: "Some (*i*) say, that one of these two was *Luke* himself: but that the Evangelist concealed his own name." *Nicephorus Callisti* (*k*) in one place, makes no doubt, that *Luke* was the other disciple not named. It is likely,

(*b*) *Vul.* xi. p. 423.

(*i*) Τινὲς τὸν ἕνα τίταν τῶν δύο αὐτὸν τὸν λουκᾶν ἑναί φασιν διὸ καὶ ἀπέκρυψε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὄνομα ὁ εὐαγγελιστής. *Theoph.* in *Luc.* cap. καίτω. p. 539.

(*k*) Τοῖς περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλείπων τὴν ὁδὸν παρῖσι γνωρίζεται, πρὸς ἑσπέραν εἰς δ᾿ ἄπνυα αὐτοῖς συγκατακλιθεῖς. *Niceph. l. i.* c. 34. p. 117.

ly, that he had met with it in more ancient writers. *Sam. Basnage* (l) readily declares himself of the same opinion. Indeed, I think, it has a great appearance of probability. It is much more likely, than the tradition, or interpretation in *Epiphanius*, that (m) it was *Nathanael*. The same *Basnage* says, that if *Nathanael* had been the other, *St. Luke* would have named him.

St. Mark ch. xvi. 12. 13. has a like account, but briefer, of two, to whom Christ appeared, as *they were walking into the country*. He does not name either of them. *Grotius* (n) allows, that *Mark's* and *Luke's* histories are of the same persons. Both the Evangelists speak of these as *two of them*. They were not of the Twelve, but yet they were of their companie, such as had been

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with

(l) Nulla sane magis idonea ratio observatur animo, cur Cleopae, non alterius, Lucas meminerit: quomodo Joannes, ubi de se mentionem agit, nomen dissimulat suum. Si de grege Apostolorum fuissent, aut virorum multa laude in Evangelio celebratorum, uti Nathanael, quod Epiphanio visum, iterum atque iterum dicemus, tam ejus quam Cleopae nomen foenerasset *Ann. 33. num. CL.*

(m) See vol. ciii. p. 316.

(n) Quare immerito Euthymius hic aliam putat historiam indicari, quam eam, quae a Luca copiose describitur. *Grot. ad Marc. xvi. 12.*

with Jesus: as is allowed by (o) *Grotius*, and (p) *Beza*. Nevertheless they say, that (q) *Luke* is not the other. He is excluded, as they say, by the tenour of his introductions both to his Gospel, and the Acts. Their reasonings will be considered presently.

However, supposing *Luke* to be the person here intended, I do not think, that he is thereby shewn to be one of the Seventy. *Cleophas* and the other were disciples of Christ, and eye-witnesses. But it does not therefore follow, that they were of the number of the Seventy.

We

(o) . . . [δυσὶν ἐκ αὐτῶν.] τῶν μετὰ ἰσοῦ γενομένων, ut supra dixit ver. 10. Nam hoc nomine etiam alii extra xii. censentur, praecipue qui de numero erant illorum septuaginta. *Grot. ad Marc. xvi. 11.*

(p) Ex iis, ἐξ αὐτῶν, nempe discipulis, non autem ex Apostolis. Aliorum enim praeter Apostolos mentio facta fuit praecedente versu 9. *Bez. in Luc. xxi. 13.*

(q) Alterum fuisse hunc nostrum Lucam, quidam ex veteribus arbitrantur, quorum opinio refellitur ex praefatione Actis Apostolorum praeposita. *Bez. ad Luc. xxi. 18.*

Duo ex illis, nempe eorum, quos modo λοιπῶν, ceterorum nomine designarat, e sectatoribus Christi. Probabiliter sentiant Veteres, fuisse hos de numero LXX. . . Nomen alterius infra exprimit Lucas, Cleopam vocans. Alterum ipsum Lucam multi putarunt, quos satis ipse refellit in Evangelii anteloquio, ab oculatis testibus se separans. Grot. ad Luc. xxi. 13.

We proceed. Among the Salutations in the epistle to the *Romans* are these. ch. xvi. 20. *Timothe* my work-fellow, and *Lucius*, and *Jason*, and *Sospater*, my kinsmen, salute you. All these were Jewish believers, and, the three last mentioned, as it seems, were the Apostle's relations. That by *Lucius* some supposed the Evangelist *Luke* to be intended, we have been informed by so ancient a writer, as *Origen*. And it is very likely, that St. *Luke's* name was writ differently : *Lucas*, *Lucius*, and *Lucanus*. There is the more reason to think, that the Evangelist is here intended, because he must have been with the Apostle at the time of writing the epistle to the *Romans*. Says Mr. *Tillemont* :
 “ Many (*r*) believe, that St. *Luke* is he, whom
 “ St. *Paul* in his epistle to the *Romans* calls
 “ *Lucius*, making his name a little more La-
 “ tin. And it is the more likely, inasmuch
 “ as the *Acts* assure us, that St. *Luke* was
 “ then with St. *Paul*. If that be so, he was
 “ related to this Apostle.” *Grotius*, who supposed our Evangelist to have been of *Antioch*, taking notice of the above-mentioned obser-
 vation

(*r*) *Mem. Ec.* Tom. 2. S. *Luc.*

vation of *Origen*, says, that (*s*) *Lucius*, in Rome xvi. is the same, as *Lucius of Cyrene*, mentioned Acts xiii. 1.

Fabricius (*t*) esteemed it somewhat probable, that *Lucius* is the Evangelist.

Dr. *Heumann* supposes (*u*) this *Lucius* to be St. *Luke*, and the same as *Lucius of Cyrene*, whom (*x*) he computes to be one of the seventy Disciples, as before seen.

Mr.

(*s*) Docet nos Origenes, in annotationibus epistolae ad Romanos, fuisse qui crederent Lucium eum, qui in eadem epistola nominatur. xvi. 21. esse hunc ipsum Lucam, et Lucium dici flexione Romana, Lucam Graeca. Ego Lucium illum, cujus ibi meminit Paulus, puto non alium esse a Cyrenensi, quem noster hic nominat Actor. xiii. 1. *Grot. Praef. ad Evang. S. Luc.*

(*t*) Fuerunt enim jam olim, qui teste Origene Lucam eundem putârunt cum Lucio, quem Paulus inter συγγενῆς suos refert Rom. xvi. 21. Neque verisimilitudine destituitur haec sententia. *Fab. Bib. Gr. ubi supra. p. 132.*

(*u*) Lucas non est verum, id est, pure expressum nomen Evangelistae, sed vel Lucanus, (quem in modum et ex Silvanus factum est Silas,) vel Lucius. Ac perverisimile est, Evangelistam nostrum esse Lucium illum Cyrenaeum, cujus fit mentio Act. xiii. 1. Quem nec diversum esse credo ab illo Lucio, quem Paulus Rom. xvi. 21. vocat cognatum suum, simulque testatur, eum in suo comitatu fuisse. *Heuman. Ep. Misc. T. 2. p. 519.*

(*x*) Jure igitur credimus, et hos quatuor [Act. xiii. 1.] fuisse e septuaginta illorum discipulorum numero. Jam inter hos si Lucius non est alius quam Lucas Evangelista, merito et Lucam nostrum recensemus inter septuaginta illos discipulos. *Diff. de LXX, Christi Legat. §. xx. p. 149.*

Mr. *Baſnage* likewise argues very ſtrongly, that (*y*) *Lucius* is our Evangelift.

Indeed this opinion cannot be well ſaid to be deſtitute of probability : ſince there is a good deal of reaſon to think, that *Luke* was in the Apoſtle's companie, when he wrote the epiſtle to the *Romans*. And if *Lucius* be not he, no mention is made of him. Which is very unlikely.

If this be our Evangelift, we hence learn, that he was a Jew, and related to the Apoſtle. And if this be *Lucius* of *Cyrene*, we know his character, and, in part, his hiſtorie, from Acts xi. 19 . . 21. and xiii. 1 . . . 4. He was an early Jewiſh believer after Chriſt's aſcenſion, and together with others was very ſerviceable in early preaching the goſpel to Jews and Gentils out of *Judea*. And, once more, if the other, who accompanied *Cleophas*

(*y*) *Lucam* Evangeliftam Paulo confanguineum fuiſſe veriſimilitudinis multum habet. *Lucium* ſane, cujus nomine Romanos ſalutat Apoſtolus, ex ipſius cognatis unus erat. Sunt vero non pertenuis conjecluræ, quibus adducamur ad exiſtendum unum eundemque virum cum Luca *Lucium* eſſe. Quæ antiqua ſane ſententia fuit, cujus meminit *Origenes* in Rom. xvi. . . . *Silam* quidem *Paulus* ipſe *Silvanum* vocat. Aderat etiam Paulo comes *Lucas*, cum miſſa eſt ad Romanos epiſtola, quem inſalutatos præteriſſe, proſus fit incredibile : quod tamen factum fuiſſet, ſi *Lucius* eſt a Luca diverſus. *Baſn. ann. 60. v. xxxiii.*

phas in the way to *Emmaus*, be *Luke* the Evangelist, he was a disciple and eye-witnesse of Jesus Christ. But I do not say, one of the Seventy.

Now we come to consider the objection of *Beza*, *Grotius*, and divers others: who have supposed, that *St. Luke*, in the introduction to his Gospel, excludes himself from the number of eye-witnesse. But though this has been a difficulty with many, there have been of late divers learned men, remarkable for inquisitiveness, and good judgement, who are not much moved by it. One of them is *Dr. Whitby*, in his preface to *St. Luke's* Gospel, already taken notice of by us. Another is (*x*) *Fabricius*, a third (*a*) *Basnage*, the fourth *Heumann*: who in his forecited Dissertation observes, that (*b*) *St. Luke's* introduction imports no more, than

(*x*) Neque obstat porro, quod Lucas affirmat, se ea scribere, quae acceperit ab illis, qui fuissent ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀυτόπται. Nam non de omnibus LXX dici hoc poterat, quod Act. i. 21. et seq. ad Apostolum requiritur. *Bib. Gr. T.* 3. p. 133.

(*a*) *Ann. Co. num. xxviii.*

(*b*) Repugnare quidem videri possit ipse Lucas cap. i. 2. scribens, se quae tradat accepisse α τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀυτόπταις. Verum non se negat fuisse ἀυτόπτην, qui negat, se ἀυτόπτην ἀπ' ἀρχῆς fuisse. Concedimus itaque, non ab initio

than that he was not an eye-witneſſe from the begining, nor an Apoſtle. But he may have been for ſome while a follower of Chriſt, very conſiſtently with what he there writes. And, probably, he was ſo. But he very fitly puts the credit and authority of his hiftorie upon the teſtimonie of the Apoſtles.

I ſhall likewiſe tranſcribe below a paſſage of *Petavius* (c) from his *Animadverſions* upon *Epiphanius*, though it be ſomewhat long.

I do

initio ſtatim, uti Apoſtolos, quos *ὀπαίετας τῶ λόγῳ* appellat, interfuiſſe rebus a Chriſto geſtis Lucam. Sed aliquo jam tempore ſuncto ſuo munere Meſſiae ſe applicuiſſe Lucam, et poſtea ſemper in ejus comitatu fuiſſe, quo minus credamus, hoc ipſius teſtimonium minime impedit. Accedit, quod modēſtiae erat, Apoſtolorum potius, quam ſuum ipſius teſtimonium commendare, jubereque lectores, ſi forte ſibi credituri ſint aegrius, fidem habere Apoſtolis, teſtibus nulli obnoxiiis exceptioni. *Heum. Diff. ib. num. xx.*

(c) Quod Lucas & diſcipulorum numero fuerit, aſſerit et Dorotheus in Synopſi . . . Sed contra ſentiunt plerique, et id ex ipſis Lucae verbis colligunt, cum ait: Ἐδοξε καὶ μὲν . . . Sed tantum abeſt, ut hæc diſcipulum Chriſti fuiſſe, ac non pleraque, cum ab eo gererentur, oculis uſurpaſſe negent, ut contrarium potius hinc eluci poſſit. Verbum enim *παρὰκολληθῆν* nonnunquam ad eam notitiam refertur, quae oculis ipſis, ac propria intelligentia comparatur, non aliorum ſermonibus. Ut cum Demoſthenes ἐν τῷ περὶ παραπρεβείας, de Aefchine, cujus in legatione comes fuerat, ſic loquitur: Καὶ ὁ τότε πανηγύματος ἐδάς, καὶ

I do it the rather, because he is an older author than any of those, hitherto cited in behalf of this interpretation. He is considering what *Epiphanius* says of *Luke's* being one of Christ's seventy disciples. The sum of what he advanceth is to this purpose: "He dares not affirm, that *Luke* was a disciple of Christ, because many of the Fathers have thought otherwise. But he says, there is nothing in St. *Luke's* introduction to induce us to think, he was not a disciple of Christ, or that he had not seen a large part of the things related by him: but rather the contrarie. And he was willing to shew, that *Epiphanius* is not contradicted by St. *Luke* himself."

7. St.

καὶ παρεκλάβη ὡς ἄρασι κατηγόρῃ. Sic igitur Lucas εὐαγγελιστὴν παρεκλαβέναν πᾶσι διηγεῖσθαι dicitur, hoc est, comperita, explorataque, ac spectata etiam, habuisse. Ac videri potest, et nonnulla hæc antihesis esse, ut cum superiore versu dixerit: Quemadmodum multi res a Christo gestas scribere aggressi sunt, καθὼς παρέσσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἐπ' ἀρχῆς, statim subjiciat: Ἔδοξε καὶ μοι παρεκλαβένῳ ὅτι, hoc est, qui non, ut illi ἐν παραδόσεσσι, sed ex propria id scientia compererim. Ceterum tamen ad eum sensum accommodari Lucae verba nihil prohibet, non idcirco tamen Christi discipulum fuisse certo pronunciare ausim: cum huic adversari sententiæ longe plures Patres intelligant. Sed ista commemoravi, ut ne Lucae ipsi de se testanti refragari quisquam Epiphanium arbitretur. *Petav. Animadv. in Epiphani. Haer. li. num. xi. p. 89. 90.*

7. St. *Luke* was for a good while a constant companion of St. *Paul*. But he was also acquainted with other Apostles.

Tertullian, and *Chrysoſtom*, as we have ſeen, call St. *Paul* *Luke's* Maſter. But they need not be underſtood to intend, that *Luke* learned nothing from other Apoſtles. So *Irenæus* ſaid : “ *Luke*, the companion of *Paul*, put down in a book the Goſpel that had been preached by *Paul*.” But in another place he ſays : “ That (*) *Luke* was a fellow-laborer of the Apoſtles, eſpecially, of *Paul*.” And in another place he calls *Luke* (**) “ a follower and diſciple of the Apoſtles.” And *Eufebius* ſaid : “ *Luke* was for the moſt part a companion of *Paul*, but had alſo more than a flight acquaintance with the other Apoſtles.” And *Jerome* ſays : “ It was ſuppoſed, that *Luke* did not learn “ his Goſpel from the Apoſtle *Paul* only, “ who had not converſed with the Lord “ in the fleſh, but alſo from other Apoſtles. “ Which alſo he acknowledgeth at the be-
“ gining

(*) Quoniam non ſolum proſequutor, ſed et cooperarius fuerit Apoſtolorum, maxime autem Pauli. *Iren. l. 3. c. 14. n. 1. p. 201. b.*

(**) Lucas autem ſectator et diſcipulas Apoſtolorum. *Ibid. cap. x. [al. xi.] in p. 189.*

“gining of his volume, saying: *Even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses of the word.*”

That must be right, I think, because it is agreeable to the writer's own words in the introduction to his work. I always consider *Paul* as an *eye-witness*. But he was not an eye-witness from the beginning: nor a *minister of the word*, from the beginning. He must have had a distinct knowledge of all things concerning the Lord Jesus. Christianity, as has been often, and justly said, is founded in facts. In order to preach it, *Paul* must have had a knowledge of Christ's life, preaching, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension. As he was not instructed by other Apostles in the doctrine preached by him, he must have had it from revelation. And I suppose, that a man, who, like *Luke*, often heard *Paul* preach, might have composed a Gospel, or historie of Jesus Christ from *Paul's* sermons, preached in divers places, and to men of all characters. And the ancients seem to have supposed, that *Luke* had thereby great assistances for composing his Gospel. Which I do not deny. Nevertheless it seems fairly
to

to be concluded from his own introduction, that he had consulted others also.

It might not be amiss, if I had room for such observations, to compare St. *Luke's* Gospel and the historical parts of St. *Paul's* Epistles, and also of his discourses recorded by *Luke* himself in the book of the Acts. It is reasonable to think, that wherever any disciples of Jesus preached the Christian Religion, they gave an account of the things concerning Christ. Wherever the Apostles, or others, preached, in order to induce faith in Jesus and his doctrine, their first discourses must have been historical. The reason of the thing leads us to this. And we are assured of it from their discourses, of which we have an account. We perceive this in the discourses of St. *Peter* at *Jerusalem*. Acts ii. 22 . . . 36. iii. 12 . . . 26. iv. 10. and at the house of *Cornelius* in *Cæsarea*, x. 34 . . . 43. from *Paul's* discourses in the synagogue at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*. Ch. xiii. 23 . . . 38. at *Athens*. xvii. 31. at *Corinth*. xix. 8. before the Governour *Festus*, and King *Agrippa*, ch. xxvi. and at *Rome*: though then many years had passed, since the ascension of Christ, and since his religion had begun to be preached, and propagated

pagated in the world. St. *Luke's* general account of *Paul* there is thus: *And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ.* xxvii. 30. 31. “That is, says (*d*) *Grotius*, “his miracles, doctrine, death, resurrection, “and the mission of the Spirit: by which “things men were assured, that the heavenly kingdom was set up.” And this may have been the occasion of the frequent use of those expressions, *preaching Christ, and preaching Jesus Christ*, as equivalent to preaching the Christian Religion, or the doctrine of the Gospel.

I must own, that in the survey of St. *Luke's* Gospel, and St. *Paul's* discourses and epistles, I have not discerned any such special agreement, as to be induced to think, that one of them had copied the other.

St. *Paul* says, at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, *Acts* xiii. 23. *Of this man's seed has God raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus.* And 2 *Tim.* ii. 8.

Remember,

(*d*) *Miracula ejus, et praecepta, et mortem, et resurrectionem, et missionem Spiritus Sancti. Per quae certi fiebant homines de regno illo coelesti. Gr. ad Act. xxviii. 31.*

Remember, that *Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, was raised from the dead, according to my gospel.* These things are agreeable to *St. Luke's Gospel.* But they are also in *St. Matthew's.* And must have been taught by all the Apostles, and all preachers of the gospel.

Acts xx. 35. And to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said: It is more blessed to give, than to receive. That saying of our Lord is not recorded by *St. Luke* in his Gospel, nor by any other of the Evangelists.

I Cor. xv. 5 . . 7. And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the Twelve. After that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once . . . After that he was seen of James, then of all the Apostles. *St. Luke's* account of our Saviour's appearances after his resurrection are in ch. xxiv. and *Acts i. 1 . . . 12.* And if they are observed, I suppose, that no remarkable agreement between *Paul* and *Luke* will be discerned, but rather the contrarie. The *five hundred brethren*, mentioned by *St. Paul*, probably, saw *Jesus* in *Galilee*: where, as in *Matth. xxvi. 32. xxviii. 7.* and *Mark xvi. 7.* he appointed to meet the disciples. But of this there is nothing in *St. Luke.* And all our Saviour's appearances

to the disciples, mentioned by him, were at *Jerusalem*, or in it's neighborhood. Nor does *Luke* give any hint of that particular appearance to *James*, mentioned by *St. Paul*. Not now to add any thing farther.

However, I shall transcribe below (*e*) some observations of *Mr. Wetstein*, relating to this matter.

8. It may be reckoned probable, that *St. Luke* died a natural death: forasmuch as none of the most ancient writers, such as *Clement of Alexandria*, *Irenaeus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *Jerome*, say any thing of his martyrdom. *Gregorie Nazianzen*, in (*f*) one of his orations, seems to put *Luke* among Martyrs. Nevertheless, as is well observed by (*g*) *Tillemont*, *Elias Cretensis*, in the eighth century, famous for his Commentaries upon *Gregorie*, supposeth it certain, that (*b*) *Luke* did
not

(*e*) Si Lucas vel Pauli hortatu, vel peculiari Spiritus Sancti afflatu ad scribendum impulsus fuisset, rem memoratu tam dignam . . . silentio neutiquam transisset. Quod vero quidam existimant, ex locis 2. Tim. ii. 8. et 1. Cor. xv. 4. collatis cum Luc. x. 7. et xxiv. 34. probari, Lucae, quod dicitur, Evangelium ad Paulum potius auctorem esse referendum, nobis parum fit verosimile. *Wetsten. ad Luc. cap. i. ver. 3. Tom. i. p. 644.*

(*f*) *Orat. 3. p. 76.*

(*g*) *St. Luc. Mem. Ec. T. 2.*

(*b*) Quippe ne longe abeam, Joannes . . . et item Lucas haud-

not dye a Martyr any more than *John*, the Apostle and Evangelist : but that after having suffered much in the cause of Christ, and the gospel, he returned in peace to the God of peace. *Gaudentius*, Bishop of *Brescia*, about 387. observes, that (*i*) in his time it was generally said, that *Luke* and *Andrew* finished their course at *Patrae* in *Achaia*. He does not say, in the way of martyrdom. I do not perceive *Paulinus*, about the year 403. to (*k*) celebrate *Luke*, as a Martyr, but rather *Nazarius*, mentioned in the next verse. If Martyr belongs to *Luke*, it may be understood in a general sense, as equivalent to Confessor, or a great sufferer for the gospel.

9. *Cave* says, that (*l*) *Luke* lived a single
S 3 life,

haudquaquam interempti fuere, verum cum permultas propter Christum et ejus evangelium calamitates pertulissent, in pace ad eum qui pacis Deus est, reversi sunt. *El. Cr. Annot. p. 322. 323.*

(*i*) Andreas et Lucas apud Patras, Achaiae civitatem, consummati referuntur. *Gaud. Serm. 17. ap. Bib. PP. Tom. 5. p. 969. C.*

(*k*) Hic pater Andreas, et magno nomine Lucas,
Martyr et illustris sanguine Nazarius.

Paulin. Ep. 32. p. 210. Conf. Annot. p. 75. Paris 1685.

(*l*) Vitam egit coelibem, ac mortuus est anno aetatis 84. circa annum (ut nonnulli volunt,) 70. Quo vero mortis genere incertum est. *Hist. Lit. p. 25.*

life, and died in the 84. year of his age, about the year of Christ 70. but of what death, is uncertain. And it is true, that *Nicephorus*, in the fourteenth centurie, says, that (*m*) *Luke* died in the 80. year of his age. And in some editions of *Jerome's* book of *Illustrious Men* there is a passage, near the end of the article of *St. Luke*, importing, that he lived 84 years in celibacie. But *Martianus*, the learned *Benedictin* editor of *Jerome's* works, says, that (*n*) passage is not in any manuscripts. Nor does he know, whence that silly fiction was borrowed. *Fabricius* (*o*) confirms that account.

The Time of
this Gospel.

IV. There is no great difficulty in settling the time of *St. Luke's* writing his Gospel. The Acts of the Apostles were published in 63. or 64. and not long after his Gospel, as is generally allowed. Accordingly *Dr. Mill* sup-

(*m*) Ὁ γδοήκοντα ἔτων γενόμενος. ὡς φησιν. *Niceph. l. 2. c. 43.*

(*n*) Falso additur in hoc loco: *Vixit octoginta et quatuor annos, uxorem non habens.* Nullum exstat vestigium horum verborum in manuscriptis codicibus. Neque novi, unde putida haec commenta fluxerint. *Martian.*

(*o*) Sed illa *Erasmus*, *Martinus Lipsius*, et *Suffridus Petri*, in exemplaribus suis mss. non invenerunt. *Fabr. in loc. ap. Bib. Ecclesj.*

(*p*) supposeth those books to have been two parts of one and the same volume, and to have been published in the year of Christ 64.

This argument was represented at length (*q*) formerly. The reader is referred to it, that I may not enlarge upon it in this place.

V. However, I cannot forbear to observe some marks of time in the Gospel itself.

*Marks of
Time in the
Gospel it-
self.*

1. The occasion of writing it, as St. *Luke* assures us in the introduction, was, that *many* had already published narrations of these things. But it cannot be reasonably thought, that many should have writ histories of Jesus Christ presently after his ascension, nor indeed till many years after it.

2. There are several things in the Gospel, from which it may be fairly argued, that it was not writ, till after *Peter* and *Paul*, and perhaps other Apostles likewise, had preached to Gentils, and received them into the Church, without their embracing the peculiarities of the law of Moses.

S 4

3. In

(*p*) Voluminibus hujus D. Lucae partem posteriorem, seu λόγον δεύτερον quod attinet, librum dico Actuum Apostolorum, haud dubium est, quin is scriptus fuerit statim post λόγον πρώτον, sive Evangelium. *Proleg. num. 121.*

(*q*) See in this volume *cb. iv. sect. iv. p. 78. . . . 85.*

3. In ch. ii. 10. the angel says to the shepherds near *Bethlehem* : *I bring you good tidings of great joy to all people.* At ver. 30. . . . 32. *Simeon* says, at the presentation of *Jesus* in the temple : *Mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people : a light to lighten the Gentils, and the glorie of thy people Israel.* In ch. iii. 8. says *John* the Baptist : *God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham.* And I might here refer to ch. i. 78. 79. I suppose, that when *St. Luke* recorded these things, he understood them. Which he could not do, till after the gospel had been freely and fully published among Gentils.

4. That *St. Luke* understood the spirituality of the doctrine of the gospel, may be concluded from the account, which he has given of our *Lord's* discourse, recorded ch. vi. 20. . . . 49. I might for this refer to ch. i. 74. 75. and other places.

5. Ch. vii. 9. When our *Lord* had heard the centurion's profession of faith, *he marvelled at him, and said : I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel.* In *Matth.* viii. 11. 12. is a farther enlargement. The like to which may be seen in *Luke* xiii. 28. . . . 30.

6. In

6. In ch. xiii. 6. . . 9. is the parable of *the fig-tree, spared one year more* : representing the ruin of the Jewish church and people as near, if they did not speedily repent.

7. In ch. xi. 48. . . 51. are predictions of the calamities coming upon the Jewish people. In ch. xiii. 34. 35. are our Lord's lamentations over the city of *Jerusalem*, in the view of the calamities coming upon it. See likewise xvii. 22. . . 37. xix. 11. . . 27. xx. 9. . . 18. xxi. 5. . . 11. and ver. 20. . . 35. As St. *Luke* enlargeth so much in his accounts of these predictions, it may be argued, that the accomplishment was not far off, when he wrote.

8. In ch. xiv. 16. . . 24. is the parable of *a great supper*. When they who were first invited, refused to come. Whereupon the invitations were enlarged, and made more general. And in the end he who made the supper declares, that *they who were first bidden, should not taste of it* : representing the call of the Gentils, and the general rejection of the Jews for their unbelief.

9. In ch. xiii. 18. . . 21. are the parables of the *grain of mustard-seed*, and *leaven*, representing the wonderful progress of the gospel :

gospel: of which, probably, St. *Luke* had been witness, when he recorded them.

10. Ch. xxiv. 46. 47. . . *And he said unto them . . . that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.* When St. *Luke* wrote this, it is very likely, that he well understood the commission of the Apostles, as reaching to men of all denominations, throughout the whole world.

11. But I need not enlarge farther on these internal characters of time, the other argument being sufficient and satisfactorie.

*The Place,
where it
was writ.*

VI. I must say something concerning the place, where St. *Luke's* Gospel was writ.

Jerome, as before (*r*) quoted, in the prologue to his Commentarie upon St. *Matthew*, says, that (*s*) *Luke*, the third Evangelist, published his Gospel in the countreys of *Achaia* and *Bocötia*. In his book of *Illustrious Men* he says, the (*t*) *Acts* were writ at *Rome*. *Gregorie Nazianzen* says, that (*u*) *Luke* wrote for the *Greeks*, or in *Achaia*. And speaking of the provinces of divers of the Apostles and

Evan-

(*r*) *Vol. x. p. 84. 85.*

(*s*) In *Achaiae Bocotiaeque partibus volumen condidit.*
Ibid.

(*t*) *Ib. p. 95.*

(*u*) *Vol. ix. p. 133.*

Evangelists, he (x) assigns *Judea* to *Peter*, the *Gentils* to *Paul*, *Achaia* to *Luke*, *Epirus* to *Andrew*, *Ephesus* or *Asia* to *John*, *India* to *Thomas*, *Italie* to *Mark*: in which countrey, undoubtedly, many of the ancients believed this last mentioned Evangelist to have writ his Gospel. *Chrysoftom* does not say, where *Luke* wrote: but only that (y) he wrote for all in general.

We are told by (z) *Philostorge*, that in the reign of the Emperour *Constantius* St. *Luke's* reliques were translated from *Achaia* to *Constantinople*. It must therefore have been the general persuasion in those times, that St. *Luke* had died, and had been buried in *Achaia*. *Nicephorus* says, that (a) when *Paul* left *Rome*, *Luke* returned to *Greece*, where he preached the gospel, and converted many: where also he suffered martyrdom, and was buried. Soon afterwards he says, that (b) in the reign of *Constantius* *Luke's* body was translated

(x) Ἔβω πέτρε ἡ Ἰουδαία, τί πάυλω κεινὸν πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη, λεκᾶ πρὸς ἀχαίαν . . . μαρκῶ πρὸς ἰταλίαν; *Gregor. Or.* 25. p. 438. A.

(y) *Vol. x.* p. 318.

(z) *Vol. vii.* p. 317.

(a) Συνδιόγων δ' ἐν ῥώμῃ τῷ παύλῳ, ἐπανήκει τῇ ἐλλάδι εὐθείς. κ. λ. *Niceph. l. 2. cap. 43.* p. 210. (b).

(b) *Ibid. C.*

translated from *Thebes* to *Constantinople*. The connexion leads us by *Thebes* to understand *Thebes* in *Greece*.

Grotius says, he thinks, that (c) about the time that *Paul* left *Rome*, *Luke* also went thence into *Achaia*, and there wrote his books, which we have, as *Jerome* likewise says. *Cave* thought, that (d) both *St. Luke's* books were writ at *Rome*, and before *Paul's* captivity there was at an end.

But by *Mill*, *Grabe*, and *Wetstein*, it is said, that *Luke* published his Gospel at *Alexandria*, in *Egypt*. Let us observe their proofs.

First of all (e) *Mill* and (f) *Wetstein* quote *Oecumenius*, as saying, that *Luke* preached at *Thebes* in *Egypt*. Nevertheless I do not find it

(c) Puto autem Româ iisse Lucam in Achaiam, atque ibi ab eo conscriptos quos habemus libros. Quod et Hieronymus prodidit. *Grot. Praef. in Evang. Luc.*

(d) Utrumque anno Christi 59. S. Paulo nondum ex carcere dimisso, scripisse videtur. *In Luca H. L. p. 25.*

(e) Certe post discessum a Româ Libyam petiisse nostrum hunc Evangelistam, ac apud Thebanos verbum praedicasse, testatur Oecumenius comment. in Lucam. *Mill. Prol. n.*

114.

(f) ... vel secundum Hieronymum . . in Achaiae Boeotiaeque finibus, qui tamen Thebas Aegyptias, ubi teste Oecumenio Lucas praedicavit, pro Boeotiis accepisse videtur. *Wetst. N. T. Tom. i. p. 643.*

it in *Oecumenius*. And I suppose, that *Si-
meon Metaphrastes*, a writer of no great credit,
in the tenth centurie, in his life of *St. Luke*,
is their authority. For he is the writer
quoted by (*g*) *Grabe*, though he does it cau-
tiously. Nor does *Metaphrastes* say, that *St.
Luke* published his Gospel in *Egypt*. He
supposeth it to have been writ before he went
thither. For he says, that (*b*) when *Luke*
preached there, he sometimes argued from
the Old Testament, and sometimes from the
Gospel, which he had writ.

It may be reckoned probable therefore,
that this journey of *St. Luke* into *Egypt* is a
mere fiction, a thing without ground ascribed
to him by some, after he had left *Paul*, and
after he had writ his Gospel.

Nevertheless those learned men (*i*) have
been

(*g*) Taceo recentiores, veluti Simeonem Metaphrasten,
qui in Vita S. Lucae Graece et Latine edita ad calcem
commentariorum Oecumenii. p. 857. D. ita scribit: Totam
Libyam percurrens in Aegyptum pervenit. &c. *Grabe Spic.
T. i. p. 33.*

(*b*) Καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς παράγων γραφῆς, ἰὼν
δὲ εἰς ἕπερ ἔτος ἀνετάξατο εὐαγγελίῳ διερμηνεύου αὐτοῖς τὰ πε-
ρὶ χριστοῦ. *Sim. Metaphr. de Vit. S. Lucae p. 858. B.*

(*i*) Neque aliunde in aliam sententiam ductum arbitror
Hieronymum, qui in Achaiae Boetiaeque finibus hoc Evan-
gelium

been pleased to argue from this passage of *Metaphrastes*, that *Jerome* mistook *Thebes* in *Boeötia* for *Thebes* in *Egypt*. Which appears to me to be altogether arbitrarie. I should rather think, that some later writer mistook the place, and instead of *Thebes* in *Boeötia*, thought of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, a very famous city, and better known to himself than the other.

It may be of use to take here more at large the passage of *Nicephorus*, in part quoted just now. “ *Luke* (*k*) says he, was born at *Antioch*, which is in *Syria*, by profession a
 “ Physician, and also well skilled in painting.
 “ He came to *Paul* at *Thebes* with it’s seven
 “ gates : where renouncing the errour of his
 “ ancestors, he embraced the Christian doc-
 “ trine, and of a Physician for the body,
 “ became a Physician for the Soul. He
 “ likewise wrote a Gospel, as *Paul* dictated
 “ it to him, and also the Acts of the Apo-
 “ stles.

gelium conditum ait, quam quod seu lecto, seu ex traditione alicubi accepto, Lucam apud Thebanos praedicasse, ac conscripisse Evangelium, incolas istos fuisse existimarit Thebarum Boeotiarum, non autem Thebarum urbis Aegypti superioris. *Mill. Prol. n. 115. Vid. et Wetsten. citat. supra not. (f).*

(*k*) *Niceph. l. 2. cap. 43. p. 210. A. B.*

“ fles. Whilst *Paul* was at *Rome*, [or,
 “ When *Paul* had been at *Rome*,] he return-
 “ ed into (D) *Greece*.” This, I think, must
 confirm our supposition, that somebody mis-
 took *Thebes* in *Egypt* for *Thebes* in *Boeötia*.
 It is plain, that *Nicephorus* means *Thebes* of
Greece. And he seems to have supposed,
 in this place, that *Luke* was converted about
 the time that he came to be with *Paul* in
Macedonia and *Greece*. See Acts xvi. 10.
 He says, *Luke* returned into *Greece*. There-
 fore the *Thebes* before-mentioned must have
 been in that countrey. Nor was *Paul* ever
 at *Thebes* in *Egypt*. *Luke* therefore could
 not meet him, and be converted by him
 there. He calls it *Thebes* with it's seven
 gates. So (1) *Thebes* in *Boeötia* was some-
 times called.

Secondly. Another argument, that St.
Luke's Gospel was writ at *Alexandria*, is,
 that

(D) All must be sensible, that this storie of *Nicephorus* is very
 strange. For in one place he without hesitation speaks of St.
Luke, as the companion of *Cleophas*, mentioned *Luke* xxiv. 18.
Lib. 1. cap. 34. p. 117. A. And he several times speaks of
Mark and *Luke*, as two of Christ's seventy disciples. *Lib. 2.*
cap. 43. in et cap. 45. p. 213. B. κ' ἐκ τῶν ὀδυσσέων, μάρτυρον
τῶν δεκάων.

(1) *Vid. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

that (*m*) it is so said in the *Syriac* version.

