

The Books of
The Bible

NEW TESTAMENT

EDITED BY

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PLAIN INTRODUCTIONS

TO

THE BOOKS OF THE BIBLE



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THE BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

VOLUME II

New Testament Introductions

EDITED BY

CHARLES JOHN ELLICOTT D.D.

Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol



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GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY THE LATE VERY REV. E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D.

I.—THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. THE language in which we commonly speak of the volume which all Christians accept as being, in some sense, their rule of faith and life, presents many terms more or less technical in character, each of which has a distinct history of its own, not without interest. The whole volume for us is THE BIBLE, or, more fully, THE HOLY BIBLE, containing THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. Sometimes we use THE SCRIPTURE, or THE SCRIPTURES, or THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, as a synonym for THE BIBLE. With these we sometimes find, bound up in the same volume, "the books called APOCRYPHA," which are distinguished in the Sixth of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England from the "CANONICAL BOOKS of the Old and New Testament." It is desirable that the student of the New Testament should know, at least in outline, something as to the meaning and history of each of these terms.

II. Of all the words so used, SCRIPTURE, or THE SCRIPTURES, is that which stands highest, as far as the claims of antiquity and authority affect our estimate. It had come to be used by the Jews before

our Lord's time as contrasting—as the Moslem now contrasts, in reference to the Koran—those who had a written rule, or book, as the rule of faith and life, with those who had not. The books that had been written in "sundry times and divers manners" (as the familiar passage in Heb. i. 1 should read), and which, after various processes of sifting, editing, and revising, were then received as authoritative, were known as "the Writings," "the Scriptures," as in Matt. xxi. 42, Luke xxiv. 27, John viii. 39, sometimes with the addition of the term "holy," or "sacred" (2 Tim. iii. 5). It was because they studied this literature (*grammata*) that the interpreters of the Law were known as "scribes" (*grammateis*). When these books were quoted, it was enough to say, "It is written" (*e.g.*, Matt. iv. 4, 6; xxi. 13; xxvi. 24), or, with more emphasis, "the Scripture saith" (*e.g.*, Rom. iv. 7; ix. 17), or to cite this or that "Scripture" (Mark xii. 10).

It may be noted, however, that the later terminology of the Jews in their classification of the Sacred Books differed from this. They applied the term "Writings" (*Kethubim*), or "Holy Writings"

(from which we get the Greek *Hagiographa*, with the same meaning) to one portion only of the collection, and that, in some sense, the one which they reckoned as the lowest. First came the LAW, including the Five Books of Moses, whence the term *Pentateuch* (=the five-volumed Writing); (2) the earlier Prophets, including under that head Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings; and (3) the later Prophets, including (a) the three Greater Prophets—Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel—and (b) the twelve Minor Prophets, as we have them; (4) the *Kethubim*, or "Writings," including the following groups of books:—(a) Psalms, Proverbs, Job; (b) the five *Megilloth*, or Rolls, the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther; (c) Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles. So far as the later Jews wanted one word for the whole of what we call the Old Testament, they used the term *Mikra* (= "what is read or recited"), a word which has the interest of being connected with the Koran, or sacred book of Islam.

III. The Greek word for BIBLE (*Biblion*) occurs in our version as "book," in 2 Tim. iv. 13, Rev. x. 3, v. 1, but not apparently with any specially distinctive sense. It is just possible that in the first of these passages St. Paul may refer to what he elsewhere calls the Scriptures. (See 2 Tim. iv. 13.) This sense, however, did not begin to attach to the word by itself till the twelfth or thirteenth century. Greek writers, indeed, talked, as was natural, of the sacred or holy "books" on which their faith rested; and, as in the Council of Laodicea, drew up catalogues of

such books, or spoke of the whole universe as a book, or "bible," in which men might read the wisdom and the love of the Creator. It was natural, as the word came to be used, like other Greek terms, in the Western Churches, that transcribers, or binders, of the "sacred books" should label them as *Biblia Sacra*. As the centuries passed on, however, men forgot the origin of the word, and took *Biblia*, not for a neuter plural, as it really was, but for a feminine singular; and so we get the origin of the "Holy Bible," betraying itself in most European languages, as, e.g., in *La Bible*, *La Bibbia*, *die Bibel*, by the feminine form of the noun. We are able to fix, within comparatively narrow limits, the date of the introduction of the word so used into our English language. It was unknown to our Saxon fathers. They used *ge-writ*, the "Writing," or, following Jerome's felicitous phrase, *Bibliothekè*, the "library" or collection of books. "Bible" came into use through the Norman Conquest and the prevalence of French. Chaucer uses it in his earlier poems (*House of Fame*, Book iii., l. 244) as applicable to any book. In the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, l. 437, his latest work, it stands as "the Bible," with its new distinctive honours. Wycliffe's translation of what was headed as the Holy Bible, and the frequent use of the term in the Preface to this translation, probably gained for it a wide acceptance, and all idea of its plural meaning having dropped out of sight, the definite article acquired a new significance, and it was received, as ninety-nine readers out of a hundred receive it now, as *the Bible*, *the Book* above all other books.

