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INTRODUCTION
TO THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

BY
JOHN DAVID MICHAELIS,
LATE PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN, &c.

TRANSLATED FROM
THE FOURTH EDITION OF THE GERMAN,
AND
CONSIDERABLY AUGMENTED WITH NOTES,

AND A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
ORIGIN and COMPOSITION

OF THE
THREE FIRST GOSPELS.

BY
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VOL. III. PART I.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

TO

VOL. III. AND VOL. IV.

AS the volumes, now presented to the public, containing a translation of the latter half of Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, have succeeded the publication of the former half, after an interval of not less than eight years, and even at present my commentary on the author's text extends no further than the three first Gospels, it may be justly expected, that I should offer some explanation upon this subject. The translation itself was finished before the close of 1795, when I began to draw up a commentary on our author's text, as I had done in the preceding volumes. But as I proceeded with the Notes on the three first Gospels, I perceived the necessity of entering into a minute investigation of their origin and composition, which gave rise to the Dissertation, printed in Vol. III. P. ii.: and this Dissertation was not finished before the beginning of 1798. It was at that time, that my attention began to be directed to a totally different subject: the calumnies, which were then incessantly uttered against Great Britain, both at home and abroad, provoked me to attempt a confutation of them: and the volumes, which I accordingly published, again employed an interval of nearly two years. Toward the end of 1799, I returned to the study of theology: I began to collect materials for observations on the other books of the New Testament: and I intended to have

have treated them in the same manner, as I had done the three first Gospels, when a new interruption took place in March 1800. From the University of Leipzig, where I then resided, I returned to England, in consequence of an invitation, which I could not refuse: and as the completion of my original plan, with regard to Michaelis's Introduction, was thus deferred to an unlimited time, I determined to print the remainder of the translation without further delay. In so doing, I hope I shall not incur the censure of the public: as it is certainly more desirable to have the work of Michaelis complete, though the whole is not accompanied with Notes, than to wait several years longer for the completion of the work, merely for the sake of some additional observations by the translator.

After this explanation, it remains only, that I express my obligations to the University, for its liberal assistance, in defraying the expences of the present, as well as of the preceding volumes.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
JUNE 22. 1801.

HERBERT MARSH.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SACRED WRITINGS

OF THE

NEW COVENANT.

CHAP. I.

OF THE NAME, AND NUMBER OF THE CANONICAL
GOSPELS.

THE first book of the New Testament, according to the arrangement in the manuscripts¹, contains the four Gospels, or the four Histories of Christ's life.

The Greek name *ευαγγελιον* has three different senses, as used by profane writers, by the sacred writers, and by ecclesiastical writers; and these three senses must be carefully distinguished from each other. The want of this distinction has sometimes given rise to mistakes, and induced, for instance, many persons to suppose that St. Paul dictated the Gospel of St. Luke, because in his epistle to the Romans^a he uses the expression 'according to my Gospel².' The word *ευαγγελιον* is used by the Greek profane writers to signify good news in general: but in the New Testament it signifies the joyful intelligence of the advent of the Messiah in particular, and is used by St. Paul^b in reference to the prophecies
of

^a Rom. xi. 16.

^b Rom. i. 1, 2.

of that event. Also St. Mark writes, Chap. i. 1—4. ‘The beginning of the Gospel—was John’³: and Christ himself, in his answer to John, who had sent to inquire who he was, thought it sufficient, after relating the miracles, which he had performed, to add ‘and the poor have the Gospel preached to them,’ that is, it is announced to the poor that the Messiah is come^c. Ecclesiastical writers have taken the word *ευαγγελιον* in a new sense, and have used it to signify ‘a narrative of the life of Christ.’ It is used in this sense in both the old and new superscriptions, which have been prefixed to the four Gospels^d; and hence the authors of them have acquired the Title of Evangelists^e.

I will not undertake to assign the reason, why we have precisely four Gospels, or to discover to what cause it is owing that their number is neither greater nor less, though it was attempted by some of the ancient fathers, who fancied that they had discovered a mysterious analogy between the four Gospels, and the four winds^f. But I am so far from seeking a mystery in the number four, that I have my doubts whether two of them, namely those of St. Mark and St. Luke were divinely inspired^d: and even if it were true that my doubts were ungrounded, yet on the other hand their number was formerly much greater than four, though four only have descended to the present age^g. That the number of our present Gospels therefore amounts precisely to four, we can ascribe to no other cause than mere accident. It is true that every event, which we call accidental, is still owing to the particular direction of the Supreme Being; yet we must make a distinction between events, which happen from the common course of things, and such as are derived from his immediate interposition.

The real state of the case appears to be as follows. At the time, when St. Luke undertook to write his history of the transactions of Christ, various but uncertain Gospels were already in circulation^e. These Gospels, probably

^c Matth. xi. 5:

^d See Vol. I, Ch. 111. Sect. 3.

^e Luke i. 1—4.

probably owing to the circumstance, that the accounts, which they contained, were uncertain, have either totally perished, or are preserved only in a few scattered and even interpolated fragments⁷. It is certain that they never were received by the Christian church as credible and authentic documents, that they were never deemed worthy to be read in the public service, nor admitted into the catalogue of the writings of the New Testament. Whether internal or external evidence contributed chiefly to their rejection, whether their accounts, which have the appearance of fable, rather than of history, and not seldom contradict each other, rendered them suspected, or whether an opposition on the part of the Apostles and other eye-witnesses prevented them from being generally received, is at present difficult to be determined, because we have no Christian historians of the first century. A tradition relative to this subject is recorded by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History^f, which he gives however as a mere report, without quoting any written evidence for its authority. Namely, “the three first Gospels being now delivered to all men, and to John himself, *it is said*, that he approved them, and confirmed the truth of their narration by his own testimony^g, saying, there was only wanting a written account of the things done by Christ in the former part, and in the beginning of his preaching.” If this report be grounded, we can easily account for the admission of the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, with the addition of that written by St. John, and of those only: the testimony of the last surviving Apostle, who had himself been eye-witness to the several transactions, was sufficient authority. Whether this testimony implies that the three first Gospels are totally free from the smallest historical inaccuracy,

is

^f Book III. ch. 24.

^g Τῶν προαναγραφέντων τριῶν εἰς πάντας ἡδὴ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸ Ἰωάννην διαδομένων, ἀποδείξασθαι μὲν φασίν, ἀληθεῖαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντα.

is a question which belongs not to the present subject, and which will be examined in the sequel.

It is a considerable advantage, that an history of such importance as that of Jesus Christ, has been recorded by the pens of separate and independent writers, who from the very contradictions, whether real or apparent, which are visible in these accounts, have incontestably proved that they did not unite, with a view of imposing a fabulous narrative on mankind. That St. Matthew had never seen the Gospel of St. Luke, nor St. Luke the Gospel of St. Matthew is evident from a comparison of their writings. The Gospel of St. Mark, which was written later, must likewise have been unknown to St. Luke; and that St. Mark had ever read the Gospel of St. Luke is at least improbable, because their Gospels so frequently differ. That St. Mark made use of St. Matthew's Gospel in the composition of his own, has been a generally received opinion, to which I formerly subscribed: but I am at present of a different opinion, for which I shall allege the reasons in their proper place. We have therefore three distinct writers of the same history, who wrote independently of each other. It is true that the fourth Evangelist had read the works of the other three, but he is very far from having copied or even from having followed them in their descriptions. His Gospel has very little matter in common with the three first; but even where the same narrations are recorded, it seems to have been so little his intention to be directed merely by their contents, that we might rather suppose him to have sometimes corrected, in an indirect and delicate manner, the trifling inaccuracies of those who had written before him.

CHAP. II.

ON THE HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

SECT. I.

Apparent contradictions of the Gospels.

I OBSERVED in the preceding chapter, that the accounts delivered by the several Evangelists do not at all times perfectly coincide: but this very circumstance, which I mentioned as an argument in their favour, has formed the subject of a very heavy and serious accusation. No one has urged the charge with so much bitterness, and so much force, as the anonymous author of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments, published by Lessing¹, in which the resurrection of Christ is represented as a false and idle tale, because the historians, who have recorded it, disagree in their accounts. In opposition to this treatise, I published at Halle in 1783, an Exposition of the history of the death and resurrection of Christ², from which I shall frequently borrow materials in this and the following sections, and sometimes transcribe whole passages, where I think the subject would lose, if I made use of different words.

However dangerous these contradictions may appear to many friends of the Christian cause, and however forcibly they have been applied by its enemies, the disadvantage, which arises from them, is by no means so great, as is supposed, since they prove, what is of the utmost importance, that the Evangelists did not write in concert. If the three first Evangelists had entered into a combination, with a view of imposing a fiction on the world, they would certainly have avoided even the smallest appearance of disagreement, and if the miraculous events, which they had recorded, had been empty fables, it is probable, that St. John who had read their Gospels, before he wrote his own, would have

taken care to admit not the least deviation from the writings of his predecessors, in order that the fraud might be the less easily detected. The anonymous author of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments, whose object in general does not appear to have been a candid investigation of the truth, is guilty therefore of an egregious mistake, in suggesting, after an enumeration of ten contradictions in one chapter, that the whole history of the resurrection excites a suspicion, that the persons, who wrote the account of it, acted in concert.

Historical contradictions may be divided into two classes, real, and apparent: these must carefully be distinguished from each other, and each considered separately.

When several persons, who have been eye-witnesses to one and the same transaction, give separate and independent accounts of it, it is hardly possible that they should coincide in every trifling particular. I appeal to any experienced lawyer, whether he would not suspect the truth of a document containing an examination, on which twenty witnesses gave the same answers to the same interrogatories. And if they agreed likewise in their expressions, there would be ground to suspect that the examiner had drawn up the depositions himself, and either had not interrogated the witnesses at all, or had suggested to them the answers, in order to carry his point.

The reason why apparent contradictions are unavoidable in the deposition of several eye-witnesses to the same transaction is easy to be assigned. They do not all observe every minute circumstance of the transaction, but one pays particular attention to one circumstance, another to another circumstance; this occasions a variation in their accounts, which it is sometimes difficult to reconcile. This happened likewise to the Evangelists, as I will illustrate by the following instance. St. Matthew, ch. xviii. 1—14, and St. Mark, ch. ix. 33—50, relate the same transaction, but in different points of view, and for that reason appear at first sight to contradict each

each other. St. Matthew says, At that time came the disciples to Jesus and said, Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?' St. Mark, on the contrary, 'He came to Capernaum, and having entered into an house, he asked them, What was it, that ye disputed among yourselves by the way? But they held their peace; for by the way they had disputed among themselves, who should be the greatest.' According to St. Matthew, the disciples themselves lay the subject of their dispute before Jesus, for his decision: but according to St. Mark, they even refuse to relate the subject of their dispute, though Jesus requested it, because they were conscious to themselves, that it would occasion a reproof. The question is, how these accounts are to be reconciled.

Without entering into the various solutions, which have been given by the commentators, I shall only observe that, as this transaction relates to a matter of dispute among the disciples, it has of course two different sides, and therefore capable of two different representations. Some of the disciples laid claim to the title of the greatest in the kingdom of heaven, among whom we may probably reckon Peter, with the two sons of Zebedee, James and John. These could hardly expect to escape a reproof, and were undoubtedly ashamed, when questioned as to the subject of their dispute. Other disciples on the contrary may be considered as the party attacked, who without claiming the first rank for themselves, might yet think it unjust to be treated as inferiors, since they all appeared to be equal. The latter had less reason to fear a reproof, since the pure morality of Christ, which teaches that every action must be estimated by the motives which gave it birth, was not then fully understood by his disciples. In their outward behaviour at least there was nothing unreasonable, and without being guilty of a breach of propriety, they might lay their complaints before their master, and request his decision. It is probable that St. Matthew was of this party, since a man, who was by profession a tax-gatherer, and never particularly distinguished himself

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among

among the Apostles, would have hardly supposed, that he should become the first in the kingdom of God. He relates the transaction therefore, as one of that party to which he belonged: St. Mark on the contrary, who derived information from St. Peter, considers the matter from an opposite point of view. Let us suppose the full state of the case to be as follows.—Some of the disciples, who were of the dissenting party, and laid no claim to the first rank, bring the matter before Christ, with the same kind of indignation, as was displayed by ten of the Apostles on another occasion^b. Christ reserves the decision of the dispute till they were entered into the house, where they were accustomed to meet: he then calls his disciples together, and enquires into the subject of their dispute, to which Peter, James, John, and those in general who had laid claim to pre-eminence make no answer.—If the transaction was literally as here described, it is by no means impossible that Matthew and Mark might consider it from different points of view, and write what we find in their Gospels, without the least violation of truth. The one relates one part, and the other another part of the transaction, but neither of them relates the whole. If we read a few verses further in St. Mark's Gospel, we find a circumstance recorded of St. John, which St. Matthew passes over in silence, and from which it appears, that St. John was more concerned in this dispute, than most of the other disciples. He even ventured, when Christ, with a view of introducing a perfect equality among his disciples, said, 'Whoever receiveth one of these children in my name receiveth me,' to doubt of the universality of this position, alleging that persons of unexceptionable characters might appeal to the name of Jesus, and giving an instance of one who had cast out devils in his name, whom the Apostles had rebukedⁱ. This again occasioned replies from Christ, which, though they are mentioned by St. Matthew, have in his Gospel a different appearance, and are attended with less perspicuity, than they

^b Matth. xx. 24.

ⁱ Mark ix. 37, 38.

they are in St. Mark's Gospel, because St. Matthew has not related the causes which gave them birth.

When the same event is either related in common conversations by different speakers, or committed to writing by different and independent historians, of which we may mention an engagement between two armies as an instance, we frequently find a contradiction in their accounts, though each of them has no other object in view, than to relate the truth³. If the Evangelists appear to contradict each other more frequently than other historians, the cause does not lie in the Evangelists themselves, but in the diligence and attention of the reader. The Gospels are not read by thousands, but by millions, who carefully compare the one with the other: whereas the stories related in common conversation are hardly ever compared with each other, and it is not often that we find a critical historian, who takes the trouble of accurately collating his written documents. But the most convincing proof, that apparent contradictions are no proof of a bad cause, is the circumstance, that we often meet with them in the writings of one and the same historian, where he relates the same thing at different times. St. Luke, for instance, relates twice the ascension of Christ, and three times the conversion of St. Paul, and in consequence of his omitting at one time what he had mentioned at another, and vice versa, he differs as much from himself, as the Evangelists differ from each other. In courts of justice, where practical logic, as far as concerns the examination of evidence, is extremely well understood, not every apparent contradiction between two or more witnesses is immediately considered as a proof, that the fact which they attest is false. The advocates on both sides examine and cross-examine, and consider whether the differences in the reports are not capable of a reconciliation. As the Evangelists themselves cannot be questioned with respect to their apparent contradictions, it is the duty of commentators to undertake in their name the office of advocate: it is an office which they have frequently executed
with

with success, but through want of sufficient knowledge of the subject they are still embarrassed with difficulties, which the Apostles themselves, if they were now alive, would undoubtedly be able to remove.

S E C T. II.

Answers to the objections made to the Evangelists, on account of the apparent contradictions in respect to the order of time.

ONE of the most frequent apparent contradictions among the Evangelists relates to the order of time, the same fact being reported earlier by one, than by another. This appearance of disagreement arises from the circumstance, that neither St. Matthew, St. Mark, nor St. Luke wrote in chronological order¹.

No historian can be expected to relate every thing in the order of time unless he is writing a journal, which is the most tedious and disagreeable kind of history. In writing a perspicuous, and at the same time an agreeable narrative, it is frequently necessary to unite with a cause the effect to which it gave birth, even though that effect should belong to a distant period, when the historian must consequently return from a later time to a former: or an historian is often under the necessity of uniting facts, which are far asunder in point of time, because they are connected by their subject. In biography especially, it is not unusual to disregard the order of time, in relating the remarkable circumstances of a life, to which the name of *Singularia* is applied. It seems therefore extraordinary that severer rules should be prescribed to the Evangelists, than are followed by historians in general: and one might suppose that it arose from a want of sufficient acquaintance with the practice of profane writers, unless various commentators, to whom this ignorance cannot possibly be imputed, had

had still considered the Gospels as simple diaries, or journals².

The Gospel of St. Luke in particular is supposed to have been written according to the order of time; because the Evangelist declares in his preface, that he intends to relate every thing in order^k. But we must not forget that the order of time is not the only order, which an historian may follow. To illustrate this by an example. The unction of Christ at Bethany took place six days before the passover^l: yet St. Matthew relates it after he was advanced with the rest of his history to within two days of the passover^m. The reason is, that on this second day before the passover Judas offered to the assembly of the scribes and chief priests to betray Jesus: which resolution he had been induced to form by the rebuke which he had received when Jesus was anointed. To return however to the Gospel of St. Luke, it appears that the word *καθεξης* implies nothing more, than an intention to collect accounts of the several wonders and discourses of Christ, and to form them into one uniform whole⁴, that is, *αναλαξασθαι διηγησιν*, as he says of the writers, of whom he speaks in the first verse of his Gospel. Now we cannot suppose that these numerous writers composed entirely according to the order of time⁵. Nay, there are some commentators, which go so far as to assert that of the four Evangelists St. Luke deviates the most from the order of time: whether they are mistaken or not I shall not at present inquire, because the examination of the proofs would take up too much room, but this I will venture to assert, that the word *καθεξης* no more affords an argument against this opinion, than the word *αναλαξασθαι* applied to those who wrote Gospels before St. Luke, would disprove the assertion, that these writers deviated more from the order of time than our four Evangelists. The account which we read in St. Luke's Gospel, ch. iv. 23. where Jesus speaks of miracles performed at Capernaum, though St. Luke had

hitherto

^k *Καθεξης*³. Luke i. 3.

^l John xii. 1.

^m Matth. xxvi. 6.

hitherto made no mention, that Jesus had even been at Capernaum, united with the circumstance that the important miracles performed by Jesus at Capernaum appear to be recorded by St. Luke in the fifth chapter, favours at least the opinion that St. Luke has not related the coming of Jesus to Nazareth, according to the period in which it really happened⁶.

The opinion that the Evangelists have constantly written according to the order of time has led the harmonists to this very extraordinary conclusion, that, if a fact is recorded by two or more Evangelists, and the period allotted to it by the one corresponds not to the period allotted to it by the other, the fact with all its concomitant circumstances must have happened so many different times⁷. According to this principle, the whole series of events recorded in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel happened twice, if not thrice: that is, Jesus twice healed a man sick of the palsy, who was let down through the roof of the house with exactly the same circumstances; in both cases he spake the same words, and the spectators were affected in the same manner: in two instances (immediately after such a miracle) he called a disciple from the receipt of custom: he twice raised a child aged twelve years from the dead, and by the way healed a woman, who had an issue of blood, by the touch of his garment: he was twice asked the same questions by John, &c. The late Dr. Hauber⁸ has applied, in support of this opinion, the principium indiscernibilium; saying, that things which agree in 9999 points, but differ in a single point, cannot be one and the same thing; now the events above-mentioned have a difference in point of time in the different Evangelists, therefore they cannot be the same events. The truth of the first proposition no one will dispute, but we cannot assert the second, without being guilty of a *petitio principii*, since the question, whether each of these events really did happen more than once is the very thing to be determined. And, since it is at least highly improbable that two

series

series of facts should perfectly resemble each other in every circumstance except that of time, the principium indiscernibilium, when applied to the present case, should lead us in fact to a conclusion directly contrary to that, which was drawn by Dr. Haubertⁿ. Even without the aid of philosophy, the matter is itself so clear, that if any other biographer should so circumstantially relate the same transactions twice, or pretend that a whole series of extraordinary events happened twice in the space of four years, he would forfeit all credit with his reader. I candidly declare for my own part, that, were it necessary to believe that the above-mentioned series of events with all their circumstances, happened more than once, my faith would waver: and if I doubted not of the truth of the Gospel itself, I should at least doubt of the inspiration of the Evangelists, and conclude that the one or the other was mistaken.

At the same time I would not have it understood, that the supposition of an event's having happened more than once, where different periods are assigned to it by different Evangelists, is in no case whatsoever admissible. But then it must not be an event of the most extraordinary kind, nor attended in every instance by the same minute circumstances. For instance, since various persons at various times may have offered themselves to be the disciples of Christ, induced either by the high expectations, which were formed of his character, or by the interested motive of receiving from him their daily support, to whom the answer 'Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man has not where to lay his head' is well adapted, it is not improbable that this answer was given on more than one occasion. When St. Matthew therefore, ch. viii. 19, 20. relates this answer as given by Christ at the lake of Genesaret, and St. Luke, ch. ix. 57, 58. as given during the journey through Samaria toward Jerusalem, we must conclude

ⁿ See my *Programma, de principio indiscernibilium*?, particularly p. 11, where I have explained myself more fully, and p. 15, where I have given the proof.

conclude that the two Evangelists here relate two different things. This is however attended with the following difficulty, that both St. Matthew and St. Luke immediately after the answer above quoted, agree likewise in another answer given by Christ to a young man, who was going to bury his father°. This case is so extraordinary that I cannot suppose it to have happened twice; and I can account for the difficulty in no other manner, than by supposing that the two Evangelists introduced, on two different occasions, the conversation of Christ with this disciple, because each occasion suggested its introduction. They relate in what manner Christ rejected, or invited disciples, or put them to the test, though the instances, which they produce in the same place, happened at times distant from each other¹⁰.

S E C T. III.

Rules to be observed in making an Harmony of the Gospels.

THE following are the principal rules, which are necessary to be observed in comparing the Evangelists with each other¹.

1. As the Evangelists have not written journals, we must not consider it as a contradiction, if the same transaction be related by the one earlier or later than it is related by the other, provided the time be not expressly determined by both, so as to be incapable of a reconciliation.

2. Since divine inspiration does not produce omniscience, it is possible, even if we admit that all four Evangelists were inspired, that some circumstances of a fact were unknown to one, which were known to another. From this want of knowledge arises an apparent contradiction, which ought not to be considered

as

° Matth. viii. 21, 22. Luke ix. 59, 60.

as a real one. If we set inspiration aside, and consider the Evangelists simply as human historians of credit and veracity, the rule is still more applicable. For instance, Christ embarked in a vessel, and rebuked the wind, in the evening of the same day, on which he had delivered the parable of the sower and the seed. This appears from Mark iv. 35. ‘And the same day, when the even was come, he saith unto them, Let us pass over unto the other side.’ But this circumstance was unknown to St. Luke, who knew only that these two transactions were at no great distance from each other, and wrote therefore, ch. viii. 22. ‘Now it came to pass *on a certain day* that he went into a ship with his disciples.’ This is no more a contradiction, than if one of two witnesses to the same fact should testify that it happened in the Christmas-week, and the other on the twenty-fifth of December. Again, St. Luke appears not to have known on what occasion the words, which he has recorded, ch. xvii. 1—4, were uttered by Christ; instead therefore of relating them in the place, to which they really belong, namely after ch. ix. 46—50, he has arranged them among several scattered fragments relating to Christ. St. Matthew and St. Mark on the contrary have assigned to them their proper place, where they receive more light, especially as related by the latter^p. A third instance, in which St. Luke was unacquainted with the time at which a transaction happened is ch. xx. 1, where he says, ‘And it came to pass, *on one of those days* :’ but St. Matthew and St. Mark have determined the time more precisely^q, though a contradiction appears to have taken place in their accounts³, which the present room does not allow me to examine. Likewise the occasion which gave birth to the prophecy of Christ, respecting the destruction of Jerusalem, appears to have been more imperfectly known to St. Luke^q, than to the other Evangelists: but that even Prophets may be deficient in knowledge, and that the Apostles never pretended to
be

^p Matth. xviii. 1—20. Mark ix. 33—50.

^q See ch. xxi. 5.

be omniscient is evident from various passages of the New Testament^r.

3. Two or more relations may be very similar, and yet not the same: these must be carefully distinguished from each other. For instance, the anointing of Christ Luke vii. and Matth. xxvi. are manifestly different facts, though they so far agree that both happened at table, and in the house of one named Simon. But that the anointing happened at table is by no means a remarkable circumstance, since it was agreeable to the common custom of the ancients: and with respect to the other circumstances, they are all different.

4. In the arrangement of the several facts attention must be paid to those passages, in which the Evangelists expressly determine the time, by saying, 'on that day,' 'in the evening,' 'on the following day,' and the like. But we must be careful not to take for a determination of time, what really is not.

5. The same discourse, such as the sermon on the mount, may have been delivered more than once, in order to impress the doctrines, which it contained, on those who were not present, when it was first pronounced. But whether any particular discourse actually was delivered more than once, must be determined by the circumstances which precede and follow it: and in those cases only, where these circumstances are different, it is allowable to conclude that the discourse was pronounced at different times.

The rules, which I have here given, are in themselves so clear, that every reader, without further explanation, will probably assent to them. The principal difficulty consists in the application, since even those, who agree in the principles, very frequently differ in the use of them. The following instance may serve to shew the manner, in which I would apply the rules in question. The Evangelists St. Matthew^s and St. Mark^t have related, that Christ was anointed in the week preceding his death,
and

^r See Mark xiii. 32. 1 Cor. i. 16. 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3.

^s Ch. xxvi. 6—13.

^t Ch. xiv. 3—7.

and all the commentators are agreed that both of them mean the same unction. St. John likewise^u relates that Christ was anointed in the same week, and the unction, which he describes, is in my opinion the very same with that, which St. Matthew and St. Mark have recorded, but according to others it was totally different, and happened four days earlier. Now that two different unctions happened twice in the same week with the same circumstances, is more than I am able to believe. Should any one relate so circumstantial an event as having happened to himself, and differ in his account with respect to the day, on which it took place, I should certainly take the liberty to observe that he was guilty of a contradiction: and if, in defending himself from the charge of an inconsistency, he should contend that it happened twice in the same week, I should certainly conclude that he transgressed the bounds of truth. The two unctions above-mentioned, if we can consider as two, what I believe to be one, agree in the following circumstances⁴.

1. Both happened at Bethany.

2. In both cases Jesus was anointed not by his host, but by a woman. However as Christ was frequently at Bethany, these circumstances are not so very remarkable.

3. Both unctions took place, as I shall prove in the sequel, not in the house of Lazarus, the friend of Jesus, where we might soonest expect him, but in another house.

4. Both happened in the last week, before the suffering of Christ.

5. In both cases the ointment was so expensive, that the unction had the appearance of profusion.

6. In both cases we meet with the remarkable circumstance, that the ointment was not purchased for the purpose, to which it was applied, but that it had been preserved for some time by the person, who used it:
for

^u Ch. xiii. 1—3.

for the disciples were offended that the ointment was not sold, and the money given to the poor, and in the account, which is given by St. John ^w, it is expressly said by Jesus, ‘Against the day of my burying hath she *kept* this.’ One might almost conjecture that it was the remainder of the ointment, which Martha and Mary had purchased for the funeral of Lazarus: the thought presents itself at least, on reading St. John’s description, as not improbable.

7. In both cases the unction is censured by the disciples.

8. In both cases the ground of censure is the same.

9. In both cases the unction is defended by Jesus, and the same answer given to the disciples.

10. The expression *ναλδος πισικη*, which is not only very unusual and therefore obscure, but occurs in not a single instance either in the Septuagint or in the New Testament, except on this occasion, is used both by St. Mark, and by St. John: the ointment therefore used in both cases was strictly the same.

These circumstances are too numerous and too particular, to have happened twice: not to mention the improbability, that the disciples, after having been rebuked by Jesus six days before Easter, for having censured the unction, should presume to repeat their censure on a similar occasion, on the second day before Easter. For it contained a manifest incivility to Jesus himself, which they must have very sensibly felt, when he answered them, ‘The poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always,’^{*} and of which therefore they would have hardly been guilty only four days afterwards.

In the two accounts, which are given by St. Matthew and St. John, I perceive not the least variation, except that in some points the one is more copious than the other; but their descriptions are so far from being inconsistent, that they have all the appearance of proceeding from two different eye-witnesses to the same fact.

1. Accord-

^w Ch. xii. 7.

^{*} John xii. 8.

1. According to St. Matthew and St. Mark a *woman* anoints Jesus: according to St. John, he is anointed by *Mary*, and if we may judge from what he says in the second verse, by *Mary the Sister of Lazarus*. This however is no contradiction, when one historian omits the name of the woman, the other mentions it. Nay, even from the very silence of St. Matthew and St. Mark in respect to the name, may be deduced an argument in support of the opinion, that the unction described by St. Matthew and St. John is the same. St. Matthew and St. Mark must have had particular reasons for concealing the name of the woman, since according to their own relation Jesus declared that what she had done should be preached in the whole world for a memorial of her. Now this cannot have happened unless she was the *Mary* mentioned by St. John: and it would follow from the supposition of two different unctions, that the declaration of Jesus had remained unfulfilled. Perhaps the real state of the case is as follows. The two first Evangelists, who have made no mention of the raising of Lazarus from the dead, that they might not expose him to persecution from the Jewish Sanhedrim, have probably, for the same reason, concealed the name of his sister *Mary*, who anointed Jesus with the ointment which remained after the interment of Lazarus. St. John on the contrary expressly mentions it, because he wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem, and could therefore have no reason for concealing the name either of Lazarus, or of *Mary*.

2. According to St. Matthew, the entertainment was given in the house of Simon the leper: according to St. John, Lazarus was one of them who sat at the table with him^γ, and his sister *Martha* served. Some commentators have considered this as a variation in the story, and have concluded from St. John's description that the entertainment was given in the House of Lazarus. But this is certainly not true, since no one, in speaking of the master of the house, would say, 'he was one of those

^γ Εἰς τῶν ἀνακειμένων.

those who sat at the table.' On the contrary, this very expression proves that he was only a guest, and that the entertainment was given in the house of a Friend, in which his sister, who was a diligent housewife^z, prepared the table.

3. According to St. Matthew, the woman poured the box of ointment on the head of Jesus; according to St. John she anointed his feet. But even this circumstance is not sufficient to prove two distinct unctions, though among all the variations it is the most considerable. That Mary did not leave the head of Jesus unanointed we may take for granted from the general practice of the East: but this is not related by St. John, who mentions only the more extraordinary circumstance omitted by St. Matthew and St. Mark, that the woman anointed his feet. It is agreeable to John's peculiar manner to relate circumstances omitted by his predecessors.

4. According to St. Matthew, the disciples in general, according to St. Mark, only some of them had indignation, and censured the woman. This cannot be considered as a contradiction: for when St. Matthew says in general terms 'the disciples,' it does not necessarily follow, that he meant all of them without exception, nor is it probable that all of them expressed their opinion. But St. John mentions Judas Iscariot, as the person who censured the action. Still however we cannot conclude that the Evangelists have described two different unctions. One of the disciples must have made a beginning, to whom others acceded, though probably not in the same words. This person is particularly named by St. John, who likewise adds the motive, which induced him to cast the censure. Perhaps St. Matthew and St. Peter acceded to the opinion of Judas, but not St. John: and hence St. Matthew and St. Mark speak openly in the plural number, that they might not conceal the part which St. Matthew and St. Peter had taken in this unjust censure.

It is further objected, that the clear and certain marks by which the time is determined by the different Evangelists,

^z See Luke x. 40:

Evangelists, prove two distinct transactions: that St. John mentions expressly the sixth Day before Easter^a, and St. Matthew as expressly the second day before Easter^b, as the day on which the unctio happened. Now that the time is so clearly determined by both Evangelists is more than I am able to perceive; and if any one could persuade me, that it really were so, I should instantly give up the inspiration either of one or both of the Evangelists, and conclude that either one or both of them were guilty of a mistake in referring to two different days what according to the dictates of common sense could be only one and the same transaction. I should *in that case* be persuaded, that if the two Evangelists were now alive, and could be questioned relative to the present difficulty, they would be so far from contending that the same transaction with all its concomitant circumstances happened twice in the same week, that one of them (namely in the case assumed) would candidly own, he was guilty of a mistake.

But as far as my eyes enable me to see, (though other eyes perhaps may see differently from mine,) the assertion is really ungrounded. That St. John has determined the date to be the sixth day before the passover, is not to be disputed. But St. Matthew is silent as to the day, on which the unctio happened; and it is owing only to the modern division of Matthew's text into chapters, that we suppose, he has determined the time. The Evangelist has not written, 'On the second day before the passover Jesus was at an entertainment in Bethany,' but after having related a discourse which Jesus had made to his disciples, he adds, 'And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished all these sayings, he said unto his disciples, ye know that after two days is the feast of the passover, and the son of man is betrayed to be crucified.' Immediately afterwards the Evangelist relates the plot which was formed against the life of Jesus in the following manner; 'Then
(τοτε)

^a John xii. 1.^b Matthew xxvi. 2.

(τοτε) assembled together the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders of the people, unto the palace of the high priest, who was called Caiaphas, and consulted that they might take Jesus by subtlety, and kill him. But they said not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar among the people.' Now the word *τοτε* which is capable of a very extensive signification, no more determines this consultation to have happened on the same day, on which Jesus delivered his discourse to the apostles, than that it happened in the same hour. But even if we admit that both of them happened on the same day, it will by no means follow that the entertainment likewise at Bethany took place on that day; at least the words with which St. Matthew begins his relation of it 'Now when Jesus was in Bethany in the house of Simon the leper,' contain no determination of time, and may as easily refer to a preceding, as to a present period⁵.

Still however it might be objected, that though St. Matthew and St. Mark have not expressly mentioned the day, on which the unction took place in Bethany, they have at least assigned to it a place in that part of their narrative, where they were advanced to within two days of the passover. Now this objection presupposes that the Evangelists always wrote according to the order of time, which they certainly did not: and if we only make a different division of the chapters, and reckon to the twenty-fifth chapter the two first verses of the twenty-sixth, the unction at Bethany, which is related in the following verses, will have less reference to the time specified in those two verses⁶. But at this rate, perhaps it might be said, the Evangelists have written in a very irregular manner, arranging their facts in an order very different from that in which they really happened, and that an irregularity of this kind is hardly to be expected from an inspired writer. This objection brings the matter to an issue, and the answer, which I would make to it, is, that beside the order of time, there is another arrangement in history which may

may be called the order of things⁷. That is, facts which are connected with each other are arranged together, in order that the relation between cause and effect may be more distinctly seen: and it is this very arrangement which distinguishes the entertaining and instructive historian from the mere annalist⁸. To the end of the twenty-fifth, or rather as far as the second verse of the twenty-sixth Chapter, St. Matthew had recorded day by day the several remarkable discourses, which Christ held in the last week of his life. He then proceeds to relate the history of Christ's passion, to which the unction at Bethany had an immediate relation. The Jewish Sanhedrim had formed the resolution to put Jesus to death, but not on the feast day: and it was the unction at Bethany, which afforded them the means of getting him into their power, though on the day which they had endeavoured to avoid. This may be gathered from St. Matthew's own relation, who after having described the consultation of the Sanhedrim, immediately relates the unction at Bethany, and then adds, 'Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests, and said unto them, what will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you^c?' The account given by St. Matthew is in some measure obscure, because we do not perceive in what manner the circumstance of the unction excited in Judas the resolution to betray his master. But this we clearly see from the relation of St. John, from which it appears, that Judas was properly the person, who censured the unction, under the pretence, that the ointment ought to have been sold for the benefit of the poor, and that this specious pretext met likewise with the approbation of other Apostles. The true reason, as St. John expressly declares, why Judas wished that the ointment had been sold, was the hope of having a further opportunity of defrauding the money bag, which was intrusted to his care. The
answer

^c Matth. xxvi. 14, 15.

answer therefore of Jesus affected Judas in particular, whose guilty conscience augmented the severity of the rebuke. Under these circumstances it is by no means extraordinary that Judas resolved to take revenge, especially when we consider that he was already an apostate^d, and thought perhaps that, if contrary to his belief, Jesus was really the Messiah, the measures concerted against him would be of no avail, but that on the other hand, if Jesus was an impostor, he would meet with the fate which he deserved. It appears then that the unction at Bethany, which gave rise to the offer of Judas to the Sanhedrim to betray Christ, is more properly arranged immediately before the relation of the effect which it produced, than it would have been, if placed at the beginning of the twenty-first chapter, to which it properly belongs according to the order of time^e.

The preceding example must suffice for the present, since if I examined other parts of the Evangelic history in the same manner, I should compose an *Harmony of the Gospels*, instead of writing a general introduction to the New Testament.

Sometimes a contradiction may be removed by the help of a various reading, of which I have given an instance^f in my *History of the Resurrection*^g, taken from Matth. xxvii. 60. Of the aid of critical conjecture in removing contradictions I have given an example in this Introduction^h, from John vi. 21. Lastly, it is not improbable that some of the contradictions observable in St. Matthew's Gospel, did not proceed from the author himself, but from the person who translated it from Hebrew into Greek.

^d John vi. 67—71.

^e P. 43—46.

^f Vol. II. Ch. x, Sect. 4.

S E C T. IV.

Of the inference to be deduced from the supposition, that real contradictions exist in the four Gospels.

IF it can be shewn, that real contradictions, that is, such as are wholly incapable of a reconciliation, exist in the four Gospels, the only inference to be deduced is, that the writers were not infallible, or in other words, not inspired by the Deity; but we are by no means warranted to conclude, because the historians vary in their accounts, that the history itself is a forgery. I have treated this subject at large in the Preface to the *History of the Resurrection*²; at present, therefore, I shall only remark what deserves particular notice.

When several persons relate the same story, it is hardly possible, even if they were eye-witnesses to the transaction which they record, and still less so if they received their information from others, to coincide exactly in their accounts, since the same circumstances will either not be observed or not be remembered by all. Yet if they all agreed in the main point, no one would conclude that the whole story was a forgery, merely because the persons, who related it, disagreed in some of the concomitant circumstances. An inference of this kind would convert the most valuable histories into fabulous legends.

When two Prussian officers, who served during the seven years war, from 1756 to 1763, relate the transactions of that memorable period, each of them is guilty of some mistakes, especially in regard to dates and numbers, of which the unavoidable consequence is, that they will contradict each other. If we read Lloyd's and Tempelhoff's *History of this war*, we shall find not only that they contradict each other, but that both of them frequently contradict the official intelligence printed in the *Berlin Gazette*. I will mention as an instance the battle of Prague, in which Lloyd has made

² P. xviii.—lviii¹.

made the list of killed and wounded on the part of the Austrians so very inconsiderable, as to be almost incredible, when we consider the important consequences, to which that engagement immediately led. Yet no one would therefore conclude, either that the seven years war in general, or the battle of Prague in particular, was a mere fable. Whoever has examined the sources of the Roman history, not barely with a view of learning a dead language, but with the eye of a critical historian, must have observed many contradictions, which no art can possibly reconcile. The battle of Pharsalia, for instance, is described by Florus in a manner very different from that, in which it is described by Cæsar: for in their accounts of the number of the combatants, which entered the field on both sides, there is a difference of not less than an hundred and fifty thousand. Yet no man would therefore contend that the battle of Pharsalia, which determined the fate of the world, was a mere fable. It is the same with the Grecian history even in the most enlightened ages, as appears from the contradictions in the accounts which we read of the expedition of Xerxes, and the strength of his army. The history of the celebrated Judas Maccabæus, as related in the first book of the Maccabees, a work written at the same time when Judas himself lived, differs frequently from the same history as related in the second book of the Maccabees, and sometimes from the accounts of Josephus. Nay, what is still more, we find Josephus contradicting even himself, when we compare his Antiquities with his History of the Jewish war. I mention Josephus in particular, as an author in whose writings contradictions are to be found, because I can refer, in support of my assertion, to my notes to the first book of the Maccabees, in which many of those contradictions are noted.

If the four Evangelists were not rendered infallible by the immediate intervention of the Deity, it is hardly possible, that their accounts should be wholly free from error, and therefore in no case contradictory to each other.

other. But even if it be true, that their accounts are sometimes at variance, it by no means follows, that the history itself, the miracles and the resurrection of Christ are a forgery: and the only inference, which we can deduce from it, is that the Evangelists were not inspired, at least not in the relation of historical facts. I have already observed in this Introduction^h, as well as in my History of the Resurrectionⁱ, that a concession of this kind is no injury to the Christian religion: to two of the Evangelists, Mark and Luke, the promise of the supernatural assistance of the Holy Ghost, which was given by Christ to the Apostles, is wholly inapplicable, and I have freely confessed in the first volume of this work^k, that I can see no proof of their having been inspired. St. Matthew and St. John were, it is true, Apostles; but shall we therefore conclude that they were inspired in matters of history? The passage which I quoted in the chapter on Inspiration from John xiv. 26. "The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you," contains a promise of assistance from the Holy Ghost, and of the infallibility arising from that assistance, merely in respect to the speeches and discourses of Christ, which form the primary source of our religious faith and knowledge: but it contains no promise, at least none in direct and positive terms, of any supernatural aid in the recording of facts, which they had either seen themselves, or heard from others. To speak the truth, I do not believe that the Evangelists were divinely inspired in matters of history: I have made this declaration already in the second edition of my Dogmatic Theology^l, where I have given the grounds of my opinion, which it is here unnecessary to transcribe. This opinion by no means impugns the doctrines of the Lutheran church, as delivered in the Symbolic Books², though it is contrary to the tenets which

^h Vol. I. ch. iii. sect. 1.ⁱ P. xxxv.^k Ch. iii. sect. 3.^l P. 125, 126.

which are advanced in many of our systems of divinity.

Are there really contradictions then, it may be asked, in the four Gospels, which are utterly incapable of being reconciled? I will not positively and decidedly assert that there are, because, as every assertion requires proof, I should be under the necessity of examining at each particular example the various arguments, which have been alleged both for and against the question, which would give rise to a disquisition too long for the present place. I will only say therefore, it appears to me, that there are such contradictions; but their number is very inconsiderable, and indeed much more inconsiderable, than in proportion to the variety of matter in the four Gospels we might reasonably expect. I will mention a single instance, the account of the blind Bartimeus at Jericho, related Matth. xx. 29—34. Mark x. 46—52. Luke xviii. 35—43. I find no contradiction in the circumstance, that St. Matthew, who was eye-witness to the transaction, speaks of two blind persons, St. Mark and St. Luke on the contrary of only one, who by St. Mark is called Bartimeus: since it is possible that two blind persons on that occasion received their sight, that both of them were known to St. Matthew, who was present at the time, but that only one of them was known to St. Mark and St. Luke, who were not eye-witnesses to the fact. So far then the accounts are not contradictory, and all that can be said is, that one Evangelist has related less, than is related by the other, because he was not omniscient, and therefore did not know all that happened. But when St. Matthew and St. Mark, of whom the former was eye-witness, relate that the miracle was performed by Christ ‘as he went out of Jericho,’ St. Luke on the contrary ‘as he was come nigh unto Jericho,’ and moreover the entry into that city is mentioned by St. Luke^m as having taken place *after* the performance of the miracle, I confess that I am wholly unable to reconcile the contradiction, and must therefore conclude that

^m Chap. xix. 1.

that St. Luke, who was not an eye-witness to the fact, was in this instance mistaken. In a subsequent part of this Introduction, where I treat of St. Luke's Gospel in particular, I shall take notice of several examples of this kind, and observe that the most material contradictions, which I am unable to reconcile, are between St. Luke and those two Evangelists, who were eye-witnesses to the facts, which they have recorded.

Whether St. John has corrected in an indirect and delicate manner the faults of his predecessors is a question, which I shall reserve for that part, where I especially examine the Gospel of that Evangelist.

S E C T. V.

Examination of the different degrees of importance in the different kinds of contradiction observable in the Four Gospels.

THE contradictions observable in the four Gospels, even such as may be shewn to be real, are of very different degrees of importance, which ought to be particularly noted, though they have hitherto engaged but seldom the attention of the harmonists.

In the first place, if a contradiction exists between the twelve last verses of St. Mark's Gospel and the other Gospels, it is of no importance whatsoever, and affects not even the question of divine inspiration: for that these twelve verses proceeded from the hand of St. Mark is more than any one can prove. In the sequel I shall treat of them more at large.

Secondly, a contradiction between either St. Mark or St. Luke, who were neither Apostles nor eye-witnesses, and St. Matthew and St. John, who were both, proves nothing more than, that they were not inspired. In a disagreement of this kind, it is reasonable that we should be guided by the authority of the eye-witnesses.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, a contradiction between the Gospel of St. Luke and the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel is of still less importance, because it may be doubted, whether these two chapters were written by St. Matthew. Even if we admitted therefore that what is written by St. Luke¹, ch. ii. 51. were not to be reconciled with the account given in St. Matthew's Gospel of the coming of the wise men from the East, and the flight of Jesus into Egypt, which however in my opinion is very possible, we should still have no reason to doubt the truth of the Christian Religion, and of the New Testament at large, but only either of the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, which in other respects abound with difficulties, or the relation which is given by St. Luke.

Fourthly, real contradictions between St. Matthew and St. John, which are wholly incapable of reconciliation, prove nothing more, than that the Apostles were not inspired in historical matters. But as I have already observed, these contradictions may be ascribed to the Greek translator of St. Matthew's Gospel.

Fifthly, the contradictions of the greatest importance, if we except Mark xvi. 9—20 are those which have been observed in the history of the resurrection, because the truth of this history, and the testimony of those persons, who are alledged as witnesses of its reality, determine in a great measure the truth of the Christian religion. Notwithstanding the pains, which have been taken to reconcile these contradictions, I am of opinion, that our endeavours have not been so successful as we commonly believe; though on the other hand, I have fallen sometimes, as it were by accident, on satisfactory solutions, where after the most studied and anxious attempts I have failed of success. This is not the place to introduce the result of my inquiries, which I must reserve either for my public lectures, or for my notes on the four Gospels if I should live to publish them².

—Thus far I had written in the year 1777, and I purposely leave it unaltered in the present edition, that the public may be convinced, it is not my intention to suppress

suppress the difficulties, which I feel. The Fragments, as they were called, which were published by Lessing in that very year, in the fourth number of the ‘Contributions to history and literature, from the treasures of the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel,’³ in which an anonymous writer attacked the Christian religion, and particularly the history of the resurrection⁴, induced me to renew my inquiries, the result of which I published in the year 1783, in a work entitled, ‘Exposition of the history of Christ’s burial and resurrection, according to all four Evangelists,’ and which I leave to the examination of the reader⁵.

S E C T. VI.

An account of the principal Harmonies.

I WILL now proceed to an account of those writers, who have endeavoured to reconcile the four Evangelists, and to reduce their history to chronological order; which will afford likewise an opportunity of making some remarks on several explanations relative to the Gospels. But it is far from my design to mention all the writers who have written harmonies: a tolerably complete list of them, in alphabetical order, may be seen in Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca¹, Lib. iv. Cap. v. § 20, and a more entertaining historical description of them is contained in E. D. Hauber’s Life of Jesus Christ², p. 1—14.

To begin with the ancient harmonies, it is well known that Tatian of Syria, and Theophilus Bishop of Antioch, wrote harmonies as early as the second century. A work supposed to be the Harmony of Tatian was published by Ottomar Luscinus³, in 1523; and in the following year 1524, Michael Member published another harmony, which was attributed to Ammonius of Alexandria⁴. But though these works are of great antiquity,

antiquity, it is doubted whether they are genuine⁵. See Fabricii Codex Apocryphus N. T. p. 378. The real Diatessaron (*διατεσσαρων*) of Tatian, or his Arrangement of the transactions of Christ according to the four Evangelists is no longer extant: but the circumstance of his having written a work of that kind deserves to be remembered, because it is of some importance in ecclesiastical history. It is supposed that this is the work, which we find sometimes quoted in ancient writers by the name of ‘the Syrian’⁶.

Eusebius has composed a very celebrated Harmony of the Gospels. He has divided the evangelic history into ten canons, or tables, which are prefixed to many editions and versions of the New Testament. In the first canon he has arranged according to the ancient chapters⁷ those parts of the history of Christ, which are related by all four Evangelists. In the rest he has disposed the portions of history related by

2. St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke.
3. St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John.
4. St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John.
5. St. Matthew, and St. Luke.
6. St. Matthew, and St. Mark.
7. St. Matthew, and St. John.
8. St. Luke, and St. Mark.
9. St. Luke, and St. John.
10. Only one of the four Evangelists⁸.

It is evident from a bare inspection of these tables, that they are nothing more than indexes to the four Gospels, and that they by no means form an harmony, of the nature of those, which have been written in modern ages, and which are designed to bring the several facts recorded by the Evangelists into chronological order, and to reconcile contradictions.

I shall not detain the reader any longer either with these ancient harmonies, or with those of the middle ages, as they are very little used, and men of learning content themselves with being able to enumerate their titles, without ever consulting the works themselves.

But

But there are two in particular, which I cannot pass over without mentioning at least their names, Ludolphus⁹ de vita Jesu Christi, and Gerson¹⁰ Monotessaron de concordantia evangelistarum.

The celebrated Andreas Osiander published the first edition of his Harmony of the Gospels in 1537. He adopted the principle, that the Evangelists constantly wrote in chronological order, and that the same transactions and discourses took place twice or thrice in the life of Christ. From this alone we may judge of the merits of the work itself. Osiander is the head and leader of those harmonists who undesignedly render the Gospel history not only suspicious, but incredible. It must be acknowledged however that he has not gone so far as his successors, and that he sometimes deviates from his general principle.

Cornelii Jansenii commentaria in concordiam evangelicam, published¹¹ in 1571, is at the same time an exposition of the four Gospels.

Martin Chemnitz wrote a very ample harmony of the Gospels, which was continued by Polycarp Leyser, and John Gerhard. The first edition of it appeared in¹² 1593, and the last edition was published at Hamburg in 1704. It consists of three volumes folio, and is not only a harmony, but likewise a learned commentary on the Gospels: but the author has too closely followed Osiander¹³.

Samuel Craddock's Harmony of the Evangelists, which is also a learned and entertaining exposition of the Gospels, was published in London in 1668 in folio¹⁴. Craddock has drawn up the Gospel history in an explanatory paraphrase in English, and has added short but useful notes in Latin.

Sandhagen published his Introduction to the harmony of the Gospels in 1684. However great the merits of this author are in respect to the sacred writings in general, I cannot bestow much praise on this work in particular, for the principle, which I censured in Osiander, is carried here to a still greater length.

Bern. Lamy *Commentarius in harmoniam five concordiam Evangelistarum*, published at Paris in 1699, is a learned work, and it is itself a commentary on the Gospels¹⁵.

Johan. Clerici *harmonia evangelica*, printed at Amsterdam¹⁶ in 1700, is an useful book. Le Clerc has in general very just notions with respect to an harmony of the Gospels, which he has delivered in a dissertation annexed to his work. He has arranged the history of the four Evangelists according to chronological order, in columns parallel to each other, in Greek and in Latin: under the text he has added a Latin paraphrase, the design of which is to remove the apparent contradictions.

William Whiston's 'Short view of the Chronology of the Old Testament, and of the Harmony of the four Evangelists,' published at Cambridge in 1702, deserves particular notice. Whiston is of opinion, that the Evangelists wrote according to the order of time, except in one single passage: and that the reason, why St. Matthew appears to be at variance with the other Evangelists, is that the chapters in his Gospels, from the fourth to the tenth¹⁷, have been strangely confounded and intermixed by the copyists. This opinion he endeavours to support by the circumstance, that in St. Mark's Gospel, which he supposes to be only an abridgment of St. Matthew's, a very different arrangement is observed, from that which we find at present in the Gospel of St. Matthew¹⁸. My sentiments on this subject I shall deliver in the last section of this chapter.

Jo. Reinh. Rus published at Iena in 1727, in four volumes octavo¹⁹, a work entitled, *Harmonia evangelistarum ita adornata, ut, investigatâ sedulo textus coherentiâ, nullus versus sive trajiciatur, sive prætereatur sine brevi et succincta explicatione, quo justii commentarii loco esse queat*. He follows principally Sandhagen, and there is nothing in his explanations, which is particularly remarkable. Wherever he has an opportunity of displaying his knowledge of Hebrew antiquities,

tiquities, or of the geography of Palestine, he is extremely prolix, and introduces matter, which is wholly foreign to the purpose of explaining the passages in question. For instance, in his notes on St. Luke i. 39, 40. he inquires what the name of the city was, in which Elizabeth dwelt: and after having observed, that some commentators suppose it to have been Hebron, he gives the ancient history of that city, mentions its various names, relates what persons were buried there, and even examines whether it was not the burial place of Adam. In short his object was to write a great deal, in order that his work might appear to be very learned, though the author's learning extended no further than to a knowledge of Hebrew: hence he was obliged to be prolix, or his work would, in his own opinion, have been too small.

Bengel, in his *Harmony of the Gospels*, published in 1736, proceeds upon more just principles, and maintains that the Evangelists did not write merely in chronological order. But the chronology, which Bengel has adopted, is not at all times to be defended, and the arrangement which he has chosen for the several facts is too frequently the result of a particular system.

In the year following, E. D. Hauber published, 1. 'An Harmony of the Evangelists,' in which the words of the Evangelists themselves, according to the German version, are printed in the order which, in Mr. Hauber's opinion, corresponds to the time in which each transaction happened. 2. 'The Life of Jesus Christ, taken from the accounts of all the four Evangelists, reduced into a small compass, and accompanied with a general Introduction to the Harmony of the Evangelists.' 3. "Harmonical Observations." Of these writings the last is the most valuable, the two former being of less value, on account of the principle, which the author had adopted, and from which he has never deviated, that the four Gospels are ab-

solute journals, and never deviate from the order of time ²⁰.

In the year 1756 Büfching published the first volume of an harmony under the title, ‘The four Evangelists put together in their own words, translated into German, and accompanied with numerous annotations²¹,’ a work both entertaining and instructive, and containing in particular much valuable geographical information, which throws a light on many passages of the life of Christ, which were before obscure. In the arrangement of the transactions Büfching chiefly follows Hauber: in this respect therefore we are of different opinions, yet I have a great desire to see the work completed.

In the next year, namely in 1767, Bertling published a ‘New Harmony of the four Evangelists²²,’ a work founded on principles diametrically opposite to those adopted by Büfching, a work likewise, which shews the author to have possessed a considerable share of penetration, and which deserves particular attention. As far as general principles go, I perfectly accede to the opinion of this author: but I would not have it understood, that I agree with him in their application to each particular case, or in the arrangement of every transaction ²³.

Whoever is in possession of the harmonies written by Whiston, Bengel, Hauber, Büfching, and Bertling, may in general dispense with the other more voluminous harmonies: for in those, which I have here enumerated, he will find the grounds of the different opinions advanced by the several harmonists fully explained and defended²⁴. With respect to those writers who have not written general harmonies, but have attempted only to reconcile single contradictions, the reader will excuse me, if I pass them over in silence, as the enumeration of them would take up too much room for the present section ²⁵.

S E C T. VII.

Harmony of the Gospels proposed by the author of this Introduction.

THE harmony, which I shall deliver in this section, is a table of contents to the four Evangelists¹, which I have drawn up with a view of assisting the reader in his examination of the several transactions recorded in the Gospels and of directing his judgment in the various inferences, to which such an examination may give birth. I will first however explain the principles, upon which this table is formed.

1. Chronology, and the arrangement of facts according to the order of time, a matter, which St. Matthew and St. Mark at least have wholly disregarded², and to which the Evangelists in general have paid much less attention than is imagined by those, who consider their Gospels as journals, is discoverable only in some few passages of the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John³. For instance, St. Luke has determined, ch. iii. 1-3. the period at which John the Baptist, who was at that time about thirty years of age, began publicly to preach⁴. Again, from a comparison of ch. i. 8. with 1 Chron. xxiv. 10. we find that the annunciation of the birth of St. John happened in the fourth month of the Jews, which corresponds nearly to our July⁵, consequently the conception of St. John (which took place soon after the return of Zacharias from his service in the Temple) in the month of August⁶: whence it appears that John was born in May⁷, and Jesus in Octoberⁿ.—St. John likewise,
by

ⁿ It is true, that according to this mode of reckoning Jesus was born at a different part of the year from that, in which we celebrate his birth. But our festivals were not arranged according to the time, in which the several events intended to be celebrated really happened; for they were substituted in the place of heathen festivals, in order to annihilate even the traces of heathenism. Thus the festival called *Nativitas Inviæti* was converted into *Nativitas Christi*⁸.

by determining the feasts of the Passover, and other feasts, at which Jesus was present in Jerusalem, has in some measure introduced chronology into his history of Christ's ministry, which may be applied to the other Gospels, because St. John has some material facts, which form so many epochs, or points of reckoning, in the life of Christ, in common with the other Evangelists'. See the following Table, N^o. 22. 53. 97.

2. But not all the single facts, related by the three first Evangelists, can be introduced with certainty either in the intervals determined by the above-mentioned feasts of the Passover, or in the intervals determined by the three principal points of reckoning just mentioned, because the Evangelists follow not always the order of time.

3. For this reason, I would not have the reader suppose, that the several facts delivered in the following Table are arranged, without exception, according to the order, in which they really happened: for it is my intention to give rather a General Index to the Four Gospels, than to draw up a Chronological Table. In general, I follow St. Matthew, who was eye-witness to the facts which he has recorded, and from whose arrangement I shall not depart, except for particular reasons, as in N^o 33—38.

4. I shall not attempt to determine the time with any certainty, except in those cases, where it is determined by the Evangelists themselves; as, for instance, where they say, 'on the evening of the same day,' or, 'on the following morning,' or as in N^o 63, 'after *six* days,' which I do not consider as a contradiction to St. Luke, who says, 'about *eight* days after.' It is true that in these determinations of time the Evangelists might make mistakes, if they were not rendered infallible by divine inspiration: but of historians in general we suppose that their accounts are exact, till we have reason to believe the contrary, and I know of no such reason, which takes place in regard to the Evangelists. When one Evangelist determines the time,
and

and the other does not; for instance, when the one unites several facts in such a manner, as to shew that they happened on the same day, but the other separates them in his narrative, I follow the former in preference to the latter.

5. St. Luke, ch. ix. 51.—xviii. 14. has recorded a set of facts without any determination of time, and which appear to have happened in different years. These facts I arrange (N^o. 69—83) in the order in which they are placed in St. Luke's Gospel, except those, which are determined in point of time by other Evangelists: but this order must not be considered as chronological. In some of these facts, for instance, N^o. 69, 77, are traces, from which we may perceive, that they happened a few months before the death of Christ; but some of them certainly happened much earlier. It is therefore not commendable, that harmonists, not excepting even the excellent Archbishop Usher, have interwoven them in the continued narrative of the life of Christ, into which they cannot with any propriety be introduced. Several volumes of anecdotes of the late King of Prussia have lately been published, but wholly without regard to the order of time. Any person therefore, who undertook to compose a chronological journal of the life of the late King, might introduce all those anecdotes, of which the time is capable of being determined: but those, which admit of no determination, he would be obliged to omit.

6. That I do not deny, there are contradictions in the Gospels, appears from what I have already written on this subject: but the greatest part of them admit of a reconciliation, which however I cannot attempt at present, because it is a subject, which properly belongs to the Notes to the New Testament.

ST. MATTHEW 10.

ST. MARK.

2. Genealogy of Christ.
I. 1-17.

6. Joseph's dream, I. 18-
24.

8. Birth of Christ, I. 25.

11. Jesus sought, and wor-
shipped by the wise men:
flight into Egypt, and
return: massacre of the
children of Bethlehem,
Ch. II. 1-23.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

1. Preface, I. 1-4.

I. 1-14.

III. 23-38.

3. Birth of John, I. 5-25. *Announced*

4. Birth of Christ announced to Mary, I. 26-38.

5. Mary's visit to Elizabeth, I. 39-55

7. Birth of John, I. 56-80.

II. 1-20.

9. Circumcision of Christ, II. 21.

10. Presentation of Christ in the temple, II. 22-40.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

13. John preaches, III. 1-12.

I. 1-8.

14. Christ baptized, III. 13-17.

I. 9-11.

15. Christ tempted, IV. 1-11.

I. 12, 13.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

14 12. Education of Christ, and remarkable history of him in his twelfth year, at the feast of the passover II. 41-52.

III. 1-20.

III. 21-23.

IV. 1-12.

16. Remarkable addition made by this Evangelist, relative to the testimonies in favour of Christ, by which he obtained his first disciples, who soon increased in numbers, I. 15-52.

17—20. History of Christ before the imprisonment of John.

17. Christ returns to Galilee, and changes water into wine at Cana, II. 1-12.

18. Goes to Jerusalem at the feast of the passover, and drives the sellers out of the temple, II. 13-22.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

22. Arrives in Galilee,
calls several disciples,
and performs miracles.
IV. 12-24.

I. 14-21.

St. LUKE.

St. JOHN.

19. Gives Nicodemus, who visits him by night, more complete information of his doctrine, II. 23.— III. 21.

20. Remains in Judæa: additional testimony of John the Baptist concerning him, III. 22-36.

21. Returns (after the imprisonment of John) through Samaria to Galilee: conversation with the woman of Samaria: many Samaritans believe in him, IV. 1-42.

IV. 13, 14.

IV. 43, 44.

23. Remarkable addition of a second miracle at Cana, by which the absent son of a man of rank is at once restored to health, IV. 45-54.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

25—30. History of a single day, and that a Sabbath.