But those titles are of no great weight. Before the three Catholic Epistles, received by the *Syrians*, is a title or inscription, importing, that (*n*) they were writ by *the Apostles, James, Peter, and John, witnesses of our Saviour's transfiguration*, taking *James* to be the son of *Zebedee*: whereas the epistle of *James* could not be writ till long after his death, who was beheaded by *Herod Agrippa*, as related *Acts xii. 1. 2.* And *St. Paul's* second epistle to *Timothie* (*o*) is said by the same *Syrians*, to have been writ at *Rome*, and sent by *Luke*. Which is manifestly contrarie to the epistle itself. See *2 Tim. iv. 11. 12.*

St. Luke's Gospel is also said in the *Persic* version, (*p*) to have been writ at *Alexandria*.

But

(*m*) Ita quippe sonat titulus ejus in versione Syriaca, ante mille annos edita: Evangelium Lucae Evangelistae, quod protulit et evangelizavit Graece in Alexandria magna. *Grabe Spic. T. i p. 33. Cons. Mil. Procl. n. 114.*

(*n*) Sanctorum Apostolorum, Jacobi, Petri, Johannis, transfigurationis Christi spectatorum, epistolae singulae.

(*o*) Ad Timotheum vero secunda Romae scripta, fuit missa per eundem Lucam Medicum et Evangelistam. *Ebedjesu Catal. ap. Aſeman. Bib. Or. T. 3. p. 12.*

(*p*) Et in versione Persica, quam tamen non ex Graeco, sed Syriaco textu translata exillimat admodum R. Waltonus: Evangelium Lucae, quod lingua Graeca Aegyptiaca in Alexandria scriptum, *Grab. ubi supr. p. 33.*

But then it is allowed, that this version was made from the *Syriac*, not from the *Greek*.

Thirdly, it is also urged, that there are *epigraphai* or inscriptions in some manuscripts, at the end of this Gospel, where it is said, that it was writ in the great city of *Alexandria*.

But it is well known, that those inscriptions at the end of the books of the New Testament are of little value, divers of them containing manifest mistakes : and they are in late manuscripts only, or however, such as are not of the highest antiquity.

Fourthly. *Grabe* (*q*) likewise insists upon a passage in the Apostolical Constitutions, where the Apostles are brought in, relating what Bishops had been appointed by them in their own time. And it is said, that in *Alexandria*, *Anianus*, the first Bishop, was ordained by the Evangelist *Mark*, and *Abilius* by *Luke*, also Evangelist. And (*r*) *Mill* in like

(*q*) Atque hoc non parum confirmatur ex eo quod lib. vii. Const. Apost. Clement. cap. 46. Lucas dicatur Alexandriae fuisse, ibique Episcopum Avillum ordinasse. *Ubiis Alexandrinorum Anianus primus a Marco Evangelista ordinatus est, secundus vero Avilius a Luca, et ipso Evangelista.* Grabe ibid.

(*r*) Et si Constitutionum Apostolicarum seu auctori seu conscribtorum fides; in ecclesia Alexandria, a Marco pri-

like manner quotes the Constitutions, after *Grabe*, though almost ashamed so to do.

But it should be considered, that the author of that work is anonymous, and unknown, and his time not certain. He says what he pleaseth. And has been convicted of falshood in such accounts (*s*) as these, as well as in others. It has very much the appearance of fiction, that the first Bishop of *Alexandria* should be ordained by *Mark*, and the second by *Luke*. And possibly it is a fiction of the writer himself. For I do not recollect, that this is said any where else. *Eppiphanius*, as well as more ancient writers, must have been totally unacquainted with this ordination, and with St. *Luke's* journeys in *Egypt*. For he says, that (*t*) this Evangelist preached the gospel in *Dalmatia*, *Gaul*, *Italie*, and *Macedonia*, but especially in *Gaul*.

Du Pin having taken notice of what is said relating to this matter in the inscriptions, which are in some manuscripts, the titles in the *Syriac* and *Persic* versions, *Metaphrastes*, and the Constitutions, concludes: “ All (*u*)
“ these

mum fundata. . . Avilium Aniani primi Episcopi successorum, ordinaverit. *Mill. Prol. n.* 141.

(*s*) See in this work vol. viii. p. 352.

(*t*) *Haer. L. i. num. xi. p.* 433.

(*u*) *Disserta. sur la Bible. liv. 2. ch. 2. §. v. p.* 39.

“ these monuments deserve no credit. We
 “ ought to adhere to what is said by *Jerome*,
 “ as most probable : that this Gospel was
 “ composed in *Achaia*, or *Boeötia*.”

Upon the whole, there appears not any good reason to say, that *St. Luke* wrote his Gospel at *Alexandria*, or that he preached at all in *Egypt*. It is more probable, that when he left *Paul*, he went into *Greece*, and there composed, or finished, and published his Gospel, and the Acts of the Apostles.

VII. I would now offer something by way of character of this Evangelist. But I shall do it briefly, and cautiously. And if I mention doubtful things doubtfully, I may hope to escape censure. It is probable, that he is *Lucius*, mentioned Rom. xvi. 21. If so, he was related to *St. Paul* the Apostle. And it is not unlikely, that that *Lucius* is the same as *Lucius* of *Cyrene*, mentioned by name. Acts xiii. 1. and in general with others. ch. xi. 20. It appears to me very probable, that *St. Luke* was a Jew by birth, and an early Jewish believer. This must be reckoned to be a kind of requisite qualification for writing a historie of Christ and the early preaching of his Apostles to ad-

*His Char-
 racter.*

vantage. Which, certainly, St. *Luke* has performed. I do not perceive sufficient reason to believe, that *Luke* was one of Christ's seventy disciples. But he may have been one of the two, whom our Lord met in the way to *Emmaus*, on the day of his resurrection, as related Luke xxiv. 13 . . . 35. He is expressly stiled by the Apostle *his fellow-laborer*. Philem. ver. 24. If he be the person intended Col. iv. 14. (which seems very probable,) he was, or had been, by profession a Physician. And he was greatly valued by the Apostle, who calls him *beloved*. Which must be reckoned much to his honour. For nothing could be so likely to recommend any man to St. *Paul's* esteem, as faithfulness to the interests of pure religion. It is undoubted, that he accompanied *Paul*, when he first went into *Macedonia*. Acts xvi. 8 . . . 40. And though we are not fully assured, that he continued to be with him, constantly afterwards: we know, that he went with the Apostle from *Greece* through *Macedonia*, and *Asia*, to *Jerusalem*, and thence to *Rome*, where he staid with him the whole two years of his imprisonment in that city. This alone makes out the space of

of

of above five years. And it is an attendance well becoming *Lucius of Cyrene* : to which no man could be more readily disposed, than one of the first preachers of the gospel to the Gentils. We do not exactly know, when St. *Luke* formed the design of writing his two books. But, probably, they are the labour of several years. During St. *Paul's* imprisonment in *Judea*, which lasted more than two years, and was a time of inaction for the Apostle, St. *Luke* had an opportunity for compleating his collections, and filling up his plan. For in that time unquestionably *Luke* conversed with many early Jewish believers, and eye-witnesses of the Lord, and some of the Apostles, who were still at *Jerusalem*. And I make no doubt, but that before that season he had conversed with several of the Apostles, and other eye-witnesses of our Lord's person and works. Nor can any hesitate to allow the truth of what is said by some of the ancients, that *Luke*, who for the most part was a companion of *Paul*, had likewise more than a slight acquaintance with the rest of the Apostles. Whilst he was with *Paul* at *Rome*, it is likely, that he had some

leisure for composing, and writing. When St. Paul left Rome, I imagine, that *Luke* accompanied him no longer : but went into Greece, where he finished, and published, one after the other, his two books. Which he inscribed to *Theophilus*, an honorable friend, and a good Christian in that country. Here *Luke* died, and, perhaps somewhat in years. Nor need it to be reckoned an improbable supposition, that he was older than the Apostle.

Observations upon his Gospel.

VIII. I shall conclude this chapter with some observations upon St. *Luke's* Gospel, and the Acts of the Apostles. But those upon his Gospel will chiefly relate to the introduction : though some were mentioned formerly.

I. St. *Luke's* two books, his Gospel and the Acts, are inscribed to *Theophilus*. Whereby some understand any good Christian in general, others a particular person.

Epiphanius (x) speaks as if he was in doubt, whether thereby should be understood a particular person, or a lover of God
in

(x) 'Εἰτ' ἔν τινι θεοφιλῷ τότε γράφων τῆτο ἔλεγεν, ἢ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ θεοῦ ἀγαπῶντι. *Epiph. Haer. LI. n. vii.* p. 429. A.

in general. *Salvian* (*y*) seems to have supposed it to be only a feigned name.

Augustin (*z*) and *Chrysofom* (*a*), and many others, have thereby understood a real person. *Theophylact* expresseth himself after this manner: “*Theophilus* (*b*) to whom
“*Luke* wrote, was a man of senatorian rank,
“and possibly a Governour: forasmuch as
“he calls him *most excellent*, the same title,
“which *Paul* useth in his addresses to *Felix* and *Festus*.” *Oecumenius* says, “that
(*c*) *Theophilus* was a Prefect or Governour.”
However, we have no particular account in the ancients, who he was, or of what country.

Cave (*d*) supposed *Theophilus* to have been

T 4

a Noble-

(*y*) Positus itaque in hoc ambiguae opinionis incerto, optimum fere credidit, ut beati Evangelistae sacratissimum sequeretur exemplum: qui in utroque divini operis exordio Theophili nomen inscribens, cum ad hominem scripserit videatur, ad amorem Dei scripsit: hoc scilicet dignissimum esse judicans, ut ad ipsum affectum Dei scripta dirigeret, a quo ad scribendum impulsus esset. *Salvian. ad Salon. ep.* 9. p. 215.

(*z*) *De Consens. Evan.* l. 4. c. 8. T. 3.

(*a*) *Chryf. in Act. Hom.* i. T. 9. p. 3. 4.

(*b*) See *Vol. xi.* p. 423.

(*c*) Ἡμεμὸν ἦν οὗτος ὁ θεόφιλος. &c. *Comm. in Act. T.* 2. p. 2. C.

(*d*) Utrumque opus inscripsit Theophilo optimati, (ut credere fas est,) Antiocheno. *Hist. Lit. in Luca.*

a Nobleman of *Antioch*. And in his Lives of the Apostles and Evangelists (*e*) writ in English, he refers to the Recognitions: where is mentioned a rich man of *Antioch*, of this name. But I do not esteem that to be any proof, that St. *Luke's Theophilus* was of *Antioch*. That fabulous writer is not speaking of *Paul*, nor of *Luke*, but of *Peter*: who, as he says, in (*f*) seven days converted ten thousand people at *Antioch*. And *Theophilus*, the greatest man in the city, turned his house into a church. Moreover, supposing him to intend St. *Luke's Theophilus*, his authority is of no value. A writer at the end of the second centurie does not speak of his own knowledge. And if St. *Luke* published his books in *Greece*, which to me seems probable, I should be inclined to think, that *Theophilus*, to whom they are addressed, was a man of the same countrey.

2. It

(*e*) P. 224.

(*f*) Et ne multis immorer, intra septem dies, plus quam decem millia hominum credentes Deo baptizati sunt, et sanctificatione consecrati: ita ut omni aviditatis desiderio Theophilus, qui erat cunctis potentibus in civitate sublimior, domus suae ingentem basilicam, ecclesiae nomine consecravit. *Recogn. l. x. cap. 71.*

2. It may be of more importance to inquire, whom St. *Luke* means by the *many*, who before him had *attempted* to write histories of Jesus Christ. *Epiphanius* says, that (g) St. *Luke* intended *Cerintbus*, *Merintbus*, and others. How *Origen* (h) expressed himself concerning this, in his preface to St. *Luke's* Gospel: and how *Jerome* (i) in his preface to St. *Matthew*, may be seen by those, who are pleased to look back. They say, that many attempted to write Gospels, as *Basilides*, *Apelles*, and others. And they mention divers Gospels, not received by the Church: Such as the *Gospel of Thomas*, and *Matthias*, the *Gospels of the Egyptians*, and of the *Twelve*. But it is not necessary to be supposed by us, that they thought, that all, if any, of those Gospels were writ before St. *Luke's*, or that he spoke of them. For *Basilides* and *Apelles* could not write Gospels before the second century. And they might suppose, that several, if not all the other, mentioned by them, were writ after St. *Luke's*.

(g) . . . φάσκων ἐπειδὴ περ πολλοὶ ἐτεχέρισαν ἵνα τιναὶ μὲν ἐπιχειρητὰς δέξῃ, φημι δὲ τὰς περὶ κήρυθου, καὶ μήρινθου, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας. H. LI. n. vii. iii.

(h) See Vol. iii. p. 317. 318.

(i) See Vol. x. p. 140. 141.

Luke's. The meaning of what these ancient writers say, is, that the Church receives four Gospels only. There were many others. But to them may be applied the words of St. *Luke*: they only *took in hand*, or *attempted*. They did not perform, as *Matthew*, and *Mark*, and *Luke*, and *John* did. And they might express themselves in that manner concerning Gospels writ after St. *Luke's*, as well as before it.

However, *Theophylact*, as was formerly (*k*) observed, in the preface to his Commentarie upon St. *Luke*, expresseth himself, as if he thought, the Evangelist referred to the Gospels according to the *Egyptians*, and according to the *Twelve*.

3. We will now observe the judgements of some learned moderns. *Grabe* (*i*) allows, that St. *Luke* did not refer to the Gospels of *Basi-*

(*k*) *Vol. xi. p. 422.*

(*i*) Reliqua quippe ab Origene et Ambrosio nominata falsa Evangelia, veluti Basilidis, aliudque Manichaeorum, Apostolo Thomae perperam adscriptum, procul omni dubio post S. Lucae obitum prodire: adeo ut ea in primis Evangelii verbis, in quorum explicatione Origenes et Ambrosius ista afferunt, respicere haud potuerit. Contra vero haud est absurdum, ista secundum Hebraeos et Aegyptios ante fuisse scripta, atque ad ea, una cum aliis pluribus jam ignotis, Lucam intendisse digitum, dum praefatus est. &c. *Gr. Spic. T. i. p. 31. 32.*

Basilides, or *Thomas*, or some others, mentioned by *Origen*. For they were not published, till after *St. Luke's* death. But he thinks, that *St. Luke* might refer to the Gospels according to the *Egyptians*, and according to the *Twelve*, and some others, now unknown.

That *St. Luke* might refer to the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, he thinks for the following reasons, which I shall consider.

The first is, that (*k*) *St. Luke's* Gospel was writ in *Egypt*. To which I answer: That is said without ground, as has been lately (*l*) shewn.

Grabe's second argument is, that (*m*) *Clement of Rome*, or some other, in the fragment of the second epistle ascribed to him, has quoted the Gospel according to the
Egyptians.

(*k*) Evangelium, de quo agitur, ab Aegyptiis editum fuisse ante Lucae Evangelium, 'huncque istud inter alia, si non praecipue, respexisse, dum in prooemio plures historias evangelicas memorat, ad quas emendandas, et defectus eorum supplendos, suam literis consignasse se innuit, probabile redditur ex eo, quod Lucas Evangelium scripsisse dicatur Alexandriae in Aegypto. *Id. ib. p. 33. in.*

(*l*) See before p. 273 . . . 277.

(*m*) Accedit, quod jam Clemens Romanus, vel quisquis est auctor ep. 2. ad Corinthios, certe antiquissimus, isto Evangelio usus esse ex fragmento mox recitando, colligatur. *Ibid. p. 34.*

Egyptians. Which argument, as one would think, might have been spared: since *Grabe* himself allows, that (*n*) second epistle to be suppositious, and not to have been composed, till about the middle of the third centurie. If that be the true date of the epistle, it is too late a thing, to warrant the supposition, that St. *Luke* referred to the Gosp.^l according to the *Egyptians*.

I shall take no farther notice of *Grabe*. But I imagine, that the Gospel according to the *Egyptians* was not composed before the second centurie. *Clement* of *Alexandria* is the first known Catholic author, that has cited it. And in his time it was very obscure and little known. This (*o*) was shewn formerly.

Dr. *Mill* does not much differ from *Grabe*. He thinks, that (*p*) of the many Narrations, to which St. *Luke* refers, the two principal were

(*n*) Ceterum quaeras, quando epistola illa Clementi supposita fuerat, respondeo, id seculo iii. et quidem medio, factum esse. *Ib.* p. 269. *in.*

(*o*) See *Fol.* ii. p. 527 . . . 530. *second edition.* p. 526 . . . 527. *first edition.*

(*p*) Ex dictis autem hisce historiis . . . duae prae ceteris celebratae erant, quae et ipsae Exangelia appellabantur, secundum Hebraeos alteram, alteram secundum Aegyptios. *Proleg.* n. 38. *vid. et n.* 39 . . . 41. *et n.* 112. &c.

were the Gospels according to the *Hebrews*, and according to the *Egyptians*.

The general account, which *Mill* gives of those Memoirs or Narrations, seems to be very just and reasonable. And I intend to transcribe him here largely. “ About “ (q) the year 58. or somewhat sooner, “ says *Mill*, were composed by some of the “ faithful

(q) Sub hoc quidem tempus, annum dico LVIII. seu etiam aliquanto ante, contextae fuere a fidelibus quibusdam illius aevi *Συγγήσεις* evangelicae, seu historiolae de rebus Christi. Patet hoc ex Evangelii D. Lucae prooemio: . . . Exinde colligimus, in primis equidem, πολλὰς hosce, qui historiolas conficiebant, alios prorsus esse ab Evangelistis nostris, Matthaeo et Marco. Erat enim Matthaeus unus ex ἀυτόπταις, ideoque neque ab istorum traditionibus pendebat, sicut hi quos memorat Lucas. Ne dicam, quod duos duntaxat nemo πολλὰς dixerit. Deinde vero notandum, eos narrationes suas instituisse περὶ τῶν πληροφορημένων ἐν ὑμῖν πραγμάτων, hoc est, ut ego lubens interpretor, de rebus apud primos fidei professores, quorum numero seipsum accenset Lucas, a Christo impletis sive gestis. Denique liquet ex verbis modo citatis, traductas fuisse narratiunculas istas seu proxime, seu mediate saltem, ab Apostolis ipsis, eorumque in opere evangelico adjutoribus. Manifestum est igitur, fuisse e primis Christianis nonnullos, qui ante Lucam, [addo etiam Matthaeum et Marcum,] res Christi, (seu Evangelia,) ex apostolicis traditionibus undecunque acceptis, conscripserant: idque non studio aliquo maligno, seu haeticō, quod insinuant fere qui in hoc Lucae prooemio commentati sunt: sed eodem plane fine, quo Evangelistae nostri: ut haberet scilicet Ecclesia rerum
a Domino

“ faithful Evangelical Narrations, or short
 “ histories of Christ. This appears from
 “ St. *Luke's* introduction to his Gospel.
 “ From which we learn, in the first place,
 “ that they were not our Evangelists, *Mat-*
 “ *thew* and *Mark*. For *Matthew* was an
 “ eye-witnesse. Nor can two be called
 “ *many*. In the next place, it is to be ob-
 “ served, that these Narrations consisted of
 “ *things most surely believed among us*, that
 “ is, as I understand it, *of the things fulfilled*
 “ *and done by Christ among the first professors of*
 “ *the faith* : of which number *Luke* reckons
 “ himself. *Lastly*, from the words of that
 “ introduction it appears, that those Nar-
 “ rations were received either from the A-
 “ postles themselves, or from their assistants
 “ in the work of the gospel. It is there-
 “ fore

a Domino nostro gestarum qualem qualem notitiam. Ceterum cum in iis quae sequuntur apud Lucam, singula Christianae rei historiam spectantia accurate se affectum esse dicat Evangelista . . . haud obscure quidem hinc colligi videtur, τῶν πολλῶν istorum διηγήσεις minus accuratas fuisse, minusque perfectas : ita quidem, ut in his, quae tradiderant, aliqua hinc inde occurrerint parum certa, ne dicam a vero aberrantia. Unde omnino visum sit ipsi plenariam historiae hujus cognitionem consecuto, integrum jam et luculentum rerum a Christo gestarum Commentarium scribere. *Mill. Prolog. num. 35 . . 37.*

“ fore manifest, that there were some of
“ the first Christians, who before *Luke*,
“ (and also, as we may suppose, before
“ *Matthew* and *Mark*,) wrote histories of
“ the things done by Christ, and received
“ from apostolical traditions: and that not
“ with a bad, or heretical design, as many
“ insinuate, who comment upon this intro-
“ duction of St. *Luke*, but with the same
“ design, as our Evangelists: that Christians
“ might have at least some account in wri-
“ ting of the Lord’s actions. Nevertheless
“ it may be also inferred from what St. *Luke*
“ here says, that their histories were inac-
“ curate, and imperfect: there were in them
“ some things not certain, or well attested,
“ and possibly, here and there, some mis-
“ takes. For which cause it seemed good
“ to him, who had attained to full infor-
“ mation, to write a compleat and copious
“ historie of the things done by Christ.”

If this account be right, some consequences may be deduced, which will be of use to us.

And indeed, it seems to me to be very right. There were several histories of Christ, to which St. *Luke* here refers. They were composed with a good view, like to that of
our

our Evangelists. But they were defective, and inaccurate. If there were any mistakes, I would imagine, that they were not numerous, nor in things of the greatest importance. Nor were the writers sufficiently qualified for the work, which they had undertaken. This, I think, to be intimated by St. *Luke*, though modestly, and without censoriousness, in what he says of himself, *that he had perfect understanding of all things from the very first*. Which, probably, could not be said of the composers of the Narrations, to which he refers. They were men, who had an honest zeal. But they had writ too hastily, before they had obtained full information. For which reason their histories could not answer the end aimed at.

These things being allowed to be right, several consequences may be deduced by us.

In the *first* place, and in particular, we hence learn, that the Gospel according to the *Twelve*, or according to the *Hebrews*, was not one of those Narrations, or Memoirs, to which St. *Luke* refers. For these were very short histories: [*historiolae* as *Mill* calls them:] that was a full Gospel, or large historie of Jesus Christ. Many, in *Jerome's* time, supposed it to be the authentic Gospel of

of St. *Matthew*: which, certainly, is not a short and imperfect Memoir. From the notice taken of that Gospel by several ancient writers, especially by *Jerome*, it appears to me very probable, (and I should think, must appear very probable to others likewise,) that the Gospel according to the *Twelve*, or according to the *Hebrews*, either was St. *Matthew's* original *Hebrew* Gospel, with additions: or his original *Greek* Gospel, translated into *Hebrew*, with additions. But this last seems to me most likely, as has been often said already upon divers occasions.

Secondly. Another thing to be deduced from *Mill's* account, if right, is, that (E) the Gospel according to the *Egyptians* was not one of the Narrations, to which St. *Luke* refers. For that Gospel was not composed upon the same principles with those of our Evangelists. It was an heretical Gospel, as

(E) I am not singular in supposing, that the Gospel according to the *Egyptians* is not intended by St. *Luke*. *Beza* says the same strongly. And, as I imagine, he justly asserts, it not to have been writ, till after St. *Luke's* Gospel. Quod istos ait Lucas, non satis commode praestitisse: minime tamen opinor, fabulosas, imo etiam impias narrationes intelligens, tandem Ecclesiae sub Nicodemi, Nazaracorum, Thomae, Aegyptiorum, nominibus impudentissime obtrusas. *Beza, ad Luc. cap. i. ver. 1.*

appears from the fragments of it, collected by *Grabe*, and (*r*) probably, it was composed in the second centurie, by some *Encratites*, enemies of marriage.

Thirdly. I add one thing more, whether it be a consequence from what has been already said, or not : that nothing remains of the Narrations, to which *St. Luke* refers, not so much as any fragments, they not being quoted in any Christian writings, now extant.

3. I shall now transcribe a part of *Dr. Doddridge's* remarks upon *St. Luke's* introduction. " This (*s*) must refer to some
 " histories of the life of Christ, now lost.
 " For *Matthew* and *Mark*, the only Evan-
 " gelists that can be supposed to have writ-
 " ten before *Luke*, could not with any pro-
 " priety be called *many*. And of these
 " two, *Matthew* at least wrote from per-
 " sonal knowledge, not from the testi-
 " monie of others. I conclude, that the
 " books referred to are lost : as I am well
 " satisfied, that none of the apocryphal
 " Gospels, now extant, published, parti-
 " cularly

(*r*) *Vid. Grabe Spic. T. i. p. 31. . . 37.*

(*s*) *See his Family-Expositor. Vol. i. p. 1.*

“cularly, by *Fabricius*, and *Jones*, can pre-
 “tend to equal antiquity, with this of St.
 “*Luke*. . . . And St. *Luke* seems to allow
 “these histories, whatever they were, to
 “have been honestly written, according
 “to information received from capable
 “judges.”

4. Mr. *Beaufobre*, speaking of these Me-
 moirs, says: “The (*t*) life of our Saviour
 “was so beautiful, his character so sublime
 “and divine, his doctrine so excellent, and
 “the miracles, by which he confirmed it,
 “were so shining, and so numerous, that
 “it was impossible, but many should under-
 “take to write Memoirs of them. This
 “produced many histories of our Saviour,
 “some more, others less exact. It is great
 “pity, that they are lost. For we might
 “have consulted them, and could have
 “judged for ourselves concerning the cha-
 “racter of the writers, and their compo-
 “sition. St. *Luke*, who speaks of Narra-
 “tions, or Gospels, that had preceded his
 “own, intimates indeed, that they were
 “defective, but he does not condemn them,
 “as fabulous, or bad.”

U 2

5. That

(*t*) *Hist. de Manich. Tom. i. p. 449.*

5. That is right. Those Memoirs were not bad, nor fabulous. But they were imperfect, as I apprehend, to a great degree. Nor do I lament the loss of them. I can pay so much deference to the judgement of Christian Antiquity, especially, the earliest of all, as to believe, that those *many Narrations*, to which St. *Luke* refers, did not deserve to be preserved, or to be much taken notice of, after the publication of the Gospels of our first three Evangelists. I imagine, that when once these came abroad, the former appeared to the faithful so low, and mean, and defective, that they could not bear to see, or read them.

Observations upon the book of the Acts.

IX. I shall now make some observations upon the other work of our Evangelist.

1. The book of the Acts was writ, according to (*u*) *Mill*, in the year 64. And from what has been argued by us in several places that must appear to be as likely a time, as any. It could not be writ, till after St. *Paul's* confinement at *Rome* was come to a period. I suppose, it to have ended in the former part of the year of Christ

(*u*) *Prolegom. num. 121.*

Christ 63. And I think it probable, that St. *Luke* finished this book the same, or the next year, either at *Rome*, or in *Greece*.

2. It cannot be disagreeable to recollect here some of the observations of ancient writers upon this book, the only book of the kind, which we have, containing a historie of the preaching of Christ's Apostles after his resurrection.

3. *Tertullian* (*x*) often speaks of the importance of this book, as shewing Christ's fulfilment of the promise of the Holy Ghost to his disciples.

4. "The (*y*) Acts of the Apostles, says *Jerome*, in his letter to *Paulinus*, concerning the studie of the Scriptures, seems to promise a bare historie, and an account of the early infance of the Church: but if we consider, that the writer is *Luke* the Physician, we shall at the same time discern, that every word is suited to heal the maladies of the soul."

U 3

5. Says

(*x*) See *Vol. ii. p. 588. . . 590. or p. 587. . . 589.*

(*y*) Actus Apostolorum nudam quidem sonare videntur historiam, et nascentis Ecclesiae infantiam terere. Sed si noverimus, scriptorem eorum Lucam esse Medicum, cujus laus est in evangelio, animadvertemus pariter, omnia verba illius animae languentis esse medicinam. *Ad Paulin. ep. 50. al. 103. T. 4. P. 2. p. 571.*

5. Says *Augustin* : “ *Luke* (α) after having
 “ writ a Gospel, containing a historie of
 “ Christ’s words and works to the time of
 “ his resurrection and ascension, wrote such
 “ an account of the Acts of the Apostles, as
 “ he judged to be sufficient for the edifi-
 “ cation of believers. And it is the only
 “ historie of the Apostles, which has been
 “ received by the Church : all other having
 “ been rejected, as not to be relied upon.”

6. I beg leave to refer my readers to the
 passages of *Chrysofom*, already (*a*) transcribed,
 relating to this book : and to the whole of
 his first homilie upon it. I add now only
 one passage more out of the same homilie.
 “ The (*b*) Gospels, says he, are the his-
 “ torie of the things, which Christ did, and
 “ spake. The Acts the historie of the
 “ things, which another Paraclet spake and
 “ did.”

7. It is not needful for me to make a
 distinct enumeration of the things contain-
 ed in this book. Every one who has
 perused

(α) See Vol. x. p. 237. 238.

(*a*) See Vol. x. p. 323. . . 330.

(*b*) Τὰ μὲν ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ ἂν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐποίησεν καὶ εἶπεν ἱστορία
 τίς ἐστὶν αἱ δὲ πράξεις, ἃν ὁ ἕτερος παρακλήτος εἶπε καὶ ἐποίησε.
 In Act. hom. i. Tom. 9. p. 9. B.

perused it with care, cannot but know, that it contains an account of the choice of *Matthias* to be Apostle in the room of the traitor, of the wonderful and plentiful pouring out of the gift of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles, and other disciples of Jesus at *Jerusalem*, at the Pentecost next succeeding his crucifixion, and of the testimonie bore by the Apostles to his resurrection and ascension in their discourses, and by many miracles, and various sufferings: their preaching first at *Jerusalem*, and in *Judea*, and afterwards by themselves, or their assistants, in *Samaria*: and then to Gentils in *Judea*, and afterwards out of it, as well as to Jews: and of the conversion of *Paul*, and his preaching, miracles, labours, sufferings, in many cities and countreys, parts of the Roman Empire, and the polite world, and at length in *Rome* itself.

8. If we were to indulge ourselves in making remarks upon this useful and excellent performance, nothing, perhaps, would be more observable, than it's brevity and concisenesse: by which means many things must have been omitted, which happened during the period of that historie. For it is very true, which *Chrysostom* said, that (c) *Luke* leaves us thirsting for more.

9. Says

(c) *Vol. x. p. 327.*

9 Says *Le Clerc*: “*Luke’s* (*d*) Apostolical Historie relates the beginings of the preaching of the Gospel among Jews and Gentils, chiefly by the ministrie of *Peter* and *Paul*. For of the other Apostles he is almost entirely silent. . . I wish, says he, that some other apostolical man, of like judgement and integrity, had writ the historie of the other Apostles, and had undertaken to supply what was wanting in *Luke’s* historie, and that this work had come down to us.” But, however desirable it may now appear to us, we cannot perceive from ecclesiastical historie, that ever such a work was published.

10. *Eslius* imagined, “that (*e*) *Luke*, possibly, intended to write a third book, to supply,

(*d*) Hic vero desinit Lucae Historia Apostolica, quâ initia prædicationis evangelicæ apud Judæos, Ethnicosque, et ministerio quidem Petri et Pauli potissimum scribere adgressus est. De ceteris Apostolis altum ubique apud eum est silentium. . . Utinam vero, vir quispiam apostolicus, pari judicio et fide, ceterorum res gestas literis mandasset, quæ narrationi Lucae desunt supplere voluisset, idque opus ad nos perveniret! *Chr. H. E. Aët. 61. n. iv.*

(*e*) Sed præcaldubio multa actuum Pauli a Luca sunt ommissa. . . . Ac fortasse Lucas meditabatur tertium librum, in quo repereret acta illius biennii . . . sicut Aët. i. quaedam exposuit tacitâ ultimo capite Evangelii. *Esst. ad Aët. Ap. xxviii. 30,*

“ supply, particularly, the omissions of the “ two years, which St. *Paul* spent at *Rome*.” But I verily believe, there is no ground at all for that conj=ctural supposition.

11. Again: *Le Clerc*, above mentioned, thinks, “ that (*f*) *Luke* breaks off the historie of St. *Peter*, of whom he had said so much before, very abruptly, in those words, Acts xii. 17. *And he departed, and went to another place*.” Nevertheless St. *Luke* afterwards drops St. *Barnabas* in a like manner. ch. xv. 39. And in the end he will take his leave of the Apostle *Paul* himself without much more ceremonie.

12. Those omissions are no reflexion upon the writer, nor any disparagement to his historie. The proper deduction to be made by us is this: We hereby perceive, that it was not the design of St. *Luke*, to aggrandize *Peter*, or *Paul*, or any of the Apostles, nor to write their lives: but to record the evidences of our Saviour’s resurrection, and to write a historie of the first preaching and planting the Christian Religion in the world. This
design

(*f*) Mirum est, Lucam, postquam liberationem Petri e carcere narravit cap. xii. 17. eumque *in alium locum*, hoc est, extra Ierofolymam, ivisse dixit, ne verbulum quidem de eo habere, de quo tam multa alia dixerat. *Id. ibid.*

design he has admirably executed. And having filled up his plan, he concluded.

13. However, undoubtedly, many things are omitted by St. *Luke*. Some of which we may learn from St. *Paul's* epistles. I shall observe some omissions.

14. St. *Luke* has not in the course of his historie, mentioned the writing of any of St. *Paul's* epistles. It is probable, that he was at *Corinth*, when the Apostle wrote thence his large epistle to the *Romans*. Nevertheless he takes not any notice of it, nor of the epistles writ by St. *Paul* at *Rome*, when he certainly was with him, nor indeed of any other. By comparing the epistles themselves, and St. *Luke's* historie of the Apostle in the *Acts*, we are enabled to trace the time and place of divers of those epistles. But they are no where particularly mentioned by the historian.

15. In *Acts* ix. 19. . . 26. St. *Luke*, after the account of St. *Paul's* conversion, speaks of his being at *Damascus*, and his preaching there, and of the opposition, which he there met with from the Jews, and his escape thence, and then going to *Jerusalem*. But St. *Paul* Gal. i. 17. 18. informs us, that after his conversion he went into *Arabia*, and then returned

returned to *Damascus*: and that three years passed between his conversion and his going to *Jerusalem*. This is an instructive instance. For the omission is certain, and undoubted. I am of opinion, that St. *Luke* did not omit the journey into *Arabia*, because he did not know of it: but designedly, and because he did not judge it necessary to be mentioned. *Jerome* (g) has taken particular notice of the omission of that journey into *Arabia*.

16. Like omissions are in St. *Luke's* Gospel. I shall take notice of two.

1.) Having given the historie of our Lord's presentation at the temple, he says ch. ii. 39. *And when they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city, Nazareth.* Nevertheless, I think, the holy family did not now go directly from *Jerusalem* to *Nazareth*, but to *Bethlehem*. There, as I suppose, our Lord received the homage of the Magians. And afterwards, to avoid the persecution of
Herod,

(g) Lucam vero idcirco de Arabia praeterisse, quia forsitan nihil dignum apostolatu in Arabia perpetrarat: et ea potius compendiosa narratione dixisse: quae digna Christi evangelio videbantur. Nec hoc segnitiae Apostoli deputandum, si frustra in Arabia fuerit: sed quod aliqua dispensatio et Dei praeceptum fuerit, ut taceret. *Hier. in Ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T. 4. p. 235.*

Herod, they removed thence to *Egypt*, and then returned to *Nazareth*. All which is recorded *Matth. ii. 1. . . . 13*. The visit of the *Magians* must have been after the presentation at the temple. If it had been before, and if they had presented *their gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh*: mentioned *Matt. ii. 11*. *Marie* would not have made the lesser offering for her purification, mentioned *Luke ii. 23. 24*. Nor could the child *Jesus* have been safely brought to *Jerusalem*, or such notice have been taken of him at the temple, as *St. Luke* particularly relates, *ch. ii. 25. . . 38*. if *Herod, and all Jerusalem*, had been just before alarmed by the inquiries of the *Magians*: *Where is he that is born King of the Jews?* *Matth. ii. 1. 2*. Omitting therefore all those things, *St. Luke* says, as above observed, and afterwards *they returned to Nazareth*, the place of their usual abode. Which is agreeable to *Matth. ii. 22. 23*.