IV. The history of the terms the OLD and the NEW TESTAMENT leads us into a region of yet higher interest. They have their starting-point in the memorable distinctions drawn between the Covenant that had been made with Israel through Moses, and the New Covenant, with its better promises, which was proclaimed for the future in Jer. xxxi. 31. That promise received a fresh significance, and was stamped for ever on the minds of the followers of Christ, by the words that were spoken on the night of the Last Supper, when He told the Apostles that it was ratified by His own blood. (See Matt. xxvi. 28, where *Covenant*, and not "Testament," is the right rendering.) The stress laid on the distinction between the two Covenants in the Epistle to the Hebrews (chaps. vii. —x.) was, as it were, the natural development of that thought; and the repetition of the words of institution, as we find them in 1 Cor. xi. 25, at every celebration of the Supper of the Lord, secured for it a universal acceptance in all the Churches. For a time the essential outlines of the New Covenant—the terms, as it were, of the New Contract—were conveyed chiefly or exclusively by the oral teaching of the Apostles and their immediate followers. But soon the New Covenant, like the Old, gathered round it a literature of its own. Without anticipating what will have to be said hereafter as to the history of individual books, it lies on the surface that within sixty or seventy years after the Death and Resurrection of the Lord Jesus, there were written records of His words and deeds, Epistles purporting to be written by His Apostles and disciples, revelations of the

future of His kingdom. In course of time, but probably not till the fourth century, the books so received came naturally enough to be known as the Books of the New Covenant (*diatheke*), as distinguished from those of the Old; and so in the Council of Laodicea, in A.D. 320, we have lists of the Books which were recognised as belonging to each (*Can.* 59). The Greek word for Covenant was never naturalised, however, in the Latin of the Western and African Churches, and the writers of those Churches were for a time undecided as to what equivalent they should use for it, and wavered between *foedus*, a "covenant"; *instrumentum*, a "deed"; and *testamentum*, a "will." The earlier Latin writers, such as Tertullian (*Adv. Marcion*, vi. 1), use both the two latter words, but state that the last was the more generally accepted term. As such, it passed into the early Latin versions of the Scriptures, and then into St. Jerome's Vulgate, and so became familiar through the whole of Latin Christendom. If we confine its meaning to its strict legal sense of "will," it must be admitted to be a less accurate rendering than *foedus* of the general sense of the Greek *diatheke* (Heb. ix. 16 is, of course, an exception), and the latter word has accordingly been adopted by some of the more scholarly Protestant theologians, such as Beza, as part of their terminology. So in the writings of the French Reformed Church, the New Testament appears as *La Nouvelle Alliance*. Luther, with a certain characteristic love for time-honoured words, used *Testament* throughout; and though some recent German writers have used *Bund*, it does not seem likelv

to gain general acceptance. In the history of the English versions we find Wycliffe, as was natural in a translation from the Vulgate, using "Testament" uniformly. Tyndale, in spite of his usual tendency to change the familiar terms of Latin theology, was probably in part influenced by Luther's example, and retained "Testament" throughout. He was followed in the other English translations, till we come to that known as the Geneva version, where it is replaced by "Covenant" in most passages, still retaining, so to speak, its place of honour in Matt. xxvi. 28, Luke xxii. 20, and Heb. ix. 16; and it has thus secured a position from which it will not be easy to dislodge it. In strict accuracy, we ought to speak, as the title-page of our Bible does, of the Books of the New Testament, but the natural tendency of popular speech to economy of utterance leads men to speak of the "New Testament" as including the books.