25. Christ teaches in the synagogue at Capernaum, and heals a demoniac, I. 21-28. 27

26. Christ ascends a mountain, passes the night in prayer, and then chooses his apostles, III. 13-19. 28

27. Christ delivers a discourse, in which he condemns the morality of the Pharisees, and opposes to it a better morality, which he commissions his apostles to teach, IV. 25. V. VI. VII.

28. Cleanses a leper, VIII. 1-4. 29

29. Heals the servant of a centurion, VIII. 5-13. 37

I. 40-45.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

25² 24. Christ teaches in the
synagogue at Nazareth,
IV. 15-30*.

25—32. History of a single day, and that a Sabbath.

IV. 31-37.

VI. 12-16.

VI. 17-49.

V. 12-16.

VII. 1-10.

* In point of chronology, this does not belong to the present place, not even according to St. Luke : but I place it here, because St. Luke has introduced it immediately after the preceding history. Perhaps it belongs to No. 50, though I have not placed it there, because it does not exactly agree with the accounts quoted in that article from St. Matthew and St. Mark.

ST. MATTHEW.

30. Restores Peter's mother in law, and, after the sabbath was ended, several other sick persons, VIII. 14-17.

ST. MARK.

I. 29-34.

The day immediately following the preceding Sabbath.

31. Christ departs from Capernaum, I. 35-39.

33—37. Another history of a single day, which was likewise a Sabbath.

33 33. Christ defends his disciples, who plucked ears of corn on the sabbath, XII. 1-8.

II. 23-28.

34 34. Cures a withered hand, XII. 9-21.

III. 1-12.

35. Drives out a devil, and is accused of doing it by the assistance of Beelzebub, the prince of the devils. His answer, XII. 22-50.

III. 20-35.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

IV. 38-41.

The day immediately following the preceding Sabbath:

IV. 42-44.

31. 32^a. Restores to life the young man at Nain, VII. 11-17.
 32^b. Peter's copious draft of fishes; of which no traces are discoverable with respect to the time when it happened, V. 1-11.

33—37. Another history of a single day, which was likewise a Sabbath.

VI. 1-5.

VI. 6-11.

XI. 14-36. VIII. 19-21.
 VOL. III.

D

St. MATTHEW.	St. MARK.
37. Preaches in parables, XIII. 1-53.	IV. 1-34.
38. Christ endeavours to retire from the multitude, and sails to the other side of the lake Gennesaret. Account of one, who offers himself to be a disciple of Christ, and of another who requests permission to remain with his father, till his death. VIII. 18-27.	IV. 35-41.
39. Drives out a devil, who calls himself Legion, VIII. 28-34.	V. 1-20.
40. Heals a lame man, IX. 1-8.	V. 21. II. 1-12.
41. Calls Matthew, and Levi: dines with tax-gatherers, IX. 9-17.	II. 13-22.
42. Heals a woman afflicted with an hemorrhage, and restores the daughter of Jairus, who was supposed to be dead, IX. 18-26	V. 23-43.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

36. Dines with a Pharisee :
conversation at table,
XI. 37.-XII. 12.

VIII. 4-18.

VIII. 22-25. IX. 57-62.

VIII. 26-39.

VIII. 40. V. 17-26.

V. 27-39.

VIII. 40-56.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

43. Restores two blind men to sight, IX. 27-31.

44. Restores a dumb man to his speech, IX. 32-34.

45. Sends out his twelve Apostles, IX. 33.-XI. 1.

VI. 7-13.

46. Answers John, who inquires of him, whether he is the Messiah, XI. 2-19.

47. Curses the cities, in which he had performed the greatest part of his miracles, XI. 20-30.

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.
_____	_____
IX. 1-6. and (but at a later period) the seventy disciples, X. 1-24*.	_____
_____	_____
VII. 18-35.	_____
_____	_____
48. Is anointed by a woman, who had led a sinful life, VII. 35-50.	_____
_____	_____
49. Account of those who ministered to Christ, on his travels, VIII. 1-3.	_____
_____	_____

* I place the sending out of the seventy disciples in the same article, with that of the twelve Apostles, merely because the two facts resemble each other, for we have no knowledge of the precise period, in which the former event happened. The Evangelists themselves have often adopted a similar plan.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

50. Christ comes to Nazareth, where he is disrespectfully treated, XIII. 54-58.

VI. 1-6.

51. Herod, who had beheaded John, is doubtful, what he should believe of Christ, XIV. 1-13.

VI. 14-29.

53. Five thousand men fed with five loaves and two fishes, XIV. 14-36.

VI. 30-56.

54. Discourses on washing of hands, clean and unclean meats, and other Jewish doctrines, XV. 1-20.

VII. 1-23.

67 55. Christ heals the daughter of a Canaanite woman, XV. 21-28.

VII. 24-30.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

Perhaps Ch. IV. 15-30,
which I placed N^o. 24,
belongs to this article,
and contains the same
history, but differently
related.

IX. 7-9.

52. Account of several
remarkable transactions
and discourses at a great
festival in Jerusalem,
omitted by the other
Evangelists, Ch. V. en-
tire.

IX. 10-17.

VI. entire.

ST. MATTHEW.

56. Performs several miracles, XV. 29-31.

57. Feeds four thousand men with seven loaves, and a few small fishes, XV. 32-39.

58. Answers those who require a sign from heaven, XVI. 1-4.

59. Commands his disciples to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which command they misunderstand, XVI. 5-12.

61. Asks his disciples whom they suppose him to be. Peter answers that he is the Messiah, which Jesus confirms, XVI. 13-20.

62. Foretells his death on the cross, XVI. 21-28.

63. Is transfigured on a lofty mountain beyond the Jordan, XVII. 1-13.

ST. MARK.

VII. 31-37.

VIII. 1-10.

VIII. 1-13.

VIII. 14-21.

60. Restores a blind man to sight, VIII. 22-26.

VII. 27-30.

VIII. 31-IX. 1.

IX. 2-13.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

IX. 18-21.

IX. 21-27.

IX. 28-36.

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.
64. Cures a lunatic, XVII. 14-21.	IX. 14-29.
65. Again foretells his approaching sufferings, XVII. 22, 23.	IX. 30-32.
66. Pays the half shekel as tribute for the service of the temple, XVII. 24-27.	
67. His discourses occa- sioned by the dispute, who was the greatest in the kingdom of heaven, XVIII. 1-20.	IX. 33-50.
68. Answers Peter's ques- tion, how often we must forgive, XVIII. 21-35.	

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

IX. 37-42.

IX. 43-45.

IX. 46-50. XVII. 1-5.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

ST. LUKE.

| ST. JOHN.

69—83. Single scattered accounts recorded only by St. Luke, some of which belong to the three or four last months of the life of Christ, others to an earlier period, and which are not arranged according to the order of time.

69. Christ is refused the offices of hospitality by the Samaritans, IX. 51-56.

70. Answers the question, Who is our neighbour? X. 25-37.

71. Visits Martha a second time: his discourse relative to her too anxious preparations for table, X. 38-42.

72. Teaches his disciples to pray, XI. 1-13.

73. Discourses occasioned by the request which a person present had made to Christ, that he would command his brother to divide with him his inheritance, XII. 13-59.

74. Discourses occasioned by Pilate's having put to death several Galileans, and offered their blood in sacrifice, XIII. 1-9.

ST. MATTHEW.

St. MARK.

ST. LUKE.

75. Christ cures on the sabbath day an infirm woman, who was unable to walk upright, XIII. 10-22.
76. Answers the question, whether few or many will be saved, XIII. 23-30.
77. Replies to those, who desire him to retire, because Herod sought to put him to death, XIII. 31-38.
78. Dines with a Pharisee on the sabbath day. His actions and discourses on that occasion, XIV. entire.
79. Dines with publicans, and justifies his conduct to those who censure him. Acceptation of the Gentiles, XV. entire.
80. On this occasion he instructs his disciples in the true use of riches, and defends his doctrine against the Pharisees who ridicule it, XVI. entire.
81. His discourse on the extraordinary effects of faith, XVII. 5-11.
82. Heals ten lepers, of whom the Samaritan alone returned thanks, XVII. 11-19.

ST. JOHN.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

84. Answers the question relative to divorces, XIX. 1-12.

X. 1-12.

85. Takes little children into his arms and blesses them: and on this occasion reproves his disciples, XIX. 13-15.

X. 13-16.

86. Answers a rich young man, who asked him how he should obtain eternal life. Christ's important discourse on this occasion with his disciples, XIX. 16-XX. 16.

X. 17-31.

87. Discourses again on his approaching death, XX. 17-19.

X. 32-34.

88. The mother of the sons of Zebedee requests for them the first rank in the kingdom of heaven. Christ's answer, XX. 20-28.

X. 35-40.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

83. Answers the question,
When the kingdom of
God should come,
XVII. 20-XVIII. 14.

XVIII. 15-17.

XVIII. 18-30.

XVIII. 31-34.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

93. Restores two blind men to sight, XX. 29-34.

X. 46-52.

ST. LUKE.

|

ST. JOHN.

89—92. Supplement of several events and discourses, omitted by the three first Evangelists, which took place especially at Jerusalem, and which belong to the period between N°. 53. and N°. 88.

89. Christ's actions and discourses at Jerusalem, at a feast of tabernacles, VII. 1-X. 21.

90. Discourses at Jerusalem, at the festival of the dedication of the temple, X. 22-42.

91. Christ raises Lazarus from the dead, XI. 1-52.

92. Returns to Ephraim, XI. 54-57.

XVIII. 35-43.

94. Visits Zaccheus, XIX. 1-10.

95. Describes in a parable the Jews, who rejected him, XIX. 11-27.

ST. MATTHEW.

96. Christ is anointed at Bethany by Mary: he defends this action against the unjust censure of his disciples, particularly of Judas Iscariot, who forms the resolution to betray him, XXVI. 6-13.

97. Christ's entry into Jerusalem, XXI. 1-11.

98. He goes, as Lord, into the temple, and again drives out the sellers: he curses a fig tree, XXI. 12-22.

99. Answers the question by what power he does this, XXI. 23-46.

100. Parable of the neglected festival of a king, XXII. 1-14.

101. Answer to the question relative to tribute-money, XXII. 15-21.

102. Answers to the objection made by the Sadducees to the resurrection of the dead, XXII. 22-33.

ST. MARK.

XIV. 3-9.

XI. 1-10.

XI. 11-26.

XI. 27 XII. 12.

XII. 13-17.

XII. 18-27.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

	XII. 1-10.
XIX. 28-44.	XII. 9-19.
XIX. 45-48.	
XX. 1-19.	
XX. 20-26.	
XX. 27-40.	

ST. MATTHEW.

103. Answer to the question, Which is the great commandment of the law? XXII. 34-39.

104. The question proposed, Whose son the Messiah is? XXII. 40-46.

105. Discourse against the Pharisees, XXIII. entire.

107. Prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, XXIV. entire.

108. Addition to the preceding prophecy, found only in the Gospel of St. Matthew, XXV. 1-30.

109. Christ answers the question relative to the last judgement, XXV. 30-46.

ST. MARK.

XII. 28-34.

XII. 35-38.

XII. 39, 40.

106. Small alms offering of a widow commended, XII. 41-44.

XIII. entire.

St. LUKE.

St. JOHN.

XX. 41-43.

XX. 44-47.

XXI. 1-5.

XXI. 6-38.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

110. After the preceding discourses were ended, he again foretells his approaching death, XXVI. 2.

113. Judas Iscariot promises to betray Christ, and receives thirty pieces of silver, XXVI. 3-5. 14.-16.

XIV. 10-11.

114. Preparation for the feast of the passover, XXVI. 17-19.

XIV. 12-16.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

111. Of the Greeks who wished to see Jesus: Christ's discourse on this occasion, and the answer from heaven, XII. 20-35.

112. Discourse on the infidelity of the Jews, after the performance of so many miracles, XII. 37-50.

XXII. 1-5.

XXII. 6-13.

XIII. 1.

115. Christ, before he eats the feast of the pass-over, washes the feet of his disciples, XIII. 1-20.

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.
116. He sits down to table, and speaks of his betrayer, XXVI. 20-25.	XIV. 17-21.
118. Institutes the Holy Supper, XXV. 26-29.	XIV. 22-25.
121. Christ goes into the garden of Gethsemane, and foretels to Peter, that he would deny him, XXVI. 30-35.	XIV. 26-31.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

XXII. 14.

117. Presents to his Apostles the cup of the passover: his discourse on that occasion, XXII. 15—18.

XXII. 19, 20.

119. After supper, he speaks again of his betrayer, XXII. 21-23.

120. Another dispute among the Apostles, who should be the greatest in the kingdom of God, XXII. 24-31.

XXII. 32-39.

XIII. 21-30.

122. His discourse on the way, XIII. 31-XVII. 26.

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.
123. Prayer that the cup might be removed from him, XXVI. 36-46.	XIV. 32-42.
124. Christ is taken into custody, XXVI. 47-56.	XIV. 43-52.
125. Brought before the Sanhedrim, and condemned: is denied by Peter, XXVI. 57-75.	XIV. 53-72.
126. Christ is led before Pilate. Judas hangs himself, XXVII. 1-10.	XV. 1.
127. Christ is accused before Pilate, XXVII. 11-23.	XV. 2-14.
128. Is condemned to death, XXVII. 24-31.	XV. 15-20.
129. And crucified, XXVII. 32-38.	XV. 21-28.
130. Is reviled on the cross, XXVII. 39-49.	XV. 29-37.

ST. LUKE.	ST. JOHN.
XXII. 39-46.	
XXII. 47-53.	XVIII. 1-12.
XXII. 54-77.	XVIII. 13-28.
XXIII. 1.	
XXIII. 2-22.	XVIII. 29.-XIX. 12.
XXIII. 23-25.	XIX. 13-16.
XXIII. 26-35.	XIX. 17-25.
XXIII. 36-46.	

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.
132. Extraordinary events at the death of Christ, XXVII. 20-54.	XV. 38-41.
134. Burial of Christ, XXVII. 55-61.	XV. 42-47.
135. Appointment of a guard at his sepulchre, XXVII. 62-67.	
	136. The women purchase spices, to embalm the body of Christ*, XVI. I.

* This account, which is given only by the two Evangelists, who were not eye-witnesses, is liable to some objections. See my History of the Resurrection.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

131. Supplement of several facts not recorded by the other Evangelists, XIX. 26-30.

XXIII. 47-49.

133. Christ, on examination of the crucified, is found to be already dead: and is moreover pierced in the side with a spear, XIX. 31-37.

XXIII. 50-56.

XIX. 38-42.

XXIII. 56.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

137. Resurrection of Christ, and the first accounts of it, which are brought by the women, XXVIII. 1-11.

XVI. 2-8.

138. Further accounts of it brought by Mary Magdalene, who sees Christ alone, and is commanded to report it to the Apostles, XVI. 9, 10, 11.

139. The guards bring the account to the chief priests, and are bribed to say that the disciples had stolen the body, XXVIII. 11-15.

140. Christ shews himself alive to the two disciples, who were going to Emmaus, XVI. 12, 13.

141. Christ shews himself to ten Apostles, and to several disciples, who were with them, XVI. 14-18.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

XXIV. 1-11.

XX. 1-10.

XX. 11-18.

XXIV. 13-34.

XXIV. 36-49.

XX. 19-23.

ST. MATTHEW.

ST. MARK.

144. Christ shews himself
in Galilee to all his
disciples, on a moun-
tain, where Christ had
appointed them,
XXVIII. 16-20.

ST. LUKE.

ST. JOHN.

142. Eight days after, he shews himself to the eleven Apostles, Thomas likewise being then present, XX. 24-31.

143. Christ shews himself to two disciples and five Apostles, at the sea of Tiberias. Remarkable discourse with Peter and John, XXI. entire.

S E C T. VIII.

Of two very actively employed sabbaths in the Life of Christ, which are of importance in settling the harmony of the Gospels.

TWO very actively employed days in the Life of Christ, and both of them sabbath days, deserve particular notice, because they have occasioned the greatest difficulty in arranging the Gospel history according to the order of time. If we attend to the express determinations of time, which have been given by one or more of the Evangelists, and their accounts are perfectly accurate, we must conclude that the several facts arranged N^o. 25—30, happened in *one* day: as also those, which are arranged under N^o. 33—37. To assist the memory, I will give names to those days, and call the one *The day of the sermon on the mount*¹, and the other *The day of the sermon in parables*². The events, which took place on these two days have been separated, and recorded some in one place, some in another: an arrangement, which, though we cannot call it erroneous, as the Evangelists did not engage to write a journal, has influence on our determination of the period of some other events. It is however not impossible, that the actions of these two days, which are very similar to each other, have been confounded, that what belongs to the one has been referred to the other, and consequently that there is not only an apparent, but even a real contradiction in point of time, between St. Matthew and the other Evangelists.

I will first examine the day of the sermon on the mount, N^o. 25—30. Its history is briefly as follows. On the eve of a sabbath day, when the sabbath was just commenced, Jesus goes into a synagogue at Capernaum, delivers a discourse of the same import with that on the mount³, and cures a demoniac: he then departs out of the city, and goes up into a mountain, where

where he passes the whole night in prayer; on the following morning he chooses his Apostles, and delivers a discourse called the sermon on the mount, in which he teaches them the morality which they were to follow, a morality directly opposite to that of the Pharisees: he then enters again into Capernaum, cures a leper, the servant of a centurion, the mother in law of St. Peter, and when the sun was set, and the sabbath therefore ended, several other sick persons which were brought to him, and then leaves Capernaum. The reasons, why I believe that all these events happened in the same day, are the following.

1. The cure of the demoniac, Mark i. 21—28. Luke iv. 31—37. and of St. Peter's mother in law, happened on the same day, as appears from Mark i. 29. Luke iv. 38.

2. The election of the twelve Apostles took place on the morning of that day, on which the sermon on the mount was delivered. See Luke vi. 12—17.

3. That the sermon on the mount recorded by St. Luke is no other than that recorded by St. Matthew, appears from the events which immediately follow it: Both Evangelists relate that Jesus, after the sermon was ended, went into Capernaum, and healed the servant of a centurion, a cure attended with such remarkable circumstances, that I can hardly suppose it to have happened twice, and that too in the same city.

4. The cure of the leper, according to St. Matthew's account, must have happened between the sermon on the mount and the cure of the centurion's servant, when Jesus was just returned into Capernaum. St. Mark and St. Luke relate this fact on a totally different occasion, because they were unacquainted with the time, and St. Luke even with the place, in which it happened. The whole account is too circumstantial to admit the supposition, that the same cure, with all its concomitant circumstances, took place more than once.

5. It

† ΕΓΥΝΕΤΟ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΜΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ. Ch. V. 12.

5. It is evident from St. Matthew's relation, that the cure of St. Peter's mother in law happened on the same day, as the two just mentioned miracles⁴.

6. The circumstance mentioned by all three Evangelists, that several sick persons were brought in the evening, and after sun-set, to the house where Jesus was, is a proof that the day in question was a sabbath day. For the Jews, on account of their over-strict observance of the sabbath, would not permit any cure to be exercised on that day: but as soon as the sun was set, the sabbath was ended, and then they could bring their sick without scruple to the house where Jesus was, and likewise St. Peter's mother in law could prepare for him a repast.

7. That Jesus immediately afterwards left Capernaum, is evident from the accounts of all the three Evangelists.

The several events, which happened on this day, St. Luke, as appears from the preceding Table, has recorded in different places, because he was unacquainted with the time, in which they really happened. We cannot therefore say that St. Luke was mistaken, for he has left the time undetermined; yet his separation of the several facts, which happened on the same day, is attended with this consequence, that he has related one and the same fact, the departure of Christ from Capernaum, on two different occasions, namely ch. iv. 42. after the cure of the sick persons, who were brought to him at the close of the sabbath, and again ch. vii. 11. after the cure of the centurion's servant.

But there is one circumstance, in which the three Evangelists are so at variance, that they are hardly to be reconciled with each other. Whoever reads the account given by St. Matthew, ch. viii. 18—27. must conclude that Jesus, on quitting Capernaum, immediately crossed the sea, where he calmed the tempest. It is true that ver. 18. contains no express determination of time: yet every reader will naturally suppose, that it is connected with the preceding verses, and that what

is related v. 18—27. immediately followed that which is recorded v. 16, 17. The two other Evangelists, on the contrary, relate that Jesus, on quitting Capernaum, went, not to the sea side, but into the towns and villages of Galilee: and according to St. Luke, ch. vii. 11. he entered on the following day into Nain, where he restored a young man to life. I own that the distance between the two cities⁵ makes this last account rather improbable: and the words *εν τη εξης*, on which the supposition that Christ's entry into Nain was on the very next day, are at least dubious, for many manuscripts have *εν τω εξης*, that is, not on the day following, but on a time following. Before however I examine this difficulty, I must proceed to the other actively employed sabbath.

This is the day of the sermon in parables, a day replete with discourses and events, and on which, as on the day of the sermon on the mount, Christ at last withdraws himself from the pressure of the multitude. The two first numbers, N^o. 33, 34, follow each other in all three Evangelists: they fall likewise on a sabbath, and on the same sabbath, for they cannot possibly be separated. The third number, N^o. 35, St. Matthew unites by the word *τοτε*, ch. xii. 22. with the preceding N^o. 34.; but the two other Evangelists, who were not eye-witnesses, separate it, and introduce it in another part, though without any determination of time. This however is the only portion of the history in question, which could be separated from the rest, and referred to the next day, in which case N^o. 33—37. would contain the history of two days⁶.

To return to N^o. 35. On the same day, on which Jesus had cast out a devil, and the thronging of the multitude had allowed him not sufficient time to eat⁷, a Pharisee invites him⁷ to dinner^t. But if Jesus was so engaged on this day, that he had not had time to eat, we might almost conclude, that he was likewise busily employed the evening before, a circumstance favourable

to

⁵ Mark iii. 20.^t Luke xii. 37.

to the opinion, that N^o. 34, 35, 36, hang together ⁸. *Αριστον* I take in the literal sense of the word, and understand it of dinner (at ten in the morning)⁹, because so many events afterwards happened on this very day. For not only the long discourse recorded by St. Luke, ch. xi. xii., and the assembling of the multitude before the house ch. xii. i., but likewise the sermon in parables ¹⁰ N^o. 37. certainly took place on the same day, that Jesus had cast out the devil, and had been sought by his mother, for Matth. xiii. i. begins with *εν εκεινη τη ημερα*. St. Mark likewise unites these events, though he has not so expressly determined the day.

The history of the day of the sermon in parables is therefore the following. On Friday afternoon, when, according to the tenets of the Jews, the sabbath commences, that is, as St. Luke expresses it, *σαββατω δευτεροπρωτω* ¹¹, Jesus goes with his disciples from the country into the city of Capernaum: and the disciples being hungry on the way, they pluck out ears of corn, which is censured by the Pharisees, but justified by Jesus. When he was arrived at Capernaum, and the sabbath day itself had actually commenced, or as St. Luke expresses it, ch. vi. 6. *εν ετερω σαββατω* ¹² in opposition to *σαββατω δευτεροπρωτω*, he entered into the synagogue, where there was a man, whose right hand was withered. Here the scribes and Pharisees endeavoured to ensnare him, by proposing to him the question, whether it was lawful to perform cures on the sabbath day: intending, if he answered in the negative, to accuse him of being an impostor and unable to perform miracles without pre-concerted measures with the sick, and, if he answered in the affirmative, to charge him with a violation of the sabbath. Jesus in a very extraordinary manner evaded their artifices, and restored the sick man without any one's being able to accuse him of a breach of the sabbath. A dumb and blind demoniac is then brought to him, probably on the following morning, the sabbath still continuing; he cures the demoniac and is accused by some of the Pharisees of driving out devils by the assistance

assistance of Beelzebub¹³, while others require a sign from heaven, as a proof of the authority by which he acted. To each he gives a proper answer. In the mean time his mother and his brethren seek for him, with a design of conducting him home, as to a place of security, not because they supposed he stood in connection with evil spirits, but because they apprehended he had lost his understanding; but Jesus, who is surrounded by the multitude, instead of inviting them in, when informed that they stood without, replies, that ‘whosoever does the will of his Father which is in heaven, is his brother, and sister, and mother.’ A Pharisee invites him to dinner, and Jesus accepts the invitation: but a dispute arises at table, in consequence of Jesus having neglected to wash his hands. An innumerable multitude in the mean time assembles before the door, when Jesus delivers a discourse, related Luke xii. 1—12. He then goes from the house of the Pharisee to the lake of Gennesaret, the multitude follows him: in order therefore to be better seen and heard, he enters into a ship, and preaches in parables: N°. 37. An explanation of these parables he gives at the request of his disciples, after he was returned home. Immediately after the sermon he crosses the lake of Gennesaret. N°. 38.

As this sermon is recorded by St. Mark immediately before his account of the storm, which Jesus calmed, but is related by St. Matthew long after his description of the storm, it has been supposed by several harmonists that Jesus held this sermon twice. It is true that this supposition contains in itself nothing either incredible, or even improbable: yet I think that there are sufficient reasons for believing in the present instance, that both Evangelists mean one and the same sermon, delivered on one and the same day. For St. Matthew and St. Luke agree in the relation of several very particular circumstances immediately preceding it, and which I can hardly suppose to have happened twice; namely, the accusation that Jesus cured demoniacs by the assistance of Beelzebub, his reply to this accusation, and thirdly, his

his singular answer to those who informed him that his mother and his brethren were in search of him. Further, what is still more decisive, the disciples would hardly have asked Jesus at two different times for an explanation of the parable of the seed sown on different kinds of land: for when he had once given the explanation, there could be no necessity for asking it a second time. That they had forgotten it, and that Jesus was obliged again to explain to them so easy a parable, is a supposition almost incredible: but, if we admit the fact, still Jesus would not have answered them, 'To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God,' but on the contrary would have given them a reproof like the following. 'To you is not given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God; for he who retains not that, which has been given, deserves not to receive more.'

Whoever examines the preceding harmonic table of the Gospels, will perceive, that on the two days, of which I have just examined the history, depends the arrangement of many facts, which happened either on or near to one of these two days, and which the Evangelists have related, one at one period, another at another. Now these two days might be very easily confounded, as they are in many respects similar to each other: the scene of action is on both days in Capernaum, on both days Jesus leaves the city in the evening, on both days he performs miracles and delivers discourses, both are sabbath days, and on each he is accused of a violation of the sabbath. Two such days as these might be very easily exchanged by any one, who had not kept a regular journal, and who wrote merely from memory. The question to be asked therefore is: Has any such exchange taken place in the present instance? According to St. Mark, ch. iv. 35—41. and St. Luke, ch. viii. 22. Jesus crossed the sea, when he was exposed to a severe storm, on the second day¹⁴: but according to St. Matthew, the storm happened on the day after the sermon on the mount, when, according to St. Mark and

and St. Luke, Jesus went westward on the land side. Which of the Evangelists are we then to follow? We may abide by the relation of St. Mark and St. Luke, without necessarily supposing that St. Matthew was mistaken, and therefore that he was not inspired; for he has not positively determined the time, but says only, ch. viii. 18. ‘When Jesus saw great multitudes about him, he gave commandment to depart to the other side.’ Yet on the other hand it is difficult, after having read ver. 14—17. to suppose on coming to ver. 18. that the writer could have any other intention, than to connect the subsequent with the preceding relation, and to describe the passage across the sea, as having happened on the day after the sermon on the mount¹⁵. Further, on the day after the sermon in parables, St. Matthew makes no mention of any passage across the sea, but says only, ch. xiii. 53. ‘That when Jesus had finished these parables he departed thence.’

The determination of the difficulties, which I have stated in this section, has very material influence on our arrangement of the facts recorded by the Evangelists, as many a harmonist has severely felt, without being conscious perhaps of the real cause, which produced the perplexity. Which of the Evangelists we ought to follow I am really unable to determine: for though St. Matthew has in general the advantage over St. Mark and St. Luke, in being eye-witness to the facts which he records, yet the present instance makes an exception. For St. Matthew by his own account^a was not called from the receipt of custom, and therefore was not become an attendant on Jesus, till after Jesus was again returned to Capernaum. Nor is this a contradiction to the account given N^o. 26. from which it appears that the twelve Apostles, among whom St. Matthew is mentioned by name, were chosen on the morning of that day, on which Jesus held the sermon on the mount. St. Matthew might have been nominated an Apostle, and yet not instantly abandon his occupation as receiver
of

^a Ch. ix. 1—9.

of tribute: the sermon on the mount was delivered on a sabbath day, on which the receivers of tribute were disengaged, but on the following morning he returned to his duty at the house of custom, whence Jesus now invited him to be his constant attendant. Besides, even an eye-witness, who relates from memory events, which happened several years before, may easily exchange two days, which are similar to each other.—In this instance therefore I have followed St. Mark and St. Luke, because they make a majority of evidence, and because they have in fact determined the time¹⁶. A further examination of the two days, which I have considered in this section, would perhaps throw more light on what is called the Harmony of the Gospels.

CHAP. III.

OF THE CAUSE, WHY ST. MATTHEW AND ST. MARK, AND ALSO ST. MARK AND ST. LUKE, HAVE IN SEVERAL INSTANCES A REMARKABLE VERBAL HARMONY, THOUGH THE ONE DID NOT COPY FROM THE WRITINGS OF THE OTHER.

I HAVE already observed that the three first Evangelists appear not to have read each other's writings, not even St. Mark the Gospel of St. Matthew: of which the apparent contradictions, and, in respect to the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark in particular, their very great disagreement in the arrangement of the recorded facts, afford sufficient proof.

Yet, on the other hand, these three Evangelists agree sometimes in the very same expressions, and in such a manner as we seldom find in the writings of independent and unconnected historians. If this agreement was observable only in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, it might be explained on the commonly received opinion

opinion that St. Mark had read the Gospel of St. Matthew. But when the same expression, and that even a harsh Hebraism, is used likewise by St. Luke, who was able to write pure Greek, this agreement in words, which is sometimes visible even where there is an apparent contradiction in facts, must be owing to some other cause, which merits particular investigation¹.

The following may serve as examples. Mark i. 4. Luke iii. 3. *Κηρυσσων βαπτισμα μελανοιας εις αφεσιν αμαρτιων.*—Matth. iii. 12. Luke iii. 17. *Ου το πλυνον εν τη χειρι αυτε, και διακαθαριει την αλωνα αυτε, και συναξει τον σιλον (αυτε) εις την αποθηκην (αυτε), το δε αχυρον κατακαυσει πυρι ασβεσω.* Here the harsh Hebraism *ε εν τη χειρι αυτε* is worthy of notice².—Matth. iv. 5. Luke iv. 9. *πλερυγιον*, a very unusual word, peculiar to the Egyptian Greek dialect, and of which no commentator has given an accurately philological explanation.—Mark v. 22. ii. 1-12. and Luke viii. 41. v. 17-26. are remarkable, not only for the similarity of expressions used in these passages, but likewise for the separation of two events, which in the Gospel of St. Matthew are connected with each other³.—Matth. vi. 11. Luke xi. 3. *επισσιος*, a word, which, according to Origen⁴, no Greek writer had ever used before the Evangelists. The agreement however in respect to *επισσιος* may be explained on the supposition, that this word was already in use among the early Christians in the Lord's Prayer, at the time when St. Matthew and St. Luke wrote their Gospels.—Matth. viii. 2-4. Mark i. 40-45. Luke v. 12-16.—Matth. xvi. 24. Mark viii. 34. Luke ix. 23. In this last example it is remarkable that all the three Evangelists agree in using the Syriac phrase *οπισω με ελθειν*⁵, instead of the common Greek word *ακολουθειν*⁶.—Mark xii. 41, 42. Luke xxi. 1, 2. *γαζοφυλακιον* and *λεπλον*, the former of which is taken by these two Evangelists in an unusual sense⁷.—Mark xiv. 12-16. Luke xxi. 7-13.—Mark xiv. 54. Luke xxii. 56. *ωρος το φως*⁸.—Matth. xxviii. 1. Luke xxiii. 54. *επιφωσκω*, a harsh Syriaism explained above, Vol. I. ch. iv. § 5.

This

This remarkable verbal agreement I am unable to explain on any other than the following hypothesis. Before the three first Gospels were written, or at least, before St. Matthew's Gospel had been translated into Greek, there existed several apocryphal Gospels, to which St. Luke alludes in his preface, and of which it was his object to correct the inaccuracies. But when the accounts, which they contained, were accurate, St. Luke, as well as St. Mark and the translator of St. Matthew, abided by the expressions, which they found, as they were regardless of the ornaments of style. It is likewise possible that St. Mark and St. Luke followed these early accounts in the arrangement of the recorded facts, and that hence arose the deviation from St. Matthew's order, which has occasioned so much perplexity to the harmonists.

Another argument for the opinion that the Evangelists made use of written documents is, that St. Luke, who when left to himself was able to write good Greek, has sometimes in his Gospel such harsh Hebraisms, as he would hardly have used, unless he had drawn from written documents. I will mention a few examples, Ch. i. 49. *αγιον το ονομα αυτη*, if it is equivalent to *ε αγιον το ονομα αυτη*⁹, is a harsh Hebraism.—Of *ελεος*, ver. 50. 54. 58. 72. I have already treated, Vol. I. ch. iv. sect. 7.—*Εποιησε κρατος*, ver. 51. is exactly derived from the Hebrew *היה השג*¹⁰, *res magnas gefsit, vicit*.—*Μνησθηται ελεος*, *τω Αβρααμ*, ver. 54, 55. is the same Hebraism as we find in the Septuagint, Psalm xcvi. 3. *εμνησθη τε ελεος αυτη τω Ιακωβ*, and Psalm cxix. 49. *μνησθητι των λογων σε τω δαλω σε*.—v. 76. *προ προσωπη τε κυριε*¹¹, and v. 79. *σκια θανατε*¹² are manifest Hebraisms.—Ch. vii. 21. *εθεραπευσε πολλους απο—μασιγων*^x is an harsh expression, which no where occurs in the New Testament, except in the present instance, and at Mark iii. 10. v. 29. 34. Homer indeed, in describing a disorder

^x *Μασιξ* is the common literal translation, in the Septuagint, of *גג*¹³.

order with which the Greeks were afflicted, says, they were lashed with Jupiter's scourge¹³: but Homer had here the image of a scourge before his eyes, and wrote in allegory, whereas a writer who literally calls a disease a scourge, and uses such expressions as 'to be afflicted with a scourge,' 'to be cured of a scourge,' no longer thinks on the original meaning of *μασιξ*. Pure Greek writers never applied the word in this manner.—Ch. ix. 51-53, *προσωπον* disharmoniously occurs not less than three times, where a pure Greek writer would not have used it even once. In the second instance, *προ προσωπα αυτε* is a common Hebraism¹⁵: in the second and third instances, *το προσωπον αυτε εσηριξε τε πορευεσθαι εις Ιερουσαλημ*, and *το προσωπον αυτε ην πορευομενον εις Ιερουσαλημ* are less common Hebraisms, of which we find examples in 2 Kings xii. 17. Jerem. xlii. 15. 2 Chron. xxxii. 2¹⁶.—Luke xii. 8. *ος αν ομολογησει εν εμοι*, and *ο υιος τε ανθρωπα ομολογησει εν αυτε*, a Syriaism, which I have already explained^γ.—Luke xiii. 16. *ιδε* in the sense of jam, is a Syriaism borrowed from *יֶזַע*¹⁷, of which I recollect no other instance in the whole New Testament^z.

^γ See Vol. I. ch. iv. sect. 5.

^z Unless Luke xiii. 7. is to be considered as another instance. In the Septuagint is an example at Deut. ¹⁸ viii. 4.

C H A P. IV.

OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL.

S E C T. I.

Account of St. Matthew, and of the time when he wrote his Gospel.

ST. MATTHEW is said to have written his Gospel before the other three Evangelists^a. His name in Hebrew is מַתְּיָהוּ contracted from מַתְּתַיָּהוּ, and not מַתְּתַיָּהוּ, which in Greek would be expressed by Ματθίας'. His profession and call to the apostolic office he himself relates, ch. ix. 9. : and by his long attendance on Christ he was enabled to communicate accounts on which we can depend.

It has been the common opinion, and I acceded to it in the first edition of this Introduction, that St. Matthew was named likewise Levi, and that he was the

^a I purposely let this sentence remain doubtful, as I wrote it in the second edition of this Introduction, at a time when the assertion that St. Matthew really composed his Gospel before the other three Evangelists, which I made in the first edition, began to appear to me uncertain. Soon after the second edition appeared, Dr. Büfching published his Harmony of the Four Gospels, in which he asserted, p. 97, that St. Luke wrote before St. Matthew: and not observing that I had already begun to waver in my former opinion, requested me to favour him with my sentiments in regard to his own. To this I answer that I am so far of his opinion at present, as to believe, that when St. Luke wrote his Gospel, he knew nothing of a Gospel written by St. Matthew, at least not of a Greek Gospel, such as Theophilus could read: for Ch. i. 1—4. he speaks of the Gospels, which then existed, as Gospels written by persons, who were not eye-witnesses, and whose accounts therefore stood in need of that correction which he gave them, by tracing up every relation to its first source. But as I believe that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, I am not certain that the original was not in existence, when St. Luke wrote his Gospel: I will only affirm that the translation had not then been made. That St. Mark wrote later than St. Luke I have no doubt, of which I shall assign the reasons hereafter.

the son of Alphæus, because St. Mark, ch. ii. 14. relates the call of Levi, a receiver of tribute and son of Alphæus, and St. Luke, ch. v. 27. relates also the call of Levi, both with the same circumstances, and nearly in the same words, as St. Matthew relates his own call. Grotius in one of his Notes to Matth. ix. contradicts this opinion: and Theodore Hase has published in the fifth volume of the *Bibliotheca Bremensis* a treatise entitled, *Disquisitio de Levi a Christo ad apostolatam vocato*, in which he has endeavoured to shew, that Levi, mentioned by St. Mark, is not St. Matthew, but the apostle Lebbeus. Heumann in his Exposition of St. Mark's Gospel has adopted the same sentiments, and supported them by new arguments: Lardner on the contrary, in the third volume of his *Supplements to the Credibility of the Gospel History*, p. 317-323, has endeavoured to confute the opinion maintained by Theodore Hase. After having weighed the arguments on both sides, I am inclined to entertain the following opinion, which is a medium between both, and which Grotius himself adopted.

The accounts which are given by St. Matthew, ch. ix. 9. by St. Mark, ch. ii. 14. and by St. Luke, ch. v. 27. contain, as to the main point, a relation of one and the same transaction, as must be evident to every one who compares Matth. ix. 1-17. Mark ii. 1-22. Luke v. 17-39. and examines the whole connection². But it is not therefore a necessary consequence that St. Matthew and Levi were one and the same person, since it is at least possible, that two receivers of tribute were called on the same day, and even from the same tribute-house³. One of them was St. Matthew; and, as it was of more importance to the readers of St. Matthew's Gospel, to be informed of the call of it's author to the apostleship, than of the call of Levi, especially if Levi was not called to be an apostle, it is easy to conceive the reason, why St. Matthew mentioned only his own call, and was silent in respect to that of Levi. St. Mark and St. Luke on the contrary, might

without impropriety be silent in respect to St. Matthew, and mention only the call of Levi, partly because Levi, as being the son of Alphæus, was related to Christ⁴, and perhaps through this relationship occasioned the call likewise of St. Matthew; and partly, because perhaps Levi was the principal, and St. Matthew only an inferior person at the tribute-house, a supposition, which is not improbable, as St. Mark expressly relates that the entertainment, which was given to Jesus on this occasion, was in the house of Levi, and St. Luke describes also Levi as the master of the feast; whereas St. Matthew, after having related his own call, does not say that the entertainment was given in *his* house, but says only, 'as Jesus sat at meat in *the* house'⁵.

My reasons for believing that St. Matthew and Levi were different persons, notwithstanding both were tax-gathers, and both were called at the same time, are the following.

1. In the catalogue of the twelve Apostles, St. Mark^b and St. Luke^c ascribe to our Evangelist no other name than that of Matthew. Is it credible then, that in describing his call to the apostleship, they should both have agreed in naming him Levi, and have thus occasioned an unnecessary confusion to the reader? ⁶—The same argument operates likewise against the opinion, that Levi is the same person as Lebbæus.

2. The sons of Alphæus, at least of that Alphæus, with whom we are acquainted in the New Testament⁷, were near relations of Jesus, for their mother, whose name was likewise Mary, was sister to Jesus's mother. They were James, Josès, Simon and Judas, and they are mentioned Matth. xiii. 55. and there called brethren of Christ⁸. One of them, namely James, is expressly called the son of Alphæus, Matth. x. 3. Mark iii. 18. Luke vi. 15.; and of their mother we find an account Matth. xxvii. 56. Mark xv. 40. If St. Matthew therefore was a son of the same Alphæus, he was a near relation of Jesus⁹. But of this relationship we no where find

^b Ch. iii. 18.

^c Ch. vi. 15.

find the smallest trace: and at the principal passage^d, where St. Matthew names the relations of Christ, he is silent in respect to himself^e.

But, though I believe that Levi and St. Matthew were not the same person, I shall not attempt to discover which of the twelve Apostles Levi really was. I see no necessity for supposing that Levi was an Apostle at all: at least the command, which he received to follow Christ, does not necessarily imply that he was admitted into the number of the twelve, since Christ selected seventy disciples, in addition to the twelve Apostles^f.

We know therefore very little of St. Matthew, before his call to the Apostleship, and are unacquainted even with the name of his father. The accounts, which are given of his death, are likewise attended with great uncertainty, and it is a matter of doubt, whether he died naturally, or suffered martyrdom^g. But since we know for certain that he was an Apostle of Christ, this single circumstance is sufficient to prove both the credibility and inspiration of his Gospel.

The

^d Ch. xiii. 55.

^e To the preceding arguments I added, in the second edition, the following. That St. Matthew was a son of Alphæus, and consequently brother of St. James, is likewise improbable from the manner in which St. Matthew mentions himself in the list of the Apostles, ch. x. 3. He writes thus: Thomas, and Matthew the tax-gatherer; James the son of Alphæus, and Lebbæus surnamed Thaddæus.' Now if St. Matthew as well as St. James, had been a son of Alphæus, he would surely not have neglected to mention it: and he would have written. 'Matthew the tax-gatherer, son of Alphæus, James his brother, and,' &c.—This argument may be applied with not less force against the identity of Levi and Lebbæus. For if they had been one and the same person, St. Matthew would have written, 'James the son of Alphæus, and Lebbæus his brother, who was surnamed Thaddæus:' especially as St. James and Thaddæus stand in the same pair, which is not the case with St. James and St. Matthew.

This objection I omit at present, because Lebbæus was certainly brother of James, though it did not occur to me that he was so, when I made the objection. But I have thought proper to print it in a note, as a caution to others, lest any one should hit on the same argument, and suppose it to be valid^h.

The year likewise in which St. Matthew wrote his Gospel, cannot be determined with certainty. Ancient testimonies contradict ancient testimonies on this subject. Theophylact and Euthymius, who lived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, contend that St. Matthew's Gospel was written in the year of Christ 41¹³, which makes it the most ancient of all the books of the New Testament. The same is asserted in most of the subscriptions to this Gospel, and likewise in a life of St. Matthew, written in Arabic¹⁴. Eusebius however, to whom appeal has been made in support of this opinion, has not advanced it¹⁵. Nicephorus relates that it was written fifteen years after the ascension, but Irenæus says that 'St. Matthew wrote his Gospel, at the time, when St. Paul and St. Peter were preaching at Rome'^f, which according to some critics^g was in the year 61, though it really must have been much later. For further information on this subject, I refer the reader to Lardner's Supplements to the Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. p. 95. and following pages.

In a case therefore where our historical accounts are so contradictory, it is the safest method to make no positive affirmation whatsoever. Arguments a priori can never decide on a question, which merely relates to a matter of fact: and after the reasons, which have been assigned by Masch^h, and Lardner, we are left in the same state of uncertainty, as before. Both of these writers delivered their opinions independently of each otherⁱ, and the latter endeavours to prove by arguments a priori, that St. Matthew's Gospel was written above thirty years after the ascension, whereas the former has attempted to shew by a similar mode of reasoning, that it was written at a much earlier period. Dr. Masch contends,

^f Adv. Hæres. Lib. III. Cap. I.

^g See Mill. Prol. § 61—64.

^h In his Essay on the Original Language of St. Matthew's Gospel¹⁶, § 2.

ⁱ The one published in 1755, the other in 1756.

contends, 'it is probable that the Apostles soon provided for an authentic history of Christ's transactions, because many years did not elapse before they separated to preach the Gospel in various parts of the world,' and he adds 'that a measure so necessary for the conversion of unbelievers, and for the support of believers, could hardly admit a delay of thirty years.' But to this argument we may reply, that as long as the verbal preaching of the Apostles lasted, written accounts were not altogether necessary: and Masch himself is of opinion that seven or eight years elapsed after the ascension without any written Gospel. The same arguments then, which are used to vindicate Divine Providence, in permitting seven or eight years to elapse, notwithstanding so many converts were made on the day of Pentecost, who lived at a distance from Palestine, and seemed therefore to stand in need of written documents, are applicable to a period of thirty years, or to the whole period, during which the Apostles continued to teach verbally.—Dr. Lardner, who by arguing a priori as well as Dr. Masch, deduced a very different conclusion, says in the Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. p. 116. 'The life of Jesus could not be forgotten in thirty or forty years.' And he presently after adds, 'If about thirty years after our Lord's ascension, his history was written 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 æra, 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 of those histories for their own use, and for the use and benefit of others, than in any preceding time.' Now though I admit with Lardner that the year 60 would not have been too late, yet I would not therefore infer that St. Matthew's Gospel was not written sooner: for even had it been written within a year after Christ's

ascension, it could hardly be said, that its composition was premature.

Equally indecisive are the internal marks, which Lardner supposed he had discovered in the Gospel of St. Matthew, and from which he argued that it could not have been written till after the year 60. Now I have no objections to make against any attempt to determine the date of a publication from its internal marks: but in St. Matthew's Gospel I am unable to discover any such marks, as could lead to a conclusion in respect to the year, when it was written. Lardner indeed supposes that this Gospel discovers so complete an insight into the doctrine of the call of the Gentiles, and the abolition of the Levitical law, as the Apostles, he says, did not possess, till many years after the death of Christ¹⁷: whence he concludes that it must have been written many years after that event. But I cannot suppose, that the Apostles, after that they had received the gifts of the Holy Ghost, still retained their Jewish prejudices, and moreover retained them in such a manner, as to be unable at any time to give a true and faithful account of Christ's doctrines, since they wrote under the immediate influence of the Deity. It is true that the Apostles did not insist on the abolition of the Levitical law in Palestine, for this doctrine belonged properly to other countries, and God permitted those who had been educated in the Levitical law, still to retain it: yet it does not necessarily follow that the Apostles believed it still continued to have the force of a divine obligation. In the presence of the Jews they avoided a doctrine, which was not intended for them, and which could not have failed to have given them offence. Again, the Apostles, it is true, during several years did not go abroad, to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. But shall we conclude therefore that they were prevented by Jewish prejudices from attempting the conversion of the Gentiles? The Pharisees themselves, who compassed land and water to make a proselyte, would hardly have gone so far; and they
would

would only have insisted on circumcision for the Gentile converts. That St. Peter was commanded in a vision to preach the Gospel to Cornelius, does not appear to me to imply that previous to that command St. Peter had considered it as unlawful: and it is probable that he had no other motive, than mere tenderness for the Jews, who were unwilling to receive into the church those who had not been circumcised, for abstaining from all connection with the Gentiles, till he had been expressly informed, that the time was now arrived for the conversion also of those, who had not been initiated in the law of Moses. But even if we admit that St. Peter, before he had the vision in the house of Cornelius, retained the national prejudice which the Jews in general had against the Heathens, we must still ascribe his conduct, not to an error of the understanding, but simply to a want of energy in the will.

Were it true, that the Apostles were not entirely free from such erroneous notions, which however it would be difficult to reconcile with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, yet St. Matthew, considered as a mere human historian, was surely able to give a true and faithful account of the doctrines which he had heard delivered by Christ. If they appeared to him extraordinary, and contrary to his former notions, he might have accompanied them with a comment expressive of his former prejudices: yet these prejudices would not have rendered his memory so weak, as to be unable to retain the doctrines, which he had actually heard, nor his hand so untrue, as to be unable to record them. The first example which Lardner has produced is from Matth. xxviii. 19. 'Go ye, and teach all nations.' But as this command was given by Christ before his ascension, and not invented by St. Matthew thirty years afterwards, I can see no reason why St. Matthew could not have recorded it seven years, or even seven days, after it was delivered, as easily as at a later period. If he understood not the call of the Gentiles in its full extent, he might have thought within himself, that they

ought at the same time to be circumcised: yet his own private opinion would not have prevented him from delivering, as an honest man, the command of Christ, in the form, in which he had received it.

I have hitherto represented Lardner's internal marks of time in the most advantageous light. But his other examples have really less weight than that, which I have just examined. For instance, 'If he had not known that our Saviour was designed to be, or was already become a blessing to the Gentiles, he would scarcely have thought of inserting the history of the Magi coming from the East to Jerusalem.' A still more extraordinary argument he derives from the consecration of the Eucharist, 'This is my blood of the New Testament, which is given for many, *that is, for all men.*' Internal marks of this description Lardner has enumerated to the amount of fourteen, not one of which is of any real value¹⁸: yet, though his arguments are weak, the proposition itself, namely, that St. Matthew did not write his Gospel before the year 60, is probably true, and I adopt it on the authority of Irenæus.

One difficulty however attends the testimony of Irenæus on this subject. In a preceding paragraph of this section, where I quoted the words of this Greek father, I considered them as applying to the time, when St. Paul was prisoner for the first time in Rome, of which we read an account in the twenty-eighth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles¹⁹. But at that time St. Peter does not appear to have been in Rome: and as Irenæus expressly says, that the Gospel of St. Matthew was written, 'while St. Peter and St. Paul were preaching in Rome, and laying the foundation of the church in that city^k,' Lardner understands St. Paul's second imprisonment in Rome, which ended with his martyrdom.

According

^k The Greek words of Irenæus, quoted by Eusebius, (Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. cap. 8.) are τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τῷ Παύλῳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιωσάντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

According to this explanation, St. Matthew's Gospel was written, not in the year 61, but in 64 or 65. On this subject more will be said hereafter.

Before I deliver my own sentiments, I must mention a fourth opinion, which is very different from either of the three already mentioned, and, though almost destitute of historical evidence¹, refers the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel to a much earlier period. Tillemont^m namely contends, that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in the third year after Christ's ascension²¹. He argues thus: When St. Paul was at Jerusalem in the fourth year after Christ's ascension²², he saw no one of the Apostles there, except St. Peter and St. Jamesⁿ; the other Apostles therefore, and consequently St. Matthew, must have already left Jerusalem. But St. Matthew is said to have written his Gospel at Jerusalem²³: hence it follows, that he wrote it before St. Paul's arrival. Now this induction is wholly insufficient for the establishment of an historical fact, as it is not only unsupported by, but even contrary to the testimony of ancient writers. The words of St. Paul, 'I went to Jerusalem to see Peter, but other of the Apostles saw I none, except James,' in fact imply that there were other Apostles at that time in Jerusalem²⁴, with whom St. Paul made no acquaintance, because he was not come to learn the Gospel from the Apostles, but had learnt it by immediate inspiration from the Deity. The object of St. Paul in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, is to shew how little connection he had with
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¹ I purposely use the expression '*almost destitute of historical evidence,*' because Cosmas of Alexandria might be quoted in support of Tillemont's opinion: for, according to Cosmas, St. Matthew's Gospel was written at the time of the dispersion of the Christians after the death of Stephen²⁰. But a writer of the sixth century can no more be considered as evidence for an historical fact in the first century, than Tillemont himself.

^m Memoires, Tom. I.

ⁿ Gal. i. 18, 19.

the Apostles, and that his knowledge was not derived from them: his account therefore, that he saw only St. Peter and St. James at Jerusalem, can never warrant the inference that all the other Apostles had left it.

To the preceding opinion may now be added a fifth, in which however no particular year is determined for the composition of St. Matthew's Gospel. Dr. Storr in his treatise 'On the Design of the Evangelical History and Epistles of St. John, § 62.' contends that St. Matthew wrote later than St. Mark, and derived from him a considerable part of his materials. But Storr's arguments have not rendered this opinion even probable.

Having related the sentiments of others, I will now briefly state my own. Though I cannot pretend to determine with any certainty, I acknowledge that the relation of Irenæus appears to me the most probable: not only because Irenæus is the most ancient writer on this subject, but likewise for other reasons. St. Luke, as I shall shew hereafter, could not well have seen the Gospel of St. Matthew before he wrote his own; or, he would have avoided every apparent contradiction to an eye-witness, and moreover would not have arranged his facts in a manner so very different from that of St. Matthew. But if St. Matthew's Gospel was written several years before that of St. Luke, it could hardly have been unknown to this Evangelist, especially as he had been in Jerusalem, and even wrote his Gospel, as I shall endeavour to shew hereafter, during St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea. Besides, when an ancient father assigns a date to the publication of a book, we have rather reason to suspect, that he has made it too ancient, than that he has made it too modern.

Dr. Masch, in his treatise on the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel, § 2. prefers to the testimony of Irenæus the accounts of Theophylact and Euthymius, who lived near a thousand years later. He says, that Irenæus, in the very place, when he speaks of the time
when

when St. Matthew's Gospel was written, has made two evident mistakes: first, in saying that St. Mark wrote his Gospel after the death of St. Peter and St. Paul, though it is certain that St. Mark suffered martyrdom before them: and secondly, in describing St. Peter and St. Paul as preaching both of them at the same time in Rome, which is not true. The falsity of these accounts therefore, Dr. Masch contends, destroys the credibility of Irenæus as to the remaining part of the story.

I shall not enter into the inquiry at present, whether Irenæus was mistaken in regard to these two positions, as I shall examine them hereafter. On the first, I shall acknowledge that Irenæus really was mistaken, though I shall not undertake to determine in what year St. Mark suffered martyrdom, as it is uncertain whether he suffered martyrdom at all. But the second position I cannot consider as necessarily erroneous: for though St. Peter could not have been at Rome when St. Paul came thither a prisoner from Jerusalem, yet I can see no ground for the assertion, that they were not afterwards together in Rome, and suffered martyrdom there. Though I shall not enter into this controversy, which belongs to the province of ecclesiastical history, yet I must observe, that if the testimony of a writer, who lived near the time, when the facts which he has recorded, are said to have happened, is for this reason to be rejected, that he has introduced into his narrative some inaccurate circumstances, there will remain but a small portion of history, in which we can confide. We know by experience what happens to ourselves, when we relate a story, which we have heard from others. Error very frequently mixes itself with the truth. In the examination of the story, the mistakes are rejected, as soon as they are discovered to be such, and that, which is true, is separated from that which is false: and, since we should act unjustly, if we discarded the whole, because a part is inaccurate, we must give credit to the remainder, till that also can be shewn to be equally ungrounded.

Further,

Further, Dr. Masch contends, what I believe every one will readily grant, that several accounts of the life of Christ had been drawn up, before St. Luke wrote his Gospel. But the inference which he thence deduces, I cannot so readily admit. He says, the circumstance, that so many persons had then written an history of Christ's transactions, may be most easily explained on the hypothesis, that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in the year 41: since in that case it is easy to conceive, that his example, and the commendations bestowed on his Gospel, might induce others, though they had no authority for that purpose, to engage in a similar undertaking. But on the contrary, if we suppose that St. Matthew's Gospel was not written before the year 61, it follows that the first accounts which are given of the life of Christ, were written by unauthorized persons, which Dr. Masch contends, Divine Providence would hardly have permitted. Hence he argues that the first Life of Christ was written by an Apostle.

Now this kind of reasoning, in which we argue from what, according to our opinion, Divine Providence ought to have performed or neglected, has never afforded me the smallest conviction, when the question simply related to what actually has or has not happened, even in cases, where I have fancied, that I could clearly perceive, why one mode of proceeding would have been more beneficial than another. Our views are too confined, and we know too little of the whole chain of causes and effects, to determine what the wisdom of the Deity should ordain: we must believe, that whatever is ordained, is for the best, even though to our imperfect views it should appear otherwise. The history of mankind can furnish us with numberless examples, which we might suppose to be incompatible with the wisdom and the justice of the Deity: we know that powerful combinations are frequently formed to violate and suppress the truth, and that even those warriors, whose object is tyranny and rapine, are not seldom re-
warded

warded by splendid victories. We do not call in question the truth of such combinations and victories, because we cannot reconcile them with divine wisdom: but, satisfied of the reality of the facts, we still confide in the Deity, and trust that the final event will not be unworthy the great Creator of all things. And as we argue in political history we argue likewise in ecclesiastical. The long history of heretics would be reduced to nothing, if we concluded, that God would never suffer what appears to us to be detrimental: and we should be obliged to deny, that the very numerous abuses, which prevailed in the Christian Church before the Reformation, had ever existed. But the disadvantages, which would arise from the circumstance, that the first accounts of Christ's ministry, were not written by Apostles, is really not so great as Dr. Masch supposes. The first *verbal* accounts which were communicated out of Palestine, were certainly not communicated by the Apostles: and if the first *written* accounts were not communicated by them, yet as long as they lived and taught, there was little danger to be apprehended from the erroneous relations of other writers. And, whatever inconveniencies might have followed, yet as soon as the four Evangelists had written their Gospels, those inconveniencies were removed. At least the former erroneous accounts could then do no greater injury, than if they had been written many years afterwards: for the credibility of an historian depends on his character and circumstances, not on the priority of his composition. And this is the reason, why our four Gospels alone have descended to posterity, while other narratives of Christ have almost totally vanished.

I have no determined opinion on this subject, which I wish to support in opposition to other critics. Though I am inclined to abide by the testimony of Irenæus, because it is the most ancient which we have, I will not pretend to decide whether the words of Irenæus should be so explained, as to denote the period when St. Paul was a prisoner in Rome for the first time, or the period
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of his second imprisonment, when he suffered martyrdom with St. Peter. If we adopt the first explanation, we may be able perhaps to assign the motive, which induced St. Matthew to write his Gospel. According to the accounts of ecclesiastical writers^o, it was written for the immediate use of the Hebrews, that is, of the Jewish converts to Christianity. Now these Hebrews underwent a severe persecution, during the time that St. Paul was prisoner at Rome: and this very persecution occasioned the well-known Epistle, which they received from St. Paul. What therefore could be more necessary, or more proper in that situation, than to furnish them with an authentic narrative of the miracles, and particularly of the resurrection of Christ? It is therefore not improbable that both St. Matthew's Gospel and St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews were written with the same intent, *to confirm the faith of the Jewish converts to Christianity, and to prevent a relapse to Judaism*. This supposition agrees likewise with the account which is given by an anonymous writer of the seventh century, at the beginning of his 'Imperfect work on St. Matthew,' usually ascribed to Chrysostom^p.

On the other hand, if St. Matthew wrote a few years later, namely when St. Paul was prisoner for the second time in Rome, we can more easily assign a reason for it's being unknown to St. Luke, when he wrote his Gospel, for in that case St. Luke's Gospel was written before St. Matthew's²⁵. It is true that this supposition contradicts the commonly received opinion, that St. Matthew's is the most ancient, an opinion supported by no less authority than that of Origen²⁶. To this

^o Eusebii Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 24. 39. Lib V. cap. 10. Irenæus adv. Hæres. Lib. III. cap. 1. Origenis Fragm. Tom. I. commentar. in Matthæum. Epiphanius adv. Hæres. XXX. sect. 3. Dorothei Synopsis de vita prophetarum, in Biblioth. Patrum Maxima, Tom. I. p. 427.

^p See Chrysoft. Opera, Tom. VI. p. 11. ed. Paris.

this very ancient opinion it is supposed to be owing, that St. Matthew's Gospel is generally placed first in the Greek manuscripts; but this rule does not prevail universally, for there is a manuscript at Vienna, in which the first place is allotted to the Gospel of St. John, on account perhaps of the superior dignity of its author.

S E C T. II.

Attempt to reconcile the contradictory accounts, in respect to the time when St. Matthew's Gospel was written.