2.) Another thing observable is, that all our Saviour's appearances to his disciples, after his resurrection, recorded by *St. Luke ch. xxiv*. were at *Jerusalem*, or near it. He takes not any notice of our Saviour's meeting the disciples in *Galilee*, so particularly mentioned *Matth. xxviii. 7*. and *Mark xvi. 7*.

St.

St. *John* also ch. xxi. 1. . . 23. speaks of our Saviour's shewing himself to the disciples at *the sea of Tiberias*. And St. *Paul* assures us, that our Lord was seen of *above five hundred brethren at once*. 1 Cor. xv. 6. Which, probably, was in the same countrey. And though at the beginning of his book of the Acts, St. *Luke* resumes the account of our Saviour's shewing himself to the disciples after his resurrection; there is nothing more about *Galilee*, than in the former relation. Infomuch that, if we had St. *Luke's* histories only, we might have been apt to conclude, that all the appearances of our Saviour to his disciples were at *Jerusalem*, or near it, and no where else.

17. St. *Paul's* epistles inform us of many things omitted by St. *Luke*. But we should have known many more, if we had had a parallel historian. A comparison of St. *Luke's* historie of our Saviour with that of the other Evangelists may assure of this.

18. In the eleventh chapter of the second epistle to the *Corinthians*, St. *Paul* mentions divers visions and revelations, with which he had been favored. But St. *Luke* has not taken notice of any of them. St. *Paul* in his speech to the people at *Jerusalem*, recorded

ed by St. *Luke* Acts xxii. 17. mentions a transe, which he had in the temple. But St. *Luke* has no where told us the exact time of it. Nor has he otherwise mentioned it.

19. I do not think, that these things were omitted by St. *Luke*, because St. *Paul* concealed them from him: or because by some other means he was unacquainted with the time and place of them. But it was a regard to brevity, that induced him to pass them over. They were not necessarie to be inserted in his historie. Without them he has recorded sufficient attestations of *Paul's* apostolical authority, and of the truth, and divine original of the doctrine taught by him.

20. Says St. *Paul*, unwillingly, and constrained by the disadvantageous insinuations and charges of self-interested and designing men. 2 Cor. xi. 23. *Are they ministers of Christ? [I speak as a fool:] I am more. In labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft.*

In prisons more frequent. Therefore before writing this epistle, in the year 57. *Paul* had been imprisoned several times: though St. *Luke* has mentioned before this time one imprisonment only, which was at *Philippi*. Acts
xvi.

xvi. 23. . . 40. Upon which *Estius* (*b*) observes, that *Paul* did and suffered many things, not mentioned in the Acts. And Rom. xvi. 7. *Salute Andronicus and Junia, my kinsmen, and my fellow-prisoners . . . who also were in Christ before me.* *Paul* was not a prisoner, when he wrote the epistle to the *Romans*, in the beginning of the year 58. But (*i*) he had been in prison before with those two early Christians, his relations. But where, or when, we cannot exactly say.

21. Ver. 24. *of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one.* Nevertheless *St. Luke* has not mentioned one of those times. *Estius* conjectures, that (*k*) *Luke* omitted these,
and

(*b*) De Paulo autem incarcerato ante hanc epistolam, in Actis Apostolorum non legimus quidem, nisi cap. xvi. ubi a Philippensibus in carcerem missus legitur. Sed permulta Paulus et fecit et passus est, quae in Actis non scribuntur. *Est. ad 2 Cor. xi. 23.*

(*i*) Porro concaptivos intellige, quod aliquando communia cum Paulo vincula pro Christo passi fuissent. Ubi tamen, aut quando factum sit, ignoratur. *Est. ad Rom. xvi. 7.*

(*k*) Sed cur Lucas in Actis ne unius quidem flagellationis ex quinque meminit? Ideo videlicet, quod de Paulo pene ea sola, quibus ipse praesens fuit, sigillatim recenset: alia vero vel silentio pertranseat, vel summam ac breviter referat. . . Qua in re notanda humilitas Pauli, qui suas tot et tam graves pro Christo passiones Lucae comiti suo non aperuerit, ne hic quidem recitaturus, nisi coëgisset eum amor salutis Corinthiorum. *Lt. ib. ad ver. 24.*

and many other things, because he was not with the Apostle, when they happened, and *Paul* out of modestie forbore to tell him of them. I rather think, that *Luke* was fully acquainted with *Paul's* historie. But he aimed at brevity, and judged the things mentioned by him to be sufficient.

22. Ver. 25. *Thrice was I beaten with rods*: meaning, I suppose, by Roman Magistrates. But *St. Luke* has mentioned one instance only of this: which was at *Philippi*, when *Paul* and *Silas* both underwent this hard usage. Acts xvi. 19. . . 40. Of this (1) likewise *Estius* has taken notice in his Commentarie.

Once was I stoned: undoubtedly meaning at *Lystra* in *Lycaonia*, as related by *St. Luke* Acts xiv. 19. 20.

Thrice I have suffered shipwreck. *St. Luke* has recorded but one instance, which was not untill after this time, in the Apostle's voyage from *Judea* to *Rome*. Acts xxvii. Which therefore must have been the fourth.

A night

(1) *Ter virgis coesus sum*: a Gentilibus. Erat enim Romanis consuetudo, virgis coedere nocentes. . . Porro Lucas tantum semel meminit hujus contumeliae Paulo illatae: scilicet Act. xvi. ubi scribit eum una cum Sila virgis caesum a Philippenfibus. *Est, in loc.*

A night and a day have I been in the deep. At one of those times I escaped with the utmost difficulty, by getting on a plank, and floating in the sea a night and a day, or a whole day of four and twenty hours.

23. Ver. 26. *In journeyings, often, in perils of waters, or rather rivers.* Which (*m*) are sometimes very dangerous. But St. *Luke* has not recorded any dangers of the Apostle upon rivers, either in crossing them, or sailing upon them.

24. Says *Tillemont* in his life of St. *Paul*:
 “ The (*n*) greatest part of interpreters think,
 “ that St. *Paul* made no voyages, but those,
 “ which are taken notice of in the Acts. . . .
 “ Nevertheless we must necessarily acknow-
 “ ledge, that beside what St. *Luke* informs us
 “ of the sufferings of St. *Paul*, this Apostle
 “ was five times scourged by the Jews, twice
 “ beaten with rods, and thrice shipwrecked:
 “ All this happened, before he wrote his se-
 “ cond epistle to the *Corinthians*: that is, in
 “ the time, of which St. *Luke* has writ the
 “ historie. Nevertheless St. *Luke* says nothing

(*m*) *Periculis fluminum*: quæ interdum non minus periculosa sunt navigantibus, quam mare. *Est. in loc.*

(*n*) *Mem. Ec. T. i. St. Paul. note xxviii.*

“ of all this. It is certain therefore, that
 “ either he has omitted the circumstances of
 “ the most remarkable events, which he re-
 “ lates, or that St. *Paul* made several voyages,
 “ of which he has taken no notice.”

25. The reason of St. *Luke's* silence here I take to be the same that has been already assigned of his silence upon other occasions. It was not necessary, that these things should be related. To have writ an account of all the Apostle's journeys, and dangers, would have rendered the work more voluminous and prolix, than was judged proper. When St. *Luke* set about composing and publishing this book, he had all the materials before him, and his plan was formed. Agreeably to which, he determined to write at large the historie of St. *Paul's* voyage from *Judea* to *Rome*, in which are many remarkable incidents, and to omit some other of the Apostles journeys and voyages : though divers of them likewise were attended with affecting circumstances.

26. The chapter, from which I have just now transcribed several things, concludes in this manner. ver. 31. . . . 33. *The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for evermore, knows that I lie not. In Damascus*

masius the Governour under Aretas, the King, kept the city of the Damascens with a garrison, desirous to apprehend me. And through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands.

I have often reflected with great satisfaction on St. *Luke's* not omitting this dangerous attempt upon the Apostle's liberty, and life : with which himself was so much affected, and which he has here mentioned with such solemnity. The historie of it may be seen in Acts ix. 23. . . 25.

I now proceed to some other things.

27. St. *Paul* assures us Gal. ii. 1. . . 3. that when he went up to *Jerusalem* upon occasion of the debate concerning the manner of receiving Gentil converts, he took *Titus* with him. Which is not said by St. *Luke* Acts xv. though he gives a particular account of *Paul's* going from *Antioch* to *Jerusalem* upon that occasion. Nor indeed has St. *Luke* once mentioned *Titus* in his historie : though St. *Paul* wrote an epistle to him, and has mentioned him several times in his epistles, sent to others.

28. Gal. ii. 11. . . 21. St. *Paul* speaks of *Peter's* being at *Antioch*, before he and *Barnabas* had separated. But St. *Luke* says no-

thing of it. *Jerome*, in his Commentarie upon the epistle to the *Galatians*, says :
 “ We (o) are not to wonder, that *Luke* has
 “ taken no notice of this. For by the usual
 “ privilege of historians he has omitted many
 “ things performed by *Paul*, and which we
 “ know from himself.”

29. Rom. xvi. 3. 4. *St. Paul* applauds an action of great generosity in *Aquila* and *Priscilla*. But *St. Luke* has not informed us of the place, or occasion of it. Doubtless he did not omit it, for want of respect to those excellent Christians, whom he has mentioned more than once. ch. xviii. 18. and 26. But that particular did not come within the compass of his design.

30. Many things, not expressly mentioned by *St. Luke*, may be argued, and concluded to have been done, from those which he has recorded.

1.) In Acts iv. 23 . . . 30. is recorded a prayer of the Apostles, in which they request, that they may be enabled to work miracles for farther confirming the doctrine taught by them. And unquestionably, their
 prayer

(o) Nec mirum esse, si Lucas hanc rem tacuerit, quum et alia multa, quae Paulus sustinuisse se replicat, historiographi licentiâ praetermiserit. *In Gal. cop. ii. T. 4. p. 244.*

prayer was heard, and their request granted, and they did work many miracles in the name of Christ, more than are related by St. Luke.

2.) Acts v. 12. *And by the hand of the Apostles were many signs and wonders done among the people.* And what follows. Whence it may be concluded, that (p) many miracles were wrought, not only by Peter and John, but also by the other Apostles also, beside those, which are particularly recorded. See also ch. ii. 43.

3.) Says Mr. *Bisbee*: “ Many (q) and great
“ miracles are related in the historie of the
“ Acts to be wrought by St. Paul, and his
“ fellow-laborers, in their preaching the gos-
“ pel to the Gentils. And agreeably hereto
“ St. Paul says, 2 Cor. xii. 12. *Truly the*
“ *signs of an Apostle were wrought amongst*
“ *you in all patience, in signs, and wonders,*

X. 3

“ and

(p) *Oecumenius* says, that *Luke* omitted many miracles wrought by the Apostles for avoiding ostentation. Πολλῶν δὲ θαυμάσιων ἐπιτελεσμένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἃς ἢ ἀνωτέρω ἐμνήσθη ὁ ταῦτα γράφων λεκῶς, [cap. ii. 43.] ἰδενὸς ἐκείνων ὀνομασί μνημονεύει, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο γράφει μόνου ἀφ’ ἑ πάντες ἐκινήθησαν. . . . ἢ ἢ ὅτι ἢ κόμπη χάριν ἢ συγγραφή αὐτῶ αὐτῆ ἐσπεδάσθη. *Oecum. in Act. Cap. iii. Tom. i. p. 25. A. B.*

(q) *The History of the Acts confirmed, ch. xi. §. 8. p. 407. 408.*

“ *and mighty deeds.* And to the *Romans*,
 “ ch. xv. 18. 19. . . . I make no doubt,
 “ says that learned writer, but the Apostles
 “ wrought miracles in every city, where
 “ they came with a view to preach the gos-
 “ pel, and make converts. *St. Luke* is so
 “ very succinct in his historie of the Acts,
 “ that he often omits them. He gives an ac-
 “ count of only a miracle or two wrought at
 “ *Philippi* in his whole relation of *St. Paul's*
 “ journey from *Antioch* to the West, when
 “ he converted a great part of *Macedonia* and
 “ *Achaia*: though it is evident from *St. Paul's*
 “ own epistle, already quoted, that he at that
 “ time did many signs and wonders at *Corinth*.
 “ And that he did the same at *Thessalonica*, is
 “ not obscurely intimated in his first epistle
 “ to the *Thessalonians*. ch. i. 5. We read
 “ nothing in the Acts of the Apostles of
 “ what *St. Paul* did in *Galatia* the first time,
 “ more than that he went through it. Acts
 “ xvi. 6. And all that is added the second
 “ time he was there is, that *he went over all*
 “ *the countrey of Galatia, strenghtening all*
 “ *the disciples*. ch. xviii. 23. Which in-
 “ deed is an intimation, that the first time
 “ he was there he preached the gospel a-
 “ mong them, and made converts. But
 “ from

“ from his epistle to the *Galatian* churches it
 “ is fully evident, that he wrought miracles
 “ among them, and conferred on them gifts
 “ of the Holy Spirit. For he asks them :
 “ *He that ministrerth to you the Spirit, and*
 “ *worketh miracles among you, doth he it by*
 “ *the works of the law, or by the bearing of*
 “ *faith ? Gal. iii. 25.* That he means
 “ himself, is manifest from the whole tenour
 “ of the epistle. See ch. i. 6. iv. 11. 13.
 “ 14. 19.”

There follow other like observations, which I may not transcribe.

4.) Mr. *Biscoe*, as above, makes no doubt,
 but the *Apostles* wrought miracles in every
 city, where they came, with a view to preach the
 gospel, and make converts. I am of opinion,
 that this may be truly supposed of *Paul*, par-
 ticularly, and that it may be concluded from
 what *St. Luke* has writ. For, according to
 him, *Paul* wrought miracles in *Cyprus*. Acts
 xiii. 11. at *Lystra*. xiv. 10. at *Philippi* xvi.
 16 . . 18. See also 25. 26. and very many
 at *Ephesus*. xix. 11 . . 17. And at *Troas* he
 raised *Eutychus* to life. xix. 9 . . 12. In his
 voyage from *Judea* to *Rome* he wrought
 many miracles. xxviii. 3 . . 6. and 7 . . 10.
 From these miracles, recorded by *St. Luke*,

it may be well argued, that St. *Paul* wrought miracles in all, or most other places, where he went, and made any stay, preaching the gospel. In particular, it may be argued; that *Paul* wrought miracles at *Athens*, and at *Corinth*. What they were, we cannot say, because they have not been recorded by St. *Luke*; nor by any other credible writer. But that miracles were performed by the Apostle in those cities, appears to me very probable.

(*) St. *Luke* (*) has not given any account of St. *Paul's* appearing before the Emperour *Nero* at *Rome*, when he was sent thither by *Festus*. Nevertheless, that *Paul* was brought before *Nero* soon after his arrival at *Rome*, is highly probable. And though St. *Luke* has not expressly said so, it may be concluded from what he has said. For he has again and again sufficiently intimated, that *Paul* was certainly to appear before the Emperour, to whom he had appealed. See Acts xxv. 10. 11. 12. 21. xxvi. 32. xxvii. 24. xxviii. 9. The Apostle therefore was brought before *Nero*, and pleaded before him.

(*) Mirum, quod Lucas hic nullam faciat mentionem primæ defensionis Paali, de qua ipse 2 Tim. iv. Quam factam fuisse primo anno, quo Romam venit, non dubitandum. Est, ad Act. xxviii. 30.

him. But *St. Luke* forbore to give a distinct account of it, because he had already given a particular account of *Paul's* pleadings before *Felix*, and *Festus*, and *Agrippa*. And from them may be concluded, what was the tenour of his apologie before the Emperour himself.

6) *St. Paul*, in his epistle to the Christians at *Rome*, says, ch. i. 11. *I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established.* And ch. xv. 29. *I am sure, that when I come unto you, I shall come unto you in the fulnessse of the blessing of the gospel of Christ.* And unquestionably, the event was agreeable to these wishes and expectations.

7.) *St. Luke* has not particularly recorded those things in his historie. But from what he has said they may be inferred. Says our historian. Acts xxviii. 13 . . 16. *And we came the next day to Puteoli. Where we found brethren, and were desired to tarry with them seven days. And so we went toward Rome. And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us, as far as Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns. Whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage. And when he came to Rome, the Centurion*
delivered

delivered the prisoners to the Captain of the Guard. But Paul was suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him. And ver. 30. Paul dwelled two whole years in his own hired house.

8.) From the things here said it may be fairly concluded, that during the Apostle's stay at *Rome*, there was a very delightful communication of civil and religious offices between him and the believers there, according to the abilities, and the exigences of each. Before he left *Rome*, the *Philippians* seem to have sent him a suppliance by *Epaphroditus*. *Philip. iv. 10 . . 18.* But it may be well supposed, that the price of his lodging, and the expenses of his maintenance, were provided for, chiefly, by the Christians, whom he found at *Rome*, when he came thither, and by the converts, which he made afterwards. The soldiers likewise, who by turns attended upon him, would expect to be considered, if they carried it civilly toward their prisoner. All which, we may suppose, was taken care of by the good Christians at *Rome*: who, as *St. Luke* assures us, went out to meet him, and conducted him into the City.




CHAP. IX.

St. John,

Apostle, and Evangelist.

- I. *His Historie from the N. T.* II. *His Age.*
 III. *When he left Judea, to go to Ephesus.*
 IV. *His Historie from ecclesiastical Writers.*
 V. *The Time, when he was banished into Patmos.* VI. *How long he was there.*
 VII. *Testimonies of ancient Writers to his Gospel.* VIII. *Opinions of learned Moderns concerning the Time, when this Gospel was writ.* IX. *An Argument, to prove, that it was writ before the Destruction of Jerusalem.* X. *Objections considered.* XI. *Observations upon this Gospel.*

I.  **JOHN** was the son of Zebedee, a *His Historie from the N. T.*
 fisherman upon the sea of Galilee, probably (a) of the town of

(a) Zebedaeum gente Galilaeum fuisse ex loco commorationis circa lacum Gennesareth suspicamur. Incertius autem,

of *Bethsaida*, and (b) *Salome*. *John* was the younger brother. For *James* is always (c) mentioned first, except in *Luke* ix. 28. And *John* is generally reckoned the youngest of all Christ's disciples.

Though *Zebedee* was by trade a fisherman, he needs not be reckoned poor. For, as *St. Mark* has particularly observed, he was not only master of a boat, and nets, but had *hired servants*. ch. i. 20. Moreover, we may recollect what *Peter* said to Christ, who also had been a fisherman upon the same sea. *We have left all, and followed thee*. *Matt.* xix. 27. They left their employments, by which they gained a subsistence : and for the present there was self-denial in their attendance upon Jesus.

It is not unlikely, that *Zebedee* died not long after these two brothers were called
to

autem, Bethsaidensem pronunciare, ut plerique faciunt : cum id nitatur tantum testimonio Evangelii, sociis Andreae ac Petro hoc oppidum adsignantis. Neque tamen argumenta ad manus sunt, quibus vulgatam hanc opinionem impugnemus.
Lampe Prolegom. in Johan.

(b) Compare *Matt.* xxvii. 55. with *Mark* xv. 40. and xvi. 1.

(c) So *Matt.* iv. 21. x. 2. *Mark* i. 19. iii. 17. x. 35. *Luke* v. 10. *Act.* i. 13.

to be Apostles. However, the circumstances of the familie may be collected from what is said of their mother, who is mentioned, Matt. xxvii. 55. and Mark xv. 41. among *those women, who followed Jesus out of Galilee, and ministred unto him.* That ministrie is described Luke viii. 3. To which might be added, that she is mentioned among those women that bought sweet spices to embalm the body of Jesus. Mark xvi. 1. Luke xxiii. 55. And our Lord, having recommended his mother to this disciple, it is said, that *he took her to his own home.* John xix. 27.

If *Salome* was related to our Lord in the manner supposed by (d) *Theophylact*, or some other way, with which we are not distinctly acquainted; that may have been, in part, the ground and reason of several things mentioned in the Gospels: as the petition of these two brothers, disciples, for the first two places in Christ's kingdom: *John's* being the beloved disciple, and friend of Jesus, and being admitted to some freedoms, denied to the rest: and, possibly, per-

(d) See Vol. xi. p. 424, 425.

(e) performing some offices about his person : and, finally, our Lord's committing to him the care of his mother, so long as she should survive him.

In Acts iv. 13. It is said of *Peter* and *John*, that they were *ignorant, and unlearned men*. Which, indeed, is nothing else, but that they were neither (f) Doctors, nor Magistrates, but men of private stations, who had not been educated in the schools of the Rabbies : or, as Dr. *Doddridge* has happily translated this text, *illiterate men, and in private stations of life*. So *Oecumenius* says, that

(e) Opus scilicet erat ipsi aliquo, quem interdum ad matrem mitteret, (quod non ita raro factum esse, facile intelligitur,) quo uteretur ad lavandos sibi pedes, ad induendos sibi et exuendos calceos. [vid. Matt. iii. 11. Marc. i. 8. Luc. iii. 16. Joan. i. 27.] qui sibi praesto esset ad mandata subita, qui in cubiculo sibi adjaceret dormienti, qui alia sibi praestaret minuta officiola domestica, qui propterea perpetuus sibi esset pedissequus, nec nisi jussus ab ipso recederet. *Heuman. Diff. Syll. Tom. 2. p. 338.*

(f) *Ἀγράμματοι, sine literis*: id est, non versati in doctrinis thalmudicis, quales illiterati Hebraeis. Nam scripturas Apostoli et legerant, et memoria tenebant. *Καὶ ἰδιώται*. Idiotae sunt Hebraeis, qui neque Magistratus sunt, neque Legisperiti. *Grot. in loc.*

that (g) St. *John* in sending a letter to *Caius* had *Paul* for an example, who wrote to *Timothie*, and *Titus*, and to *Philemon*, an idiot : that is, a man of a private station : whereas *Timothie* and *Titus* had a public character in the Church, as they were Evangelists.

There can be no doubt, that *Zebedee's* sons, as the children of all pious Jews at that time, were well acquainted with the scriptures of the Old Testament. They had read them, and had heard them read and explained in the synagogues. They had also been accustomed to go to *Jerusalem*, at the feasts, and had discoursed with many upon the things of religion. They now were in expectation of the appearing of the Messiah, foretold in the Law and the Prophets. But, undoubtedly, were in the common prejudice of the nation, that it would be, in part at least, a worldly kingdom. And it is very likely, that they had heard *John* preach : though they did not attend stately upon him, as his disciples. For all the people of *Judea* in general went to *John's* baptism.

Says

(g) Πρὸς δὲ γάϊον εἰα γράφων ἔχει πᾶυλον τίτω γρόφοντα καὶ τιμοθέω, καὶ πρὸς φιλήμονα δὲ ἰδιώτην. *Occum. T. 2. p. 606. C.*

Says St. John i. 35. 26 *Again, the next day after John stood, and two of his disciples. And looking upon Jesus, as he walked, he saith: Behold the lamb of God . . .* From ver. 40. we learn, that one of these two, which heard John speak, was *Andrew, Simon Peter's brother.* And (*b*) some have supposed, that our Evangelist, who writes this, was the other. Which I do not look upon as certain, though I do not deny it.

Whether the other was *John*, or not, it ought to be reckoned unquestioned, that before he was called to be an Apostle, he had seen and heard the Lord Jesus, and had been witness of some miracles wrought by him. It appears to me very probable, that (*i*) he was one of the disciples, who were present at the wedding in *Cana of Galilee*, where water was made wine. John ii. 1 . . . 11.

The call of *James* and *John*, to attend upon Jesus statedly, is related Matt. iv. 21. 22. Mark i. 19. 20. Luke v. 1 . . 10.

St.

(*b*) *Duorum alter ver. 41. nominatur. Alter videtur ipse Evangelista noster fuisse, uti visum in vita ejus. Lib. i. cap. 2. Lampe in Joh. cap. i. ver. 35. 36.*

(*i*) However, *Basnage* disputes this. Neque probabile admodum, Joannem his interfuisse nuptiis. Quod si concederetur, &c. *Basn. Ann. 30. num. xxxviii.*

St. *Mark*, putting down the names of the twelve Apostles, when he mentions *James* and *John*, says, that our Lord *surnamed them Boanerges, which is sons of thunder.* ch. iii. 17. By which it seems unreasonable to suppose, that our Lord intended to reproach them with some fault in their natural temper, as if they were fierce and furious: though (*k*) a learned writer has intimated so much. That (*l*) name must have been very honorable, prophetically representing the resolution and courage, with which they would openly and boldly declare the great truths of the gospel, when fully acquainted with them. How *John* answered this character, we know from what is said of him in the book of the Acts, and from his own writings, and from things recorded of him in ecclesiastical history. How well *James*, the other brother, answered that character, may be concluded from his being beheaded by *Herod Agrippa* at *Jerusalem*, not many years after our Lord's

(*k*) "However it was, our Lord, I doubt not, herein had respect to the furious and resolute disposition of those two brothers, who seem to have been of a more fierce and fiery temper, than the rest of the Apostles." *Cave's Life of St. James the Great.* num. 5. p. 142.

(*l*) *Vid. Fr. Lamp. Prolegom. l. i. cap. 2. num. vii. . . xv.*

ascension. Which, we cannot doubt, was owing to an open and stedfast testimonie to the resurrection of Jesus, and to other services for the Church : whereby he had greatly signalized himself in the short period of his life after our Lord's ascension. Possibly, (*m*) he had, with a freedom, not a little offensive, spoke of the calamities coming upon the Jewish people, if they did not repent, and believe in Jesus, as the Christ : as also *John* the Baptist had declared in his preaching, *Matt.* iii. 7. . . 12. *Luke* iii. 17. and *Stephen* in his. *Acts* vi. 13. 14. *James* (*A*) was the first Martyr

(*m*) Accedit altera ratio, quae eos adhuc proprius spectabat, nempe quod in scopo ministerii sui prae ceteris Apostolis Baptistae similes futuri. Nempe sicut Baptista in ea totus erat, ut per tonitru praeconii sui iudicium jam tum Judaeis imminens indicaret et averteret ; ita et ministerium fratrum horum potissimum ad Judaeos spectaturum erat. Jacobus quidem ea fini post ascensionem Domini nunquam, quod scimus, ab Hierosolyma discessit, donec pro fide martyrium subiret. Hoc vero ei evenisse, quam maxime probabile est, quia invidiosa prae ceteris ejus concio fuit, periculum instans incredulorum ex Judaeis omni data occasione ingeminans. &c. *Lamp. ib. l. i. cap. 2. num. xv.*

(*A*) It has long been the general opinion of the people of *Spain*, that this *James*, the son of *Zebedee*, planted the gospel in that countrey. *Gaspar Sanctius*, a learned *Spanish* Jesuit, wrote a treatise in defense of it, beside what he says in his Commentarie upon the *Acts* of the Apostles. But it is incon-

Martyr for Christ among the Apostles. And bids fair for obtaining his petition, in a higher sense, than it was at first intended : of *sitting on the right hand, or the left hand of Christ in his kingdom*. And the other brother, surviving all the other Apostles, bore the longest testimonie to the truth of the gospel.

This account of that name is agreeable to (n) what *Grotius* says in his Annotations.

Y 2

But

inconsistent with the historie in the Acts. None of the Apostles left *Judea* so soon. Nor is this opinion founded on the testimonie of any ancient writers, of good credit. And it is now generally given up, even by Popish writers. *Vid. Baron. A. D. 41. num. i. Tillemont S. Jacques Le Majeur, et note vi. Mem. Ec. Tom. i.* I transcribe here the Judgement of *Esius*. Deinde, quando occisus est, vixdum coeperat evangelium gentibus praedicari, ut ex praecedentibus et sequentibus patet. Nec dum Apostoli dispersi erant in remotas gentes : sed ejus rei commodum tempus expectabant. Denique nullus scriptor antiquus certae fidei refert, Jacobum Hispanias vidisse. *Est. in Act. Ap. Cap. xii. ver. 2. — Vid. et Basnag. Ann. 44. num. iv. v. et Dictionaire de Moreri. S. Jacques le Majeur.*

(n) Omnino mihi videtur Christus, in hujus nominis impositione respexisse ad Aggaei vaticinium. cap. ii. 7. . . Quod de evangelii praedicatione exponit Scriptor ad Hebraeos. xii. 26. Ad hanc ergo maximam rerum mutationem significat Christus, zebedaei filios eximios sibi ministros fore. Et certe destinatum illis excellentiam quandam inter ipsos Apostolos vel hoc ostendit, quod cum Petro seorsim a ceteris
mul-

But Dr. *Heumann* (o) has another thought. He observes, that *Simon*, to whom Jesus gave the name of *Peter*, is often so called. But we do not read, that the two sons of *Zebedee* were any where else spoken of by the name *Boanerges*, either by themselves or others. He thinks, that the words should be thus rendred: *And he had surnamed them Boanerges*: that is, upon a particular occasion he so called them. That occasion (q) he supposes to be the historie related Luke ix. 52. . . 56. That is an ingenious conjecture. But if this name had been given them in the way of reproof and censure, as Christ once called *Peter* Satan. Mat. xvi. 23. Mark viii. 33. one would scarcely expect to see it here. The place, as seems to me, leads us to think, the name

multarum rerum testes sunt assumti. Adde, quod Jacobus primus Apostolorum omnium sanguine suo Christi doctrinam obsignavit, et quod Johannes omnibus Apostolis superstes diutissime testimonium perhibuit veritati. *Grot. ad Marc. iii. 17.*

(o) *Nova Sylloge Dissert. Part. i. p. 254. . . 259.*

(q) Legimus, et adversus Petrum indigne se gerentem, in haec verba erupisse Christum: Apage, Satana. Jam uti Satanas non factum est ordinarium Petri cognomen, sic nec Zebedaei fratres nisi semel nominati sunt Boanerges. Nec proinde laudis hoc nomen est, (quae quidem inveterata est opinio,) sed nomen vitii. Non est, inquam, appellatio honorifica, sed investiva. *Ib. p. 259.*

name honorable, as well as *Peter*. Which has been the general opinion of all times.

In *Suicer's* Thesaurus, at the word Βροντή may be seen the observations of many ancient writers upon this name. I take *Theophylact's* only. Who says, that (*r*) when Christ called these two disciples sons of thunder, he intimated, that they would be great preachers, and eminent divines.

From the time they were called by Christ, they staidly attended upon him. They heard his discourses, and saw his miracles.

They were two of the Twelve, whom (*s*) Christ sent forth upon a commission, to preach in the land of *Israel*. Which was of great use to them. Thereby (*t*) they learned to trust in God, and were prepared for the greater difficulties of their Apostleship afterwards.

John addressed himself to Christ, saying: *Master, we saw one casting out demons in thy name. And we forbid him, because he followeth not with us...* So in Luke ix. 49. 50. And more at large in Mark ix. 38... 41. But it

Y 3

was

(*r*) Ὅτις δὲ βροντῆς ἐνομάζεται τὰς τῶ ζεφειδάς, ὡς μετὰ ἀλοήρυκας καὶ θεολογιδάτες. In *Marc. Tom. i. p. 205. C.*

(*s*) See *Matt. x. 46. Mark. vi. 7. Luke ix. 1.*

(*t*) See *Luke xxii. 35.*

was a thing, in which several were concerned. For *John* says: *We saw one casting out demons, in thy name. And we forbid him.* The historie, as recorded by the Evangelists, led me to think so. And Mr. *Lampe* (u) was of the same mind. Moreover, it might be done some while before.

Our Lord was going from *Galilee*, to *Jerusalem* before the feast of *Tabernacles*, as some think, or before the feast of the *Dedication*, as (x) Dr. *Doddridge* argues. And, as he was to pass through the countrey of *Samaritans*, he sent messengers before his face. And they went, and entred into a village of the *Samaritans*, to make ready for him. But they did not receive him, because his face was, as though he would go unto *Jerusalem*. When his disciples, *James* and *John*, saw this, they said: *Lord, wilt thou, that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did.* But he turned, and rebuked them, and said: *Ye know not, what manner of spirit ye are of. . . . And they went to another village.* Luke ix. 51. . . 56. Some have been of opinion, that the messengers sent

(u) *Ubi supr. l. i. cap. 2. num. 18.*

(x) *Family-Expositor. Vol. ii. p. 183.*

sent by our Lord, to prepare entertainment for him, were these two disciples. If so, this proposal might be suspected to proceed as much from resentment of an injurious treatment of themselves, as of their master. But to me that is not certain. I rather think, that those messengers were different persons. So (y) likewise argues Mr. *Lampe*.

The two brothers, *James* and *John*, were ambitious of high posts of honour and dignity in Christ's kingdom : which, with others, they esteemed to be of a worldly nature. The petition was presented by their mother, but at their instigation. And they seem to have been present at the same time. For our Lord's answer is directed to them. Matt. xx. 20. . . 23. Mark x. 35. . . 40.

The two brothers, *James* and *John*, and *Peter*, were the only disciples that were admitted to be present with our Lord at the

Y 4

raising

(y) Cui tamen in eo non accedimus, quod filios Zebedaei ipsos illos legatos putat fuisse, quos Iesus in vicum Samaritanorum hospitium rogaturos miserat. Unde ob illatam sibi injuriam videntur exacerbati esse, sed textus legatos illos a filiis Zebedaei satis clare distinguit. Accedit, quod Iesus ad illos *πρᾶξις* conversus fuerit. Quod indicat, illos, cum Domino consilium proponerent, non fuisse Domino obvios, sed pone eum sequentes. *Lampe Proleg. l. 1. cap. 2. n. xix. not. (b).*

raising of the daughter of *Jairus*. Mark v. 37. Luke viii. 51. The same three disciples were taken up by Christ into the mount, when he was transformed in a glorious manner, and Moses and Elias appeared, talking with him. Matt. xvii. 1. Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 28. The same three were admitted to be present at our Lord's devotions in the garden, when he retired from the rest. But they all failed to watch with their Lord, as he had desired. Matt. xxvi. 36. . 45. Mark xiv. 32. . . . 42.

Says St. Mark xiii. 1. 2. *And as he went out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him: Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here. And Jesus answering said unto him: Seest thou these great buildings! There shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. Compare Matt. xxiv. 1. 2. It follows in Mark xiii. 3. 4. And as he sat on the mount of olives, over against the temple, Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, asked him privately: Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign, when all these things shall be fulfilled?* Whereby we perceive, that to those four disciples, especially, our Lord addressed himself, when he delivered the predictions

concerning the great desolation, coming upon the Jewish People, recorded in that chapter, and in Matth. xxiv. and Luke xxi.

This Apostle and *Peter* were the two disciples, whom Jesus sent to prepare for eating his last passover. Luke xxii. 8. Compare Matth. xxvi. 17. . . 19. Mark xiv. 13. . . 16.

Our Lord, sitting at supper with his disciples, said: *One of you will betray me.* *Peter* beckoned to *John*, who leaned on the bosom of Jesus, *that he would ask, who it should be, of whom he spake.* Which he did. And our Lord gave him a sign, by which he might know, whom he intended. John xiii. 21. . . 26. This is an instance of the freedom, which *John* might take, as the beloved disciple, and friend of Jesus.

When our Lord was apprehended by the Jewish officers, we are informed by St. *Mark*. xiv. 51. 52. *And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body. And the young men laid hold of him. And he left the linen cloth, and fled from them.* Some have thought, that this young man was *John*. *Cave (z)* gives a good deal
of

(z) " Indeed upon our Lord's first apprehension, he fled after the other Apostles: it not being without some probabilities

of countenance to that supposition. Others (a) have thought him to be *James*, the Lord's brother. But *Grotius*, and justly, wonders, that (b) any should have been of opinion, that he was one of the Apostles.