V. In the Sixth of the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church, we find the phrase CANONICAL SCRIPTURES, and that term also has a noteworthy history of its own. We start from the Greek word *kanón*, connected with "canna," "cane," "canalis," "channel," "canal," "cannon"—all the words implying the idea of straightness—and find its primary meaning to be that of a "reed," or rather (for that belongs to the earlier form, *kanè*), of a rod; then of a rod used as a carpenter's rule; thence, by a natural use of metaphors, it was employed, chiefly by Alexandrian critics and grammarians, for a "rule" in ethics, or rhetoric, or grammar. So the great writers of Greece were referred to as being

the *Canon* or standard of accuracy. In the LXX. version of the Old Testament the word is found only once, in Mic. vii. 10. The passage is very obscure, but it is apparently used in the sense of a column or bar of some sort, as it is also in Judith xiii. 8. The figurative sense had become dominant in the time of the New Testament, and so we find St. Paul using it in Gal. vi. 16, Phil. iii. 16, for a "rule" of faith and life, and 2 Cor. x. 13, 16, for one which marked out a man's appointed line of work. So Councils made *Canons*, or Rules, for the Churches. So those who were bound by the rules of cathedrals and collegiate churches were called *Canonici*, or Canons. So the first invariable part of the Roman liturgy was known as the *Canon* of the Mass.

At even an earlier period than that to which these later illustrations refer, the word had come into use as belonging to the language of theology. Clement of Alexandria speaks of the *Canon* of the Church being found in the agreement of the Law and the Prophets with the traditional teaching of the New Covenant (*Strom.* vi., p. 676). Chrysostom and other commentators find the *Canon*, or Rule of Faith in Scripture. Tertullian, obviously Latinising the same word, speaks of the doctrine which the Church had received from the Apostles, or embodied in a creed, as the *regula fidei*. Alexandria appears in this, as in other instances, to have been the main source of ecclesiastical terminology. In Origen we find the next application of the word, and he speaks (in books of which we have only the Latin Version) of the *Scripture Canonica*, the *libri regulares*, the

libri canonizati—of books that are “in the Canon.” Here there is a slight change of meaning. The books are not only the rule of the Church’s faith; they are themselves in conformity with a standard. They find their place in a list which is accepted by the Church as the rule of what is or is not Scripture. So Athanasius speaks of books that are in this sense “canonised,” and the Council of Laodicea (*Can.* 39) of those that are not so. Amphilochius (*circa*. A.D. 380) takes up the language of the Latin translator of Origen, and uses it for the actual *Catalogue* of Books. With Jerome the term is in frequent use in this sense, and from his writings it passed into the common language of Latin Christendom, and so into that of modern Europe, and men spoke of the *Canonical Scriptures* as those which were in the *Canon*.

VI. The history of the word has to be followed by the history of the origin and growth of the thing. Without anticipating what will find a more fitting place in the Introduction to each several book, viz., the traces which each has left of itself in early ecclesiastical writings, and the evidence which we have in those traces of its genuineness, it lies on the surface that the Christian Society had a literature of some kind at a very early period. There were the “Words of the Lord Jesus,” quoted by St. Paul as known (Acts xx. 35), and quoted as Scripture (1 Tim. v. 18). There were Epistles that were cited in the same way (2 Pet. iii. 16). There were “many” records of the life and teaching of Christ (Luke i. 1). The “memoirs” of the Apostles were read publicly in Christian assemblies,

and these were known as Gospels (Justin, *Apol.* c. 66). Besides these books, which are now in the Canon, we find a Gospel of the Hebrews, and of St. Peter, a Revelation bearing the name of the same Apostle, an Epistle to the Laodiceans, and so on. It was obvious that men would want some standard by which to discern the genuine from the spurious: and as lists of the Old Testament had been drawn up at an early period of the Church, by Melito of Sardis (A.D. 180) and others, so, as we have seen, the Church of Alexandria, the centre of the criticism of early Christendom, supplied the thing, as it had supplied the word. The process by which such a list was drawn up must be left, in part, to imagination, but it is not difficult to picture to ourselves, with little risk of error, what it must almost necessarily have been. A man of culture and great industry, imbued with the critical habits of his time, such, *e.g.*, as was Origen, finds a multitude of books before him professing to have come down from the time of the Apostles. He takes them one by one, and examines the claims of each. Has it been read in church at all, and if so, where, and in how many churches? Has it been quoted by earlier writers? Has it been one of a group assigned to the same writer, with the same characteristics of style as the other books so assigned? Whence has it come? Who can report its history? It is obvious that the answer to these questions was to be found in a process of essentially personal inquiry, of the exercise of private judgment, of the critical reason working upon history. And so, to take the earliest instance of such a list which we can connect with a name, we find Origen giving