THOUGH according to some writers the Gospel of St. Matthew was written only eight years after the ascension, but according to others at a much later period, we may reconcile this seeming contradiction, for it is possible that both of these accounts are true. If St. Matthew's Gospel was written originally in Hebrew, and afterwards translated into Greek, the former date may denote the time of the original composition, and the latter may relate to the year in which this Gospel first appeared in Greek¹. That this is the true state of the case appears to me highly probable. For, on the one hand, much may be said in favour of the account given by Irenæus, and on the other hand there is strong internal evidence for the assertion, that it was written so early as eight years after the ascension, that is, in the year 41 of the Christian æra. In this year Herod Agrippa became king of Judæa and Samaria². It may be asked then, whether St. Matthew, if he had written after the year 41, would have said, ch. ii. 1. 'When Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa in the days of Herod the king,' without distinguishing by some epithet the first and great king Herod, from the later king Herod²? If so, St. Matthew's Gospel must have been written

¹ Joseph. Archæol. XIX. 5.

written either in the beginning of the year 41, or before that year, as Pearce has already observed in his Commentary on the Evangelists³. It is true that this argument applies immediately to the two first chapters only, on which a doubt is entertained whether they were written by St. Matthew. But if it proves that an addition to St. Matthew's Gospel was not written after the year 41, it will follow of course that the Gospel itself was not written later⁴. I can see therefore no impropriety in believing that both the early and the later date, assigned to St. Matthew's Gospel, are consistent with the truth: that it was originally written in Hebrew⁵ in the beginning of the year 41, before Herod Agrippa was appointed king of Judæa, but that the Greek translation of it was not made till 61, or later⁶.

S E C T. III.

Of the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel. Introductory remarks to this inquiry.

I NOW come to a much controverted question, in what language St. Matthew's Gospel was originally written; whether in the Greek, which is now extant, as many modern writers contend, or in Hebrew, as all the ancient authors, who have expressly delivered their sentiments on this subject, have affirmed. By Hebrew we are not to understand at present the language, in which the books of the Old Testament are for the most part written, but the Chaldee dialect, which was spoken

³ On this account therefore it might have been unknown to St. Luke⁵.

spoken at Jerusalem in the time of the Apostles³, and to which the ancient Fathers apply the name of Hebrew, as well as to the language spoken before the captivity.

I still retain the opinion, which I advanced in the first edition of this Introduction, that we ought to abide by the testimony of the ancients, and to assume a Hebrew original for St. Matthew's Gospel: though I acknowledge that this opinion has in some measure lost of it's certainty, since the appearance of a publication which was directed against my defence of it⁴. This publication, which was written by Dr. Masch, and printed at Halle in 1755, is entitled, 'Essay on the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel'².

The opinion of modern writers of the Protestant church, is for the most part unfavourable to a Hebrew original. I purposely say of the Protestant church, because the members of the church of Rome adhere in general to the opinion of the Fathers³, especially Richard Simon, to whom the criticism of the New Testament is highly indebted, and who has written a profoundly learned defence of a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel, in his *Histoire critique du Texte du N. T.* ch. 5, 6. Maius, in his *Examen historię criticę*, cap. 5, 6. and Schröder in his dissertation *De lingua Mathæi authentica*, have contradicted Simon. Their objections I endeavoured to answer in the first edition; but at present I shall chiefly confine myself to
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³ That Chaldee was the common language spoken at Jerusalem in the time of the Apostles, I have shewn in the Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which I have prefixed to the Commentary on that Epistle¹, § 11.

⁴ This section I added in the second edition, in consequence of the publication to which I here allude: but a later and more minute examination of the passages in Origen and Eusebius, which Dr. Masch had quoted in support of a Greek original, has really confirmed me in my former opinion. I leave the sentence however unaltered, that the reader may perceive, with what caution I have examined the question.

Dr. Masch's more complete work on this subject, because an answer to his arguments will at the same time contain an answer to those of his predecessors.

But even among the Protestants there are not wanting writers who have ably defended a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel: for instance, among the Lutherans, Conr. Horneius, George Calixtus, Ægid. Hunnius. J. Conr. Dannhauer, J. Meisner, and even the Magdeburg Centuriators, who, if I mistake not, are quoted to that purpose even in Schröder's dissertation⁴. The late Schwartz, in his treatise, *De solœcismis discipulorum Jesu antiquatis*⁵, p. 49, says very decidedly, 'Omnis antiquitas conspirat in tribuenda ei historia Christi Syriaca. Antiquitatis autem consensui pertinaciter et præfracte refragari temeritatis cujusdam esse videtur et impudentiæ.' Among the members of the Calvinist church, I will mention Rhenferd and Reland: and Masch^u has named several others, as well as members of the church of England⁶, who have adopted the opinion, which he has endeavoured to confute. But as it is not my intention to write an history of the controversy, I shall take no further notice of the authors who have defended my side of the question: and those which I have already mentioned I have introduced with no other view, than to shew that the opinion, which I defend, is not heretical.

In the Introduction, which I have prefixed to my Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the reader will find many observations, which are applicable to the present inquiry: particularly in the 19th and 20th sections, where I have shewn that theological proofs, as they are called, which are grounded merely on certain positions laid down in the systems of dogmatic theology, are inadmissible in deciding a question of history⁷. In fact such proofs ought not to be called theological, for no position can be admitted as theological, unless it can be proved from the Bible: but that St. Matthew wrote in Greek is an article, for which we find no authority

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in the Bible, the question being purely historical, and having no relation to doctrinal Divinity, though it has material influence on the interpretation of St. Matthew's Gospel.

Equally indecisive are the arguments, which are drawn from the supposition, that a Greek original would have been more consistent with the wisdom of Providence, because the Greek language was more generally known. It is not for us to determine, what the Divine Wisdom ought to have ordained, but simply to examine what actually was ordained. Besides, in the present instance, the supposition of an Hebrew original is by no means inconsistent with Divine Wisdom. The Jews had been hitherto the peculiar people of God: in the very age, in which St. Matthew wrote, they had been distinguished by the presence of the Messiah among them, who preached to this nation alone, nor did the Apostles go forth to convert the Gentiles, till they had first preached the Gospel to the inhabitants of Judæa. The first Christian communities consisted of Jewish converts; and the language then spoken by the Jews, not only in Palestine, but on the borders of the Tigris and Euphrates, and probably in Persia and Arabia, was no other than Hebrew, or, as we more properly term it at present, Syro-Chaldee. Was it therefore unbecoming Divine Providence, that one Gospel out of the four should have been written in Hebrew, that the Eastern Jews might have a Gospel in their own language, as well as they, who lived in countries to the westward of Palestine, and understood only Greek? Was no care to be taken for the many thousands of Jewish Christians, who fled to Pella and the neighbouring cities? Were the Nazarenes, though this name became afterwards an heretical appellation, to be totally neglected? The answers, which Dr. Masch has given to queries of this kind, though not delivered in the same words, the reader will find p. 143, 144, of his above quoted publication. He says, the Greek language was generally understood in Palestine, a position which I

shall examine in the sequel: but however well it might be known in Palestine, it certainly was not understood by the Jews, who lived to the eastward of that country. To other objections drawn from arguments a priori, and from the supposition of what ought to have been performed, I shall make no reply, because they are wholly foreign to a question of historical fact*.

S E C T. IV.

Testimonies of the Ancients, relative to an Hebrew Original of St. Matthew's Gospel.

AS our present question is historical, the decision of it must principally depend on the testimony of ancient writers. It is true that, if we take the testimony in the strictest sense of the word, so as to denote the evidence of persons who were contemporary with St. Matthew, we shall not be able to produce any on this subject. But, where ecclesiastical history fails us in the first century, we must be contented with the accounts, which come the nearest to that period: and for the sake of brevity, I must beg leave to use the terms 'witness' and 'testimony,' though the fact, for which I quote the authority of ancient writers, did not lie within their own actual experience. Maius indeed objects, that we ought not so much to examine what the ancients have reported, as whether they have reported the truth. But this objection is totally useless, for these reports alone can determine, what is the truth. On a point of doctrine the objection of Maius would be valid: for in such a case the Fathers do not testify a fact, but simply deliver their opinion, which is no proof. Further, I admit that when the Fathers relate what is highly improbable, we are not obliged to give credit to their accounts: but the position 'St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew,' is surely not attended with

with the smallest improbability. I shall proceed therefore to examine what the ancients have reported on this subject.

The first evidence for a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel, is Papias, who lived very near the time of the Apostles. His words are preserved by Eusebius, towards the end of the thirty-ninth chapter of the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, and are as follow: *Ματθαίος μὲν ἐν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλεκτῷ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο ἠρμηνεύσει δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἠδύνατο ἕκαστος.* According to Papias then, not only was St. Matthew's Gospel written in Hebrew, but there already existed in his time several Greek translations of it, so that the translation, which we have at present, is not the only one, which was made of the Hebrew original, though this alone, in consequence of its superior excellence, has descended to posterity. Dr. Masch indeed interprets the words *ἠρμηνεύσει ὡς ἠδύνατο ἕκαστος* in a different manner¹: but as this part of the evidence of Papias does not affect our present inquiry, I shall not enter into any controversy about it.

The advocates for a Greek original have not only endeavoured to weaken the evidence of Papias in favour of a Hebrew original, but have endeavoured likewise to employ it in such a manner as to weaken the testimony of other ecclesiastical writers on the same side of the question. Papias, they say, was credulous and superstitious in the extreme, a believer in the Millennium, a writer who reported fabulous miracles, and who gave credit to every story which he heard. A witness of this character, says Dr. Masch, is not to be credited implicitly, and even in cases, where it is possible that he speaks the truth, he will find it difficult to procure belief. Thus the evidence of Papias, the oldest writer on this subject, being set aside, the next step is to render all later accounts suspicious, by saying, that they are founded merely on the relation of Papias, and consequently that they must be rejected, if Papias deserves no credit. But that later writers had no other authority

for the assertion, that St. Matthew's Gospel was written in Hebrew, is mere conjecture, for it is supported by no authority whatsoever: and whoever reads the account of Origen in particular must conclude, that he did not report what Papias only had asserted, but what had been handed down by tradition, and was the general belief in the time of Origen. To reject the testimony of every ancient author, on the bare supposition that their accounts were drawn only from the report of a credulous witness, is surely unjust.

But the superstition of Papias does not appear to me to be of such a nature as to weaken his evidence to a plain fact, which is wholly unconnected with the marvellous: and his simplicity renders him in my opinion an important witness on this occasion. His heterodox notions and chiliaistic dreams, which he had in common with many of the Fathers, cannot affect his testimony, when he relates what is unconnected with such opinions: and the force of the objection can apply only to his alledged credulity and weakness of understanding. How far he was weak and credulous we can judge only from the accounts of Eusebius, who read and quoted him: for the works of Papias themselves are no longer extant. Now, though it is a rather arbitrary procedure, to make the character of a witness, of whom the Christians of the second and third centuries, especially Irenæus, had a good opinion, depend on the judgment of a writer of the fourth century, even though that writer was a man of eminence, yet I have no objection in this instance to follow Eusebius, and will therefore quote his own words, that the matter may not appear worse than it really is. They are as follow^x: ‘ I have already related that the Apostle Philip lived with his daughters at Hierapolis, to which I must now add an account of a miracle, which Papias, who lived in the same period, says he heard from the daughters of Philip, namely, that a dead person was in their time restored to life. He mentions also another miracle, which happened

^x *Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. III. cap. 39.

happened to Justus surnamed Barnabas, who is said to have drunk poison, without receiving any injury.— This same writer has recorded many other things, which he had learnt from oral tradition, such as certain parables and doctrines of our Saviour, of which we find no account elsewhere, and also some things which are more fabulous. Among these I reckon the story, that after the resurrection of the dead, a temporal kingdom of Christ will be established on earth, and will last a thousand years. Such notions I suppose he acquired from a false interpretation of the figurative and mystical language of the Apostles: for, if we may judge from his writings, he appears to have had a very weak understanding.'

That this judgement of Eusebius is sufficient to destroy the credit of Papias, when he relates a simple fact unconnected with the marvellous, is more than I am able to discover. Through weakness of understanding he gives a too literal explanation of figurative language: but in the present instance we are not to inquire whether Papias expounded rightly, we have only to ask whether he related faithfully: and Eusebius himself, though he condemns his mode of interpretation, does not even doubt that certain accounts of the Apostles had been literally transmitted to him, on which he founded his interpretations. Eusebius therefore, who is the only ancient writer, who can be quoted to the disadvantage of Papias, denies only his ability as a commentator, and does not call in question his fidelity as a witness.

Another charge against Papias is, that in consequence of his credulity he has related fabulous miracles. But the examples, which Eusebius has produced in support of the charge, are in themselves neither absurd nor incredible: they are of the same kind as others, which are related in the Bible, and that Justus drank poison without injury is not inconsistent with the promises, which Christ had given to his Apostles. These miracles therefore bear no other mark of falsehood, than that

Papias alone has related them. But if we admit that they are false, does it follow, that a writer is to be rejected when he relates common facts, because at other times he gave credit to the marvellous? We act not in this manner in respect to the writers of the middle ages; for though we reject their fabulous legends of the saints, to which through the superstition of the times they too easily gave credit, yet we receive their testimony as far as it relates to plain historical occurrences.

Thirdly, Papias is charged with weakness of understanding, and on this ground Dr. Masch particularly rests. He allows, that when a man is credulous, merely in consequence of his superstition, his testimony is admissible in respect to facts, which do not favour of the marvellous: but, he asserts, that the evidence of a man, whose credulity arises from a natural weakness of understanding, is at all times to be suspected. Yet in courts of justice, where the nature of evidence is well understood, this principle is never adopted. A weak man may hear as perfectly as a man of profound understanding, and if he is but honest, as Dr. Masch himself acknowledges that Papias was, and had faithfully inquired of eye-witnesses, or persons contemporary with the fact in question, we may surely admit his evidence in respect to what he had heard of those persons. Eusebius, from whose writings alone the arguments are borrowed, which are employed against Papias, does not infer from his simplicity that his accounts in general are false: but on the contrary, if we except the Millennium and some other marvellous stories, he quotes the relations of Papias, as matters well worthy of notice. According to Eusebius, the weakness of Papias consisted merely in a superstitious belief of miracles, and in his literal acceptance of figurative language: his credulity therefore was of the superstitious kind, which by Dr. Masch's own acknowledgement does not render evidence inadmissible. For my own part I can never consider a witness as suspicious, merely because he is deficient in understanding: on the contrary, his very
simplicity

simplicity would rather induce me to confide in the accuracy of his relation: for men of genius and lively imagination introduce frequently into their narratives their own sentiments and actions, whereas they who are devoid of these endowments, report without ornament or addition what they have literally heard.

I have hitherto argued on the supposition that Papias was really as weak and as credulous, as Eusebius pretends: but if we may judge from the extracts which Eusebius has given from the writings of Papias, the charge will appear to be at least doubtful. The two miracles which he has recorded, even though they should not be true, are far from being ridiculous or absurd, and if Papias received his information from the daughters of Philip, it was no impeachment of his understanding, that he believed them. And as to the parables and speeches of Christ, which Papias declared he had received from oral tradition, though not contained in the Gospels, Eusebius is so far from considering it as a mark of weakness that Papias committed them to writing, that on the contrary he appears to believe that Christ actually delivered what Papias reported. It is merely in the interpretation of these parables and speeches, in which Eusebius discovers the weakness of Papias: and he condemns him only, for interpreting literally and not mystically. Now here it must be particularly observed, that Eusebius was a determined admirer of Origen, the great father of allegory²: when he censures therefore a writer, who explained the Scriptures on different principles, we ought not to produce his censure as a proof, that this writer was deficient in understanding. Origen himself, eminent as he was, would appear to us, if we judged merely from his mode of interpreting Scripture, to be as weak as Papias appeared to Eusebius. Neither is Papias's belief in the Millennium a proof of the charge, which is brought against him: for this belief he had in common with many Fathers, whose understanding was never called in question. And here again the disciple
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of Origen appears to have been prejudiced against Papias, for no other reason, than because Papias had entertained a notion, which had been discarded by his master. Origen had taken great pains to explode the doctrine of the Millennium; Papias was the most ancient writer in its defence, and his authority greatly contributed to its propagation. Eusebius therefore, a decided Origenian, endeavoured to destroy the credit of Papias, in order to remove one of the principal supports of the Millennium. That Eusebius was prejudiced, and that his predecessors thought better of Papias, appears from what he himself acknowledges: for immediately after the words above quoted, he adds, ' Yet (that is, notwithstanding the weaknesses with which he had just charged him) he was the cause that most ecclesiastical writers after his time, appealing to Papias as to one of the earliest Fathers, have adopted the same opinion. This was the case with Irenæus, and with others who entertained similar notions.' It is therefore extremely doubtful, whether this ancient advocate of the Millennium was so deficient in understanding, as the adversary of that opinion has represented him. On the other hand, if we admit that the representation be just, we must not go further than Eusebius himself has done, and because Papias was wanting in sagacity, ascribe to him likewise a want of fidelity.

So much for what Eusebius has said against Papias: let us now attend to what he has said in his favour. In the chapter from which the former quotation was made, Eusebius writes thus: " Papias informs us in the preface to his books, that he himself had neither seen nor heard the holy Apostles: but that he had learnt the Christian faith from those who knew the Apostles. His own words are, " I think proper to relate to thee what I have heard from the elders, and have well retained in my memory, and to add an explanation, in order to confirm the truth. I was never pleased, as most persons are, with those who relate much,

much, but with those who relate what is true: not with those who hand down foreign doctrines, but with those who deliver the commands, which were intrusted to them by the Lord, and which come from the fountain of truth. Whenever I met with any who had been conversant with our elders^y, I carefully enquired into what the elders had said: what Andrew, what Peter had said: what Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other disciple of the Lord had said: what Aristion and John the presbyter had said. For I was of opinion, that I could not learn so much from the reading of books, as from the verbal accounts of persons then alive.—He relates that he himself had heard Aristion and John the presbyter, and in his writings, where he delivers what he had heard from them, he frequently quotes them by name.” Now a writer of this description, who studiously endeavoured to discover the truth, and for that purpose inquired diligently of persons, who had been conversant with the Apostles, and among them with St. Matthew, whose name he mentions, may be as defective in understanding, as Eusebius or any any one pleases, yet, considered as an honest man, he is an important and irreproachable witness in the examination of the question, in what language St. Matthew wrote his Gospel.

The second witness is Irenæus, who in his third book against Heresies, Chap. I. says, ‘ Matthew composed a Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect^z.’ Dr. Masch admits that the words of Irenæus are clear, and that they admit of no other interpretation: the only objection therefore, which he makes is this, that Irenæus probably derived his intelligence from Papias, for whom he had great veneration. But if Irenæus, he adds, derived his intelligence from a person, who deserved

^y Papias here means the Apostles and their contemporaries.

^z The Greek words of Irenæus, as quoted by Eusebius. Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. cap. 8. are, Ο μὲν δὲ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλεκτῷ καὶ γραφῆν ἐξηγήσατο Ἐυαγγέλιον.

deserved no credit, we can no more depend on the accounts of Irenæus, than on those of Papias. Now this argument is founded on a mere supposition: for no one can prove, that Irenæus had no other authority than Papias for what he has asserted, or that any other accounts were then in circulation, which contradicted the assertion of Papias. Dr. Masch indeed requires, that we should bring a positive proof, that Irenæus did not borrow his information on this subject from Papias³, since it is certain that he had several other erroneous notions, which he did derive from Papias: and till this proof has been given, he maintains that Irenæus, to say the least of him, must be declared neutral. Now these erroneous notions relate to the Millennium, which many writers, both in ancient and in modern times, have believed, without forfeiting their credit as historians.

Next follows Pantæus, who was president of a school in Alexandria, toward the end of the second century, and is represented by Eusebius, as a man of great learning. It is true that not only the writings of Pantæus are lost, but that no extracts from them are now on record. Strictly speaking, therefore we cannot produce Pantæus as evidence for a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel. However it is related of Pantæus, that he travelled into India, to preach the doctrines of Christ, and that he found many who were already converts to Christianity, in whose hands was the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew. This information comes from Eusebius, who in his Ecclesiastical History, B. V. ch. 10. writes of Pantæus as follows: 'It is said, that he displayed so much ardour for the Divine Word, that he went a preacher of the Gospel to the nations of the East, and came as far as India. For there were at that time many preachers of the Word, who were animated with a divine zeal of imitating the Apostles by contributing to the enlargement of the Gospel, and the establishment of the Divine Word: of whom Pantæus was one, who is said to have gone
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to the Indians. Here it is related that he found in the hands of several, who had already heard of Christ, the Gospel of St. Matthew; that St. Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, had preached to them, and delivered to them the Gospel of St. Matthew written in the Hebrew language, which was preserved among them to that day.' Dr. Masch contends that this whole relation has so much the appearance of a fable, that Eusebius himself did not believe it, and that a man must be as credulous as Papias, if he did not doubt its truth. Perhaps the story appeared improbable to Dr. Masch in consequence of the word 'India,' which he took, according to its common acceptation, for the country between the Indus and the Ganges: though in fact, even if this sense be ascribed to it, the account is not incredible, for it appears from the very circumstantial Syriac accounts collected by Asseman, that the Christian religion was not only propagated, but flourished, in the East Indies at a very early age, and continued till the fourth century, after which period it was gradually extinguished. But the word India, in ecclesiastical history, is frequently used to denote the happy Arabia, as Tillemont has rightly observed in his *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclesiastique*, under the article Bartholomew. At present the matter is more clear than it was in Tillemont's time. In Arabia Felix were two different kinds of inhabitants, which are mentioned by Moses in the tenth chapter of Genesis, namely, Cushites (from whom the Abyssinians derive their origin), and the descendants of Joktan: the former are called by the Syrians, as well as by the Hebrews, *كوش*, that is, Cushites, the latter *יבני יתן*, that is, Indians^a. Now that Pantæus preached the Gospel in Arabia Felix is by no means incredible, especially as Alexandria, the place of his residence, was at no great distance, and had a much greater commercial intercourse with that country, than it has at present. Further Arabia Felix, where many Jews re-

sided,

^a See on this subject Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. I. p. 359.

sided, and where even kings had been converted to the Jewish religion, is a country where we might not unreasonably expect to hear that a Hebrew Gospel had existed, since the Apostle Bartholomew would hardly have brought a Greek Gospel into a country, where the Greek language was not spoken. Nor is it improbable that this Hebrew Gospel was still extant in Arabia Felix at the end of the second century, though in Palestine itself it did not so long continue to be in common use. That Eusebius did not say in positive terms, 'Pantæus travelled into India,' but only 'it is said that Pantæus travelled into India,' is no proof that Eusebius himself gave no credit to the account: though I confess that the account is not so certain, as it would have been, if Eusebius had expressed himself more strongly. If it be true, it not only affords a strong argument for a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel, but furnishes likewise an answer to the objection, that no ecclesiastical writer has ever pretended to have actually seen the Hebrew original. On the other hand if the relation given by Eusebius is a forgery, it proves at least that it was the ancient opinion, that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, or the story, that Pantæus saw it in that language, would not have been invented.

To the argument drawn by Dr. Masch, from the circumstance, that Jerom⁴ has related the story of Pantæus with several additions to the account given by Eusebius, it is hardly necessary to make a reply: for political as well as ecclesiastical history would soon be reduced to a very narrow compass, if it were allowable to erase every fact, which different historians had differently related, or which through length of time had been augmented by an accession of circumstances not mentioned in the first account. To the objection that the Hebrew Gospel seen by Pantæus was not necessarily the original of St. Matthew's Gospel, since it might have been only a Hebrew translation made by St. Bartholomew, I answer, that if the ancients had not generally

nerally believed, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, the expression 'Gospel of St. Matthew written in the Hebrew language,' used by Eusebius and Jerom, would leave it undetermined whether they meant an original or a translation: but since the ancients really did believe in a Hebrew original, I do not see how the words of Eusebius and Jerom can be understood of a translation.

The fourth witness is Origen, whose evidence on this subject Eusebius has preserved in the sixth book of his Ecclesiastical History, ch. xxv. As Dr. Masch^b contends, that Origen himself did not believe what he related in respect to the language of St. Matthew's Gospel, and Schröder pretends, that Origen followed only the authority of Papias, and therefore is not to be considered as separate evidence, I will quote the words of Eusebius and Origen, that the reader may judge for himself. 'In the first book of his Commentaries on the Gospel of St. Matthew, Origen, observing the ecclesiastical canon, declares that he acknowledges only four Gospels, expressing himself thus: "As I have learnt by tradition (*εν παραδοσει μαθων*) concerning the four Gospels, which alone are received without dispute by the church of God under heaven: the first was written by St. Matthew, once a tax-gatherer, afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ, who published it for the benefit of the Jewish converts, composed in the Hebrew language: the second is that according to St. Mark, &c." The bare reading of this passage is sufficient to enable the reader to judge, whether the two preceding objections have any foundation. If Origen had derived his information from the writings of Papias, he would hardly have said, 'As I have learnt by tradition': and even if he had not used this expression, it would hardly be credible that Origen, whose opinions, both in respect to the Millennium and in respect to the interpretation of Scripture, were diametrically opposite to those of Papias,

^b Pag. 184.

Papias, would have blindly followed him in the present instance, if the notion that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew had been confined to Papias alone. Besides Origen declares that he had learnt by tradition, not only that the Gospel in question was written in Hebrew, but also that it was the first Gospel, that it was composed for the benefit of the Jewish converts, and that its author was St. Matthew the Apostle. Did Origen learn all this from Papias only?

A similar reply may be given to the objection of Dr. Masch, who contends that Origen did not believe what he related, and that the expression *εν παραδοσει μαθων* signifies nothing more than 'I have learnt by hearsay,' or, 'I have heard it reported.' But the term *παραδοσις* in ecclesiastical history signifies not merely report or hearsay, but a communication of accounts on which we may depend^s, of which the very example in question affords a proof: for through the channel of *παραδοσις* Origen says that he had learnt, 'that the first of our four Gospels was written by St. Matthew, who was once a tax-gatherer, and afterwards an Apostle of Christ,' which Dr. Masch would certainly not consider as an uncertain rumour. It is evident likewise that Eusebius took the word in a most respectable sense: since he introduces the quotation from Origen, which begins with *ως εν παραδοσει μαθων*, by saying, that he acknowledged only four Gospels, observing the ecclesiastical canon, (*τον εκκλησιαστικον φυλαττων κανονα*).

The fifth witness is Eusebius himself, who has not only quoted all the preceding authorities for a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel, without even hinting that any objections could be made to them, but likewise in the place where he speaks in his own person on this subject, and where we must of course expect that he delivers his own sentiments. He writes, namely in the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, ch. xxiv. as follows. 'Matthew having first preached to the Hebrews delivered to them, when he was preparing to depart to other countries, his Gospel composed in their
native

native language^c.’ This passage is so clear, that one might suppose it impossible to make any objection to it: yet Dr. Masch contends^d, that Eusebius himself did not give credit to what he has here related. ‘As an ecclesiastical historian, says Dr. Masch, Eusebius was in duty bound to record the accounts which then existed, but was not obliged to deliver his own private opinion. It was not his intention to relate in his Ecclesiastical History such facts alone as were indisputably true, but to form a complete repository of all the accounts, of whatsoever kind, which had been related by others: because, according to the taste of those times, his readers were anxious to know a multitude of stories, but were totally indifferent as to critical inquiries.’ So unfavourable a picture does Dr. Masch draw in the present instance of Eusebius’s Ecclesiastical History: yet in another place^e, where he quotes a passage from the writings of Eusebius, which he supposes to be favourable to his own opinion, he says: ‘I consider the testimony of this meritorious writer, when united with that of Origen, as sufficiently important to be opposed to the assertions of all the other fathers put together.’—But how can it be proved that Eusebius in the passage above-quoted from his Ecclesiastical History, related a story which he himself disbelieved? Dr. Masch indeed has discovered in Eusebius’s Exposition of the Psalms, from which by the help of an induction, which is liable however to many objections, he concludes that Eusebius himself believed that St. Matthew wrote in Greek: but this matter I shall particularly consider in the next section, and shall confine myself therefore at present to the passage with which we are immediately concerned. Now it must be observed, that Eusebius does not introduce his relation, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, with any such expression as, ‘it is said,’
or

^c Πατριῶν γλωττῆ γραφῆ παραδίδει το κατ’ αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον.

^d Pag. 190—200.

^e Pag. 155.

or ' Papias and Origen relate'; but writes in positive terms, and in his own person, without appealing either directly or indirectly to any other author, so that we cannot possibly suppose him to have disbelieved what he related, without directly charging him with an intentional violation of the truth. To the argument used by Dr. Masch^f, that Eusebius could not have asserted that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, without entering into a long confutation of Papias, Irenæus, Origen, and other ecclesiastical writers, we may answer, that Eusebius has on many other occasions accompanied his accounts with expressions of doubt and even absolute denial, without entering into a prolix discussion of them. No reason can be assigned therefore why he should not have accompanied his account, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, with some expressions at least of doubt, if he disbelieved what he reported. Further, this argument not only furnishes a proof of the opinion, which it is intended to support, but really operates against it. For if Eusebius ventured not in his Ecclesiastical History to assert that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Greek, because it was his business merely to record whatever accounts he could collect, and a contradiction of the assertion, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, would necessarily have involved him in a long confutation, it follows that there was only one voice on this subject, and that there were no accounts then existing, that St. Matthew wrote in Greek. For an historian, who makes it his business to furnish his readers with whatever intelligence he can procure, would hardly in a case where the reports were contradictory to each other, neglect to mention that, which he believed to be the true one, and relate only that, which he believed to be false.

The other testimonies in favour of the opinion that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, I shall produce, without either quoting the words of the respective authors, or
making

^f Pag. 191.

making any further remarks^g: partly because they are less liable to objection, and partly because they are less important than the preceding. In the third century we have the authority of Dorotheus: in the fourth century that of Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Gregory of Nazianzum, Chrysostom, and Jerom; of whom the last mentioned writer, on account of his learning and his residence in Palestine, deserves very particular attention. In the fifth century we have Augustin, though I admit that he is no great authority in the present inquiry: in the eleventh century Theophylact, and in the fourteenth Nicephorus Callisti, whom I should have omitted as too modern, if they afforded not a proof that so late as their time no contradictory account had forced itself into notice among the Greeks. Theophylact especially warrants this inference, for he was a very diligent and accurate interpreter of Scripture, and yet we find in his writings no trace whatsoever of a supposition that St. Matthew wrote in Greek. This learned bishop in the Preface to his Exposition of St. Matthew's Gospel, says 'Matthew first wrote a Gospel in the Hebrew language for the sake of the Hebrew believers, eight years after Christ's ascension: and John, as is reported, translated it from the Hebrew into Greek'^h. The latter clause contains a report, which no writer before Theophylact, has ever mentioned, and is contradicted by Papias, who says that every one interpreted St. Matthew's Gospel as well
as

^g Whoever wishes for more information relative to these may consult either Schröder or Lardner.

^h Ματθαίος πρῶτος πάντων ἔγραψε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἑβραϊδὶ φωνῇ πρὸς τῆς ἐξ ἑβραίων πεπιστευκότας μετὰ οὐκ ἅμα ἐτῆ τῆς τῆ Χρῆστος ἀναλήψεως. Μετεφράσε δὲ τούτο Ἰωάννης ἀπὸ τῆς ἑβραϊδος, ὡς λέγουσι. Simon in his Hist. Crit. du Texte du N. T. p. 120. quotes from the Codex Regius 2871, a subscription of a similar import, namely, Το κατὰ Ματθαίου εὐαγγέλιον ἑβραϊδὶ διαλεκτῶ γραφέν ἐξέδοθη ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἐρμηνευθέν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου.

as he could, and by Jerom¹, who says, it is uncertain who made our translation of it. St. John's peculiar style likewise is a sufficient proof that he was not the translator. The latter part therefore of Theophylact's account I acknowledge is false: but we must not therefore reject the former part. For he declares, in positive terms, and without any expressions of doubt, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew: but that St. John was the translator, a story probably invented in order to enhance the canonical authority of the Greek translation, he mentions as a mere report, without vouching for its truth.

Though the subscriptions to the books of the New Testament are of no great authority, because their authors are unknown, and some of them are manifestly erroneous: yet, since many Greek manuscripts contain subscriptions to St. Matthew's Gospel expressive of the opinion that he wrote in Hebrew, but none, as far as I recollect, expressive of the opinion that he wrote in Greek, this uniformity in the manuscripts is not unworthy of notice. The subscription in the Codex Regius 2871 I have already quoted: and it appears from Wetstein's Prolegomena, p. 46, that the Codex Stephan. 16, at the end of St. Matthew's Gospel, has *εκ τῆ κατα Ματθαιου ευαγγελιου, εγραφη Εβραϊσι εν Παλαισινη μετα ετη η της ανληψεως.* Wetstein's Codex 80, numbered 136, in my catalogue, has *Εγραφη εν Ιερουσαλημ Εβραϊδι διαλεκτω:* and a Roman MS. described in Blanchini Evangeliarium quadruplex, P. I. p. 516. has *εγραφη το κατα Ματθαιου ευαγγελιου εβραϊσι εις την Παλαισινην.*

The Syriac and Arabic subscriptions agree with the Greek. In the Syriac version, at the close of St. Matthew's Gospel, we find 'Here ends the holy Gospel according to the preaching of Matthew, which he preached in Palestine, in the Hebrew language.' The word 'preaching' in the Syriac subscriptions has the same

¹ Catal. Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum 6.

same sense as 'writing,' as appears from the subscriptions to the Gospels of St. Mark and St. John. In the Arabic version, published by Erpenius, is the following subscription to St. Matthew's Gospel, which I quote in the original, because the edition of Erpenius is scarce :

كامل نسخ بشاره متى الرسول وكان
كتبها بارض فلسطين بالهام روح القدس
عبرانيا بعد صعود ربنا يسوع المسيح
بالجسد الى السماء بثمان سنين في اول
سنة من ملك اقلوديوس قيصر ملك الروم

'Here ends the copy of the Gospel of the Apostle Matthew. He wrote it in the land of Palestine, by inspiration of the Holy Spirit, in the Hebrew language, eight years after the bodily ascension of Jesus the Messiah into heaven, and in the first year of the Roman emperor Claudius Cæsar.' The same opinion was entertained, I believe universally, by the learned Syrians. At least, the two most eminent Syrian writers, Barfalibæus and Gregorius Bar-Hebræus, who lived in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, assert in their Prefaces to the Evangelists, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew^k: and Ebed Jesu, metropolitan of Armenia, in the thirteenth century, says in his Catalogue of Syrian writers⁷: 'Matthew, who composed the first book of the New Testament, wrote in Palestine, in the Hebrew language.'

Before I conclude this section, I must take notice of an inaccuracy, of which I was guilty in the first edition of this Introduction, because, if I left it unnoticed, others might fall into the same mistake. I quoted, namely,

^k See Affeman's second note in his *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. P. i. p. 8.

namely, Hegesippus, who lived in the latter half of the second century, and before his conversion to Christianity was of the Jewish religion. Now since the Jewish converts especially may be supposed to have used a Hebrew Gospel, the testimony of Hegesippus would in this respect, as well as on account of its antiquity, be of very great importance in the present inquiry. But since Eusebius, from whom alone we can derive information on this subject, the works of Hegesippus being no longer extant, has not quoted the words of this writer relative to a Hebrew Gospel, but speaks only in his own person, and uses expressions, which are not decisive, I admit that the account of Hegesippus, in the form in which we have it, does not furnish us with any certain information in regard to the language, in which St. Matthew wrote. The passage in question is as follows¹: *ἐκ τε τῶν καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγελίων, καὶ τῶν Συριακῶν^m, καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς διαλέκτου τινὰ τῆσσι, ἐμφαινωμένων ἐξ Ἑβραίων αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκεναί.* Here Eusebius says, that Hegesippus quoted from the Gospel according to the Hebrews: but since he has not added that this Gospel was the same as the Hebrew original of St. Matthew, this passage is indecisive.

¹ Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV. cap. 22.

^m This τὸ Συριακὸν was probably the Syriac translation of Tatian's Diatessaron, on which Ephrem the Syrian wrote a commentary. See Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. P. i. p. 12, 13. and Beaufobre Histoire des Manichéens, Tom. I. p. 304.

S E C T. V.

Examination of the question, whether Origen and Eusebius in any part of their writings have argued, as if they supposed St. Matthew wrote in Greek.

IT appears from the preceding section that the testimony of the ancient writers, who have said any thing expressly on this subject, is unanimous in favour of a Hebrew original. But Dr. Masch has endeavoured to draw over Origen and Eusebius to his party by the aid of an induction from certain passages in their writings, which in his opinion imply a Greek original: whence he argues, that in the places, where Origen and Eusebius have related in positive terms that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, they have related what they themselves did not believe. Before I examine the passages, which Dr. Masch has selected for this purpose, I must beg leave to observe that, even if they imply what he supposes, they will not prove that Origen and Eusebius entertained the sentiments which he ascribes to them. Perhaps no author can be produced, who is so uniformly consistent and systematical, as never to advance a sentiment in one part of his writings, from which inferences may be deduced, that are at variance with what he has asserted elsewhere. We do not examine every sentence which we write in its full extent, and in all its consequences: and therefore as we do not always foresee the use which may be made of what we have written, we may at one time indirectly contradict an opinion, which at another time we had directly affirmed. Suppose an author then thus circumstanced, and that his real opinion was required. Ought it to be determined by the passage where the notion was only implied, or by the passage, where it was expressly declared? Origen says in express terms that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew: Eusebius says the same, not only where he quotes from other writers, but where he

speaks in his own person, and where he speaks professedly on the subject. Admitting then that two other passages can be produced, for instance from their commentaries on the Bible, in which the same authors have written in a manner which appears to be inconsistent with their former positive assertions, I ask, whether their direct testimony is not to be preferred to that which they have given only by implication? I think no doubt can be made that it ought. Besides, when a man assumes the character of an historian, he is more attentive to the facts, which he relates, than when he merely alludes to them in a commentary. This we know from our own experience: and every one who has passed through a regular course of divinity in any of our German universities may have had an opportunity of observing, that his professor in reading lectures on exegetical or dogmatical theology, has been guilty of inaccuracies relative to dates and councils, which he would have avoided in reading lectures on ecclesiastical history.

Thus far I have argued, as if the passage produced by Dr. Masch really contradicted those, which I have quoted in the preceding section. I will now examine the passages themselves, and see whether they warrant the conclusions, which have been drawn from them.

1. Origen in his Commentary on St. Matthewⁿ rejects the words, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' ch. xix. 19. and says: 'It is manifest, that there is a material difference in the manuscripts^o, which has

ⁿ Pag. 381. of the Cologne edition, or Vol. III. p. 671 of the Benedictine edition.

^o According to Dr. Masch's representation, p. 146. one might suppose that these words applied to Matth. xix. 19. and that Origen meant to say, there was a difference in the MSS. in respect to the words, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' But as far as I understand Origen, this is not his meaning: he observes only in general terms, that many alterations had been made in the MSS. of St. Matthew's Gospel; and from this general assertion endeavours to justify a critical conjecture at the place in question.

has been occasioned either by the negligence of transcribers, or by the audaciousness of those who have ventured to alter the scriptures, or by the liberties which have been taken in adding or erasing, in order to improve the text.'¹ Now as Origen, says Dr. Masch², was accustomed to correct the Greek versions of the Old Testament by the assistance of the Hebrew, he would hardly have neglected in the present instance, where he doubted the genuineness of a passage in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, to have had likewise recourse to the Hebrew original, as the surest means of determining the question, if a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel had existed.—This is the objection: I will now proceed to the answer.

That Origen did not appeal to a Hebrew original, in order to determine the authenticity of doubtful passages in the Greek Gospel, I readily admit: but I cannot consider this neglect as a proof, that no Hebrew original existed. Dr. Masch indeed asserts, p. 147, that Origen had read, and occasionally quoted a Hebrew Gospel, which was reported to be that of St. Matthew: but as I know not on what authority this assertion is made, I cannot enter into a discussion of it³. If Origen was in possession of the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, we are not certain that he considered *this* Gospel as the same with the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew: and therefore his neglect to appeal to it in the case in question will prove nothing^p. But suppose Origen really believed that a Hebrew Gospel in his possession was St. Matthew's original: yet an appeal

^p Jerom not only had read the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, but translated it into Latin, and moreover was inclined to believe that it was the original of St. Matthew's Gospel⁴. Yet in his Commentary on this Gospel he leaves it unnoticed in places where he examines the authenticity of readings: for instance, *εἰς*, Matth. v. 22. He thought probably that, even if it was the original, it was too corrupted to be of any service in a case of criticism.

appeal to it would not have been the only decisive method of determining the authenticity of a text, since an original itself may be corrupted as well as a translation⁵. In examining a doubtful passage of the Latin version, in St. Luke or St. John's Gospel for instance, of which no doubt is entertained that they were written originally in Greek, we do not instantly conclude that the passage is genuine, when we have found that it is in the Greek Gospel of St. Luke or St. John: for the Greek may be corrupted as well as the Latin. Now it is not improbable that Origen thought the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew had been so corrupted, as to render it an improper criterion in settling the text of the Greek: and if it was the same, as that which the Nazarenes used, he did not think so without reason.

Further if we read in connection all that Origen has written⁶ on the passage, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' our surprize that he did not appeal to the Hebrew Gospel will be still more diminished. He alleges various arguments, and, as far as I can judge, in the name of others, rather than in his own, to shew that a doubt may be entertained of the authenticity of the passage in question, but comes to no absolute decision either one way or the other. His principal argument is the following. Jesus appears to have approved the young man's answer, 'All this have I kept from my youth,' because St. Mark immediately adds, 'Then Jesus beholding him, loved him.' But if the commandment, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' had been observed by this young man from his youth, there failed nothing to his moral accomplishments; since the love of our neighbour is the fulfilling of the law: and consequently Jesus would not have replied, 'If thou wilt be perfect, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor.'—It appears from what I have already said, that Origen's inquiry in the present instance

⁵ Tom. III. p. 669—672.

stance is by no means a critical one: and therefore if he had possessed the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew in its utmost purity, we need not be surpris'd, if he had not appeal'd to it. Immediately after the sentence which Dr. Masch has quoted from Origen's Commentary, and which I have given in a preceding paragraph, Origen writes as follows. 'I have discovered, through the assistance of God, a method of correcting the differences in the copies of the Old Testament, and have used the other editions as a criterion. When I found variations in the copies of the Septuagint, I examined the readings of the other editions, and retained those which they confirmed. Some readings which were not in the Hebrew, I marked with an obelus, not venturing wholly to reject them. Other readings I marked with an asterisk, namely such as were not in the Septuagint, but which I added from the other editions, because they were confirmed by the Hebrew⁶.' Now since Origen relates this in the very place where he examines whether Matth. xix. 19. be genuine, and yet has not recourse to the same critical method of determining the question, as he had applied in the Septuagint, it appears that he was not inclined, at least not at that time, to undertake the same laborious task in respect to St. Matthew's Gospel, as he had undertaken in regard to the Greek version of the Old Testament. He plainly distinguishes the critical from the exegetical examination of a reading: he shews from his own example relative to the Old Testament, in what manner critical inquiries must be conducted, and then concludes. Shall we infer therefore that in Origen's opinion St. Matthew's Gospel was not written in Hebrew, because he did not appeal to it? I think not: but I leave it to the reader, to draw that inference, which he thinks the most probable⁷.

2. There is another passage in Origen's works, which Dr. Masch considers as still more decisive than that which I have already examined: namely, in Origen's
Homily

Homily on the Preface of St. Luke's Gospel'. Here Origen discovers in the word *επεχειρησεν* a tacit censure, on the part of St. Luke, of those who had written Gospels before him, a censure inapplicable to men inspired by the Holy Spirit, and observes: 'Matthew did not take in hand, but wrote by the instigation of the Holy Spirit: in like manner Mark, and John, as also Luke. But they who composed the Gospel, intitled, The Gospel of the Twelve, took in hand.'⁸ Now since Jerom relates that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, which was the same as that which is known by the name of 'The Gospel of the Twelve,' was called likewise by many the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew⁹, Dr. Masch considers the passage just quoted as a proof that Origen expressly rejected the Hebrew Gospel ascribed to St. Matthew, and that he opposed it to the inspired Greek Gospel. But this is more than I can admit: for though Origen rejects the Gospel, called the Gospel of the Twelve, and opposes it to inspired Gospels, it by no means follows that he rejected therefore St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, unless it can be proved that in Origen's opinion the Hebrew Gospel, of which he spake, was the very same as that which St. Matthew had written¹⁰. As far as relates to the present instance, it is of no consequence what others thought of the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, but what Origen himself thought of it: and it is not improbable that, though Origen believed St. Matthew had written in Hebrew, (for he has expressly declared it) he did not believe that the Gospel used by the Nazarenes, was the same as St. Matthew's Gospel. Or if he believed it to have been originally the same, yet in consequence of the many alterations and additions, which

⁸ Dr. Masch quotes from Simon Hist. Crit. des Commentateurs du N. T. ch. v. p. 82. where Simon has quoted the passage from Greek manuscripts. It has been since published in the Benedictine edition of Origen's works, Vol. III. p. 932.

which had been made in it, he might have thought proper to distinguish it from the genuine uncorrupted Gospel of St. Matthew¹¹.

3. Dr. Masch produces a passage from Eusebius's Commentary on the Psalms, from which he says, this ecclesiastical writer manifestly signifies that in his opinion St. Matthew wrote in Greek¹². Eusebius namely in his Annotation on Psalm lxxviii. 2. which in the Septuagint runs thus, *Ανοιξω εν παραβολαις το σομα μου φλεγξομαι προβληματα απ' αρχης*, but in St. Matthew's Gospel, ch. xiii. 35, is quoted in the following manner, *Ανοιξω εν παραβολαις το σομα μου ερευξομαι κεκρυμμενα απο καταβολης κοσμου*, explains this difference by saying: *Εβραιος ων ο Ματθαιος οικεια εκδοσει κεχρηται*. By *οικεια εκδοσις* Dr. Masch understands 'St. Matthew's own translation,' and hence argues that, according to the representation of Eusebius, St. Matthew wrote in Greek. But the word *εκδοσις* does not necessarily signify a translation: it signifies literally an edition, and may be applied to the Hebrew as well as to the Greek. Nor will *οικεια*, even if *εκδοσις* be construed translation, signify 'Matthew's own,' but will rather denote a translation which was in use where St. Matthew lived; with which explanation the word *κεχρηται* well agrees. I believe indeed that Eusebius, by the words *Εβραιος ων ο Ματθαιος οικεια εκδοσει κεχρηται*, meant to say, 'Matthew, as being a Hebrew, used the edition of his own country,' that is, the Hebrew Bible, and therefore quoted the passage as he found it in the Hebrew. But even if *εκδοσις* must be construed translation, still *οικεια εκδοσις* in reference to St. Matthew, will denote a Chaldee and not a Greek translation. The explanation therefore given by Dr. Masch is not defensible. But were it true that the words of Eusebius admitted of the interpretation which he has given them, yet no one can deny they are capable also of another: and since Eusebius has at other times positively declared, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, the explanation which agrees with this opinion,
and

and makes Eusebius consistent with himself, is surely preferable to that, which involves him in a glaring contradiction.

S E C T. VI.

Additional arguments in favour of the opinion, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew.

AS I have shewn in the two preceding sections that the testimony of the ancients is uniformly in favour of a Hebrew original, it may appear unnecessary to produce any other arguments, since questions of history must be finally determined by historical evidence. But if any reasons can be assigned which shew that the fact, for which I contend, is probable in itself, they may be admitted as auxiliary or corroborative evidence.

In the first place then, it is agreed on all sides*, that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Palestine, and for the immediate use of the inhabitants of that country, or, as ecclesiastical writers call them, the Hebrews. But if St. Matthew wrote for the immediate use of the inhabitants of Palestine, it is reasonable to suppose that he wrote in the language of that country, that is, Syro-Chaldee, which ecclesiastical writers call Hebrew, as well as the more ancient language of the Old Testament. This subject I have examined at large in the Introduction

* Dr. Semler indeed makes an exception; for in his *Hist. Eccl. selecta capita*, Tom. I. p. 42, he says, *Carpocrates et Cerinthus cum Alexandriae versati fuerint, et tamen Matthæi evangelio usi, sequitur ut falsum fere sit, Matthæi Evangelium Palæstinensibus fuisse destinatum.* But the circumstance that Carpocrates and Cerinthus read St. Matthew's Gospel in Alexandria, affords not even a presumption, that he did not write it for the immediate use of the inhabitants of Palestine. Both Dr. Semler and myself have read St. Luke's Gospel: we might therefore say on the same principles, *Sequitur ut falsum sit Lucæ Evangelium Theophilo fuisse destinatum.*

tion to the Epistle to the Hebrews[†]: and, as what I have said on the language of that Epistle is equally applicable to that of St. Matthew's Gospel, I refer the reader to it for further information[†].

Dr. Masch indeed has brought nine arguments[‡] to prove that the Jews even of Jerusalem universally understood Greek: but they really are of no value whatsoever. His first argument is, that in the Jewish synagogues, as soon as a section had been read from the Hebrew Bible, it was usual to explain it to the people by reading it in the Chaldee or the Greek version. Now it is true that the Greek version was read in the Jewish Synagogues in Egypt, in Asia Minor, and other countries where the Jews themselves, as well as the rest of the inhabitants, spoke Greek: but in Judæa, and in all those countries which lay to the eastward, the Chaldee version was used. In the present inquiry therefore which is confined to Judæa alone, it is wholly foreign to the purpose to argue from the practice of reading the Greek Bible[‡]. Another argument is, that many apocryphal books were written in Greek, and that Aquila made a Greek translation of the Old Testament: but this proves only that there were countries in which the Jews spoke Greek, not that it was spoken in Palestine, and that too above fifty years before the time of Aquila[‡]. The assertion that the Greek language was introduced into Palestine in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes is more than any one can prove: on the contrary, the victories of the Maccabees, and the subse-

[†] Sect. 2.

[‡] Pag. 138—142.

[‡] Dr. Masch says, 'What service could Aquila propose to render to the Jews by making a new Greek translation of the Old Testament, unless the Greek language was universally known to them? *Answer*, That they, who *did* understand Greek, might read it.—It is surely a very extraordinary conclusion, that because Aquila, who was a native of Pontus, and lived half a century after the destruction of Jerusalem, translated the Old Testament into Greek, the inhabitants of Judæa in the time of the Apostles likewise spoke Greek.

subsequent enmity of the Jews toward the Grecian kings of Syria, must have prevented the introduction of that language. Another argument used by Dr. Masch is, that in the Targum, and also in the Talmud, several Greek words and expressions occur: whence he infers, that the Greek language must have been well known to the Hebrews. Now we might with equal reason contend, that, because many Latin and French words have been adopted in the German language, the Latin and French languages are universally understood in that country, and that a Latin or French Bible would be intelligible to a German congregation. But every one knows that this conclusion would be false: and therefore we cannot conclude, from similar premises, that a Greek book would have been intelligible to a Jewish congregation in Jerusalem. In the Syriac language a much greater number of Greek words was adopted, than we find in any Targum, or even in the Talmud: yet, the Greek language was so little understood by the common people in Syria, that the Syrian fathers, not excepting Ephrem, who lived at Edeffa, a Grecian colony, thought it necessary to write in the language of the country³.—As Dr. Masch's other arguments prove nothing more than that the Greek language was spoken by the Jews who lived in the countries which lay westward of Palestine, and that they who lived in Jerusalem *might* have learned Greek from the foreign Jews who resorted to that city, it would be useless to attempt a confutation of them. To his objection, that St. Matthew's Gospel, if written in Hebrew, (that is, Syro-Chaldee) would have been confined in its use to a very small district, I answer, that Syro-Chaldee was spoken not only by the Jews of Palestine, but also by the Jews of Syria and Mesopotamia. In Arabia likewise were many Jewish families; and though Syro-Chaldee was not the language of Arabia, as it was of Syria and Mesopotamia, yet the Jews who settled there, and brought with them their Chaldee paraphrase, retained

tained probably their native language. Nor must we forget that Arabia is the country, where Pantænus is said to have seen the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew at the end of the second century; whence we see that it continued in use among the eastern Jews long after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Jews of Palestine.

If St. Matthew wrote before St. Luke, whether in the year 41, or 49, is immaterial, a second reason for supposing that he wrote in Hebrew may be sought in the preface to St. Luke's Gospel. In this preface St. Luke, at least as I understand him, casts an indirect censure on the Gospels which had been written before his own. Consequently, St. Matthew's Gospel, if it then existed, must have been unknown to St. Luke. But this is inexplicable on any other supposition than that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew: for had he written in Greek, whether in 41, or 49, his Gospel could not have remained unknown to St. Luke, who had travelled with St. Paul through so many different countries, who had been with him in Jerusalem, and spent two years in Cæsarea⁴. However I shall not insist on this argument, because it depends on the supposition that St. Luke wrote later than St. Matthew, which, though admitted by Dr. Masch, some authors have denied.

A third probable argument may be derived from the quotations in St. Matthew's Gospel from the Old Testament: for they more frequently agree with the Hebrew text, than with the text of the Septuagint^{*}, as Jerom has observed in several places. Now this phænomenon cannot be better explained, than on the hypothesis that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and that his Greek translator gave sometimes a literal translation of the Hebrew quotations, but at other times consulted the
Septu-

^{*} See Vol. I. ch. v. sect: 3. of this Introduction.

Septuagint, and quoted the passages, as they stood in the Greek version^γ.

S E C T. VII.

Examination of the objections, which have been made to the opinion, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew^γ.

I. **T**HE first objection is, that among all the writers who have asserted that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, not one has pretended to have actually seen and used the original.

Now there are many books, beside St. Matthew's Gospel, which are no longer extant in the language in which they were written, and yet we do not doubt, that those books once existed. It is surely not incredible that a Gospel written in Hebrew might dwindle into oblivion, and become gradually extinct, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Hebrew Jews. Palestine ceased at the end of the first century to be a seminary for Jewish converts, who understood Hebrew: and to the Greek Christians, a Hebrew Gospel was of no value.

But suppose the Hebrew Gospel continued several centuries in existence, yet, if we except Origen and Jerom, perhaps none of the fathers, who have spoken of this Gospel, were able to read it. The objection therefore applies chiefly, if not entirely to Origen and Jerom. But Jerom not only declares that he had seen the Hebrew Gospel, which was believed to be St. Matthew's

^γ The exclamation of Christ on the cross, Matth. xxvii. 46. *Eli, Eli, lama sabaethani*, is given in the Syriac version, without any interpretation: but in the parallel passage of St. Mark's Gospel, an interpretation is added in the Syriac version, as well as in the Greek. This difference is not unworthy of notice, though I do not think it of sufficient importance, to ground an argument upon it.

thew's original, but even that he made a translation of it. Origen indeed rejects the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, which is the Gospel that Jerom translated, whence it is inferred that in Origen's opinion the author of it was not an Apostle. But this inference is liable to many objections: for the Gospel used by the Nazarenes, which Jerom translated, may have been originally the work of St. Matthew, and afterwards so corrupted by alterations and additions, as deservedly to lose all canonical authority. On this subject I shall say nothing further at present, because it will be particularly considered in one of the following sections. But whether it is admitted that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes was originally the work of St. Matthew or not, yet, if we may credit the accounts of Eusebius and Jerom, Pantænus at least saw it in the hands of the Christians in Arabia Felix, a country where we may not unreasonably suppose that a Hebrew Gospel must have been longer preserved than in Palestine itself².

2. Another opinion is, that if St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and by Hebrew is to be understood the language spoken in Palestine in the time of the Apostles, a Syriac translation of the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew would have been wholly unnecessary: for, as the Chaldee dialect spoken in Jerusalem differed from the Syriac only in the form of the letters and in the punctuation, a Syrian need only have learnt the Hebrew characters, to have understood St. Matthew's Gospel in the original.

But if St. Matthew wrote in ancient Hebrew, this objection will not apply. And if by Hebrew we understand Chaldee, we must recollect that we have a Syriac version of the Chaldee passages in the book of Daniel. This question I have fully examined in the sixteenth section of my Introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews, to which I refer the reader for further information².

3. The

² See Sect. 4. of this chapter.

3. The third objection is, that in St. Matthew's Gospel an interpretation is given of several Hebrew words, for instance, Ch. i. 23. xxvii. 36. 46.: which would not have been given, if St. Matthew had written in Hebrew, for the use of the Hebrews.

Now if St. Matthew wrote in Chaldee, an interpretation of Hebrew words was not improper: and in whatever oriental language he wrote, his Greek translator would have added interpretations of the oriental expression, which he retained in the translation, or Greek readers would not have understood them³.

4. The fourth objection is, that in St. Matthew's Gospel passages of the Old Testament are sometimes quoted not according to the Hebrew text but according to the Septuagint text: for instance, Ch. ii. 18. iii. 3. iv. 4. 6.

Now this is a very extraordinary objection, because the passages of the Old Testament are commonly quoted in this Gospel according to the Hebrew text, as is observed by Jerom, who assigns as a reason for it, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew. It is true, that some few quotations in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew agree with the text of the Septuagint. But this will not prove that St. Matthew himself wrote in Greek and quoted from the Septuagint: for Hebrew quotations from the Old Testament made in a Gospel written originally in that language, may sometimes at least have been given by a Greek translator in the words of the Greek version, which was in general use. Irenæus certainly wrote in Greek, and quoted from the Greek text of the New Testament: yet in the Latin translation of the works of Irenæus, the quotations from the New Testament, instead of being verbally rendered from the Greek, are given in the words of the Latin version. But if the agreement of these quotations with the Latin version will not prove that Irenæus wrote in Latin, neither will the agreement of the quotations in St. Matthew's Gospel with the text of the Greek version, prove that St. Matthew wrote in Greek⁴.

5. Dr. Masch objects^a that in the genealogy of Christ, in the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, the proper names are written with the orthography of the Septuagint. Further, that in several places, where there are no formal quotations from the Septuagint, we find phrases and modes of expression, which were manifestly taken from it: for instance, ch. v. 4. 5. 34. vii. 8. xxiv. 15. 29. xxv. 36. compared with Isaiah lxi. 2. lx. 21. lxvi. 1. Prov. viii. 17. Dan. ix. 27. Isai. xiii. 10. Ezek. xviii. 7.

Now I shall make no objections to these seven examples (though I do not think them happily chosen, for some of them are real quotations), because if not seven only but seventy passages could be produced from the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, which contained expressions used in the Septuagint, they would not prove that it was not a translation. Arguments of this kind are merely neutral and prove, neither on the one side, nor on the other. They shew only that the person, who wrote the Greek Gospel, was well acquainted with the language of the Septuagint: but they leave the question wholly undecided whether that person was an original writer, or only gave a translation of the work of another. Both Jews and Christians, who lived in countries, where the Greek language was spoken, and of course read the Bible in the Greek version, were by daily habit so familiarised with its expressions, that it would have been hardly in their power to write, whether an original or a translation, without occasionally introducing them. Besides, four of these seven examples are taken from Christ's sermon on the mount; if they prove therefore, that this discourse in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew is not a translation, they must prove at the same time, that
Christ

^a Pag. 130—134.

Christ delivered it in Greek, which is more than Dr. Masch himself would allow^b.

With respect to the first part of this objection, that the proper names in the genealogy of Christ are written as they are in the Septuagint, it cannot prove that the genealogy was written originally in Greek, unless it can be shewn that a translator in rendering from the Hebrew, must necessarily have retained the Hebrew orthography. When Dr. Masch says, that a translator could not have written all these proper names as we find them in the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, without turning every instant to the Septuagint, he must suppose, that a Greek translator of the Hebrew Gospel in the first century was in the same situation as he or I should be, if we had to translate from Hebrew into Greek. But a Greek translator would as readily adopt the orthography of the Septuagint, as a German translator that of Luther's version: for the Greek Bible was to him, what the German Bible is to us. Besides, this objection, if valid, would prove too much: for it would apply also to St. Matthew himself.

6. Dr. Masch asserts^c, that in St. Matthew's Greek Gospel are found all those qualifications, which discover a work to be an original, and which, without a most extraordinary combination of circumstances, are not to be expected in a translation. Most translations, he says, especially such as are literal, instantly betray themselves as such: and it is not difficult to discover even the language from which they were made, because a translator insensibly adopts the modes of expression,

^b As the Aramæan words, which occur in Christ's discourses, are expressed in our Greek Gospels according to the punctuation of the Chaldee dialect, which was spoken in Jerusalem, and was more refined than the Syriac, we must conclude that, though the latter dialect was spoken in Galilee, the former was used by Christ, which was probably owing to the circumstance, that both Joseph and Mary came out of Judæa.

^c Pag. 82—97.

pression, which are peculiar to the language from which he translates.

Now one should suppose from this objection, that the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew was written in such pure language as to discover no marks of a Hebrew idiom: for otherwise the objection is wholly inapplicable in the present instance. But it is so well known that the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew abounds with Hebrew idioms, that it would be a waste of time to produce examples^d. Even were it written in the purest Greek, its language would be no absolute proof that it was not a translation: for there are some, though not many, translations, which are so well executed, that they might easily pass for originals.—On the other hand, it must not be understood, that the hebraizing language in St. Matthew's Gospel affords a positive argument for a Hebrew original, since St. Matthew himself would not have written in pure Greek. Though I deny therefore Dr. Masch's inference, I do not, from his premises alone, infer the contrary.