That *Peter* followed our Lord at a distance, and was admitted into the Hall of the Jewish High-Priest, we are assured from all the Gospels. It has been supposed by many, that *John* shewed the like testimonie of affection and respect for his Lord. For he says ch. xviii. 15. *And Simon Peter followed Jesus. And so did another disciple. That disciple was known to the High-Priest. And spake to her that kept the door, and brought in Peter.*

Nevertheless it may be questioned, whether St. *John* hereby intends himself. *Cbry-
sostom*

bilities of reason, that the ancients conceive him to have been that *young man*, that followed after Christ, *having a linen cloth cast about his naked body*: whom when the officers laid hold upon, he left the linen cloth, and fled naked away." *Carve's Life of St. John, num. ii. p. 151.*

(a) See *Whitby upon Mark xiv. 51.*

(b) Non de Apostolorum grege. Quod miror, veteribus in mentem venire potuisse. Nec e domo, in quam Christus in urbe diverterat, sed ex villa aliqua horto proxima, strepitu militum excitatus, et subito accurrens, ut conspiceret, quid egerent. *Grot. ad Marc. xiv. 51.*

Jostom (c) supposeth him to be meant, and that St. *John* concealed his name out of humility and modestie. To the like purpose also (d) *Theophylact*. Nor (e) had *Jerome* any doubt here. But *Augustin* (f) was cautious in saying, who it was: though he thought it might be *John*.

Let us now observe the sentiments of moderns. *Whitby* upon the place says: “He seems not to be *John*. For he being a Galilean, as well as *Peter*, they might equally have suspected him upon that account.” However, to this it might be answered, that *John* being known to the High-Priest, he
was

(c) Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄλλος μαθητής; Ὁ ταῦτα γράψας. κ. λ. *Chr. in Joan. hom.* 83. al. 82. T. 8. p. 491.

(d) Τίς ἦν ὁ ἄλλος μαθητής; Ἄυτὸς οὗτος ὁ ταῦτα γράψας ἀποκρύπτει ἑαυτὸν διὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης. κ. λ. *Theoph.* in *Job.* xviii. p. 809.

(e) Unde et Iesus Joannem Evangelistam amabat plurimum. Qui propter generis nobilitatem erat notus Pontifici, et Judaeorum insidias non timebat: in tantum ut Petrum introduceret in atrium, et staret solus Apostolorum ante crucem, matremque Salvatoris in sua reciperet. *Ad Princip. virg. ep.* 96. al. 16. T. 4. p. 780.

(f) Quisnam iste sit discipulus, non temere affirmandum est, quia tacetur. Solet autem se idem Joannes ita significare, et addere, quem diligebat Iesus. Fortassis ergo hic ipse est. Quisquis tamen sit, sequentia videamus. *In Joann. Evang. Tr.* 113. T. 3. P. 2.

was safe. But then another difficulty will arise. For it may be said: How came *John* to be so well known to the High-Priest, and his familie, as to be able to direct the servant to admit a stranger, as *Peter* was, and at that time of night?

Grotius likewise thought, that (*g*) this *other* disciple could not be *John*, or any one of the Twelve, but rather some believer, an inhabitant of *Jerusalem*, and, possibly, the person, at whose house our Lord had eat the paschal supper.

Lampe (*b*) hesitates. And at length allegeth

(*g*) Et sane non est probabile, aut ipsum Johannem hic intelligi: (cur enim Galilaeus cum esset, minus interrogaretur ab adstantibus, quam Petrus?) aut aliquem ex Duodecim, sed alium quendam Hierosolymitanum, non aequè manifestum factorem Iesu: quales multi erant in urbe, ut supra didicimus. xii. 42. Valde mihi se probat conjectura existimantium, hunc esse eum, in cujus domo Iesus coenaverat, ob id quod legitur. Matt. xxvi. 18. *Grot. ad Joh. xviii. 15.*

(*b*) Scripseram haec, cum J. Casp. Merhenii Observat. Crit. in Pass. J. C. consulens, novam ab eo hypothesein proponi deprehenderem, . . . quae notatu non indigna est. Ipsum siquidem Judam proditorem pro hoc discipulo habet, quem Joannes nominatu post turpissimum prodicionis crimen indignum censuit. . . . Id autem quod potissimum in rem spectare videtur, neque a nostra sententia, quam de consilio Judae in prodendo servatore fovemus, abludit, ita habet:

Judam

legeth the sentiment of a learned writer, who conjectured, that this *other disciple* was *Judas*, the traitor. For *Judas*, he thinks, was soon touched with remorse for what he had done. And he might follow Jesus to the High-Priest's, hoping, that by some means he might escape out of the hands of those, to whom he had betrayed him. *Judas* being there himself, might be very willing to let in *Peter*. Whether this conjecture be specious, or not, I cannot say. But it does not seem to me very likely, that St. *John* should characterise *Judas*, by the title of *another disciple*, after he had betrayed his Lord and Master.

After all, I am not able to determine this point. At first reading this place of St. *John*, we are naturally enough led to think, that by
the

Judam post commissum scelus pudore suffusum pedetentim cohortem fuisse secutum, atque in Petrum ita incidisse, cui scelus suum excusare, quin negare potuit, se ea mente Christo osculum dedisse, ut Christum proderet, sed ut periculum imminens ei subindicaret. Nos sane de eo vix dubitamus, Judam poenitentiâ sceleris jam tum fuisse tactum, atque conscientiae stimulis ea propter agitatum facile potuisse eo consilio Iesum captum sequi, ut resciret, annon aliquâ ratione, pro solito, Iesus manus captorum evasurus esset. Liberam jam lectori optionem relinquimus. Lampe in Evang. Joann. cap. xviii. Tom. 3. p. 523. not. (f).

the other disciple should be meant himself. But upon farther consideration there arise difficulties, that may induce us to hesitate.

Whether he followed Jesus to the Hall of *Caiaphas*, or not, we are assured, that he attended the crucifixion, and seems to have been the only one of the Twelve, that did so.

John xix. 25. . . 27. *Now there stood by the crosse of Jesus his mother. . . When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother: Woman, behold thy son. Then saith he to the disciple: Behold thy mother. And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home.* There might be several reasons for that determination: as *John's* being a relation, the sweetnesse of his temper, and his having somewhat of his own. He had been the beloved disciple, or friend of Jesus. And therefore was the most proper to be thus trusted. And doubtless this designation was perfectly agreeable to our Lord's mother.

John saw his Lord expire on the crosse. And still farther. *One of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side. And forthwith came thereout bloud and water. And he that saw it*

it bore witness. And his record is true. ch. xix. 34. 35.

And undoubtedly he also staid afterwards, and saw the body of Jesus laid in the sepulchre, and the stone placed at the mouth of it: as related by himself. xix. 38. . . 42. Comp. Matt. xxvii. 53. . . 60. Mark xv. 45. . . 47. Luke xxiii. 50. . . 56.

Early in the morning, on which our Lord rose from the dead, *Marie Magdalen*, and other women, came to the sepulchre, and saw that it was open, the stone having been taken away. *Marie Magdalen* knowing where she could find the two Apostles, *Peter* and *John*, went back to the city, and told them, that *they had taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre: and, says she, we know not where they have laid him. So they ran both together, to the sepulchre.* And by what they saw there, they were led to the persuasion, that Jesus was risen from the dead. As related John xx. 1. . . 10.

John was present with the other disciples, when Jesus shewed himself to them in the evening of the day, on which he arose, and likewise eight days after. ch. xx. 19. . . 29.

He has also particularly related the historie of our Lord's shewing himself to several disciples at the sea of *Tiberias* : when they had an extraordinarie draught of fishes, in number one hundred and fifty three. There were present at that time *Simon Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee, and two other disciples.* ch. xxi. 1 . . 23. Beside other things, which I omit, our Lord having had discourse with *Peter*, and having foretold his martyrdom : *Peter* put to him a question, concerning *John*, saying : *Lord, what shall this man do? Jesus saith unto him : If I will, that he tarry, till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me. Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die. Yet Jesus said not unto him : He shall not die. But if I will, that he tarry, till I come, what is that to thee?* Thus checking, as I apprehend, *Peter's* curiosity. However, it has been supposed by judicious Commentators, that here is an intimation, that *John* should not die before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. Nor is there any doubt, but he survived that event, which few or none of the other Apostles did.

did. Though (*i*) our Lord's words may be understood to contain only an obscure intimation, that whereas *Peter's* days would be shortened by martyrdom, this disciple should be preserved, till he died in the ordinary course of nature.

From all which we perceive, that (*k*) St. *John* was present at most of the things related by him in his Gospel: and that he
was

(*i*) Ita obscure significat, Johannem, non, ut Petrum morte violenta moriturum, sed tali, quâ, sine hominum vi solveretur, ubi Christus tempus idoneum judicasset. Quod et contigit, ut Veterum plures consentiunt. *Grot. ad Joan. xxi. 22.*

(*k*) Ex ipsa historia evangelica Joannis probabile fit, omnibus eventibus, itineribus, miraculis, concionibus fervatoris nostri ipsum interfuisse . . . cum probabile fit, illum fuisse inter discipulos duos Joannis Baptistae, a quibus collectionis discipulorum initium Jesus fecit, uti L. i. cap. 2. §. ii. ostendimus, inde colligimus, Evangelistam nostrum statim ab initio rebus, quae scribit, interfuisse, et hanc esse veram rationem, cur non altius filum historiae suae inciperet. Ex omnibus quoque sequentibus narrationibus nulla est, in qua absentem Evangelistam nostrum statuamus fuisse, nisi forte excipere velis illa, quae in palatio Annae et Caiaphae acciderunt. Cap. xviii. 13. . . 17. De quibus tamen res est dubia, quia definiiri accurate nequit, annon discipulus, qui Petrum in Palatium Caiaphae introduxerit, ipse Evangelista noster fuerit. Sed licet illa praesens non perceperit, a Petro tamen, socio intimo, statim proculdubio audivit. Et forte per ejus re-
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was an eye and ear-witneſſe of our Lord's labours, journeyings, diſcourſes, miracles, his low abaſement even to an ignominious death, and his being alive again, and then aſcending to heaven.

Having (l) been preſent with the reſt of the Apoſtles at the Lord's aſcenſion, he (m) returned with them from mount *Olivet* to *Jeruſalem*, and continued with them, joyn- ing with them in their devotions, and in the choice of another, to ſupply the place of *Judas* : and (n) partook in the plentiful ef- fuſion of the Holy Ghoſt upon the Apoſtles and their companie on the day of Pentecoſt next enſuing.

Peter and *John*, who often accompanied each other, healed the lame man at the temple, and upon that occaſion preached to the people, who aſſembled about them. For which they were brought before the
Jewiſh

lationem excitatus eſt, ut ad Prætorium Pilati ſummo mane advolare, atque ita cum reliquis mulieribus Jeſum ad crucem fequeretur. . . Ex quo patet, quanta cum emphafi præ ceteris Apoſtoliſ et Evangelis diſcere potuit : Quæ audivimus, quæ vidimus. 1 Jo. i. 1. 2. *Lamp. Proleg. l. 2. cap. 4. num. vi.*

(l) *Mark xvi. 19. Luke xxiv. 50. . . . 53. Acts i. 1. . . . 12.*

(m) *Acts i. 12. . . 26.*

(n) *Acts ii. 1. . . 13.*

Jewish Council, and after some debates were dismissed with orders, not to preach any more in the name of Jesus. Acts iii. and iv. 1. . . 22.

Some while after this, the number of believers still encreasing in *Jerusalem*, John and the rest of the Apostles were apprehended, and put into the common prison. But they were the same night delivered by an angel, who commanded them to *go and speak in the temple to the people.* Which they did *early in the morning.* Whereupon they were again taken up, and brought before the Council, who consulted how they might put them to death. But by the advice of Gamaliel that design was laid aside. *And when they had beaten them, they commanded, that they should not speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go. Whereupon the Apostles departed from the presence of the Council, rejoicing. . . And daily in the temple, and from house to house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ.*

Afterwards, there being a violent persecution at *Jerusalem*, many were scattered abroad. Philip, one of the seven, went down to *Samaria*, and preached to them, and wrought many miracles, inasmuch that

great numbers believed. When the Apostles, who were at *Jerusalem*, heard of this, they sent unto them *Peter* and *John*, that they might receive the Holy Ghost. Having performed that service, they returned to *Jerusalem*. And in their way preached the gospel in many villages of the *Samaritans*. Acts viii. 5 . . . 25.

From what St. *Paul* says in the second chapter of the epistle to the *Galatians* we perceive, that *John* was present at the Council of *Jerusalem*: of which an account is given Acts xv. Which Council was held in the year 49. or 50. or thereabout. And it may be reckoned probable, that till that time *John* had staid in the land of *Israel*, and had not been abroad in any Gentil countreys.

I would add, that though no miracles are related to be done by St. *John*, beside those, which have been here taken notice of; I reckon it very probable, that many miracles, beside those particularly mentioned by the historian, were wrought by him, and other Apostles, during their stay in *Judea*. This may be inferred from general expressions of St. *Luke* in several places. *And many signs and wonders were done by the Apostles*. Acts ii.

43. And with great power gave the Apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. ch. iv. 33. And by the hands of the Apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people. ch. v. 12. Comp. iv. 29. 30.

From the book of the Revelation. ch. i. 9. we learn, that St. *John* was for a while in the island called *Patmos*, where he was favored with visions and revelations.

Thus far we have endeavored to collect the historie of this Apostle from the New Testament.

II. From ecclesiastical historie we learn, *His Age.* that St. *John* lived to a great Age, and that in the later part of his life he resided in *Asia*, particularly at *Ephesus*, the chief city of that countrey.

Concerning his abode in *Asia* we have divers testimonies of good credit. *Irenaeus* in (o) two places of his work against Heresies, both (p) cited by *Eusebe*, says, that *John* the Apostle lived in *Asia* till the time of *Trajan*. [Who succeeded *Nerva* in the year

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of

(o) *Iren. adv. Haer. l. 2. cap. 22. n. v. p. 148. ed. Mass. et l. 3. cap. 3. p. 173.*

(p) *Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 23. in.*

of Christ 98.] *Eusebe* (q) understands *Clement* of *Alexandria* to speak to the like purpose. *Origen* also says, that (r) *John* having lived long in *Asia*, died at *Ephesus*. *Polycrates*, Bishop of *Ephesus* about 196. is an unexceptionable witness, that (s) *John* was buried in that city. *Jerome* (t) in his book of *Illustrious Men*, and in his books against *Jovinian*, says, “that the Apostle *John* lived in *Asia*, to the time of *Trajan*. And dying at a great age, in the sixty-eighth year after our Lord’s passion, was buried near the city of *Ephesus*.” Supposing our Lord to have been crucified in the year 32. of the vulgar æra, which (u) seems to have been *Jerome*’s opinion, sixty eight years will reach to the year 100. or the third of *Trajan*. At which year of that Emperour the death of St. *John* is placed by *Jerome* in his (x) *Chronicle*.

What was *John*’s age, when called by Christ, we are not informed. *Baronius* (y) thought

(q) *Vid. Euseb. Ibid.*

(r) *Ap. Euseb. l. 3. cap. 1.*

(s) *Ap. Euseb. l. v. cap. 24. in.*

(t) *See Credib. Vol. x. p. 100. and 101.*

(u) *Vid. Basnag. Ann. 101. num. ii.*

(x) *P. 165. ex ed. Scalig.*

(y) *Ann. 101. num. ix.*

thought he might then be about 22 years of age. Having been with Christ three years, he was about 25 years of age when our Lord was crucified. *Tillemont* (z) supposes St. *John* to have been about 25 or 26 years of age when called to be an Apostle. *Lampe* (a) thinks, that he was about the same age with our Saviour. For my part, I cannot persuade my-self, that any of Christ's Apostles, when called to attend upon him, that they might be his witnesses to the world, were much under the age of thirty. If it hence follows, that *John* was a hundred years of age, or thereabout, when he died, it is not at all incredible, nor unlikely.

III. As it is an allowed point, that *John* dwelt in *Asia* in the later part of his life; we may be reasonably desirous to know, when he settled in that country. And for determining this, the books of the New Testament may afford good hints. For (b) in all

*When he
left Judea.*

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St.

(z) *S. Jean. l'Evangeliste. art. x. et note xv. Mem Tom. i.*

(a) *Quare nihil impedit, quo minus ejusdem ferme aetatis cum servatore nostro fuerit. Prolegom. in Jo. l. i. cap. 2. num. i. not. (a).*

(b) "In the division of provinces, which the Apostles
made

St. *Luke's* historie of the preaching and travels of *Paul*, particularly in *Asia*, no mention is made of *John*. Which may induce us to think, that he was not there at that time. Nor are there any salutations sent to *John* in any of St. *Paul's* epistles, writ at *Rome*: several of which were sent to *Ephesus*, or other places, not very remote from it: as the epistle to the *Ephesians*, the second epistle to *Timothie*, probably, at *Ephesus*, the epistle to the *Colossians*, and the epistle to *Philemon*, at *Colosse*.

I will now observe the opinions of some learned moderns. *Baronius* thought, that (c) this Apostle did not come to reside in *Asia*, until after the death of St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul*. *Du Pin* says: We (d) do not exactly know, when he came into *Asia*. Perhaps it was about the year 70. *Tillemont* was of opinion, that (e) St. *John* did not come
to

made among themselves, *Asia* fell to his share, though he did not presently enter into his charge. Otherwise, we must have heard of him in the account, which St. *Luke* gives of St. *Paul's* several journeys into, and residence in those parts." *Cassé's Life of St. John*, §. iv.

(c) *A. d.* 97. num. ii.

(d) *Du Pin Diff. Prel. l. 2. ch. 2. §. vi.*

(e) *St. Jean art. iv.*

to reside in *Asia*, till about the year 66. But he supposeth, that upon some occasion, he had before that been in that countrey, without making a stay there. Which last, as I apprehend, is said without any good authority. Mr. *Lampe* was of opinion, that (f) *John* did not leave *Judea*, till after the death of *James*, called the Less, and but a short time only, before the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

To me it seems not unlikely, that St. *John* came into *Asia*, about the time that the war broke out in *Judea*, in the year 66. or a short time before, when, probably, St. *Peter* and *Paul* had been before crowned with martyrdom.

As St. *John* staid a good while in *Palestine*, it may be reasonably concluded, that the virgin *Marie* did not go with him to *Ephesus*, as (g) *Baronius*, and some others have thought, but died, before he went thither. Which
was

(f) Post ejus (*Jacobi Minoris*) excessum neminem ex τῶν Ἰωδαιῶν grege et constantius et diutius Hierosolymis subsistisse nostro Apostolo: ita ut vix exiguu ante exordium intervallo, inde se avelli pateretur. *Proleg. l. i. cap. 2. n. xv. p. 29.*

(g) *A. d. 44. n. xxix.*

was the opinion of (*b*) *Cave*, and (*i*) *Basnage*.

*His Historie
from other
Writers.*

IV. *St. John* having had a long life, many things have been said of him, some true, others false. Most of them have been already taken notice of in several chapters of this work. It may not be improper to recollect them here, with some remarks.

1. *Apollonius*, who wrote against the *Montanists*, and flourished about the year 211. says, in a fragment, preserved by *Eusebe*, “That (*k*) by the divine power *John* raised up a dead man to life at *Ephesus*.” Which miracle is also taken notice of by (*l*) *Sozomen*, and (*m*) *Nicephorus*, and may have been really done. But if we had had a more circumstantial historie of it, and if it had been mentioned by some other early writers, beside *Apollonius*, it would have been more credible.

2. There was a book forged with the title of the *Travels of Paul and Thecla* by
a Pref-

(*b*) “Probable therefore it is, that he dwelt in his own house at *Jerusalem*, at least till the death of the blessed *Virgin*.”
Cave’s Life of St. John, §. iv.

(*i*) *Vid. Basnag. An. 46. num. xxxviii.*

(*k*) *See cb. 31. num. iv. Vol. iii. p. 16.*

(*l*) *Soz. l. 7. cap. 27. p. 750.*

(*m*) *Nicoph. l. 4. cap. 25.*

a Presbyter, who was deposed for so doing, as related by *Tertullian*. *Jerome* says, that he was a Presbyter in *Asia*, and that he was convicted before St. *John* of being the author of it, and for that reason was deposed. Of this matter we have already spoken distinctly already, and therefore refer to what was then (*n*) said.

3. It is also related of our Apostle, that going to bathe at *Ephesus*, and perceiving, that *Cerintbus*, or, as others say, *Ebion*, was already in the bath, he came out again hastily, and would not make use of the bath. The probability of which account was examined (*o*) formerly.

4. It is said, that by order of the Emperour *Domitian* St. *John* was cast into a caldron of boyling oyl at *Rome*, and came out again, without being hurt. The (*p*) truth of which storie likewise has been considered by us.

5. Poly-

(*n*) See *cb.* 27. *vol.* ii. *p.* 641. . . . 643. and *cb.* 29. *p.* 698. &c.

(*o*) See *cb.* 6. *vol.* i. *p.* 190. 191. note (B) the second edition, and *cb.* 114. *vol.* x. *p.* 108.

(*p*) See *cb.* 27. *vol.* ii. *p.* 604. note (E) the second edition, and *cb.* 114. *vol.* x. *p.* 108.

5. *Polycrates*, Bishop of *Ephesus* in the later part of the second centurie, says, that *John* was Christ's High-Priest, wearing on his forehead a golden plate. Which account (*q*) has been confidred, and the judgements of divers learned men upon it alleged.

6. *Eusebe* has a storie, from a work of *Clement of Alexandria*, of a young man in a city of *Asia*, not far from *Ephesus*, who after having been instructed in the Christian Religion took to evil courses, and became profligate: but nevertheless was afterwards brought to repentance by our Apostle. This account is inserted at large by *Eusebe* (*r*) in his Ecclesiastical Historie. It has been repeated in like manner by *Simeon Metaphrastes* in his Life of St. *John*. *Chrysoptom* (*s*) has referred to it. It is also briefly told in the (*t*) Paschal Chronicle. I have already taken some notice of this (*u*) storie. *S. Basnage* (*x*) thinks it to be a fable, or feigned apologue,

(*q*) See *cb.* 114. *vol.* x. *p.* 104. . . 107.

(*r*) *L.* 3. *cap.* 23.

(*s*) *Ad Theodor. Lapf. T. i. p.* 31. *ed. Bened.*

(*t*) *Chr. Pasch. p.* 251. *D.*

(*u*) See *cb.* 114. *vol.* x. *p.* 107. 108.

(*x*) Apologo quam historiae videtur esse propior. . . .

apologue, composed to convey useful instruction. Mr. *Lampe* (*y*) is favorable to this historie. And, perhaps, it may be true, abating some circumstances. Which are not seldom added to such accounts, to render them the more entertaining.

7. *Jerome* has given an account of St. *John's* method of preaching, when he was of a great age, and was not able to make a long discourse. This (*z*) was taken notice of by us in a proper place. Nor is the truth of it, though related by *Jerome* only, disputed, either by (*a*) *Lampe*, or (*b*) *Le Clerc*.

8. It

Ac sane nescimus, si vera historia est, cur Clemens *μύθε, fabulae*, nomen ipsi primum imposuerit. Fabula fuit ratione rei significantis, veritasque respectu rei significatae, quae mentibus proponebatur, nempe eximii pastoris officium, ac vis poenitentiae. Non insolens erat antiquis, uti apologis ejusmodi ad informandos mores. . . . Si cui tamen placet de Joanne Clementis narrationem veram historiam esse, quia sic Veteribus visum, de hac re quidem contendere nolumus. *Basn. ann. 97. num. x.*

(*y*) *Prolegom. l. i. cap. v. num. iii. . . . ix.*

(*z*) *Vol. x. p. 103.*

(*a*) Licet enim Hieronymus solus hujus narrationis auctor sit, nihil tamen occurrit, quod non cum more Joannis, ut cum ratione Ecclesiae ejus temporis apprime convenit. *Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap. v. n. xi.*

(*b*) *H. E. ann. 99. num. i.*

8. It is generally supposed, that (c) *John* is one of those Apostles, who lived a single life. It is said by (d) *Tertullian*, and *Jerome*. Which last affirms, that (e) ecclesiastical historie assures us of it. And he makes it the ground of all the peculiar privileges of this Apostle.

9. Another thing, said of *John*, is, that he was banished into *Patmos*, an island of the Mediterranean Sea, not far from the coast of *Asia*. And, if he is the writer of the book of the Revelation, which we do not now dispute, the thing is unquestioned.

But

(c) *Vid. Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap. i. num. xiii.*

(d) *Joannes Christi spado. De Monog. cap. 17. p. 688.*

(e) *Talem fuisse eunuchum, quem Jesus amavit plurimum, Evangelistam Joannem, ecclesiasticae tradunt historiae: qui recubuit super pedus Jesu: qui, Petro tardius ambulante, elatus virginitatis alis cucurrit ad Dominum: qui in secreta divinae se nativitatibus immergens, ausus est dicere: In principio erat Verbum. &c. In Is. cap. lvi. Tom. 3. p. 410.*

Joannes vero noster, quasi aquila, ad superna volat, et ad ipsum Patrem pervenit, dicens: In principio erat Verbum, &c. Exposuit virginitas, quod nuptiae scire non poterant. Et ut brevi sermone multa comprehendam, doceamque, cujus privilegii sit Joannes, imo in Joanne virginitas: a Domino virgine, mater virgo virgini discipulo commendatur. Adv. Jovin. l. i. T. 4. P. 2. p. 169. Vid. et ad Princip. virg. ep. 96. al. 16. ib. p. 780. f.

But I have deferred the consideration of this particular, till now, because learned moderns are not agreed about the time of it.

V. I shall therefore first put down the accounts of ancient authors, and then observe the opinions of learned men of later times.

The Time, when he was banished to Patmos.

Irenaeus says of the Revelation, “that (f) it was seen no long time ago, but almost in our age, at the end of the reign of *Domitian*.” And though *Irenaeus* does not say, that *St. John* was then in *Patmos*, yet since he supposeth him to be the person, who had the revelation, he must have believed him to be then in *Patmos*, as the book itself says. ch. i. 9.

Clement, of *Alexandria*, in his book, entitled, *Who is the rich man that may be saved*, as cited by *Eusebe*, speaks (g) of “*John*’s returning from *Patmos* to *Ephesus*, after the death of the tyrant.” By whom, it is probable, he means *Domitian*.

Tertullian,

(f) See cap. 17. Vol. i. p. 379.

(g) Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῷ τυράννι τελευτήσαντος, ἀπὸ τῆς πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετήλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἔφεσον. κ. λ. *Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 2. c. 23. p. 92.*

Tertullian, in his *Apologie*, speaks of *Domitian*, as (*b*) having banished some Christians, and afterwards giving them leave to return home : probably intending *St. John*, and some others. In another work he says, “ that (*i*) *John* having been sent for to *Rome*, was cast into a vessel of boiling oyl, and then banished into an island :” in the time of *Domitian*, as is most probable.

Origen, explaining *Matt. xx. 23.* says : “ *James (k)* the brother of *John*, was killed “ with a sword by *Herod*. And a Roman “ Emperour, as tradition teaches, banished “ *John* into the island *Patmos* for the testi- “ monie, which he bore to the word of truth. “ And *John* himself bears witness to his ba- “ nishment, omitting the name of the Em- “ perour, by whom he was banished, saying “ in the *Revelation* : *I John, who also am “ your brother and companion in tribulation, “ and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus “ Christ,*

(*b*) Tentaverat et Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate. Sed qua et homo facile ceptum repressit, restitutus etiam quos relegaverat. *Apol. cap. 5.*

(*i*) . . . habes Romam, . . . ubi Apostolus Joannes, postquam in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur. *De Pr. Haer. cap. 36. p. 245.*

(*k*) *Comm. in Matt. T. i. p. 417. Huet.*

“ Christ, was in the isle of Patmos, for the word
 “ of God, and for the testimonie of Jesus
 “ Christ. And (l) it seems, that the Reve-
 “ lation was seen in that island.”

Victorin, Bishop of *Pettau* about 290. again and again says, that (m) *John* was banished by *Domitian*, and in his reign saw the revelation.

Eusebe, giving an account of *Domitian's* persecution, says: “ In (n) this persecution, as it is said, *John*, the Apostle and Evangelist, being still living, was banished into the island *Patmos* for the testimonie of the word of God.”

Epiphanius, as formerly (p) shewn, says: “ *John* prophesied in the isle of *Patmos*, in the reign of *Claudius*.” And in another place, then only referred to, he says: “ *John* wrote his Gospel in his old age, when he was more than ninety years old, after his return from *Patmos*, which (q) was in the time of *Claudius Caesar*.”

(l) Καὶ ἔωκε τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πεθεωρικήῃαι.
Ibid. C.

(m) See *Vol.* v. p. 223.

(n) *H. E. l.* 3 cap. 18.

(p) *Vol.* viii. p. 311.

(q) . . τὴν ἐπὶ κλαυδίῳ γενομένῳ αἰσῆρος. *Haer.* 51.
num. xii.

Jerome, in his book of *Illustrious Men*, as (*r*) formerly cited, says: “*Domitian* in the fourteenth year of his reign raising the second persecution after *Nero*, *John* was banished into the island *Patmos*, where he wrote the *Revelation*.” And in another work, also cited (*s*) formerly, he says again: “*John* was a Prophet, as he saw the *Revelation* in the island *Patmos*, where he was banished by *Domitian*.” And I shall now transcribe below (*t*) in his own words, without translating them, his comment upon *Matt. xx. 23.* where he speaks of *St. John’s* having been banished into *Patmos*: but does not name the Emperour, by whom he was banished.

Sulpicius Severus says, “that (*u*) *John*, the Apostle and Evangelist, was banished by *Domitian* into the island *Patmos*: where he had visions,

(*r*) See *Vol. x. p. 100.*

(*s*) *P. 102.*

(*t*) *Quaeritur, quomodo calicem martyrii filii Zebedaei, Jacobus videlicet et Joannes, biberint: quum scriptura narret Jacobum tantam Apostolum ab Herode capite truncatum: Joannes autem propria morte vitam finierit. Sed si legamus ecclesiasticas historias, in quibus fertur, quod et ipse propter martyrium sit missus in ferventis olei dolium, et inde ad suscipiendam coronam Christi athleta processerit, statimque relegatus in Patmon insulam sit, videbimus, martyrio animum non desuisse, et bibisse Joannem calicem confessionis. Comm. in Matt. Tom. 4. P. i. p. 92.*

(*u*) See *Vol. xi. p. 11.*

visions, and where he wrote the book of the Revelation.”

Aretas, in his Commentarie upon the Revelation, supposed to be writ in the sixth centurie, says, upon the authority of *Eusebius*, that (x) *John* was banished into *Patmos* by *Domitian*.

Isidore, of *Seville*, near the end of the sixth centurie, says: “*Domitian* (y) raised a persecution against the Christians. In his time the Apostle *John* having been banished into the island *Patmos* saw the Revelation.”

We may now make a remark or two.

1. All these testimonies are of use, whether they name the island, where *John* was banished, or the Emperour, by whom he was banished, or not. They all agree, that St. *John* was sent thither by way of punishment, or restraint, for bearing witness to the truth. Which confutes the opinion of *Lightfoot*, “that (z) *John* travelling in the ministrie of “the gospel, up and down, from *Asia* west- “ward, comes into the isle *Patmos*, in the

A a 2

“*Icarian*

(x) Ἐξόρισον δὲ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ἐν πάτμῳ τῆ νήσῳ ἐπὶ δομετιανῆ, ἐυσέλιος ὁ παμφίλις ἐν τῷ χρονικῷ αὐτῆ βιβλίῳ παρατίθεται. *Andr. in Apoc. ap. Occum. Tom. 2. p. 654. u.*

(y) *Vol. xi. p. 377.*

(z) *Harmonie of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 341.*

“ *Icarian* sea, an island about thirty miles
 “ compass. And there on the Lord’s-day he
 “ has these visions, and an angel interprets to
 “ him all he saw.”

2. All these writers, who mention the time of the Revelation, and of the banishment, say, it was in the time of *Domitian*, and that he was the Emperour, by whom St. *John* was banished: except *Epiphanius*, who says, it was in the time of *Claudius*. As he is singular, it should seem, that he cannot be of any great weight against so many others.

Nevertheless, as some learned men, particularly *Grotius*, have paid great regard to *Epiphanius* in this point; it is fit, we should consider, what they say.

Says *Grotius* in a tract, entitled A Comment upon divers texts of the New Testament, relating to Antichrist: particularly, upon the tenth verse of the xvii. chapter of the Revelation: “ *John* (a) began to be il-
 “ lumi-

(a) Coepit autem Joannes in Patmo esse, et Dei visis illuminari Claudii temporibus, quae vetustissimorum Christianorum est sententia, non Domitiani, ut volunt alii. Vide Epiphanium in Haeresi Alogorum. Claudius Judaeos, sub quorum nomine tunc et Christiani censebantur, ut multis viris doctis observatura est, Roma pepulerat, Act. xviii. 2.

“luminated with divine visions in the island
 “*Patmos*, in the time of *Claudius*. Which
 “was the opinion of the most ancient Chris-
 “tians. See *Epiphanius* in the Heresie of
 “the *Alogians*. *Claudius*, as we learn from
 “Acts xviii. 2. *commanded all Jews to depart*
 “*from Rome*. Under the name of Jews,
 “Christians also were comprehended, as has
 “been observed by many learned men. And
 “it cannot be doubted, but many Governours
 “of the Roman provinces followed that ex-
 “ample. So therefore *John* was driven from
 “*Ephesus*.”

That argument was long ago examined by
 (b) *David Blondel*, who says 1. It is not true,
 that the most ancient writers said, that St.
John was sent into *Patmos* by *Claudius*. It is
Epiphanius only, who says so. He is alto-
 gether singular. There are no ancients, either
 before, or after him, who have said this.
 2. As *Epiphanius* is singular, he ought not to
 be regarded. 3. There was no persecution of

A a 3

the

Quod exemplum non dubium est, quin imitati sint multi
 Praefides Romanorum provinciarum. Ita Epheso expulsus
 Joannes. *Grot. Commentatio ad loca quaedam N. T. quae de*
Antichristo agunt, aut agere putantur. Opp. Tom. 3.

(b) *Des Sibylles. l. 2. ch. iii. p. 145. . . . 148. à Charenten.*
 1649.

the Christians in the reign of *Claudius*. There is no proof from any ancient monuments, that Christians, as such, suffered banishment under that Emperour. It is allowed, that (*c*) *Nero* was the first Roman Emperour, who persecuted the Christians. 4. The edict of *Claudius* only banished the Jews from *Rome*. It did not affect the Jews in the provinces, as appears from the New Testament itself, particularly, Acts xviii. and xix. It is manifest from the historie in the Acts, that in the reign of *Claudius*, in other parts of the Empire, out of *Rome*, the *Jews* enjoyed as full liberty, as they did before. *Paul* and *Silas*, *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, dwelled quietly at *Corinth*: where the men of their nation had their synagogue, and assembled in it according to custom, without molestation. 5. Nor could the Governours of provinces banish either Jews or Chris-

(*c*) Consulite commentarios vestros. Illic reperietis, primum Neronem in hanc sectam, cum maxime Romae orientem, Caesariano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostrae etiam gloriamur. *Tertull. Ap. cap. v.*

Nerone imperante. . . . Qui dignus existit, qui persecutionem in Christianos primus inciperet. *Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sacr. l. 2. cap. 39.*

Nam primus Romae Christianos suppliciiis et mortibus affecit. *P. Oros. l. 7. cap. 7.*

Vid. et Euseb. H. E. l. 2. cap. 25. p. 67.

Christians out of their governments, without order from the Emperour. And that they had no such order, is apparent. Neither Jews nor Christians were molested by them at *Ephesus*, as may be perceived from the historie in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts. That they were not molested by them at *Corinth*, appears from the preceding chapter. 6. St. *John* could not be banished from *Ephesus* by *Claudius*, or the Governours under him. For he was not in that city during the reign of that Emperour, nor in the former part of the reign of *Nero*, as has been shewn. He did not come thither, till near the end of the reign of the last mentioned Emperour. Therefore he could not be sooner banished from *Ephesus*.