one which includes the four Gospels by name, the Epistles of St. Paul (the names of the Epistles, however, are not given, nor even the total number of them), the two Epistles of St. Peter, the second being noted as open to question, the Revelation, and one "acknowledged" Epistle by St. John. Elsewhere he mentions the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the traditions which assigned it to St. Paul, St. Luke, and Clement of Rome respectively. Another, without a name, but commonly known as the Muratorian Canon, from that of the scholar who first found it among the MSS. of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, is assigned, on internal grounds, to a period about A.D. 170. It is imperfect both in the beginning and in the end, and, though in Latin, bears every mark of having been translated from the Greek. It had obviously mentioned the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, for it begins "in the third place, Luke the Physician wrote a Gospel." It then names St. John, the Acts, the Epistles of St. Paul, enumerating nine Epistles to seven churches; the three Epistles now known as Pastoral, and that to Philemon. It rejects two, to the Laodiceans and Alexandrians, as spurious; recognises a Revelation of St. Peter, two Epistles and the Revelation of St. John; and strangely enough, for a list of books of the New Testament, includes the Wisdom of Solomon,* and the Pastor or Shepherd of Hermas. The whole fragment is

of extreme interest, as representing a transition stage in the formation of the Canon, exhibiting at once the spirit of critical investigation which was at work, and the uncertainty which more or less attended the process of inquiry. A nearly contemporaneous version of the New Testament writings in the Syriac, known as the *Peschito* (= the "simple" or "true" version), exhibits nearly the same results. It includes fourteen Epistles by St. Paul, that to the Hebrews being assigned to his authorship, but omits 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and the Apocalypse. A like catalogue is given in the fourth century (*circa* A.D. 330), by Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, and Amphilochius of Asia Minor (*circa* A.D. 380). The former divides the books into two classes, the one those which are generally recognised, and the other those that were still open to question (*Antilegomena*); and the latter list includes 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and the Apocalypse. This may be taken, though not exhaustive, as a sufficient account of the evidence supplied by individual writers; and as they include representatives of Alexandria, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, and Rome, it may fairly be considered as embodying the general consent of the Christian Church in the fourth century.

These individual testimonies were confirmed about the same period by the authority of two local Councils of the Church. That held at Lao-

* The facts connected with this remarkable book are briefly—(1) That it is not named by any pre-Christian writer; (2) that it is not quoted by any writer before Clement of Rome; (3) that it presents innumerable points of resemblance in phraseology and style to the Epistle to

the Hebrews. These facts have led the present writer to the conviction that they are both by the same author, the one written before, and the other after, his conversion to the faith in Christ. (See two papers "On the Writings of Apollon," in the *Expositor*, Vol. I.)

dicea A.D. 363 (?) gives a list of the "Books of the Old Testament" *that ought to be read*, agreeing with the Hebrew Canon, except that it inserts Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah; and in its catalogue of the "Books of the New Testament" gives a complete list of those now received, without noting, as Eusebius notes, any difference between them, with the one exception that it makes no mention of the Apocalypse, and that it assigns the Epistle to the Hebrews to St. Paul. That known as the third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) enumerates among the "Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament" Tobias (= Tobit), Judith, and the two books of Maccabees, and in its list of those of the New includes, without any exception, all the books that are now recognised, and does so on the ground that this was what had been received from "the Fathers."

The history of this growth of the Canon of the New Testament is in many ways instructive. It has been often thrown in the teeth of those who urge the right of private judgment as against the authority of the Church of Rome, or of the Church in her Councils generally, that we have no ground for our acceptance of the Scriptures themselves, and especially for that of the Scriptures of the New Testament, but that authority. The facts that have been stated exhibit a process which leads naturally and necessarily to the very opposite conclusion. What we have traced is the exercise, at every stage, of private judgment, of criticism working upon history; and it is not till this has done its work that Councils step in to recognise and accept the results that have been thus obtained. And when this is done, be it observed,

it is not by any Œcumenical or General Council, nor by the Church which claims to have been founded by St. Peter, nor by the Bishop who claims to be his successor, but by two Synods, in comparatively remote provinces, who confine themselves to testifying what they actually found. Other men had laboured, and they entered into their labours. The authority of the Church, so far as it was asserted, rested on the previous exercise of free inquiry and private judgment. How far later inquiry may have modified the results of the earlier, throwing doubt on what was then accepted as certain, or establishing the genuineness of what was then looked upon as doubtful, compensating for its remoteness by its wider range and manifold materials, by its skill in following up hints and tracing coincidences designed or undesigned—this is a question which in its bearing on individual books of the New Testament will be best discussed in the Introduction to each of those Books.