7. The seventh objection is, that no translation ever was made without some few mistakes: but that no one can shew any such mistakes in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew,

But this objection proves nothing: for if the Greek Gospel is a translation, the original is lost: and therefore
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^d The Greek Gospel of St. Matthew hebraizes in a much greater degree than the writings of St. Luke and St. Paul, than the Gospel and Epistles of St. John, and the Epistles of St. Peter and St. James. It has even more Hebraisms than many books of the Septuagint; for instance, the Proverbs of Solomon, and the five books of Moses, though the latter are a very close translation from the Hebrew. The Apocalypse, though it contains more violations of the rules of grammar, yet is written in such flowing language, and has so much both of the beautiful and the sublime, as to put it out of all competition, as far as the excellence of composition is concerned, with St. Matthew's Gospel. The only book of the New Testament, which is written in worse Greek, is the Gospel of St. Mark: and this is owing rather to other causes, than to the number of Hebraisms.

a comparison between them, which alone can determine the question, cannot take place.

8. The eighth objection is, that the Greek fathers quote the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, as an inspired book, and with such confidence, as implies that, notwithstanding their declarations that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, they really believed that they were using the words, which proceeded from the pen of the Evangelist.

To this objection I answer that the Greek fathers quoted the septuagint as an inspired work, and with as much confidence as they quoted the Greek Gospel. They who have not access to an original must be contented with a translation: and, as some of them believed in the present instance that the translation was made by an inspired writer, they entertained no doubt of its accuracy^s.

9. Lastly, as a proof that St. Matthew wrote in Greek, it is alledged that the Greek Gospel already existed, when St. Mark wrote. In support of this position Dr. Masch^e has produced the following example. The text of the Septuagint at Zech. xiii. 7: is Παλαξαί τις ποιμένας, και εσπασαί τα προβατα: but in St. Matthew's Gospel, ch. xxvi. 31. the passage is quoted thus, Παλαξω τον ποιμένα, και διασκορπισθησεται τα προβατα της ποιμνης, and these very words are used likewise by St. Mark, ch. xiv. 27. with exception to της ποιμνης, which St. Mark has not. This deviation of the two Evangelists from the Septuagint, and their verbal agreement with each other, Dr. Masch considers as a proof, that St. Mark copied from the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew.

To this objection I answer that, though the text of the Septuagint quoted by Dr. Masch from Zech. xiii. 7. which is that of the Roman edition, is very different from the quotation made in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, it is by no means improbable that in the

the time of the Apostles there existed copies of the Septuagint, in which no such difference was visible. The various readings still existing at this passage justify the conjecture: for instead of *παλαξάιε τες ποιμενας, και εκσπασάιε τα πρόβατα*, the Codex Alexandrinus has *παλαξον τον ποιμενα, και διασκορπισθησούαι τα πρόβατα της ποιμνης*. The difference between this text and that of the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew is not so material: it consists chiefly between *παλαξω* and *παλαξον*^f, for *διασκορπισθησούαι* is found in several MSS both in St. Matthew's and in St. Mark's Gospel. Further, this reading is quoted by Flaminius Nobilius (and moreover without *της ποιμνης*, which is omitted by St. Mark), among the various readings to the Septuagint: it is confirmed by the Aldine and Complutensian editions, and other authorities, which may be seen in the sixth volume of the London Polygot. It is therefore not improbable that in St. Mark's copy of the Septuagint, the passage in Zechariah was worded as he has quoted it: and therefore his agreement in this instance with the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew will not prove that he copied from it.

On the other hand, if the reading *παλαξάιε τες ποιμενας, κ. τ. λ.* and no other, was in the copies of the Septuagint in the first century, it follows that the quotations from Zech. xiii. 7. as we find it both in Matth. xxvi. 31. and Mark xiv. 27. was taken not from the Septuagint, but from the Hebrew Bible. Indeed *παλαξάιε τες ποιμενας*, in the plural number, would not have suited the purpose for which the quotation was made: for Christ, who made it at the time when he was seized, applied it to himself, who was the shepherd that was smitten, as the Apostles were the sheep of the flock, that were scattered abroad. It is true, that two separate
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^f In the Arabic version of Zechariah, which was made from the Septuagint, we find *اضرب*, which may denote either *πατάξω* or *πάταξον*, according as it is pointed.

and independent Greek translators of the Hebrew text at Zech. xiii. 7. would not have agreed perhaps in the very words. Yet it is no necessary consequence that St. Mark copied from the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, since the agreement may be equally well explained on the supposition that the Greek translator of St. Matthew's Gospel copied from St. Mark^e.

S E C T. VIII.

Observations on several passages in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew where the translator appears to have rendered inaccurately: with conjectures relative to the words of the original, and the causes, which might lead a translator into error.

IF the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew is not the original, which was penned by the Evangelist, we cannot ascribe to it a verbal inspiration, and it is moreover not impossible that the translator in some few instances mistook the sense of his author. We have no reason however to be alarmed on this account, because the most material parts, or those in which we are chiefly interested, are recorded likewise by one or more of the other Evangelists. Besides, as the Greek translation is really half Hebrew^h, it is manifest that it is a very close one. Nor is it difficult for those who are well acquainted with Syriac and Chaldee, which are absolutely necessary to a right understanding of St. Matthew's Gospel, to discover in dubious passages the words which were probably used in the original.

Before I venture to offer any of my own conjectures, I will mention one, which was made by Jerom on

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^e This solution is given by Grotius^e.

^h See for instance ch. ii. 6. iv. 15. xxi. 32. xxviii. 1.

οψε δε σαββατων, Matth. xxviii. 1. The word οψε is somewhat unsuitable to this passage, because the events which immediately follow, took place not late in the evening, but early in the morning, or between midnight and day-break. Jerom therefore says¹, *Mihi videtur evangelistam Matthæum, qui Evangelium Hebraico sermone conscripsit non tam vespere dixisse, quam sero.* Now I perfectly agree with Jerom, that St. Matthew did not use a word expressive of *vespere*: but I doubt whether he used a word expressive of *sero*. My conjecture on this passage the reader will find in my History of the Resurrection¹.

Having premised the authority of Jerom, I will now propose some conjectures of my own. Ch. iii. 15. *πασαν δικαιοσυνην* is not so suitable to the context, as *παντα τα δικαιωματα*, which signifies ‘all commandments relative to religious ceremonies’^k. Perhaps כל חק was used in the original³.—Ch. iv. 8. the tempter conducts Christ to the top of a lofty mountain, and shews him *πασας τας βασιλειας τε κοσμου*. Now if we take these words in a literal sense, the fact is utterly impossible: and if it was a mere illusion, there was no necessity for ascending a lofty mountain. Here some word must have been used in the original, which was capable of more than one translation: perhaps הארץ, which signifies ‘the land,’ as well as ‘the earth’; or תבל, which as well as *οικουμενη*, may denote the land of Palestine⁴. Or, thirdly, what is perhaps the most probable conjecture, it is not improbable that St. Matthew wrote כל ממלכות הצבי, that is, ‘all the kingdoms of the Holy Land,’^m and that the translator mistook צבי for צבא, which in the Septuagint is sometimes rendered by *κοσμος*ⁿ. It is even possible, as צבי signifies literally ‘beauty,’

¹ Hædibixæ Quest. 4. Tom. IV. p. 173. ed Martianay.

² See my Note² to Maccab. i. 13.

³ *Οικουμενη* is used in this sense⁴, Luke iv. 5. Acts xi. 28.]

^m See Daniel viii. 9. xi. 16. 41. Jerem. iii. 19.

ⁿ See Gen. ii. 1. Deut. iv. 19. xvii. 3. Isaiah xxiv. 21. xl. 46.

‘beauty,’ and *κοσμος* has likewise this sense, that the translation in question was occasioned by a too literal adherence to the original. Now all the kingdoms, which existed in Palestine in the time of Christ, could be seen from the top of mount Nebo^o: St. Matthew therefore meant all the kingdoms of Palestine, which his translator converted into ‘all the kingdoms of the world.’—Ch. v. 18. *εως αν παντα γενηται* is not very intelligible, for the question relates to the laws of God, and the laws of God are not universally fulfilled. Perhaps the words of the original were *עד כי יעשה הכל*, which are capable of a different translation from *εως αν παντα γενηται*: for *עד* may denote ‘for ever,’ and *כי*, if *ל* was used in the preceding clause, would signify ‘but.’ The meaning therefore of Christ was, ‘As long as heaven and earth remain, they shall not be abolished, but every thing shall be executed⁵.’—Ch. v. 48. *τελειοι* is somewhat obscure. A word expressive of peace or reconciliation, would be more suitable to the context, than a word expressive of perfection. Perhaps *שלמים* was used in the original, which admits both senses.—Ch. viii. 28, 29. mention is made of two demoniacs, whereas St. Mark and St. Luke mention only one. Now, if the dialect, in which St. Matthew wrote, was the Syriac, this contradiction may be ascribed to the translator. For in Syriac, when a noun is in what is called the Status emphaticus, it has the very same orthography in the singular, as it has in the plural⁶; and even in the verb, the third person plural is sometimes written like the third person singular, without the Vau, namely *ܘܕܘ* for *ܘܕܘܘ*. However I shall not insist on this explanation, because I much doubt whether St. Matthew wrote in Syriac⁷.—Ch. ix. 18. Jairus says of his daughter *αρτι ετελευτησε*, ‘she is already dead,’ whereas, according to St. Mark, he says *εσχατως εχει*, ‘she is at the point of death,’ and receives the first intel-

^o See Deut. xxxiv. 1—34. From the top of Nebo, even mount Sinai may be discerned.

intelligence of her death, as he was returning home accompanied by Christ. Various artifices have been used by the harmonists to reconcile this contradiction, and with very little success: but as soon as we reflect on the words, which must have stood in the original, all difficulty vanishes on this head. For **עתה מתה** may signify either 'she is now dead,' or 'she is now dying'.⁸ St. Matthew's translator rendered the word according to the former punctuation, whereas he ought rather to have adopted the latter, as appears from what is related by the two other Evangelists'.—Ch. xi. 12. *η βασιλεια των υρανων βιαζειται* is so harsh and obscure, and the expression used by St Luke^p on the same occasion, *η βασιλεια τα θεα ευαγγελιζειται* is so easy and natural, that there is reason to doubt whether St. Matthew's original was in this passage rendered properly. Now *ευαγγελιζω* is in Hebrew **בשר**: but if this word be written **בסר** with Samech instead of Sin, as it is in Syriac, a translator might render it by *βιαζω*, especially if **המס** followed in the same sentence. For both **בסר** and **המס** signify, 1. *Crudus fuit*, 2. *Violavit*; and the corresponding Arabic word *بسر* signifies also *intempestive fecit*, and *vim intulit*. If then St. Matthew wrote **מלכות השמים תבסר ואנשי המס יגלוה**, the translator might explain **בסר** by **המס**, and consequently render the three words by *η βασιλεια των υρανων βιαζειται*. I will not affirm however that this solution is the true one, as it is rather too artificial.—Ch. xxi. 33. *ωρυξε ληνον*, 'he dug a wine press,' is an incorrect expression, for it was properly the *υποληνιον* which was dug, and hence St. Mark^q has *ωρυξεν υποληνιον*, which is correct. St. Matthew wrote probably **הצב יקב**, an expression used by Isaiah, ch. v. 2. on which I refer the reader to Lowth's note on that verse.—Ch. xxi. 41. *λεγυσιν αυτω* seems to be a false reading, not only because the words which follow were, according to St Mark, uttered by Christ, but

^p Ch. xvi. 16.^q Ch. xii. 1.

but because it is improbable that the Jewish priests, who certainly understood the import of the parable, which Christ had just delivered to them, would have answered *κακως κακως απολεσει αυτες*, and from the account given by St. Luke it appears that they actually gave a very different answer^r. In this passage therefore St. Matthew wrote probably *ויאמר*, 'he said,' which was mistaken for *ויאמרו*, 'they said,' perhaps by the transcriber, who wrote the copy, from which the Greek translation was made. Further, if this mistake was made in the verse in question, the translator must have considered *ויאמר* ver. 42. not as a continuation of Christ's discourse, but as a reply to what the Jewish priests had said. Perhaps objections may be made to this solution: but I know of no other method of reconciling in this instance, St. Matthew with St. Mark and St. Luke, and it is surely better to suppose that St. Matthew's translator made a mistake, than to ascribe the mistake to the Evangelist himself. It is true that the difficulty may be removed by saying that *λεγουσιν αυτω* is an interpolation: but for this assertion we have no authority, since these words are found in all the Greek manuscripts, except the Codex Leicestrensis, which cannot be put in competition with the united evidence of all other manuscripts.

To the example which now follows I believe no objection will be made. Immediately after Christ was fastened to the cross^s, they gave him, according to St. Matthew, ch. xxvii. 34. vinegar mingled with gall, but according to St. Mark, ch. xv. 23. they offered him wine mingled with myrrh. Here is a manifest contradiction, and of course in one of the two accounts there must be an inaccuracy. That St. Mark's account is the

^r *Ακρωσαντες δε ειπον μη γενοιτο.*

^s What is now the object of consideration must be carefully distinguished from that which took place several hours afterwards, shortly before Christ expired.

the right one is probable from the circumstance, that Christ refused to drink what was offered him, as appears both from Matth. xxvii. 34. and Mark xv. 23. Wine mixed with myrrh was given to malefactors at the place of execution, in order to intoxicate them, and make them less sensible to pain. Christ therefore with great propriety refused the aid of such remedies. But if vinegar was offered him, which was taken merely to assuage thirst, there could be no reason for his rejecting it. Besides, he tasted it, before he rejected it, and therefore he must have found it different from that which, if offered to him, he was ready to receive. To solve this difficulty we must suppose that the words used in the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew were such, as agreed with the account given by St. Mark, and at the same time were capable of the construction, which was put upon them by St. Matthew's Greek translator. Nor is it difficult to conjecture what these words were. Suppose St. Matthew wrote 'חליא במרירא', which signifies 'sweet wine with bitters,' or 'sweet wine and myrrh,' as we find it in St. Mark, and St. Matthew's translator overlooked the Jod in חליא, he took it for חלא^u which signifies 'vinegar:' and 'bitter' he translated by $\chi\omicron\lambda\eta$, as it is often rendered in the Septuagint.

Nay,

* I here write the words in Chaldee; to make them Hebrew we need only substitute ה for א.

^u חלא in Chaldee, חלא in Syriac, and خَل in Arabic, signify *acetum*. In Hebrew the word would be written חלה. Further חלא in Chaldee and Syriac, as well as حلو in Arabic, signifies *dulcis fuit*. Hence חלא, and in the status emphaticus חלא, may signify *vinum dulce*. In Latin, *Dulcia* is particularly used to denote wine mixed with myrrh. See Briffonius de Verborum Significatione, p. 365.

Nay St. Matthew may have written אֶלֶן, and have still meant to express 'sweet wine': if so, the difference consisted only in the points, for the same word אֶלֶן, which, when pronounced Halé, signifies 'sweet,' denotes, as soon as we pronounce it Hala, 'vinegar.' The translator of St. Matthew's Gospel misunderstood the words of the original; but St. Mark, who had been better informed by St. Peter, has given the true account¹⁰.

Other contradictions, which the harmonists have not been able to reconcile, might perhaps be removed in the same manner: and by shewing that the discordancies arose, not from St. Matthew himself, but from his translator, objections may be answered, which have been made both to the inspiration of the Apostles, and to the Christian religion itself. For instance, if it be true, that the reading *δια τῶν προφητῶν Ησαίας*, Matth. xiii. 35. on which Porphyry grounded one of his objections, be genuine in respect to the Greek Gospel, and from Jerom's answer we must really conclude that it was found in most of the Greek manuscripts in his time, it is possible that the reading is not genuine in respect to the Hebrew original, for it is possible that Ησαίας was added by the Greek translator who might have borrowed it from the 14th verse. An author, who quotes a passage, may be reasonably expected to know from what book he quotes it: but the same knowledge is not always to be expected from a translator.

S E C T. IX.

Of the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes and the Ebionites : and whether this Gospel, in its primitive state, was the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew.

THE question, whether the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes was written by St. Matthew, must not be confounded with the question, whether St. Matthew wrote a Hebrew Gospel; though the latter be true, the former may not, since it is possible that more than one Hebrew Gospel was composed. We must likewise distinguish the Gospel of the Nazarenes in the state, in which it was known to the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, from the original state of this Gospel: for in its original state it may have been the work of St. Matthew, and yet have been afterwards so interpolated and corrupted, as to be no longer the same Gospel*. The question therefore to be examined is, whether the Gospel of the Nazarenes was *originally* the same as the Hebrew Gospel written by St. Matthew.

Among the various writers on this subject, I would particularly recommend Simon *Histoire critique du texte du N. T.* ch. 7, 8. where the question is answered in the affirmative. On the other side may be read Maii *Examen historiae criticae*, cap. 7, 8.: but Maius was rather a zealous adversary, than a calm confuter of Simon, for he argued chiefly from the interpolations in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, which Simon had already acknowledged as such, and consequently not written by St. Matthew. Further may be consulted Mill's *Prolegomena*, § 42—49, and particularly
Dr.

* This distinction removes likewise an objection to the opinion that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, drawn from the difference between the Gospel of the Nazarenes and the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew.

Dr. Masch's treatise on the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel, where the question is examined with so much the more minuteness, as it afforded the author an opportunity of attacking the opinion, that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, on its weakest side. On the Nazarenes and the Ebionites Epiphanius has written in his 29th and 30th Heresy; but as the accounts given by this Greek Father stand in need of critical corrections, the reader would do well to consult at the same time Mosheim *de rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum*, p. 324—332, and Walch's *History of the Heretics*¹, Vol. i. p. 99—124. So much as is necessary for the examination of the present question I will deliver as concisely as possible.

Both the Nazarenes and Ebionites were Christians of Jewish origin, who lived for the most part to the east of Jordan and the Orontes; and the principal city of the Nazarenes was Pella. The Nazarenes retained the name, which was originally borne, not by a single sect, but by the followers of Christ in general²: the Ebionites derived their name either from the Hebrew word *Ebion*, which signifies 'poor,' or, as some have thought, from a founder of the name of *Ebion*³. Both sects were nearly allied to each other, but on some points they differed. The Nazarenes are said to have rejected the four Gospels received by the church, and the Ebionites still more books of the New Testament. But as the Nazarenes did not understand Greek, they could not have used the Greek Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; and therefore we should rather say, that the four Greek Gospels were not in use among the Nazarenes, than that they actually rejected them: though on the other hand it is not improbable that they were prejudiced against Gospels, which they did not understand, as some of the Greek Fathers, for this very reason, were prejudiced against the Hebrew Gospel, which the Nazarenes used. Among the Ebionites, there were several who understood Greek³; their motive therefore

² See Acts xxiv. 5.

therefore for rejecting many books, which we receive, could be no other, than that they contained doctrines, which were not compatible with their own system. Both sects made use of a Hebrew Gospel, which was called the Gospel of St. Matthew, but which contained many passages not found in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew. Both sects agreed in retaining the Levitical law², at the same time that they professed themselves followers of Christ: but they differed from each other in this respect, that the Ebionites considered Christ as a mere man, whereas, the Nazarenes, if not all, at least some of them, are said to have ascribed to him a divine origin. According to Mosheim and Walch these two sects began in the second century⁴: and at the end of the fifth century they appear to have been extinct. Jerom, who wrote at the beginning of the fifth century, describes the Nazarenes as a sect then existing, but after his time they are not mentioned in ecclesiastical history. It is true, that a sect called Nasiræans existed at Perrha on the Euphrates in the beginning of the sixth century: but they were totally different from the Nazarenes, for they derived their name, not from Nazareth, but from the Nasiræans of the Old Testament, and were a set of superstitious monks, who made it a rule never to eat or drink, except at the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which however they repeated so frequently every day, as to secure themselves from the danger of dying either through hunger or thirst³. This sect therefore must be carefully distinguished from the Nazarenes, who are the subject of inquiry in this section.

Though both the Nazarenes and the Ebionites had a Hebrew Gospel, which was called the Gospel of St. Matthew,

² The Ebionites were however more zealous in this respect than the Nazarenes, for they insisted on the observance not only of the Law of Moses, but likewise of all the additions which had been made to it by the Rabbins.

³ See Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. I. p. 412.

Matthew, it is possible that the Gospel used by the former differed materially from that which was used by the latter. Our accounts of both are very imperfect, but of the two we have the most knowledge of that which was used by the Nazarenes. Jerom, who not only read, but copied and translated it, relates that it was written with Hebrew letters, but in the Chaldee dialect^b. The circumstance that it was written with Hebrew letters was undoubtedly the cause of its being so little known to the Syrians, who would have understood it, if it had been written with Syriac characters.

It has been supposed, though perhaps without sufficient reason, that Tatian, an Assyrian writer of the second century, made use of the Gospel of the Nazarenes, in composing his harmony, which is generally called *δια τεσσαρων*, but sometimes *δια πεντε*, on the supposition that it was composed out of five Gospels^c. Were the supposition grounded, the Harmony of Tatian, and the Commentary, which Ephrem wrote on it^d, would be of some importance in the present inquiry: but neither of these works are now extant^e. Tatian omitted the genealogy of Christ, because, as some say, he was a Docete: but he might have omitted it

^b In Evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone, sed Hebraicis literis scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum Apostolos, sive, ut plerique autumant, juxta Matthæum, quod et in Cæsariensi habetur bibliotheca, narrat historia, &c. Hieronym. adv. Pelagianos, Lib. III. Tom. iv. p. 533. ed. Martianay. When therefore the same Father, in his Note to Matth. xii. 13. says, In Evangelio quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitæ quod nuper in Græcum de Hebræo sermone transtulimus, et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum, &c. it is evident that he used the word Hebrew in its most extensive sense, so as to include also the Chaldee.

^c Simon Hist. crit. du texte du N. T. Ch. VII. p. 74. Fabricii Codex apocryphus Nov. Test. Tom. I. p. 379. Beaufobre Histoire du Manichéisme, Tom. I. p. 303, 304.

^d Assemani Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. P. 1. p. 379.

it on the authority of the Hebrew Gospel. This however is only conjecture. It is more certain that Origen was acquainted with this Gospel, for he has sometimes quoted it in his Commentary on St. Matthew⁶: but he did not receive it as the genuine work of an Apostle.

Jerom found a copy of this Gospel, which in his time appears even in Palestine to have become scarce, in the library of Cæsarea, which had been formed by the martyr Pamphilus. Another copy was lent him by the Nazarenes at Berœa in Syria, the city which is now called Aleppo^e. This copy Jerom transcribed^f, and translated into Latin⁷: his translation however, as well as the original, is unfortunately lost. After the time of Jerom no ecclesiastical writer appears to have used or even to have seen the Gospel of the Nazarenes: the sect itself dwindled gradually away, and consequently their Gospel, which few persons could read, fell by degrees into oblivion. Single copies were probably preserved for some time in different libraries; but few public libraries in the East escaped the ravages of the flames on the invasion of the Saracens, and the copies, which remained in private families, were probably thrown aside as unintelligible and useless, as soon as their value was forgotten. It is probable therefore that no other traveller into Asia will have the same success at Aleppo, as Jerom.

In examining the Gospel of the Nazarenes, one of the first questions which occur is, whether it had the two chapters, with which the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew commences. Epiphanius, who was born in Palestine, and therefore had the best means of information,

^e That Aleppo and Berœa are one and the same city, appears from the accounts of the Syrian writers of the sixth century, who relate of Aleppo what contemporary Greek historians relate of Berœa. See the geographical Index to the second volume of Assemani *Bibl. Orientalis*, and consult the passages to which reference is there made.

^f Hieronym. *de Vir. illustr.* Tom. IV. p. 102. ed. Martianay.

mation, did not take the pains to procure it: for in his description of the Nazarenes, he says, 'I know not whether they also namely (as well as the Ebionites) omit the genealogy from Abraham to Christ^s.' Epiphanius then had neither seen the original, nor Jerom's translation of it, (provided the translation was then made): for if he had, he could not have remained in doubt. Jerom who had the greatest knowledge of this subject, has no where positively declared whether the Nazarene Gospel had these two chapters or not: which is not extraordinary, because he had given a translation of it, and therefore none of his contemporaries could want any further information. But as this translation has not descended to the present time, the only method which we have of coming at the truth, is to collect the single passages, in which Jerom has occasionally mentioned this Gospel, and to draw inferences from them.

In his Note to Matth. ii. 15. he expresses a doubt, whether the words, 'Out of Egypt have I called my son,' were taken from Hosea xi. 1. or from Numb. xxiii. 22. Now if the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes contained the chapter, in which this quotation is made, Jerom could hardly have doubted whether the quoted passage was taken from Hosea xi. 1. or not. This instance however is not decisive, because Jerom adds that he writes in this place 'propter contentiosos:' he himself therefore did not believe, that the quotation was taken from Numb. xxiii. 22, but advanced it merely to silence his adversaries.—On the other hand, from his Note to Matth. ii. 5. we might conclude that he really found this chapter in the Hebrew Gospel: for on Bethlehem Judææ, he says, 'Librariorum hic error est, putamus enim ab Evangelista primo editum, sicut in ipso Hebraico legimus, *Judæ non Judææ.*' Now the words 'in ipso Hebraico' can have no other meaning than 'in the Hebrew Gospel:' for they cannot refer to the Hebrew of the prophet Micah, whence the quotation was borrowed, because in that place there is neither Bethlehem Judæ, nor Bethlehem Judææ, but Bethlehem

Bethlehem Ephratha. Yet it is difficult to comprehend how Jerom could distinguish in the Hebrew *Judæ* from *Judææ*, for both are expressed by יהודה⁹. I suspect therefore that *Hebraico* is a mistake for *Græco*, since the Greek has really Ἰσδρα¹⁰.—There is a still more important passage in Jerom's treatise of illustrious men, to which I referred in the preceding note, and which I will here quote at full length, because we can judge only from the connection, whether he meant to say that the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes, or only the Greek Gospel contained the second chapter. 'Matthæus, qui et Levi, ex publicano Apostolus, primus in Judæa, propter eos qui ex circumcisione crediderant, Evangelium Christi Hebraicis literis verbisque composuit. Quod qui postea in Græcum transtulerit, non satis certum est. Porro ipsum Hebraicum habetur usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus Martyr studiosissime confecit. Mihi quoque a Nazaræis, qui in Berœa urbe Syria hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit. In quo animadvertendum, quod ubique Evangelista sive ex persona sua, sive ex persona Domini salvatoris, veteris scripturæ testimoniis abutitur, non sequatur septuaginta translatorum auctoritatem, sed Hebraicam: e quibus illa duo sunt, 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum,' et 'Quoniam Nazaræus vocabitur.' Here it is evident that, if the words *in quo animadvertendum* refer to *hoc volumine* in the sentence immediately preceding, the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes must have contained at least the second chapter, for the two quotations, 'Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum,' and 'Quoniam Nazaræus vocabitur,' are in Matth. ii. 15. 23. On the other hand, since Jerom at the beginning of this passage had spoken of St. Matthew in general terms, it is possible that he meant to refer to the Evangelist, without having in view the Gospel of the Nazarenes in particular. At different times therefore I have entertained different opinions on this subject, but it appears to me at present, that Jerom really meant the Gospel of the Nazarenes,

renes, and consequently that it contained the second chapter¹¹.

The Gospel of the Nazarenes had, on the other hand, many passages, which are not in our Greek Gospel of St. Matthew. For instance, ch. iii. *Ecce mater domini et fratres ejus dicebant ipsi Joannes Baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum: eamus et baptizemur ab eo. Dixit autem eis; quid peccavi, ut vadam et baptizer ab eo, nisi forte hoc ipsum quod dixi ignorantia est*⁸. After the account of Christ's baptism follows, *Factum est autem, cum ascendisset dominus de aqua, descendit fons omnis Spiritus sancti, et requievit super eum. Et dixit ille, fili mi, in omnibus prophetis expectabam te, ut venires, et requiescerem in te: tu enim es requies mea, tu es filius meus primogenitus, qui regnas in sempiternum*^h. At ch. xii. 10. the man with a withered hand says, *Cœmentarius eram, manibus victum quæritans: precor te, Jesu, ut mihi restituas sanitatem, ne turpiter mendicem cibos*¹. At ch. xviii. 21. 22. the text was worded thus, *Si peccaverit frater tuus in verbo, et fatis tibi fecerit, septies in die suscipe illum. Dixit illi Simon discipulus ejus: septies in die? Respondit Dominus et dixit ei: etiam ego dico tibi, usque septuagesies. Etenim in prophetis quoque, postquam uncti sunt Spiritu sancto, inventus est sermo peccati. In ch. xxviii. is the following relation: Dominus autem, cum dedisset sindonem servo sacerdotis, ivit ad Jacobum, et apparuit ei. Juraverat enim Jacobus se non comesturum panem ab illa hora, qua biberat calicem Domini, donec viderat eum resurgentem a dormientibus*¹². And soon after this passage is, *Adferte, ait Dominus mensam et panem.—Tulit panem et benedixit ac fregit, et post dedit Jacobo Justo, et dixit ei, frater mi comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit filius*
hominis,

⁸ Hieronym. adv. Pelagianos, Lib. III.

^h Hieronym. Lib. IV. Comment. in Jesaiam, cap. 11.

ⁱ Hieronym. Comment. in Matthæum.

hominis a dormientibus^k. In the 28th chapter was likewise a passage relative to Christ's appearance to Peter, which Ignatius^l has in Greek as follows. Καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τὰς πύρας Πέτρον ἦλθεν, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, λάβετε ψηλαφῆσαί με, καὶ ἰδέτε ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι δαίμονιον ἀσώματον. Ignatius indeed does not say whence he derived this quotation: but Jerom, under the article Ignatius, in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, ch. 16. says that it stood in the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes. Further, Jerom says in another place^m, Cum enim Apostoli eum putarent spiritum, vel (secundum evangelium, quod Hebræorum lectitant Nazaræi) incorporale dæmonium.

These and other passages in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, which are not contained in the Greek, the Christian Church has not received as Scripture authority. Yet the passages which Jerom has quoted, he has produced, as respectable though not Scripture authority: and the passage, which Ignatius quoted, is produced by this apostolical Father as a part of the sacred writings. It is however improbable that they proceeded from the pen of St. Matthewⁿ: for if they had, it is hardly credible that such long and remarkable passages would have been omitted in the Greek. The ancient transcribers of the Gospels were always more inclined to insert new passages, than to erase what already existed: we must conclude therefore that, if the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes was St. Matthew's original, it received various additions, after the Greek translation had been made, and that hence arose the difference between the Hebrew and the Greek texts. In addition to the history recorded by St. Matthew, many other
accounts

^k Hieronym. Catal. Scriptorum Ecclesiast. f. v. Jacobus.

^l Epist. ad Smyrnenfes, cap. 3.

^m Hieronym. Opera, Tom. III. p. 478. ed. Martianay.

ⁿ Perhaps the passage quoted by Ignatius may be excepted: for though it is in no Greek MS. at present, it might have been in the Greek text, when Ignatius wrote.

accounts relative to Jesus Christ must have circulated among the Christians of Palestine in the first century: and as every thing, which related to so remarkable a person, was undoubtedly considered as highly important, it is not extraordinary that they who had copies of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, should add in the margin whatever information they could procure, with an intention of making the history of Christ as complete as possible. In subsequent transcripts these marginal additions were taken into the text: and thus the Gospel of the Nazarenes received an accession, from which the Greek Gospel remained free. It is true that the Hebrew Gospel ceased in this manner to be the unadulterated work of St. Matthew: yet the Nazarenes might still consider it upon the whole as a sacred and divine book, more especially if the additional accounts had been derived from the Apostles themselves, as one of the names, by which the Gospel of the Nazarenes is distinguished, appears to imply. For it was called, not only the Gospel according to St. Matthew, but sometimes also the Gospel according to the Apostles^o.

Beside the interpolations in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, it is probable that the Hebrew text differed in many passages from the Greek: and therefore, if it were now extant, we might be able to collect from it various readings. Origen, who had access to it, made no critical use of it; either because he thought the text too corrupted to be applied in emendation of the Greek, or because he was unwilling to undertake the same critical task in respect to the New Testament, as he had done in respect to the Old. Jerom, though he translated it, made little or no use of it in his Commentary on St. Matthew, either for or against the readings of the Greek text. Hence Mill concludes^p, that Jerom himself

^o Evangelium secundum Apostolos. See the passage quoted from Jerom, in the preceding Note *b*.

^p Prol. §. 42, 43.

himself did not believe that the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes, which he translated, was the Gospel of St. Matthew. But Jerom, as well as Origen, may have believed it to have been originally the same, and yet in consequence of the alterations which had been made in it, have thought it an unsatisfactory criterion in determining doubtful passages of the Greek. Or, what I think still more probable, his neglect of the Gospel of the Nazarenes may have proceeded from the great haste in which he dictated his Commentary on St. Matthew⁹. Further, this Commentary, as appears from what he says in the Prologue^r, was only a prelude to a more complete work on this subject, for which he probably reserved all his critical disquisitions^s. Moreover, in respect to the reading εἰκν, Matth. v. 22. on which Mill expresses his surprize, that Jerom did not quote the Gospel of the Nazarenes, if he believed it to be St. Matthew's original, a particular reason may be assigned for his neglect on this occasion. Jerom rejected the word εἰκν, Matth. v. 22. not for critical reasons, or because there was authority against it, but because it did not suit his severe system of morality, according to which it was a sin, not only 'to be angry without a cause,' but to be angry on any occasion whatsoever. Suppose then Jerom had found in the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes a word expressive of εἰκν, he was too much the dogmatist, and too little the critic, at that passage, to have quoted it. Mill's objection^t therefore,

⁹ He says in his Prologue to this Commentary, *An tu in duabus hebdomadibus, imminente jam pascha, et spirantibus ventis, dictare cogis?*

^r *Si autem mihi vita longior fuerit, aut tu in redeundo tua promissa compleveris, tunc nitar implere quod reliquum est: — ut scias, quid intersit inter subitam dictandi audaciam, et elucubratam scribendi diligentiam.*

^s This more complete commentary, if Jerom ever put his design in execution, is not extant.

^t Prol. § 43.

therefore, that Jerom would hardly have had recourse to conjecture, to determine the true reading of this passage, if he had been really in possession of St. Matthew's original, is of no weight. Besides, cases may occur, and the present appears to be one of them, in which an original is of less authority than a translation. Jerom supposed that *εἰς* was an interpolation: he knew likewise that the Hebrew Gospel abounded with interpolations, and consequently, if he had found this word in the Hebrew Gospel, he would not have considered it as a proof, that the reading was genuine. This answer applies with still greater force to another example quoted by Mill from Matth. xxiv. 36. 'But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.' On this passage Jerom observes, that in some copies the words, 'nor the Son,' were added: but he does not appeal to the Hebrew Gospel to determine whether they were genuine. Now suppose he had found these words in the Hebrew Gospel, the question to be asked is: Ought he, as a critic, to have used this as an argument in favour of their authenticity? Certainly not. For since many of the Nazarenes denied the divinity of Christ, and this very reading has been used as an argument against the divinity, Jerom must necessarily have suspected that it was one of the many additions, which had been made to the Hebrew Gospel.

But at Matth. xxiii. 35. where the inquiry related, not to an addition of one or more words, but merely to the substitution of one word for another, Jerom really has quoted the Hebrew Gospel, and moreover for a reading of great importance. Matth. xxiii. 35. runs thus: 'That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar.' Now it appears from 2 Chron. xxiv. 20—22. that Zacharias, who was slain between the temple and the altar, was the son, not of Barachias, but of Jehoiada: consequently

quently if the account in the Chronicles be accurate^u, the reading Barachias at Matth. xxiii. 35. cannot be the true reading. Some commentators have had recourse to the supposition that Jehoiada and Barachias were different names of the same person: but this assertion is wholly incapable of proof, and is in itself highly improbable. Wetstein conjectures that St. Matthew purposely avoided the use of the word Jehoiada, because it contained in it the abbreviated name of Jehova, and therefore substituted Barachia. But this caution in respect to the abbreviation יהי was confined only to the number 15, which it is true the Jews never noted by יהי, though Jod is 10, and He is 5. And even if this reverence for יהי extended to proper names, Wetstein's solution would be unsatisfactory, for in the Hebrew these two letters occur together in Barachia, as well as in Jehoiada. That Zacharias the eleventh of the
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^u I purposely use this restriction, because I have some doubts in respect to the whole narrative, 2 Chron. xxiv. 15—22. as I have already observed in my note to 2 Kings xii. 20. No mention is made of it in the Books of the Kings, and yet we might suppose that so remarkable an event would hardly have been omitted. The narrative was probably taken from a Medrash or commentary on the Kings, agreeably to what we find ver. 27. of this very chapter of the Chronicles¹³. Besides, the narrative itself begins with an account, which is contradictory to chronology, as I have shewn in the Note to 2 Chron. xxiv. 15. It is possible therefore that Zacharias son of Barachias, and the eleventh of the minor prophets, was the person who was murdered, and that the commentator on the Kings, from whom the account in the Chronicles was derived, misunderstood the fact, and introduced it in an improper place. This supposition is as credible, as that the history of Zacharias, son of Jehoiada, if it be true, should have been omitted in the Book of Kings. It is no objection, that the murder of Zacharias, son of Barachias, is no where recorded in the Old Testament: for between the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah there is an interval of more than thirty years, in which we are totally ignorant of the transactions of the Jews. The difficulty therefore may be solved on the supposition that the account given 2 Chron. xxiv. 15—22. is inaccurate, as easily as on the supposition that the reading Barachias, Matth. xxiii. 35. is spurious. In that case we may consider the story recorded 2 Chron. xxiv. 15—22. as tacitly corrected by Christ.

the minor prophets, who was son of Barachias, was murdered, we read no where¹⁴: and it is not probable that two different persons named Zacharias, should both of them have been murdered under the very same circumstances. But if we admit that the eleventh of the minor prophets fell a sacrifice to the Jews, as well as the son of Jehoiada, yet Christ would rather have instanced the son of Jehoiada, because the murder of this person was not only particularly known, but was supposed to call aloud for vengeance*. The blood therefore of this Zacharias was more properly mentioned with the blood of Abel, than the blood of another Zacharias, whose murder, even if he did fall a victim, was unknown¹⁵.—Now at this passage Jerom relates, that the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes read ‘Zacharia the son of Jehoiada.’

I have already observed that though the Ebionites, as well as the Nazarenes, had a Hebrew Gospel, which was called the Gospel of St. Matthew, we must not therefore conclude that it contained the same text as that which the Nazarenes used. Of the Gospel used by the Ebionites we have hardly any other information, than that which has been given by Epiphanius, who, as an ecclesiastical writer, was far from being of the first class, and as a critic, must be referred to the very lowest class. But on the other hand, he had this advantage, that he was a native of Palestine, and understood Hebrew. Though he appears not to have seen the Gospel used by the Nazarenes, and to have derived his knowledge of it merely from the report of others^y, yet
it

* The Rabbins relate, that when Jerusalem was taken by the Chaldeans, the blood of the murdered Zacharias issued like a fountain, and that it was not appeased till Nebusaradan had made atonement by the sacrifice of a thousand Jews. See the quotations made by Wetstein in his note to this passage.

^y If he had himself examined the Gospel used by the Nazarenes, he could not have been in doubt, whether it contained the genealogy of Christ.

it is highly probable that he himself was in possession of a copy of the Gospel used by the Ebionites, as he has made from it several extracts, which I shall presently quote.

According to Epiphanius the Gospel of the Ebionites was different from the Gospel of the Nazarenes: for he describes the former as having an uncorrupted, the latter a very corrupted text². Of the Nazarenes he says^a, 'They likewise have the Gospel of St. Matthew perfectly entire, and in the Hebrew language. For this Gospel is still preserved by them, as it was originally written in Hebrew. But I am not certain whether they also have omitted the genealogy from Abraham to Christ.'^b Of the Ebionites, on the contrary, he says^c, 'In the Gospel used by them, which bears the name of St. Matthew's Gospel, is however not entire and perfect, but is partly corrupted, partly mutilated (they themselves call it the Hebrew Gospel), is related, &c.' It is evident therefore that Epiphanius considered the two Gospels as having a very different text. The latter had been so corrupted, that he describes it as being the Gospel of St. Matthew in name only: and from his saying

² Jerom on the contrary speaks of the Gospel used by the Ebionites, as if it were the same, as the Gospel used by the Nazarenes: for in his Note to Matth. xii. 13. he says, 'In Evangelio quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitæ, quod,' &c. Perhaps Jerom had never seen a copy of the Hebrew Gospel in the hands of the Ebionites, and therefore spoke of them as being the same Gospel, on the report of others, as Epiphanius on the same ground described them as different.

^a Hæref. XXIX. § 9.

^b As Dr. Masch objects to this translation, I will print the Greek of Epiphanius unpointed, that the reader may examine without any bias in my favour. Εχουσι δε το κατα Ματθαιον ευαγγελιον πληρηστατον Εβραϊσι παρ' αυτοις γαρ σαφως τειτο καθως εξ αρχης εγραφη Εβραϊκοις γραμμασι ενι σωζεται εκ οιδα δε ει και τας γενεαλογιας τικς απο τω Αβρααμ αχει Χριστ περιειλον. Before *πληρηστατον* Casaubon thought that *α* should be supplied; but this is not only an arbitrary and unwarrantable alteration, but is likewise unsuitable to the context.

^c Hæref. XXX. § 13.

saying that the Ebionites called it the Hebrew Gospel, one might doubt whether the Ebionites themselves ascribed to it the name of St. Matthew's Gospel^d. On the other hand, though Epiphanius says that the Nazarene Gospel contained St. Matthew's text perfectly entire (πληρες αἶον), we must not therefore conclude that it was wholly unadulterated. The word *πληρες αἶον* Epiphanius probably used in the same sense as modern critics use the phrase *lectio plenior*, which may, or may not be, more than the original text: and meant only to say that the Nazarene Gospel contained the whole of St. Matthew's text^e, which the Ebionite Gospel did not, without affirming either directly or indirectly, that the Nazarene Gospel had not been interpolated. But the interpolations in the Nazarene Gospel appear to have been of a very different kind from those in the Ebionite Gospel. In the former, they seem to have been simply additions in detached places, which left the original text as it was, but only augmented: whereas the Ebionite Gospel, according to Epiphanius, contained also a text, which was itself corrupted. Having premised these accounts I will now produce two passages, which Epiphanius has quoted^f from the Gospel of the Ebionites, in the words of his Greek translation¹⁶.

The first passage appears to have been a kind of preface to the Ebionite Gospel^g, and is as follows.

Εγενεῖτο

^d Perhaps it had received so many additions, as to be no longer the work of one writer.

^e On the genealogy alone he expresses a doubt.

^f Hæref. XXX. § 13.

^g It is evident that the passage which follows can never have been a part of St. Matthew's Gospel. St. Matthew, when he speaks of himself, speaks in the third person (ch. ix. 9.), but this passage is written in the name of several in the first person plural. It was perhaps designed as a general preface in the name of the twelve Apostles: for the Ebionite Gospel had among other names, that of the Gospel of the Apostles, being a composition probably, which contained

Εγενέτο τις ανηρ ονομασί Ιησους, και αυτος ως εἰων τριακοῦλα^h,
 ος εξελεξατο ημας. Και ελθων εις Καφαρναυμ εισηλθεν εις την
 οικίαν Σιμωνος τῃ επικληθεὺς Πέτροςⁱ, και ανοίξας το στομα
 αυτε ειπε, παρερχομενος παρα την λιμνην Τιβεριαδος εξελεξαμην
 Ιωαννην και Ιακωβου υιου Ζεβεδαιου, και Σιμωνα, και Ανδρεαν,
 και Θαδδαιου, και Σιμωνα τον Ζηλωτην, και Ιεδαν τον Ισκα-
 ριωτην, και σε τον Μαθθαιου καθεζομενον επι τῃ τελωνιῃ εκαλεσα,
 και ηκολεθησας μοι. Ὑμας εν βελομαι ειναι δεκαδυο^k Αποστολους
 εις μαρτυριον εν Ισραηλ^l. Και εγενετο ο Ιωαννης βαπτιζων,
 και εξηλθον προς αυτον Φαρισαιοι, και εσαπτισθησαν^m, και πασα
 Ιερουσολυμαⁿ και ειχον ο Ιωαννης ενδυμα απο τριχων καμηλης,
 και

contained various accounts, supposed to be derived from the Apostles. If we consider the passage in any other light than that of a preface, and regard it as a part of the narrative, it is manifestly absurd: for it makes Christ address his Apostles, before the baptism of John is related.

^h These are nearly the words of St. Luke, ch. iii. 23. και αυτος ην ο Ιησους ωσει ετων τριακοῦλα.

ⁱ This history is not the same as that which is given Matth. viii. 14. where it is related that Jesus went into the house of Peter, but no mention is made of any speech to the Apostles. It is one of the additions to this Gospel, and might possibly be true, if St. Matthew's name had not been mentioned, who was not called to be an Apostle, till after this visit in the house of Peter.

^k But only eight Apostles are here mentioned by name: for no notice is taken of Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, and James the son of Alphæus.

^l After this place we begin to find traces of St. Matthew's text, though considerably abbreviated, as every one will see who compares this passage with Matth. iii. Perhaps however this concise text may be ascribed to Epiphanius himself, who instead of giving a literal translation from the Gospel of the Ebionites, may have inserted only so much of its matter, as was necessary for the purpose of his quotation.

^m These words agree exactly with Mark i. 4.

ⁿ Here the Pharisees are mentioned first, and then the inhabitants of Jerusalem in general, as if the Pharisees had set the example: whereas in our Gospels the Pharisees are mentioned last, which shews that they only followed the multitude. If Epiphanius has adhered closely to his original, this inversion in the Gospel of the Ebionites,

και ζωνην δερματινην περι την οσφυν αυτη και το βρωμα αυτη (φησι) μελι αγριου^ο, ε η γευσις ην τε μαννα, ως εγχρισ εν ελαιω^ρ.—On these last words Epiphanius immediately observes, ινα δηθεν μετασρεψωσι του της αληθειας λογον εις ψευδος, και αυτη ακριδων ποιησωσιν εγχριστας εν μελι^ι^ρ.

The

may have been owing to their respect for the Pharisees. Perhaps the same motive induced them to omit St. John's severe censure of that sect.—Further, in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, John's dress and manner of life are described before mention is made of baptism: but in the Ebionite Gospel the latter is mentioned first, as in the Gospel of St. Mark.

° This account of John's dress and manner of life agrees with Matth. iii. 4. except that in the Gospel of the Ebionites no mention is made of locusts as a part of John's diet, for which I can assign no other reason, than that animal food was thought unsuitable to the severe life of the Baptist. That βρωμα is used, and not τροφη as at Matth. iii. 4. makes no difference; for both βρωμα and τροφη can be expressed by the same Hebrew word.

ρ This is similar to Exod. xvi. 31. το δε γευμα αυτε ως εγχρισ εν μελιτι: and Numb. xi. 8. και ην η ποση ωσει γευμα εγχρισ εις ελαιω.

ρ This observation of Epiphanius is not consistent with his quotation, in which John's food is described as being wild honey alone, which is compared, in respect to its taste, with manna, or with a cake baked in oil, (ως εγχρισ εν ελαιω). But the observation of Epiphanius implies that in the Gospel of the Ebionites John's food was described as being 'wild honey and cakes,' instead of 'wild honey and locusts,' as in St. Matthew: for he says that the Ebionites had converted ακριδες into εγχριδες εν μελιτι. Whether the observation of Epiphanius be just, and consequently his quotation inaccurate, or the reverse, I will not pretend to determine. We must recollect however that, as the Ebionite Gospel was not written in Greek, an accidental exchange of εγχριδες for ακριδες could not have taken place in the Gospel itself: for the Hebrew name of εγχρισ and ακρις are too unlike to admit of an accidental exchange. Unless therefore Epiphanius has made a very uncritical conjecture, the confusion can be explained on no other hypothesis, than that the Ebionite Gospel was a composition or harmony formed out of several Gospels, of which one or more were written in Greek, and that the fabricator, mistaking ακριδες for εγχριδες, translated it into Chaldee by 'cakes' instead of 'locusts.' On the other hand, it is not impossible that the conjecture is totally ungrounded.

The Gospel itself, according to Epiphanius^r, began thus. Εγενέτο εν ταις ημεραις Ηρωδε τε βασιλευσ της Ιουδαϊας, ηλθεν Ιωαννης βαπτίζων βαπτισμα μετανοιας εν τω Ιορδανη ποταμω^s; ος εηγελο ειναι εκ γενεσ Ααρων τε ιερεωσ, και Ζαχαριε και Ελισαβετ^t; και εξηρχουλο προς αυτον παντες. Here Epiphanius observes, that after an interval, in which several things were mentioned, the Gospel proceeded as follows. Τε λαβ βαπτισθενίος ηλθε και Ιησους, και εξαπίσθη απο τε Ιωαννε, και ως ανηλθεν απο τε υδαλοσ ηνοιγησαν οι ερανοι, και ειδε το πνευμα τε Θεω το αγιον^u εν ειδει περισερας καλεθουσ και εισελθουσ εις αυλον^x. και φωνη εγενετο εκ τε κρανε, λεγουσα· συ με ει ο υιοσ ο αγαπηλοσ, εν σοι ηυδοκησα.

^r Hæref. XXX. § 13. The passage here quoted, which Epiphanius introduces with the words Η δε αρχη τε παρ' αυτοις ευαγγελιου εχει, immediately follows in Epiphanius that which I have just given, from which one might suppose that the first was a kind of preface. Yet it contains a part of the history recorded in the third chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, which was not wanting in the Ebionite Gospel. Epiphanius is so very concise on this subject, that it is difficult to determine the real state of the case.

^s This strange historical blunder, which makes John the Baptist preach in the time of Herod king of Judæa, who had been dead nearly thirty years, when John began to preach, is a very sufficient proof that St. Matthew was not the author of this passage: for no man who was a contemporary with John could have imagined that Herod was then king of Judæa. The passage appears to have been fabricated by an absurd composition of two different passages in St. Luke's Gospel¹⁷, namely ch. i. 5. and iii. 1, 2, 3. In like manner the words βαπτίζων βαπτισμα μετανοιας εν τω Ιορδανη ποταμω appear to have been put together from Mark i. 4. and Matth. iii. 6.

^t From the expression ελεγετο ειναι one might conclude that the author of this passage doubted, whether John was really the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth, and whether he had not a divine origin.

^u At Matth. iii. 15. is το πνευμα τε Θεω, Luke iii. 22. το πνευμα το αγιον. The author of this passage in the Ebionite Gospel has put them both together and written το πνευμα τε Θεω το αγιον. This instance again betrays a composition from several Gospels¹⁸.

^x Here we discover some traces of St. Matthew's text, ch. iii. 16. καταβαινον ωσει περισεραν, και ερχομενην επ' αυτον: though in the Ebionite Gospel more is said than St. Matthew meant.

πυδοκησα. και παλιν, εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε^γ. Και ευθως περιελαμψε τον τοπον φως μεγα. Ον ιδαν^z (φησιν) ο Ιωαννης λεγει αυτω· συ τις ει, Κυριε; και παλιν φωνη εξ κρανα προς αυτον· ελθς εσιν ο υιος μη ο αγαπητος, εφ ον πυδοκησα^a. Και τοτε (φησιν) ο Ιωαννης προσπεσων αυτω ελεγε· δεομαι σε, Κυριε, συ με βαπτισον. Ο δε εκωλυεν αυτω^b λεγων· αφες, οτι ετως εσι πρεπον πληρωθηναι παντα.

It appears from the preceding extracts from the Ebionite Gospel, that it was not the original Gospel of St. Matthew, but on the contrary that it was a composition, put together partly from St. Matthew's, and partly from the other Gospels. The Nazarene Gospel therefore, which, according to Jerom, was St. Matthew's original^c, must have been very different from the Ebionite

^γ By none of the Evangelists are the words *εγω σημερον γεγεννηκα σε*, said to have been uttered at the baptism of Christ¹⁹. They are an interpolation in the Ebionite Gospel, and are derived from the false notion, which prevailed in the first century, that Christ was a mere man till the time of his baptism, and that he then became the Son of God, and filled with the Holy Ghost.

^z Here the pronoun relative, which refers to *φως*, and therefore ought to be neuter, is of the masculine gender, perhaps because the light is supposed to represent the Deity. This however must be ascribed to Epiphanius the translator, for in the Ebionite Gospel no such distinction could have been made, as neither Hebrew nor Syriac has a neuter gender²⁰.

^a The Evangelists mention only one utterance from Heaven, at the baptism of Christ: which St. Matthew has in the third person, *Ουτος εσιν ο υιος μη ο αγαπητος, εν ω ευδοκησα*, but St. Luke in the second person, *Συ ει ο υιος μη ο αγαπητος, εν σοι πυδοκησα*. The Ebionite Gospel has both of these expressions, and betrays therefore a composition from the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke²¹.

^b Here *εκωλυεν αυτω* is said of Christ, which is the very reverse of *Matth. iii. 14.* where we find *Ο δε Ιωαννης διεκωλυεν αυτον*.

^c Jerom speaks indeed on this subject sometimes only in the name of others, and says of the Nazarene Gospel, '*Quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum.*' But in his Catalogue of Illustrious Men (Tom. IV. p. 102. ed. Martianay), he speaks in his own name, and says in positive terms that the Gospel used by the Nazarenes was St. Matthew's original. '*Matthaus qui et Levi ex publicano Apostolus,*

Ebionite Gospel. For it is hardly credible, if the Nazarene Gospel had differed from the Greek text of St. Matthew, as much as the Ebionite Gospel, that Jerom, who transcribed and translated it, could have taken it, even after deducting the interpolations, for the original of St. Matthew's Gospel. It is true that Jerom makes no distinction between the Nazarene and the Ebionite Gospel: for he says in his note to Matth. xii. 13. In Evangelio quo utuntur Nazaræni et Ebionitæ—quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum. But we must recollect that Jerom never saw the Hebrew Gospel which was used by the Ebionites: he was acquainted only with that which was used by the Nazarenes, and therefore had no opportunity of comparing the one with the other. Through want of knowledge then he might suppose that they were the same, though they were really different. But he was not exposed to the danger of any such mistake in regard to the Nazarene Gospel and the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew: for he had both of them in his own possession, was fully acquainted with the contents of both, and therefore, if they had been materially different, he could not have even doubted on the subject. However, I am far from supposing that Jerom took the Nazarene Gospel for the *unadulterated* original, as it is evident from the quotations, which he has made from it, that it abounded with interpolations. For that reason he has not quoted the Nazarene Gospel as canonical authority: but on the other hand he quotes it in his Commentary on St. Matthew without any expressions of disrespect, and at the beginning of his third book against the Pelagians^d,
he

tolus primus in Judæa, propter eos qui ex circumfisione crediderant, Evangelium Christi Hebraicis literis verbisque composuit: quod qui postea in Græcum transfulerit non satis certum est. Porro ipsum Hebraicum habetur usque hodie in Cæsariensi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus Martyr studiosissime confecit. Mihi quoque a Nazaræis, qui in Berœa urbe Syriæ, hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit.

^d Tom. IV. p. 533. ed. Martianay.

he says, Quibus testimoniis si non uteris ad auctoritatem, utere saltem ad antiquitatem, quid omnes viri ecclesiastici fenserint.

On the other hand I admit that Jerom is far from being consistent and uniform in his accounts of the Nazarene Gospel: for though he declares in positive terms, as appears from the preceding quotation, that it was St. Matthew's original²², yet at other times he writes as if he had not a thorough conviction of the truth of this assertion. For instance in his Commentary on St. Matthew, ch. vi. 11. where he had translated *τον αβλον ημων του επιβσιου* by *panem nostrum supersubstantiali-alem*, he says, 'Quod nos *supersubstantiali-alem* expressimus, in Græco habetur *επιβσιου*, quod verbum LXX. *περιβσιου* frequentissime transferunt. Consideravimus ergo in Hebræo, et ubicunque illi *περιβσιου* expresserunt, nos invenimus *Sgolla*^e, quod Symmachus *εξαριβλον*, id est, *præcipuum*, vel *egregium* transtulit, licet in quodam loco *peculiare* interpretatus sit. Quando ergo petimus, ut peculiarem vel præcipuum nobis deus tribuat panem, illum petimus qui dicit, Ego sum panis vivus, qui de cælo descendi. In Evangelio, quod appellatur secundum Hebræos, pro *supersubstantiali pane* reperi *Mahar*^f, quod dicitur *crastinum*; id est, futurum da nobis hodie.' Here Jerom acknowledges that where *επιβσιου* is used in the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, *מחר* was used in the Hebrew²³: yet instead of altering the old Latin translation *panem nostrum quotidianum* to *panem nostrum in diem crastinum*, he alters it to *panem nostrum supersubstantiali-alem*. As Jerom then rejected here the reading of the Hebrew Gospel, one might conclude that he at least doubted, whether it was St. Matthew's original. However the inference is not so certain, as it appears to be: For Jerom manifestly sacrifices the rules of criticisms to his passion for spiritualizing the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer. Jerom thought it not sufficient to pray for earthly bread, and consequently worked out of *επιβσιου* the

ε. סגלה.

f. מחר.

the sense of *super substantialis*. That he abandoned therefore in this instance the reading of the Hebrew Gospel will not decide against it.

In the Prologue to Jerom's Commentary on St. Matthew, there is another passage, which, at first sight, appears to be still more formidable than the preceding. 'Plures fuisse, qui Evangelia scripserunt, et Lucas Evangeiista testatur,—et perseverantia usque ad præsens tempus monumenta declarant; quæ a diversis auctoribus edita diversarum hæreseon fuere principia; ut est illud juxta Ægyptios, et Thomam, et M-tthiam, et Bartholomæum, *duodecim quoque Apostolorum*. Here it cannot be denied that Jerom refers the Gospel which bore the title of Evangelium secundum Apostolos, to the class of apocryphal Gospels. Further, he himself relates^z, that the Gospel used by the Nazarenes had among other names that of Evangelium secundum Apostolos. He condemns therefore in the passage just quoted the Gospel used by the Nazarenes as apocryphal: which appears to be a direct contradiction to his other assertion, that the Gospel used by the Nazarenes was St. Matthew's Hebrew original^b. We must either suppose therefore that Jerom was so forgetful and inconsistent as no man in his senses can well be, or there must be some method of reconciling these contradictory accounts. Now I can see no other method of reconciling them than the following: that Jerom really believed, that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes was, in its primitive and unadulterated state, the work of St. Matthew, but that in a course of years it had received so many additions, containing accounts pretended to have been derived from the Apostles, (whence the name of Evangelium secundum Apostolos was given it)

as

^z Adv. Pelagianos, Lib. III. The words have been already quoted.

^b See the passage quoted in the preceding note (c).

as to induce Jerom to rank it among the apocryphal Gospels.

Origen, as appears from a passage already quotedⁱ, makes likewise a distinction between the Gospel, which was called *Evangelium secundum Apostolos*, and the Gospel of St. Matthew: saying, that the latter was written by inspiration, but not the former. Now whether Origen believed that this Hebrew Gospel which was used by the Nazarenes, was originally the work of St. Matthew, but that it had ceased to deserve the title of St. Matthew's Gospel in consequence of its numerous interpolations, or whether he believed that the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes was from the very first, a distinct composition from the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, I will not undertake to determine. But this I may venture to assert, that Origen's rejection of the Nazarene Gospel as a work destitute of canonical authority, will not prove that he adopted the latter opinion: for Origen may have been influenced by the very same motive, as that which induced Jerom to reject at one time, as apocryphal, a work, which at another time he had called St. Matthew's original.

The celebrated chapter in the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius^k where a catalogue is given of the canonical and uncanonical books of the New Testament, has been so differently interpreted, as to give sometimes a favourable, at other times an unfavourable result for the Hebrew Gospel used by the Nazarenes, or as it is frequently called, the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The expressions used by Eusebius are certainly ambiguous: yet after an attentive perusal of the passage, it appears to me that what Eusebius has said of this Gospel is much more in its favour than the contrary. Eusebius divides the real and pretended books of the New Testament into three separate classes, which he calls *ομολογούμενα*, *αντιλεγόμενα*, and *νοθα*, and arranges the books, which

ⁱ In the fifth section of this chapter.