These observations, if I am not mistaken, are sufficient to confute the opinion of *Grotius*.

Sir *Isaac Newton* was of opinion, that (B)

A a 4

St.

(B) Sir *Isaac Newton*'s opinion is much the same with that of *John Hentenius* of *Mechlin*, confuted by *David Blondel* in the same work, and in the next chapter to that, in which he confuted *Grotius*. *Hentenius* and *Newton* argue much alike. It may be suspected, that *Newton* incautiously borrowed some of his weak arguments. Says *Blondel*: " Jean Hentenius en sa preface sur le Commentaire d'Arethas . . . a le discours, qui suit :

St. John was banished into *Patmos*, and that the Revelation was seen in the reign of *Nero*, before the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

“ *Eusebius*, says (*d*) he, in his Chronicle, and Ecclesiastical Historie follows *Irenaeus*: (who said, the Apocalypse was writ in the time of *Domitian* :) But afterwards in his Evangelical Demonstration he conjoyns the banishment of *John* into *Patmos*, with the deaths of *Peter* and *Paul*.”

To which I answer, *first*, that (*e*) the Ecclesiastical Historie was not writ before the Evangelical Demonstration, but after it. For the Demonstration is referred to at the end of the second chapter of the first book of the Ecclesiastical Historie. *Secondly*, *Eusebius* in his

suit: Il me semble, que Jean . . . a esté relegué par Neron en Patmos au mesme temps que celui là a tué dans Rome. . . Pierre et Paul. Tertullien, voisin des temps des mesmes Apostres, assure cela mesme en deux lieux. Eusebe aussi traite la mesme chose au livre de la Demonstration Evangelique, combien qu'en ses Chroniques, et en l'Histoire Ecclesiastique il dit que cela est arrivé sous Domitien: ce que aussi Saint Hierome et plusieurs autres suivent. Mais à ces livres cy, comme escrits és années precedentes, si grande authorité n'est pas attribuée, qu'à celui de la Demonstration Evangelique, veu qu'il a esté depuis, et plus correctement élaboré. Blondel des Sibylles. l. 2. ch. iv. p. 148. 149.

(*d*) *Newton's Observations upon the Apocalypse of St. John. chap. i. p. 236.*

(*e*) *See in this work. Vol. viii. p. 47. Vales. Annot. in Euseb. p. 8. 9. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. 5. cap. iv. Tom. 6. p. 57. . . 59.*

his Demonstration is not different from himself in his Ecclesiastical Historie. In his Demonstration, having spoken of the imprisonment of all the Apostles at *Jerusalem*, and of their being beaten, and of the stoning of *Stephen*, the beheading of *James* the son of *Zebedee*, and the imprisonment of *Peter*, he adds : “ *James* (*f*) the Lord’s brother, was stoned, *Peter* was crucified at *Rome* with his head downward, and *Paul* was beheaded, and *John* banished into an island.” But he does not say, that all these things happened in the time of one and the same Emperour. It is plain, that it is not his design to mention exactly the time of the sufferings of all these persons. Nothing hinders our supposing, that the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* were put to death by order of *Nero*, and *John* banished by *Domitian*, many years afterwards, agreeably to what himself writes in his Chronicle and Historie.

It follows in Sir *Isaac Newton*. “ And
 “ (*g*) so do *Tertullian*, and *Pseudo-Procho-*
 “ *rus*, as well as the first author, whoever he
 “ was,

(*f*) . . . ἢ πέτρος δὲ ἐπὶ ῥώμης κατὰ κεφαλῆς σαυρῆται
 παῦλος τε ἀποτέμνεται, ἰωάννης τε νήσω παραβίδοται. *Dem.*
Ev. l. 3. p. 116.

(*g*) *As before, p. 236.*

“ was, of that very ancient fable, that St. *John* was put by *Nero* into a vessel of hot oyl.”

I place below (*b*) the words of *Tertullian*, to which Sir *Isaac* refers. And I answer : It is true, that *Tertullian* speaks of the death of *Peter* and *Paul*, and of *John*'s being cast into boiling oyl, and then banished, all together. But he does not say, that all happened in the same reign. St. *John*'s banishment is the last thing mentioned by him. And, probably, it happened not, till after the death of *Peter* and *Paul*. It is likely, that *Tertullian* supposed it to have been done by the order of *Domitian*. For in another place he speaks of the persecution of that Emperour, as (*i*) consisting chiefly in banishments.

“ . . . and *Pseudo-Prochorus*.” What place of *Prochorus*, who pretended to be one of the seven

(*b*) Ita quam felix ecclesia, ubi Petrus passioni Domini-
cac adaequatur : ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur : ubi
Apostolus Joannes, posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus,
nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur. *De Praeser. cap. 36.*
p. 245.

(*i*) Tentaverat et Domitianus . . . sed quâ et homo, facile
ceptum repressit, restitutis etiam quos relegaverat. *Apol.*
cap. 5.

seven deacons, and is called by *Baronius* (*k*) himself a great lyar, Sir *Izaak Newton* refers to, I do not know. But in his historie of St. *John* he is entirely against him. For (*l*) he particularly relates the sufferings, which St. *John* underwent in the second persecution of the Christians, which was raised by *Domitian*. That Emperour sent orders to the Proconsul at *Ephesus*, to apprehend the Apostle. When the Proconsul had got St. *John* in his power, he informed *Domitian* of it. Who then commanded the Proconsul to bring him to *Rome*. When (*m*) he was come, the Emperour would not see him, but ordered him to be cast into a vessel of scalding oyl, and he came out unhurt. Then *Domitian* commanded the Proconsul to have St. *John* back again to *Ephesus*. Some time (*n*) after that,

by

(*k*) — in multis mendacissimns hic auctor fuisse convincitur.
An. 92. num. i.

(*l*) Secundam vero persecutionem Domitianus excitârat, cujus temporibus Joannes Ephesi morabatur. Imperator autem Domitianus epistolam misit Ephesum ad Proconsulem civitatis. . . Proch. de Vit. Joan. cap. 8. Ap. Bib. *Patr. Lugd. T. 2.*

(*m*) Audiens autem Domitianus de adventu ejus, noluit impius Caesar videre faciem Apostoli. Et jussit, ut Proconsul duceret ad Portam Latinam, et in ferventis olei dolium illum vivum dimitti. &c. *Ib. cap. 10.*

(*n*) *Ibid. cap. 14.*

by order of the same *Domitian*, *John*, and others at *Ephesus*, were banished into *Patmos*. *Domitian* (*o*) being dead, they returned to *Ephesus* with the leave of his successor, who did not persecute the Christians. So *Pseudo-Prochorus*.

Since the great *Newton* has been pleased to refer to such a writer, I shall take notice of another, of the like sort. I mean *Abdias*, who assumed the character of the first bishop of *Babylon*. What he says, is to this purpose : that (*p*) *John*, who survived the other Apostles,

(*o*) Mortuo autem Domitiano, qui nos transmiserat, in exilium, successor ejus non prohibebat Christianos. Et cum audisset de bonitate et sanctimonia Joannis, quodque fuisset injuste a praedecessore suo exilio relegatus, per literas nos revocavit ab exilio. *Ib. cap. 45.*

(*p*) Est igitur et hoc ipsum amoris Salvatoris in beatum Joannem indicium non vulgare, quod vitâ reliquos omnes superaverit, et, ut dictum est, ad Domitiani Imperatoris aetatem usque in Asia verbum salutis populis adnunciarit. . . . Cui Proconsul loci cum edictum Imperatoris, ut Christum negaret, et a praedicatione cessaret, legisset, Apostolus intrepide respondit. . . . Ad cujus responsionem motus Proconsul jussit eum velut rebellem in dolio ferventis olei demergi. Qui statim ut conjectus in aeneo est, veluti athleta unctus, non adustus, de vase exiit. Ad quod miraculum Proconsul stupefactus, voluit eum libertati suae reddere. Et fecisset, nisi timuisset edictum Caesaris. Mitiozem igitur poenam cogitans, in exilium eum relegavit, in insulam, quae dicitur

bles, lived to the time of *Domitian*, preaching the word to the people in *Asia*. When *Domitian's* edict for persecuting the Christians was brought to *Ephesus*, and *John* refused to deny Christ, or to give over preaching, the Proconsul ordered, that he should be drowned in a vessel of boiling oyl. But *John* presently leaped out unhurt. The Proconsul would then have set him at liberty, if he had not feared to transgress the Emperour's edict. He therefore banished *John* into *Patmos*, where he saw and wrote the Revelation. After the death of *Domitian*, his edicts having been abrogated by the Senate, they who had been banished, returned to their homes. And *John* came to *Ephesus*, where he had a dwelling, and many friends.

Then follows an account of St. *John's* visiting the churches in the neighborhood of *Ephesus*. Where is inserted also the storie, formerly taken notice of, concerning the young man,

citur Patmos. In qua et Apocalypsin, quae ex nomine ejus legitur, et vidit, et scripsit. Post mortem autem Domitiani, quia omnia ejus decreta Senatus infringi jussérat, inter ceteros, qui ab eo relegati fuerant, et ad propria remeabant, etiam sanctus Joannes Ephesum rediit, ubi et hospitium, et multos amicos habebat. *Abd. Hist. Apostol. cap. v. ap. Patr. Cod. Aet. N. T. p. 533. . . . 535.*

man, as related by *Eusebius* from *Clement* of *Alexandria* : and as happening, not after the death of *Nero*, but of *Domitian*.

Newton proceeds : “ as well as the first
 “ author, whoever he was, of that very an-
 “ cient fable, that *John* was put by *Nero* into
 “ a vessel of hot oyl, and coming out unhurt,
 “ was banished by him into *Patmos*. Though
 “ this story be no more than a fiction, yet
 “ it was founded on a tradition of the first
 “ churches, that *John* was banished into *Pat-*
 “ *mos* in the days of *Nero*.”

Who was the first author of that fable, I do not know. But it does not appear, that *Tertullian*, the first writer who has mentioned it, thought it to be in the time of *Nero*. He might mean, and probably did mean, *Domitian*, the same, who banished *John* into an island. As did also, the two writers just taken notice of, *Prochorus* and *Abdias*, to whom we were led by *Sir Isaac*. *Jerome*, who (*q*) in his books against *Jovinian*, mentions this storie, as from *Tertullian*, according
 to

(*q*) Vidit enim in Patmos insula, in qua fuerat a Domitiano principe relegatus, Apocalypsin. . . . Refert autem Tertullianus, quod Romae, [al. a Nerone] missus in ferventis olei dolium purior et vegetior exierit, quam intravit. *Adv. Jovin.* l. 1. Tom. 4. p. 169.

to some copies, says, it was done at *Rome*, according to others, in the time of *Nero*. However in the same place, as well as elsewhere, *Jerome* expressly says, that *John* was banished into *Patmos* by *Domitian*. And (r) in the other place, where he mentions the casting St. *John* into boiling oyl, he says: “And presently afterwards he was banished into the island *Patmos*.” Therefore that other trial, which St. *John* met with, was in the same reign, that is, *Domitian*’s. And indeed *Jerome* always supposes St. *John*’s banishment to have been in that reign: as he particularly relates in the ninth chapter of his book of *Illustrious Men*. Let me add, that if the storie of St. *John*’s being put into a vessel of scalding oyl be a fable, and a fiction, it must be hazardous to build an argument upon it.

It follows in *Newton*: “*Epiphanius* represents the Gospel of *John* as written in the time of *Domitian*, and the *Apocalypse* even before that of *Nero*.” I have already said enough of *Epiphanius* in considering the opinion

(r) Sed si legamus ecclesiasticas historias, in quibus fertur, quod et ipse propter martyrium sit missus in ferventis olei dolium, et inde ad suscipiendam coronam Christi athleta processerit, statimque relegatus in *Patmos* insulam sit. &c. *Comm. in Matt. xx. 23. Tom. 4. P. i. p. 92.*

nion of *Grotius*. However, as one would think, *Sir Isaac Newton* had little reason to mention *Epiphanius*, when he does not follow him. He says, that *St. John* was banished into *Patmos* in the time of *Claudius*: *Sir Isaac*, not till near the end of the reign of *Nero*.

“*Arethas*, says (*s*) *Sir Isaac*, in the beginning of his *Commentarie* quotes the opinion of *Irenacus* from *Eusebius*, but does not follow it. For he afterwards affirms, that the *Apocalypse* was written before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and that former *Commentators* had expounded the sixth seal of that destruction.”

To which I answer. *Arethas* does indeed say, that (*t*) some interpreters had explained things under the sixth seal, as relating to the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Vespasian*. But they were some only, not the most. Yea, he presently afterwards says, that the most interpreted it otherwise. Nor does he say, that any of those *Commentators* were of opinion,

(*s*) *As before*. p. 236.

(*t*) Τινες δὲ τὰντα εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ βουεπασιανῶ γινομένην πολιορκίαν ἐξέλαβον πάντα τὰ εἰρημένα τροπολογήσαντες. Ὅι δὲ πλῆθει τῶν ἐρμηνευτῶν. κ. λ. *Areth.* cap. 18. p. 709. A.

opinion, that the Apocalypse was writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. *Aretbas* seems to have been of opinion, that things, which had come to pass long before, might be represented in the Revelation. Therefore immediatly before that passage, explaining Rev. vi. 12. 13. he says: “ What (*u*) is the
 “ opening of the sixth seal? It is the crosse
 “ and death of the Lord, followed by his
 “ resurrection, desirable to all faithful and
 “ understanding men. *And lo, there was a*
 “ *great earthquake*. Manifestly denoting, says
 “ he, the signs that happened during the
 “ crucifixion, the shaking of the earth, the
 “ darknesse of the sun, the turning the moon
 “ into bloud. For when it was full moon,
 “ being the fourteenth day, how was it pos-
 “ sible, that the sun should be eclipsed by
 “ it’s interposition ? ”

However, I must not conceal what he says afterwards, in another chapter of his (*x*) Commentarie. He is explaining Rev. vii. 4. . . . 8. “ These, says he, who instructs the
 “ Evangelist, will not partake in the calami-

(*u*) Τις δὲ ἡ λύσις τῆς ἕκτης σφραγίδος; Ὁ πᾶνος τῆ κυρίου καὶ θανάτου, αἱ ἠκολούθησαν ἡ εὐκταῖα πᾶσι πιστοῖς; τὸ καὶ ἐπισημαίνεται ἀνάστασις. κ. λ. Cap. 18. p. 708. C. D.

(*x*) Cap. xix. 713. 714.

“ ties inflicted by the *Romans*. For the de-
 “ struction caused by the *Romans* had not
 “ fallen upon the Jews, when the Evange-
 “ list received these instructions. Nor was
 “ he at *Jerusalem*, but in *Jonia*, where is
 “ *Ephesus*. For he staid at *Jerusalem* no
 “ more than fourteen years. . . And after the
 “ death of our Lord’s mother, he left *Judea*,
 “ and went to *Ephesus*, as (*y*) tradition says :
 “ where also, as is said, he had the reve-
 “ lation of future things.” But how can we
 rely upon a writer of the sixth centurie
 for these particulars ? that *John* did not stay
 at *Jerusalem* more than *fourteen years* : that
 he left *Judea* upon the death of our Lord’s
 mother, and then went to *Ephesus* : when
 we can evidently perceive from the historie
 in the Acts, that in the fourteenth year after
 our Lord’s ascension, there were no Chris-
 tian converts at *Ephesus* ? and that the church
 at *Ephesus* was not founded by *St. Paul*, till
 severall years afterwards. What avails it, to
 refer to such passages as these ? Which
 when looked into, and examined, contain
 no certain assurances of any thing. And Sir
Isaac

(*y*) . . . ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἕρπον μεταστῆναι αὐτὸν λόγος. καθ’
 ἑν, ὡς ἔρηται. κ. λ. *Ibid.* p. 714. in.

Isaac Newton himself says: “ It (*z*) seems
 “ to me, that *Peter* and *John* staid with
 “ their churches in *Judea* and *Syria*: till
 “ the *Romans* made war upon their nation,
 “ that is, till the twelfth year of *Nero*.” or
 A. D. 66.

We proceed with this great man's argu-
 ments, who adds: “ With (*a*) the opinion
 “ of the first commentators agrees the tra-
 “ dition of the churches of *Syria*, preserved
 “ to this day in the title of the *Syriac* ver-
 “ sion of the *Apocalypse*, which title is
 “ this: *The Revelation, which was made to*
 “ *John the Evangelist by God in the island*
 “ *Patmos, into which he was banished by*
 “ *Nero Caesar.*” But how comes it to pass,
 that the tradition of *the churches of Syria* is
 alleged here, when the *Apocalypse* was not
 generally received by them? Moreover in
 the titles of the books of the New Testa-
 ment received by them, there are manifest
 errors. Nor (*b*) can we say, when the
Syriac version of the *Apocalypse* was made.

B b 2

Nor

(*z*) *As before*, p. 243.

(*a*) P. 236. 237.

(*b*) Ad Neronis imperium hoc exilium Syrus refert. Ve-
 rum incerta est quam maxime hujus versionis aetas, nulloque
 gaudet scio. *Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap. 4. §. vii.*

Nor (c) is it impossible, that the authors of that title might mean *Domitian* by *Nero*. It is not a greater error, than that of supposing the epistle of *James* to have been writ by *James* the son of *Zebedee*.

Again, says the celebrated *Newton*: “The
 “ (d) same is confirmed by a story told by
 “ *Eusebius* out of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and
 “ other ancient authors, concerning a youth,
 “ whom *St. John* some time after his return
 “ from *Patmos* committed to the care of the
 “ Bishop of a certain city. This is a story
 “ of many years, and requires, that *John*
 “ should have returned from *Patmos* rather
 “ at the death of *Nero*, than at that of *Do-*
 “ *mitian*.”

But

Quapropter nihil in hisce est, quod Syrum ab erroris culpa liberare possit: quemadmodum nec supra erat, quod Epiphanium in nomine Claudii tueretur. Illud tantummodo adnotatum volo, Syriacam Apocalypseos versionem haud aequalem ceterorum librorum interpretationi videri, uti nec primi codices in Europam adlati appositam habuerunt, quam demum Ludovicus de Dieu MDCXXVII. in lucem primum produxit. &c. *Ch. Cellarius de septem ecclesiis Asiae num. xvii. p. 428.*

(c) Sed forsitan aliquis, honoris interpretis Syri sollicitus et cupidus, posset in illius gratiam afferere, illum non *Neronem*, sed *Domitianum*, alterum *Neronem*, seu portionem *Neronis*, ut vocatur *Tertulliano*. &c. *Le Moyne. Var. Sacr. Tom. 2. p. 1019.*

(d) *As above. p. 237.*

But, *first*, if this be only a feigned storie, or apologue, as some have thought, contrived to convey moral instruction; circumstances ought not to be strained, nor the truth of historie be founded upon it. *Secondly*, we must take the storie, as it is related by *Clement*, and other ancient authors. *Clement* placeth it after the death of the tyrant, by whom *John* had been banished. And *Eusebe (e)* supposeth him to mean *Domitian*. *Thirdly*, if St. *John* lived in *Asia* two, or three, or four years, after his return from *Patmos*, that is time enough for the events of this storie.

Sir *Isaac* adds in the same place: “ And
 “ *John* in his old age was so infirm, as to
 “ be carried to church, dying above ninety
 “ years old: and therefore could not be
 “ then supposed able to ride after the thief.”

Nevertheless in the original account, which we have of this affair, St. *John* is expressly called (*f*) an old man. Sir *Isaac* therefore has no right to make him young. For that

B b 3

would

(e) *H. E. l. 3. cap. 23.*

(f) . . . ἐπιγεθόμενος τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῶ . . . τί με φεύεις . . . τὸν γυμνὸν, τὸν γέροντα ; προσελθόντα δὲ τὸν γέροντα περιέλαβεν. κ. λ. *Clem. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. c. 23. p. 93.*

would be making a new storie. If a man allows himself so to do, and argues upon it; the necessarie consequence is, that he deceives himself, and others.

Upon the whole, I see not much weight in any of these arguments of Sir *Isaac Newton*. And must adhere to the common opinion, that St. *John* was banished into *Patmos*, in the reign of *Domitian*, and by virtue of his edicts for persecuting the Christians, in the later part of his reign. Says Mr. *Lampe*: “All (g) Antiquity is agreed, that St. *John*’s banishment was by order of *Domitian*.”

How long
he was
there.

VI. We should now inquire, when St. *John* was released, or how long his banishment lasted.

According to *Tertullian*, *Domitian*’s persecution (b) was very short, and the Emperor himself, before he died, recalled those, whom he had banished. *Hegesippus* likewise

(g) Tota antiquitas in eo abunde consentit, quod *Domitianus* exilii *Joannis* auctor fuerit. *Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap. 4. §. viii.*

(b) . . ceptum repressit, restitutis etiam quos relegaverat. *Apol. cap. v. vid. Supr. p. 355. note (b).*

wife says, that (*i*) *Domitian* by an edict put an end to the persecution, which he had ordered.

Eusebe says, “ that (*k*) after the death of *Domitian*, *John* returned from his banishment.” And before, in another chapter of the same book, he said more largely : “ After (*l*) *Domitian* had reigned fifteen years, *Nerva* succeeded him, and the Roman Senate decreed, that the honorable titles bestowed upon *Domitian* should be abrogated, and moreover, that they who had been banished by him might return to their homes, and repossess their goods, of which they had been unjustly deprived. This we learn from such as have writ the historie of those times. Then therefore, as our ancestors say, the Apostle *John* returned from his banishment, and again took up his abode at *Ephesus*.”

B b 4

Jerome,

(*i*) : . . καταπαύσαι δὲ διὰ προσάγγματος τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωγμὸν. *Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 20. p. 90. B.*

(*k*) . ἀπο τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον μετὰ τὴν δομετιανῆ τελευτῆν ἐπανελθὼν φυγῆς. *Euf. H. E. l. 3. cap. 23. in.*

(*l*) *H. E. l. 3. cap. 20. p. 90. B. C.*

Jerome, in his book of *Illustrious Men*, says: “When (*m*) *Domitian* had been killed, and his edicts had been repealed, by the Senate, because of their excessive cruelty, *John* returned to *Ephesus* in the time of the Emperour *Nerva*.”

I place below a passage of (*n*) the *Martyrdom of Timothee* in *Photius*, and another (*o*) of *Suidas*, saying, that after *Domitian's* death, when *Nerva* was Emperour, *St. John* returned from his banishment.

This is also agreeable to the general accounts in (*p*) *Dion Cassius*, and (*q*) the Author of the *Deaths of Persecutors*.

Indeed, *Hegesippus* and *Tertullian*, as before observed, intimate, that the persecution of *Domitian* ended before his death. But it is very remarkable, that *Eusebius* (*r*) having quoted both of them, gives a different account,

(*m*) See *Vol. x. p. 100.*

(*n*) Νέρβα δὲ τῷ ῥωμαϊκῷ κράτει τὸ σικώπτερον ἀναδεδεγμένου, ὁ θεόλογος ἰωάννης τῆς ὑπεροβῆς φυγῆς ἀφ' ἑσθῆς κατάγεται πρὸς ἕσπερον, ἧς καὶ πρῶτον ἀπὸ δομετιανῶν παροργίσθη. *Ap. Phot. Cod. 254. p. 1404.*

(*o*) *Vid. Suid. voce Νέρβας.*

(*p*) Καὶ ὁ νερούας τὲς τε κρινόμενος ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ ἀφῆκε, καὶ τὲς σέυζοντας κατήγαγε. κ. λ. *Dio. l. 62. in. p. 769.*

(*q*) *De M. P. cap. 3.*

(*r*) *H. E. l. 3. cap. 20.*

count, as we saw just now. And, as learned men have observed, it is a great prejudice to their authority in this point, that *Eusebius* does not follow them, but presently afterwards differs from them.

It seems probable therefore, that St. *John* and other exils, did not return from their banishment, untill after the death of *Domitian*. Which (*s*) is the opinion of *Basnage*, and likewise of (*t*) *Cellarius*.

Domitian (*u*) is computed to have died Sept. 18. A. D. 96. after having reigned fifteen years, and some days. *Nerva* (*x*) died the 27, day of Jan. 98. after having reigned one year four months, and nine days. Therefore *Trajan* began his reign Jan. 27. A. D. 98.

If

(*s*) *Utrum Domitianus decretum revocarit, difficilis quaestio est. Sic enim antiquorum nonnullis visum. Hegesippus . . . Hegesippo assentitur et Tertullianus . . . Contra vero nobilis historicus Dio, qui rerum Romanarum Hegesippo peritior erat, et Tertulliano, disertissime testatur, Nervae indulgentia revocatos fuisse Chrestianos: Nerva autem eos qui damnati erant impietatis absolvit, exulesque restituit. Neque alia mens Laëtantio de Mort. Pers. cap. 3. Basnag. ann. 96. num. iv.*

(*t*) *Cellar. de Septem. ecclesiis Asiae. cap. xviii. . . xx.*

(*u*) *Basnag. ann. 96. n. xiii.*

(*x*) *Basn. A. D. 98. i. Pagi ann. 98. ii.*

If the persecution of *Domitian* began in the fourteenth year of his reign, and *St. John* was sent to *Patmos* that year, and restored in the beginning of the reign of *Nerva*, his (y) exile could not last more than two years, perhaps not much above a year.

If *St. John's* life reached to the third year of the reign of *Trajan*, which is the opinion of *Cave* (z) and many others, he lived three years after his return from *Patmos*: if it reached to the fourth year of *Trajan*, as (a) *Basnage* thought, he must have lived four years after his return.

Or,

(y) In alterum tantum annum ad summum duravit, quando *Nerva* succedens *Domitiano* exules revocavit, et cum eis *Joannem*, uti ex vetustiorum fide refert *Eusebius*. l. 3. H. E. cap. 20. . . Quae quidem eo majorem fidem merentur, quia ipse *Dio*, seu ex eo *Xiphilinus*, revocationem exulum Christianorum *Nervae* tribuit. *Lampe Prol. l. 1. cap. 4. §. ix. Vid. et Cellar. ubi supra cap. xvii.*

(z) Interfecto *Domitiano* *Ephesum* rediit ann. chr. 97. in qua, ut et in regionibus circumvicinis, reliquum vitae transiegit, et . . . anno Chr. 100. *Trajan* 3. juxta *Eusebium* et *Hieronymum*, anno uno aut altero centenario major . . . in Domino placide obdormivit. *Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 16.*

(a) Ceterum cum ex antiqua traditione haustum videatur, *Joannem* senio confectum, 68. post passionem anno mortuum esse, quae in 33. aerae nostrae incidit, probabilis est conjectura, *Joannem* anno labente finem hujus lucis invenisse. *Basn. A. 301. v. ii.*

Or, in other words: if St. *John* returned about the end of the year 96. or the beginning of 97. and did not die, till the year 101. he lived four years in *Asia*, after his return from *Patmos*. If he died in the year 100. he lived three years after his return.

VII. Having now said of St. *John* all that is needful by way of historie, we come to his writings, of which there are five generally ascribed to him: a Gospel, three Epistles, and the Revelation: two of which, the Gospel, and the first Epistle, are universally received as genuine.

*Testimonies
to his Gos-
pel.*

Now I speak of the Gospel only. And here in the first place I shall recite the accounts of the ancients, but chiefly such, as concern the time when it was writ. Omitting many other testimonies, as not necessarie to be mentioned now, though very valuable in themselves. After which we will observe the judgements of learned moderns concerning the same point: I mean, the time, when it was writ.

Irenaeus having spoken of the Gospels of *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, adds: “ After-
wards (b) *John* the disciple of the Lord,
“ who

(b) See *Vol. i. p. 354.*

“ who also leaned upon his breast, he like-
 “ wise published a Gospel, whilst he dwelled
 “ at *Ephesus* in *Asia*.”

In another place he says : “ *John* (c) the
 “ disciple of the Lord declaring this faith,
 “ and by the publication of the Gospel de-
 “ signing to root out the error, which had
 “ been sown among men by *Cerinthus*, and
 “ long before by those who are called *Ni-*
 “ *colaitans* . . . thus began in the doctrine,
 “ which is according to the gospel : *In the*
 “ *beginning was the Word*.”

In another place of the same ancient writ-
 ter are these expressions : “ As (d) *John* the
 “ disciple of the Lord assures us, saying :
 “ *But these are written, that ye might believe,*
 “ *that*

(c) Hanc fidem annuntians Joannes Domini discipulus, vo-
 lens per Evangelii annuntiationem auferre eum, qui a Cerin-
 tho infeminatus erat hominibus errorem, et multo prius ab his
 qui dicuntur Nicolaitae, qui sunt vulsio ejus, quae falso cog-
 nominatur scientia . . . Sic inchoavit in ea quae est secundum
 evangelium doctrina. *In principio erat verbum. &c. Adv.*
Haer. l. 3. cap. xi. p. 188. Bened.

(d) . . . quemadmodum Joannes Domini discipulus con-
 firmat, dicens : *Haec autem scripta sunt, ut credatis, quoniam*
Jesus est Filius Dei, et ut credentes vitam aeternam habeatis in
nomine ejus : providens has blasphemias regulas, quae divi-
dant Dominum, quantum ex ipsis attinet, ex altera et altera
substantia dicentes eum factum. Adv. Haer. l. 3. cap. 16. n.
5. p. 206.

“ that *Jesus is the Christ, the son of God, and*
 “ *that believing ye might have life through his*
 “ *name.* [ch. xx. 30.] Foreseeing these blas-
 “ phemous notions, that divide the Lord,
 “ so far as it is in their power.”

In the preceding passage *Irenaeus* speaks, as if St. *John's* Gospel was writ after the rise of *Cerintbus*, and other heresies. But here he seems to say, that it was writ before them, and foreseeing them. In like manner afterwards, in the same chapter, he says of *Paul*:
 “ as (*e*) he says : *It is Christ that died, yea*
 “ *rather that is risen, who is at the right*
 “ *hand of God.* Rom. viii. 34. And again,
 “ *Knowing that Christ being raised from the*
 “ *dead, dies no more.* vi. 9. For he also
 “ foreseeing by the Spirit the divisions of
 “ evil teachers, and being desirous to cut off
 “ from them all occasion of dissension, says
 “ what has been just quoted.

Clement, of *Alexandria*, speaking of the order of the Gospels, according to what he had

(*e*) . . . quemadmodum ipse ait : *Simul autem Christus mortuus est, immo et resurrexit . . . Et iterum : Scientes quoniam Christus resurgens a mortuis, jam non moritur.* Praevicens enim et ipse per Spiritum subdivisiones malorum magistrorum, et omnem ipsorum occasionem dissensionis volens abscindere, ait quae praedicta sunt. *Ibid.* n. 9. p. 207.

had received from Presbyters of more ancient times, says : “ Last (*f*) of all *John* observing, “ that in the other Gospels those things were “ related, which concern the humanity of “ Christ, and being persuaded by his friends, “ and also moved by the spirit of God, he “ wrote a spiritual Gospel.” Here it is supposed, not only, that St. *John* wrote the last of the four, but likewise, that he had seen the Gospels of the other three Evangelists.

Origen (*g*) speaks of all the four Gospels in our present order, that is, *Matthew*’s first, and *John*’s last.

A long passage of *Eusebe* concerning St. *John*’s Gospel may be seen vol. viii. p. 90. . . 96. It cannot be omitted here. But it shall be abridged. “ And that it has been justly “ placed by the ancients the fourth in order, “ and after the other three, may be made evident. . . . For *Matthew* delivered his Gospel to the *Hebrews*. . . . And when *Mark* “ and *Luke* also had published the Gospels “ according to them, it is said, that *John* “ who all this while had preached by word “ of mouth, was at length induced to write “ for

(*f*) See Vol. ii. p. 475.

(*g*) See Vol. iii. p. 235, 236.

“ for this reason. The three first written
 “ Gospels being now delivered to all men,
 “ and to *John* himself, it is said, that he ap-
 “ proved them, and confirmed the truth of
 “ their narration by his own testimonie, say-
 “ ing : There was only wanting a written ac-
 “ count of the things done by Christ, in the
 “ former part, and near the begining of his
 “ preaching. . . And, certainly, that observa-
 “ tion is true. . . .”

Epiphanius (b) speaks of St. *John*'s Gospel, as the last of the four. He also says, that St. *John* wrote it, after he had long declined so doing through humility, when he was ninety years of age, and when he had lived in *Asia* many years, after his return thither from *Patmos*, in the time of the Emperour *Claudius*. He moreover says in several places, that this Gospel was occasioned by the errors of the *Ebionites*, the *Cerinthians*, and other heretics.

According to *(i)* the *Syrian* churches, St. *John* wrote his Gospel at *Ephesus*.

My readers are again referred to the noble passage *(k)* of *Theodore*, Bishop of *Mopsuestia*,

con-

(b) See Vol. viii. p. 306. 307.

(i) See Vol. ix. p. 217.

(k) Vol. ix. p. 403. . . . 407.

concerning the four Gospels, and to the remarks upon it.

Jerome, in his book of *Illustrious Men*, says : “ *John* (1) the Apostle wrote a Gospel
 “ at the desire of the Bishops of *Asia*, against
 “ *Cerintbus*, and other heretics, and especially
 “ the doctrine of the *Ebionites*, then spring-
 “ ing up, who say, that Christ did not exist
 “ before his birth of *Marie*. For which rea-
 “ son he was obliged to declare his Divine
 “ nativity. Another reason of his writing
 “ is also mentioned. Which is, that after
 “ having read the volumes of *Matthew*,
 “ *Mark*, and *Luke*, he expressed his approba-
 “ tion of their historie, as true : but observed,
 “ that they had recorded an account of but
 “ one year of our Lord’s ministrie, even the
 “ last, after the imprisonment of *John*, in
 “ which also he suffered. Omitting there-
 “ fore [very much] that year, the historie of
 “ which had been writ by the other three,
 “ he related the Acts of the preceding time,
 “ before *John* was shut up in prison. As may
 “ appear to those, who read the four Evan-
 “ gelists. Which may be of use, to account
 “ for the seeming difference between *John*
 “ and the rest.”

According

(1) *Vol. x. p. 98.*

According to (*m*) *Augustin*, St. *John* is the last of the four Evangelists.

Chrysofom (*n*) assigning the reasons of St. *John*'s writing his Gospel, supposeth, that he did not write till after the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

Paulinus says: "it (*o*) had been handed down by tradition, that *John* survived all the other Apostles, and wrote the last of the four Evangelists, and so as to confirm their most certain historie." And he observes, "that (*p*) in the beginning of St. *John*'s Gospel all heretics are confuted, particularly, *Arius*, *Sabellius*, *Marcion* and the *Manicheans*."

Cosmas of *Alexandria*, says, "that (*q*) when *John* dwelled at *Ephesus*, there were delivered to him by the faithfull the writings of the other three Evangelists. Receiving them he said, that what they had writ was well writ: but some things were omitted by them, which were needfull to be related. And being desired by the faithfull, he also published his writing, as a kind of supple-

(*m*) *Vol. x. p. 223.*

(*n*) *Vol. x. p. 315. 320. 321.*

(*o*) *Vol. xi. p. 43.* (*p*) *P. 44.*

(*q*) *Vol. xi. p. 268, 269.*

“ ment to the rest, containing such things as
 “ these : the wedding at *Cana*, the historie of
 “ *Nicodemus*, the woman of *Samaria*, the no-
 “ bleman, [or Courtier, John iv. 46. . . 54.]
 “ the man blind from his birth, *Lazarus*, the
 “ indignation of *Judas*, at the woman that
 “ anointed the Lord with ointment, the
 “ *Greeks* that came to Jesus, his washing the
 “ disciples feet, and suitable instructions upon
 “ several occasions, and the promise of the
 “ Comforter, and concerning the Deity of
 “ Christ, expressly, and clearly, at the begin-
 “ ing, and premising that, as the foundation
 “ of his work. All which things had been
 “ omitted by the rest.”

Isidore of Seville, says, that (r) *John* wrote
 the last in *Asia*.