VII. Side by side with the Books as belonging to the Old or New Testament thus recognised as Canonical, there were those which had been weighed in the balance and found wanting. These were known either as being simply "uncanonised" or "uncanonical," as not being in the list which formed the standard of acceptance. Such as continued, from their having formed part of the generally accepted Greek version of the Old, to be read in churches or quoted by devout scholars, were described by a term which had already become conspicuous as applied to the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, the book Ecclesiasticus, and

were known as "ecclesiastical," and these included all, or nearly all, the books which we commonly know as the APOCRYPHA. Later writers, especially among the more liberal or critical Roman Catholic writers since the Council of Trent, have invented and applied the term *Deutero-Canonical* to those books, as recognising that they do not stand on the same level as those included in the older Canons of Laodicea and Carthage. The Council itself (*Sess.* 4), however, had the courage of its convictions, and setting aside the authority of earlier councils, and of the great Father to whom it owed its Vulgate, drew no such distinction. It added to the Canon of Scripture, not, indeed, all the books that we know as the Apocrypha, but the greater part of them: Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, the additions to Esther and Daniel, and the two books of Maccabees. It declared that all these books were to be received with the same reverence as the other sacred writings. It placed the traditions of the Church on the same level with the sacred books thus defined. It pronounced its anathema on all who did not accept its Canon of Scripture, or despised its traditions. It deliberately proclaimed to all men that this was the foundation of its faith.

The history of the word APOCRYPHA exhibits a curious instance of a change from honour to dishonour. Primarily it simply meant "hidden" or "secret." In this sense we find it in Luke viii. 17; Col. ii. 13; Ecclus. xxiii. 19. It was used accordingly by teachers who claimed a higher esoteric wisdom which they embodied in secret, *i.e.*, in this sense, apocryphal, writings. Traces of such a boast, even among Jews

and Christians, are found in 2 Esdr. (obviously a post-Christian book), where the scribe is instructed to reserve seventy books for "such only as be wise among the people" (2 Esdr. xiv. 46), in distinction from the twenty-four (this, and not two hundred and four, is probably the right reading) of the Hebrew Canon. The books thus circulated, with their mysterious pretensions, imposing on the credulity of their readers, were "hidden" in another sense. No man knew their history or their authorship. They were not read in the synagogues of the Jews, or, for the most part, in the churches of Christians. They deserved to be hidden, and not read. And so the word sank rapidly in its connotation, and became a term of reproach. Already, in the time of Tertullian (*De Animâ*, c. 12) and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 19, 69), it is used in the sense which has ever since attached to it, of spurious and unauthentic. Its present popular application dates from the time of St. Jerome. In Greek churches and Latin churches that used a version based upon that of the LXX., the position occupied by many of the books now included under that word secured for them the same respect as the other books; they were quoted as "Scripture," as "inspired," as "prophecy." Where, on the contrary, men were brought into contact with Judaism, and so with the Hebrew Canon, they were led to draw the distinction which has since obtained. So Melito of Sardis (A.D. 180), in his Canon of the Old Testament, follows that of the Jews, and Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 315—386) adds only Baruch and the later Esther. Jerome, bent upon a new version from the Hebrew, and with the natural instincts

of a scholar, looked on the Greek version of the LXX. as being faulty, not only in its translations, but in its text. For him the Hebrew Canon was the standard of authority, and he applied without hesitation the term Apocrypha, as equivalent to spurious, to all that were not included in it (*Prolog. Gal.*). Augustine shrank from so bold an application of the word. Western Christendom, as a whole, followed his lead, rather than that of Jerome. The doubtful books kept their ground in the MSS. of the Latin Vulgate, and were read and quoted freely as Scripture. It was not till the revival of the study of Hebrew in Western Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, warmly pursued as it was by Luther and his fellow-workers, that the old line of demarcation was drawn more boldly than ever. Luther, following the example of the LXX. that had been printed at Strasburg in 1526, when he published his complete German Bible, in 1534, placed all the books that Jerome had not received together, with the title of "Apocrypha—*i.e.*, books which are not of like worth with Holy Scripture, but are good and useful to be read." His example was followed by Cranmer in the English Bible of 1539, and has obtained in all later versions and editions. The effect of this has been, to some extent, that the word has risen a little in its meaning. While the adjective is used as equivalent to "spurious," and therefore as a term of opprobrium, we use the substantive with a certain measure of respect. The "Apocrypha" are not necessarily thought of as "apocryphal."