^k Lib. III. cap. 25.

which belong to these respective classes, in the following manner²⁴. *Ευλογον δ' εὐλαυθα γενομενες ανακεφαλαιωσασθαι τας δηλωθεισας της καινης διαθηκης γραφας· και δη ταχθειον εν πρωτοις την αγιαν των Ευαγγελιων τειρακτιν· οις επιται η των πραξεων των Αποσολων γραφη· μελα δε ταυτην, τας Παυλε καταλεκτεον επισολας· αις εξης την φερομενην Ιωαννε προθεραν, και ομοιωσ την Πετρε κυρωθειον επισολην· επι τειροις ταχθειον, ειγε φανειη, την Αποκαλυψιν Ιωαννε, περι ης τα δοξάνια κατα καιρον εκθησομεθα· και ταυτα μεν εν ομολογεμενοις. Των δ' αυτελεγομενων, γνωριμων δ' εν ομωσ τοις πολλοις, η λεγομενη Ιακωβε φερεται, και η Ιουδα, ητε Πετρε δευτερα επισολη, και η ονομαζομενη δευτερα και τριτη Ιωαννε, ειτε τε Ευαγγελιστε τυγχανουσι, ειτε και ετερε ομωυμε εκεινω. Εν τοις νοθοις καταλειαχθω και των Παυλε πραξεων η γραφη, ο τε λεγομενος Ποιμην, και η Αποκαλυψις Πετρε, και προς τειροις η φερομενη Βαρναβα επισολη, ται των Αποσολων αι λεγομεναι· ει τε, ως εφην, η Ιωαννε Αποκαλυψις, ει φανειη, ην τινεσ ως εφην αθειεστιν, ετεροι δε εγκρινουσι τοις ομολογεμενοις· ηδη δ' εν τειροις τινεσ και το καθ' Εβραιισ ευαγγελιον κατελεξαν, ω μαλιστα Εβραιων οι τον Χριστον παραδεξαμενοι χερουσι. Ταυτα μεν παυτα των αυτελεγομενων αυ ειη.*

Here it is difficult to determine precisely what Eusebius intended to affirm of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, because it is uncertain to what antecedent he meant to refer the relative *τειροις*. He says, *εν τειροις τινεσ και το καθ' Εβραιισ ευαγγελιον κατελεξαν*, to which the immediate antecedent is *ομολογεμενοις*, but the remote antecedent *νοθοις*. He has therefore not clearly explained, whether the Gospel according to the Hebrews was ranked by some (*τινεσ*) among the *ομολογεμενα*, or among the *νοθα*. If they ranked it among the *νοθα*, they may have rejected it merely on account of its interpolations, and therefore this rejection will not prove that the Gospel according to the Hebrews was originally a different work from the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew. On the other hand, if they ranked it among the *ομολογεμενα*, they must have considered this Hebrew Gospel with exception perhaps to its interpolations, as the original of St. Matthew's Gospel. Which of the two inter-

interpretations is the right one, I will not pretend to determine, though Dr. Masch is decidedly of opinion that the former alone is admissible¹. Equally uncertain is the opinion of those who differed from the few (τινες) whose sentiments Eusebius has delivered on the Hebrew Gospel. If these (τινες) referred it to the ομολογημενα, the majority refused it this honour, and probably on account of its interpolations. If the few (τινες) referred it to the νοθα, as Dr. Masch asserts, the question then to be asked is, to what class did the others, who constituted the majority, refer it? Now it appears to me, that if the few referred it to the νοθα, the majority must have referred it to the ομολογημενα, and consequently have considered as St. Matthew's original, agreeably to what Jerom says, *Vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum*^m. But Dr. Masch, who asserts the premises, denies the inference, and asserts that the few placed it among the νοθα, but that the majority placed it, not in a higher, but in a still lower class than the νοθα. To make this inference at least plausible, he says, (what I shall certainly not dispute) that Eusebius, after having enumerated the ομολογημενα, αντιλεγόμενα, and νοθα, mentions a fourth class of books, which calls αλοπα παινη και δυσσεβη, and describes as undeserving of a place even among the νοθα. To this fourth class of totally worthless, and impious books, says Dr. Masch, did the majority, according to Eusebius, refer the Gospel according to the Hebrews. But this inference

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¹ He argues, p. 200, from the arrangement observed by Eusebius in the distribution of the several books into ομολογημενα, αντιλεγόμενα, and νοθα: and contends, that, as Eusebius has mentioned the Gospel according to the Hebrews in the class of the νοθα, it would be a total violation of order, if we referred τωτοις to the word ομολογημενοις, which he had introduced as a mere remark in treating of the νοθα. Now I admit, that this argument would be valid, if it were applied to a writer, whose accuracy in the arrangement of his materials admitted of no doubt: but the description, which Eusebius has given in this chapter, is really so confused, that we cannot argue merely from the arrangement of its several parts,

^m See his Note to Matth. xii. 13.

is contrary to the testimony of every ecclesiastical writer on this Gospel, for not one has described it as a totally worthless and impious book, but on the contrary they speak of it in general with great respect. Origen, it is true, did not admit its inspiration: yet he frequently quoted it, though not as scripture authority, yet by way of illustration and in support of his argumentsⁿ. Epiphanius is very far from speaking of the Gospel used by the Nazarenes in disrespectful terms, and Jerom thought it of sufficient importance to merit a translation. Both of these writers indeed lived somewhat later than Eusebius, but if a favourable opinion was entertained of this Gospel in the time of Jerom and Epiphanius, we can hardly suppose that it was treated half a century before, as worthless and impious. Even the interpolations in this Gospel, as far as we are acquainted with them, by no means deserve these epithets: and therefore I am persuaded that it was not the intention of Eusebius to say, that the majority referred the Gospel in question to the *αλοπα πανη και δυσσειη*²⁵. Dr. Masch objects^o, that the majority could not possibly have placed this Gospel among the *ομολογεμενα*, because the majority of the Christians in the time of Eusebius were not acquainted with it. But this argument proves nothing: for the majority of Christians in the time of Eusebius were no more acquainted with the Hebrew Bible, than with the Hebrew Gospel, their want of knowledge of it proceeding from their ignorance of the language in which it was written. That the majority therefore did not make use of the Hebrew Gospel, will not prove that they absolutely rejected it.—But whatever was the opinion of the few or of the many in respect to the Gospel in question, the opinion, which Eusebius himself

ⁿ Origen says, (Tract. VIII. in Matth. Tom. I. p. 73.) Scriptum est in Evangelio quodam, quod dicitur secundum Hebræos; si tamen placeat alicui recipere illud non ad auctoritatem, sed ad manifestationem propositæ quæstionis, &c.

^o Page 194.

himself entertained of it was certainly in its favour. For immediately after the account which he has given of this Gospel, he adds, *ταύτα μὲν πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων ἄν εἴη*. He places therefore the Gospel according to the Hebrews, that is, the Gospel used by the Nazarenes, in the same rank, not only with the Apocalypse, but with the Epistle of St. James, the second Epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, and the Epistle of St. Jude.

Before I conclude my account of the authors, who have either described or quoted the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarenes, I must take notice of a passage, which I have already quoted from Ignatius. This father, in the third chapter of his Epistle to the Christians of Smyrna, where he defends the manhood of Christ against the Docetæ, has the following passage: *Ἐγὼ γὰρ μέγα τὴν ἀνασασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ οἶδα, καὶ πιστεύω οὐκ ἄρα. Καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, εἶπε αὐτοῖς. λαβέτε ψηλαφῆσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι δαιμονίου ἀσώματον· καὶ εὐθύς αὐτὴν ἠψάντο, καὶ ἐπισέυσαν, κραθέντες τῷ σαρκὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τῷ πνεύματι.* This passage was according to Jerom^p in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and he considers it as a certain fact that Ignatius quoted it from this Gospel. But Ignatius does not say that it was a quotation from this or from any other Gospel. And therefore it is at least possible that this passage, instead of having been quoted by Ignatius from the Gospel of the Nazarenes, was interpolated in this Gospel from the Epistle of Ignatius, who probably derived his information from conversation with the Apostles. I am surprised that this has never occurred to any critic, as the fact is not only possible, but in my opinion highly probable, if not absolutely certain²⁰. In this opinion I am confirmed by the circumstance, that this passage as worded in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, betrays a translation from the Greek. Ignatius writes *πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθε*, which literally translated signifies ‘he came to those who were with Peter,’ but according to the usage of the Greek language denotes simply,

^p Catalog. scriptor. ecclesiastic. f. v. Ignatius.

simply, 'he came to Peter.' Now according to Jerom this passage was worded thus in the Gospel of the Nazarenes: 'he came to Peter, and to those who were with Peter,' which betrays a twofold translation from the Greek *προς τας περι Πέτρον ηλθε*, a correct one, 'he came to Peter,' and an incorrect one 'he came to those who were with Peter'²⁷. Ignatius therefore cannot be produced as evidence for the antiquity and authority of the Gospel of the Nazarenes, though he may be considered as a voucher for the truth of this narration which is contained in it. And from this very example we may perceive in what manner the interpolations in the Nazarene Gospel took their rise, namely by adding to the original text of St. Matthew, whatever accounts could be procured from good authority relating to Christ.

The history of the Nazarene Gospel may be briefly summed up under the following heads

1. Very few ecclesiastical writers have taken notice of this Gospel²⁸: at which we have no reason to be surpris'd as few of them understood Hebrew, and no translation of it had been made before that of Jerom: Besides, the copies of it were very scarce even in Palestine, for Jerom mentions it as an unusual book, which he found in the library of Cæsarea²⁹.

2. However its name and character were not unknown; though it is difficult to determine, what the majority of Christians in the three first centuries thought of it, because Eusebius has expressed himself in ambiguous terms. In the fifth century most persons believed it to be the original of St. Matthew's Gospel: but whether they knew that it was interpolated, and distinguished the genuine text from its additions, we are not informed.

3. Ignatius does not mention the name of this Gospel: he has a passage indeed, which existed in this Gospel, but that passage, as I have already shewn, was inserted in the Nazarene Gospel from the Epistle of Ignatius,

Ignatius, and not quoted by Ignatius from this Gospel¹⁰.

4. It is quoted more than once by Origen, as ancient though not as scripture authority; for he considered it, probably on account of its interpolations, as a mere human composition, but he is far from speaking of it in terms of disrespect. What he thought of its genuine text, when separated from the interpolations, he has nowhere mentioned.

5. Eusebius refers it to the *αὐθιγεγομενα*, and places it in the same rank with the Epistle of St. James, the second Epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, the Epistle of St. Jude, and the Apocalypse.

6. Epiphanius describes the Nazarene Gospel, as St. Matthew's original: but he does not appear to have seen it himself, and therefore he probably followed the common opinion.

7. Jerom was well acquainted with it, and describes it as St. Matthew's original. It is true that in one passage, in his cursory Preface to St. Matthew's Gospel, he speaks of it under the name of the Gospel of the twelve Apostles, in disrespectful terms. But he had probably the interpolations only in view, when he cast this censure upon it, and did not mean to reflect on the genuine text. Nay the interpolations themselves he has at other times quoted without the smallest disapprobation, and in his controversy with the Pelagians he has produced them even as authority.

After all then, that has been said on this subject, we see that Jerom is the only ecclesiastical writer, who had sufficient knowledge of the Nazarene Gospel, to furnish us with certain information. By his report therefore I shall abide, and shall consider the Nazarene Gospel as St. Matthew's original, augmented indeed with many additions, which, though they are so far spurious, that they did not proceed from the pen of St. Matthew, who wrote the Gospel itself, were derived probably from good authority, and therefore may
be

be historically, though not critically, true. Absolute certainty on this subject is not to be expected, since Jerom's translation, as well as the Hebrew Gospel itself is unfortunately lost: we must therefore content ourselves with probabilities, and, though we are in danger of falling into error, must argue from the few documents, which are now extant³¹.

If the original had descended to the present age, it would have been of great use both to critics and commentators, as appears from one of its readings, which Jerom has quoted at Matth. vi. 11. In this passage the Greek text is, Τον ἀρτον ἡμῶν του ἐπιβσιου δος ἡμῖν σημερον, which in our version is rendered, 'Give us this day our daily bread.' Now the word ἐπιβσιος is a very unusual word, and hence various commentators have given various explanations of it. Among other interpretations, ο ἐπιβσιος has been explained as denoting ο της ἐπιβσης ημερας: and consequently the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer, as signifying, 'Give us this day our bread for the morrow.' This interpretation, which is in itself highly probable, is confirmed as the true one, by the word used in the Nazarene Gospel, if this Gospel is St. Matthew's original: for Jerom relates that for ἐπιβσιου in the Greek Gospel, the Nazarene Gospel had מחר, which denotes *dies crastinus*³. To petition
the

³ Dr. Masch (p. 207—211.) conjectures that the word used in the Nazarene Gospel was not מחר, but מחר with an He and not Heth, and that Jerom in the hurry of copying mistook ח for ה. He is of opinion that if מחר had stood in the original, no Greek translator of the two first centuries would have rendered it by ἐπιβσιος, because this word does not occur in that sense in any writer of the two first centuries. But according to Origen the word ἐπιβσιος did not occur in this or any other sense, except in the Lord's Prayer, for he says the word was peculiar to the Evangelists. See Wetstein's Note to Matt. vi. 11. This argument therefore would prove too much. On the contrary, it appears to me, that, if מחר was the word used by Christ, ἐπιβσιου is a translation which we might not unreasonably expect from the Evangelists, because η ἐπιβσια is used in the New Testament to denote the 'day following.' That the Syriac translator has used a different word for ἐπιβσιου will not prove that מחר was not used in the original of the Lord's Prayer, for the Syriac translator may have misunderstood the Greek in this passage, as he has done in many others.

the Deity to give us each day what is necessary for the morrow is surely more suitable to our wants, than to request him to give us what is necessary for the day, on which we make the petition, since it generally happens that the wants of that day are already supplied. Christ therefore, who has taught us not to be anxious for the morrow, has commanded us to rely on our heavenly Father, and to petition him that he would grant to day what is necessary for the morrow, that we may await the approach of each subsequent day without fear or anxiety.

The preceding example may serve as a specimen of the exegetical use, which might be made of the Nazarene Gospel, were it now extant. To illustrate its critical use, in determining the authenticity or spuriousness of doubtful passages, we may apply it to the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, on which doubts are entertained, whether they really proceeded from the pen of the Evangelist. It appears from the accounts of Epiphanius, which have been already quoted, that in the Hebrew Gospel used by the Ebionites, the genealogy was certainly wanting; and perhaps the whole of the two first chapters³². Tatian likewise, who is said to have used the Hebrew Gospel omitted the genealogy: in two Capitulations and a Breviary published by Martianay it is wholly unnoticed: and the Codex Ebnerianus, which I have described in the Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts¹, begins St. Matthew's Gospel with the eighteenth verse of the first chapter³³. There are likewise internal marks, which render it at least doubtful, whether the genealogy was written by the same person, who wrote the rest of the Gospel. For instance ver. 6. *Ἰησοῦς ἐγέννησε Δαβὶδ τὸν βασιλεῖα* is copied (contrary to the common custom in St. Matthew's Gospel) not from the Hebrew, but from the Greek, book of Ruth ch. iv. 22. where we find *Ἰησοῦς ἐγέννησε Δαβὶδ τὸν βασιλεῖα*, whereas the Hebrew has simply *ישׁי הוליד את דוד*, without any word expressive of

¹ Vol. II. Ch. viii. Sect. 6. N°. 116.

of τὸν βασιλεὺς³⁴. Doubts of this kind might be either removed or confirmed by the Nazarene Gospel, were it now extant, and were we absolutely certain that it contained the original text of St. Matthew. But our imperfect accounts of this Gospel make it difficult to determine whether it began in the same manner as our Greek Gospel, or whether it began at the eighteenth verse of the first chapter, or whether it commenced with what is now our third chapter³⁵.

On the other hand, though it were true that the two first chapters did not exist in St. Matthew's Hebrew original, they would not therefore deserve to be rejected as a false and spurious production. If St. Matthew gave no account of the birth of Christ in his Gospel, he may have written a separate work on that subject, with the title Βιβλος γενεσεως Ιησὺ Χριστῶ, which when translated into Greek may have been prefixed to his Gospel, lest so small a work, if written separately, should be lost. The canonical authority therefore of these two chapters is not necessarily affected, even if the Hebrew Gospel did not contain them: though I admit that the proof of their canonicity would be more complete, if we could shew, that they existed in the original Gospel. No two chapters in the whole New Testament are pressed with so many difficulties, as the two in question: not so much on account of the apparent contradictions to the genealogy given by St. Luke, which may be very satisfactorily reconciled, as on account of the quotations contained in them from the Old Testament, which I am wholly unable to explain. The account likewise given ch. i. 5. that Rahab was the mother of Boaz, and consequently that David was descended from her, appears to be very uncertain, because in the genealogical table of David's ancestors, which is given in the book of Ruth³, and in the first book of the Chronicles⁴, no mention is made of any such person as Rahab: nor is it said in the book of
Joshua,

³ Ch. iv. 21.⁴ Ch. ii. 11.

Joshua^u, where the history of Rahab is related, that she married the father of Boaz³⁶. Since therefore the Old Testament is silent on this subject, the writer of the genealogy could have derived his information from no other source than Jewish tradition. But we find no such report among the Jewish writers. On the contrary, it appears from the quotations made by Wetstein, that among the descendants of Rahab were several priests: whence we might suppose that she married rather into the tribe of Levi, than into the tribe of Judah³⁷. Should any critic therefore, in consequence of these difficulties be disposed to separate the two first chapters from the rest of St. Matthew's Gospel, in order to prevent the objections which may be made to them from affecting the credibility and inspiration of the whole Gospel, I should not censure him for his conduct, though for my own part I am unable to come to a positive decision, whether they ought to be separated or not. At any rate, if they were not written by St. Matthew, they were certainly written before the destruction of Jerusalem: for after that period, the Gospel of St. Luke must have been so generally known as to have superseded the necessity of another genealogy. Besides, if this genealogy had been fabricated in a later age, the author of it would have taken care to have avoided even the appearance of a contradiction to the genealogy of St. Luke. Nor must we forget, that the two first chapters, as well as the remaining part of the Gospel, have been uniformly handed down by the ancient church, as the work of St. Matthew³⁸.

^u Ch. vi. 25.

S E C T. X.

Of the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, which was published by Sebastian Münster: and of the edition published by John Tilet.

WE have two editions of a Hebrew Gospel in print: but it is certain that neither of them is St. Matthew's original, and that neither of them was used either by the Nazarenes or by the Ebionites. Of Münster's edition I can make this assertion from actual examination, for I have found that it has none of the distinguishing passages of the Nazarene Gospel: and they who have examined Tilet's edition, say the same. Besides, in both these editions the language is not Chaldee, but Hebrew as written by the Rabbins, or as we call it, Rabbinic: which alone affords sufficient proof that this is not the Gospel, which was used by the Nazarenes.

The title of Münster's edition of 1557, is תורה : *Evangelium secundum Matthæum in lingua Hebraica, cum versione Latina, atque annotationibus Sebastiani Münsteri.*—*Una cum epistola D. Pauli ad Hebræos, Hebraice et Latine.* Basileæ apud Henricum Petri*. The first edition, which was printed in 1537, I have never seen, and therefore I know not whether it differs from that of 1557: but there is another edition, printed in 1582, which I have compared with that of 1557, and have found them so similar to each other, that one might suppose the edition of 1582 was nothing more than the edition of 1557, with a new title page and a new preface. In both editions the types are the very same, and resemble each other in the irregularity of their position, and the weakness and illegibility of the impression. Further, the first and last words of each

* The subscription, at the end, is dated, Basileæ, per Henricum Petri, anno M.D.LVII. mense Augusto.

each page, are the same in both editions, except that p. 206, 207, there is a trifling difference in respect to the words, which follow וְהוּא אָמַר. However, whether they are the same or not, is of no great importance in the present inquiry, and therefore I shall leave the question to be determined by those, who are bibliographers by profession. Mr. Nahmacher, who has published three dissertations, entitled, “Animadversiones in Evangelium Hebraicum Sebastiani Münsteri,” in which he endeavours by the help of this Gospel to explain difficult passages of the Greek, has mentioned another edition published by Cinquarbres, or Quinquarboreus, as he styled himself in Latin, at Paris in 1551.

Sebastian Münster in his dedication to the King of England, Henry VIII. says that he did not print this Hebrew version exactly as it was in his manuscript, but that he supplied the deficiencies, wherever it was imperfect^y. His publication therefore is of no value to a critic: for no man can quote a reading of this Gospel, either for or against a reading of the Greek text, since he must always remain in doubt, whether it stood in the manuscript, or whether it was one of Münster's additions.

One of the motives to this publication was the hope of converting the Jews; for Münster relates in his Preface^z, that he was requested by those, who had seen the extracts which he had given from it in some of his former works, to print it for that purpose. But Münster himself, who doubted whether it would produce
this

^y Matthæi Evangelium—in nativa sua, hoc est, Hebraica lingua, non qualiter apud Hebræorum vulgus lacerum inveni, sed a me redintegratum et in unum corpus redactum emittimus.

^z P. 11. Quum illud ante multos annos in libris meis Hebraicis citassem, essentque qui me sollicitarent tantum thesaurum in publicum ut emitterem, futurum sperantes ut—qui alieni sunt a Christo hac occasione traherentur ad Christum, tam honestam et sanctam petitionem repellere indignum ratus, &c. N. B. Though I quote the number of the page, in order to direct the reader, the pages in the preface itself are not numbered.

this effect^a, had another motive. He supposed that St. Matthew's original was in the very same language, as the Gospel which he published^b, and concluded therefore that his work would be of use in ascertaining the meaning of the Greek text, because the Hebrew has many peculiarities, which it is difficult to express in a translation^c. On this occasion he casts a very unreasonable censure on those, who trust to versions, as if the Gospel, which he published, were not itself a version. But since it is not a version into the same dialect, in which the Gospel was originally written, it will not always assist us in attempting to discover the words of the original. It is true that the Chaldee dialect, which was spoken by Christ and his Apostles, is in its structure very closely allied to the Rabbinic: but in their modes of expression there is a material difference, especially since the European Jews have adopted so many terms from other languages, and the dialect of Münster's Gospel is that of modern Rabbinic. Further, the translator does not appear to have been fortunate in the choice of his phrases: and like the Syriac translator he has not always availed himself of the advantages, which the language, in which he wrote, afforded him. The Sermon on the mount for instance, if it were retranslated into the language spoken by Christ in such a manner that the forms of expression used by the
ancient

^a In the Preface to the edition of 1557, p. 8, he says, *Non quia mihi populum cervicosum illum hujus in sua lingua publicatione Christum agniturum spes fit, cum illud semper habuerint quidem, impugnarint autem semper.*

^b See the quotation in the preceding Note (γ), where Münster uses the expression in *nativa sua, hoc est, Hebraica lingua.*

^c *Deinde, quod quædam ob sermonum idiomata, sic in alienam linguam, transfundi non possunt, ut vel eandem et nativam, paræve nativæ gratiam claritatemque præferant. Quod huic linguæ peculiare maxime est.* It is true that these words may be referred to the Hebrew Bible only; but they may relate also to the Hebrew Gospel, and Münster is not the only person, who has expected to derive from it so much critical assistance.

ancient Rabbins were preserved, would receive very considerable light: but from the translation of this discourse in Münster's edition, we can derive little or no information. In many places we find a very good translation, but there are others again in which the translator might certainly have chosen better expressions. At Matt. xxvii. 62. $\sigma\sigma\tau\chi\theta\iota\sigma\alpha\upsilon$ ought to have been rendered by נכנסו ^d, instead of which we find the ill-chosen expression נאספו ^e. Ver. 65, 66. $\alpha\sigma\varsigma\omega\delta\alpha$ ought probably in Rabbinic to be written קוסטונדיא agreeably to what we find in the Syriac version², because the subject related to a Roman guard: but in Münster's edition $\alpha\sigma\varsigma\omega\delta\alpha$ is given by משמרת . The difficult passage, ch. xxviii. 1. might have been rendered intelligible merely by the use of the word נהר ^e: but the translator, instead of adopting this word has rendered the passage thus, $\text{ובערב השבת שיאיר באחד השבת}$. In short the translation is of no value.

I have already observed that the language of this translation is Rabbinic: and it appears to be the same kind of Rabbinic as was used by Jewish writers of the twelfth and following centuries. It is therefore not improbable that this translation was made by a Jewish convert, in the interval between the twelfth and sixteenth century, in order to furnish his brethren with a true history of Christ, and to confute the fabulous and absurd accounts, which were current among the Jews. If this be true, as it really appears to be, we may conclude that the translation was made, not from the Greek, but from the Vulgate, for we cannot expect a knowledge of the Greek language in a Jewish convert of the middle ages. That it was made from the Vulgate

^d See the explanation of this passage in my History of the Resurrection.

^e See what is said on this subject, Vol. I. Ch. iv. Sect. 5. of this Introduction³.

gate is confirmed also by an observation of Wetstein^f, that wherever the same Greek word is differently rendered in the Latin, different Hebrew words occur in this Gospel, and on the contrary, where different Greek words are rendered by the same Latin word, in each place of this Gospel likewise is used the same Hebrew word: moreover that there are many phrases, which betray a literal translation from the Latin. For instance at Matt. iii. 2. one of Wetstein's examples, which I have quoted in the note, every man, who translated from the Greek, would probably render μετανοείτε by שׁוּבוּ: but instead of this single word we find in Münster's edition עֵשׂר תְּשׁוּבָה, which literally corresponds to the phrase used in the Vulgate, *pœnitentiam agite*. Further, the translator has added בְּחַיִּים *in vivis*, which is not in the Vulgate, but on which Mr. Nahmmacher has a very happy conjecture. I have never compared this Hebrew Gospel, line for line, with the Greek and Latin texts; but even a cursory examination of it has furnished me with several examples, which confirm Wetstein's opinion, especially ch. v. 23. where no translation is given of εἰσεν, a word which had been banished from the Vulgate, but is retained in almost all the Greek manuscripts. A more complete examination of this Gospel would probably supply a great variety of instances, which might completely elucidate this subject.

But if it be true that the Hebrew Gospel published by Münster was translated from the Vulgate at a period later than the twelfth century, it follows, that, even if Münster

^f Prol. p. 105. Quoties eadem vox Græca aliter in Latino redditur, etiam in Hebraico diversa occurrunt vocabula: contra ubi diversæ voces Græcæ eodem modo in Latino vertuntur, in Hebraico eadem vox recurrit: ut Matth. ii. 7, 8. *diligenter didicit*. iii. 2. *pœnitentiam agite*. xv. 32. *triduo*. xvii. 14. *sæpe et crebro*. xviii. 12. *eam quæ erravit*. 24. *qui debebat ei*, xx. 13. *facio tibi injuriam, si fieri potest, usque ad septimum*, xxiv. 24. *ut in errorem inducantur, si fieri potest*, xxvii. 5. *laqueo se suspendit*, xxviii. 1. *primo mane, ad verbum, Latinum sequens codicem, convertit*.

Münster had printed accurately from his manuscript without any alterations, it could be of no value to a critic in determining the authenticity of the Greek readings, because the text of this Hebrew Gospel shews only what were the readings of that copy of the Vulgate, from which the translation was made. It might be used indeed by a collector of various readings to the Vulgate: but as the manuscripts of the Vulgate written in the twelfth and following centuries are so very numerous, it would be a useless labour to collect readings from a Hebrew translation of it.

Mr. Knoch is of opinion, that the translation was not made by a Jew, because it contains many expressions, which militate against the rules of grammar^g. But violations of this kind will not prove that the author was not a Jew, for the most learned Rabbins of the middle ages are frequently inattentive to the rules of grammar, and couple sometimes masculines with feminines. Rabbinic is of itself a corrupt dialect, and bears the same relation to pure Hebrew, as the Latin of the middle ages to the Latin of the Augustan age. Nay, these very solecisms would rather induce me to believe that a Jew was the author, because a Christian, who had been taught Hebrew by the rules of grammar, and was become sufficiently master of the language to be able to write it, would probably have written more correctly. Some have supposed that Münster himself was the author of this version: but this suspicion is certainly ungrounded, because Tilet's edition agrees in the main with that of Münster, and therefore neither of them can have been forged by the editors. Besides, if Münster's object had been to impose on the world, he would probably have exhibited a very different text,
and

^g In his *Critical and Historical Accounts of the Brunswick collection of Bibles*⁴, page 555. he gives the following example, ספר התולדות ישוע, where *He demonstrativum* is used before the *status constructus*. I admit that this is contrary to a grammar rule; but even in the Hebrew Bible we sometimes find exceptions to the rule.

and would have inserted a Hebrew translation of all those passages, which Jerom had quoted from the Gospel of the Nazarenes. * This would have been a more effectual method of making his Gospel pass for St. Matthew's original: but since he has not acted in this manner, it is difficult to comprehend what advantage he could propose to himself in ascribing the work to another, if it was really his own.

The other edition of St. Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew was published by Jean de Tilet^h, Bishop of Brioux, who brought it in manuscript from Rome, and Jean Mercierⁱ, at Paris in 1555. Its Latin^k title is *Evangelium hebraicum Matthæi, recens e Judæorum penetralibus erutum, cum interpretatione Latina ad Vulgatam, quoad fieri potuit, accommodata. Cum privilegio, Parisiis apud Mart. Juvenem, M.D.L.V.* It appears to contain the same version, as that which was published by Münster, with this difference that the two manuscripts varied in many places from each other^l. In some passages there is certainly a material difference between the editions: but this arose probably from the circumstance that Münster's manuscripts had chasms, which were supplied by the editor, whereas Tilet printed those passages from his manuscript, which was not so defective. Of Tilet's edition, which is not only very scarce, but more valuable than that of Münster, Mr. Spamer has been sometime engaged in writing a critical description, which I hope he will communicate to the public^s.

^h In Latin, Tilius.

ⁱ Johannes Mercerus.

^k I do not quote the Hebrew title, because I am not in possession of the book itself, and I am not certain, whether the transcript, which has been given of the Hebrew title, be accurate.

^l They sometimes vary in the mode of writing proper names. For instance the word Jesus, is in Münster's edition ישוע, but in Tilet's ישו.

C H A P. V.

OF ST. MARK'S GOSPEL.

S E C T. I.

Of the person of St. Mark, and the circumstances of his life.

DOUBTS have been entertained both in ancient and modern times, in respect to the person of that Mark, who wrote the second of our four Gospels. The Fathers are unanimous in calling him the companion of St. Peter, who in his first Epistle, ch. v. 13. mentions a person of the name of Mark, whom he calls his son, that is, his favourite disciple^m. And it is probable that this Mark is the same person as the Mark, who is mentioned in other parts of the New Testament, especially Acts xii. 12. where it appears that St. Peter was intimate in the house of his mother. Moreover the Mark who is mentioned Acts xii. 12. accompanied St. Paul on his travels¹. Hence we may conclude with great probability, that St. Mark the Evangelist, Mark the son of Mary, who sometime attended St. Paul, and Mark who is mentioned by St. Peter in his first Epistle, are one and the same person. The objections, which have been made to their identity, are answered by Lardner in his Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History. Vol. I. Ch. 7. Sect. 1.

It

^m Dr. Heumann takes the word 'son' in this passage in the literal sense. But if St. Peter had been the Father of St. Mark in the proper sense of the word, St. Luke would hardly have written Acts xii. 12. 'He (namely Peter) came to the house of Mary, the mother of John, whose surname was Mark:' nor would St. Paul in his epistle to the Colossians ch. iv. 10. have distinguished Mark by the title of 'cousin of Barnabas,' but would have used the more distinguished appellation of 'son of Peter.'

It appears from Acts xii. 12. that St. Mark's original name was John, the surname of Mark having probably been adopted by him, when he left Judæa to go into foreign countries, a practice not unusual among the Jews of that age, who frequently assumed a name more familiar to the nations which they visited, than that by which they had been distinguished in their own country. It appears also from the same passage, that his mother's name was Mary, that she lived in Jerusalem, and that the Christians of that city frequently assembled in her house. From Col. iv. 10. we learn that he was a cousin of St. Barnabas; from Acts xii. 25. that he accompanied St. Paul and St. Barnabas on their visit to the Gentiles: from ch. xiii. 13. that he departed from them and returned to Jerusalem: and from ch. xv. 36—40. that in consequence of his departure, St. Paul having refused to take him on his next journey, he accompanied St. Barnabas alone, who then quitted St. Paul. However he was afterwards reconciled to St. Paul, and became again his fellow-labourer in the Gospel: for he was with St. Paul during his imprisonment in Rome, as appears from Coloss. iv. 10. and Philem. 24. In the latter passage St. Paul ranks him among his fellow-labourers, and in the former passage he mentions his design of sending him to Colossæ. St. Mark accompanied also St. Peter, as we have already seen from 1 Pet. v. 13.; and was so highly esteemed by him, as to be called his son, in the same manner as Timothy is thus called by St. Paul². That St. Mark was a native Jew is evident from what has been already said: but that he was of the tribe of Levi, as Cave assertsⁿ, is not certain. It is true that St. Barnabas his cousin was a Levite³; but this will not prove that St. Mark was likewise a Levite, for it is a mistake that the Jews never married out of their own tribe. We have a remarkable instance in the case of Christ and St. John the Baptist: for, though Mary and Elizabeth

² See Lardner's Supplement, Vol. I. Ch. 7. Sect. 5.

beth were relations †, yet Christ was of the family of David and the tribe of Judah: but St. John was the son of a priest and consequently of the tribe of Levi.

S E C T. II.

Historical accounts relative to St. Mark's Gospel.

PAPIAS, bishop of Hierapolis at the beginning of the second century, has given the following account of St. Mark's Gospel, for which he appeals to the authority of John the presbyter ‡. Μαρκος μὲν ἑρμηνεύης Πέτρῳ γενομένος^p, ὅσα ἐμνημονεύσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἐγράψεν· ἃ μὲν τοι τάξει τὰ ὑπο τῆ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πρᾶχθέντα, εἶτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τῆ Κυρίου, εἶτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ· ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς εἶπεν, Πέτρῳ, ὅς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποίησεν τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' ἔχ' ὡσπερ συνίαξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων. Ὡστε εἶδεν ἡμαρτε Μάρκος εἶως εὖτα γραψάς ὡς ἀπέμνημονεύσεν· ἐνός γὰρ ἐποίησατο πρόνοιαν, τὴ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν, ἢ ψευσασθαι τι ἐν αἰσίοις. From the preceding account we learn that St. Mark committed to writing what he had heard delivered by St. Peter; and in this point, all other ancient testimonies, however different they may be in other respects, agree with Papias and John the presbyter. But the latter part of the account, namely that St. Mark's object was to omit nothing which had been delivered by

‡ The following passage † from the writings of Papias is quoted in Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 39.

^p When the Greek Fathers call St. Mark ἑρμηνεύτης Πέτρῳ, or the Latin Fathers *Interpres Petri*, we must not understand 'an interpreter' in the common acceptation of the word, of which St. Peter stood less in need than St. Mark himself. It is similar to the phrase *Interpres Divum*, when applied to Mercury, which signifies 'Messenger of the Gods.' *Interpres Petri* therefore, when applied to St. Mark, signifies nothing more than, 'a person commissioned by St. Peter to execute his commands.'

by St. Peter appears to be somewhat exaggerated: for it is very improbable that St. Peter knew nothing more of the history of Christ, than is contained in St. Mark's Gospel. The clause *ε μεν τοι ταξει τα υπο τε Χριστου η λεχθενια η πραχθενια*, is well worthy of notice: for it shews that John the presbyter and Papias were of opinion that St. Mark did not write according to the order of time, as many modern harmonists have imagined.

Clement of Alexandria in his *Υποσημωσεις* relates⁹, *Τε Πέτρος δημοσια εν Ρωμη κηρυξαντος τον λογον, και πνευμαλι το ευαγγελιον εξειποιος, τες παρουσις πολλες οντας παρακαλεσαι τον Μαρκον, ως αν ακολουθησαντα αυτω πορρωθεν και μεμνημενον των λεχθενων αναγραφαι τα ειρημενα· ποιησαντα δε το Ευαγγελιον μελαδεναι τοις δεομενοις αυτε· οπερ επιγνουσα τον Πέτρον προδρεπτικως μητε κωλυσαι μητε προδρεψασθαι¹.* Clement therefore agrees with Papias in saying, that St. Mark committed to writing what he had learnt from St. Peter.

The same account is given by Origen, who, speaking of the four Gospels, says, *Δευτερον δε το κατα Μαρκον, ως Πέτρος υφηγησατο αυτω, ποιησαντα².* Here we must take notice, that the two Alexandrine Fathers, Clement and Origen, who were the most learned men of their age, say nothing of St. Mark's having published his Gospel at Alexandria, as later writers assert.

Irenæus,

⁹ The following passage is quoted from the *Υποσημωσεις* of Clement, by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. 14.* In this place, Eusebius has not mentioned in what book of the *Υποσημωσεις* the passage stood: but it appears from what he says, *Lib. II. cap. 15.* that it was the *sixth* book; for he there likewise refers to Clement on this subject, and says, *εν εκτω των υποσημωσεων.*

¹ It may be observed both of this quotation and of that in the preceding paragraph, that neither Papias nor Clement of Alexandria considered St. Mark's Gospel as written by immediate inspiration. But this question has been already examined, *Vol. I. ch. iii. sect. 3.*

² These words are likewise quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. 25.*

Irenæus, in his treatise against Heresies, Lib. III. cap. 1. says: *Μετα την (scil. Πέτρον και Παυλον) εξοδον, Μαρκος ο μαθητης και ερμηνευτης Πέτρον και αυτον τα περι Πέτρον κηρυτταμευα εγγραφως ημιν παραδεδωκε.* This account of Irenæus agrees with that of Papias, Clement and Origen, in the assertion that St. Mark derived his information from St. Peter. But Irenæus appears to differ from Clement in saying, that St. Mark did not publish his Gospel till after the death of St. Peter¹, whereas Clement relates that he wrote it during the life of St. Peter. Their accounts however may be reconciled on the supposition that, though St. Mark wrote his Gospel during the life of St. Peter, he did not make it publickly known till after St. Peter's death².

Tertullian, who distinguished St. Mark and St. Luke from St. Matthew and St. John, calling the latter Apostles, the former only apostolic men³, says in his treatise against Marcion, Lib. IV. cap. 5. *Licet et Marcus quod edidit Petri affirmetur, cujus interpres Marcus.*

Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, Lib. II. cap. 15. has given the following account of St. Mark's Gospel. *Τοσσηο επελαμψε ταις των ακροαων τε Πέτρον δια νοιαις ευσεβειας φεγγον, ως μη τη εισαπαξ ικανως εχειν αρκεισθαι ακοη, μη δε τη αγραφη τε θεις κηρυγματων διδασκαλια· παρακλησει δε παντοιαις Μαρκον, ε το ευαγγελιον φερεται, ακολουθον οντα Πέτρον λιπαρησαι, ως αν και δια γραφης υπομνημα της δια λογον παραδουεισης αυτοις καταλειψοι διδασκαλιας· μη προτερον τε ανειναι, η κατεργασασθαι τον ανδρα, και ταυτη αιτις γενεσθαι της τε λεγομενε κατα Μαρκον ευαγγελιε γραφης.* Thus far Eusebius relates in positive terms, and appeals, a few lines afterwards, to Clement of Alexandria and Papias, as vouchers for its truth. But immediately after the words just quoted, he adds
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¹ *Μετα την τωτων εξοδον* is literally 'after their exit,' that is, after their decease: not 'after their departure from Rome,' as some critics have supposed².

² *Adv. Marcion, Lib. IV. cap. 5.*

an account relative to St. Peter's conduct on this occasion, which he introduces with the word φασι (they say), thereby implying that he reported only what others had said, without taking upon himself to warrant its authenticity. His words are, γινοντα δε το πραχθεν φασι τον Αποστολον, αποκαλυψαντων αυτω τε πνευματων*, ησθησαι τη των ανδρων προθυμια, κυρωσαι τε την γραφην εις εντευξιν ταις εκκλησιαις. This is an addition to the preceding account, and is a contradiction to that, which I have quoted in a preceding paragraph from Clement of Alexandria, according to which St. Peter neither prohibited nor promoted St. Mark's Gospel. Now it is true that an account introduced by Eusebius, merely with the expression φασι (they say), is hardly of sufficient authority to overturn the direct assertion of Clement⁴. Yet on the other hand, it contains nothing incredible, whereas that of Clement is certainly a very extraordinary one, since it is difficult to comprehend how St. Peter could remain so very indifferent as Clement represents him. In his second Epistle, ch. i. 15. St. Peter says, 'I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance:' and in the three following verses he gives an account, which he produces as a proof of Christ's divine mission. Instead therefore of St. Peter's being indifferent as to the composition of St. Mark's Gospel, we may infer from the preceding passage, that he actually promoted it⁵.

Among all the quotations, which I have hitherto made from the writings of the most ancient Fathers,

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* Αποκαλυψαντων αυτω τε πνευματων is commonly referred to the preceding words, by which construction St. Peter is made to derive his information from the Holy Ghost that St. Mark had written a Gospel, a fact which St. Peter might certainly have learnt without any supernatural interference. I will not assert that the clause in question does not admit of this construction: but I think it is capable of being applied to the words which follow, and then the meaning of the passage will be that of St. Peter's command to read St. Mark's Gospel in the churches was at the instigation of the Holy Ghost.

we find no mention made of St. Mark's having published his Gospel at Alexandria. This report however prevailed in the fourth century, as appears from what is related by Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Jerom. It is first mentioned by Eusebius, who, in his Ecclesiastical History, Lib. II. cap. 16. says, Τετον δε Μαρκον πρωτον φασιν επι της Αιγυπτου σειλαμενον το ευαγγελιον, ο δη και συνεγραψατο, κηρυξαι, εκκλησιας τε πρωτον επ' αυτης Αλεξανδρειας συνησασθαι. It appears from the word φασιν that Eusebius mentions this only as a report: and what is immediately added in the same place, that the persons, whose severity of life and manners is described by Philo, were the converts which St. Mark made at Alexandria, is evidently false. Epiphanius, in his fifty-first Heresy, ch. vi. gives the following account: Ευθυς δε μετα του Ματθαιου, ακολουθησθενομενος ο Μαρκος τω αγιω Πετρω εν Ρωμη επιτρεπεται το ευαγγελιον εκθεσθαι: και γραφας αποσελλεται υπο του αγιου Πετρου εις την των Αιγυπτιων χωραν. According to Epiphanius then St. Mark wrote his Gospel in Rome, while St. Peter was teaching the Christian religion in that city; and after he had written it, he was sent by St. Peter into Egypt. A similar account is given by Jerom in his Treatise on Illustrious Men, ch. viii. Marcus discipulus et interpres Petri, juxta quod Petrum referentem audierat, rogatus Romæ a fratribus, breve scripsit Evangelium. Quod quum Petrus audisset, probavit, et ecclesiis legendum sua auctoritate^z edidit, sicut Clemens in sexto υποτυπωσεων scribit.—Assumpto itaque Evangelio, quod ipse confecerat, perrexit ad Ægyptum, et primus Alexandriae Christum annuntians constituit

^y The word *πρωτον* is here somewhat ambiguous. If we translate it by 'first,' and understand the passage as implying that St. Mark first preached the Gospel at Alexandria, it will be difficult to reconcile this account with what Eusebius says elsewhere relative to the composition of St. Mark's Gospel in Rome.

^z In the passage quoted above from Eusebius was used the expression, *αποκαλυψαισ αυτω τε πνευματικος*: but Jerom says simply, *sua auctoritate*.

stituit ecclesiam tanta doctrinæ et vitæ continentia, ut omnes sectatores Christi ad exemplum sui cogeret.—Mortuus est autem octavo Neronis anno, et sepultus Alexandriæ, succedente sibi Aniano. Lastly, the Coptic Christians of the present age consider St. Mark as the founder and first bishop of their church^a; and their Patriarch styles himself, ‘Unworthy servant of Jesus Christ, called by the grace of God, and by his gracious will appointed to his service, and to the see of the holy Evangelist Mark^b.’

These accounts, though they agree in the main point that St. Mark went to Alexandria and preached there, are not perfectly consistent in respect to the time when he visited that city. There is likewise some ambiguity in respect to the word ‘preaching,’ which may denote either preaching the Gospel, that is, teaching the Christian religion, or preaching a written Gospel, that is, openly reading and publishing it. In the latter sense, the word ‘preaching’ is used in the subscription to the Syriac version of St. Mark’s Gospel: and in this sense we ought probably to understand the word as used in these quotations. If the preceding statement be accurate, it follows, that St. Mark published his Gospel both at Rome, and at Alexandria^c: and therefore the account above-quoted from Irenæus, if it be not true of the publication of St. Mark’s Gospel at Rome, may be true of the publication of it at Alexandria. In this manner

^a Vansleb (Wansleb) *Relation d’un Voyage fait en Egypte*, p. 132. The Copts pretend likewise that St. Mark was murdered by a band of robbers near the lake Menzale: but if this account be true, he was hardly buried at Alexandria, and his tomb in that city must be one of the forgeries of early superstition.

^b This title I have copied from p. 90, 91, of Wansleb’s *Travels into Egypt*, preserved in manuscript in the university library of Göttingen.

^c Chrysostom likewise, and other writers quoted by Lardner in the *Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History*, Vol. I. p. 175, 176, say, that St. Mark published his Gospel at Alexandria^c.

manner the relation of Irenæus may be reconciled with that of other writers, and an ancient controversy relative to St. Mark's Gospel decided. However, I propose this mode of solution as a mere hypothesis: and I am far from considering it as an indisputable fact that St. Mark published his Gospel at Alexandria, because the two Alexandrine Fathers, Clement and Origen, have not mentioned it⁷.

If the hypothesis of a two-fold publication of St. Mark's Gospel, first at Rome and afterwards at Alexandria, were a true one, it might very conveniently be applied to explain a difficulty relative to the twelve last verses of this Gospel, namely chap. xvi. 9—20. Much may be said against the authenticity of this passage, as I have already shewn in my History of the Resurrection^d: and since I wrote this treatise still more evidence has been produced against the passage. It is wanting in the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, which is perhaps the most important Greek manuscript now extant, and it is probable that it was not acknowledged by Eusebius^e: further, a Greek manuscript in the Wolfenbüttel library has a Prologue to St. Mark's Gospel, in which no notice is taken of it^f. On the other hand, so much may be said in favour of this passage, that it would be difficult to reject it: for it is contained in almost all the Greek manuscripts now extant, there is nothing in its style which particularly distinguishes it from the rest of the Gospel, and we can hardly suppose that St. Mark ended at ver. 8. with *εφοβηθη γαρ*, in the middle of the narration. St. Mark had related, ch. xvi. 1—8. that the women, who went to visit the sepulchre, saw an angel who informed them that Jesus was risen, and commanded them to tell it to Peter and the other disciples,

^d Pag. 179—188.

^e See Birch's account in the Orient. Bibl.⁸ Vol. XXIII. p. 146—149.

^f See the New Orient. Bibl. Vol. II. p. 141.

ciples, but that they said nothing to any man because they were afraid. Now if St. Mark ended here, it may be asked by what means did he learn that which he had already related in respect to the sepulchre and the angel, since the women at that time did not report either to Peter, or to any one what they had seen and heard⁹. But this difficulty may be removed if we suppose that St. Mark wrote the twelve last verses as well as the rest of the Gospel: and the doubts which even in ancient times were entertained of their authenticity, may be explained on the supposition that St. Mark, when he composed his Gospel at Rome with the assistance of St. Peter, wrote as far as εφοβηθη γαρ, that his progress was then stopped either by the death or the imprisonment of St. Peter, but that he re-assumed and finished his narration on his arrival at Alexandria. It is true, that this explanation, though it ascribes these verses to St. Mark as their author, deprives them of that historical certainty, which they would have possessed, if written under the immediate inspection of St. Peter: and therefore, as I have already said, I propose it as a mere hypothesis. At any rate however, the twelve last verses of St. Mark's Gospel have the appearance of an addition, which does not tally with the preceding part of the discourse. According to ch. xiv. 28. Christ himself had said, 'After that I am risen I will go before you into Galilee,' and according to ch. xv. 7. the very same account was given by the angel at the sepulchre. From an author who had thus prepared his readers to expect a narrative of Christ's interview with his disciples in Galilee, it might be reasonably expected that he would not neglect to relate it: but in the conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel, no mention is made of an interview in Galilee, though it had been twice declared that Christ would appear there¹⁰.

S E C T. III.

Agreement of the accounts given in the preceding section with the contents of St. Mark's Gospel.

THAT St. Mark wrote his Gospel in Rome, with the assistance and under the direction of St. Peter, agrees extremely well with the contents of the Gospel itself, and may serve likewise to explain several particulars, which at first sight appear extraordinary. For instance, where St. Peter is concerned in the narration, mention is sometimes made of circumstances, which are not related by the other Evangelists, as at ch. i. 29—33. ix. 34. xi. 21. xiv. 30. And on the contrary, the high commendations, which Christ bestowed on St. Peter, as appears from Matth. xvi. 17—19. but which the Apostle, through modesty, would hardly have repeated, are wanting in St. Mark's Gospel. At ch. xiv. 47. St. Mark mentions neither the name of the Apostle, who cut off the ear of the High Priest's servant, nor the circumstance of Christ's healing it. We know that this Apostle was St. Peter, for his name is expressly mentioned by St. John: but an Evangelist, who wrote his Gospel at Rome during the life of St. Peter, would have exposed him to the danger of being accused by his adversaries, if he had openly related the fact. Had St. Mark written after the death of St. Peter, there would have been no necessity for this caution^r.

Further, as St. Mark wrote for the immediate use of the Romans, he sometimes gives explanations which were necessary for foreigners, though not for the inhabitants of Palestine. For instance, ch. vii. 2. he explains the meaning of *κοινωνία χειρῶν*: and ver. 11. of *κορεῖαν*.

^r This observation was made by Eusebius: but Jerom and Lardner have overrated it.

κορθευ. In the same chapter, ver. 3, 4. he gives a description of some Jewish customs: and ch. xv. 42. he explains the meaning of *παρσκευη*. At ch. xv. 21. he mentions that Simon was the father of Alexander and Rufus, a circumstance not mentioned by the other Evangelists: but to St. Mark's readers the circumstance was interesting, because Rufus was at that time in Rome, as appears from Rom. xvi. 13. See also Wetstein's Notes to ch. vii. 26. xi. 22.

That St. Mark wrote his Gospel in Rome, and for the use of the Romans, is likewise the reason why he has omitted many particulars in the life of Christ, which are related by St. Matthew and St. Luke. The genealogy, for instance, though interesting to the Jews, was not so to the Romans; and the same may be said of Christ's nativity at Bethlehem, a name well known to the Jews, but probably unknown to the Romans. His total omission of Christ's admirable sermon on the mount, which St. Matthew has given at full length, and St. Luke in short extracts, appears at first sight, to be rather extraordinary. But we must recollect that this sermon was in fact polemical, and immediately directed against the false morality of the Pharisees. To understand this sermon therefore, it is absolutely necessary to have a previous knowledge of the Pharisaic doctrines: but these doctrines were unknown to the Romans. The unlearned are not only incapable of comprehending this discourse, but are in danger, without the assistance of a learned interpreter, of totally perverting its meaning. It is a known fact, that very erroneous moral doctrines have been deduced from it, and that these doctrines have been applied as objections to the Christian religion. It has been asserted, that Christ totally prohibited the administration of an oath, the repulse of violence, an appeal to a magistrate, or self-defence. For these reasons, St. Peter himself would hardly have delivered this discourse to the Romans: and for these reasons, St. Mark passed it over in silence.

The same motive induced him to give in only a few words, ch. xii. 38—40. another discourse, which Christ directed to the Pharisees, and which St. Matthew has delivered at full length².

S E C T. IV.

St. Mark derived his information, not only from St. Peter, but likewise from written documents, which he used in the composition of his Gospel.

FROM the accounts of the ecclesiastical writers, which have been quoted in the second section of this chapter, it appears that St. Mark derived his knowledge of Christ's life and character from St. Peter: and if we judged from these accounts alone, we should conclude that he had no other source of information. But, notwithstanding the silence of the Fathers in respect to any written documents, which were used by St. Mark¹, it is certain that he made use of other Gospels in the composition of his own. I have already shewn in the third chapter, that St. Mark agrees in his expressions both with St. Matthew and with St. Luke, in such a manner as he would hardly have done, unless the three first Gospels had been connected, either mediately or immediately, with each other. In the choice of his materials he agrees partly with St. Matthew, partly with St. Luke, and omits many material transactions recorded by St. John, but which are not mentioned either by St. Matthew or by St. Luke. And in the arrangement of his facts he sometimes agrees with St. Luke, where the order of time is not observed, and in opposition to St. Matthew, which can hardly be explained by mere accident². Of the truth of this assertion the reader will be convinced by turning to the Table, which I have
given,

given, ch. ii. sect. 7. and comparing the accounts of the three Evangelists.

These phænomena may be explained, either on the hypothesis that there was an immediate connection between the three first Gospels, or on the hypothesis, that there was only a mediate one. I have already observed in the third chapter, that the three first Evangelists do not appear to have seen each other's writings. If this be true, we can assume only a mediate connection, that is, we can assume only the hypothesis of a common source, from which they severally drew. St. Luke, in the preface to his Gospel, mentions that several written accounts were then in circulation; and I think it probable, not only that St. Luke, but likewise that St. Mark made use of these written accounts, correcting at the same time whatever was erroneous by the assistance of St. Peter.

On the contrary, they who assume an immediate connection between the three first Gospels, must adopt one of the four following suppositions: 1st that St. Mark made use of St. Matthew's Gospel, or 2^{dly} of St. Luke's Gospel, or 3^{dly} of both Gospels, or 4^{thly} that St. Mark's Gospel was used by St. Matthew and St. Luke. All these four suppositions have had their advocates. In some of them I find insurmountable difficulties, in others not: I will examine therefore each of them in order.

S E C T. V.

*Examination of the question, whether St. Mark made use of St. Matthew's Gospel*¹.

THAT St. Mark made use of St. Matthew's Gospel has been hitherto a very common opinion, and in the former editions of this Introduction I adopted it as highly probable: but a recent and more minute examination of this subject has convinced me that the opinion is ungrounded. Dr. Lardner, in the Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. ch. 10. had shewn by several arguments, the principal of which was drawn from the apparent contradictions between St. Matthew and St. Mark, that the common opinion was at least doubtful: and in the year 1782, a small tract was published by Dr. Koppe, entitled *Marcus non Epitomator Matthæi*, in which the author has shewn that it is no longer tenable.

Though the notion that St. Mark epitomized St. Matthew has in modern times been very general, we find no mention made of it by any ecclesiastical writer before Augustin, who, in his treatise *De consensu Evangelistarum*, Lib. I. cap. 2. says, *Marcus Matthæum subsequutus tanquam pedisequus ejus et breviator videtur*. From these words it appears that Augustin advanced it only as a probable opinion: but the reputation of Augustin was so great that his opinion was very generally adopted, and thus a mere conjecture was converted into an indisputable fact. On the other hand, the circumstance that no ecclesiastical writer before Augustin has advanced this opinion, is no argument against it: for they are equally silent in respect to other written documents, and yet some written document was certainly used by St. Mark. That this however was not St. Matthew's

Matthew's Gospel will appear from the following arguments^h.

1. St. Mark agrees with St. Luke, in an equal if not greater degree than with St. Matthew: and therefore we may as well say that he copied from St. Luke, as that he copied from St. Matthew. Whoever then does not admit that he copied from the former, must not conclude that he copied from the latter, for the inference in the one case would be as valid as in the other. On the other hand, if St. Mark's agreement with St. Matthew really proves that he copied from him, his agreement with St. Luke will prove that he copied likewise from this Evangelist, and then St. Mark's Gospel must be considered as an extract, not from St. Matthew's only, but from St. Matthew's and St. Luke's jointly.

2. But that St. Mark did not use St. Matthew's Gospel is probable from this circumstance, that he frequently deviates from St. Matthew in the order of time, or in the arrangement of his facts. As St. Matthew was an Apostle and eye-witness to the facts which he related, St. Mark could not have wished for better authority; and therefore if he had St. Matthew's Gospel before him, when he wrote his own, he would hardly have adopted a different arrangement. It might be said indeed that he made alterations on the authority of St. Peter: but this supposition is very improbable.

3. Though there are several parts of St. Matthew's Gospel, such as the genealogy, the sermon on the mount, some prophecies from the Old Testament, the account of the death of Judas Iscariot, and some few more passages, which an Evangelist, who wrote chiefly for the use of the Romans, might not improperly omit, yet on the other hand, there are several accounts in
St.

^h They who contend that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel after St. Peter's arrival in Rome, may deduce another argument against the opinion that St. Mark copied from it. But on this argument I shall not insist.

St. Matthew's Gospel, of the omission of which in St. Mark's Gospel it is really difficult to assign a reason, and which therefore lead to the conclusion that St. Matthew's Gospel was not used by St. Mark. Examples of this kind the reader will find by turning to the Table of the Gospel History, ch. ii. sect. 7. and consulting N^o. 46, 100, 108, 109. A still more remarkable instance is the omission of what is related by St. Matthew, ch. xiv. 28—32. (N^o. 53.), a relation in which St. Peter was particularly concerned, and which St. Mark would hardly have omitted, if he had read it in St. Matthewⁱ. Again, the history recorded by St. Matthew, ch. xix. 16.—xx. 16. is delivered by St. Mark, ch. x. 17—31. (see N^o. 86), where some of the material parts of the narration are omitted: for instance, Peter's reply to Christ, 'What shall we have therefore?' Further, he has omitted the long parable related by St. Matthew, ch. xx. 1—16. which Christ delivered as a reproof of St. Peter: and what is still more extraordinary, he has (ch. x. 31.) the conclusion of the parable, 'Many, who are first, shall be last, and the last shall be first,' though he has not the parable itself. Surely then St. Mark had not access to St. Matthew's Gospel; for he would then have known the whole of the narration, and consequently would not have neglected to relate the most material parts of it. If it be objected that St. Mark, even though he knew the whole of what had been related by St. Matthew, ch. xix. 16—xx. 16. might purposely have omitted through motives of delicacy what appeared to be unfavourable to St. Peter, I answer, that this was not the usual practice of St. Mark, who has written as freely of St. Peter as of the other Apostles; and even if the contrary were true, there was no necessity for suppressing the narrative itself,

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ⁱ It might be objected indeed that the whole passage Matth. xiv. 28—32, of which there are no traces in the other Evangelists, has the appearance of an interpolation, and therefore that this example is not decisive.

for his object might have been equally well attained by suppressing only the name, and saying in general terms, 'one of the disciples.' Besides, it is evident from what St. Mark has actually related, ch. x. 28—31. that he had no such object in view: for, if he had, he would have related still less, and would not have recorded Christ's answer, 'Many, who are first, shall be last,' which applied immediately to St. Peter. Want of information therefore was the cause, why St. Mark has not given the narrative complete, not a designed suppression of what he really knew. Lastly, St. Mark's imperfect description of Christ's transactions with the Apostles after he was risen from the dead affords the strongest proof that the contents of St. Matthew's Gospel were unknown to St. Mark. A very circumstantial description is given by St. Matthew of Christ's conversation with the Apostles, on a mountain in Galilee: yet St. Mark, though he had before related that Christ promised his disciples that he would go before them into Galilee, has, in the last chapter of his Gospel, no account whatever of Christ's appearance in Galilee. Now, if he had read St. Matthew's Gospel, this important event could not have been unknown to him, and consequently he would not have neglected to record it.

4. If St. Mark had had St. Matthew's Gospel before him, when he wrote his own, he would certainly have avoided every appearance of contradiction to the accounts given by an Apostle, and an eye-witness. His account of the call of Levi, under the very same circumstance as St. Matthew mentions his own call, whether Levi and Matthew be the same or different persons, is at least a variation from St. Matthew's description; and this very variation would have been avoided, if St. Mark had had access to St. Matthew's Gospel. The same may be observed of Mark x. 46. where only one blind man is mentioned, whereas St. Matthew in the parallel passage mentions two. In St. Mark's account of St. Peter's denial of Christ, the very same woman,
who

who addressed St. Peter the first time, addressed him likewise the second time, whereas, according to St. Matthew, he was addressed by a different person: for St. Mark, ch. xiv. 69. uses the expression *η παιδισκη*, which, without a violation of grammar, can be construed only of the same maid, who had been mentioned immediately before, whereas St. Matthew, ch. xxvi. 71. has *αλλη*. Now let the harmonists reconcile these examples in whatever manner they please, there will always remain a difference between the two accounts, which would have been avoided, if St. Mark had copied from St. Matthew. But what shall we say of instances, in which, as far as I am able to judge, there is no mode of reconciliation? If we compare Mark iv. 35. and i. 35. with Matth. viii. 28—34. we shall find not only a difference in the arrangement of the facts, but such a determination of time as renders a reconciliation impracticable. For, according to St. Matthew, on the day after the sermon on the mount, Christ entered into a ship, and crossed the lake of Gennesareth, where he underwent a violent tempest: but according to St. Mark, this event took place on the day after the sermon in parables; and on the day, which followed that, on which the sermon on the mount was delivered, Christ went, not to the sea side, but to a desert place, whence he passed through the towns and villages of Galilee^k. Another instance, in which we shall find it equally impracticable to reconcile the two Evangelists, is Mark xi. 28. compared with Matth. xxi. 23. In both places the Jewish priests propose this question to Christ, *εν ποια εξεσια ταυτα ποιεεις*; alluding to his expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the temple. But according to what St. Mark had previously related in the same chapter, this question was proposed on the third day of Christ's entry into Jerusalem, but according to St. Matthew it was proposed on the second. If St. Mark had copied from St. Matthew, this difference in their accounts would hardly have taken place.