Theophylact computed, that (s) *St. John*
 wrote about two and thirty years after Christ's
 ascension.

Euthymius, that (t) it was not writ, untill
 many years after the destruction of *Jeru-
 salem*.

Nicephorus Callisti says, that (u) *John*
 wrote

(r) *Vol. xi. p. 367.* (s) *P. 424.*

(t) *P. 438.* (u) *P. 442.*

wrote last of all, about six and thirty years after the Lord's ascension to heaven.

VIII. Having seen these testimonies of the ancients to St. *John's* Gospel, and the time of it, I would now observe the judgements of learned moderns. *Judgments of Moderns about the Time of it.*

According to (*x*) *Mill's* computation St. *John* wrote his Gospel at *Ephesus*, in the year of Christ 97. about one year before his death.

Fabricius (*y*) speaks to the like purpose.

Le Clerc (*z*) likewise placeth the writing of this Gospel in the year 97.

Mr. *Jones* argues, that (*a*) it was writ about the year 98. and not before 97.

The late Mr. *Wetstein* thought, that (*b*) this

C c 2

Gospel

(*z*) Et quidem Ephesum ab exilio reversus Joannes uno ante mortem anno scripsit Evangelium. *Mill. Proleg. num. 181.*

(*y*) Evangelium Græce edidit Ephesi, omnium postremus, jam nonagenario major, cum e Patmo reversus esset post Domitiani necem, quæ anno 96. contigit. *Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. v. T. 3. p. 139.*

(*x*) *Hist. E. An. 97. num. i.*

(*a*) *New and Full Method, Vol. 3. p. 139.*

(*b*) Hinc etiam consequitur, Evangelium Joannis non ab eo decrepito, et fere centenario, et post mortem Clementis, sed diu antea fuisse editum, adeoque inscriptionem Codicum Græcorum, qui illud Evangelium anno tricesimo secundo post ascensionem Christi, scriptum fuisse testantur, ad verum proprius accedere: præcipue cum ratio nulla sit, cur Joannes scriptionem in tam longum tempus differre debuerit. *Wetst. Proleg. ad duas Clement. Ep. sub fin.*

Gospel might be writ about the year 32. after our Lord's ascension : and dislikes the supposition, that it was writ by St. *John* in decrepit old age.

Basnage (c) was inclined to think, that this Gospel was writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. His reasons will be alleged, and considered by and by.

Mr. *Lampe* was of opinion, that (*d*) this Gospel was writ in the later part of the reign of *Nero*, before the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

*That it
was writ
before the
Destruction
of Jerusa-
lem.*

IX. I shall now propose an argument concerning the date of this Gospel.

There are two considerations, principally, which lead me to think, that St. *John's* Gospel was writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, or about the time of that event. These I shall first mention, and then take notice of divers others, observable in learned moderns.

1. It is likely, that St. *John* wrote in a short time after the other Evangelists. Their Gospels

(*c*) *Ann. 97. num. xii.*

(*d*) *Putem ergo non contemnendas esse rationes, quae ante excidium Hierosolymitanum Evangelium nostrum sub extremis forte Neronis temporibus conscriptum esse persuadent. Proleg. l. 2. cap. 2. num. ix.*

pels were soon brought to him. And if he thought fit to confirm them, or to write any thing by way of supplement, he would do it in a short time. The first three Gospels, very probably, were writ and published before the end of the year 64. or in 65. at the farthest. If they were brought to St. *John* in 65. or 66. he would not defer more, or not much more, than a year, or two, to publish his historie of Jesus, and make the account compleat.

I do not presume to say exactly the year, in which this Gospel was writ. But I think, it might be writ, and published, in the year 68.

This argument offered itself to Mr. *Whiston*'s thoughts, and is thus expressed by him :
 “ That (*e*) occasion of *John*'s writing his
 “ Gospel, mentioned by the ancients, viz. the
 “ bringing the other three Gospels to him,
 “ and his observing their deficiency, as to the
 “ acts of Christ before the Baptist's imprison-
 “ ment, does much better agree with this
 “ time, just after the publication of those
 “ Gospels, than with that above thirty years
 C c 3 “ later,

(*e*) *Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions*, p. 38. 39.

“ later, to which it’s writing is now ordinarily
“ ascribed.”

And is it not a strange supposition, that all the other three Gospels should have been writ by the year 60. or thereabout, and St. *John*’s not till the year 97. or 98. that is, more than thirty years after the others? When likewise he must have been of a very great age, and scarcely fit for such a work as this.

2. The second consideration is the suitability of St. *John*’s Gospel to the circumstances of things before the overthrow of the Jews, or about that time.

Mr. *Lampe* has observed, that (*f*) the great design of St. *John* in writing his Gospel seems to have been, to shew, how inexcusable the Jews were in not receiving Jesus as the Christ, and to vindicate the Providence of God in the calamities already befallen, or now coming

(*f*) Totam porro oeconomiam hujus Evangelii ita esse digestam, ut ad convincendos ac ἀναπολογίτες reddendos Judaeos spectaret, capite sequenti ostendemus. *Prolegom. in Joan. l. 2. cap. 3. §. ii.*

Imminens etiam Judaeae perniciēs occasionem maxime opportunam conscribendo libro dabat, in quo Joannis animus erat hujus ipsius judicii imminētis aequitatem defendere, et tentare, an Judaei ex hoc Reipublicae naufragio magno agmine in Asiam enatantes, ad recipiendum unicum mundi Salvatorem hoc medio permoveri possint. *Ibid. l. 2. cap. 2. §. xv. Vid. et l. 2. cap. 3. num. iii. not. (b).*

ing upon them. If that appear to be the design of St. *John* in writing his Gospel, it will very much strengthen the supposition, that it was writ, before the destruction of *Jerusalem* was completed.

St. *John* says ch. xx. 31. *These things are written, that ye might believe, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name.* That is,
 “ This historie has been writ, that they who
 “ believe, may be confirmed in their faith,
 “ and that all others, who yet believe not,
 “ may believe in Jesus, as the Christ, the Son
 “ of God, and obtain that life, which he pro-
 “ miseth to those, who believe in him, and
 “ obey him.”

That is the design of all the Evangelists. And their histories are a sufficient ground and reason of this belief. But St. *John's* Gospel contains an ample confirmation of all that they have said, with valuable additions, and more plain and frequent assurances, that Jesus is not only a Prophet, and messenger of God, but the Christ, the Son of God, or that great Prophet, that should come into the world: whereby all are rendred inexcusable in rejecting him, and especially the Jews, among whom he preached, and wrought

many miracles, and whom he often called to receive him, as the Christ. This (g) runs through St. *John's* Gospel from the beginning to the end, or near the end, of the twelfth chapter.

Even in the introduction he says. ch. i. 7. *John came for a witness, to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe. 8. He was not that light. But was sent to bear witness of that light. 9. That was the true light, which lighteth every man, that cometh into the world.* “ That is, he was designed “ to be an universal blessing: And he has “ done all that was fit to be done, to enlighten “ all

(g) *Priora duodecim capita evidentissime ea commemorant, quae severum et tremendum illud Dei in Judaeos iudicium defendunt. Talia enim facta et dicta continuo ordine proponunt, quae non in obscuro angulo, sed coram tota gente Judaica edita sunt, nullamque exceptionem patiuntur. . . . Atque haec est ratio, cur Joannes secundum festa Judaeorum historiam evangelicam digerat. Inde enim innotescit, Iesum ea diligenter frequentasse, atque in iis publice coram toto populo Judaico se satis superque manifestasse. Illud enim Evangelistae nostro plane privum est, ut ea potissimum narret, quae a Domino nostro Hierosolymis, quin in ipso templo gesta atque dicta sunt: paucis tantum interjectis, quae eum etiam Judaeam, Samariam, Galilaeam, radiis gloriae suae coelestis abunde illustrasse, atque ita nullam partem regionis Judaeorum vacuam reliquisse, probant. Lampe. Ibid. l. 2. cap. 4. num. xxxviii. xxxiv.*

“ all men in the knowledge of God, and true religion.” Ver. 14. *And we beheld his glorie, we his disciples, and all who impartially attended, beheld his glorie, the glorie, as of the only begotten of the Father : that is, the glorie, peculiar to the promised Messiah. Again, at Ver. 18. he stiles him the only begotten son. Here St. John may be supposed to declare his present faith, or to make a profession of the faith, which he had at the time of his writing. Having so done, he proceeds in the historie. Ver. 19. 20. And this is the record of John, when the Jews sent Priests and Levites from Jerusalem, to ask him, Who art thou. He answered, that he was not the Christ, but his harbinger, or fore-runner, the person spoken of by Isaiah. And he declares the transcendent greatnesse of him, who was about to appear, and was already among them. Ver. 21. . . . 28. Then at ver. 29. The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith : Behold the lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world. Undoubtedly, by that character meaning the Messiah, and understood by all, so to mean. See also ver. 30. 31. 32. 33. Then at ver. 34. And I saw, and bare record, that this is the Son of God : or the Christ. And ver. 35. 36. Again,*

gain, the next day after John stood, and two of his disciples. And looking upon Jesus, as he walked, he saith: Behold the lamb of God. He tells every body, that Jesus is the Christ, though not always in the same terms. And, to finish our account of John the Baptist. In ch. iii. 25. . . 36. is the last testimonie, bore by him to Jesus. And it is very strong, and full. He declares, he was not himself the Christ, but was sent before him. To him, says he, God giveth not the Spirit by measure. The Father loveth the Son, and hath put all things into his hands. . . He that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life. And he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life. But the wrath of God abideth on him.

Having gone through the Baptist's testimonie, as here recorded, we look back to ch. i. 4. . . 42. where Andrew finds his brother Simon, and says to him: We have found the Messiah. Then ver. 45. . . 51. Philip findeth Nathanael, and saith to him: We have found him, of whom Moses in the Law, and the Prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth. Nathanael likewise is convinced, and says: Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God. Thou art the King of Israel. So writes St. John, shewing, that the pious, and well disposed among
the

the Jews, readily received Jesus as the Christ. And thereby shewing likewise the great unreasonableness, and extreme perverseness of those who did not believe in him after all the proofs, which he set before them in the course of his most powerful ministrie. As the Evangelist most justly says, near the conclusion of this part of his Gospel. Ch. xii. 37. *But though he had done so many miracles among them, yet they believed not on him. And see what follows there.*

Ch. ii. 11. After the account of the miracle at *Cana*. *This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glorie: that is, the glorie of the Messiah. And his disciples believed on him: or were confirmed in their belief, that he was the Christ.*

Soon after this Jesus went up to *Jerusalem*, at a Passover, and cleansed the temple, saying: *Make not my Father's house an house of merchandise.* ch. ii. 13. . . 17. By the work itself, and by his words, manifesting himself to be the Messiah. I omit other things in the remaining part of that chapter, which an attentive reader will take notice of.

Then,

Then, ch. iii. 1. . . 21. is the historie of *Nicodemus*, who, whilst *Jesus* was this time at *Jerusalem*, made him a private visit. He immediatly professeth faith in him, as a Prophet. But our Lord tells him plainly, that he was the *Messiah*, and demands a suitable regard from him. He likewise sets before *Nicodemus* the nature of his design, for preventing, or for removing all worldly expectations from him. He likewise intimates the call of the Gentils, and the judgements coming upon the Jewish People, if they should persist in unbelief. *For*, says he, *as Moses lift up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life. . . . For God sent not his Son, the Messiah, into the world, to condemn the world: but that through him the world, Gentils as well as Jews, might be saved.* And what there follows.

Jesus going through *Samaria* from *Jerusalem*, in his way to *Galilee*, meets with a woman of that countrey. Ch. iv. 19. *The woman saith unto him: Sir, I perceive, that thou art a Prophet. . . .* And ver. 25. 26. *The woman saith unto him: I know, that the Messiah cometh, or is soon to appear. . . . Jesus saith*

saith unto her : I that speak unto thee am he. . .
 The woman left him, and went into the city, and saith unto the men : Come, see a man that has told me all things that ever I did. Is not this the Christ? Afterwards, ver. 42. Many of that place said unto the woman : Now we believe, not because of thy saying. For we have seen him ourselves, and know, that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world. Here is another instance of our Lord's freely declaring himself to be the Christ, and of his accepting a profession of faith in himself, as such. And the ready faith of these Samaritans aggravates the continued unbelief of the Jews, on whom more culture had been bestowed.

Ch. v. 1. *After this there was a feast of the Jews. And Jesus went up to Jerusalem.* By many this is thought to be Passover. By others it is reckoned some other feast between the last mentioned and the next Passover of our Lord's ministrie. However that may be, at this season our Lord healed the lame man at the pool of *Bethesda*, on the Sabbath-day, and bid him carry his bed, and go home. *Therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, and sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the Sabbath Day. But Jesus answered*
 ed

ed them: My Father worketh hitberto. And I work. ver. 16. 17. The Jews charge him with blasphemie. Our Lord vindicates himself, and claims the character of the Messiah in high terms. And assures them, *that all judgement had been committed unto the Son,* meaning himself, the Messiah: *that all men might honor the Son, even as they honor the Father.* ver. 21. . . 23. And, for proof, he refers to their scriptures, the testimonie of *John*, and the works, which he had wrought among them, in the Father's name. ver. 24. . . . 47.

Ch. vi. 1. . . 3. We perceive, our Lord to be in *Galilee*, whither he had gone from *Judea*. Then at ver. 4. *And the Passover, a feast of the Jews, was nigh.* After which follows the miracle of the five loaves and two fishes, for feeding five thousand. *Then, those men, when they had seen the miracle, which Jesus did, said: This is of a truth that Prophet, which should come into the world:* or, the expected Messiah. Their notion of the kingdom, belonging to that character, being worldly and carnal, and they looking for worldly advantages, *would have come, and taken him by force, to make him a King.* So that our Lord found it needful to *depart into*
a moun-

a mountain himself alone. The disciples in the mean time took shipping, and he came to them walking upon the sea. When they had received him, *immediatly the ship was at the land, whither they were going.* ver. 14. . . 21. The people having been disappointed, came to him as soon as they could at *Caper-naum.* Where our Lord takes an opportunity to reprove their carnal temper, and instructs them in the design of the Messiah, and the nature of his kingdom. And still taking upon himself that character, and requiring faith in him as such, he says: *I am the bread of life. . . And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life. . . . I am the living bread, which came down from heaven. If any man eat this bread, he shall live for ever. And the bread that I will give him is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. . . Many therefore of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him. But Peter, in the name of the Twelve, and possibly, in the name also of some others, followers of Jesus, said: To whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe, and are sure, that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,* ver. 22. . . 69.

Ch. vii. 1. 2. *After these things Jesus walked in Galilee. For he would not walk in Judæa, because the Jews sought to kill him. Now the Jews feast of Tabernacles was at hand. . .*
 14. *Now about the midst of the feast, Jesus went up into the temple, and taught. Ver. 25.*
 26. *Then said some of them of Jerusalem . . . Do the rulers know indeed, that this is the very Christ? Ver. 31. And many of the people believed on him, and said: When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these, which this man has done? Ver. 37. 38. In the last day, the great day of the feast, Jesus stood, and cried: If any man thirst, let him come to me, and drink. . . He speaks of himself in the character of the Messiah, and calls on all men to come to him, as such, and receive the great blessings, which he is able to bestow. And at ver. 40. 41. Many of the people therefore, when they heard this saying, said: This is the Prophet. Others said: This is the Christ.*

Ch. viii. 12. . . 23. *Our Lord is still at Jerusalem. And at ver. 12. Then spake Jesus unto them, saying: I am the light of the world: claiming the character of the Messiah, and declaring also the advantages of believing in him, and the sad consequence of not receiving*
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ing him. Ver. 21. *Then said Jesus again unto them. I go my way, and ye shall seek me, and shall die in your sins.* Ver. 24. *I said therefore unto you, that ye shall die in your sins. For, if ye believe not, that I am he, the Messiah, ye shall die in your sins : that is, ye will bring upon yourselves heavie judgements and calamities.* Ver. 47. *He that is of God, beareth God's words. Ye therefore bear them not, because ye are not of God. . . Ver. 56. your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day. . .* Does not our Lord in all this propose himself to them, as the Messiah, require their faith in him, as such, and plainly intimate the calamities, that would befall them, if they should continue to reject him ?

Nor is there any inconsistency in what is here observed, and the accounts of the other Evangelists. After Peter had made a profession of his faith, it is said Matt. xvi. 20. *Then charged he his disciples, that they should tell no man, that he was the Christ.* And compare Mark viii. 30, and Luke ix. 21. Nevertheless, he was not unwilling to be thought of in that character. When Simon Peter had said by way of answer to the question that had been put to the disciples, *thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God :* our Lord

was greatly pleased, and pronounced him blessed upon that account. And he was desirous, that all should receive him, as the Messiah. It was the design of his own, and his fore-runner's preaching, as recorded in all the Evangelists, the first three, as well as St. John. They called upon all men *to repent, for the kingdom of heaven, or of God, by the Messiah, is at hand.* So Mark i. 14. 15. And himself says: Matt. xii. 28. *If I cast out demons by the Spirit of God, then is the kingdom of God come unto you.* And Luke xvii. 21. *Behold, the kingdom of God is among you, or in the midst of you, not within you, as we render it.* But he tells them, that the kingdom of the Messiah was already begun to be set up among them. When our Lord was baptized, *there came a voice from heaven, saying: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* Or, this is the Messiah. As recorded by all the first three Evangelists. Matt. iii. 17. Mark i. 11. Luke iii. 22. And in them our Lord accepts applications to him, and confessions of faith in him, in the character of *the Son of David, and the Son of God*, both which are the same as, the Messiah. Of the former there are many instances. Of the later I mention one. Matt. xiv. 33. *Then they that*
were

were in the ship, came, and worshiped him, saying : *Thou art the Son of God.* And when he entred into *Jerusalem*, he accepted the acclamations of the multitude, which cried : *Hosanna to the Son of David : Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord : Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord.* Matth. xxi. 1. . . 16. Mark xi. 1. . . 11. Luke xix. 28. . . 40. He sometimes laments the small successe of his preaching, and that so few received him. But acquiesceth in the event. As in Luke vii. 31. . . 35. Matth. xi. 16. . . 26. Luke x. 21. . . 24. And he even expresseth a surprize, that the Pharisees, and others, did not discern the signs of the time. Matt. xvi. 1. . . 4. Mark viii. 11. . . 13. Luke xii. 54. . . 57. And every one may easily perceive the reason, why he did not allow the disciples, or some others, to say publicly, that he was the Messiah. For considering that the Jewish People in general, and the disciples themselves, expected a worldly kingdom, and worldly advantages from the Messiah ; there needed some discretion, least men should have been led to make tumults and disturbances, which might have been offensive to the magistrate. But when our Lord spoke of himself, as the Messiah, he al-

ways inculcated the true design of his coming, and gave assurances of spiritual and heavenly blessings, and such only.

Our Lord still continues at *Jerusalem*. Ch. ix. 1...41. is the historie of the man blind from his birth, whom our Lord healed, anointing his eyes with clay, moistened with his spittle. *And it was the Sabbath-day, when Jesus made the clay, and opened his eyes.* The man being brought before the Pharisees, and examined by them, said, that he who had opened his eyes was a Prophet. *And they cast him out.* Jesus heard, that they had cast him out. *And when he had found him, he said unto him: Dost thou believe on the Son of God? He answered, and said: Who is he, Lord, that I might believe on him? Jesus said unto him: Thou hast both seen him, and it is he that talketh with thee.* *And he said: Lord, I believe, and he worshipped him.* All this needs no comment. Afterwards at ver. 39...41. are intimations given to the Pharisees of the sad consequences of rejecting him. And indeed in this historie the bad temper of the Jewish Rulers is very manifest.

Ch. x. Our Lord speaks of himself as *the true shepherd*, or the Messiah. Ver. 11. *I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd giveth his life*

life for the sheep. Ver. 16. *And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold.* Ver. 22. . . . 24. *And it was at Jerusalem the feast of the Dedication. And it was winter. And Jesus walked in the temple, in Solomon's porch. Then came the Jews round about him, and said unto him: How long dost thou make us to doubt! If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly. Jesus answered them: I told you, and ye believed not. The works that I do in my Father's name bear witness of me.* A very proper answer, certainly. And what follows to ver. 38. deserves to be consulted.

Ch. x. 39. . . . 42. *Therefore they sought again to take him, but he escaped out of their hand. And went away beyond Jordan, unto the place, where John at first baptized. And there abode. And many resorted unto him, and said: John did no miracles. But all things, that John spake of this man, were true. And many believed on him there.*

I suppose this retreat of our Lord to a place beyond Jordan, to be the same that is mentioned Matt. xix. 1. and Mark x. 1. upon which some remarks were made (*b*) many years ago.

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(*b*) See the *Vindication of our Saviour's three Miracles of raising the dead.* Ch. i. p. 18. . . . 22. first ed. p. 32. . . . 37. 2d edit.

What passed during that interval in that countrey, is recorded Matt. xix. 1. . . . to xx. 1. . . . 16. and Mark x. 1. . . . 31. Nor was St. *Luke* unacquainted with this retreat. For he has inserted in his Gospel at ch. xviii. 15. . . . 30. some of the same discourses, which are in the other two Evangelists, whilst our Lord was there. I say, I suppose, that St. *John* and the other Evangelists speak of one and the same recess. But St. *John* seems to mention more particularly the occasion of it, in the verses just recited.

In this place, and interval, our Lord lived somewhat more privatly, than he had done before. He received all who came to him, either for instruction, or to be healed by him. But he did not go about the cities and villages of *Judea*, preaching publicly, as he had done for some while before.

I always supposed, that our Lord's living thus, in that place, at no great distance from *Jerusalem*, had in it a kind design. He intended thereby to afford to the Jewish People, especially, their Priests and Rulers at *Jerusalem*, an opportunity to consider, and calmly reflect upon all the wonderful things that had happened among them in the space of a few years, the preaching and baptism of *John*, and
all

all the things said and done by himself in the course of his ministrie, particularly, the miracles which he had wrought among them, the claims, which he had made of being the promised Messiah, whom all ought to receive, and the intimations that had been given of impending ruin and miserie.

Here our Lord waited, willing to rest the proof of his mission upon the testimonies, that had been given to it. And if the Rulers of the Jewish People had now come, and solemnly owned him in the character, he bore, and with which God had clothed him, how joyfully would they have been received! But they were not so disposed. *Great multitudes* of the people came to him there, and *he healed them*. The *Pharisees also came unto him*. But it was *tempting him*. Matth. xix. 1. 2. 3. Mark x. 1. 2.

But beside what is recorded by the other Evangelists, St. *John* assures us, that in this interval our Lord came to *Bethanie*, about fifteen furlongs, or two miles, from *Jerusalem*, and there raised *Lazarus* to life. ch. xi. 1. . . . 44. *Then many of the Jews, which came to Marie, and had seen the things which Jesus did, believed on him: that is, that he was the Christ. But some of them went their way to the*

Pharisees, and told them, what things Jesus had done. ver. 45. 46. Then gathered they a Council. . . . Then from that day forth, they took counsel together, for to put him to death. ver. 47. . . 53. This shews, that they were inflexible, and not to be gained by any considerations.

It follows in ver. 54. *Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews : but went thence into a countrey near the wildernesse, into a city called Ephraim. And there continued with his disciples. Which (*) I suppose, was not far from the place, from which our Lord came last. And from this city, called Ephraim, our Lord came to Bethanie again, by the way of Jericho, a short time before the next Passover, as related by the other Evangelists. We proceed.*

Says St. John ch. xi. 55. . . 57. *And the Jews Passover was now at hand. . . Now both the Chief-Priests and the Pharisees had given a commandment, that if any knew where he was, he should shew it, that they might take him. That is a proof of a determined purpose to accomplish their evil designs against Jesus.*

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(*) *Vid. Reland, Palaest. l. i. cap. 56. Tom. i. p. 377. et Lessant sur S. Jean. ch. xi. ver. 54.*

The whole following xii. chapter of this Gospel deserves attentive regard. I must transcribe a part, though it adds to the length of these extracts. *Then Jesus, six days before the Passover, came to Bethanie, where Lazarus was, who had been dead, whom he raised from the dead. xii. 1. Much people of the Jews therefore knew, that he was there. And they came, not for Jesus sake only, but that they might see Lazarus also, whom he had raised from the dead. But the Chief-Priests consulted, that they might put Lazarus also to death: because that by reason of him many of the Jews went away, and believed on Jesus. ver. 9. . . 11. And here is an account of some Greeks, or Gentils, who were desirous to see Jesus. ver. 20. . . . 22. Whose readinesse, accompanied with humility, may be reasonably understood to cast a reflexion upon the pride and obstinacie of those, who were unmoved by the most powerful arguments, and the most gracious invitations. The remainder of that chapter, from ver. 35. to 50. is a most proper conclusion of this part of the Gospel, in which are these things very observable. Then Jesus said unto them: Yet a little while the light is with you. Walk while ye have the light, least darknesse come upon you. . . . While ye have the light, believe in the light, that*

that ye may be the children of light. . . . But though he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him : that the saying of Esaias might be fulfilled. . . . Jesus cried, and said : He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me. I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me, should not abide in darknesse. . . I have not spoken of my-self. But the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should speak. And I know, that his commandment is life everlasting. Whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak.

Then in the xiii. xiv. xv. xvi. and xvii. chapters our Lord instructs and comforts, prays with and for his disciples : shewing (*i*) tokens of the tenderest affection, and the most faithful concern for those, who had paid a due regard to the evidences of his mission, and adhered to him under difficulties and discouragements. So begins the next, that is, the
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(*i*) Sicut vero hæcenus severitatem Domini in Judæos defendit Evangelista, ita in sequentibus a capite xiii. ad finem usque fidelitatem Christi illibatam, quam discipulis suis ad-dixit, ex ultimis verbis adserit. Hæc intentio haud obscure addiscitur ex nova, quæ alteri hujus Evangelii parte præfigitur, præfatiuncula. cap. xiii. 1. . . . *Lamp. Præl. l. 2. c. 4. sum. xxxvi.*

thirteenth chapter: *Now before the feast of the Passover, when Jesus knew, that his hour was come, that he should depart out of the world unto the Father: having loved his own, which were in the world, he loved them unto the end.*

And indeed it was very natural for the Evangelist, who had largely shewn the unreasonableness, and the aggravated guilt of the Jews, who did not believe in Jesus, but rejected him, to give also a particular account of our Lord's kind acceptance of those who believed in him, and persevered in their faith.

So that the design of shewing, how inexcusable the Jewish People were, in rejecting Jesus, and of vindicating Divine Providence in the calamities brought upon them, is what produced the whole order and economy of this Gospel.

The two following chapters, the xviii. and xix. contain the account of our Lord's prosecution, condemnation, death, and interment. In the two last chapters the xx. and the xxi. are the accounts of our Lord's resurrection, and the evidences of it, with many tokens of kind regard for his disciples, who had followed him in the time of his abode on this earth, and were now to be his witnesses in the world,
and

and to preach, under many difficulties, the same doctrine, which he had taught.

There is another thing, which may induce us to think, that one great design of St. *John* in writing his Gospel was to shew the unreasonableness, and the great guilt of the Jews, in rejecting Jesus: that in his Gospel are inserted more instances of their attempts upon our Lord's life, than in the other Gospels. Some such things there are in them. Accounts of the Pharisees consulting, how they might destroy Jesus, may be seen in Matt. xii. 14. Mark iii. 6. Luke vi. 11. beside their last attempt: when they were permitted to accomplish their evil design. But there are more such instances in St. *John's*, than in any of the other Gospels. As John vii. 1. *After these things Jesus walked in Galilee. For he would not walk in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill him.* However, he came up to Jerusalem at the next feast of Tabernacles. ver. 2. And their designs were renewed. Ch. vii. 25. *Then said some of them at Jerusalem: Is not this he, whom they seek to kill? . . .* Ver. 31. 32. *And many of the people believed on him, and said: When the Christ cometh, will he do more miracles, than these, which this man has done? The Pharisees heard, that they murmured such*

*such things concerning him. And the Phari-
sees and Chief-Priest sent officers to take him.*
But the officers, overcome by the excellence
of his discourses, could not persuade them-
selves to apprehend him. For which they
were reproached by the Council in a most
outrageous manner. But *Nicodemus* strove to
allay their resentment. ver. 45. . . 52. And
ch. viii. 20. *These words spake Jesus, in the
treasurie, as he taught in the temple. And no
man laid hands on him, because his time was not
yet come. . . Ver. 37. I know, that ye are A-
brabam's seed. But ye seek to kill me, a man
which has told you the truth, which I have heard
of God. This did not Abraham. Ver 59.
Then took they up stones to cast at him. . . . And
ch. x. 39. 40. Therefore they sought again to
take him : but he escaped out of their hand.
And went away beyond Jordan. And when
our Lord proposed to go to Bethanie, upon
occasion of the sicknesse and death of *Laza-
rus*, the disciples go unwillingly, and would
have dissuaded him from that journey, be-
ing apprehensive of the imminent danger
therein both to him and themselves. ch. xi. 7.
. . . 16. See likewise ver. 45. . . 57. All
these are things quite omitted by the other
Evangelists. As is also what is said. ch. xii.*

10. 11. And in their last persecution of Jesus before *Pilate* there are some very aggravating particulars mentioned by St. *John*, which the other Evangelists have not taken notice of. See ch. xviii. 29. . . . 32. xix. 1. . . 15.

Our blessed Lord, preparing his disciples for afflictions, reconciling their minds to them, and encouraging them to endure them patiently, says, ch. xv. 21. . . . 24. *All these things will they do unto you for my name's sake, because they know not him that sent me. If I had not come, and spoken unto them, they had not had sin. But now they have no excuse for their sin. He that hateth me, hateth my Father also. If I had not done among them the works, which no other man did, they had not had sin. But now have they both seen, and hated both me and my Father.* That is a strong, but just and true representation of the heinousness of the guilt of the Jewish People. For which reason I could not forbear to allege it here, though it should be thought out of place.

And now having, as I suppose, shewn this design of the Evangelist, let me mention an observation, or two, by way of corollarie.

First.

First. We see the reason of St. *John*'s recording the miracle of raising *Lazarus*, omitted by the other Evangelists. There was no necessity, that they should mention it. For without it they have recorded sufficient evidences of our Lord's mission and character. Nor was it possible, without an improper prolixity to record all our Saviour's discourses and miracles, as St. *John* himself has observed. Moreover the first three Evangelists have chiefly insisted upon the most public part of our Lord's ministrie. For which reason this miracle did not come so directly in their way. But St. *John* could not omit it. His design necessarily led him to relate this great miracle, done so near *Jerusalem*, and with all it's circumstances. For it manifestly shews the perverse and incorrigible temper of the Jewish Priests and Rulers.

Secondly. None ought any more to make a question, whether our Lord twice cleansed the temple, or once only. It was cleansed by him at the time of his last Passover, as related by the first three Evangelists. But it was very proper for St. *John* to record that done at the first Passover of our Lord's ministrie : it affording an alarming evidence of his being the expected Messiah, which should have

have been taken notice of by the Jewish Rulers at *Jerusalem*. It was an early and open claim of the character of the Messiah. And their neglecting that, and so many other claims and evidences of the same great truth afterwards, manifests the obstinacie of their unbelief. Which was fitly shewn by this Evangelist.

I now proceed to some other arguments.

3. One argument, that St. John's Gospel was writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, is taken from ch. v. 2. *Now there is at Jerusalem, by the sheep-market, or Sheep-Gate, a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches.*

On this passage insist both (*k*) *Basnage* and (*l*) *Lampe*. St John does not say, as they

(*k*) Porro quod tam fero scriptum Joannis Evangelium tradamus, id ex sententia potius veterum, quam ex rei veritate fecimus. Ex ipso quippe Evangelio nascitur argumentum ad existimandam, lucem prius aspexisse, quam Hierosolyma everteretur. *Est*, inquit. *Hierosolymis ad portam ovium piscina. Stetit ergo videtur urbs sancta, Joanne ea verba scribente. Secus, non praesens, est, est, sed praeteritum adhibuisset. Basn. An. 97. n. xii.*

(*l*) Habetur igitur hic non tantum mentio *portae ovium*, tanquam tunc adhuc existantis, cum scriberet Evangelista, sed etiam aedificii ex quinque porticibus constantis, quales structurae post dirutam a Romanis Hierosolymam illic frustra essent quaesitae. Licet enim piscinam superesse velint itinera-

ria,

they observe, *There was*, but *there is*. And though the pool might remain, it could not be said after the ruin of the city, that the *five porches* still subsisted.

Mr. *Whiston* argues in this manner. “ St. John’s (*m*) speaking of the *Pool of Bethesda* in the present tense better agrees to the time here assigned, A. D. 63. before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, when that Pool and Porch were certainly in being, than to the time afterwards, when probably both were destroyed.”

Dr. *Whitby* likewise was somewhat affected by this text, and says: “ If *there is* be the true reading, as the consent of almost all the *Greek* copies argues, it seems to intimate, that *Jerusalem* and this Pool were standing, when St. *John* wrote his Gospel: and therefore, that it was written, as *Theophylact*, and others say, before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and not, as the more ancient Fathers thought, long after.”

ria, portae tamen ac muri solo aequata erant. Inde igitur colligimus, stetisse urbem sanctam, Joanne ea verba scribente. Secus non praefens est, sed praeteritum adhibuisset. *Lamp.* *Prolog.* l. 2. cap. 2. num. xi.

(*m*) *Essay on the Constitutions*, ch. i. p. 38.

But Mr. *Jones*, beside other things, says, “that (*n*) in all probability the Pool was not filled up, but was still in the same state, after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, as before.” To which, however, it might be answered, that supposing the Pool not to have been filled up, it would not be reasonable to think, that the *porches* and the *gate* still subsisted, after the destruction of the city. But then Mr. *Jones* adds: “Supposing the Pool was destroyed, and St. *John* to have known it, there is no impropriety in using the verb *is*: nothing being more common among writers, than to use verbs in the present tense, to denote the preterperfect.”

Having represented this argument, as it has appeared to divers learned men, I leave every one to judge of it.

4. In ch. xxi. 18. 19. Christ foretells, that *Peter* would die by martyrdom. Then it is added: *This spake he, signifying, by what death he should glorify God.* Some may hence argue, that (*o*) *Peter* was not yet dead, when this

(*n*) *New and Full Method. vol. 3. p. 141.*

(*o*) Post Petri martyrium editum esse Joannis Evangelium consensus est Patrum omnium. Fit tamen in ea re scrupulus. Petro Christus mortem discrete portendit. cap. xxi. 18. . . .

this was writ : or that St. *John* did not then know of it. But others may be of opinion, that (*p*) though *Peter* had suffered martyrdom a good while before, and St. *John* knew it very well ; yet he was not obliged to take notice of it, but might write as he does.

Indeed, I am of opinion, that St. *John* could not take notice of *Peter's* death. It was not a thing within his province. As an Evangelist, he wrote the historie of our Saviour, not of his Apostles.

5. A like argument may be taken from the following verses. 20. 21. 22. *Peter seeing John, saith to Jesus : Lord, and what shall this man do ? Jesus saith unto him : If I will, that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee ? Follow thou me. Then went this saying abroad, that this disciple should not die. Yet Jesus said not unto him, he shall not die : but if I will,*

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that

Quae si scripta sunt, jam misso ad mortem Petro, injici de ea re mentio debebat, ut et completi oraculi cognitio caperetur, et martyri Christi laus sua concederetur. *Basiag. Exercit p. 384.*

(*p*) Locus ex Joh. xxi. 18. non magni in hac caussa momenti est. Nullam enim video necessitatem, cur mortem *Petri* commemoraret, si vel actu notitiam ejus habuisset, quia sic per se fatis veritas praedictionis Iesu innotuisset, &c. *Lamp. ib. l. 2. c. 2. §. xiii.*

that he tarry, till I come, what is that to thee? If by Christ's *coming* be here intended the overthrow of *Jerusalem*, as many think, it may be supposed reasonable by some to expect, that St. *John* should have taken some notice of it here, if he wrote after that event. Nevertheless I humbly apprehend, that this is not an argument of much weight. I do not think, that as an Evangelist he was obliged to give an account of the fulfilment of Christ's prediction, though he had been a witness of it.