S E C T.

^k See above, Ch. II. Sect. 8.

SECT. VI.

Examination of the question, whether St. Mark made use of St. Luke's Gospel.

IF St. Mark's Gospel was written whilst St. Peter was in Rome, St. Luke's Gospel must have been written before that of St. Mark, and therefore it is so far possible that the latter copied from the former. St. Luke came to Rome with St. Paul long before the arrival of St. Mark, and both his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles had been written before St. Mark arrived. When St. Paul wrote his Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon, they were both of them with St. Paul in Rome¹. When St. Paul wrote his second Epistle to Timothy, which was written during his second imprisonment in Rome, St. Luke alone was with St. Paul; but St. Mark, who was then absent, was requested to come to him^m. Now if St. Mark wrote his Gospel, after St. Peter's arrival in Rome, he must have written during this second visit, for before that time St. Peter does not appear to have been in Rome. And as there is a remarkable agreement between St. Mark and St. Luke, the supposition, that the former copied from the latter, appears at first sight to be very probable.

But probable as this supposition may appear, we shall find on a closer examination, that more may be said against it, than in its favour. For, in the first place, if St. Mark had made use of St. Luke's Gospel in the composition of his own, we should have hardly met with so frequent, and so remarkable variations in their accounts of the same transaction. For instance, according St. Mark, ch. x. 46. Christ restores a blind man

¹ See Coloss. iv. 10. 14. Philem. 23, 24.

^m See 2 Tim. iv. 11.

man to fight, after his entry into Jericho, and he was again quitting the townⁿ: but according to St. Luke, ch. xviii. 35. Christ performed this miracle, before he entered into Jericho^o. It may be said indeed that St. Mark, if he wrote under the direction of St. Peter, might tacitly correct the inaccuracies of his predecessor: and therefore that a deviation in his description of a fact from the relation of St. Luke will not absolutely prove that he made no use of St. Luke's Gospel. But if this answer be admitted in respect to the difference in their accounts, it will be difficult to find a satisfactory reason, why St. Mark totally omitted so many important facts recorded by St. Luke, if he really made use of St. Luke's Gospel. Examples of this kind may be seen in the Table of the Gospel history, ch. ii. sect. 7. N^o. 29. 46. 48, 49, 69—83. 94, 95: and the facts here related by St. Luke are so very credible, that St. Peter could have entertained no doubt of their truth.

On the other side of the question it may be urged, that notwithstanding the above-mentioned variations and omissions, the relation in which St. Mark and St. Luke stood to each other, render it highly improbable that a Gospel written by the one should have remained unknown to the other¹: and that St. Mark's knowledge of St. Luke's Gospel does not necessarily imply that they should agree in every tittle, or that St. Mark should never omit what St. Luke has related. I have shewn in a preceding section, that the composition of St. Mark's Gospel was occasioned by the request of the Romans, who desired to have a written memorial of what St. Peter had verbally taught. It may be said therefore that St. Mark used the Gospel of St. Luke, but that he retained only what he had heard confirmed by St. Peter, and made such corrections and additions, as were warranted by the same authority. And the
suppo-

ⁿ St. Matthew says the same: but then he mentions two blind men.

^o Εν τῷ ἰσχυρίζεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεριχὼ.

supposition, that St. Mark used the Gospel of St. Luke, accounts for the agreement of the two Evangelists in the arrangement of their facts².

S E C T. VII.

Whether St. Mark's Gospel was written first, and used by St. Luke.

THIS hypothesis hath been lately adopted by Dr. Storr, in his Essay on the object of the Evangelical History, and the Epistles of St. John. In the 58th and following sections of this work, he endeavours to shew that St. Mark wrote not only before St. Luke, but soon after the foundation of the Christian church at Antioch, in support of which opinion he appeals to Acts xi. 17—30. His arguments however do not render his opinion even probable, for they are grounded merely on the supposed necessity of a Gospel for the Christians of that city, and therefore, as it is contrary to the accounts of ecclesiastical writers, the opinion has no foundation. On the supposition that St. Mark wrote at this early period, Dr. Storr endeavours to explain the agreement between the three first Evangelists by assuming that St. Mark's Gospel was used both by St. Matthew and St. Luke. But their agreement may be explained, without supposing an immediate connection between them: on which subject I shall say more in the fifth volume of the New Oriental and Exegetical Library¹.

S E C T. VIII.

St. Mark wrote his Gospel in Greek.

THE Greek language was more common in Rome, in the age of the Apostles, than the French language is at present in Germany: as appears from the familiar Letters of Augustus, which are for the most part, either written in Greek, or are interspersed with Greek phrases. The Jews especially, who resided in Rome, understood Greek, for they came out of countries, where Greek was the current language; and they read the Old Testament, not in a Latin translation, which at that time did not exist, but in the Greek version. No language therefore was more suitable to the necessity of the times, and therefore St. Mark would probably have preferred it, even if he had been able to write both languages with equal ease. But we have no reason to suppose, that he was sufficiently master of the Latin to be able to write it.

Some modern critics however, especially Baronius, have asserted, that St. Mark really composed his Gospel in Latin, an assertion, which not only contradicts historical evidence, but is in itself almost incredible; for, as the Latin church from the earliest ages of Christianity was in a very flourishing state, and the Latin language spread itself throughout the whole Roman empire, the Latin original of St. Mark's Gospel, if such an original ever existed, could not have been neglected in such a manner, as that no copy of it should descend to posterity^p. It is true that in the subscription to St. Mark's Gospel in the Syriac version, it is said that St. Mark

^p Whoever wishes to be acquainted with the history of this controversy, may consult Simon Hist. Crit. du Texte du N. T. ch. xi. Maii Examen historię criticę, cap. xi. Schroederi dissert. de lingua Marci authentica, and the Letter which Baumgarten annexed to his Viudicię textus Gręci N. T. contra Harduinum.

Mark wrote in the Romish, that is, the Latin language⁹: but subscriptions of this kind are of no authority whatsoever, for no one knows from whom they proceeded, and some of them contain the most glaring errors. Besides as the Syriac version was made in the East, and taken immediately from the Greek, no one can appeal to a Syriac subscription, in regard to the language in which St. Mark wrote in Rome.

The advocates for a Latin original of St. Mark's Gospel have appealed to a Latin manuscript in the library of St. Mark at Venice, which they said the Evangelist wrote with his own hand. Though this assertion was not only incapable of proof, but like other stories of ancient relics favoured strongly of the fabulous, yet during some time it was difficult to give a positive proof of its falsity: for the dampness of the place, in which the manuscript was kept, had very fortunately for the admirers of this treasure, so materially injured it, as to have rendered it almost illegible. Hence Miffon contended that it was written in Greek, for he fancied that he had discovered in it the letters Δ and Σ, and in one passage the whole word KATA. But about forty years ago, Laurentius a Turre, in a Letter published in Blanchini Evangeliarum Quadruplex, P. ii. p. 543. threw a new and unexpected light on this obscure subject. From this Letter it appears that the manuscript in question was brought to Venice from Friuli (Forum Julii), where a very ancient Latin manuscript containing the Gospels of St. Matthew,
St.

⁹ The Syriac subscription to St. Mark's Gospel is, ܡܪܩܘܣܘܢ ܡܪܩܘܣܘܢ ܡܪܩܘܣܘܢ ܡܪܩܘܣܘܢ ܡܪܩܘܣܘܢ ܡܪܩܘܣܘܢ ܡܪܩܘܣܘܢ ܡܪܩܘܣܘܢ ܡܪܩܘܣܘܢ ܡܪܩܘܣܘܢ ܡܪܩܘܣܘܢ. In the Philoxenian version is an addition to this subscription: for ܡܪܩܘܣܘܢ (Romish) is explained by ܡܪܩܘܣܘܢ ܡܪܩܘܣܘܢ, that is, Frankish. From this explanation it is obvious, how very modern the subscription is in the Philoxenian version.

St. Luke and St. John is still preserved¹. That this manuscript once contained likewise the Gospel of St. Mark is certain, because at the end of St. Matthew's Gospel is written, *Explicit Evangelium secundum Matthæum, incipit secundum Marcum*: and that the Venice manuscript of St. Mark's Gospel formerly made a part of the Friuli manuscript appears from the following circumstances. In the year 1534, the emperor Charles IV. brought with him from Aquileia, where the MS. was then preserved, the two last quaternions, or the sixteen last leaves of a Latin manuscript of St. Mark's Gospel. This fragment is now at Prague, and has been lately published by Dobrowsky, under the title *Fragmentum Pragense Evangelii S. Marci vulgo autographi*¹. That the manuscript now in Friuli is no other than the MS. which in the time of Charles IV. was in Aquileia, appears from a comparison of it with the fragment in Prague, for they are written in the very same hand, on the same vellum, and in each page is precisely nineteen lines. And that the Venetian manuscript is the remaining part of St. Mark's Gospel which fails in the Friuli manuscript, appears first from its having been sent from Friuli to Venice in the year 1420, as a present to the doge Macenico, and secondly from its containing the first five quaternions of St. Mark's Gospel, of which the Prague fragment contains the two last². The pretended autograph of St. Mark's Gospel therefore is nothing more than a fragment of the Friuli manuscript published by Blanchini, and consequently contains only a part of the Latin translation³.

No

¹ Blanchini has printed this MS. which is called *Codex Foro-Julianus*, letter for letter.

² Whoever wishes for more information on this subject must consult the above-quoted work of Debrowsky.

³ Blanchini has given a copper-plate representing the letters of this manuscript, from which we perceive the cause of Misson's mistake. A he mistook for Δ, and E for Σ: and the imaginary word KATA was nothing more than the second, third, fourth, and fifth letters of IBATAUTEM².

No writer of the New Testament has neglected elegance of expression, and purity of language, more than St. Mark. The word *εβραϊσμός* occurs incessantly, and he abounds likewise with numerous and harsh Hebraisms. Yet his Gospel is very valuable, because it contains several important though short additions to the accounts given by St. Matthew. For instance, the answer of Christ, which St. Matthew has recorded, ch. xii. 48—50. would be thought very extraordinary, unless we knew what St. Mark has related, ch. iii. 21.: but from this passage we clearly perceive the reason of Christ's answer. Sometimes he has additions, which more clearly ascertain the time, in which the events happened, as in ch. iv. 35. vi. 1, 2. It is therefore unjust to suppose that St. Mark neglected the order of time more than the other Evangelists, and still more so, to reject his arrangement for that of St. Matthew or St. Luke, in places where the time is positively determined by St. Mark³.

C H A P. VI.

OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL.

S E C T. I.

Of the life and character of St. Luke.

THE Evangelist St. Luke^u appears from Coloff. iv. 10, 11. 14. to have been by birth a heathen^x: and therefore he was neither one of the seventy disciples, nor

▪ Instead of *Lucas*, some old Latin MSS. have *Lucanus*.

▪ St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Colossians, ch. iv. 10, 11, says, Ασπαζεται υμας Αρισταρχος ο συναιχμαλωτος μω, και Μαρκος ο κενεψιος Βαρυαβα, ωρι ε ελαβετε εντολας· εαν ελθη προς υμας, δεξασθε αυτον· και Ιησους ο λεγομενος Ιησους, οι οντες εκ περιτομης. Ουτοι μονοι συνεργοι εις την βασιλειαν τε Θεω. Ver. 12, 13. St. Paul makes mention of Epaphras, and ver. 14. adds Ασπαζεται υμας Λυκας ο ιατρος ο αγαπτος, και Δημας. Here then the Apostle distinguishes Aristarchus, Marcus, and Jesus the Just, from Epaphras, Lucas, and Demas, saying expressly of the three first, that they were of the circumcision: we may conclude therefore that the three last were not of the circumcision. Further, as St. Paul immediately after οι οντες εκ περιτομης adds ετοι μονοι συνεργοι εις την βασιλειαν τε Θεω, and it cannot be supposed that he meant to exclude St. Luke from the number of his fellow-labourers, the words μονοι συνεργοι can have no other meaning than 'my only fellow-labourers of the circumcision.' Consequently St. Luke as well as Demas and Epaphras, were among St. Paul's fellow-labourers, who were not of the circumcision. I admit however that this induction is not so decisive, as to lead to an absolute certainty; and therefore if stronger arguments can be produced in favour of the opinion, that St. Luke was by birth a Jew, the preceding inference will not be valid. Now that St. Luke was really a Jew, Dr. Lardner in the Supplement to his Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. p. 236. has endeavoured to shew by the two following arguments. 1. 'That, as St. Luke constantly attended St. Paul, the Jews, especially at Jerusalem, would have reproached the Apostle, if his companion had been an uncircumcised Gentile, but that we no where find an account of any such reproaches having been made him. 2. That St. Luke follows the Jewish computation of time, and mentions the Jewish festivals, as in Acts xii. 3. xx. 6. 16.

nor an eye-witness of the actions of Christ, to which indeed he lays no claim, saying only that he would write according to the best information he could procure, *παρηκολυθηκως αυθεν πασιν ακριβως*. From Col. iv. 14. we find that he was a physician, on which subject Claufewitz has written a short treatise entitled, *De Luca Evangelista medico*. Heumann was formerly of opinion that Luke the physician mentioned Col. iv. 14. was not Luke the Evangelist: but he afterwards revoked it, and in his Notes to Acts xiii. 1. and Col. iv. 14. has shewn that they were one and the same person.

The two circumstances, that St. Luke was not a Jew, at least not by birth and education, and that his profession was that of a physician, have had some influence on his mode of writing and the choice of his expressions. For instance, the word *δαιμονιον*, which the other Evangelists use, without any epithet, to denote an evil spirit, appears to have been understood by St. Luke, as it was understood by the pure Greek writers, namely as denoting either a good or an evil spirit: for at ch. iv. 33. where he uses *δαιμονιον* for the first time, he explains it by the epithet *ακαθαρτον*¹. The lake of Gennesareth, which the other Evangelists, according to the usual mode of expression among the
Jews

xxvii. 9.' But the first argument, though specious, is not decisive, because it depends merely on the silence of our historian, who was so free from egotism, that he has very seldom related what concerned himself, even where the relation would be of some importance: for instance, his stay at Philippi, of which I shall take notice in the next section. Nor does the other argument prove that St. Luke was a Jew; for an heathen historian, who understood the Jewish customs, would accommodate his relation to the Jewish mode of reckoning, in describing St. Paul's transactions with the Jews.

Some writers have related that St. Luke was a native of Antioch, others that he was originally a slave, others again that he was by profession a painter. These reports, which are very uncertain, the reader will find examined by Lardner, whose opinion of them is perfectly just. Lastly, some authors may have supposed that St. Luke was one of the two disciples, whom Christ met on the road to Emmaus: a supposition, which Lardner thinks not improbable.

Jews and Syrians, called *θαλασσα*, is termed by St. Luke, ch. v. 1, 2. viii. 22, 23. very properly *λιμνη*. In ch. iv. 38. he terms the fever, with which St. Peter's mother-in-law was afflicted, *πυρετος μεγας*, on which expression Wetstein's Note may be consulted. The phrase *τριτην ημεραν αγει* used by St. Luke, ch. xxiv. 21. occurs particularly in the writings of Galen². In describing the blindness of Elymas, Acts xiii. 11. which was to last only for a time, he uses the proper word *αχλυσ*, on which Kypke may be consulted. In general, he wrote much better Greek, than the other Evangelists, especially in the Acts of the Apostles, of which I shall give examples in a following section.

That St. Luke accompanied St. Paul to Rome, and remained with him there during some time, we learn from Acts xxviii. 13—16. Col. iv. 14. and Philem. 24. From Rome he is said to have travelled into Africa, and to have preached the Gospel in Egypt, a subject which will be considered hereafter.

S E C T. II.

Examination of the question, whether St. Luke's Gospel, though it contains upon the whole a very credible history, is perfectly free from inaccuracies.

ST. LUKE's intercourse with the Apostles, and other eye-witnesses to the transactions of Christ, render him a very credible historian, as he assures us, that he has diligently¹ inquired into the whole history, and traced up the several facts to the fountain head². But the diligence with which he instituted his inquiries did not necessarily exempt him from the danger of making some few mistakes, unless he wrote under the influence

¹ *Ακριβως*

² *Ανωθεν*.

influence of divine inspiration. Now St. Luke himself not only lays no claim to supernatural assistance, but on the contrary grounds the fidelity of his history merely on the accuracy of his own researches. I have already shewn in the first volume of this Introduction^a, that instead of being losers we should be real gainers, if we considered St. Luke as a mere human historian, because the objections which have been made to the contradictions in the Gospels, affect St. Luke more than St. Matthew and St. John. He was neither an Apostle nor an eye-witness to the facts, which he has recorded in his Gospel, and therefore when he differs from an Apostle and eye-witness, we must conclude, since two accounts which vary from each other cannot both of them be accurate, that the inaccuracy is on the part of St. Luke.

In ch. xviii. 35. St. Luke relates that Christ restored a blind man to sight, as he was approaching toward Jericho: whereas both St. Matthew and St. Mark relate, that this miracle was performed after Christ's departure from Jericho. His account of the spices prepared by the women for the embalming of the body of Christ, ch. xxiii. 56. and their bringing these spices to the grave, ch. xxiv. 1. it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile with what St. John has related on this occasion^b. In the short extract which St. Luke has given from the sermon on the mount, he has inverted one of the precepts delivered by Christ. According to Matth. v. 40. Christ gave the following command, *Τῷ θελοντί σοι κριθῆναι, καὶ χίτωνά σε λαβεῖν, ἀφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον*: but on the contrary in St. Luke's Gospel, ch. vi. 29, the command is given thus: *Ἀπο τῆς αἰρούσης σε τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κάλυψης*. To those who are unacquainted with the Jewish laws, the form in which
St.

^a Ch. III. sect. 3.

^b See what I have said on this subject in my History of the Resurrection^c.

St. Luke has recorded this precept, will appear to be the most natural, because an outward garment (*ιματίον*) must be taken off before the under garment (*χιτών*). But Christ alluded in this instance to a Jewish law, according to which a creditor could summon a debtor before a court of justice, and if he were unable to pay, could claim from him his under garment: but the outward garment was sacred, and could not be seized, even if the wearer had pledged it as surety for a debt^c. The meaning therefore of the precept, as recorded by St. Matthew, is this: that if any one has a claim upon us, we should rather give up even more than the laws require, than dispute that, which can with justice be demanded. This is a very rational precept: but in the form in which St. Luke has delivered it, and in the connection in which he has related it, the precept implies that not even robbers ought to be resisted, and hence objections have been made to the Christian religion. But the objections will cease to be of weight, if we admit, that St. Luke misunderstood the precept². According to the relation of St. Matthew, ch. xviii. 21, 22. when St. Peter demanded of Christ how often he should forgive his brother, who offended him, whether seven times, he received for answer ‘seventy times seven’: by which Christ intended to say in general terms, that we should be ready at all times to be reconciled with those, who had offended us. But St. Luke, ch. xvii. 3, 4. has recorded the precept in the following manner: ‘If he trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee, saying, I repent, thou shalt forgive him.’ Now seven, it is true, is much less than seventy times seven, but the addition of ‘in a day,’ increases the force of the expression in such a manner as to produce a very incomprehensible doctrine. For, if a man offend me seven times a day, and comes to me each time to say that he repents, how is it possible that his repentance should
be

^c Mosaic Law, Vol. III. sect. 150. No. 1. and Exod. xxii. 25, 26.

be sincere, when he continually repeats the offence in the very same day? The addition therefore of *της ημερας* is certainly without authority, and St. Luke must have derived his information in this instance, not from the Apostles, but from one of those apocryphal Gospels, of which he speaks in his preface³. Again, the account which St. Luke has given, ch. xix. 13. of the sum of money, which a certain prince entrusted to ten of his subjects, to be employed on interest during his absence, appears to be not perfectly accurate. This sum, according to St. Luke, was ten Minas. Now the Attic Mina, according to Eifenschmidt, was fifteen ounces Cologne weight; in silver therefore it was two and twenty six-dollars, and in gold between an hundred and twenty-four and an hundred and twenty-five ducats. The whole treasure was at the utmost twelve hundred and fifty ducats. Even if we understood the Hebrew Mina, which, according to Eifenschmidt, was one pound thirteen ounces, and reckon the Mina in gold, the whole sum will not exceed two thousand four hundred and fifty ducats: which is really despicable, considered as a royal treasure in the East, and in the age of the wealthy Herods, from whose history the whole parable was borrowed. A similar parable is related by St. Matthew, ch. xxv. 14. not of a sovereign, but of a private man: and even this person delivers to one of his servants only not less than five talents. The word *μνα* therefore, used by St. Luke must be a mistake, which probably arose in the following manner. The Hebrew word *מנה*, if pointed *מְנָה* signifies 'a portion' or 'part,' but if pointed *מִנָּה*, it signifies 'a Mina.' Christ probably used the word in the former sense, and meant to say, that the king delivered to ten of his subjects the ten portions of his treasure. It ought therefore to have been rendered by *μερη*: but in consequence of a wrong punctuation, it was improperly rendered by *μνα*⁴.

S E C T. III.

*Whether St. Luke is the same person as Lucius mentioned
Acts xiii. 1. Rom. xvi. 21.*

DR. HEUMANN in his Note to Acts xiii. 1. has endeavoured by several very probable arguments to shew that Lucius of Cyrene, who is called a prophet, Acts xiii. 1. and who is mentioned by St. Paul, Rom. xvi. 21. is no other than the Evangelist St. Luke. Lardner^d is inclined to adopt the same opinion, and Wetstein says in positive terms, that Lucas and Lucius are only different names of the same person. If this opinion were founded on fact, we should derive from it material advantages: for we should not only acquire a more complete knowledge of our Evangelist, but might ascribe to him, without scruple, divine inspiration, because Lucius of Cyrene is expressly called a prophet, and is said to have been selected, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, by the Apostle St. Paul to the ministry^e.

But there lie difficulties in the way of this opinion, which appear to me to be insurmountable. That Lucius was a Jew^f, but St. Luke an heathen by birth, is an argument on which I will not insist, because the deduction, by which St. Luke's heathen origin is shewn, is not absolutely decisive^g. The material objection is the following. St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans

^d Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. p. 250: Lardner likewise observes that some entertained this opinion as long ago as the time of Origen.

^e Acts xiii. 1, 2.

^f Lucius was certainly a Jew, because St. Paul calls him *συγγενής*; Rom. xvi. 21.

^g See the first section of this chapter, Note x.

mans from Corinth, and Lucius was with him at that time, for St. Paul sends a salutation from Lucius^b. Consequently if Lucas and Lucius are one and the same person, the author of the Acts of the Apostles must have been with St. Paul at Corinth, when the Epistle to the Romans was written. But, if we attend to the mode of writing in the Acts of the Apostles, we shall perceive that the author of this book was not at that time in Corinth. He begins to speak in the first person at ch. xvi. 10. 'We endeavoured to go into Macedonia.' He was therefore at that time in company with St. Paul: and from ver. 12. where he likewise speaks in the first person, it appears that they arrived together at Philippi. In the last verse of the same chapter, he mentions St. Paul's departure from Philippi; and in this verse, and likewise in the following chapters, he speaks of St. Paul and his companions in the third person: 'Now when *they* had passed through Amphipolisⁱ, &c. Consequently he staid behind at Philippi, for if he had accompanied St. Paul to Corinth, he would not have altered his mode of writing. The third person continues as far as Acts xx. 56. where the first person is again used: 'These going before tarried for *us* at Troas, and *we* sailed away from Philippi, &c. Hence we perceive that the author of the Acts of the Apostles remained at Philippi (probably with a view of edifying the newly founded community), during the whole of St. Paul's travels, which are described in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth chapters, and that they again joined company in the same city. But it was in this interval that St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans from Corinth: and therefore the author of the Acts was not with St. Paul when he wrote that Epistle. Consequently he was not the same person with Lucius, who is mentioned Rom. xvi. 21. If, in order to evade this argument, it be objected, that the Lucius of Cyrene, whom we find at Antioch, Acts xiii. 1. may be a different person from the Lucius, who was with

^b Rom. xvi. 21.ⁱ Acts xvii. 1,

with St. Paul at Corinth, and therefore that the Evangelist St. Luke, though he cannot be the same with the latter, may yet be the same with the former, I answer that if Lucius of Cyrene, who was with St. Paul at Antioch, had been the author of the Acts, he would have spoken in the first person in describing the transaction at Antioch, ch. xiii. 1—3. and would have said, ver. 3. 'we sent them away,' not 'they sent them away.' Besides, the name of Lucius stands before that of St. Paul, Acts xiii. 1. an arrangement which is incompatible with St. Luke's modesty, if he himself were Lucius, for he would then have placed his own name before that of an Apostle'.



SECTION IV.

Of the person of Theophilus, to whom St. Luke addressed his writings'.

THAT the word Θεοφιλος is not an appellative, but a proper name, appears from the addition of the title κραιισος. But who this person was, it is at present difficult to determine. That he was a man of rank appears from the title, which St. Luke has given him: for in the Acts of the Apostles, ch. xxiii. 26. xxiv. 3. xxvi. 26. this title is applied to the Roman Governors of Judæa, Felix and Festus. On the other hand it was not confined to men of this elevated station, but was applied in the East to persons in general, whose rank and office entitled them to respect. The word was adopted in the Palmyrene Syriac, for there are three Palmyrene inscriptions, in each of which a certain Epitropus and Ducenarius is entitled ܐܘܬܪܘܣܐܘܐ, that is, κραιισος. This title therefore determines no particular rank, and Oecumenius was certainly mistaken, in saying in his Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Luke's Theophilus was a Roman Governor,

nor, because Felix and Festus had the same title, for Theophilus is neither a Latin name, nor does it ever occur in the Roman history, as the name of the governor of a province.

That Theophilus was not a Christian, but either a Jew or an Heathen, when St. Luke addressed his Gospel to him, I think not improbable, because St. Luke in his preface uses the word *κατηχηθης*, from which it appears that Theophilus had then a very imperfect knowledge of the history of Christ²: and the expression used by St. Luke ver. 1. 'among us,' that is, 'among us Christians,' seems to imply that Theophilus was at that time not of the number³.

It would be tedious and even useless to relate the various opinions of ancient writers, relative to the character and residence of Theophilus: for they are in general mere conjectures unsupported by historical evidence^k. And it is the less necessary in this Introduction, because whatever has been advanced on this subject, as well in ancient as in modern times, the reader will find examined at full length in the fourth volume of the Bibliotheca Bremensis. I will therefore content myself at present with stating the result of the inquiries instituted in that work. The first dissertation on Theophilus has Dr. Heumann for its author^l, who contends that this person was an Heathen: but he argues chiefly from the word *καταλις* , which as he supposes, not only implies a Roman governor, but one who had not embraced Christianity, because the Romans would not have entrusted the government of a province to a Christian. But this argument is wholly inconclusive: for the title *καταλις* , as I have already shewn, was not confined to governors of provinces, and it might have been applied to men of rank among the

^k Some have supposed that he lived at Antioch, others that he lived at Alexandria; and Alexander Morus conjectured that he lived at Athens, because Tacitus (Annal. Lib. II. 55.) mentions a person of this name who was convicted at Athens of a forgery.

^l Bibl. Bremens. Class IV. Fascic. III. Dissert. 3.

the Jews, for instance to such a person as Nicodemus. Nor is it by any means certain that a Roman governor would have been deprived of his office for embracing Christianity: for the Romans were *at that time* not inclined to persecution, but tolerated the Christian like every other religion, and Sergius Paulus, governor of Cyprus, made no scruple to embrace Christianity^m. The title *καθηγούμενος* therefore determines no more in favour of Heathenism, than of Judaism, or of Christianity.

The second dissertation on this subject was written by Theodore Haseⁿ, who contends that Theophilus was formerly, though not when St. Luke addressed his Gospel to him, a Jewish High Priest. The arguments advanced in favour of this opinion are so strong, as to render it more probable than any other. That a person of the name of Theophilus once executed the office of High Priest, appears from the Antiquities of Josephus^o. He was son of Annas^p, who was High Priest in the year in which Christ was crucified: and was himself nominated High Priest by the Roman Governor Vitellius, in the place of his brother Jonathan, whom Vitellius deposed^q. This office Theophilus held till Agrippa was appointed King of Judæa, who deposed him and made Simon Cantheras High Priest. Agrippa soon after dispossessed Cantheras of the High Priesthood, and offered it again to Jonathan; but he refused it, and recommended his brother Matthias, who was accepted^r. After several changes in the Priesthood, which are of no importance in the present inquiry, another son of Annas, named Ananus, was appointed High Priest: so that Theophilus had not only himself presided over the Jewish church, but had
three

^m Acts xiii. 4. 7. 12.

ⁿ Bibl. Brem. Clafs. IV. Fascic. III. Dissert. 3.

^o Antiq. Lib. XVIII. XIX. XX.

^p Antiq. Lib. XIX. 6. 2.

^q Antiq. XVIII. 5. 3.

^r Antiq. XIX. 6. 4.

three brothers who had likewise executed that office. Lastly, his own son Matthias was nominated High Priest in the place of Jesus the son of Gamaliel: and it was during the Priesthood of Matthias, that the Jewish war commenced*. Theophilus therefore, though no longer High Priest, when St. Luke wrote his Gospel, yet, as he had formerly held that office, and moreover had brothers and a son for his successors, he was certainly of sufficient rank to be entitled to the appellation of *κατάλις*†. It is therefore not impossible that this person is the Theophilus, to whom St. Luke addressed his Gospel, which must then be considered as an historical apology for the Christian religion, addressed to one of the heads of the Jewish nation. Further, Ananus, the brother of Theophilus, was in the Priesthood after the death of the Procurator Festus: consequently Theophilus himself might have been alive, not only when St. Luke wrote his Gospel, but likewise when he wrote the Acts of the Apostles. Lastly, when we take into consideration that this Theophilus is the only person of that name, whose history is recorded in the annals of the first century; the possibility that he is the same with St. Luke's Theophilus becomes a probability.

That St. Luke addressed his Gospel to one of the heads of the Jewish church agrees likewise extremely well with the opinion, that he wrote it in Palestine during the time St. Paul was prisoner at Cæsarea. He had then the very best opportunity of tracing up the history of Christ to the fountain head, agreeably to what he himself says in his Preface: and, as the propagation of the new religion engaged at that time the particular attention of the leading men among the Jews†, there could not be a fitter opportunity for presenting to a person, who had once executed the important office of High Priest, an authentic narrative of the miracles and resurrection of Christ, in vindication
of

* Antiq. XX. 9. 1. 7.

† See Acts xxv. 13.—xxvi. 32.

of those, who had embraced his doctrines. Nor is it improbable that St. Luke's narrative should have produced such an effect on the mind of this person, as to induce him to request from the same author a further account of the Christians, especially of St. Paul, who was then prisoner in Cæsarea, which occasioned the composition of St. Luke's second work, the Acts of the Apostles. All these circumstances put together render the opinion highly probable, that St. Luke's Theophilus is no other than Theophilus the son of Annas, who is mentioned by Josephus. And if the opinion be true, as I really believe, it adds greatly to the credibility of St. Luke's Gospel; for the Evangelist would hardly have ventured to dedicate to the son of that very Annas, who was High Priest, when Christ was crucified, a narrative of facts performed in Palestine, unless he had been able to warrant their truth.

The third dissertation on St. Luke's Theophilus, in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis**, was written by James Hase, brother of Theodore. This writer supposes that St. Luke's Theophilus was a Jewish convert in Alexandria, and moreover the first who embraced Christianity in that city. In favour of this opinion he produces the authority of Bar Bahlul, a Syrian lexicographer of the tenth century, who is quoted in *Castelli Lexicon Heptaglotton*, pag. 3859, under the article *Ⲛⲉⲑⲟⲩⲗⲏ* Theophilus. The words of Bar Bahlul, in Castell's Latin translation are, 'Theophilus, primus credentium et celeberrimus apud Alexandrienses, qui cum aliis Ægyptiis S. Lucam rogabat, ut eis Evangelium scriberet.' But an assertion made by a writer of the tenth century relative to what happened in the first century cannot be considered as historical evidence, when his assertion is not supported by any preceding authority. And in the present instance I have no doubt that the assertion is nothing more than a conjecture of Bar Bahlul founded on the common belief of the Syrians relative to the place where St. Luke wrote his Gospel.

In

* *Clafs. IV. Fasc. VI. Diff. 4.*

In the superscription to St. Luke's Gospel in the Syriac version it is said that St. Luke wrote and preached his Gospel at Alexandria^x: hence Bar Bahlul concluded that the person to whom he addressed it must have been an inhabitant of Alexandria. Further, the author of the dissertation in question appears to be of opinion^y, though he has not positively advanced it, that St. Luke's Theophilus was no other than the celebrated Alexandrian Jew, Philo. But if Philo and Theophilus were one and the same person, which is in itself very improbable, the Alexandrine Fathers Clement and Origen must certainly have known it, and consequently would not have failed to relate it. Besides, as Philo, in the account of his embassy to the emperor Caius Caligula, calls himself at that time an old man^z, it is not very probable that he was alive, when the Acts of the Apostles were written, which extend as far as the end of the second year of St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome, under the emperor Nero, and therefore must have been written more than twenty years after the embassy of Philo.

S E C T. V.

Of the time when St. Luke wrote his Gospel.

THE time when, as well as the place where, St. Luke's Gospel was written, is wholly uncertain¹, Lardner, in the first volume of his Supplement² to the
Credibility

^x Ebed Jesu says the same. See Assemani Bib. Orient. Tom. III: P. 1. p. 9.

^y His own words, p. 1077. are, Equidem et ipse ille Philo inter suos gessit nomen יריריה, seu Jedidæi, hoc est Θεοφιλος, quod ipse in Philonis Græcum ex more tum temporis solemniter commutavit. Hebræo enim hoc et nativo nomine Philonem citat Jedidæi Alexandrini R. Azarias in Meor Enajim, cap. 32.

^z In the beginning of his work entitled, De legatione ad Caium.

² Chap. VIII. Sect. 4, 5, 6.

Credibility of the Gospel History, has examined the various opinions on this subject, and very clearly shewn the mistakes, which had been made by his predecessors: but, as it often happens in dubious cases, the opinion which he himself defends is equally liable to objection. All that we can affirm with certainty is, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel before the Acts of the Apostles, and that the Acts of the Apostles were not written before the end of the second year of St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome. But of the interval which elapsed, between the composition of the former and that of the latter, we have no knowledge; nor are there any internal marks, either in the Gospel or in the Acts, by which we can determine whether the interval was long or short. It is indeed the commonly received opinion, and Lardner has adopted it, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel not long before the Acts of the Apostles; but this is mere conjecture, for though it is very possible that the former was written so late as the very year in which the latter was written, yet it is equally possible that it was written ten years before. One of the reasons which Lardner assigns^b, namely, that St. Luke's Gospel contains a more complete view of the Gospel dispensation, than could have been expected from a person who wrote only a few years after the ascension, is wholly foreign to the purpose. If the question related to the work of an impostor, who invented stories and doctrines in order to deceive the world and introduce a false religion, the argument would be valid: for when a writer exhibits a fiction, and produces merely a work of his own invention, he cannot easily ascribe to his pretended prophet a set of doctrines, with which he himself was unacquainted. But it is wholly inapplicable to the Evangelists, who have recorded a series of doctrines, not of their own discovery, but which had been actually delivered by Christ: and therefore, whether they fully understood the Gospel dispensation or not, when they wrote their histories, it was surely
in

^b Chap. VIII. Sect. 5.

in their power to record, as true and faithful disciples, what had been taught by their Lord and Master. Lardner's other argument, namely, that several histories of Christ had been written before St. Luke wrote his Gospel, as the Evangelist himself says in the Preface, is more to the purpose, but equally indecisive. For we are wholly ignorant of the time in which the histories, to which St. Luke alludes were written, and therefore we cannot argue from them to the time, when St. Luke himself wrote. Lardner indeed says, 'It cannot be reasonably thought, that many should have written histories of Jesus Christ presently after his ascension, nor indeed till many years after it.' But if we argue from mere probability we may with equal reason suppose that some accounts at least were committed to writing soon after the ascension. In fact we cannot conclude either one way or the other with any certainty, and the probability or improbability, which we find in the case itself, depends chiefly on the opinion, which we have already embraced. If we argue from analogy, the inference will be equally uncertain; for some histories are written soon after the events, which are recorded, though other events of equal importance are not committed to writing, till long after they had happened. For instance, Charles XII. of Sweden had a biographer in Voltaire, within a few years after his death, whereas the life of Gustavus Adolphus has been described by no historian before the present age.

St. Luke's Gospel therefore, for ought we know, may have been written many years before the Acts of the Apostles: and consequently the opinion of Theodore Hase, which I noticed in the preceding section, that it was written in Palestine, before St. Paul was sent prisoner from Cæsarea to Rome, may very possibly be true^c. Nay it is possible that St. Luke wrote before
St.

^c The subscription to St. Luke's Gospel in some Greek manuscripts quoted by Wetstein imports that it was written only fifteen years after the ascension.

St. Matthew; for, though I would not undertake to prove that he did, I should find it difficult to prove that he did not. It is true that according to the common arrangement of the four Gospels, that of St. Luke is placed after that of St. Matthew: but we cannot argue from their position to the time in which they were written. Nor do all the manuscripts agree in the arrangement of the Gospels: for there are some, especially Latin manuscripts, in which St. John's Gospel is placed before that of St. Matthew, though it is certain that St. John's Gospel was written last². It is therefore not improbable that the *common* arrangement of the three first Gospels was grounded not on the time when they were written, but on the different degrees of dignity of their respective authors. St. Matthew had the first rank, because he was an Apostle, and St. Mark the second rank, because he had not only been a companion of St. Peter, but had likewise attended St. Paul, before St. Luke attended him. Yet St. Mark, if he wrote his Gospel after St. Peter was in Rome, wrote certainly later than St. Luke. The only Gospel of which we can positively affirm that its usual position corresponds to the time of its composition is that of St. John: but as in several manuscripts this Gospel has a different position, we see that the arrangement of the Gospels leads to no conclusion whatsoever.

That St. Luke's Gospel was really written before that of St. Matthew has been asserted by several commentators, in consequence of what St. Luke says in his preface^d. Macknight especially has devoted to this subject a great part of his seventh Preliminary Dissertation^e, and in addition to the argument deduced from St. Luke's preface, has drawn a conclusion in favour
of

^d Beza observes in a Note to Luke i. 1—4. Forsitán ex hoc loco utcunq̄ colligi possit, Lucam ante Matthæum quoque et Marcum hanc suam historiam edidisse.

^e Prefixed to his Harmony of the Gospels. The edition which I quote is that of 1763.

of the early composition of this Gospel from a passage in St. Paul's second Epistle to the Corinthians^f, where St. Paul says, 'We have sent with him the brother whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the churches.' That this brother was St. Luke, Macknight thinks highly probable, and quotes in favour of this interpretation the authority of Origen, Jerom^g, and the interpolator of Ignatius, who explains the passage in the same manner. But if we admit that St. Luke was the brother whom St. Paul sent, yet the word 'Gospel' in this passage ought not to be explained of St. Luke's written Gospel: the word *εὐαγγέλιον* in the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists denotes 'the glad tidings of the Christian religion,' or 'the preaching of Christianity in general,' and it was not till after their time, that it acquired the sense of a 'written narrative of the life of Christ.'

Bishop Pearce has used another argument in favour of the early composition of St. Luke's Gospel, which he has deduced from ch. i. 5. where St. Luke, speaking of Herod the Great, calls him simply Herod the King of Judæa, without the addition of an epithet to distinguish him from the Herod, who is mentioned Acts xii. 1. and who was likewise King of Judæa. Hence Pearce concludes that, St. Luke wrote his Gospel before the second Herod King of Judæa had begun to reign. But this inference is not valid, for St. Luke in speaking of the second Herod Acts xii. 1. calls him simply Herod the King, as he had named his grandfather the first Herod, and therefore if Pearce's argument proved any thing it would prove too much. Besides, it was not the practice of the ancient historians to distinguish princes of the same name by the addition of 'the first,' 'the second,' and so on, as is customary in modern ages: they left the reader to

judge

^f Ch. VIII. 13.

^g The words of Jerom are: Hoc de Luca intelligitur, qui laudem in Evangelio conscribendo videtur habere præ cæteris.

judge from the context, and in the case in question St. Luke could have no reason whatsoever for making an exception, since none of his readers could suppose that the Herod, under whose reign Christ was born, was any other than Herod the Great.

But whether St. Luke wrote before St. Matthew and St. Mark or not, it is evident that he had not seen their Gospels, when he wrote his own. For the 'many' of whom he speaks, ch. i. 1. cannot possibly be confined to St. Matthew and St. Mark alone: consequently, they must be either included among the many or not meant at all. But we cannot suppose that St. Luke would place the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark on a level with apocryphal Gospels, which stood in need of correction. Further, St. Luke speaks of the authors of these Gospels, as if they themselves were not eye-witnesses of the facts which they had recorded, and therefore at any rate he could not have St. Matthew in view. Nor would he have neglected ver. 3. where he declares that he had traced up the history of Christ to the fountain head, to have quoted the authority of St. Matthew who was both Apostle and eye-witness, if the Gospel of St. Matthew had been known to him. Lastly, he would have avoided in that case every appearance of contradiction, and the variations which we find between the two Gospels, would hardly have taken place. For instance, if he had ever seen the Genealogy of Christ, which is given in the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, he would not have given another Genealogy, which appears so very different from the former, without giving some intimation of the manner, in which they may be reconciled. At ch. v. 12. St. Luke describing the cure of the leper, says, ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΜΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ; the name of the city therefore, in which the miracle was performed, was unknown to him, or he would not have expressed himself in so indeterminate a manner. But this could not have been unknown to him, if he had read St. Matthew's Gospel, where

where we see from ch. viii. 1—5. that the name of the city was Capernaum. At ch. vi. 17. he would either have avoided the apparent contradiction to Matth. v. 1. or would have introduced an explanation, to shew that the accounts were consistent. Again, at ch. viii. 22. he would not have written *εγενετο εν μιζ των ημερων*, if he had read what St. Mark has written ch. iv. 32., where it appears that the fact in question happened on the *same* day, as that which he had before related. At ch. xxii. 58. describing St. Peter's denial of Christ, he says of the person who addressed St. Peter the second time, *ετερος ιδων αυτον*, whereas it appears from the relation both of St. Matthew and St. Mark, that St. Peter was addressed both times by a maid servant. Now, though it must be admitted that the word *ετερος* may be taken indefinitely to denote either a man or a maid servant, because we generally use the masculine gender when the sex is not particularly distinguished, yet on the other hand, as this last mode of speaking usually takes place in those cases only, where the sex is unknown to us, it follows that St. Luke was uncertain whether the person, who addressed St. Peter the second time, was a male or a female, and consequently that he had not read the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Mark.

So far then is certain that the Gospel of St. Matthew, as well as the Gospel of St. Mark, was unknown to St. Luke, when he wrote his own. Moreover it is certain on other accounts that St. Mark's Gospel did not exist at that time: but whether St. Luke's want of knowledge of St. Matthew's Gospel warrant the conclusion that he wrote likewise before St. Matthew will depend on the decision of the question, where St. Luke's Gospel was written. If it was written either in Asia Minor, or in Greece, before St. Luke accompanied St. Paul to Jerusalem, it is very possible that a Hebrew Gospel written in Palestine, might remain unknown to him: and therefore in that case we cannot argue from his want of knowledge of it

to its non-existence. But if it was written after the time that St. Luke had been with St. Paul in Jerusalem, whether in Palestine or in Rome we must conclude that when St. Luke embarked with St. Paul at Cæsarea to go to Rome, St. Matthew's Gospel had not been composed. For if it had, it could hardly have escaped the notice of St. Luke, who spent some time in Jerusalem, was two years either in Cæsarea or its neighbourhood, and made every where the most diligent inquiries relative to the history of Christ. The question therefore, whether St. Luke wrote before St. Matthew or not, depends entirely on the place where he wrote, which shall be the subject of inquiry in the next section.

S E C T. VI.

Of the various opinions relative to the place where St. Luke wrote his Gospel.

NOT less than nine different opinions have been advanced, either in ancient or in modern times, respecting the place where St. Luke wrote his Gospel. They are as follows. 1. That he wrote his Gospel at Antioch. 2. At Troas. 3. At Alexandria in Egypt, before he joined company with St. Paul. 4. In Bithynia. 5. In Macedonia. 6. In Achaia. 7. In Palestine. 8. At Alexandria in Egypt, after he had left St. Paul. 9. At Thebes in Egypt^l. According to the four first opinions, he must have written before he began to travel with St. Paul^h: according to the five last,

^h St. Luke in his account of Christ's Resurrection has omitted circumstances noted by St. Paul, for instance, that Christ appeared to five hundred brethren at once, 1 Cor. xv. 6. This favours the supposition that St. Luke wrote his Gospel before he was acquainted with St. Paul. On the other hand he sometimes uses peculiar expressions,

last, at a later period. Each opinion shall be examined in order.

1. That St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Antioch, has not been asserted, as far as I recollect, in positive terms, but is only implied in the notion that Theophilus, to whom St. Luke addressed it, was bishop of that city. Now that this notion is erroneous every one at present will allowⁱ, and consequently the inference deduced from it falls of itself to the ground. If Lucas, and Lucius mentioned xiii. 1, were the same person, it would follow that St. Luke's Gospel might have been written at Antioch; but as the identity of Lucas and Lucius is incapable of proof, we have no ground even for a conjecture that it was written in that city.

2. The opinion that St. Luke wrote at Troas, in the Trojan district of Asia Minor, is grounded on the superscription to St. Luke's Gospel, which is found in the Syriac version, and the subscription to several Greek manuscripts^k. For the city of Troas was properly called Alexandria Troas, and in the superscription and subscription just mentioned, St. Luke's Gospel is said to have been written at Alexandria. It is true that the epithet there annexed to Alexandria, which in the Syriac is $\{\Delta\Omega\}$; and in the Greek $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta$, is unfavourable to the interpretation Alexandria Troas, because the title of 'the Great' was particularly applied to Alexandria in Egypt. If therefore this epithet is not an addition of later ages, but stood there from the very beginning, the author of it cannot have meant Alexandria Troas, and the interpretation in question must

fions, which he appears to have learnt from St. Paul: for instance, $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, ch. xviii. 1. See Vol. I. Ch. iv. Sect. 8. But neither of these arguments is decisive.

ⁱ The mistake probably arose from a confusion of St. Luke's Theophilus with the Theophilus who was Bishop of Antioch in the second century.

^k See the end of St. Luke's Gospel in Mill's and Wetstein's edition.

must be false. But it is really not improbable that the epithet is spurious². Alexandria Troas is the place where St. Paul first met with St. Luke¹, where they joined company, and whence they travelled together into Macedonia. When therefore it is said that St. Luke wrote at Alexandria, one might suppose that the Alexandria, where according to his own account he had actually been, and not the Egyptian Alexandria was meant by the author of the above subscription. Further the year assigned in the same subscription to the time when St. Luke's Gospel was written, favours this interpretation: for it is there said to have been written in the fifteenth year after Christ's ascension, and it was either at the end of the same, or at the beginning of the following year, that St. Paul arrived at Troas³.

3. The third opinion that St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Alexandria in Egypt, but before he joined company with St. Paul, is grounded likewise on the subscription mentioned in the preceding article. According to this opinion, the word *μεγαλη*, is taken for genuine, and consequently the Egyptian Alexandria is supposed to have been meant. Further as according to the same subscription, St. Luke wrote his Gospel in the fifteenth year after the ascension, and the commencement of his travels with St. Paul took place shortly after that period, it is inferred that his visit to Alexandria in Egypt must have happened before the joining company with St. Paul^m. But as we have no historical account whatsoever of any visit made by St. Luke in Egypt, the opinion rests on a very unstable foundation.

4. That

¹ This appears from St. Luke's mode of narration. For at Acts xvi. 8. he relates the arrival of St. Paul and his companions at Troas in the third person; *they* came to Troas. But the departure from Troas, ver. 10. is related in the first person: *we* endeavoured to go into Macedonia.

^m Bar Bahlul, mentioned in the 4th Section of this Chapter, who makes Theophilus the first Christian in Alexandria, argued probably in this manner from the Syriac subscription.

4. That St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Bithynia has not been asserted by any modern writers; but the opinion is mentioned by Jerom in the Prologue to his Exposition of St. Matthew's Gospel, not indeed according to the reading of the common editions, but according to the reading of several manuscripts. The common printed text of the passage, to which I allude, is: *Tertius Lucas, medicus, natione Syrus, Antiochenfis, cujus laus in evangelio, qui et ipse discipulus Apostoli Pauli, in Achaia Bæotiaque partibus volumen condidit*: but Martianay in a marginal note observes, that several manuscripts instead of *Bæotiaque* read *Bithyniaque*. Now as Bithynia was not only no part of the Roman province of Achaia, but lay at a considerable distance from it, Jerom could not possibly have related that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Achaia and Bithynia: and therefore, if Bithyniæ is the genuine reading, *que* must be a mistake in the manuscripts for *ve*, and Jerom must have written *in Achaia Bithyniæve partibus*. According to this representation he will have reported two different opinions relative to the place where St. Luke wrote, without deciding in favour of either of them. That *Bithyniæve* was the original reading, that *Bithyniaque* arose from it through the mistake of a copyist, and that *Bæotiaque* was the result of a critical conjecture, founded partly on the obscurity of the reading *Bithyniaque*, and partly on the legend that the grave of St. Luke was discovered in Bæotia, I will not positively assert. But this at least is certain that Bithynia, a country not very far distant from Troas, is a much more probable place for the composition of St. Luke's Gospel than Bæotia, as I shall shew in the examination of the sixth opinion. If it be true that St. Luke wrote in Bithynia, before he joined company with St. Paul at Troas, Theophilus was probably a Bithynian, in which case all attempts to obtain further knowledge of him will be fruitless.

5. The fifth opinion, of which very little notice has hitherto been taken, but which appears to me to deserve particular attention, refers the composition of St. Luke's Gospel to a city in Macedonia. It is founded on the following subscription to the Arabic version of St. Luke's Gospel, which was published by Erpenins: 'He (St. Luke) wrote it in Greek, in a Macedonian city, two and twenty years after Christ's ascension, and in the fourteenth year of the Emperor Claudius.' Now this account agrees extremely well with St. Luke's long stay at Philippi^a, not only in respect to the place, as Philippi is in Macedonia, but likewise in respect to the time; for it was in the latter part of the reign of the Emperor Claudius that St. Luke resided there. This appears from Acts xviii. 2. where we find that St. Paul, who had left St. Luke behind him at Philippi, met on his arrival at Corinth with Aquila and Priscilla, who had been obliged to leave Rome in consequence of an edict of the Emperor Claudius, that all the Jews should depart from that city. This edict was given toward the end of Claudius's reign: consequently, as St. Luke continued some time at Philippi, the account that he was in a city of Macedonia in the fourteenth, that is, in the last year of Claudius, has historical evidence in its favour. It is true, that we neither know the author of this Arabic subscription, nor the source from which he derived his information: but as it has strong internal marks of probability, or at least none of improbability, it is entitled to a high rank among the various opinions relative to the place where St. Luke's Gospel was composed. If St. Luke's object in remaining at Philippi, while St. Paul travelled into other countries, was to give further instructions to those whom the Apostle had converted to Christianity, and to form a community of Christians in that city, he could not have more completely effected his purpose, than by delivering them a written narrative of the birth, the miracles,

and

^a See the latter part of the third Section of this Chapter.

and the resurrection of Christ. The Greek name Theophilus agrees likewise with the opinion that he wrote in a Grecian city. The only objections which can be made to it, are: first, that St. Paul, in his second Epistle to the Corinthians^o, represents the Macedonian Christians as being extremely poor, whereas Theophilus, as appears from the title which St. Luke has given him, was a man of rank: and secondly, that St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians has greeted no person of the name of Theophilus, nor in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, which he wrote in Macedonia, has mentioned Theophilus as greeting the Corinthians. But neither of these objections are of any weight. For we are not certain that Theophilus was a Christian⁴: and if he were, there is no necessity for supposing, either that he lived in the city of Philippi, or that he was acquainted with the members of the Corinthian community⁵.

In the preceding paragraph I have interpreted the words of the Arabic subscription, 'a Macedonian city,' as denoting 'a city of Macedonia,' as it appears to me, that they admit of no other interpretation. But James Hase, in a dissertation inserted in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis*^p, has endeavoured to shew that the author of this Arabic subscription understood by 'Macedonian city,' the city of Alexandria in Egypt. In support of this position he has quoted several passages, but all of them from poetical works, in which the epithets, Pel-læus, Emathius, Macedonicus, are applied to Egypt in general, or to the capital of that country, Alexandria, in particular. Now no one will deny that these epithets were often applied, especially by the poets, to the Egyptian Alexandria, in consequence of its having
been

^o Ch. viii. 2, 3.

^p Clafs. IV. Fascic. 4. Differt. 9. The title of the dissertation is, *Jacobi Hasei Observatio geographico-critica qua Macedonicam civitatem, et Alexandrian Magnam, in quarum altera Arabs, altera Syrus Græcique interpretes D. Lucam Evangelium consignasse produnt, eandem civitatem, et quidem Ægyptiacam Alexandriam, esse ostenditur.*

been founded and governed by Macedonian princes. But we must not interpret the plain language of a profewriter, as we would interpret the figurative language of a poet. The impropriety of such an interpretation will appear more conspicuously, if we take an instance from the present period. A poet might call Lisbon, in consequence of the numerous English families, which are settled in that city, the English Lisbon: yet no bibliographer would say of a book, which was printed in Lisbon, that it was printed in an English city. In like manner, the author of the Arabic subscription, if he had meant to say that St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Alexandria, would not have said that he wrote it in a Macedonian city. That the author of the Syriac subscription referred the composition of St. Luke's Gospel to Alexandria, is no proof that the author of the Arabic subscription intended to do the same; especially as we know from the Acts that St. Luke staid some time in the country of Macedonia properly so called, but we no where read in the Acts of a journey into Egypt.

Before I proceed to examine the four other opinions, it will be necessary to make a few general observations on the five which have been already examined. If it were certain that St. Paul in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, ch. viii. 18. where he speaks of the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel, meant St. Luke and the Gospel written by that Evangelist, one of the five preceding opinions must be the true one: for the four last, which I have hereafter to examine, refer the composition of St. Luke's Gospel to a later period than the time of St. Paul's writing his second Epistle to the Corinthians⁹. I have already observed in the preceding section,

⁹ This is obvious of the three last of the nine opinions: and it is equally true of the sixth, which makes Achaia the country in which St. Luke wrote his Gospel. For I have shewn that St. Luke staid behind at Philippi, and did not accompany St. Paul to Corinth. But the second Epistle to the Corinthians was written on St. Paul's return to Macedonia. If therefore St. Luke ever was in Achaia, he must have been there at a later period.

fection, that the word *ευαγγελιον*, as used by the Apostles and Evangelists, does not denote a written narrative of the life of Christ, and therefore that St. Paul can hardly be supposed in the passage in question to allude to the Gospel of St. Luke. It is moreover probable that by the expression, 'the brother whose praise is in the Gospel,' he meant a totally different person from St. Luke. For this 'brother,' as appears from the quoted passage, was sent by St. Paul to Corinth: yet though St. Paul himself went to Corinth⁶ soon after he had written this Epistle, St. Luke was not with him, when he again departed from that city, for, according to Acts xx. 3-6. St. Luke went from Philippi (where he had staid several years) to join company with St. Paul at Troas⁷. Besides, as this 'brother' was sent with Titus, in order to remove all suspicions of Paul's making an improper use of the contributions of the Corinthians⁸, St. Luke, who was his intimate friend and companion, was by no means qualified to answer that purpose. And if we may judge from what St. Paul says, 2 Cor. viii. 23, 24. both of the brethren, who are there opposed to Titus, whom St. Paul calls his partner and fellow-helper, were deputies from the churches in Macedonia⁹.

But many of the ancient Fathers have given a different interpretation of this passage, and understood St. Luke as the person meant by St. Paul: and the word Gospel several of them have explained as denoting the written Gospel of St. Luke. What Origen, Chrysostom, Jerom and Theophylact have said on this subject I will subjoin

⁶ See 2 Cor. viii. 20.

⁹ Who they were it is impossible to determine: but as Sopater, Aristarchus, and Secundus were Macedonians (see Acts xx. 4.), it is not impossible that two out of these three persons were the brethren of whom St. Paul speaks, 2 Cor. viii. 18—23.

subjoin in a note †, that the reader may be able to form a judgement, without the trouble of turning to the authors themselves. Now whether their explanations be right, or whether they be wrong, it necessarily follows that they who gave them could never have heard, or at least they could not have believed, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel, either in Palestine, or in Rome, or in Alexandria after he had left Rome. For in that case they could not even have conjectured that St. Paul alluded to St. Luke's Gospel in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, which was undoubtedly written before St. Luke accompanied St. Paul into Palestine. But their explanations do not necessarily imply that they had never heard of St. Luke's having written in Achaia. For, though it is certain from St. Luke's mode of writing in the Acts of the Apostles, that he staid behind at Philippi, that he did not go with St. Paul into Achaia, and consequently, if he ever was in that district, that he must have been there after St. Paul had written his second Epistle to the Corinthians: yet as the Fathers, through want of attention to St. Luke's mode

† Origen, in his first homily to St. Luke's Gospel (Tom. III. p. 983. ed. Benedict.) speaking of Luke i. 3. says, according to the words of the Latin translation now extant, 'Inculcat ac replicat, quoniam ea, quæ scripturus est, non rumore cognovit, sed ab initio ipse fuerit consecutus. Unde et ab Apostolo merito collaudatur dicente, cujus laus in Evangelio est per omnes ecclesias.' Chrysostom expresses himself still more decidedly: for at the beginning of his Commentary to the Acts of the Apostles (Tom. IX. p. 2. ed. Montfaucon) he says of St. Paul, 'In his Epistle to the Corinthians he writes of him, whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the churches. And when he mentions, that Christ appeared to Cephas, and then to the twelve, and adds, according to the Gospel, which ye have received, he means the Gospel of St. Luke.' Chrysostom delivers again the same opinion, p. 4. 5. But Theophylact appears to have been in doubt, whether St. Paul really alluded to St. Luke's Gospel at 2 Cor. viii. 18.: for in his Note to this passage he says only, 'Some apply these words to St. Luke, because he wrote a Gospel: others apply them to Barnabas, for the Apostles used the term Gospel to denote even a verbal preaching.' What Jerom says on this subject has been quoted in the preceding section.

mode of writing, might suppose that he attended St. Paul from Philippi to Corinth, a report, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Achaia, would appear to them perfectly consistent with the opinion that St. Paul alluded to it in his second Epistle to the Corinthians. Whether it be true that he wrote in Achaia or not, will be examined in the article which now follows.

6. When it is said that St. Luke's Gospel was written in Achaia, this word must not be taken in the confined sense, in which it was used by the ancient Greeks, but in the more extensive sense in which it was used by the Romans, who gave the name of Achaia to the whole southern part of Greece, in opposition to Macedonia, which was the northern province. Bœotia therefore was a part of the Roman province of Achaia, and consequently when it is said that St. Luke wrote in Bœotia in particular, it does not contradict the general assertion that he wrote in Achaia^u. Of the various countries which have been assigned for the composition of this Gospel, Lardner^w thinks Achaia the most probable. Beside the authority of Jerom, he quotes a verse, from the metrical catalogue of canonical books by Gregory of Nazianzum, where St. Luke is said to have written for Achaia^x. Further, he appeals to the story, that the bones of St. Luke were brought to Constantinople in the time of the emperor Constantius from Thebes in Bœotia, where, according to Nicephorus, St. Paul converted him to Christianity.

But that St. Luke wrote in Achaia appears to me much less probable than it did to Lardner. For in the first place, though it were true that St. Luke was buried in Achaia, yet this circumstance could not afford the smallest presumption that he wrote his Gospel there.

If

^u The passage in which Jerom says of St. Luke, *in Achaia Bœotiaque partibus volumen condidit*, has been already quoted in this section.

^w Supplement, P. II. Vol. i. p. 268. and following pages.

^x *Αρχας Αχαιαδι.*

If St. Luke died in Achaia, he must have gone thither from Rome after the second year of St. Paul's imprisonment was expired: and indeed later, for we find him with St. Paul in Rome, not only when the Apostle wrote his Epistle to the Colossians^y, and his Epistle to Philemon^z, but likewise when he wrote his second Epistle to Timothy^a. Hence it appears that the inference that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Achaia, is not only unwarranted by the circumstance, that he died there, but is also improbable in itself. Further, the story of St. Luke's grave at Thebes in Bœotia gave rise to other inferences, which are undoubtedly false: for instance, that he was first converted to Christianity in that city, which can no more be true of Thebes in Bœotia, than of Thebes in Egypt, for he was become a fellow-traveller and fellow-labourer of St. Paul before he went into Greece^b. The former inference therefore, which is drawn from the same premises, is exposed at least to the suspicion of being equally false. Lastly, this very inference, instead of being supported by the opinion of the Fathers, who supposed that St. Paul alluded to St. Luke's Gospel in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, is directly contradicted by it. For if they believed that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Achaia, they must have understood it of the time, when he visited Greece in company with St. Paul, and before St. Paul's imprisonment either in Cæsarea or Rome, as I have shewn in the preceding article. It is likewise contradicted by the Greek subscriptions to St. Luke's Gospel, which refer the composition of it either to the fifteenth or twenty-second year after the ascension: for if St. Luke went into Achaia after St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome, he must have gone thither above thirty years after the ascension. But that St. Luke wrote his Gospel at so late a period, is improbable, and supported by no authority.