6. *This is the disciple, that testifieth these things, and wrote these things. And we know, that his testimonie is true.* By these last words Mr. *Lampe* (q) supposeth, to be meant some Jews, then living in *Asia*, who were eye-witnesses of our Lord, and his ministrie: which might well be, if St. *John's* Gospel was writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*: but would not be reckoned likely, if it was writ not before the year of the vulgar epoch 97. or 98. They who confirm the testimonie of another, ought to have the same certain knowledge of the thing testified, as he who speaks, or writes. But after the destruction of *Jerusalem*,

(q) *Ibid.* l. 2. cap. 2. num. ix.

rusalem, it is not reasonable to think, there were many to bear witness to things done forty or fifty years before. These Jews, eye-witnesses of our Lord, Mr. *Lampe* supposeth to have been believers of that nation, who accompanied *John* into *Asia*, when he left *Judea*.

I have thought it proper, not to omit this argument of that learned writer. But it depends upon his interpretation of this verse. Which is not certain. For some have supposed, that (*r*) it is the church of *Ephesus*, which here speaks. And others think it to be (*s*) St. *John* himself. The change of number and person, of *we* for *I*, is no valid objection. So 1. John i. 1. . . . 5. *That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes. . . . 3. ep. 12. Yea, and we also bear record. And ye know, that our record is true.* And St. *Paul* 1. *Theff. ii. 18. Wherefore we would have come unto you, even I Paul, once*

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and

(*r*) *Et scimus.*] Loquitur ecclesia Ephesina. *Scimus*, aiunt, *fide dignum*, ex vitæ scilicet puritate, et miraculis ab eo editis. *Grot. in loc.*

(*s*) “The Evangelist had said before ch. xix. 35. *He knoweth, that he says true.* Here in this place he changeth the person, saying: *We know, that his testimonie is true.*” *Light-foot upon John xxi. 24. vol. 2. p. 627. See likewise Whitby, Lenfant, and Doddridge upon the place.*

and again. But Satan hindred us. *Cbrysoftom* (*t*) and *Theophylact* (*u*) understood *St. John* to speak here of himself, as an eye-witnesse, who had been present at almost every thing, related by him in his historie.

7. It is said : “ The three epistles of *St. John* do ever suppose, the Gospel of *St. John* to have been written long before, and to be well known by those, to whom he wrote. And they are written with a constant view and regard to the contents of the same Gospel.” That is an argument (*x*) of *Mr. Whiston*, which, with what he adds by way of confirmation, is referred to the reader’s consideration.

8. Some have argued for an early date of this Gospel, or at least, that it was writ before the Revelation, which was seen in *Patmos*, because

(*t*) Καὶ οὐδ’ αὖ, φησιν, ὅτι ἀληθῆ ἔστιν ἃ λέγει. . . . Καὶ πᾶσι δὲ παρῶν, καὶ ἐδὲ στυρομένους ἀπολιμπάνειτο, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἀνεχρησθη. *Chryf. hom. 88. al. 37. T. 8. p. 588. C. D. E.*

(*u*) Καὶ οὐδ’ αὖ, φησιν, ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγει, τετέστι. πληροφορηθῆς ἔγραφα, ἃ ἔγραφα, ἅτε πᾶσι παρῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις, καὶ τοῖς πάθεσι, καὶ τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Ἀγαπητὸς γὰρ ἦμιν, καὶ οὐκ ἀπελιμπανόμεν, ἅτε παρρησιάζομαι, καὶ περὶ ἑμαυτῆ λέγω, ὅτι ἀληθῆς. *Theophyl. in Jo. Tom. i. p. 847.*

(*x*) See his *Commentaries upon St. John’s three Catholic Epistles*, p. 3. &c.

because (y) it is said at the beginning of that book, ch. i. 1. 2. . . *Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimonie of Jesus Christ, and of all things, which he saw.* They suppose, that therein St. John refers to his Gospel, and what he had writ in it. But to me the most reasonable account of those words appears to be that, which (z) was given formerly : That they are most properly understood of that very book, the Revelation, and the things contained in it. The writer there says, very pertinently, in his introduction, that in that book he had discharged the office, assigned him : having therein faithfully recorded the word of God, received from Jesus Christ, and all the visions, which he had seen.

9. Once more, it is argued from inscriptions, at the end of this Gospel, in divers manuscripts, that it was writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem* : it being there said, that

E e 4

this

(y) *Ipsū porro audiamus Evangelistam idem non obscure, uti nobis videtur, subindicantem, quando Apoc. i. 2. se ita circumferibit : ὁς ἐμαρτύρησε τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. . . Et versu 9. . . Plurimi optimi interpretes in eo consentiunt, quod in his verbis ad Evangelium respiciatur, licet in modo demonstrandi differant &c. Lamp. Prolog. l. 2, cap. 2. §. viii.*

(z) *See Vol. iv. p. 703.*

this Gospel was writ in the time of *Nero*, at thirty years, or about two and thirty years after our Saviour's ascension. Upon these insisted (a) Mr. *Wetstein* in a passage quoted from him some while ago. Upon them likewise insists (b) Mr. *Lampe*.

For my own part, I lay not any stress at all upon these inscriptions, at the end of *Greek*, or *Arabic*, or other manuscripts of the New Testament, writ in the ninth, or tenth centurie, or later. They (c) are of no authority. For there is no proof, that this account was derived from the testimonie, or tradition of ancient authors. The early date of the Gospels was popular. Some having
without

(a) See before p. 387.

(b) Accedit multarum glossarum et versionum in id consensus, quod sub Nerone Evangelium sit exaratum. Licet enim auctoritates hae sequioris aevi sint, ob earum tamen frequentiam et harmoniam valde est credibile, quod in antiquiori traditione fundatae sint. . . . Id tamen observavi discrimen, ut quaedam numero rotundo XXX post Christi ascensionem, aliae XXXII nominent. *Lampe ibid. l. 2. cap. 2. num. xii. Vid. et num. xiv.*

(c) Neque ordo, qui nunc receptus est epistolarum, sequitur ordinem temporis, neque antiqua sunt illa, quae sub finem sunt aduta, ad significandum, unde et per quos missae sunt. . . et illae in sine annotatiunculae serae sunt, ex conjectura, aut tenui fama. *Grot. Comm. in loca quaedam N. T. sub in. Tom. 3: p. 457.*

without reason determined the time of writing the other Gospels at eight, or ten, or fifteen years after our Lord's ascension, pitched upon the year 30. or 32. for the time of St. *John*'s Gospel. But it was done upon no other ground and foundation, but mere fanſie and conjecture.

X. It is upon the two firſt mentioned arguments, that I chiefly relye. However, there are objections, which deſerve to be conſidered. *Objections.*

1. Obj. *Chryſoſtom* was of opinion, that St. *John* did not write, till after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. For in a homilie upon Matth. xxiv. he ſays : “ *John* (*d*) writes not of any
 “ of theſe things, leaſt it ſhould be thought,
 “ that he took an advantage from the event.
 “ For he was living a good while after the
 “ deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. But the other
 “ Evangeliſts, who died before the deſtruction
 “ of *Jeruſalem*, and ſaw none of thoſe
 “ things, record theſe predictions.”

To which I anſwer, that St. *John*'s omitting our Saviour's predictions concerning the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, which are recorded by the other Evangeliſts, is no proof, that he
 did

(*d*) See Vol. 2. p. 321.

did not write, untill after they were fulfilled. For if he wrote at the time supposed by us, when that event was near ; it is very likely, that he would omit these predictions : especially, having observed, that they were sufficiently recorded already. And we plainly see, that it is not St. *John's* method, to repeat what had been recorded before. However, he has inserted in his Gospel divers expressions, containing warnings and intimations of the miseries coming upon the Jewish People, if they did not receive the Lord Jesus as the Messiah. *John* the Baptist may be supposed to intend this in words, recorded *John* iii. 36. Our Lord intimates it in his discourse with *Nicodemus*. iii. 18. 19. and upon divers other occasions, already taken notice of by us, in this Gospel. ch. viii. 12. 21. 24. ix. 39. . . . 41. xii. 35. 36.

2. Obj. Mr. *Whiston* in (e) his Short View of the Harmonie of the Evangelists, says, “ that St. *John* useth the *Roman* or *Julian* beginning of the day in his Gospel, the same that we use at present, and reckons the hours from midnight and noon. He refers to *John* i. 39. xix. 14. and xx. 19. Which he reckons an argument,

(e) P. 115. 116.

argument, that St. *John* wrote his Gospel long after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the period of the Jewish polity, at *Ephesus*, a place remote from *Judea*, and under the Roman government."

To which I answer 1. It does not appear to me, that St. *John* computes the hours of the day after the Roman, but rather after the Jewish manner. 2. Supposing St. *John* to have used the Roman method of computation, it does not follow, that he wrote after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the period of the Jewish polity. We allow, that St. *John's* Gospel was writ at *Ephesus*, at a distance from *Judea*. And, if he thought fit, he might use the Roman way of reckoning, especially, when the period of the Jewish commonwealth was near, though not quite accomplished.

Thus I have endeavoured to solve this objection. What was Mr. *Whiston's* own solution, I do not know. But I suppose, that he afterwards overcame this difficulty. For in his later writings he maintains a very different sentiment concerning the date of St. *John's* Gospel, pleading, that it was writ about the year of Christ 63. a good while before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. So he argues in
his

his Essay upon the Apostolical Constitutions, published, in 1711. and in his Commentarie upon St. *John's* Epistles, published in 1719. His Harmonie of the four Evangelists was printed at *Cambridge* in the year 1702.

3. Obj. It is farther objected, that many ancient writers speak of a late date of St. *John's* Gospel, and that he wrote with a design to confute divers heretics : who cannot be supposed to have appeared, till after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the overthrow of the Jewish People.

To which I answer, that this may have been owing to a mistaken apprehension. Many heretics, they saw, might be confuted by St. *John's* Gospel. Therefore they concluded, that he did not write, till after they had appeared in the world : whilst the truth might be no more than this, that such and such heretics might be confuted out of his Gospel : though they had not appeared in the world, till long after. *Paulinus* says, “ that
 “ (*f*) in the beginning of St. *John's* Gospel all
 “ heretics are confuted, particularly, *Arius*,
 “ *Sabellius*, *Photinus*, *Marcion*, and the *Ma-*
 “ *nichæans*.” And in Mr. *Wetstein's* preface
 to

(*f*) See Vol. xi. p. 44.

to St. *John*'s Gospel, writ not long ago, in our time, are these expressions. Having before quoted *Irenaeus*, he adds: "Which (g) if
 " they be compared with those things, which
 " *Carpocrates, Menander, Cerdo, Saturninus,*
 " *Basilides, Valentin, and Marcion, have said*
 " of angels, and aeons: among whom were
 " *Charis Grace, Alethea Truth, Monogenes*
 " *Only begotten, Logos Word, Zoe Life: it*
 " must be manifest, that *John* so opposed his
 " doctrine to them, as to use the forms of ex-
 " pression, received by them." Surely, this
 is very incautious, and inaccurate. Must it
 not be so, to say, that St. *John* opposed those
 heretics, most of which are heretics of the
 second centurie? If St. *John*'s gospel be ge-
 nuine, it must have been writ before the end
 of the first centurie. Yea, Mr. *Wetstein* says,
 it was writ at about two and thirty years after
 Christ's ascension. How then could St. *John*
 oppose them, or write against them, but in
 the way of prophecie, or prevention? But to
 say,

(g) Quae si comparentur cum iis, quae *Carpocrates, Me-
 nander, Cerdo, Saturninus, Basilides, Valentinus, et Mar-
 cion* de angelis et aeonibus, inter quos erant *Charis, Alethea,
 Monogenes, Logos, Zoe*, item de Christo, non vere, sed
δοκίμοι passio, tradiderunt: satis manifestum erit, Joannem
 doctrinam suam illis ita opponere, ut loquendi formulis apud
 illos receptis utatur. *Wetst. Test. Gr. Tom. i. p. 832.*

say, he opposed his doctrine to them, or wrote against them, does not seem very proper. And if the ancient writers speak not more accurately, than this learned modern; an argument taken from them, upon this head, cannot be of much weight.

It is the testimonie of *Irenaeus*, which ought principally to be regarded by us, upon account of his antiquity, and his having been acquainted with *Polycarp* in the early part of his life. He says, as before transcribed, “ that
 “ by the publication of his Gospel *John* de-
 “ signed to root out the errour, that had been
 “ sown among men by *Cerinthus*.” But it is observable, that in another place, also transcribed above, he says: “ *John* foreseeing
 “ those blasphemous notions, that divide the
 “ Lord, so far as it is in their power,” wrote his Gospel. For this passage I am indebted to Mr. *Whiston*, who argues, that St. *John*’s Gospel was writ about the year 63. and before this Apostle’s three epistles. “ Nor, says (b)
 “ he, shall I need to support this observation
 “ from any other argument, than that from
 “ *Irenaeus*, who supposeth this Gospel, and
 “ St. *Paul*’s epistle to the *Romans*, ancients,
 “ and

(b) *Commentarie upon St. John’s epistles.* p. 8.

“ and these epistles later, than the rise of the “ heresie of *Cerintbus*.” Referring to the passage of *Irenaeus*, before taken notice of by us.

If then we put together the several passages of *Irenaeus*, he does not contradict the supposition of an early date of St. *John's* Gospel : or, that it was writ before the rise of those heresies, which may be confuted by it.

It may be judged presumptuous to oppose the prevailing opinion of learned men, who have supposed, that some heretics were particularly struck at in the begining of this Gospel. Nevertheless Mr. *Lampe* (i) whom I have often quoted, has presumed to oppose this opinion, and has largely argued, that St. *John* did not write against *Cerintbus*, or other heretics

(i) Nos ut salva, quam viris magnis, . . . debemus, existimatione, libere animi sensa proferamus, an Evangelio suo Joannes controversiam tractare, haeticosque in Ecclesia sui aevi ullos refutare voluerit, dubitamus admodum. Neque enim id titulus generalis *Evangelii* libro praefixus admittit, neque id commode per librum ad methodum historiae compositum fieri potuit, neque illius rei vel vola vel vestigium ullum apparet : quod tamen et scriptoribus elencticis in more constanti positum est, et e re admodum erat, ut eo certius tela ferirent, et eo evidentius argumentorum patefceret robur. *Lampe Prolegom. in Joann. l. 2. cap. 3. num. xiii. Vid. ib. num. xiv. xv. xvi. et seq.*

tics in his Gospel. And though another learned German (*k*) has since writ against Mr. *Lampe*, I cannot say, that he has confuted him.

I shall therefore take the liberty to mention some thoughts relating to this matter, which offer themselves to my mind.

First: To me it seems below an Evangelist, to write against heretics in the historie of his Lord and Master. Nor do any of the Evangelists enter into a particular account of things after our Lord's ascension. St. *John* proceeds no farther than his resurrection, and the evidences of it, without particularly mentioning his ascension. Nor has St. *Matthew* proceeded any farther. However, undoubtedly, it is implied in what they write, that our Lord was raised up to an endless life, and to universal power in heaven and on earth. St. *Mark* ch. xvi. 19. and St. *Luke* xxiv. 50. 51. relate our Saviour's ascension to heaven.

This has oftentimes appeared to me exceeding remarkable, that none of the Evangelists should in their Gospels give an account of

(*k*) G. L. Oederus de scopo Evangelii S. Jo. Ap. certissime Hæresi Cerinthi et Ebionis oppositi. Adversus V. C. Fr. Ad. Lampe. Lipsiæ 1732.

of the preaching of the Apostles after our Lord's ascension, and the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them. Take the earliest date of the Gospels, that can be thought of, or assigned by any : all must allow, that before any of them were writ, many miracles had been performed by the Apostles, and many converts must have been made from among Jews, if not also from among Gentils : and many promises of our Lord must have been accomplished. And we can perceive from their Gospels, that they had a knowledge of such things. Nevertheless there is no particular account of them in any of the Gospels. *St. Mark* is the only Evangelist, that has said any thing in his Gospel of the ministrie of the Apostles. And he enters not into any detail. His whole account is in a few words only, the last verse of his Gospel.

Considering this method of all the Evangelists in their histories of our Lord and Saviour, it appears to me probable, that though *St. John* had not writ his Gospel before the year 96. or 97. as some have supposed ; he would not have taken notice of heretics, or vouchsafed to argue with them. *St. John* did not write the historie of the Apostles, as

is evident. How then could he take notice of heretics.

Secondly. Another thing of no small moment is this. I see nothing of this kind in the rest of St. *John's* Gospel. Why (*l*) then should we imagine, that there is any such thing in the introduction? If St. *John's* Gospel is not writ against heretics, why should the beginning of it be so? What St. *John* says in the introduction, appears to me agreeable to the main design of his Gospel, as it has been before largely represented. He therein shews, that Jesus came, and acted by the authority of God, the Creator of the world, the God, and supreme Lawgiver of the Jewish People. The (*m*) eternal word, reason, wisdom, power of
of

(*l*) Ex quibus clare, ut putamus, patet, in prologo compendium contineri rerum, quas Evangelista toto Evangelio demonstrare volebat, nempe Iesum non tantum esse Filium Dei et redemptorem mundi. Ver. 1. . . 4. Sed etiam qua talem ita plene in mundo demonstratum esse, ut ab una parte Judaei plane rediti fuerint ἀναπολόγητοι. ver. 4. . . 11. ab altera autem fideles sufficiens fidei firmamentum acceperint. ver. 12. . . 18. *Lamp. Prol. l. 2. cap. 4. num. xxv.*

(*m*) Quaeris veram hujus nominis interpretationem, de qua variae existant eruditorum virorum sententiae? Non vindico mihi ejus rei arbitrium: tantum, quod hic sentio, modeste, salva dissentientium existimatione et amicitia, profero. Verendum esse hoc nomen *Ratio*, vel *Sapientia Dei*: et si recep-

tam

of God, which is God himself, by which the world had been made, by which he dwelled among the Jews in the tabernacle, and the temple, (*u*) dwelled, and resided in Jesus, in the fullest manner : so (*o*) that we his disciples, and others who believed in him, saw, and clearly discerned him to be the promised Messiah, the great Prophet, that should come into the world.

The Apostles in their addresses to the Jewish People never fail to give assurances, that Jesus Christ had acted by the authority of the one true God, the God of their ancestors.

F f 2

So

tam phrasim *Sermonis Dei*, in versione retinendam censuerim. . . . Constat cuique, prologum Evangelii legenti, alludere Joannem in toto illo prologo . . . ad caput octavum Proverborum Salomonis, . . . ut proinde talem eligere oporteat interpretationem, quae affinis sit voci *Sapientiac*. *Vitring. in Apoc. cap. xix. ver. 13. p. 1109.*

(*u*) Ut celebratissimo loco legitur : Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο. Quod recte redditur : *Et Verbum*, sive sermo, *homo factus est*, sive humanam naturam induit. Et ἐξ ἔργων νόμος ἐδικαιώθησεται πᾶσα σὰρξ : i. e. *homo quisquam*. Rom. iii. 20. ut Pf. cxliv. 22. al. cxlv. 21. καὶ εὐλογέτω πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. *Pearson. Prolegom. ad versionem. lxx. Cantab. p. 13.*

(*o*) “ We saw his glorie, as what became the only begotten Son of God. He did not glitter in any worldly pomp and grandeur, according to what the Jewish nation fondly dreamed their Messiah would do : but he was decked with the glorie of holiness, grace, truth, and the power of miracles.” *Lightfoot's Exercitations upon St. John. vol. 2. p. 521.*

So Acts ii. 22. *Ye men of Israel, bear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles . . . which God did by him in the midst of you.* And iii. 13. *The God of Abraham, of Isaac, and Jacob, The God of our fathers, has glorified his Son, Jesus. . . .* See also ver. 22. . . . 26. ch. v. 30. *The God of our fathers has raised up Jesus. . . .* The epistle to the Hebrews begins in this manner: *God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the Prophets, has in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.*

Indeed, this is necessarie for the satisfaction of all men, both Jews and Gentils. For there is no other God, but one, even the God of the Patriarchs and Prophets. Nor can any true revelation come from any, but him.

In all the Gospels our Lord ascribes all his miracles, and all his authority, to the one God, *his Father, who is in heaven.* Matt. xii. 28. *If I cast out demons by the Spirit of God, then is the kingdom of God come unto you.* Luke xi. 20. *If I by the finger of God cast out demons, no doubt the kingdom of God is come unto you.* Matt. xi. 27. *All things are delivered unto me by my Father. . . .* Comp. Luke x. 22. Matt. xii. 13. *Every plant, which my hea-*
venly

venly Father has not planted, shall be rooted up. Matt. xvi. 27. For the Son of man shall come in the glorie of his Father. . . . Comp. Mark viii. 38. And the like in many other places.

But in none of the Gospels does our Lord so frequently, and expressly, ascribe all his authority to God the Father, as in St. John's Gospel: thereby plainly shewing the guilt of those, who did not receive him. John v. 19. *The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do. . . . Ver. 30. I seek not my own will, but the will of the Father, who hath sent me. Ver. 36. 37. But I have greater witness, than that of John. For the works, which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me. . . . I am come in my Father's name. And ye receive me not. . . .* And at ver. 45. . . 47. our Lord appeals to Moses and his writings, which were allowed to be of divine original, as bearing testimonie to him. Then ch. vi. 27. . . *him hath God the Father sealed. vii. 16. I am not alone. But I, and the Father, that sent me. x. 36. Say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world: Thou blasphemest: because I said, I am the Son of God?* And, to add no more. Ch. xi. 41. 42. When he

wrought that great miracle of raising *Lazarus* from the dead, *Jesus* lift up his eyes, and said: *Father, I thank thee, that thou hast heard me. And I know, that thou hearest me always. But because of the people which stand by, I said it, that they may believe, that thou hast sent me.*

Agreeable to all this is the introduction, where, beside other, are these expressions: *He came to his own. And his own received him not. . . . The Word was made flesh, and dwelled among us. . . . And we saw his glorie, the glorie, as of the only begotten of the Father. . . . The law was given by Moses. But grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. No man hath seen God at any time. The only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has declared him.* So ends the introduction. And it is what St. *John* has largely and fully shewn in his Gospel.

But it will be asked: Whence came it to pass, that St. *John* made use of that term, *the Word*?

I answer: I am of opinion, that it was not out of regard to *Philo*, or any Platonic writers. But I suppose, this (*p*) way of speak-

(*p*) Plerique observant, similem locutionem frequenter occurrere in Paraphrasibus Chaldaicis, quae veterum Hebraeorum

speaking to have been very common with the Jewish People, and, perhaps, more especially with those of them, who were most zealous for the law, and most exempt from foreign, and philosophical speculations. Who by *the Word*, or *the Word of God*, understood, not a spirit, separate from God, and inferior to him, but God himself, as St. *John* (q) does.

Numb.

rum catechesin, et antiquas loquendi formulas, exhibent. Quoties de Deo nobiscum conversante sermo est, toties vero Targumistae, pro Deo, vel Jehova, substituerunt *verbum Jehovae*. Pro exemplo haec paucula ex innumeris sunt. Gen. xxi. 20. *Deus fuit cum illo*. Onkelos. *Verbum Domini fuit illi auxilio*. Ib. comm. 22. *Deus est tecum*. Onkelos. *Verbum Domini enim tibi subsidio*. Deut. xx. 1. *Ne timeto ab eis. Nam Deus tuus tecum est*. Onkelos. . . *eo quod Jehova Deus tuus, Verbum ejus auxilio tibi est, quod eduxit te ex terra Aegypti*. Num. xi. 22. *Eo quod reprobasti Jehovam*. Onkelos. *Eo quod fastidistis Verbum Domini, cujus Shechinah Divina Majestas habitat in vobis*. Exod. xvi. 8. *Non contra nos murmurationes vestrae, sed contra Jehovam*. Onkelos. . . *sed contra Verbum Jehovae*. Infinita sunt similia. Unde colligitur, receptum eo tempore Hebraeis fuisse, ut Deum, quatenus cum populo suo agit, Verbum vocaverint: cui ea attribuerunt, quae Dei sunt. *Witf. Miscell. Sacr. Tom. 2. p. 88. 89. Exercita. iii. περί τῆς λέξε. §. ii.*

(q) Omnia igitur talia conscribere volens discipulus Domini, et regulam veritatis constituere in Ecclesia quia est unus Deus Omnipotens, qui per Verbum suum omnia fecit, et visibilia, et invisibilia: significans quoque, quoniam per

Numb. xxiii. 8. *How shall I curse, whom God has not cursed? or, how shall I defy, whom the Lord has not defied?* Upon which verse Patrick says: “ In the Jerusalem Targum
 “ this verse is thus paraphrased: *How shall I*
 “ *curse the house of Israel, when the Word of*
 “ *the Lord has blessed them? Or, how shall I*
 “ *diminish the familie of Israel, when the Word*
 “ *of the Lord has multiplied them?*”

It is well known, that in the Chaldee Paraphrases, it is very common, to put *Minra Jehovah, the Word of the Lord*, for *Jehovah*, or *God*. When those Paraphrases were made, is not certain: whether before, or after the time of our Saviour. But their great antiquity is generally allowed. And it is

Verbum, per quod Deus perfecit conditionem, in hoc et salutem his qui in conditione sunt, praeficit hominibus: sic inchoavit in ea, quae est secundum Evangelium, doctrina: *In principio erat Verbum. Iren. l. 3. cap. xi. in Massuet.*

Et Cerinthus autem quidam in Asia, non a primo Deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed a Virtute quadam valde separata, et distante ab ea Principalitate, quae est super omnia. *Id. l. 1. cap. xxv. al. 26. in.*

Deus autem totus existens mens, et totus existens logos, quod cogitat, hoc et loquitur: et quod loquitur, id et cogitat. Cogitatio enim ejus logos, et logos mens, et omnia concludens mens, ipse et Pater. *Id. l. 2. cap. xxxviii. n. 5. p.*

is very probable, that this way of speaking was common, and much used before. “ It
 “ is likely, says a learned friend, that *Mimra*
 “ *Jehovah* was used before the Paraphrases
 “ were committed to writing, because it
 “ would be an unreasonable thing to use a
 “ phrase, which the common people did not
 “ understand. For it is supposed, that the
 “ Paraphrases were chiefly made for them.”

Let me add, that the use of this phrase, *the Word of God*, or *the Word of the Lord*, as equivalent to *God* himself, seems to be founded in the original language of the Old Testament. In behalf of which I would allege the following texts. Gen. i. 1. *In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.* Ver. 3. *God said : Let there be light. And there was light.* Comp. Ps. xxxiii. 6. *By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth.* And Ps. cv. 19. *Untill the time that his word came : the Word of the Lord tried him.*

When St. John says ch. i. 1. 2. 3. *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God. And the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him. And without him was not any thing*

thing made that was made. He seems to allude to (*r*) what *Solomon* says of Wisdom in the book of Proverbs, particularly, the eighth chapter. And how Wisdom ought to be understood, as spoken of by *Solomon*, was shewn formerly, if I may be allowed to say so, in (*s*) a discourse upon Prov. viii. 17. Moreover the beginning of St. *John's* Gospel should be compared with the beginning of his first Epistle, particularly, ch. i. ver. 1. 2.

According to the account now given, what St. *John* says at the beginning, is a very proper introduction to his Gospel: where he largely shews the guilt of those, who rejected the manifestation (*t*) of the Wisdom, the Word, the Will of God, in the person of Jesus.

Upon the whole, I see no reason to think, that, in the introduction to his Gospel, St. *John* opposed any Christian heresies, or had any regard to them.

Consequently, the foregoing argument, that St. *John's* Gospel was writ before the destruc-

(*r*) See the passage of *Vitrina* quoted just now, at note (*m*) p. 434.

(*s*) See *Sermons upon various subjects*, p. 113. &c.

(*t*) See ch. xliii. vol. 4. p. 602. . . 604.

destruction of *Jerusalem*, or about the time of that event, remains entire.

XI. I shall now mention some observations upon this Gospel.

Observations upon this Gospel.

1. There is no need to shew here, particularly, from the Gospel itself, as we did of the former Evangelists, that St. *John* did not write his Gospel, till after converts had been made from among Gentils: because it is allowed by all, that St. *John* did not write, till after the other Evangelists, about the time of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, or afterwards: before which time the Apostles must have left *Judea*, to go abroad, and preach to Gentils. Nevertheless one signal passage may be here taken notice of, which is not far from the beginning of this Gospel. Ch. i. 11. 12. 13. *He came to his own, and his own received him not: but as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name. Which were born not of bloud, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. That is,* “ he came to the Jews, and first appeared, “ and taught among them, and they generally “ rejected him. But upon all who believed “ in him, whether Jews or Gentils, of what- “ ever countrey, or nation, or people, they “ were,

“ were, he bestowed the privilege of being
 “ the people of God, and all the blessings ap-
 “ pertaining to them.”

2. *Eusebe* says : “ The (*t*) other three E-
 “ vangeliſts have recorded the actions of our
 “ Saviour for one year only, after the impri-
 “ ſonment of *John* the Baptiſt.” *Jerome*
 ſpeaks to the like purpoſe in his book of Il-
 luſtrious Men, juſt now (*u*) tranſcribed. But
 it ſhould have been ſaid : “ one year, and
 ſomewhat more : ” meaning the time and ac-
 tions of our Lord’s moſt public miniſtrie. For
 it ſeems to me, that the ancients ſuppoſed our
 Lord’s miniſtrie, to have laſted, in the whole,
 ſomewhat more than two years. As was
 ſhewn Vol. iii. p. 136. . . . 138. *Eusebe* indeed
 computed (*x*) our Lord’s miniſtrie to have
 conſiſted of three years and a half : and ſup-
 poſed St. *John*’s Goſpel to have in it four
 Paſſovers. He ſeems to have been the firſt
 Chriſtian, who advanced that opinion. And
 he is now generally followed by harmonizers
 of the Goſpels, and by eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians.
 Sir *Iſaac Newton* (*y*) however computes five
 Paſſovers

(*t*) See vol. viii. p. 93.

(*u*) See before p. 384.

(*x*) See vol. viii. p. 138.

(*y*) *Observations upon Daniel*. p. 156. 157.

Passovers in our Saviour's ministrie : as does likewise Dr. *Edward Wells* in his *Historical Geographie of the New Testament*. And others may be of the same opinion, or make more. But none of these opinions appear to me, to have any foundation in the Gospels. The opinion of *Eusebe*, and those who follow him, is much more probable, than theirs, who yet farther enlarge the number of the Passovers of our Saviour's ministrie. The first Passover in *St. John* is that mentioned by him ch. ii. 13. At ch. v. 1. it is said: *After this there was a feast of the Jews. And Jesus went up to Jerusalem.* They who follow *Eusebe*, and make four Passovers in our Lord's ministrie, reckon this feast to be a Passover. But they who compute his ministrie to have lasted only two years, and somewhat more, suppose this to be some other feast, possibly, the feast of Tabernacles, next succeeding the Passover, mentioned ch. ii. 13. At ch. vi. 4. *And the Passover, a feast of the Jews was nigh.* This, according to different computations, is either the second, or the third Passover in our Lord's ministrie. The third, or, according to others, the fourth, is that mentioned by all the Evangelists, at which our
Lord

Lord suffered. It is mentioned by St. *John* ch. xi. 55. and xii. 1.

3. St. *John* has omitted the greatest part of those things, which are recorded by the other Evangelists. Which much confirms the testimonie of ancient writers, that the first three Gospels were written, and published among the faithful, before St. *John* wrote: that they were brought to him, and that he affirmed the truth of their relations, but said, that some discourses and miracles of our Saviour were omitted by them, which might be usefully recorded.

Indeed, there is little or nothing in his Gospel, which is not new and additional, except the account of our Saviour's prosecution, death, and resurrection, where all four coincide in many particulars: though even here also St. *John* has divers things peculiar to himself. In St. *John*'s Gospel is no account of our Saviour's nativity, nor of his baptism by *John*: though, undoubtedly, it is there supposed, and referred to. He takes no notice of our Saviour's temptation in the wilderness, nor of the call, or names of the twelve Apostles, nor of their mission, in our Saviour's life time, nor of our Lord's parables, or other discourses of his, recorded by them,
nor

nor of our Saviour's journeys, of which they give an account, nor any of those predictions, relating to the desolations of *Jerusalem*, which are in *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*. Nor has he any miracles recorded by them, excepting only, that one of the multiplication of small provision for feeding five thousand, with the extraordinarie circumstances of the return to *Capernaum* from the countrey, where that miracle had been wrought. ch. vi. 4. . . . 21. And it is likely, that this miracle was recorded by him, for the sake of the discourses, to which it gave occasion, and which follow there. ver. 22. . . 71.

However, it should be observed, that he has one thing recorded by all the Evangelists, *Peter's* striking a servant of the High-Priest, and cutting off his ear. ch. xviii. 10. *Then Simon Peter having a sword, drew it, and smote the High-Priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. The servant's name was Malchus.* Which, as St. *Luke* informs us, Jesus touched, and healed. ch. xxii. 51. *Peter's* action is mentioned by all the three Evangelists. Matt. xxvi. 51. Mark xiii. 47. Luke xxii. 51. But St. *John* alone mentions *Peter* by name, and the name of the servant. I thought proper to take notice of this, though St. *John* does

does not particularly mention the miracle of healing.

St. *John* likewise ch. ii. 14. . . 22. gives an account of our Lord's cleansing the temple at his first Passover, when he went to *Jerusalem*. All the other Evangelists have a like account of our Lord's cleansing the temple at his last Passover. Matt. xxi. 12. 13. Mark xi. 15. 16. Luke xix. 45. 46. But I suppose them to be quite different actions, and that our blessed Lord twice cleansed the temple, as already shewn.

4. Though the first three Evangelists have not particularly recorded our Saviour's several journeys to *Jerusalem*, as St. *John* has done, but have only given a particular account of his preaching there at his last Passover, they were not unacquainted with them.

This may be concluded from divers things in their histories. To those, who came to apprehend him, our Lord said: *I sat daily with you teaching in the temple, and ye laid no bold on me*. Matt. xxvi. 55. And compare Mark xiv. 49. Luke xxii. 53. And among the accusations brought against him by the Jewish Rulers before *Pilate*, they say: *He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, begining from Galilee to this place*.

Luke

Luke xxiii. 5. *Peter* preaching at *Jerusalem*, soon after our Lord's ascension, says : *Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles, and wonders, and signs : which God did by him in the midst of you, as yourselves also know.* Acts ii. 32. And at the house of *Cornelius*, in *Cesarea* : *That word, you know, which was published throughout all Judea, and began from Galilee.* Acts x. 37. . . . *And we are witnesses of all things, which he did, both in the land of the Jews, and at Jerusalem.* ver. 39. And it appears from their histories, that our Lord's fame had early reached *Jerusalem*. Many attended him in *Galilee*, from thence, and from other parts. Says *St. Matthew* : *And there followed him great multitudes of people from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan.* iv. 25. Comp. *Mark* iii. 7. 8. Again : *And the Scribes, which came from Jerusalem, said : He has Belzebub.* . . . *Mark* iii. 22. . . . 30. Compare *Matt.* ix. 34. *Luke* xi. 14. . . . 26. *Then came to Jesus Scribes and Pharisees, which were of Jerusalem.* *Matt.* xv. 1. Compare *Mark* vii. 1. And says *St. Luke* ch. v. 17. *And it came to pass on a certain day, as he was teaching, that there were Pharisees, and Doctors of the Law sitting by, which were come out*

of every town of Galilee, and Judea, and Jerusalem. And the power of the Lord was present to heal them. And in every one of the Evangelists we may meet with Scribes and Pharisees, opposing our Lord, watching his words and actions, cavilling with him, and reflecting upon him, and his disciples.

Moreover in St. *Luke* ch. ix. 51. . . 56. is an account of a remarkable incident, when our Lord was going from *Galilee* through *Samaria*, to *Jerusalem*, at one of their feasts: supposed by (z) some to be the feast of Tabernacles, by others (a) the feast of Dedication, preceding his last Passover. See likewise *Luke* xiii. 22. and xvii. 11.

However, after all, I do not think it was needful, that our Lord should go often to *Jerusalem*, or that all his journeys thither, and discourses there, should be recorded. It was indeed highly expedient, that his ministration should be public. So it might be, without going often to *Jerusalem*. *John* the Baptist was a man of great reputation, though he never went up to *Jerusalem* during the time of his shewing himself unto *Israel*, that we know

Luke i.
80.

(z) *Vid. Cleric. Harmon. p. 234. 235.*

(a) *See Dr. Dalbridge's Family Expositor. Sect. 127. Vol. 2. p.*

know of. And it is manifest from the first three Evangelists, as well as from St. *John*, that our Lord's ministrie was very public, and well known in all parts of *Judea*, and the regions round about, and to men of all ranks therein. In them we find our Lord to have been notified before-hand by *John* the Baptist. He sent out once his twelve Apostles, and then seventy other disciples, *two by two, to go before him, and prepare men for him, in every city and place, where he should come.* In them we find him teaching in synagogues, in cities, and villages, and desert places, crouded by throngs, attended by multitudes of people, and miraculously feeding at one time five thousand, at another four thousand men, beside women and children.

It was fit, that our Lord's ministrie should be very public. It is manifest from all the four Evangelists, that it was so. Which cannot but be the ground of great satisfaction to us.

5. The genuinnesse of the xxi. or last chapter of St. *John's* Gospel ought not to be contested.

Grotius indeed was of opinion, that (b) St.

G g 2

John

(b) Omnino arbitrator, quae hic sequuntur conclusionem esse totius

John concluded his Gospel with the words, which are at the end of the xx. chapter : and that what is in the xxi. chapter was added after St. *John's* death by the church of *Ephesus*.

Against that opinion the general, or (c) even universal consent of manuscripts and versions is a great objection. For it is very probable, that this Gospel was published before St. *John's* death. And if there had been an edition without this chapter, it is very likely, that it would have been wanting in some copies. To which may be added, that we do not find, that any of the ancient Christian writers ever made a question, whether this chapter was composed by St. *John*,
or

totius operis, et ibi finisse Johannem librum, quem edidit. At sicut caput ultimum Pentateuchi, et caput ultimum Josuae post Mosis et Josuae mortem additum est a Synedrio Hebraeorum : ita et caput quod sequitur post mortem Johannis additum ab Ecclesia Ephesina, hoc maxime sine, ut ostenderetur impletum quod de longaeuitate ac non violenta morte Johannis Dominus praedixerat. &c. *Grot. ad Joh. xx 30.*

(c) Ceterum in tanto codicum et versionum consensu, eoque prorsus universali, cogitari non debebat, caput hoc ab Ecclesia demum Ephesina accessisse. Quis enim negare tuto potest, Evangelium Johannis ante ipsius obitum, adcoque ante additum hoc, quod creditur, supplementum accessisse ? Et quis crediderit, vel sic omnes codices in exhibendo isto capite tam constanter consentire potuisse ? *Wolf. in Joh. cap. xxi. in.*

or by another. Finally, (d) the stile is St. John's. In chapter xix. 35. *And he that saw it bare record. And his record is true. And he knoweth, that he says true.* Here xxi. 24. *This is the disciple, which testified of these things, and wrote these things. And we know, that his testimonie is true.* Compare likewise ver. 7. and 20. The last words of the chapter, at ver. 25. are these: *And there are also many other things, which Jesus did: the which if they should be written every one, I suppose, that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written.* Which clause evidently is from the same person, who wrote ver. 30. and 31. of ch. xx. Here the Evangelist seems to check himself, and to determine, not to proceed any farther. For if he

G g 3

should

(d) Rejicimus hic sententiam eorum, qui ab alia manu, quam ipsius Johannis Evangelistae hoc caput esse adjectum putant. Nam ita clare stilum redolet Apostoli, ut si aliquis alius id adjecisset, non sine impostura istud facere potuisset. Neque enim se Joannem vocat, sed more suo discipulum, quem Iesus amabat. ver. 7. 20. Tum haec addit: *Hic est discipulus ille, qui de his testatur, et haec scripsit.* ver. 24. Quae defendi non possunt a mendacio, si quisquam alius praeter Apostolum hoc caput adjecisset. Adde, quod diligentissimi circa tales circumstantias Patres, Eusebius, Hieronymus, atque alii, non ita plene silentio id involvissent. &c. *Fr. Lamp. in Jo. Evang. cap. xxi. Tom. 3. p. 720. 721. Vid. et Mill. Proleg. num. 249. 250.*

should attempt to commit to writing every thing which Jesus had said and done, he should never come to an end.

Says Dr. *Whitby* upon ch. xx. 31. “ Some
 “ think, that St. *John* here ended his Gospel,
 “ and that the following chapter was written
 “ by some other hands. But these words
 “ give no ground for that imagination: since
 “ other Apostles, after they seem to have con-
 “ cluded their epistles, add some new matter:
 “ as may be seen in the conclusions of the
 “ epistles to the *Romans*, and to the *Hebrews*.”
 See Rom. ch. xv. and xvi. Hebr. xiii. 21...
 25. I would likewise refer to Mr. *Lenfant*'s
 note upon ch. xxi. 24. Who also asserts the
 genuinnesse of this last chapter.





C H A P. X.

The Question considered, whether any one of the first three Evangelists had seen the Gospels of the others, before he wrote.

HERE I shall in the first place mention the different sentiments of learned moderns concerning this point. And then I intend to consider the merits of the question.

Calvin (a) in the preface to his *Harmonie of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke*, declares it to be his opinion, that *St. Mark* was so far from having abridged *St.*

G g 4

Matthew's

(a) *Mihi certe magis probabile est, et ex re ipsa conjicere licet, numquam librum Matthaei fuisse ab eo inspectum, cum ipse suum scriberet: tantum abest, ut in compendium ex professo redigere voluerit. Idem et de Luca judicium facio. Calvin. argum. in Evangel. &c. ,*

Matthew's Gospel, that he thinks he had never seen it. Which he also supposes to have been *St. Luke's* case.

This likewise must have been the opinion of *Basnage*. For he suppoeth (*b*) *St. Luke's* to have been the first written of all the Gospels. Consequently this Evangelist could not borrow either from *St. Matthew*, or *St. Mark*.

Mr. Whiston in (*c*) his *Harmonie* of the four Evangelists called *St. Mark the epitomizer of St. Matthew*. *Mr. Jones*, in his *Vindication* of *St. Matthew's* Gospel, well, and largely argued against that opinion.

Mr. Dodwell declared his opinion upon this subject after this manner. "That (*d*) none
" of

(*b*) *Basn. Ann.* 60. num. xxxvi.

(*c*) *P.* 102.

(*d*) Sic latuerant in illis terrarum angulis, in quibus scripta fuerant, Evangelia, ut ne quidem resciverint recentiores Evangelistae, quid scripsissent de iisdem rebus antiquiores. Aliter foret ne tot essent ἐναντιοφάνη, quae fere a prima usque canonis constitutione eruditorum hominum ingenia exercuerint. Certe S. Lucas si genealogiam illam Domini in Matthaeo vidisset, non aliam ipse, nihilque fere habentem commune, produxisset, ne quidem minima consilii tam diversi edita ratione. S. Matthaeus, qui solus e nostris Luca erat antiquior, ipse erat ἀυτόπτης. . . . S. Joannes Luca longo erat intervallo in
scriptione

“ of the first three Evangelists had seen the
 “ others Gospels. Otherwise there could not
 “ have been in them so many seeming con-
 “ tradictions, which have exercised the
 “ thoughts of inquisitive men almost ever
 “ since the forming of the canon of the New
 “ Testament. Certainly, if *St. Luke* had seen
 “ the genealogie of our Lord, which is in *St.*
 “ *Matthew*, he would not have published
 “ another so very different, without assigning
 “ any reason for it. . . *St. Matthew* is the only
 “ one of our Evangelists, who wrote before
 “ *St. Luke*. . . *St. John* did not write till long
 “ after *St. Luke*. Nor did *Mark* write till af-
 “ ter *St. Luke*, if he wrote his Gospel in the
 “ same year that he finished the Acts of the
 “ Apostles. Which seems to me very pro-
 “ bable. For the Acts are the second book of
 “ the same work. As is evident from what
 “ himself

scriptione junior. Junior etiam S. Marcus, si quidem S. Lucas
 eo scripserit anno Evangelium, quo Acta terminavit Aposto-
 lorum. Quod ego sane puto verisimillimum. Sunt enim
 Acta δεύτερος ejusdem operis λόγος, cujus πρώτον λόγον ipse
 suum agnoscit Evangelium. Act. i. 1. . . Ita quo anno scrip-
 tum est a S. Luca Evangelium secundus fluxerit Apostolo
 Paulo annus captivitatis Romanae. Eo enim usque Actorum
 historia perducta est. S. autem Marcus, seu post obitum Petri,
 seu non multo antea, scripserit videtur. *Dodav. Diff. Iren. i.*
num. xxxix.

Whether any of the first three Evangelists Ch. X.

“ himself says Acts i. 1. St. *Luke's* Gospel
 “ therefore was writ in the second year of the
 “ Apostle *Paul's* imprisonment at *Rome*. For
 “ so far the historie of the Acts reaches. But
 “ St. *Mark* seems not to have writ untill af-
 “ ter the death of St. *Peter*, or not long before
 “ it.” This then is the order of the four E-
 vangelists, according to Mr. *Dodwell*: *Mat-*
thew the first, *Luke* the second, *Mark* the
 third, and *John* the fourth.

How Mr. *Le Clerc* argued on the same side,
 was seen (*e*) formerly.

On the other hand, *Grotius* says, it (*f*) is
 manifest from comparing their Gospels, that
Mark made use of *Matthew*.

Mill has spoken largely to this point in his
 Prolegomena. “ He says, it (*g*) was not the
 “ design of St. *Mark*, to make an abridge-
 “ ment

(*e*) See Vol. x. p. 231. . . . 235.

(*f*) Usum esse Marcum Matthaei Evangelio apertum facit
 collatio. *Grot. ad Marc. cap. i. ver. 1.*

(*g*) Ipsam Evangelii structuram quod attinet, neutiquam
 Marco institutum fuit, quod nonnullis videtur, Evangelium
 Matthaei in epitomen redigere. Praeterquam enim quod ser-
 vatum a Matthaeo ordinem non ubique sequatur, quod sane
 epitomatoris foret, in ejusdem rei narratione Matthaeo haud
 raro prolixior est, ac plurima passim inserta habet, eaque
 subinde magni ad elucidandam historiam momenti. *Proleg.*
num. 103.

“ ment of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, as some have
 “ supposed. For he does not always follow
 “ St. *Matthew's* order, as an abridger would
 “ have done. And he is oftentimes more
 “ prolix in his histories of the same thing
 “ than St. *Matthew*, and has inserted many
 “ additional things, and some of great mo-
 “ ment for illustrating the evangelical historie.
 “ . . . Nay (*b*) so far was *Mark* from intend-
 “ ing to abbreviate St. *Matthew's* Gospel, that
 “ there have been men of great fame, as *Cal-*
 “ *vin*, and our *Dodwell*, who were of opi-
 “ nion, that St. *Mark* and *Luke* had never seen
 “ *Matthew's* Gospel. However, *Grotius* was
 “ of a different opinion. And indeed the
 “ great resemblance of the stile and composi-
 “ tion of these two Evangelists manifests the
 “ truth of it.”

Of St. *Luke* *Mill* says: “ Nothing (*i*) is
 “ more

(*b*) Imo certe adeo nihil Marco erat in animo de abbrevi-
 ando Matthaei Evangelio, ut haud desint magni nominis
 auctores, qui existimant, a Marco ne quidem visum fuisse E-
 vangelium Matthaei. . . . Ceterum contrarium evincit, Evan-
 gelium imprimis Matthaei et Marci quod attinet, istorum
 phraeos, ipsiusque contextus similitudo. *Ibid.* n. 107.

(*i*) Certe evulgatum fuisse illud post editionem Evangelio-
 rum Matthaei et Marci, ex collatione trium horum inter se
 luce clarius apparet. Nihil scilicet evidentius, quam D. Lu-
 cam

“ more evident, than that he made use of the
 “ Gospels of *Matthew* and *Mark*. For he has
 “ borrowed from them many phrases and ex-
 “ pressions, and even whole paragraphs word
 “ for word.”

But there is not sufficient foundation for such strong assertions, in the account, which *Mill* himself gives of the time of writing the first three Gospels. For, according to him, *St. Matthew's* Gospel was published in (*k*) the year 61. *St. Mark's* (*l*) in 63. *St. Luke's* (*m*) in 64. Which is but one year later. Nor has *Mill* made it out, that *St. Mark's* was published so soon as the year 63. For he owns, that it was not writ, till after *Peter's* and *Paul's* departure from *Rome*. Which could not be, till after the year 63. How then could *St. Luke* make so much use of *St. Mark's* Gospel, as is pretended ?

I allege but one author more, relating to this point. *Mr. Wetstein* says, that (*n*) *Mark* made use of *Matthew*. And of *St. Luke* he
 says,

cam Enangeliorum Matthaei et Marci ipse φήσεις, phrases et locutiones, imo vero totas pericopas, in suum nonnunquam ἀντολεξῆς traduxisse. *Ib. num.* 116.

(*k*) *Proleg. num.* 61.

(*l*) *Ibid. num.* 101.

(*m*) *Ibid. num.* 112.

(*n*) *De Marco ap. T. Gr. T. i. p.* 552.

says, “ that (o) he transcribed many things from *Matthew*, and yet more from *Mark*.”

But may I not say, that before Mr. *Wetstein* asserted such things, he should have given at least some tolerable account of the times, when the Evangelists wrote, and that St. *Mark* was prior in time to *Luke*? Which I do not perceive him to have done. St. *Matthew*'s Gospel, indeed, he supposes to have been writ (p) in the eighth year after our Lord's ascension. But of St. *Luke* he observes, that (q) ecclesiastical writers say, he published his Gospel at about fifteen, or as others about two and twenty years after our Saviour's ascension. His account of St. *Mark* is, “ that (r) he was with *Peter* at *Babylon*. “ Thence he came to *Rome*, and was with “ St. *Paul* during his captivity there. Col. iv. “ 10.

(o) *Lucam multa ex Matthaeo, ex Marco plura descripsisse, ex collatione patet. De Luca ibid. p. 643.*

(p) *Ibid p. 223.*

(q) *Ibid p. 643.*

(r) Postea videtur Petro adhaesisse, et cum eo Babylone fuisse. 1. Pet. v. 13. Inde Romam venit, Paulumque captivum invisit. Col. iv. 10. Philem. 23. Inde ad Colossenses abiit, a quibus rogatu Pauli Romam rediit. 2. Tim. iv. 11. ubi Evangelium conscripsisse, et Matthaeum quidem in compendium redegisse, nonnulla vero, quae a Petro audiverat, adjecisse dicitur. *Ibid. p. 551.*

“ 10. Philem. 23. Then he went to *Colosse*.
 “ Afterwards at the desire of the Apostle
 “ he came to him thence to *Rome*, 2 *Tim.* iv.
 “ 11. Where he is said to have writ his
 “ Gospel, abridging St. *Matthew*, and adding
 “ some things, which he had heard from
 “ *Peter*.” A very fine character of our E-
 vangelist, truly ! But according to this ac-
 count of St. *Mark*'s travels, and of the place,
 where his Gospel was writ, it could not be
 published before the year 64. or 65. How
 then could St. *Luke* make use of it, if he wrote
 so soon as *fifteen* or *two and twenty years* after
 Christ's ascension ?

I proceed now to speak more distinctly to
 the merits of the question.

1. It does not appear, that any of the learn-
 ed ancient Christian writers had a suspicion,
 that any of the first three Evangelists had seen
 the others histories, before they wrote.

They say indeed, “ that when the three
 first written Gospels had been delivered to all
 men, they were also brought to St. *John*, and
 that he confirmed the truth of their narrati-
 on : but said, there were some things omitted
 by them, which might be profitably related :”
 or, “ that he wrote last, supplying some
 things, which had been omitted by the for-
 mer

mer Evangelists." After this manner speak (s) *Eusebius of Cesarea*, (t) *Epiphanius*, (u) *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, and (x) *Jerome*. Not now to mention any others. *Augustin* indeed about the end of the fourth centurie, or the begining of the fifth, supposeth (y) the first three Evangelists not to have been totally ignorant of each others labours, and considers *Mark's Gospel* as an abridgement of *St. Matthew's*. But, as (z) formerly observed, so far as I know, he is the first, in which that opinion is found. Nor does it appear, that he was followed by succeeding writers.

2. It is not suitable to the character of any of the Evangelists, that they should abridge, or transcribe another historian.

St. Matthew was an Apostle, and eye-witnesse. Consequently, he was able to write of his own knowledge. Or, if there were any parts of our Lord's ministrie, at which he was not present, he might obtain information from his fellow-apostles, or other eye-witnesse. And as for other things, which happened before the Apostles were called to follow

(s) See Vol. viii. p. 92.

(t) P. 307.

(u) Vol. ix. p. 404.

(x) Vol. x. p. 98. 99.

(y) Vol. x. p. 229.

(z) P. 236.

low him, concerning his nativity, infancy, and youth : as *Augustin* (*a*) says, these the Apostles might know from Christ himself, or from his parents, or his friends and acquaintance, who were to be depended upon.

St. Mark, if he was not one of Christ's seventy disciples, was an early Jewish believer, acquainted with all the Apostles, *Peter* in particular, and with many other eye-witnesses. Consequently, well qualified to write a Gospel. *Mill* (*b*) himself has been so good, as to acknowledge this.

St. Luke, if he was not one of Christ's seventy disciples, nor an eye-witness, was a disciple, and companion of Apostles, especially, of *Paul*, as is universally allowed. And he

(*a*) See *Vol. x. p. 227.*

(*b*) *Marcus ille, quisquis fuerit, ad Evangelium conscribendum abunde instructus accedebat. Si enim filius fuit Mariae, civis istius Hierosolymitanae . . . ei sane jam a tempore conversionis tam frequens intercesserat, ac plane familiare cum ipsis Apostolis commercium, ut vix aliqua aetatis suae pars ipsorum confortio vacaret : ita ut quotidie ab illis petere liceret de dictis ac factis Domini παραδόσεις, quas conferret in commentarium. Sane, quisquis fuerit hic Marcus, apud Veteres plane convenit, fuisse eum D. Petri comitem et interpretem : ipsumque comitatum fuisse Romam usque . . . adeo ut ex Apostoli κηρυσσομένοις acceperit necesse sit plenissimam et exactissimam historiae totius evangelicae cognitionem. Mill Proleg. n. 102.*

he must therefore have been well qualified to write a Gospel. Moreover, as (c) has been shewn, it is manifest from his introduction, that he knew not of any authentic historie of Jesus Christ, that had been yet written. And he expressly says of himself, *that he had perfect understanding of all things from the very first*, and he professeth *to write of them to Theophilus in order*. After all this to say, that he transcribed many things from one historian, and yet more from another, so far as I am able to judge, is no less than a contradiction of the Evangelist himself.

3. The nature and design of the first three Gospels manifestly shew, that the Evangelists had not seen any authentic written historie of Jesus Christ.

This is one of the observations of *Le Clerc* relating to this point: “ We (d) can scarcely
 “ doubt, whether St. *John* had seen the other
 “ three Gospels. For as he is said to have
 “ lived to a great age, so it appears from his
 “ Gospel itself, that he took care not to repeat
 “ things related by them, except a few only,
 “ and those necessarie things. But I do not

(c) See before p. 80. . . 85.

(d) See Vol. x. p. 233. 254.

“ see, how it can be reckoned certain, that
 “ *Mark* knew of *Matthew*’s having writ a
 “ Gospel before him : or that *Luke* knew,
 “ that they two had writ Gospels before him.
 “ If *Mark* had seen the work of *Matthew*, it
 “ is likely, that he would have remained sa-
 “ tisfied with it, as being the work of an A-
 “ postle of Christ, that is, an eye-witnesse,
 “ which he was not.” And what there fol-
 lows.

I must enlarge upon this observation. I forbear to insist now on the genealogies, which are in St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke* only. But I say, that the writings of all and each one of these three Evangelists contain an entire Gospel, or a compleat historie of the ministrie of Jesus Christ : or, to borrow St. *Luke*’s expressions, Acts i. 1. 2. a historie of *all that Jesus both did and taught, untill the day, in the which he was taken up to heaven.* For in all and every one of them is the historie of our Lord’s forerunner, his baptism, preaching, and death, and of our Lord’s being baptized by him : when by a voice from heaven he was proclaimed to be the Messiah. Then follows our Lord’s temptation in the wilder nesse. After which is an account of our Lord’s preaching, and his begining to gather disciples,

principles, the choice of the twelve Apostles, and their names : and our Lord's going over the land of *Israel*, preaching the doctrine of the kingdom, attended by his twelve Apostles, in synagogues, and in cities and villages, working all kinds of healing and saving miracles, upon all sorts of persons, in all places, in the presence of multitudes, and before Scribes, and Pharisees, as well as others. A particular mission of his Apostles, in the land of *Israel*. Our Lord's transfiguration on the mount, when there appeared *Moses* and *Elias* talking with him, and there came a voice from heaven, saying : *This is my beloved Son. Hear him.* His going up to *Jerusalem*, and making a public entrance into the city, then cleansing the temple, where he often taught the people, and preached the gospel, and openly asserted his authority and character : keeping the Passover with his disciples, and instituting a memorial of himself : his last sufferings, and death, with the behaviour of *Judas*, the traitor, *Peter*, and the rest of the disciples : his burial, resurrection, with the evidences of it, and the general commission to his Apostles, to preach the Gospel in all the world, and to all sorts of persons therein.

Here are all the integrals of a Gospel. And they are properly filled up. And all these things are in all and every one of the first three Evangelists. Which shews, that they did not know of each others writings. For it cannot be thought, that they should be disposed to say the same things over and over, or to repeat what had been well said already. St. *John*, who had seen the other three Gospels, has little in common with them. Almost every thing in his Gospel is new and additional. So it would have been with every other writer in the like circumstance.

And if St. *Matthew's* Gospel had been writ at about eight, or fifteen, or twenty years after our Lord's ascension, and had become generally known among the faithful: (as it certainly would, soon after it was writ :) it is not improbable, that we should have had but two Gospels, his and St. *John's*. Or if there had been several, they would all, except the first, have been in the manner of supplements, like St. *John's*, not entire Gospels, like those of the first three Evangelists.

This consideration appears to me of great moment, for shewing that our first three Evangelists are all independent witnesses. Indeed

deed it seems to me to be quite satisfactorie, and decisive.

3. There are in these three Gospels, as was observed just now by Mr. *Dodwell*, many seeming contradictions: which have exercised the skill of thoughtfull men to reconcile them. This is another argument, that these Evangelists did not write by concert, or after having seen each others Gospels.

5. In some histories, which are in all these three Evangelists, there are small varieties and differences, which plainly shew the same thing. I shall allege two or three instances only.

1.) In Matth. viii. 28. . . 34. Mark v. 1. . . 20. Luke viii. 26. . . 40. is the account of the cure of the demoniac, or demoniacs, in the countrey of the *Gadarens*. It is plainly the same historie, as appears from many agreeing circumstances. Nevertheless there are several differences. St. *Matthew* speaks of two men. St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* of one only. In *Mark* alone it is said, that the man *was always night and day in the mountains, crying, and cutting himself with stones*. And he alone mentions the number of the swine that were drowned. He likewise says, that the man *be-*

sought our Lord much, that he would not send them away out of the countrey. St. Luke says: the demons besought him, that he would not command them to go out into the deep, or abyffe. Surely these Evangelists did not abridge, or transcribe each others writings.

2.) In Matt. xvii. 1. . . 13. Mark ix. 1. . . 13. Luke ix. 28. . . 36. are the accounts of our Lord's transfiguration on the mount. Where *St. Matthew* says: *his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light.* *St. Mark*: *And his raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow, so as no fuller on earth can white them.* *St. Luke*: *And as he prayed, the fashion of his countenance was altered, and his raiment was white and glittering.* It is plain, I think, that none had seen what the other had writ. In the description of the splendour of our Lord's person, and garments, each one follows his own phanſie. In *St. Matthew* and *St. Mark* are comparisons. But they are different. In *St. Luke* there is no comparison at all.

3.) The third instance shall be what follows next in all the three Evangelists, after our Lord was come down from the mount. Matt. xvii. 14. . . 21. Mark ix. 14. . . 29.
Luke

Luke ix. 37. . . 42. In this historie of the healing the young man, who had the epilepsie, where St. *Mark* is more particular and prolix, than the other Evangelists, there are many differences. I take notice of a very few only. In St. *Matthew* the father of the child says: *Lord, have mercie on my Son. For he is lunatic, and sore vexed.* And the healing him is thus related. *And Jesus rebuked the demon. And he departed out of him. And the child was cured from that very hour.* In St. *Mark* the father of the child says to our Lord: *Master, I have brought unto thee my son, who has a dumb spirit.* And when our Lord healed him, *he rebuked the foul spirit, saying unto him: Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him.* And what follows. In St. *Luke* the father says: *Master, I beseech thee, look upon my son. For he is my only child.*

Certainly, he who observes these things, must be sensible, that these historians did not borrow from each other. There are many other like instances. To mention them all would be endless.

I shall add a consideration or two more, which must be allowed to be of some weight in this question.

6. There are some things in *St. Matthew's* Gospel, very remarkable, of which no notice is taken either by *St. Mark*, or *St. Luke*.

I intend, particularly, the visit of the *Magians*, with the causes of it, and it's circumstances, and then the consequences of it, our Saviour's flight into *Egypt*, and the slaughter of the infants at *Bethlehem*, and near it. *Matt.* ii. The dream of *Pilate's* wife. ch. xxvii. 19. the affair of the Roman guard at the sepulchre. xxviii. 11. . . 15. an earthquake, rending of rocks, and the resurrection of many saints, who came out of their graves, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many. ch. xxvii. 51. . . . 53.

These are as extraordinarie things, as any in the Gospels. And if *St. Mark*, or *St. Luke*, had writ with a view of abridging, or confirming *St. Matthew's* historie, some, or all of these things, would have been taken notice of by them. It is also very observable, that *St. Luke* has no account of the miracle of feeding four thousand with seven loaves and a few little fishes, which is in *Matt.* xv. 32. . . 39. *Mark* viii. 1. . . . 9.

And what has been just now said of *St. Matthew*, particularly, may be also applied to

to St. *Luke*, supposing his to have been the first written Gospel. For in him also are many remarkable things, not to be found in the other Gospels. And if St. *Matthew* or St. *Mark* had writ with a view of abridging or confirming St. *Luke's* historie, those things would not have been passed over by them without any notice.

7. All the first three Evangelists have many things peculiar to themselves. Which shews, that they did not borrow from each other, and that they were all well acquainted with the things, of which they undertook to write a historie.

Many such things are in *Matthew*, as is well known to all. I therefore need not enlarge on them. And a few of them were just now taken notice of.

St. *Mark* likewise has many things peculiar to himself, not mentioned by any other Evangelist. A catalogue of them was made by us (*e*) formerly, though far from being compleat.

The same is true of St. *Luke*. As much was observed by *Irenaeus*, who says, “ there
“ are many, and those necessarie parts of the
“ Gospel,

(e) See before p. 198. . . . 203,

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 “ Gospel, which we know from *Luke* only.”
 His brief enumeration of those things was transcribed by us into this Work (*f*) long ago. Let me also rehearse them here somewhat differently. His general introduction, the birth of *John* the Baptist, and many extraordinarie things, attending it. The *Roman* census made in *Judea*, by *Cyrenius*, or before that made by *Cyrenius*, which brought *Joseph* and *Marie* from *Nazareth* to *Betlehem*, the mean circumstances of our Lord’s nativity, the notification of it to shepherds by an angel, his circumcision, *Marie*’s purification at the temple, the prophecies of *Simeon*, and *Anna* there, our Lord’s going up to *Jerusalem* at the age of twelve years. Ch. ii. The names of the Emperour and other Princes, in whose time *John* the Baptist and our Lord began to preach, and our Lord’s age at that time, a genealogie different from *Matthew*. Ch. iii. In *St. Luke* are also divers miracles, not recorded elsewhere. A numerous draught of fishes. ch. v. 4. . . 9. The cures of *Marie Magdalen*, *Joanna*, wife of *Cbuzza*, *Herod*’s steward, and *Susanna*. ch. viii. 2. 3. giving speech to a dumb man. ch. xi. 14. a woman healed in
 a syna-

(*f*) *Vol. ii. p. 357. . . 360.*

a synagogue of an infirmity, under which she had labored eighteen years. ch. xiii. 10 . . . 17. a man cured of the dropfie on a sabbath day, in the house of a Pharisee. ch. xiv. 1 . . . 4. Ten lepers cured at once. ch. xvii. 12 . . . 19. the ear of *Malchus* healed. ch. xxii. 50 . . . 5. the son of a widow of *Naim* raised to life, in the sight of multitudes, when he was carried out to burial. ch. vii. 11 . . . 17. a miracle of resurrection, related by no other Evangelist. In him alone is the mission of the seventy disciples. ch. x. 1 . . . 20. Divers beautiful parables spoken by our Lord, which are not to be found elsewhere: the parable of the good Samaritan. ch. x. 25 . . . 37. the parable of the lost piece of silver, and the prodigal son. ch. xv. 8 . . . 32. of the unjust steward. xvi. 1 . . . 12. the rich man and *Lazarus*. 19 . . . 31. the importunate widow. xviii. 1 . . . 8. the Pharisee and Publican, that went up to the temple to pray. ver. 9 . . . 14. To St. *Luke* also are peculiar our Lord's entertainment at the house of a Pharisee, where came in the woman that was a sinner. ch. vii. 36 . . . 50. his entertainment at the house of *Martba*. x. 38 . . . 42. the historie of *Zaccheus*. xix. 1 . . . 10. our Lord's agonie in the garden. xxii. 43. 44. the penitent

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penitent thief on the cross. xxiii. 39. . . 43. and a particular account of the two disciples going to *Emmaus*. xxiv. 13. . . 35.

All these, and many other things, which I omit, are peculiar to St. *Luke*. And did he transcribe many things from St. *Matthew*, and yet more from St. *Mark*?

Mill's argument, taken from the similitude of stile and composition, to prove, that these Evangelists had seen each others writings, appears to be insufficient. And himself allows, that (g) two authors writing upon the same subject in the Greek language may easily agree very much in expression.

I have insisted the more upon this point, because I think, that to say, the Evangelists abridged, and transcribed each other, without giving any hint of their so doing, is a great disparagement to them. And it likewise diminisheth the value and importance of their testimonie. Said Mr. *Le Clerc*, before quoted,
 “ They

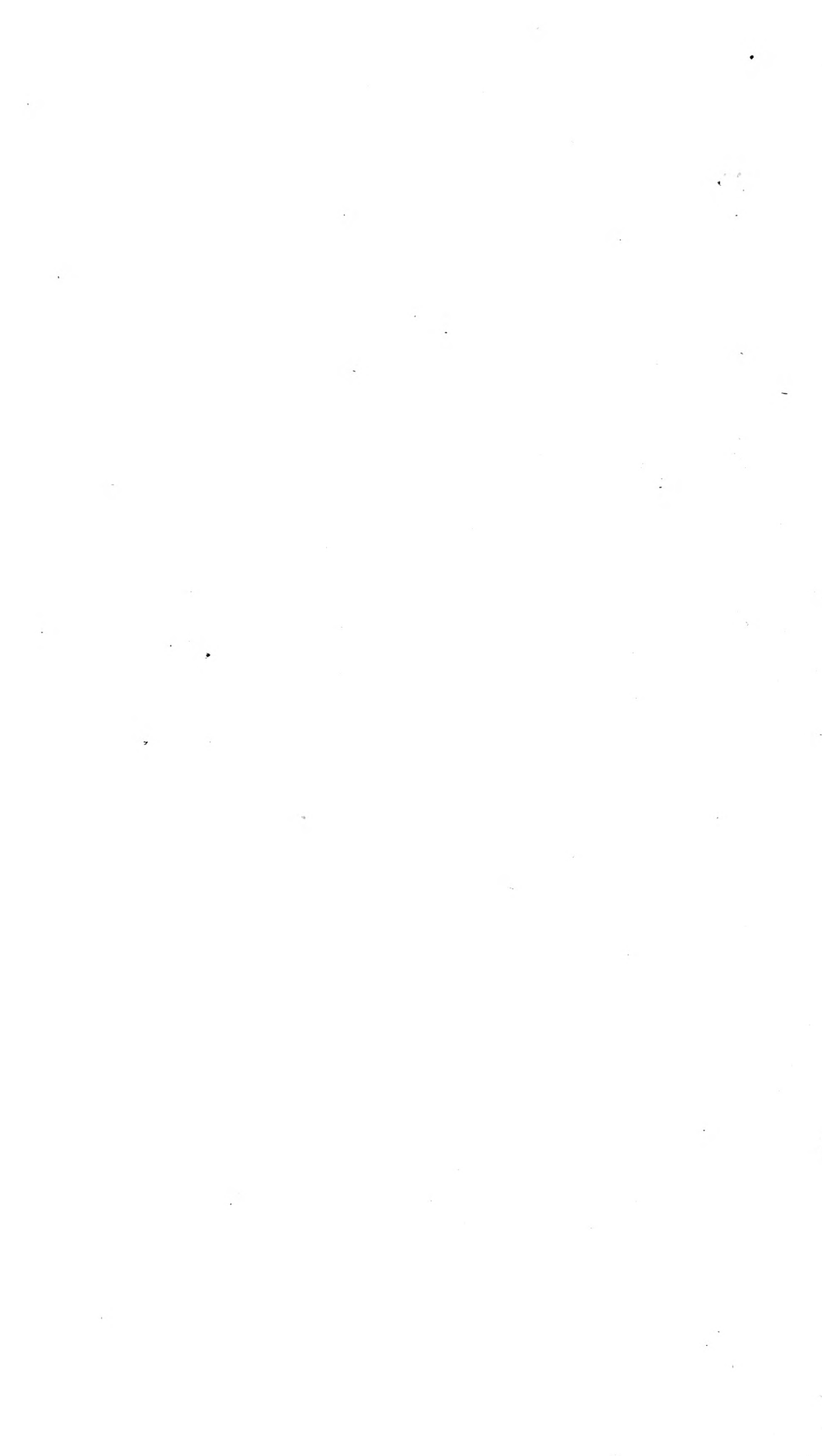
(g) Verum quidem est, eum esse linguæ hujus, quæ Evangelicis in usu erat, Hellenisticæ genium eam indolem, ut in unum ferme eundemque dicendi charactrem, quoties de una eademque materia agitur, sese eformet: ita ut diversi in hoc genere scriptores, unum idemque aliquod argumentum particulare tractantes, filo ac sermonis tenore haud absimili usuri essent. &c. *Prol. num. 108.*

“ They (*b*) seem to think more justly, who
“ say, that the first three Evangelists were un-
“ acquainted with each others design. In that
“ way greater weight accrues to their testi-
“ monie. When witnesses agree, who have
“ first laid their heads together, they are sus-
“ pected. But witnesses, who testify the same
“ thing separatly, without knowing what o-
“ thers have said, are justly credited.”

This is not a new opinion, lately thought of. Nor has it been taken up by me, out of opposition to any. I have all my days read, and admired the first three Evangelists, as independent, and harmonious witnesses. And I know not how to forbear ranking the other opinion among those bold, as well as groundless assertions, in which critics too often indulge themselves, without considering the consequences.

(*b*) See *Vol. x. p. 235.*

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