7. The

^y Coloss. iv. 14.^z Philem. 24.^a 2 Tim. iv. 11.^b See Acts xvi. 10:

7. The seventh opinion respecting the place, where St. Luke wrote his Gospel is that of Theodore Hase^c, who contends that he wrote it in Palestine, while St. Paul was prisoner in Cæsarea. It is true that this opinion has no historical evidence in its favour: but no objection can be made to it on this ground, for the accounts in general, which ancient writers have delivered on this subject, are so very contradictory and inconsistent, that not one of them is entitled to the name of historical evidence. They are merely the result of private opinion, and therefore have no more authority, merely as such, than the opinion of a modern writer. The only question to be asked, is, which of the several hypotheses, whether advanced in early or in later ages, has the greater share of internal probability. Now in order to determine, whether the hypothesis, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Palestine, while St. Paul was prisoner in Cæsarea, is probable or not, we must ask this previous question, Had St. Matthew written his Gospel at that time, or had he not?

If St. Matthew had already written his Gospel, when St. Luke came with St. Paul into Palestine, one might suppose that it would not have escaped the notice of a writer, who took all possible pains to collect accounts of the history of Christ. Yet we must conclude both from St. Luke's preface, and the variations between his Gospel and that of St. Matthew, that he had no knowledge of it. This objection however is not of so much weight as it appears to be. For we are not certain that St. Luke understood Hebrew^s, or if he did, that St. Matthew's Gospel was known at Cæsarea, a city inhabited chiefly by Greeks and Romans. If he did not understand Hebrew, he might have heard of St. Matthew's Gospel, and yet not have been able to use it, as it is very possible that no Greek translation of it then existed. I can produce a case in point in regard to myself:

^c Biblioth. Bremens. Class. IV. p. 516.

myself: for about forty years ago I read lectures on the Russian history, yet for want of knowledge of the Russian language, I took not the least notice of Nestor, though he is the principal historian of the Russians.

On the other hand if St. Matthew had not written his Gospel, when St. Paul was prisoner at Cæsarea, St. Luke, if he wrote at that time, wrote before St. Matthew. But if he wrote before St. Matthew, and not only wrote in Palestine, but dedicated his Gospel to a person, who in the opinion of Theodore Hase, had been High Priest at Jerusalem, it may be objected that such a Gospel could not have been overlooked by St. Matthew. Dr. Storr indeed asserts that St. Matthew not only read, but even copied from St. Luke's Gospel^o. But this appears to me incredible, for an author, who was eye-witness to the facts, which he related, would hardly borrow his materials from a writer, who was not an eye-witness: nor do I believe that he had even read St. Luke's Gospel, for if he had, he would have avoided many apparent contradictions, which he might easily have removed by a short explanation, and sometimes by the addition of a single word. Since therefore St. Luke's Gospel was certainly unknown to St. Matthew, the question to be asked is, whether this circumstance is consistent with the supposition that St. Luke wrote in Palestine before St. Matthew? Now I think it is not absolutely inconsistent: for if St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Cæsarea, and sent it to a Jewish High Priest, it is at least possible that some years elapsed before copies of it were spread abroad among the Christians in Palestine. Besides, as the supposition that St. Matthew wrote so late, is improbable, the objections which are grounded on it, rest on a very unstable foundation. The opinion that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Palestine, while St. Paul was prisoner in Cæsarea, implies neither that he wrote before, nor that he wrote after St. Matthew. On this last head, we may adopt whatever supposition appears to be the most consistent with it.—Whether the opinion be true or not, I will
not

not undertake to determine, but will leave it to the decision of the reader ¹⁰.

8. The eighth opinion on this subject is, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Alexandria in Egypt, after he had been with St. Paul in Rome. In support of this opinion appeal has been made to the subscription to St. Luke's Gospel in several Greek manuscripts, in which, as well as in the Syriac version, St. Luke is said to have written at Alexandria the Great, by which is meant Alexandria in Egypt. But the same Greek subscription contradicts the latter part of this opinion, for it assigns the fifteenth year after the ascension for the time of its composition, which was long before St. Paul's Journey to Rome. However Grabe and Mill have argued very strenuously in support of this opinion, and their arguments are so plausible, that they induced me to subscribe to it in the first edition of this Introduction. But since I have read Lardner's objections^d, I have so far altered my sentiments, that, though I will not affirm it is absolutely false, I think it at least very uncertain. Simeon Metaphrastes, to whom Grabe appeals, lived so late as the tenth century; and is therefore on that account, as well as several others, of no authority in determining a fact, which happened in the first century. Besides, as Lardner has rightly observed, he does not say that St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Alexandria, but only that he preached there. Nor has Oecumenius, to whom Mill appealed, but without quoting any particular passage, asserted that St. Luke wrote at Alexandria: for Lardner, who was perfectly well acquainted with the writings of the Fathers, declares that he could find no such assertion in Oecumenius. Further, the advocates for this opinion have appealed to the work, which goes by the name of the Apostolic Constitutions, of which the author is unknown, and to which we have no reason to give much credit. Beside the objections, which Lardner has made

to

^d Supplement, P. II. Vol. i. p. 270, 271.

to this work in general, a particular objection may be made to that very chapter^e, in which St. Luke's supposed residence in Alexandria is mentioned. It is there said: 'The first bishop of Alexandria, Anianus, was ordained by the Evangelist St. Mark, and his successor Avilius by the Evangelist St. Luke.' Now if this were true, St. Luke must have been at Alexandria after St. Mark had been there, in which case St. Mark's Gospel would hardly have remained unknown to him. Further, as St. Mark wrote his Gospel in Rome while St. Peter was there, and St. Peter certainly did not go to Rome till some time after St. Paul, St. Mark's journey into Egypt must have taken place at so late a period, that St. Luke could hardly have written his Gospel at a still later time. Besides, he was with St. Paul at Rome in the year 66 or 67, when the second Epistle to Timothy was written, as appears from 2 Tim. iv. 11.

9. The ninth and last opinion is, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel at Thebes in Egypt. This opinion is grounded partly on the supposed journey of St. Luke into Egypt mentioned in the preceding article, and partly on the report mentioned in the fifth article that he wrote at Thebes in Bœotia, which, it is said, was confounded with Thebes in Egypt. But, since not only the inference is unwarranted, but the premises from which it is drawn, are themselves uncertain, this opinion falls of itself to the ground. But if any one should think it necessary to have a particular confutation of it, he may have recourse to Lardner's Supplement^f.

^e Ch. xlvi.

^f Vol. I. p. 271—273.

S E C T. VII.

Result of the inquiries instituted in the preceding section.

IT appears from what has been said in the preceding section, that of the nine opinions respecting the place where St. Luke wrote his Gospel, there are only two of which it can be said, that they have historical accounts in their favour: namely, that which refers the composition of it to Troas in the fifteenth year after the ascension, and that which refers its composition to Macedonia in the twenty-second year after the ascension. But then these historical accounts are of such a nature that they hardly deserve the name of evidence: for they are contained in the subscriptions to St. Luke's Gospel, the authors of which are unknown, and who probably gave nothing more than their own conjectures. The most ancient Fathers appear not to have known either the time, or the place where St. Luke wrote: and therefore what later writers have asserted is hardly entitled to more credit, than what is asserted by an author of the eighteenth century. Eusebius, whose object was to collect whatever information could be procured respecting the four Evangelists, has not said a syllable either on the time or the place where St. Luke wrote: nor of the person and character of Theophilus. We must conclude therefore that Eusebius was not able to procure any intelligence on this subject, at least none on which he could depend. Origen is equally silent on the time and place where St. Luke's Gospel was written: and when he speaks of Theophilus, instead of communicating information of his person and character, he gives an explanation founded on the composition of the Greek word Θεοφιλος, which shews that he had no real information to communicate.

Under these circumstances we must be directed in our choice of the most eligible opinion, not by external,

but by internal evidence. Now in favour of Troas is the circumstance that this was the place, where St. Paul first met with St. Luke, and took him into his company: in favour of Macedonia, that he resided there for some time, while St. Paul was travelling in other countries: and in favour both of Troas and Macedonia is the circumstance, that either supposition will account for St. Luke's want of knowledge of St. Matthew's Gospel. On the other hand there are two circumstances against both of these opinions. For if he wrote either at Troas, or in a city of Macedonia, it is difficult to comprehend how the many apocryphal Gospels, to which he alludes in his preface, could have been propagated in Greece at so early a period: and secondly, he had no opportunity either in Troas or in Macedonia of tracing up the history of Christ to its source, and of consulting those who had been eye-witnesses to the several facts, which he has recorded. The latter objection may indeed be removed by the supposition that he had been at Jerusalem, before he went thither with St. Paul: but for this supposition we have no foundation whatsoever.

In favour of the opinion that he wrote his Gospel in Egypt, is the circumstance that St. Luke alluded to apocryphal Gospels, and that of all the apocryphal Gospels now extant, the Gospel according to the Egyptians, is supposed to be the most ancient. This argument however will be of no weight, if it be true that the Gospel according to the Egyptians was not written before the second century^s. Another circumstance in favour of this opinion is, that there are several passages in St. Luke's Gospel, which, as I shall shew in the next section, are particularly applicable to the Essenes, who were very numerous in Egypt. But against this opinion may be alleged the following arguments. First, St. Luke has totally omitted the flight of Joseph and Mary with Jesus into Egypt, and omitted it in
such

^s *Credibility of the Gospel History*, P. II. Vol. II. p. 527-530.

such a manner as to produce a very strong apparent contradiction between what he has related, ch. ii. 22—39. and the relation of St. Matthew, ch. ii. 13—23. Now as this part of the history of Christ would have particularly interested the Egyptians, St. Luke would hardly have passed it over in silence, if he had written his Gospel in Egypt. Besides, the apparent contradiction between the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Luke would be considerably augmented, if it were true that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Egypt: for his total silence of the flight of Joseph into that country might then be construed into a positive contradiction to St. Matthew's account. Secondly, if St. Luke had spent some time in Egypt, he would probably have communicated in the Acts of the Apostles some information relative to the propagation of Christianity in that country^h. But St. Luke, though he has very circumstantially described the propagation of the Christian religion in Syria, Cyprus, Asia minor, and Greece, has no where related its introduction into Egypt: nor has he mentioned any circumstance that could interest the Egyptians in particular, if we except the account which he has given Acts viii. 27. of the conversion of the eunuch who came from the court of Candaceⁱ. Thirdly, the time assigned in the Greek subscriptions to the composition of St. Luke's Gospel in Egypt, is the fifteenth year after the ascension. But it appears from Acts xviii. 24—26. that Apollos, when he came from Alexandria, which according to St. Luke's narrative was certainly later than the fifteenth year after the ascension, had been instructed only in the baptism of John. Now as Apollos is said, ver. 24, to have been conversant in the Scriptures, St. Luke's Gospel, if

^h The Christian religion soon spread itself into Egypt, though at first it was taught there in a very imperfect manner. See Acts xviii. 24—26.

ⁱ Queen of Meroe in Nubia. See the *Spicilegium geographiæ Hebræorum extera*, Tom. I. p. 176—188,

if it had been already written in the country, from which he came, would hardly have escaped his notice : but in that case his knowledge would not have been confined to the baptism of John. If therefore St. Luke wrote in Egypt he must have written at a later period : either during the three years that St. Paul remained in Ephesus^k, or after he had left St. Paul in Rome.

Lastly, the opinion that St. Luke wrote his Gospel in Palestine, while St. Paul was prisoner at Cæsarea, though not confirmed by historical evidence, is supported at least by its own internal probability. It is moreover an opinion to which, as far as I know, no material objections can be made : and therefore, though it is only conjecture, it is perhaps more eligible, than any one of the traditionary reports.

If St. Luke had given us a short account of his own history, we might have been enabled to form a decisive judgement on this subject. But since his peculiar modesty has prevented him from saying any thing of himself, it is impossible to determine either where, or when, he wrote his Gospel. I once thought that the decision was easy : but the more I have inquired, the more I have learnt to doubt.

^k During these three years St. Luke was absent from St. Paul, as well as during his residence at Corinth, having as I have already observed parted company at Philippi. It is therefore possible that St. Luke, while St. Paul was at Ephesus, took a journey from Philippi into Egypt, and returned, before St. Paul came again into Macedonia. But it is mere possibility, for we no where find the smallest traces of any such journey.

S E C T. VIII.

Of the motive, which induced St. Luke to write a Gospel.

IT has been supposed by several persons that St. Luke not only wrote his Gospel at the request of St. Paul, but that St. Paul even dictated what St. Luke wrote. This notion took its rise from a false interpretation of a passage in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans¹: and that St. Luke wrote of his own accord, and of his own authority, appears from the expression *εδοξε καμοι*, which he has used in the preface to his Gospel. He there assigns the motive which induced him to send to Theophilus an authentic narrative of the miracles and resurrection of Christ, which, to use his own words, was the following, *επειδηπερ πολλοι επεχειρησαν αναλαξασθαι διηγησιν περι των πεπληρορημενων εν ημιν πραγμων*. To the accounts of these 'many,' he must certainly have had some objections to make, for no man would argue thus: since several persons have delivered accounts of Christ, on which perfect reliance may be placed, I have likewise thought proper to write the history of Christ. We must conclude therefore, that his intention was to correct the inaccuracies of the accounts, which were then in circulation, and to deliver to Theophilus a true and genuine document, in order to silence several idle stories, which might have prejudiced Theophilus against the Christian religion¹.

Mill and Grabe have supposed, and perhaps not without some reason, that St. Luke had particularly in view the Gospel according to the Egyptians, of which the fragments that are now extant may be seen in Fabricii Codex Apocryphus^m. The Essenes were at that time in great repute in Egypt, and the fragments

¹ Ch. ii. 16,

^m Vol. I. p. 335—337.

of the Egyptian Gospel shew that the author of it was an Essene, for they contain the tenets of this sect relative to the prohibition of matrimony. It is really to be lamented, that we have not the Egyptian Gospel complete, for we should then be enabled to determine with more precision whether Grabe's opinion be true or not. Lardner indeed contends, that the Gospel according to the Egyptians was not written before the second century, though other critics assert that it is the most ancient of the apocryphal Gospels. But whether the Egyptian Gospel existed, or not, at the time when St. Luke wrote, he appears in several passages of his Gospel to have had the Essenes in view°. The following may serve as examples.

St. Luke is the only Evangelist, who mentions Christ's particular command to his disciples to sell their lands in Palestine, (which however would have been taken from them in a time of persecution), and to give the money to the poor^p: a command which did not extend to every Christian, but was necessary for the Jewish converts in Palestine, since those lands might have proved a snare to them, and have tempted them to return to Judaism². In the fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles he describes at full length the constitution of the Christian church at Jerusalem: and relates that the members of this church sold their property and established a common fund, or rather a common depository of alms for the poor; for I much doubt whether they had a perfect community of goods, in the strict sense of the word. Now this account has no necessary connection with St. Luke's principal object in the Acts of the Apostles: but he seems to have related it

° In writing a commentary on St. Luke, other apocryphal Gospels might be likewise applied to advantage: for they might enable us to explain several passages, where the Evangelist endeavoured to correct the false notions, which then prevailed.

^p Luke xii. 33, 34,

it for the sake of the Essenes, who likewise lived without property, and had every thing in common³.

St. Luke is the only Evangelist, who has related the conversation between Gabriel and Mary⁴: and he probably related it with a view of correcting a false account of the appearance of Gabriel, inserted in an apocryphal Gospel, of which I think some traces are still visible in the Koran. It is well known that Mohammed took most of his accounts concerning Christ from the false Gospels, which in his time still circulated in Arabia: and in the third chapter of the Koran he has given a long but inaccurate narrative of the birth of Christ and John the Baptist, of which we find the true account in St. Luke's Gospel. I believe therefore that Mohammed derived his intelligence from that very Gospel which St. Luke intended to correct: especially as, contrary to the usual practice of Mohammed, he has here a passage which favours perpetual virginity, an essential doctrine of the Essenes, and has here given to Christ the appellation of the Word of God, a title generally applied to him by those, who had been educated in the Egyptian or oriental philosophy. After having related, in the third chapter of the Koran, the birth of Mary, her education in the temple, the annunciation of the birth of John the Baptist, and the dumbness of Zacharias, Mohammed proceeds, ver. 40—43. as follows⁴: 'The angel said, O Mary, verily God sendeth thee good tidings, that thou shalt bear the Word proceeding from himself: his name shall be Christ Jesus' the son of Mary, honourable in this world and in the world to come, and one of those, who

⁴ Ch. i. 26—38.

³ According to St. Luke, ch. i. 30, 31. the angel said to Mary: 'Fear not Mary, for thou hast found favour with God: and behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus.'

who approach near to the presence of God^s: and he shall speak unto men in the cradle, and when he is grown up, he shall be one of the righteous. She answered, Lord, how shall I have a son, since a man hath not touched me? The angel said, So God createth that which he pleaseth: when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is.' In the nineteenth chapter of the Koran, Mohammed has given another extract from an apocryphal Gospel relative to the appearance of the angel Gabriel to Mary, which is as follows. 'She (namely Mary) retired from her family to a place toward the east, and took a veil to conceal herself. And we sent our Spirit Gabriel unto her, and he appeared unto her in the shape of a perfect man. She said, I fly for refuge unto the merciful God, that he may defend me from thee: if thou fearest him, thou wilt not approach me. He answered, verily I am the messenger of thy Lord, and am sent to give thee a holy Son.' Other passages, which Mohammed had taken from apocryphal Gospels, might be selected from the Koran, and added as a Supplement to Fabricii Codex Apocryphus.

What St. Luke has related ch. xvii. 20, 21. of the question proposed to Christ concerning the kingdom of heaven, and the answer which he gave, appears to be a correction of the following inaccurate account, which had been given of it in the Egyptian Gospel¹. Επερωτηθεις αυτος ο Κυριος υπο τινος, ποτε ηξει αυτε η βασιλεια, ειπεν· οταν το της αισχυνης ενδυμα πατησητε, και οταν εσαι τα δυο εν, και τα εξω ως τα εσω, και το αρσεν μετα της θηλειας ετε αρσεν ετε θηλυ⁵.

In this manner St. Luke improved and corrected the accounts, which were then in circulation, of the history

¹ Luke i. 32. 'He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest.'

⁵ Fabricii Codex Apocryphus, Tom. I. p. 335.

tory of Christ. For this undertaking he is entitled to our warmest thanks: as in consequence of the accurate inquiries which he made, he was enabled to distinguish truth from falsehood, and to communicate a history, on which we can depend. It is true that the accounts contained in the histories, which it was St. Luke's object to correct, were not wholly fabulous, and the mere inventions of the authors who recorded them: but they contained so much falsehood intermixed with truth, that a correction of them was absolutely necessary. The same thing happened to these histories, as happens to our modern gazettes, when a battle or a siege is described. The main story is true, but in passing through different hands, it generally acquires an accession of circumstance, which are totally devoid of truth. Official intelligence alone is certain: and such certain intelligence we have received from St. Luke^u.

^u St. Luke's Gospel alone was admitted by Marcion, who made however many alterations in it, so as to render it more suitable to his own system. But not all the alterations in Marcion's copy are to be considered as wilful corruptions; for several of them are nothing more, than what modern critics call various readings⁶.

C H A P. VII.

OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL ^v.

S E C T. I.

Of the life and character of St. John:

THAT St. John the Evangelist was one of the twelve Apostles, son of Zebedee and Salome, and brother of the elder James, appears from Matth. iv. 21. xxvii. 55, 56. Mark xv. 40. xvi. 1. In the opinion of most ecclesiastical writers he was a relation of Christ^x: and this opinion I adopted, when I published the first edition of this Introduction. The extraordinary request made by the mother of James and John, that her two sons should sit, the one on the right hand and the other on the left hand of Christ^y, implied a claim, which might be thought to be founded on relationship. But at present I much doubt whether any such relationship subsisted: for in Gal. i. 19. James the less, who was not brother of John, is distinguished by the title of 'Brother of the Lord,' which implies that the other James, and consequently John, were not related to Christ.

It appears from Matth. xxvii. 55, 56. that St. John's mother attended Christ, not only to Jerusalem, but likewise to the place of his crucifixion. Of his father Zebedee, who was alive, when St. John was called to the Apostleship^z, no mention is made in the latter part of

^v On the subject of St. John's Gospel, I would recommend Lampe's Prolegomena prefixed to his Exposition of this Gospel, Oporini Clavis Evangelii Johannis, and Lardner's Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. ch. 9.

^x See Lampe, Prol. Lib. I. cap. 1. sect. 4.

^y Matth. xx. 20, 21.

^z See Matth. iv. 21, 22.

of Christ's life : and as Salome accompanied Christ on his travels, it is probable that he died soon after his sons were chosen Apostles. From Luke xxiv. i. 10. compared with Mark xvi. 1, 2, one might conclude that Salome was one of the persons, who first saw Christ after his resurrection : but St. John, in the twentieth chapter of his Gospel, though he particularly relates the circumstances of the resurrection, makes no mention of his mother : nor does St. Matthew, though he had named her among the persons who were present at the crucifixion^a, make any mention of her among the persons, who on the day of the resurrection went to visit the sepulchre^b.

It is not improbable, though it cannot be affirmed with certainty, that St. John the Evangelist, before he became a disciple of Christ, had been a disciple of John the Baptist. At least, the circumstantial account, which he has given, ch. i. 37—41. of the two disciples of John the Baptist, who followed Christ, might induce us to suppose, that he was one of the two. St. John was the favourite disciple of Christ, and was called the disciple whom Jesus loved^c. This particular affection and regard arose from the softness and tenderness of St. John's character, which had a great resemblance to that of Christ himself. Hence we find him present at several scenes to which most of the other disciples were not admitted. He was eye-witness, in company with only Peter and James, to the resurrection of Jairus's daughter to life, to Christ's transfiguration on the mount, and to his agony in the garden. St. John repaid this attention by the most sincere attachment to his master : for he was the only Apostle who followed Christ to the place of his crucifixion. No writer whatsoever therefore was better enabled to give a circumstantial and authentic history of Christ.

On

^a Matth. xxvii. 55, 56.^b Matth. xxviii. 1.^c John xiii. 23—26.

On the death of Christ, St. John took his mother Mary, whom Christ had recommended to his care, to his own home^d. His long intercourse therefore with the mother of Christ must have afforded him an opportunity of acquiring the best information, relative to the birth, education, and early history of Christ: and St. John's attachment to his master could not permit him to remain indifferent even to the minutest anecdote, which respected so remarkable a character. Yet he has related no circumstance whatsoever of Christ's life, prior to his thirtieth year: though he certainly had it in his power to make very numerous additions to the few accounts, which had been given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, of Christ's early history. From St. John's silence therefore we must conclude, that it was not his intention to write a complete history of all that had been said and done by Christ, but that he wrote his Gospel to answer a particular purpose, which required no more than what he has actually communicated. What this purpose was, will be examined in the next and following sections.

S E C T. II.

Various opinions respecting the object, which St. John had in view, when he wrote his Gospel.

CLEMENT of Alexandria, and Eusebius^e, supposed that St. John wrote his Gospel as a supplement to the three first: but they are not agreed as to the matter, which St. John intended to supply. According

^d John xix. 26, 27.

^e See Lardner's Supplement, Vol. I. p. 385—389. where the words of Clement and Eusebius are quoted, and also a passage from Jerom.

ording to Clement, St. John, observing that in the other Gospels those things were related which concern the humanity of Christ, wrote a spiritual Gospel, in order to explain at full length the divinity of Christ. Now this made a part of St. John's design, but not the whole of it: for his object was not to prove the divinity of Christ in general, but to prove it in opposition to the tenets of a particular sect. Eusebius on the contrary relates, that St. John's intention was to supply what his predecessors had omitted concerning the first part of Christ's ministry, their accounts having been chiefly confined to the last year. But this is not probable: for St. John in his account even of the latter part of Christ's ministry, especially of the celebration of the Lord's supper, has related facts and speeches of the utmost importance, which are not recorded by the three first Evangelists. In short, I cannot be persuaded that the materials contained in St. John's Gospel, in addition to those contained in the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, whether they respect the former or the latter part of Christ's ministry, were intended by St. John as a mere historical supplement. That it was not his design to record even all the miracles, which Christ had performed, is evident from what he himself says, ch. xx. 30. xxi. 25. and therefore, though his Gospel contains a considerable quantity of very important matter, of which no mention is made in the three first Gospels, yet this matter was introduced with a different view, from that of merely supplying the defects of his predecessors. If this had been his sole, or even his principal object, he would not have passed over in silence the whole history of Christ's early life, of which, as I observed in the preceding section, he had the best opportunity of procuring information: nor would he have neglected to confirm by his own testimony the account of Christ's transfiguration on the mount, his agony in the garden, and other important events, at which St. John was present, but St. Matthew was not. However it is far from my intentions to assert,

that St. John intended no part of his Gospel as a supplement to the preceding Gospels: I mean only that this was not his sole or his principal object.

A very different opinion from that of Clement and Eusebius has been advanced by Lampe^f, and defended by Lardner^g. According to this opinion, St. John's principal object was to convince the unbelieving Jews, and, in case they refused their assent, to prove to them the justice of the divine punishment which awaited them, on the ground that they had ample means of conviction. But it is very improbable that St. John's view was so confined: and therefore, as the Apostle himself has no where given the smallest intimation that this was his particular object, I can see no reason for supposing it. If his Gospel had been directed against the Jews in particular, he would hardly have omitted Christ's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, and his lamentation over the impending fate of that devoted city^h. It is true that St. John says, ch. xx. 31. 'These 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.' But the purport expressed in this passage was the general purport of all the Evangelists, not that of St. John alone: nor does it appear from any thing which St. John had said, that in writing this sentence he had in view the Jews in particular. Many other extracts are made by Lardner from St. John's Gospel, which, I grant, are applicable to the Jews only: but extracts of the very same kind might be made from the three other Gospels, and therefore if they prove any thing, they will prove too much. Besides, if many other passages were contained in St. John's Gospel, which were applicable to the Jews, and to the Jews only, we could not argue from them to the main
object

^f In the Prolegomena to his Commentary.

^g Supplement, Vol. I. p. 393—419.

^h Luke xix. 41—44.

object of the Apostle in writing his Gospel. The passage quoted by Lardner from John xii. 37—43. appears especially to favour his opinion. But if in this particular passage St. John's attention was directed against the Jews, we must not therefore conclude the same of the whole Gospel. However, I much doubt whether St. John, even in this instance, intended to write against the Jews, in the sense which Lardner means: for it seems to be nothing more than an answer to an objection founded on the Jewish rejection of Christ's miracles. The Apostle had probably heard the following argument brought against the truth of the evangelical history: 'If so many miracles had been performed, as is pretended, and that too in so public a manner, it is inconceivable how the Jews could refuse to believe, after they had seen those miracles with their own eyes. If it were true that a person really dead was restored to life in the presence of many witnesses, and in a village, which was only a mile and an half from Jerusalem, it must have been known to the whole city; and the necessary consequence would have been, that the Jews would have acknowledged the person, who could perform such miracles, to be the Messiah, whom they expected. But since the contrary is true, the wonders related by Christ's disciples are entitled to no credit.' An objection of this kind St. John probably intended to answer, when he wrote the passage in question. He admits that the incredulity of the Jews might afford just matter of surprize: but he denies that any inference can be deduced from it, prejudicial to the credibility of the Gospel history. For the prophets had foretold that their eyes would be blinded, and their hearts hardened: and therefore as they were incapable of conviction, their rejection of Jesus could afford no proof that he was not the Messiah. St. John however adds that many were really convinced in their hearts, and that only the fear of expulsion from the synagogue deterred them from an open confession.

S E C T. III.

St. John wrote his Gospel to confute the errors of Cerinthus.

IRENÆUS, the earliest writer, who has made any mention of St. John's design in writing his Gospel, has given the following account in his third book against Heresies, ch. xi. 'Hanc fidem annuntians Joannes Domini discipulus, volens per Evangelii annuntiationem auferre eum, qui a Cerintho infeminatus erat hominibus, errorem, et multo prius ab his qui dicuntur, Nicolaitæ, qui sunt vulsio ejus, quæ falso cognominatur scientia, et confunderet eos, et suaderet, quoniam unus Deus, qui omnia fecit per verbum suum; et non, quemadmodum illi dicunt, alterum quidem fabricatorem, alium autem Patrem Domini.' Jerom likewise in his treatise of illustrious men, asserts, that St. John wrote against Cerinthus. Now, setting aside the assertion of Jerom, which I will consider only as private opinion, I think the account given by Irenæus of sufficient weight to prove that St. John wrote against Cerinthus, notwithstanding the conjectures, which may be made to the contrary. For Irenæus is not only the most ancient writer on this subject, but was a disciple of Polycarp, who was personally acquainted with St. John. Consequently Irenæus had the very best means of information on this subject.

Lardnerⁱ has quoted another passage from the works of Irenæus, which appears to be at variance with the passage quoted in the preceding paragraph. Namely, in the sixteenth chapter of the third book against heresies Irenæus says, 'Quemadmodum Joannes Domini discipulus confirmat dicens, "Hæc autem scripta sunt ut credatis quoniam Jesus est filius Dei, et ut credentes

ⁱ Supplement, Vol. I. p. 383.

credentes vitam æternam habeatis in nomine ejus:" *providens* has blasphemias regulas, quæ dividunt Dominum, quantum ex ipsis attinet, ex altera et altera substantia dicentes eum factum.' Now if Irenæus here meant to say, that St. John only *foresaw* the errors, which were propagated by Cerinthus and the Gnostics, it must appear very extraordinary that he should say in the passage quoted in the preceding paragraph, that St. John wrote against the errors, which had been propagated by Cerinthus. But the contradiction is only apparent: for *providens* signifies here, not 'foreseeing' but 'guarding against.' The latter passage therefore, when properly explained, does not confute but confirm the former. Besides, St. Paul in his first Epistle to Timothy speaks of Gnostic errors; and therefore they must have been propagated long before St. John wrote his Gospel.

But even if Irenæus had not asserted that St. John wrote his Gospel against the Gnostics, and particularly against Cerinthus, the contents of the Gospel itself would lead to this conclusion. The speeches of Christ, which St. John has recorded, are selected with a totally different view, from that of the three first Evangelists, who have given such as are of a moral nature, whereas those which are given by St. John, are chiefly dogmatical, and relate to Christ's divinity, the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, the supernatural assistance to be communicated to the Apostles, and other subjects of a like import. In the very choice of his expressions, such as Light, Life, &c. he had in view the philosophy of the Gnostics, who used, or rather abused these terms. That the fourteen first verses of St. John's Gospel are merely historical, and contain only a short account of Christ's history before his appearance on earth, is a supposition devoid of all probability. On the contrary, it is evident that they are purely doctrinal, and that they were introduced with a polemical view, in order to confute errors, which prevailed at that time respecting

ing the person of Jesus Christ. Unless St. John had had an adversary to combat, who made particular use of the words 'light,' and 'life,' he would not have thought it necessary, after having described the Creator of all things, to add, that in him was life, and the life was the light of men, or to assert that John the Baptist was not that light. The very meaning of the word 'light' would be extremely dubious, unless it were determined by its particular application in the oriental Gnosis. For without the supposition, that St. John had to combat with an adversary who used this word in a particular sense, it might be applied to any divine instructor, who by his doctrines enlightened mankind. Further, the positions contained in the fourteen first verses are antitheses to positions maintained by the Gnostics, who used the words *λογος*, *ζωη*, *φως*, *μονογενης*, *πληρωμα*, &c. as technical terms of their philosophy. Lastly, the speeches of Christ, which St. John has selected, are such as confirm the positions laid down in the first chapter of his Gospel: and therefore we must conclude that his principal object throughout the whole of his Gospel, was to confute the errors of the Gnostics.

If we except the writings of St. John, the word *λογος* is no where used either in the Old or New Testament, to denote a person. For in Psalm xxxiii. 6. and other places of the Old Testament, where *λογος* is used in the Septuagint, the figurative sense, in which some commentators have taken it, is much less suitable to the context, than its literal sense. St. John therefore did not derive this particular use of the term *λογος* from the Bible. Nor did he derive it from the writings of the Rabbins: for though they frequently used the expression *מִיְמֵרָא דֵי*, that is, 'the Word of God,' especially in their Targums or paraphrases, they did not mean to express a separate and distinct Being from Jehovah himself, or, as we should say, the second Person
of

of the Trinity^k. Besides, if the Chaldee word מִימְרָא were equivalent to λογος, as applied by St. John, we might conclude that Christ himself, who spake Chaldee, would also have used this expression: but though St. John has particularly selected those speeches of Christ, which tend to confirm the positions laid down in the first chapter, and in those speeches Christ frequently calls himself 'the Light,' 'the Life,' 'the Only-begotten,' &c. he has not applied to himself in a single instance the title of 'the Word.'

Nor can we suppose that St. John invented this term, or rather this particular use of it, in order to express the relation of the second to the first Person of the Trinity. The term λογος, when applied to a divine person, is capable of so many different explanations, that no writer could think of using it, without some explanation, unless its meaning was already fixed by actual usage. But St. John begins his Gospel with speaking of the Logos, and adds no explanation of the term: consequently he wrote for readers, who were already acquainted with its meaning. Now we know that the Gnostics in general, and Cerinthus in particular, applied the term λογος to denote a divine person. Since therefore St. John has adopted several other terms, which were used by the Gnostics, we must conclude that he derived also the term λογος from the same source. If it be further asked, whence did the Gnostics derive this use of the expression 'Word,' I answer that they derived it most probably from the Oriental or Zoroastrian philosophy, from which was borrowed a considerable part of the Manichæan doctrines. In the Zend Avesta, we meet with a Being called 'The Word,'
 who

* The word מִימְרָא is frequently used in the Chaldee paraphrases as equivalent to the Hebrew הַשֵּׁם, that is, 'the Name,' a term by which the Jews, who out of superstitious reverence for the word Jehova avoided the uttering of it as much as possible, denoted the Supreme Being. See for instance, Isaiah xxvi. 4. in the Chaldee paraphrase.

who was not only prior in existence, but gave birth to Ormuzd the creator of good, and to Ahriman, the creator of evil¹. It is true that the work, which we have at present under the title of Zend Avesta is not the ancient and genuine Zend Avesta; yet it certainly contains many ancient and genuine Zoroastrian doctrines. It is said likewise that the Indian philosophers have their λογος, which, according to their doctrines, is the same as the Μονογενης.

Perhaps the opinion that St. John derived the term Λογος from the Gnostics will be thought by many to affect in some degree his character as a divine Apostle. But such persons should recollect, that there is nothing more in a mere name, than in a sign of algebra. It is the notion ascribed to the name, and not the name itself, to which we must attend. Otherwise, we must make the same objection to St. John's use of the word Θεος, which was likewise used by the heathen philosophers, and signified perhaps originally nothing more than a planet, from Θεω curro. If the Gnostics gave the name of Λογος to the Being, who came next in order to the Supreme Being, St. John might without the least impropriety retain this name in a work which was written against the Gnostics, and apply it to the second person of the Trinity. The laws of controversy require that we should retain, as much as possible, the terms which are used by our adversaries: for if each party has his own peculiar terminology, no position can have a clear and distinct counterposition. Consequently the dispute will be vague, and incapable of being brought to an issue.

St. John himself has really declared, though not in express terms, that he wrote with a view of confuting errors maintained by the Gnostics. He says, ch. xx. 31. ' These are written, that ye might believe that
Jesus

¹ See the Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Tom. XXXVII. p. 618.

Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God.' To most readers this will appear to be nothing more than a declaration that he wrote with the same general view, as the other Evangelists, to shew that Jesus was the promised Messiah, and to convince the world of the truth of Christianity. But whoever compares this passage with his first Epistle, ch. v. 1-6. will find it to be a declaration, that he wrote in order to convince the Gnostics in particular. In his first Epistle, ch. v. 5, 6. he asserts that Jesus was the Son of God, and that he was the Christ, not by water only, but by water and blood. This assertion, which, without a knowledge of the Gnostic opinions, must appear unintelligible, was directed against the notions of Cerinthus, that Jesus and Christ were two distinct Beings, that Jesus was a mere man, and Christ a superior Spirit or Æon, which was united with Jesus at his baptism, but separated from him before his death on the cross. Now if we read ch. v. 5, 6. of St. John's first Epistle with this notion of Cerinthus in view, it becomes perfectly intelligible; for we then perceive that St. John meant to combat this notion, and to declare that Jesus was the Christ, not only at his baptism, or by water, but likewise during his sufferings and at his death, that is, by blood. After this explanation, the passage above-quoted from St. John's Gospel, ch. xx. 31. presents itself in a totally different light: and the declaration, that he wrote to shew that Jesus was the Christ the Son of God, appears to be a declaration, that he wrote to confute the notion of Cerinthus, that Jesus and Christ were two distinct Beings, united at the baptism of Jesus, but separated before his death. I admit however that, as the declaration of St. John is general, this passage alone, undecided by other arguments, would be of no great weight.

An objection to the opinion that St. John wrote against Cerinthus I found written in my father's copy of the first edition of this Introduction, and as it is a material

material one, I cannot pass it over in silence. His objection was this: 'Cerinthus denied that Christ was born of a virgin, because the fact, he said, was impossible: and contended, that he was begotten in the natural way by Joseph. This is related by Irenæus. If therefore St. John's object had been to confute Cerinthus, he would have thought it indispensibly necessary to assert the miraculous conception. But this subject, as well as the birth of Jesus, he has passed over in total silence.' To this objection I can make no other answer than the following: that the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, which were written before that of St. John, already contained an account of the miraculous conception; and therefore St. John might think it unnecessary, even in a work directed against Cerinthus, to say any thing further on the subject.

From what has been said in this section we may infer, that if any genuine works of the ancient Gnostics could be now discovered^m, they would furnish an excellent commentary on St. John's Gospel, especially on the fourteen first verses.

^m See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. IV. p. 211.

S E C T. IV.

St John wrote also to confute the errors of the Sabians, or the sect which acknowledged John the Baptist for its founder.

THE preceding section is the result of the inquiries, which had been instituted before the year 1777, when the third edition of this Introduction was published: but since that time a totally new light has been thrown on St. John's Gospel. That the Apostle had to combat with certain persons who ascribed to John the Baptist a greater authority, than to Jesus, appears from his declaration, ch. i. 8. that John the Baptist was not the Light itself, and that he only bore witness to the Light. For, unless this had been asserted of John the Baptist, it would have been unnecessary to assert the contrary. However as we knew little or nothing of the sect, which acknowledged John the Baptist for their chief, the thought did not occur that St. John the Evangelist had any such sect in view, when he wrote his Gospel. But in the year 1780 we became acquainted not only with the religion, but with the religious writings of this sect, for which we are indebted to professor Norberg. The members of this sect are called *تلمذات يوحنا*, that is, Disciples of John, and sometimes *تلمذات*, Disciples, alone: they have likewise the name of *سبائيون*, or Sabians, which signifies Baptistsⁿ. The first account, which professor Norberg communicated, was given in a Swedish Journal, of which I published a translation in the Orientalische Bibliothek, Vol. xv. No. 245. and 248, and made an application of it, though at that time with great caution, to St. John's Gospel. But a more complete account was soon afterwards communicated by professor Norberg in a Latin Dissertation, entitled, *De religione*
et

ⁿ They have been sometimes called *Ημετεροβαπτισται*.

et lingua Sabæorum, which, with a specimen of the religious writings of this sect, was printed in the *Commentationes societatis regię scientiarum Goettingensis ad annum 1780*, and of which I gave a review in the *Orient. Bib. Vol. XVII. N° 261*. As soon as this dissertation was published, the obscurity, in which St. John's Gospel had been involved, was at once dissipated: and I made therefore no scruple to assert in the *Orient. Bibl. Vol. XVIII. p. 58*. that St. John's Gospel was directed against the sect, which took its name from John the Baptist; for the members of this sect not only made use of the word 'Light,' &c. but contended that John the Baptist was the Light, a doctrine combated by our Evangelist°. Nor am I singular at present in this opinion: for it has been adopted by Dr. Walch in his treatise on the Sabians printed in the *Comment. soc. reg. scient. Goettingensis ad an. 1781*, and defended by Dr. Storr, in his treatise on the Evangelical History and Epistles of St. John, published in 1786.

At the time, when St. John the Evangelist wrote his Gospel at Ephesus, it is not improbable that the Sabians or disciples of John the Baptist, had spread themselves in that city and its neighbourhood^p. For we learn from the Acts of the Apostles, ch. xviii. 24, 25. that when Apollos came to Ephesus, he knew only the baptism of John, till he was instructed in Christianity by Aquila and Priscilla: and ch. xix. 1—7. We find an account of twelve persons likewise at Ephesus, who had been baptized in the name of John the Baptist, but were afterwards converted to Christianity, and baptized by St. Paul in the name of Jesus Christ.

If

° In the Epistles of St. John, the doctrines of this sect are combated still more evidently.

^p Though it is not probable that the Sabians of the first century agreed in all respects with the Sabians of the present age, since every religious society must alter in some measure its opinions in a course of seventeen hundred years, yet they probably agreed in the principal and distinguishing doctrines.

If it be asked, whether the Sabians, or the sect which acknowledged John for their founder, agreed in their opinions with the Gnostics, I answer that they certainly did in many, though I cannot affirm that they did in all. The Sabians of the present age have still many terms in use, such as Light, Fire, &c. which they apply in the same manner as the Gnostics did: but it is not to be expected, after a lapse of seventeen hundred years, that the modern Sabians should retain all the terms, which were used in the first century, since many of them were mysterious, particularly the term 'Word.'

S E C T. V.

Of the tenets maintained by the Gnostics and the Sabians, and the manner in which they are confuted by St. John.

THE Gnostics, in order to account for the origin of evil in the world, which they supposed could not proceed from an all-wise and benevolent Being, adopted the notion that the world was created, not by the supreme Deity, but by a Being of inferior rank, which they called Demiurgus. In respect to the character of this Being they were not unanimous, for some considered him as an evil spirit, which was at perpetual enmity with the Supreme Being, while others ascribe to him, not a want of benevolence, but only a want of knowledge, which prevented him from seeing the evil consequences of the arrangement, which he adopted in the formation of the world. But they all agreed in representing the Demiurgus, as the God of the Jews. Between this Demiurgus and the supreme, invisible, incomprehensible Being, they placed an order of Æons, to which they assigned the names of Only-begotten, Word, Light, Life, &c.: but they were not unanimous
in

in regard to the rank, which was to be assigned to each. These ^{Ænos}Ænos dwelt with God in the highest and the purest heaven, which the Gnostics called Πληρωμα, a term which I will not attempt to translate, as I know not what notion the Gnostics affixed to it. One of these Ænos was Christ, who united himself with Jesus at his baptism, but departed from him before his death. The moral tenets of the Gnostics were different according to the different sects: some were of a gloomy and melancholy cast, while others are represented, but probably without reason, as favouring licentiousness. Most of the Gnostics were inimical to the law of Moses, because they believed that it was given not by the Supreme Being, but by the Demiurgus, and that Christ was sent into the world to redeem us from the God of the Jews. But Cerinthus is said to have been favourable to some parts of the Mosaic law, though we do not exactly know what they were⁹.

The plan which St. John adopted to confute the tenets of the Gnostics and the Sabians, was, first to deliver a set of aphorisms, as counterpositions to these tenets, and then to relate such speeches and miracles of Christ, as confirmed the truth of what he had advanced. We must not suppose that the confutation of the Gnostic and Sabian errors is confined to the fourteen first verses of St. John's Gospel: for in the first place it is evident that many of Christ's speeches, which occur in the following part of the Gospel, were selected by the Evangelist with the view of proving the positions
laid

⁹ Whoever wishes to have a thorough knowledge of the tenets of the Gnostics must consult Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Beaufobre's Histoire de Manichée et du Manichéisme, and especially Walch's History of Heretics, in which last work the Gnostic tenets are not only fully described, but supported by the necessary authorities. A position maintained by these three writers, that the Gnostic philosophy did not derive its origin from Christianity, but that it existed in the East long before the birth of Christ, I have endeavoured to confirm in the second volume of the Syntagma commentationum, by shewing that there are allusions to it in the Septuagint.

laid down in these fourteen verses: and secondly, the positions themselves are not proofs, but merely declarations made by the Evangelist. It is true, that for us Christians, who acknowledge the divine authority of St. John, his bare word is sufficient: but as the Apostle had to combat with adversaries, who made no such acknowledgement, the only method of convincing them was to support his assertion by the authority of Christ himself.

The term *Λογος*, as I have already observed, was taken by St. John from the system of the Gnostics. He has used it to denote the divine nature, which was united to the man Jesus, and, according to his own expression, became Flesh. Some of the Gnostics placed the 'Word' above all the other *Æons*, and next to the Supreme Being: but Cerinthus placed the 'Only begotten' first, and then the 'Word.' Now St. John lays down the following positions.

1: The Word, and the Only-begotten, are not different but the same person. Ch. i. 14. 'We beheld his glory, as of the only begotten of the Father.' This is a strong position against the Gnostics, who usually ascribed all the divine qualities to the Only-begotten.

The proofs of this position are, the testimony of John the Baptist, ch. i. 18. 34. iii. 35, 36. the conversation of Christ with Nicodemus, ch. iii. 16-18. in which Christ calls himself the only-begotten son, the speech delivered by Christ to the Jews, ch. v. 17-47. and other passages, in which he calls God his Father.

2. The Word was never made, but existed from the very beginning, ch. i. 1.

The Gnostics granted that the Word existed before the creation, but they did not admit that the Word existed from all eternity. The Supreme Being, according

¹ *Initium quidem esse monogenem: Logon autem verum filium Unigeniti.* Iren. adv. Hæres. Lib. III. cap. 11.

according to their tenets, and according to Cerinthus the Only-begotten Son likewise, as also the matter from which the world was formed, were prior in existence to the Word. This notion is contradicted by St. John, who asserts that the Word existed from all eternity^s.

As a proof of this position may be alleged perhaps what Christ says, ch. viii. 58. though I confess that, unless a particular emphasis be laid on the expression 'I am,' and it be taken in the sense of the Hebrew *אני הוא*, though it proves the pre-existence of Christ, it does not prove his eternal existence. Ch. xvii. 5. appears to be of more weight. If Christ used the word *בראשית* where St. John has *την αρχην*, ch. viii. 25. this passage might likewise be produced, but both grammar and context are unfavourable.

3. The Word was in the beginning with God, ch. i. 1, 2.

The Gnostics must have maintained a contrary doctrine, or St. John in confuting their tenets would not have thought it necessary to advance this position, since God is omnipresent, and therefore all things are present with him. The Gnostics assigned what they called the Pleroma^t for the residence of the Supreme Being and the Æons. Perhaps Cerinthus, or some other Gnostic, had excluded the Word from the Pleroma, or at least had asserted that the Word was not there from the very beginning.

The

^s According to Anquetil, the doctrine of the Persian or Zoroastrian philosophy was, that the Word existed before Ormuzd, and Ahriman: and that Time by means of the Word produced Ormuzd and Ahriman. He contends likewise, that Time, or rather Eternity, denoted, in the Zoroastrian philosophy, the Supreme Being. Of this fact I am not fully convinced: but whether he is right in this point or not, it is probable that in the phrase *εν αρχη ην ο λογος*, the word *αρχη* used by St. John has a reference to the unlimited Time of the Eastern philosophy. For when he says, the Word was in the beginning, he means, the Word was from eternity.

^t What they meant by this expression it is difficult to determine.

The proofs of this position are, ch. i. 18. iii. 13. 31. 32. vi. 33. 35. 38. 41. 42. 62. vii. 28. 29. xviii. 5.

4. The Word was God, ch. i. 1.

The expression 'God' must here be taken in its highest sense, or this position will contain nothing contrary to the doctrine of the Gnostics. For they admitted that the Word was an *Æon*, and therefore a Deity in the lower sense of the word.

The proofs of this position are contained in the fifth, tenth, (ver. 30.), and fourteenth (ver. 7—11.) chapters.

5. The Word was the Creator of all things, ch. i. 3. 10.

This is one of St. John's principal positions against the Gnostics, who asserted, that the world, as it contains evil mixed with good, was made by a malevolent, and, according to Cerinthus, by an inferior Being, who knew not the Supreme Being^u. The assertion, that the Word was the Creator of the world, is equivalent to the assertion, that he was God in the highest possible sense. In whatever form or manner we may think of God, the notion of Creator is inseparable from the notion of Supreme Being. We argue from the creation to the creator; and this very argument is our proof of the existence of God.

The only passage which can be produced as a proof of the position here laid down by St. John is ch. v. 17. where a conversation is related between Christ and the Jews, who accused him of having violated the sabbath, because he had performed miracles on that day. To this charge Christ might have answered that the performance of a miracle was no more a violation of the sabbath than the performance of religious ceremonies:
but

^u Virtus valde separata et distans ab ea principalitate, quæ est super univèrsa, et ignorans eum qui est super omnia Deum. Irenæus adv. Hæres. Lib. I. c. 26.

but he answered in a different manner, and said, 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.' The word 'hitherto' refers to the time when God ceased to work, namely on the first sabbath, when God rested after he had finished the work of the creation. This rest, which Moses ascribes to the Creator, admits of no other explanation, than that he ceased to operate immediately on the world, and that he left nature to take the course, which he had originally directed. Hence every miracle, which is a deviation from the course of nature, may be considered as a departure from the rule, which God prescribed to himself, and as a kind of violation of the first sabbath, because a miracle implies God's interference. The meaning therefore of Christ's answer is the following. 'God himself sometimes breaketh the great Sabbath, of which your sabbath is only a type. After he had finished the work of the creation, he rested indeed on the seventh day: yet he still worketh, and I work with him.' Whoever speaks in this manner, and describes himself as breaking, with God, the great sabbath, which commenced when the creation was completed, represents himself as the Creator of heaven and earth, who rested on the seventh day.

6. In the Word was Life, ch. i. 4.

The Gnostics who considered the different attributes or operations of the Deity not only as so many separate energies, but as so many separate persons, considered Life as a distinct Æon from the Word. Without this Æon the world, they said, would be in a state of torpor: and hence they called it not only Life, but the Mother of the Living^w. From this Æon therefore might

^w It is not improbable that this name was borrowed by the Gnostics from the following passage in the Septuagint, Gen. iii. 20. Και εκαλεσεν Αδαμ το ονομα της γυναικος αυτης, Ζωης, δις μητηρ πασιων των ζωσιων. Here Ζωη is nothing more than a translation of the Hebrew name for Eve: but the Gnostics in reading this passage, thought on their Æon Ζωη, and hence perhaps gave it likewise the title of μητηρ πασιων των ζωσιων. The oriental name of this Æon was Barbelo, or Barbero,

might be expected the resurrection of the dead, and eternal life. In the religious books of the Sabians we meet with ܠܘܨܘܢܐ , that is, the Disciple of Light, who is represented as a person of the greatest eminence. In opposition to these doctrines St. John asserts that the Word, and not a Being distinct from the Word, was the giver of life.

The proofs of this position are in ch. iii. 15—21. the whole of the sixth, and the greatest part of the eighth chapter, as also ch. xiv. 6. 9. 19. But no part of St. John's Gospel is a more complete proof of this position, than his full and circumstantial account of the resurrection of Lazarus, which the other Evangelists had omitted. Particular attention must be paid to ch. xi. 23. 24. which is a very decisive passage.

7. The Word was the Light of men, which lighteth every man, that cometh into the world, ch. i. 4. 9.

In the Gnostic system Light, as well as Life, was a separate Being, which gave intelligence to the mind, as Life gave vigour and motion to the body*. This is denied by St. John, who asserts that the Word was the Light, that is, the giver of light. By the expression, 'light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world,' he means the light of nature, or reason: for revelation is not universal, and of course does not light *every* man that cometh into the world.

The proofs of this position are the passages in the eighth and ninth chapters, where Christ calls himself the Light. It is true that these passages alone, and without reference to the Gnostic system, do not immediately prove, that Christ was the giver of reason.

But,

Barbero, which Petavius derives from בר בעל (Son of the Lord). But this etymology conveys neither the notion of Life itself, nor of the Author of Life: and moreover makes this Æon masculine, whereas it is represented as feminine. Perhaps the name was originally Bartelo, and derived ܠܘܨܘܢܐ (Daughter of God).

* The Sabian doctrine of Light will be examined in the two next articles.

But, since the Gnostics believed, that they received their rational faculties from a particular Æon, which they called, Light, the proof that the Word was the Light, was sufficient to shew, that what they ascribed to this imaginary Æon, should be ascribed to the Word.

8. John the Baptist was not that Light, ch. i. 8.

The Sabians, or Disciples of John the Baptist, call the Baptism of John, at this very day, the Baptism of Light, and assert that John was invested with light and raised to the highest pitch of glory. It is difficult however fully to comprehend their meaning. In the first place they describe God as Light, and make use of expressions, which, if taken figuratively, are true, and are very similar to the expressions used by our Evangelist in his first Epistle. But they likewise speak of a Being called Light, as distinct from the Supreme Being, which united itself with John the Baptist, at the time when he baptized a celestial Being, which appeared to him in the form of a little child. I will not attempt to develop the obscure and confused system of the Sabians; but since several parts of it may be applied as an explanation of the fourteen first verses of St. John's Gospel, I will here quote from their religious books as much as is necessary for our present purpose.

‘ In the name of the great Life, the first and the last of the world, the glorious Light, more glorious than all works. I, Apostle of the Light^y, (Ἰστανὸς Ἰωάννου) am come, and glorified thee, thou King of Light^z, and enlighten the hearts of darkness with my word.— I am the Apostle of the Light, whom the Lord sent into the world, the true Apostle, in whom there is no deceit.

^y It will appear from what follows, that by the expression ‘Apostle of the Light’ is meant John the Baptist.

^z In opposition to this, Christ says, *Εγώ σε εδοξασα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, John xvii. 14.

nounced the name of Life, the Disciple of Life (ܥܠܡܢܐ ܒܫܡܐ) came to him, and said, Arise, John, baptize me with thy baptism, and pronounce over me the name, which thou art accustomed to pronounce. John said to the Disciple of Life, I am sleepy, come tomorrow, and I will baptize thee. When the Disciple of Life stood at the place of all light and glory^e, he said, I beseech thee, thou second, and thou third Life, may sleep come on the eyes of John twelve hours by day, and twelve hours by night, full four and twenty hours. He slept then day and night: but the Disciple of Life laid his right hand on the eye of John, and removed the sleep, and said, Peace be with thee, John! John said to the Disciple of Life, Come in peace, my child! The Disciple of Life said, Stretch out thy arms, take me, and baptize me with thy baptism of life, and pronounce over me the name, which thou art accustomed to pronounce. John answered to the Disciple of Life, That cannot be! But the scholars^f of John earnestly requested him: he baptized therefore the Disciple of Life. As soon as the Jordan perceived the Disciple of Life, the river overflowed, and covered John himself, so that he could not stand. The lustre of the Disciple of Life shone over the Jordan, the Jordan returned within its banks, and John stood on dry ground.—John said to the Disciple of Life, Thou art he, in whose name I have baptized with the baptism of life: lay thy hand on me. The disciple of Life answered, If I lay my hand on thee, thou canst not remain in thy body. John said, I have seen thee: I will not remain

^e Is this a Gnostic *πληρωμα*?

^f I purposely use here the word 'scholar' instead of 'disciple,' in order to preserve the distinction, which is made in the religious documents of the S.ians. Where I have used the word 'disciple,' the Syriac word ܥܠܡܢܐ is used in the original: but in the present place ܥܠܡܢܐ ܒܫܡܐ is used, and therefore I thought it necessary to adopt another term in translating this nonsense, which is almost sufficient to make one's head giddy.

remain here: exclude me not from the place, whence thou camest, and whither thou goest. Then threw the Angel of Light the covering of the body (ܐܘܪܘܚܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ) of John into the Jordan^z, wrapt him in a covering of glory, and put on him the beautiful turban of light. Upon this, the Disciple of Life went away from John. When Fetachil saw the Disciple of Life, he arose from his throne, and praised him. But John said to Fetachil, The return (ܐܘܪܘܚܐ) of Life is to thee and to thy father Utro (Wealth)^h, and it has given thee commands and sent thee hither. The Disciple came then to the outer court of Abatur the sublime: a thousand times a thousand lift up their eyes to himⁱ, and ten thousand times ten thousand stand before him. When Abatur saw the Disciple of Life, he arose from his throne^k. Four men of peace, the living Eye, the living Name, the living Glory, and the living Light, took John by the hand, led him to the place of Truth, and said; Let us see a man, who comes from the earth, a just and upright one. Abatur, the ancient clothed some of them with glory, others with light. But John stood at the place of all glory and of all light, and said, I beseech thee, thou first Life, thou second Life, and thou third Life, that to the place of Light, where I stand, may come all honest and upright men, who are written in the book of life, and are baptized with pure baptism, over whom the name of the great Life has been pronounced.[?]

9. John

^z Here then John is represented as deprived of his natural body, and invested with a glorious one, in short as becoming more than a human being.

^h Was *ἐκ τῆς πλῆρωματος αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐλάβομεν*, John i. 16. intended as an antithesis to this or some other similar dream of an imaginary being called *Wealth*?

ⁱ Behold him.

^k Even Abatur, therefore, who was much superior to the Demiurgus Fetachil, is represented as doing homage to the Disciple of Life.

9. John the Baptist was a mere man. Ver. 6.

It appears from what has been said in the preceding article, that the Sabians considered John the Baptist as a being of a higher order, who laid aside the covering of humanity in the river Jordan, and was invested with a clothing of light.

10. John the Baptist was not the Light, but was sent to bear witness of the Light. Ver. 8.

The Sabians, or disciples of John the Baptist, are at present of different opinions with respect to the character of Jesus; for some passages in their religious writings condemn him as an impostor, and as a person who was guilty of ingratitude toward John the Baptist. But this opinion was not maintained by the Sabians of the first century, at least not by those against whom St. John the Evangelist wrote his Gospel: nor was it maintained by the members of this sect, of whom we find an account in the Acts of the Apostles. According to Professor Norberg, when the Sabians of the present age are asked their opinion concerning Jesus Christ, they answer as follows. 'We neither believe in Christ, nor disbelieve in him: and those, who believe in him, we neither condemn, nor approve. But this we believe, that whoever believeth in the Light of the Lord, and the baptism of John, his soul will after death be partaker of the Light: but if he believeth not, his soul will be partaker of punishment¹.' They likewise say: 'Our doctrines are more ancient than the Christian: these were not known to John, and John is our master^m.'

The proof of the position laid down in this article the Evangelist has given, ch. i. 15, 16. 19—52. iii. 25—36. v. 33—36. In the last mentioned passage, ver. 35. the Evangelist mentions an expression used by Christ concerning John the Baptist, Ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὁ λυχνὸς ὁ καιόμενος καὶ φαίνων. Here it must be observed that the

¹ See the Orient. Bibl. Vol. XV. p. 148.

^m Ibid. p. 149.

the word *λυχνος* is by no means equivalent to *φως*: for the latter signifies Light itself, but the former corresponds to the Hebrew word *נר*, and denotes only *a* light, in the sense in which we use the term wax-light. When therefore John the Baptist is called *a* light, or a luminary, it is evident that this luminary, which shone only for a time, and only to a single nation, is represented as infinitely inferior to Christ, who calls himself 'The Light of the World.'

11. The Light was in the world. Ver. 10.

This is a counterposition against the Gnostic or Oriental doctrine, which made matter the region of darkness, and the cause of evil; and placed the region of Light without the limits of the visible world. The Gnostics therefore maintained, that the Light was not in the world.

12. The world was made by him, and the world knew him not. Ver. 10.

This is directed against that tenet of the Gnostics, according to which the world was made, not by the Supreme, but by an inferior Being, which they called *Petachil*, who, they say, rises from his seat, when the Disciple of Light approaches.

13. The fifth verse contains a position similar to the preceding; but I do not fully comprehend its tendency, because I neither know what tenet it was intended to confute, nor understand exactly the force of the word *κατελαβει*. Did St. John mean to say, 'The Light shone in the dark world, and communicated to the human race inextinguishable sparks of reason: and the darkness could not prevent or impede it?' Or did he mean to combat a tenet similar to that of the Manichæans, according to which the particles of Light were absorbed by dark and sin-producing matter, and to say, 'The Light did not unite itself with darkness?'

14. He came to his own, and his own received him not. Ver. 11.

Here

Here the Jews are called the chosen people of the Light, in opposition to the Gnostics, who asserted that the God of the Jews was an inferior and malevolent Being. As proofs of this position, we cannot produce any passages, in which the Jews are said in express terms to have been the chosen people of the Light: but there are many passages which prove that the God of the Jews, who sent Moses, was the true God, and father of Jesus Christ. See ch. iv. 22. v. 39. 46. 47. viii. 54.

15. This eminent person, hitherto called Word, Light, Life, did not merely accompany the man Jesus during a certain period, but really and truly became man. Ver. 14.

Here St. John combats that tenet of the Gnostics, according to which the Æon Christ associated itself with the man Jesus at his baptism, but left him before his death. The Gnostics denied that the eternal Son of God took man's nature, and became flesh, because they considered Matter as the origin of Evil, and incompatible with Good.

All the passages of St. John's Gospel, in which the man Jesus, speaking in the first person, asserts of himself what cannot be attributed to any human Being, for instance, that he was in Heaven, that he existed before Abraham, ch. viii. 58. are proofs of the position laid down in this article.

16. Christ was full of Grace and Truth, ch. i. 14.

In the Gnostic system, Grace and Truth were two Æons: but St. John asserts that they were only two qualities belonging to Christ. Further, as Christ is here said to be full of grace, and in ver. 17. the law of Moses is opposed to the grace of Christ, it follows that the former is superseded by the latter. Hence this position is likewise a counterposition against Cerinthus in particular, who wished to retain at least some parts of the Mosaic law.

The principal proofs are contained in ch. iv. 19—26. in ch. v. 8. (where Christ commanded a sick person, whom he had restored to health, to take away with him his bed, though it was on a sabbath day,) and in the sixth chapter. In the discourse delivered in this chapter, Christ says to the Jews, who were going up to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of the passover, that his flesh and blood was the food which giveth life: and as some took offence at this saying, because it seemed to imply the inefficacy of the Passover, he answered ‘It is the spirit (that is, the spirit of the law) which quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing: the words, that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life^m.’ The story of the adulteress, ch. viii. 1—11. seems likewise to be a proof of this article. By the law of Moses, a woman taken in adultery was to be put to death: but in this instance Christ interfered, and the sentence was not executed.

17. Through faith, and not through birth or parentage, we become the sons of God. Ver. 12, 13.

To what tenet of the Gnostics this doctrine was opposed I am unable to say, as our accounts of their system are very imperfect. But, since we know that Cerinthus, who in many respects differed from other Gnostics, was attached to some parts of the Mosaic law, it is not improbable that he considered the Jews as having, in consequence of their birth, a prior claim to the favour of God.—The proofs of the position laid down in this article are contained in that part of Christ's discourse with Nicodemus, which relates to regeneration, and in the account of the conversion of the Samaritans.

These are the positions which St. John has laid down in express terms. But whoever is acquainted with the doctrine of the Gnostics will perceive, that there are other

^m See the explanation, which I have given of this passage, in the first section of my *Typical Theology*, and the passage there quoted from Philo.

other parts of St. John's Gospel, in which the Evangelist had the Gnostics in view; especially the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters, which contain the promises of Christ respecting the assistance, which the Apostles were to receive from the Holy Ghost. The Gnostics accused the Apostles of having misunderstood the meaning of Christ, and of having forgotten many of his doctrines: moreover they asserted, that the words of Christ alone were authority, and that the doctrines delivered by the Apostles were no more exempt from the danger of error, than the theological opinions of other writers. The notion of the Gnostics could not be better confuted, than by a relation of those speeches of Christ, in which he promised them, that the Holy Ghost would remind them of what they had already heard, and reveal to them truths, which he himself could not communicate, on account of their present inability to comprehend them. Further, as the Gnostics admitted the personality of the Holy Ghost, and considered him as an *Æon* distinct from Christ, it is evident that St. John, who no where says that the word was the Holy Ghost, but on the contrary has recorded speeches of Christ, in which he is represented as a distinct person, intended to support the doctrine relative to the personality of the Holy Ghost.

Lastly, the passages which occur in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters relative to the union of the Christian Church, and the command of love and charity, were directed against those, who endeavoured to introduce divisions in the church, and to promote the persecution of the faithful.

S E C T. VI.

St. John had read the three first Gospels before he wrote his own.

I HAVE already mentioned in the second section of this chapter, that according to a passage in the Ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, St. John had read the three first Gospels, and supplied what his predecessors had omitted. Eusebius however has not mentioned it as an indisputable historical fact, but introduces it with the word *φασι* (they say), and consequently has only given it as a report. The passage is as follows, Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. 24. *Ἡδη δὲ Μαρκε καὶ Λεκαⁿ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς εὐαγγελίων τὴν ἐκδοσὶν πεποιημένων, Ἰωάννην φασὶ, τὸν πάντας χρόνον ἀγραφῶ κεκρημένον κηρυγματί, τελε^o καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἔλθειν, τοιασδε χάριν αἰτίας. Τῶν προαναγραφέντων τριῶν εἰς πάντας ἤδη καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν διαδομένων, ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν φασὶν, ἀληθείας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρησάντα, μόνην δὲ ἀρὰ λειπεσθαι τῆ γραφῆ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐν πρώτοις καὶ κατ' ἀρχὴν τὰ κηρυγματὸς ἀπο τὰ Χριστῶν πεπραγμένων διηγήσιν.* But though Eusebius delivers this account only as a report, and that part of it which relates to the motive, by which St. John was induced to write his Gospel, is not quite accurate, we must not therefore conclude that the whole was devoid of foundation. Clement of Alexandria, an author of great importance on the present question, since he wrote only a hundred years after St. John, has likewise asserted that our Evangelist had seen the three first Gospels: but here again, the motive which Clement assigns for the composition of St. John's Gospel, is liable to objection. His words are ^o, *τὸν μέντος*

ⁿ Of St. Matthew's Gospel Eusebius had spoken immediately before.

^o This passage from the works of Clement is quoted by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. cap. 14.

μενοι Ιωαννην εσχαλον συνιδουσα οτι τα σωματικα εν τοις ευαγγελιοις δεδηλωσαι, προσερχευστα υπο των γνωριμων, πνευματικη θεωρηθηυστα πνευματικον ποιησαι ευαγγελιον. Now that St. John's object was to write an ευαγγελιον πνευματικον, because his predecessors had written only ευαγγελια σωματικα, I think not very probable, because there are many parts of St. John's Gospel, which likewise come under the latter description; for instance, his accounts of the cure of diseases, and of the restoration of a dead person. If Clement had said that the three first Gospels contained chiefly points of morality, but that of St. John articles of faith, his assertion would have been more credible.

It appears then that we have no indisputable historical evidence in favour of the opinion, that the three first Gospels were known to St. John. But on the other hand, as it is incredible that three Gospels written before that of St. John should have remained unknown to him, we may safely conclude that the fact is true, notwithstanding the weakness of our historical evidence. Besides there are internal marks in St. John's Gospel, which imply that the author was not only acquainted with the contents of the three first Gospels, but that he presupposed the same of his readers. Dr. Semler indeed has endeavoured to shew, and likewise from internal marks, that St. John was not acquainted with the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. For this purpose he has quoted ch. xx. 30. where St. John says, 'And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written *in this book.*' Hence Dr. Semler argues, that, as St. John speaks only of his own Gospel, and is totally silent with respect to any other, the other Gospels were unknown to him. But the inference is without foundation; for a writer may be well acquainted with the works of his predecessors, and yet not mention them. In the Preface to my Dogmatical Theology, though it consists of not less than ten pages, I have not mentioned the name of a single writer on this subject, my principal object

object having been to explain to the reader the purport of my own book: yet I hope that no reader would conclude from this silence that I have never seen the systems of Quenstedt and Baumgarten.

Whoever turns to the Table of Contents to the four Gospels, which I have given above, in ch. ii. sect. 7. and observes the many important accounts, which are given by the three first Evangelists, but are wholly omitted by St. John, will perceive that such omissions are inexplicable on any other supposition, than that St. John was well assured, that his readers had already a knowledge of those accounts from the three first Evangelists. As the subject is of some importance, I will mention a few examples^p. In the above-mentioned Table, N^o. 42. the restoration of Jairus's daughter, to which St. John was eye-witness, in company with St. Peter and St. James, and to the exclusion of all the other Apostles. The relation of this miracle might very properly have accompanied that of the resurrection of Lazarus. No. 26. the election of the twelve Apostles; though St. John has afterwards devoted almost four chapters, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth inclusively, to the description of the privileges of the Apostles, and the promises made to them. N^o. 46. the question proposed to Jesus by John the Baptist, whether he was the Messias, with the answer to John's question: though the answer would have been very suitable to the purport of St. John's Gospel. N^o. 51. the beheading of John the Baptist; though our Evangelist was once his disciple, and has introduced into his Gospel many parts of John's history, which promoted the object, for which he wrote. N^o. 63. the transfiguration of Jesus, though St. John was eye-witness to it, and no other Apostle, except St. Peter and St. James.

^p I do not quote St. John's omission of the sermon on the mount, as an instance, because he might have omitted it, on account of its being unintelligible to readers, who were not acquainted with the Pharisaic doctrines.

James. Further, the very important discourses delivered by Christ, N^o. 98—107. Nor has he mentioned the institution of the Lord's supper, in which every Christian is particularly interested, though he had related, in ch. xiii. the less important ceremony of Christ's washing the feet of his disciples. The ascension likewise he has passed over in total silence, though he had mentioned, ch. vi. 62. xx. 17. two declarations made by Christ at different times, that he should ascend into heaven, and consequently had prepared the reader to expect an account of the event's taking place.

Other examples may be produced, which are still more decisive, than the preceding; for they relate not only to material facts, which St. John has omitted, but to facts, which must necessarily be known before his Gospel can be intelligible. Such facts St. John would certainly not have omitted, unless he had known that his readers were already acquainted with them: for he is more plain and perspicuous in his narrative, than any other writer either of the Old or of the New Testament. Of this kind the following are examples.

Ch. i. 15. 'This is he of whom I spake, he that cometh after me is preferred before me, for he was before me,' presupposes a reader, who had already learnt from the other Evangelists, that John the Baptist, the history of whose ministry is entirely omitted by our Evangelist, had made this declaration.

He has no where related that Christ was baptized by John, or that at Christ's baptism the Holy Ghost descended upon him in the shape of a dove. Yet, ch. i. 32—34. he introduces John the Baptist, as saying some time after Christ's baptism, 'I knew him not, but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost: and I saw and bare record that this is the Son of God.' Our Evangelist therefore must have known that his readers were already acquainted with the circumstances of Christ's baptism, or he

he would not have alluded to them, without having first related them.

Ch. iii. 24. 'For John was not yet cast into prison,' evidently implies that the reader was already acquainted with this fact. Yet our Evangelist has not related the history of John's imprisonment, and therefore he must have known that the fact had been already related by his predecessors. The example is the more remarkable, as St. John wrote his Gospel, not in Judæa, where the circumstances of the Baptist's imprisonment were known by report, but in Asia Minor, where they could not have been generally known, except from written accounts. In ch. iv. 1—4. the place, to which the history of John's imprisonment properly belongs, our Evangelist, though he is silent in regard to this subject, relates Christ's journey into Galilee, which according to the accounts of the other Evangelists must have taken place soon after John's imprisonment, and he is moreover very circumstantial in relating that Christ travelled at that time through Samaria, a route not usually taken by the Jews, but which Christ probably chose, in order to avoid going through Peræa, because Herod the tetrarch, who had commanded John to be imprisoned, was then in that country.

Ch. iv. 43, 44, 45. 'Now after two days he departed thence and went into Galilee, for Jesus himself testified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country. Then, when he was come into Galilee, the Galileans received him, &c.' would be unintelligible, unless we knew from the other Evangelists, that Nazareth in Galilee was the place where Christ was educated, and was therefore called his country: that when he returned to this city as a prophet and worker of miracles, the inhabitants not only rejected him, but attempted to cast him down from the brow of the hill, on which the city was built: that on this occasion Christ observed, that a prophet hath no honour in his own country, that he therefore avoided all future connection with Nazareth, and confined himself to the

other cities of Galilee. Whoever has acquired a knowledge of these facts from the three first Evangelists will find that St. John's relation is perfectly intelligible, and will perceive that he has done nothing more than interweave a well known saying of Christ with the account of his journey through Samaria into Galilee. But without a knowledge of these facts, our Evangelist, though remarkable for perspicuity, must appear to be enigmatical.

Ch. v. 35. 'He was a burning and a shining light, and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light,' is a sentence which being delivered in the past time, implies that John the Baptist, to whom the subject relates, was no longer alive. But our Evangelist has no where given an account of his death: consequently he presupposed that this fact was already known.

The whole of the fifth chapter of St. John's Gospel is employed in describing what Christ did in Jerusalem: yet at the very beginning of the next chapter, the scene is suddenly and unexpectedly changed to Galilee and the sea of Tiberias. 'After these things Jesus went over the sea of Galilee, which is the sea of Tiberias.' Now such a sudden transition from Jerusalem to the sea of Tiberias is inexplicable on any other supposition, than that St. John knew, that his readers were already acquainted with Christ's return to Galilee, and consequently that he had left Jerusalem.

Ch. xii. 16. 'These things (namely, that Christ rode into Jerusalem on an ass, &c.) understood not his disciples at the first: but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him, *and that they had done these things unto him.*' But what the Apostles had done St. John had not related: consequently he presupposed the knowledge of it from the other Evangelists; namely, that the Apostles, at the command of Christ, had brought to him an ass, which they found tied by the road side.

Ch. xv. 20. 'Remember the word that I said unto you, the servant is not greater than his lord, &c.' implies

plies that the reader had been already informed of what Christ had said: but this is recorded only by the other Evangelists, and not by St. John.

The preceding examples are confined to the compass of only fifteen chapters: and if we examine St. John's account of the sufferings and death of Christ, we shall find the inference deduced from these premises very strongly confirmed. No part of Christ's history is more circumstantially described by St. John, than the last week of his life, probably because the Evangelist himself was present at every transaction of it. Yet on the other hand he has omitted many material circumstances, which are recorded by the other Evangelists. In his account of Peter's denial of Christ he mentions ch. xviii. 15, 16. that Peter followed Christ into the house of the high priest, and ver. 26, 27. relates, that a kinsman of the servant, whose ear Peter had cut off, asked him if he were not with Jesus in the garden, to which Peter answered in the negative, and that then the cock crew. Here St. John closes his account of Peter's denial of Christ, and leaves it therefore unfinished, though he certainly knew all the other circumstances, and most probably better than Peter himself, who was during the whole time in a state of anxiety. We must conclude then, that St. John thought it unnecessary to relate the other circumstances, as they had been already related by the other Evangelists.

Of all that Christ said and did, when he stood before Caiaphas, who, according to St. John himself, was properly the high priest for that year, the Evangelist has not related a single syllable. He mentions merely, ch. xviii. 24. that Christ was conducted to Caiaphas, and ver. 28. that he was thence conducted to Pilate, but says nothing either of accusation, or sentence. He has even omitted the account of the false witnesses, though in ch. ii. 20, 21. he had prepared his readers to expect it. All these facts therefore he concluded were already known to his readers.

From the twentieth and twenty-first chapters I quote no examples, because I have already given them in my *History of the Resurrection*. I will only observe that he has not related the command, which Christ gave to his disciples after his resurrection, to go into Galilee; but as in ch. xxi. 1. the scene is suddenly changed from Jerusalem to the sea of Tiberias, he must have supposed that his readers were already acquainted with this command. Lastly, Christ's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem is nowhere related by St. John: yet in ch. xxi. 22. it is implied.

S E C T. VII.

Of St. John's mode of narration.

AFTER what has been said in the foregoing section, it will not be difficult to assign the reason, why St. John has sometimes more, and sometimes less than the other Evangelists. He has omitted the greatest part of what his predecessors had already related, and for no other reason, than because he thought it unnecessary, except where he was influenced by particular motives, to repeat what was already on record. His silence therefore in respect to the numerous facts, which are found in the other Gospels, cannot be used as an argument to weaken the credibility of those facts: or we must deny that Christ was ever born, and that John the Baptist was beheaded. On the contrary St. John's silence may rather be considered as a proof, that the facts, which the other Evangelists have recorded, and he has left unnoticed, are really true: for if their accounts had been inaccurate, he would probably have corrected them.

However, there is an omission of a certain kind in St. John's Gospel, which deserves particular attention, namely, the omission of the demoniacs. In not a single instance

instance has St. John related the casting out of a devil, either where accounts of this kind have been given in the other Gospels, or where they have not^q. Yet at Ephesus, where St. John wrote his Gospel, we find from Acts xix. 12—17. not only that evil spirits were expelled by St. Paul, but that Jewish exorcists in that city attempted to do the same, though the event by no means answered their expectations. The question therefore is: Did St. John omit all such histories by mere accident, or did he omit them by design? Perhaps he believed that persons said to be possessed with devils had in reality no concern with evil spirits, but were merely afflicted with some natural disorder; and mentioned them therefore, neither under the name of demoniacs, lest the term should be literally understood, nor under any name expressive of a natural disorder, because he was unwilling, in a matter, which had no essential influence on the Christian doctrine, to contradict a commonly received opinion. The only place, where I could wish that he had said something on this subject, is that, in which the other Evangelists have related the expulsion of a devil, who called himself Legion^r, because it is almost the only instance on which the reality of diabolical possession can be grounded^s.

Where St. John has related facts, which are likewise related by the other Evangelists, of which the examples may be seen in the above-mentioned Table to the four Gospels, it is generally in one of the three following cases.

1. Either the fact was necessary as an introduction to something important, which he was going to relate, as for instance his account of the five thousand men,
ch.

^q See Timmermann de Dæmoniacis.

^r See No. 39. of the Table to the four Gospels.

^s See my Dogmatic Theology, sect. 98, or rather the New Orient. Bibl. Vol. III. p. 177—180.

ch. vi. whom Christ fed with five barley loaves, a fact, which was absolutely necessary to be known, or the very important discourses of Christ, which were delivered after the performance of that miracle, could not have been fully understood. St. John therefore has related the fact, though it had been already recorded by the other Evangelists, and has moreover augmented, and apparently improved their narration.

2. Or at other times he was induced to repeat facts already contained in the other Gospels, because several circumstances, which he thought necessary to be known, had been omitted. The supper at Bethany, the unction^t of Christ by Mary, and Christ's entry into Jerusalem, related by St. John in the twelfth chapter, had been already related by the other Evangelists: but then St. John has added the following very important circumstances. First, Lazarus, on whose restoration to life the other Evangelists had been purposely silent, sits at table with Christ, and by bearing witness in person to the truth of his restoration, contributed in a great degree to the glory of Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem^u. Secondly, Judas Iscariot was the first who censured the unction of Christ, and it was he who occasioned the other disciples to do the same^w. Hence we see the reason, why Christ's answer affected him in particular, and what confirmed him in his resolution to betray his master. The other Evangelists make mention of the treachery of Judas, at the same time that they give an account of the supper in Bethany. But they have not shewn the connection, or explained, how the one was the immediate effect of the other: whereas, we clearly perceive from St. John's account the

^t St. John after *αργει* has used the epithet *πιστης*, which had been used by St. Mark. This is an additional argument in favour of the opinion that St. John had read St. Mark's Gospel in particular, for this very unusual word occurs in no other part of the New Testament.

^u See ver. 1, 2. 17, 18.

^w Ver. 4, 5.

the chain of thought and the springs of action in this unhappy man, who, though a traitor to Christ, is a strong witness to the truth of Christianity. In ch. xx. 1—18. which has been said to be contradictory to the accounts given by the other Evangelists, St. John takes for granted, that what they had related in general terms of the women, who went to visit the sepulchre, was already known, and adds a special account of what was seen in particular by Mary Magdalene, who went alone very early to the sepulchre. A full and distinct explanation of this matter would be too prolix for the present place: I refer therefore the reader to my History of the Resurrection.

I have observed several other examples, in which St. John has explained the accounts of the other Evangelists. Whoever reads what St. Matthew has related, ch. iv. 12. 'When Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee,' without any further knowledge of the situation of affairs at that time, will think it perhaps extraordinary, that the imprisonment of John the Baptist should have induced Christ to return to Galilee, when the very person at whose command John had been imprisoned, was tetrarch of Galilee. But St. John, ch. i. 1—4. has explained this matter; for after having related that Christ could not tarry in Judæa on account of the Pharisees, he adds, that Christ was obliged to go through Samaria, (*εδει δε αυτου διερχεσθαι δια της Σαμαρειας*). It is true that he has not assigned the reason why Christ was obliged to go through Samaria: but this we learn, from Josephus, who relates that when John was cast into prison Herod was at Machærus in Peræa. St. John's account therefore, though not fully explanatory of the relation of the other Evangelists, is instructive at least for those who are acquainted with the history of those times. St. Matthew, ch. xxviii. 46—49. and St. Mark, ch. xv. 34—36. relate that after Christ had exclaimed, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani*, vinegar was brought him to drink. Now between
Christ's

Christ's exclamation and the offering of vinegar to him, we see no immediate connection: but St. John has explained this matter by adding, ch. xix. 28. that Christ said, 'I thirst.'

3. St. John appears to have corrected, though in a very delicate manner, the accounts given by his predecessors. If the reading *ηθελον αυ λαθειν αυτον*, ch. vi. 21. is the genuine reading, and the conjectural emendation, which I proposed, Vol. II. ch. x. sect. 4. of this Introduction, be not admissible, St. John has tacitly corrected the relation of St. Matthew and St. Mark. For, according both to St. Matthew and to St. Mark, Christ actually entered the ship, in which the disciples were^x: but St. John says only, that they intended to take Christ into the ship, but that the ship was suddenly at the place of its destination, so that they had not time to put their design in execution. Further, the account given in St. Matthew's Gospel^y (whether it proceeded from St. Matthew himself, or was a very early addition, I will not determine) of St. Peter's leaping into the sea, to meet Christ before he arrived at the ship, of his danger of sinking, of his being rescued by Christ, and of their entering together into the ship, appears by the different relation of St. John to have been delicately set aside. St. Mark likewise, though he derived information from St. Peter himself, says nothing of this transaction.—Ch. xix. 39, 40. where St. John relates that Nicodemus and Joseph embalmed the body of Jesus on the Friday evening, before it was deposited in the sepulchre, does not harmonize with the account of St. Mark, ch. xvi. 1. and of St. Luke, ch. xxiii. 56. xxiv. 1. that the women after Christ's interment purchased spices in order to embalm his body on the Sunday morning. I have attempted indeed in my History of the Resurrection^z to reconcile the contradiction: but I have not been

^x See No. 53. in the Table to the four Gospels.

^y Ch. xiv. 28—32.

^z P. 99—101.

been able to do it in a manner satisfactory either to myself, or to any other impartial inquirer into truth. I consider it therefore as a tacit correction of the account given by the two Evangelists, who were not eye-witnesses, and that St. John intended to say, though he has expressed himself in a more delicate manner, what the following words imply. ‘ Other historians had been informed of the embalming of Jesus, but the account which they have given is not perfectly exact. The women went early on Sunday morning, not to embalm Jesus, but merely to visit the sepulchre: for he had been already embalmed by Joseph and Nicodemus.’

If it be true that there are passages in St. John's Gospel, which are at variance with the accounts given by the other Evangelists, we cannot hesitate to give the preference to St. John, who, of the sacred historians, wrote last, who was eye-witness to almost all the facts which he has recorded, who appears to have had an excellent memory, and paid attention to the most minute circumstances. Perhaps some persons will think that this mode of reasoning is an infringement on the inspiration, not only of St. Mark and St. Luke, who were not Apostles, but even on that of St. Matthew. Let however this matter be as it will, the truth of the Christian religion itself will not in the least be affected. The case is exactly parallel to the following. An historian of the present age, of whose general accuracy and fidelity we have no reason to doubt, gives in his narrative the description of an engagement: and an officer, who was present in the engagement, revises this description, and communicates additions and corrections,

S E C T. VIII.

Of the peculiarities of St. John's Greek style.

ST. JOHN's style is better and more fluent than that of the other Evangelists: and it seems as if he had acquired a facility and taste in the Greek language from his long residence at Ephesus. His narrative is very perspicuous; and in order to promote perspicuity, the same word is sometimes repeated, though perhaps the advanced age in which St. John wrote, had some influence, since he is always inclined to repetitions.

He never speaks of himself in the first person, but uses a periphrasis, such as, 'the disciple whom Jesus loved,' or 'the disciple who leaned on the breast of Jesus.' This again is to be attributed to his long connection with the Greeks, to whom the egotism of the first person was offensive. To the same cause must be ascribed likewise the variation of his expressions, and the use of synonyms, where he has occasion in the same place to speak more than once of the same thing. Thus in ch. xxi. 15, 16, 17. he uses αγαπην and φιλειν, βοσκειν and ποιμαινειν, προβαλα and αρνια. In ch. viii. 46. αμαρτια is equivalent to ψευδος, and cannot denote 'sin' in general, as is evident from the context; this word was used by St. John to avoid the repetition of ψευδος which occurs in the 44th verse. In the same chapter, ver 51. the thought 'he shall never die' is expressed by θανατον ε μη θεωρηση εις τον αιωνα: but in the next verse it is expressed in a different manner by ε μη γευσθαι θανατον εις τον αιωνα. Some commentators have thought this too artificial, while others have imagined that the expressions were not synonymous, and have endeavoured to point out a peculiar emphasis: but in fact they are nothing more than various modes of expressing the same thing, according to the practice of good Greek writers. With a view to a similar variation

St.

St. John has used EIMI, ch. vii. 34. in the sense of *eo*, which in the common printed editions is accented, not εἶμι but εἰμι, and thus absurdly converted into the sense of *sum*. That St. John by ΟΠΟΥ ΕΙΜΙ ΕΓΩ, ch. vii. 34. intended to signify 'Whither I go,' and not 'Where I am,' is evident not only from the context, which requires a verb of motion, because υμεις ε δυνασθε ελθειν immediately follows, but likewise from the parallel passage, ch. viii. 21. where Christ says the very same thing, only in different words, οτις εγω υπαγω, υμεις ε δυνασθε ελθειν. If it be asked, why St. John did not use the verb υπαγω in ch. vii. 34. as well as in ch. viii. 21. I answer, because in the former instance he had already used υπαγω in the preceding verse, and for that reason he exchanged it for the less usual word ειμι in the sense *eo*.

A peculiarity in St. John's mode of writing is the commencement of a clause with the word which had been used in the preceding: for instance, ch. i. 1. ο λογος, και ο λογος—ην προς τον Θεον, και ο Θεος. A similar repetition may be seen in ver. 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11. of the same chapter. In ch. xx. 11. is κλαιουσα εξω' ως εν εκλαιεν: and in ch. xxi. 1—17. are repetitions of the same kind. This mode of writing is sometimes censured by grammarians, but as St. John has applied it, the effect is by no means disagreeable. We meet with another instance in his first Epistle, ch. iii. 1. according to the reading of many good authorities, ινα τεκνα Θεου κληθωμεν (και εσμεν). Ver. 2. αγαπητοι, νυν τεκνα Θεου εσμεν. Another peculiarity in St. John's style is the frequent use of the pronoun εγω, where there is no emphasis, and therefore where it was unnecessary in the Greek language: for instance in the above-mentioned example, εγω υπαγω, 'I go,' as in the modern European languages. Whoever turns to Schmid's concordance will find a sufficient number of examples to prove the truth of this assertion. In some cases indeed, as in ch. i. 20. one might suppose that he meant to lay
a par-

a particular stress on the pronoun $\epsilon\gamma\omega$, but it really occurs too often, to admit this supposition.

In St. John's Epistles we meet with many examples of a similar kind to those, which I have quoted from his Gospel: but the style of the latter is better and more perspicuous, than that of the former. The conjunction $\kappa\alpha\iota$, for instance, occurs so frequently in his Epistles, that it is sometimes difficult to translate it: but in his Gospel he has used it more sparingly. Hence it is not unreasonable to suppose, that he wrote his Gospel much later than his Epistles, and after he had improved his Greek style by his long residence in Ephesus. Of the Apocalypse, which is written in a totally different style both from the Gospel and the Epistles of St. John, I shall treat at large in a subsequent chapter.

S E C T. IX.

Of the last Chapter of St. John's Gospel.

THE last chapter of St. John's Gospel may be considered as a supplement, which was added principally with the view of giving the reader some account of the author. Some of the early Christians had imbibed the notion, that St. John the Evangelist would live till the day of judgement, a notion to which a false interpretation of a saying of Christ, and the great age which the Evangelist actually attained, had given rise^a. For this reason St. John has related at full length, in the last chapter, the conversation which took place between Christ, St. Peter and himself after the resur-

^a See Fabricii Cod. Apocryph. Tom. I. p. 533. Not. x.

resurrection: and has shewn in what connection, and in what sense Christ said of St. John, 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?'

Grotius, and several other critics, have contended that the last chapter was added, not by St. John himself, but by some other person or persons, and probably by the elders at Ephesus, after St. John's decease. Their principal argument is founded on ver. 24. 'This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things: and *we* know that *his* testimony is true.' But, as this inference is not supported by the testimony of the ancients, I do not think it admissible. The style of the whole of the twenty-first chapter is exactly the same, as that of the rest of the Gospel^b. And as to the 24th verse in particular, I can see no reason for supposing that even that alone is an addition: for the phrase, 'We know that his testimony is true,' is nothing more than a figure of rhetoric, called *Communicatio*, and expresses the same as, 'Every Christian knows, that his testimony is true.' Besides, if this addition had been made by the Ephesian elders, they would probably have inserted their names: for the testimony of 'We know,' made by unknown persons, could add no authority to St. John's Gospel.

^b See my History of the Resurrection, p. 295, 296.

S E C T. X.

Of the time when, and the place where, St. John's Gospel was written.

THAT the latter part of St. John's life was spent principally at Ephesus, appears from what is related by Eusebius in the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, ch. 23. It is likewise the generally received opinion that he wrote his Gospel there: and though, strictly speaking, we can produce no historical evidence in its favour (for neither the subscription to St. John's Gospel in the Syriac version, nor any other subscription of the same kind is entitled to the name of evidence), yet the fact is highly probable in itself, since it is reasonable to suppose, that he wrote where he resided. And as the Greek language was spoken in great purity at Ephesus, and the doctrines which he has combated, prevailed in that city, the opinion that St. John wrote his Gospel at Ephesus agrees both with its style and its contents.

That he wrote later than the three other Evangelists is also the general opinion: and I have endeavoured in a preceding section to confirm it by internal arguments. Dr. Semler however contends that St. John wrote before the other three Evangelists, and argues in support of this opinion from the three following passages, ch. i. 6. vi. 7. 37. But I am wholly unable to discover in these places any marks whatsoever of an early composition: and the reader perhaps on examining them will suppose, that I have made a mistake in the quotations. I must refer him therefore to Dr. Semler's own notes to these passages, in his Paraphrasis in Evangelium Johannis.

To the arguments, which I produced in the sixth section of this chapter, to shew that St. John wrote later than the other three Evangelists, may be added the

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the following ; which, I think, renders it highly probable that St. John wrote his Gospel only a short time before the destruction of Jerusalem, if not after that event ; that is, either shortly before, or after the year 70. None of the three first Evangelists has mentioned the name of the Apostle, who cut off the ear of the High Priest's servant, when Christ was betrayed by Judas : but St. John has openly related that this Apostle was St. Peter. Now the three first Evangelists acted with great propriety in not mentioning St. Peter's name, because it would have afforded the Jews an opportunity of accusing him. Unless therefore we suppose that St. John acted with less prudence than the other Evangelists, we must conclude that St. Peter was dead, when St. John wrote his Gospel, and therefore that there was no further danger to be apprehended from an open avowal of the fact. Besides, in ch. xxi. 18, 19. St. John having mentioned the following prophecy of Christ respecting St. Peter, ' When thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hand, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not,' explains this prophecy by adding, ' This spake he, signifying by what death he (namely Peter) should glorify God.' St. Peter therefore must have already suffered martyrdom, or St. John would not have been able to make the application. Now the death of St. Peter is referred to the year 67 : consequently St. John's Gospel was written later than that period.

Another argument for the late composition of St. John's Gospel may be derived from the fluency of the language in which it is written. St. John remained in Jerusalem long after the death of Christ, as appears from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Galatians. Nor was he arrived at Ephesus when St. Paul took leave of the elders of that city for the last time^c, or his name would not have been passed over in silence. Further, he was not arrived at Ephesus, when

St.

^c Acts. xx. 17—38.

St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Ephesians, during his imprisonment, or St. John's name would have been mentioned in that Epistle. St. John's residence in Ephesus therefore cannot have commenced long before the death of St. Peter and St. Paul: and it is not improbable that the hostilities, which began about that period between the Jews and the Romans, induced him to leave his native country, agreeably to the command of Christ, when he foretold the destruction of Jerusalem. But if St. John arrived so late at Ephesus, his Gospel must have been written many years later: for as he was born and educated in Palestine, he could not have acquired that fluency of language, which is displayed in his Gospel, except by a long residence in a Greek city. According to the preceding statement, St. John must have been nearly sixty years old, when he came to Ephesus: and therefore we must admire his ability in forming so good a style at so great an age. It is true that his language is not that of a native Greek: yet it is perfectly free from the stiffness and formality of a school exercise.

There is a single passage in St. John's Gospel, from which several critics have inferred, that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem. In ch. v. 2. St. John says, 'There is at Jerusalem by the sheep-gate a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches.' Hence it is inferred that Jerusalem was still standing, when he wrote this passage: for if Jerusalem had lain at that time in ruins, it is argued, that St. John would not have said, 'There *is* at Jerusalem, &c.' but 'There *was* at Jerusalem, &c.' And this argument is corroborated by the circumstance, that though this passage has many various readings, the Greek MSS. are unanimous in respect to the reading Εστὶ δε, not one having been hitherto discovered which reads Ην δε. But this argument appears to me at present to be less decisive, than I once thought it. It is founded wholly on the single word εστὶ; but authors do not always weigh their words with so much exactness,

ness, as that εἰ alone should warrant the inference. Besides, as the subject of discourse was the pool Bethesda, which could not have been destroyed in the conflagration of Jerusalem, St. John, even after the destruction of that city, might speak in the present tense, with equal, and perhaps still greater propriety, than in the past. It will be objected perhaps that St. John adds 'having five porches' (πεντε σόας ἐχουσα), and that if the pool existed after Jerusalem was destroyed, still these porches could not have remained. Now I grant that πεντε σόας παλαι ἐχουσα, with the addition of παλαι, would be a more suitable expression in a work written after those porches had ceased to exist: but even the most correct writers are sometimes deficient in precision. I am still therefore of opinion that St. John wrote his Gospel after the destruction of Jerusalem, though not in so very advanced an age as some have supposed, because the fluency of language then ceases. But as his Gospel abounds with repetitions introduced for the sake of perspicuity, and repetitions of this kind are peculiar to men in years, St. John appears, when he wrote his Gospel, to have arrived at that stage of life, which precedes the infirmities of old age.

Lardner, in his Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. I. ch. ix. § 7, 8. has stated the various opinions both of ancient and modern writers relative to the time when St. John's Gospel was written; to whom I refer the reader for further information on this subject. Lardner's own opinion, which he delivers § 9. is, that it was written about the year 68, and consequently before the destruction of Jerusalem. His first argument in favour of this early date is grounded on the occasion of St. John's writing his Gospel mentioned by the ancients, namely, the bringing the other three Gospels to him, and his observing their deficiency. Hence Lardner argues, 'Their Gospels 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 written and published before the end of the year 64, or in 65 at the furthest. If they were brought to St. John in 65, or 66, he would not defer more, or much more, than a year, or two, to publish the history of Jesus, and make the account complete.' But this argument rests on a very unstable foundation: for I have already shewn, that though St. John has completed the accounts of his predecessors, his object was, not merely to add a supplement to the other three Gospels, but to confute the tenets of the Gnostics and the Sabians. And even if St. John's only motive had been to supply the deficiencies of the three first Gospels, still I can see no necessity for supposing, that he would therefore have written his Gospel within a year or two after he had seen those of his predecessors. Lardner's other arguments have not convinced me more than the preceding: I shall therefore not quote them, but request the reader to examine them for himself. Yet, though I think not Lardner's arguments satisfactory, and the year in which St. John wrote his Gospel, still appears to me uncertain, yet I will not assert that Lardner's conclusion is false.

S E C T. XI.

Of the Heretics, who rejected St. John's Gospel.

LAMPE, in his learned Prolegomena to St. John's Gospel^d, has treated at full length of the heretics who rejected it: though I fear, that he has acquitted several of this charge, to whom it may be justly laid. However, their opinions are of very little importance, especially as most of them allowed that St. John was the
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^d Lib. II. cap. 1.

the author, and rejected it on no other ground, than that the Evangelist had delivered in it erroneous doctrines. But in this respect they were inconsistent with themselves: for to admit, that St. John had the gift of miracles, and that he had received full powers, as an Apostle of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whose miracles they likewise admitted, and yet to assert that St. John delivered erroneous doctrines, is a direct contradiction. The Alogi went a step further, and denied that St. John was the author of the Gospel ascribed to him. This assertion they grounded, not on external evidence, nor on historical testimony, but merely on the contents of the Gospel, which, they said, contradicted the three other Gospels, and therefore could not have been written by a divine Apostle. They particularly objected to the term *λογος*, which no man, they said, would have used to denote a person, except one who had imbibed the philosophy, which was adopted by Cerinthus. Hence they argued that the Gospel, which bore the name of St. John, ought rather to be ascribed to Cerinthus, than to one of the Apostles. But this argument proves nothing: for, whoever undertook to confute the errors of Cerinthus, was under the necessity of retaining the terminology of his adversary.

C H A P. VIII.

OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

S E C T. I.

Of the Author of the Acts of the Apostles, and the time when this book was written.

AS this book belongs to the historical writings of the New Testament, I treat of it immediately after the Gospels, agreeably to the order in which it is placed in our common editions of the Greek Testament, though in ancient manuscripts and ancient versions it is very frequently placed after the Epistles of St. Paul, because it is necessary to a right understanding of them. It appears from the very first sentence in the Acts of the Apostles, that it was a continuation of St. Luke's Gospel, and that it was written by the same author. This is likewise asserted by the most ancient ecclesiastical writers, whose testimony I think it unnecessary to quote, as the question admits of no doubt, and Lardner has already given a sufficient number of quotations on this subject. Whether the interval which elapsed between the composition of St. Luke's Gospel, and his second work the Acts of the Apostles, was considerable or not, it is at present impossible to determine. Nor are we able to decide, whether both books were written in the same or different places: for though each of them was dedicated to Theophilus, we cannot assert that either of them was written in the same place, in which Theophilus resided. That the Acts of the Apostles were written at Alexandria is still less probable, than that St. Luke's Gospel was written there: and if it be allowable to substitute conjecture, where we are forsaken by historical evidence, I would rather suppose that the
Acts

Acts were written in Rome, at which place St. Luke mentions his arrival, in company with St. Paul, shortly before the close of the book*. Further, as it is continued to the end of the second year of St. Paul's imprisonment, it could not have been written before the year 63: nor do I think it probable that it was written after that year, for St. Luke would then have related some further particulars relative to St. Paul, or would at least have mentioned the event of his imprisonment, in which the Christian reader was highly interested. St. Luke's long attendance on St. Paul, and his having been himself eye-witness to so many of the facts which he has recorded, render him a most respectable and credible historian. His medical knowledge enabled him, both to form a proper judgment of the miraculous cures, which were performed by St. Paul, and to give an accurate and authentic detail of them. But he himself does not appear to have possessed the power of healing by supernatural means: at least, we have no instances of it on record, and when the father of Publius and other sick persons (Acts xxviii. 8, 9.) were suddenly cured, they were restored to health, not by St. Luke, but by the prayers of St. Paul.

S E C T. II.

Of the object which St. Luke had in view, in writing the Acts of the Apostles.

IT is obvious, that St. Luke did not intend to write a general history of the Christian church, during the first thirty years after Christ's ascension: for he has almost wholly omitted what passed among the Christians in

* Acts xxviii. 16.

in Jerufalem after the conversion of St. Paul, though the other Apoftles continued for fome time in Paleftine. Before St. Luke wrote the Acts, the younger James had been ftoned to death by the Jews, and the Jewish converts to Chriftianity had fuffered fo fevere a perfecution, that they began to waver in their faith, on which occafion St. Paul judged it neceffary to write his Epiftle to the Hebrews. Thefe were facts, which an hiftorian, who defigned to write a general account of the Chriftian church, could not have paffed over in filence. Further, St. Luke has not defcribed the propagation of Chriftianity either in Egypt, or in the countries which bordered on the Euphrates and the Tigris, though at Edeffa the king himfelf had become an early convert to the Chriftian religion. Nor has he mentioned St. Paul's journey into Arabia, or the ftate of Chriftianity in Babylon, though it appears from the firft Epiftle of St. Peter^f, that a Chriftian community exifted in that city. Here the queftion occurs: Were the Chriftians in thefe countries converts from the Jewish religion^g, and was St. Luke's principal attention directed to the conversion of the Gentiles? Or was he filent on the propagation of Chriftianity in the Eaft, and in Egypt, becaufe he had no knowledge of what was tranfacted there? He is equally filent on the foundation of the Chriftian community in Rome, though it was in a very flourifhing ftate before St. Paul's arrival in that city, and had already received an Epiftle from the Apoftle. There are other omiffions in the Acts of the Apoftles, which we can hardly afcribe to a want of knowledge in the author: for, as St. Luke was many years the conftant companion of St. Paul, he was certainly well acquainted with St. Paul's general hiftory. Yet he has omitted many material tranfactions in the life of the Apoftle, of which Lardner has felected feveral remarkable

Ch. v. 13.

^f This however cannot be faid of the king, who refided at Edeffa: for he was an Armenian.

able instances^b. In one respect however Lardner is mistaken: for he supposes that St. Luke accompanied St. Paul to Corinth, whereas, I have shewn in a preceding section, that St. Luke staid behind at Philippi. But St. Luke was probably informed by St. Paul of what was done in his absence: and since he has related many things performed by St. Paul before they again joined company, and has even recorded the speech delivered at Athensⁱ, at which he was no more present, than at St. Paul's transactions in Corinth, we must conclude, that his silence did not always proceed from a want of knowledge of the facts, which he has omitted. He has no where alluded to any one of St. Paul's Epistles: he has passed over several persecutions, which the Apostle underwent^k: he has taken no notice of several voyages made by St. Paul, in which he thrice suffered shipwreck, long before the shipwreck, which happened on the voyage to Italy: nor has he given an account of the great danger, from which the Apostle had been delivered by Aquila and Priscilla, whose generous conduct entitled them to the thanks of every Christian community^l. It is true that these facts appear to have taken place during that period which belongs to Acts xvii. 1.—xx. 5, 6. when St. Luke was absent from St. Paul^m: yet as we cannot suppose that they remained totally unknown to him, we may at least deduce this inference, that it was not St. Luke's intention to write a complete narrative of St. Paul's transactions. Of his own history he has said very little: and of what he did at Philippi during the absence of St. Paul he has said nothing. This silence we may ascribe to his modesty, which never suffered him to appear as a principal person. Of the controversies, which took place relative to the question, whether

^b Supplement, Vol. I. ch. viii. sect. 9.

ⁱ Acts xvii.

^k See 2 Cor. xi.

^l Rom. xvi. 3, 4.

^m See above, Ch. vi. sect. 3.

ther the Levitical law ought to be retained, or not, he has mentioned some, but not all: for instance, he has omitted the controversy on this subject, which created so much confusion among the Galatians. Of the heretical opinions, which distracted the Christian church, and to which St. Paul alludes in his Epistle, he has given no account: nor has he mentioned even the Gnostics, though they were not unknown to St. Paul, when he wrote his first Epistle to Timothy.

It appears from the preceding paragraph, that St. Luke's object in writing the book, which is called the Acts of the Apostles, was to deliver neither a general history of the propagation of Christianity, nor a complete history of St. Paul in particular. He seems to have had a two-fold object in view, namely:

1. To relate in what manner the gifts of the Holy Spirit were communicated on the day of Pentecost, and the subsequent miracles performed by the Apostles, by which the truth of Christianity was confirmed. An authentic account of this matter was absolutely necessary, because Christ had so often assured his disciples, that they should receive the Holy Spirit. Unbelievers therefore, whether Jews or Heathens, might have made objections to our religion, if it had not been shewn, that Christ's declaration was really fulfilled.

2. To deliver such accounts, as proved the claim of the Gentiles to admission into the church of Christ, a claim disputed by the Jews, especially at the time, when St. Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles. And it was this very circumstance, which excited the hatred of the Jews against St. Paul, and occasioned his imprisonment in Rome, with which St. Luke closes his history. Hence we see the reason, why he relates, ch. viii. the conversion of the Samaritans, and ch. x. xi. the story of Cornelius, whom St. Peter (to whose authority the adversaries of St. Paul had appealed in favour of circumcision^a) baptized, though he was not
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^a See Galat. ii. 6—21.

of the circumcision. Hence also St. Luke relates the determination of the first council in Jerusalem relative to the Levitical law: and for the same reason he is more diffuse in his account of St. Paul's conversion, and St. Paul's preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles, than on any other subject. It is true that the whole relation, which St. Luke has given, ch. xii. has no connection with the conversion of the Gentiles: but during the period, to which that chapter relates, St. Paul himself was present at Jerusalem^o, and it is probable for that reason, that St. Luke has introduced it.

Before I conclude this section, I must mention another opinion, which occurs to me, relative to St. Luke's plan in writing the Acts of the Apostles. Perhaps his intention was to record only those facts, which he had either seen himself, or heard from eye-witnesses. When I consider his total silence in respect to the early propagation of Christianity at Edeffa, I think this opinion not improbable.

S E C T. III.

Of St. Luke's style, and his mode of narration.

THOUGH St. Luke has omitted many material parts of ecclesiastical history, in the first thirty years after the ascension, yet he is very circumstantial and perspicuous in those parts, which he has related. At the same time, he has no where exhausted his subject: for wherever he has occasion to introduce what he had related before, the relation is always accompanied with some new circumstances. Examples of this kind are the conversion of St. Paul, and the baptism of Cornelius, which he himself relates first as an historian, and afterwards introduces in the speeches of St.

• See Acts xi. 30. xii. 25.

St. Peter and St. Paul. This variation is so far from being a blemish, that it may rather be considered as an ornament: for a repetition of the same story, with the very same circumstances, is neither entertaining nor instructive. But several transcribers and editors have supposed, that wherever they observed a circumstance less in one place than in the other, there was in that place a real defect, and have accordingly interpolated out of the latter into the former. Thus, in ch. ix: where St. Luke gives his own account of St. Paul's conversion, an interpolation has been made from ch. xxvi. where St. Paul himself describes his conversion^p: and hence the three relations of this fact in the Acts of the Apostles resemble each other in our modern printed editions, much more than in the ancient manuscripts.

In describing St. Paul's shipwreck, he appears to have used the Greek technical terms of navigation; some of which we find it difficult to understand, through want of sufficient knowledge of this subject.

In general St. Luke's style in the Acts of the Apostles is much purer than that of most other books of the New Testament, especially in the speeches delivered by St. Paul at Athens and before the Roman governors, which contain passages superior to any thing even in the Epistle to the Hebrews, though the language of this Epistle is preferable in other respects to that of any other book in the New Testament. But the Acts of the Apostles are by no means free from Hebraisms: and even in the purest parts, which are the speeches of St. Paul, we still find the language of a native Jew.

It deserves particularly to be remarked that St. Luke has well supported the character of each person, whom he has introduced as delivering a public harangue, and has very faithfully and happily preserved the manner of

^p See what was said on this example in the second volume of this Introduction, ch. xii. sect. 3.

of speaking, which was peculiar to each of his orators. The speeches of St. Peter are recorded by St. Luke with the same simplicity as that in which they were delivered, and they are devoid of all those ornaments, which we usually find in the orations of the Greeks and Romans⁹. The speeches of St. Paul, which were delivered before a Jewish assembly, are not very different in their manner from those of St. Peter: and they are wholly dissimilar to those, which the same Apostle delivered before an heathen audience, especially in Acts xiii. 16—41. where St. Paul introduces the principal subject of his discourse by a long periphrasis, which would have been neither instructive nor entertaining in any other place, than a Jewish synagogue. The speech delivered by the martyr Stephen, in the seventh chapter of the Acts is again of a different description. It is a learned discourse, pronounced by a speaker, who was totally unacquainted with the art of oratory. Stephen spoke without any preparation, and though he had certainly a particular object in view, to which the several parts of his discourse were directed, yet it is difficult to discover this object, because his materials are not regularly disposed. It is true, that he was interrupted, and was prevented from finishing his harangue: but an orator, who is accustomed to speak in public, and has learnt methodical arrangement, will discover even at the commencement of his oration the purport of his discourse. In Stephen's speech we meet with numerous digressions, and literary remarks, of which we cannot perceive the tendency. For instance, he has a remark, which is at variance with

⁹ In the first volume of this Introduction, ch. v. sect. 3. I have observed, that St. Luke, in the relation of public speeches, has frequently departed from the words of the Septuagint, where the speaker had quoted passages from the Old Testament. To the examples, which I there quoted, may be added Acts ii. 17. 19. In these instances St. Luke has shewn his judgement, in not transcribing literally from the Septuagint passages, which the speaker could have quoted only from memory.

with the Hebrew text, and favours another reading, or if not, it favours a mystical exposition of the common reading, that Abraham did not depart from Haran, till after his father's death : and he differs from the Seventy in interpreting קשיטת not by ' lambs,' but by ' a silver coin.' The same character appears throughout the whole of Stephen's discourse : but a more minute examination of it would be foreign to the present purpose.

Since then the various speakers, who are introduced in the Acts of the Apostles, uniformly preserve their proper characters, St. Luke must have received very accurate information. Yet many of these speeches were delivered, not in the Greek language, as they are recorded by St. Luke, but in Chaldee, the language of Palestine. Nor is it probable, that any of the persons, who were present at the time, when they were delivered, committed them to writing, if we except the speech of Stephen. My reason for thinking it probable that St. Luke had a copy of Stephen's speech, is, that it contains some mistakes of memory, and some inaccurate expositions, which St. Luke himself must have known to be such, but which he retained, because he found them in his copy. Perhaps this copy was delivered to him by St. Paul, who was not only present at Stephen's speech, but was at that time a zealous adversary of the Christians ; and being at the same time learned in the law, was able as well as willing to detect whatever mistakes might be made by the speaker.

Lastly, the speeches delivered by St. Paul before assemblies, which were accustomed to Grecian oratory, are of a totally different description from any of the preceding. It is true, that they are neither adorned with the flowers of rhetoric, nor are even exempt from such expressions as betray a native Jew : but the language is pointed and energetic, and the materials are not only well selected, but judiciously arranged. The speech which St. Paul delivered at Athens, and the two which he held before the Roman governors of Judæa, are

are proofs of this assertion. Yet St. Luke appears to have given only an abstract, and not the whole of St. Paul's speeches: for the Apostle in the defence, which he made before Felix, must certainly have said more than is recorded by St. Luke, ch. xxiv. 12, 13. unless we suppose that he merely denied the charge, which had been laid to him, without confuting it. However he has certainly shewn great judgement in these abstracts: for, if he has not always retained the very words of St. Paul, he has adopted such as well suited the polished audience, before which the Apostle spake.

S E C T. IV.

Chronology of the Acts of the Apostles.

IT is evident that St. Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles with a tolerable strict attention to chronological order: but he has not annexed a date to any one of his facts, though in one instance he had done it in his Gospel¹. Ancient writers in general were less attentive to this subject, than modern authors: and in some cases perhaps St. Luke did not exactly know in what year the events happened. However there are several parts of the Acts of the Apostles, in which ecclesiastical history is combined with political facts, of which we know the dates: and therefore I will endeavour to determine such as can be settled with any precision, because an acquaintance with the chronology of the Acts of the Apostles will not only contribute to the understanding of the book itself, but will assist us in fixing the year, in which many of St. Paul's Epistles were written.

I take

¹ Ch. iii, 1, 2:

I take for granted that the Acts of the Apostles
 33 commence with the year 33 of the Christian era^a.
 In the calculation of this era I follow Usher, and
 do not enter at present into any minute inquiries on
 this subject.

1. *The first Epoch*, after the commencement of
 the book, is at ch. xi. 29, 30.: for what happened
 between the first Pentecost after Christ's ascension
 and this period, is without any marks of chrono-
 44 logy. But at ch. xi. 29, 30. we have a date: for
 the famine which took place in the time of Claudius
 Cæsar, and which induced the disciples at Antioch
 to send relief to their brethren in Judæa, happened
 in the fourth year of Claudius's reign, that is, in
 the year 44 of the Christian era^b.

44 2. *Second Epoch*. Herod Agrippa dies soon after
 he had put to death the Apostle St. James: and
 about that time St. Paul and St. Barnabas return
 from Jerusalem to Antioch. Ch. xii. 21—25.
 This is still in the year 44.

3. *Third Epoch*. Ch. xviii. 2. Shortly after the
 banishment of the Jews from Italy by Claudius
 Cæsar, St. Paul arrives at Corinth. Commentators
 affix the date 54 to this event: but it is uncertain,
 for Suetonius, the only historian who has noticed
 this banishment of the Jews, mentions it without
 date. For that reason I place no date in the
 margin.

4. *Fourth*

^a For the convenience of the reader I place this as well as the
 following dates in the margin.

^b I have already observed that I follow Usher, without entering
 into any minute inquiries in respect to the Christian era. If this is
 calculated wrong, the following dates must be altered accordingly.
 Whoever has sufficient ability and leisure for the undertaking would
 contribute to the explanation of the Acts of the Apostles by calcu-
 lating these Epochs with still greater precision. But conjecture must
 be discarded, and facts only admitted as proofs.

4. *Fourth Epoch.* St. Paul comes to Jerusalem, where he is imprisoned by the Jews, not long after the disturbances which were excited by the Egyptian. Ch. xxi. 37—39. This imprisonment of St. Paul happened in the year 60, for it was two years before Felix quitted his government of Judæa. Ch. xxiii. 26. xxiv. 27. 60

5. *Fifth Epoch.* Two years after the commencement of St. Paul's imprisonment, Festus is appointed governor of Judæa. Ch. xxiv. 27. xxv. 1. 62

From this period the chronology of the Acts of the Apostles is clear. St. Paul is sent prisoner to Rome in the autumn of the same year in which Festus arrived in Judæa: he suffers shipwreck, passes the winter in Malta, and arrives in Rome in the following year, that is, in 63. Ch. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.

The Acts of the Apostles close with the end of the second year of St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome: consequently, in the year 65. Ch. xxviii. 30.

To the events which happened between the epochs 33 and 34, and between 44 and 60, it is difficult to assign any determinate year: and all that we can positively say of these events, is that they happened in those intervals. It is true that chronologers have made the attempt: but none of them has met with success, not even the truly eminent Usher. Unfortunately, the two most important years, that of St. Paul's conversion, and that of the first council in Jerusalem, are the most difficult to be determined: for neither St. Paul's conversion, nor the council in Jerusalem, is combined with any political fact, by means of which the date might be discovered. Usher places St. Paul's conversion in the year 35, others in 38: but we cannot positively assert either the one or the other.

But though we cannot arrive at absolute certainty we can form in some cases a probable conjecture. For instance, St. Stephen hardly suffered martyrdom before Pilate was recalled from the government of Judea, for

under Pilate the Jews had not the power of inflicting capital punishments, Now, according to Usher, the year, in which Pilate was recalled, was the 36th of the Christian era. St. Stephen's martyrdom therefore probably happened after 36. If this be true, St. Paul's conversion must have happened likewise after 36, and therefore 35 is too early a date. But how long after 36, whether in 38, as some say, I cannot determine. Neither date agrees with the Epistle to the Galatians^v.

In what manner the chapters iii. iv. v. vi. are to be arranged between 33 and 36, I cannot determine: for what chronologers have said is here conjecture, and not calculation. The same uncertainty prevails in respect to ch. viii. and x.: for we can affirm nothing more, than that the one must be placed before, the other after 36. We are likewise in the dark with respect to ch. xiii. xiv. and several other chapters. Of ch. xvi. we may assert, that it belongs to a period at least six years prior to the fourth epoch or the year 60: for a year and an half at Corinth, three years at Ephesus, and the time spent on several journies, can hardly be pressed into a smaller compass, than that of six years. To ch. xvi. therefore the latest date, which can be assigned, is 54: and it is not impossible that a still earlier date should be assigned to it.

Wherever I shall have occasion to speak, in the following chapters of this Introduction, of the dates to be annexed to St. Paul's Epistles, I must beg to be understood as delivering not my own opinion, except where I explain myself more fully, but the opinion of others. The most proper dates for St. Paul's Epistles are references to the respective parts of the Acts of the Apostles,

^v See Ch. XI, sect. 1.

C H A P. IX.

THE STUDY OF JOSEPHUS RECOMMENDED AS THE
BEST MEANS OF UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORICAL
BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BEFORE I conclude my account of the historical books of the New Testament, I must particularly recommend a diligent study of the works of Josephus, from the beginning of Herod's reign to the end of the Jewish Antiquities. Ottius and Krebs, men of real learning, have set a very laudable example, in selecting passages from Josephus, with a view of illustrating the New Testament: yet, what is very extraordinary, this author is in general neglected, though he really furnishes the very best commentary on the Gospels and the Acts. I will select only one example in proof of this assertion; but this example is of great importance, because not only a perplexed passage in the New Testament will be explained, but a difficulty relative to a point of morality will be removed.

In the third chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, where the baptism of John is described, the Evangelist says, ver. 14. *Επηρωτων δε αυτου οι στρατευομενοι, λεγοντες και ημεις τι ποιησομεν;* to which question John the Baptist answered, *Μηδενα διασεισητε, μηδε συκοφαντησητε και αρχεισθε τοις οψωνιοις υμων.* In this passage, the word *στρατευομενοι* is usually rendered 'soldiers,' as if there were no difference between the participle *στρατευομενοι* and the noun *στρατιωται*. Grotius supposes that St. Luke meant soldiers, who spent the greatest part of their lives in garrison, and did not take the field, except on the greatest emergencies. But *στρατευομενοι* evidently denotes 'soldiers actually on service,' or 'soldiers actually engaged in war.' Now it appears from the relation of Josephus (Antiq. xviii. 5.) that Herod the tetrarch of Galilee was engaged in a war with his father-in-law Aretas, a petty king in Arabia Petræa, at the very time, in which

John was preaching in the wilderness. Machærus, a fortress situated on a hill, not far from the eastern shore of the Dead sea, on the confines of the two countries, was the place, in which John was imprisoned, and afterwards beheaded. The army of Herod, then on its march from Galilee, passed through the country, in which John baptized: and hence we discover that these στρατευομενοι were soldiers of Herod the tetrarch, who were marching to battle against Aretas. Further it is highly probable, that they were not native Jews, but foreigners taken into Herod's pay. As early as the time of John Hyrcanus, the Jews had foreigners in their service^w, who gradually increased to such a degree as to supersede the natives of the country. At least, if we may judge from the account given by Josephus, of the funeral procession of Herod the Great, the army of this Jewish sovereign consisted wholly of foreigners. For at the funeral of Herod the Great, according to Josephus^x, the whole army was drawn up in military parade, and consisted, 1st of the life-guard^y, 2^{dly} of Thracians, 3^{dly} of Germans, 4^{thly} of Galatians. If we may argue from Herod the Great to his son Herod Antipas, the army of the latter consisted likewise of foreigners.

So far in regard to the question, who these στρατευομενοι were. With respect to John's answer it must be observed, that though Herod Antipas was engaged in an unjust war, the Baptist who had sufficient courage to reprove Herod himself, did not say to the soldiers that it was *their* duty to examine the justice of a war, before they marched to battle, but cautioned them only in general terms against rapine and violence, adding that they should be content with their wages.

Many

^w Joseph. Antiq. Lib. XIII. cap. 8. sect. 4. cap. 13. sect. 5. cap. 16. sect. 2.

^x Antiq. XVII. 8. 3.

^y The life-guard certainly consisted of foreigners: for Herod the Great would not have intrusted the protection of his person to troops of Jewish origin.

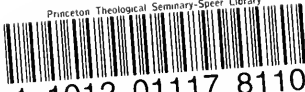
Many other examples might be produced, of a similar description with the preceding, and for that reason every man who would understand the Gospels and the Acts, should study the works of Josephus, especially those books, which I have mentioned above. I am persuaded, that if they were made the subject of public lectures in our universities, the theological student would reap much greater benefit, than from all the lectures on polemical divinity, of which the greatest part of the clergy can make little or no use. It were likewise to be wished, that some one, who has abilities for the undertaking, would make a good and fluent translation of them, for the benefit of those, who are unable to read the original, and accompany the translation with such notes, as are necessary to make it intelligible to the unlearned.

END OF VOL. III. PART I.









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