Among the books that are now so named, one, 2 Esdras, is certainly of post-Christian origin, and some

critics have ascribed the same date to the Wisdom of Solomon, and Judith. These, however, either in the circumstances of the history they contain, or by their pseudonymous authorship, obviously claim attention as belonging to the Old Testament, and are therefore rightly classed among its Apocrypha. The New Testament, however, was not without an apocryphal literature of its own—spurious Gospels of Peter, of the Infancy of Jesus, of Nicodemus, of Matthew, of James; spurious Acts of Philip, of Andrew, of Matthew, of Thomas, of Pilate, of Bartholomew, of John; spurious Epistles of St. Paul to the Laodiceans and to Seneca; spurious Revelations of St. Peter. None of these, however, ever attained to the respectable position occupied by most of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. They met a vulgar curiosity as to the unrecorded facts of the childhood of Jesus, as to the work that He had done behind the veil in the Descent into Hades. They were read more or less widely, and formed the nucleus of a popular Christian mythology which has left its traces in literature and art. The legends as to the childhood of the Virgin, her betrothal to Joseph when his rod alone budded, and those of all her other suitors remained as they had been before; as to her physical virginity, that remained unaltered after the birth of the Divine Child; the fantastic notions that the gold which the Magi brought was the same as that which the Queen of Sheba had brought to Solomon; that the wood of the Cross had been grown in Paradise as the tree of life; that Calvary was named from the skull of Adam, and that it received the first drops of the blood by which the children of Adam

were redeemed; the release of the souls of the Patriarchs from the limbo (*limbus*, the "outer fringe") of Hades into Paradise—all these had their origin in the Apocryphal Gospels; and their appearance in the art of the Renaissance period, as, *e.g.*, in the paintings of Raffaele and others, is a proof of the hold they had taken upon the imagination—one can hardly say, the mind—of Christendom. But from first to last, happily, they were not received by a single teacher with the slightest claim to authority, nor included in any list of books that ought to be read by Christians publicly or privately. Here and there, as we have seen, books that we now receive were for a time questioned. Here and there other books might

be quoted as Scripture, or bound up with the sacred volume, as the Epistle of Clement is with the Alexandrian MS., or the "Shepherd" of Hermas with the Sinaitic; but none of these spurious Gospels, Acts, or Epistles were ever raised for a moment to the level of the Canonical Scriptures. They remained in the worst sense of the word as *Apocrypha*. The Canon of the New Testament has never varied since the third Council of Carthage. If we have to receive the statement that there was "never any doubt in the Church" about any one of them, with some slight modification, it is yet true that that doubt was never embodied in the decrees of any Synod, and extended no further than the hesitation of individual critics.

II.—THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. **Introductory.**—We might have expected, had we been framing the history of a Revealed Religion according to our wishes or *à priori* assumptions, that, so far as it depended on written records, those records would be preserved through successive ages as an authentic standard of appeal. Facts are, however, against all such theories of what ought to have been. Not a single autograph original of any book is known to exist now, nor does any writer of the second or third century say that he had seen such an original. Failing this, we might have fallen back on the notion that each transcriber of the books would be guarded by a supernatural guidance against the usual chances of transcription; that each translator would be taught how to

convey the meaning of the original without error in the language of his version. Here also we have to accept facts as we find them. There has been no such perpetual miracle as this theory would require, extending, as it does extend when pushed to its logical conclusions, to the infallibility of every compositor in a printer's office who had to set the type of a Bible in any language. Manuscripts vary, versions differ, printed Bibles are not always free from error. Here also we trace the law in things spiritual which we recognise in things natural.

"Pater ipse colendi

Haud facilem esse viam voluit."

["The Father from whose gift all good things flow,
No easy path hath oped His truth to know."

Here also the absence of any immunity from error has tried men's faith and roused them to labour, and labour has received its reward. Accepting probability as the only attainable result, the probability which they have actually attained is scarcely distinguishable from certainty. Experience shows that, had they begun with postulating infallibility somewhere, and accepting its supposed results, inquiry would have ceased, criticism would have slumbered, and errors would have crept in and multiplied without restraint.

II. The Process of Transcription.—Dealing, then, with facts, we have to realise to ourselves in what way copies of the books of the New Testament were multiplied. It is obvious that prior to the invention of printing, two methods of such multiplication were possible. A man might place a MS. before him, and copy it with his own hand, or he might dictate it to one or more writers. The former was probably the natural process when Christians were few and poor, when it was a labour of love to transcribe a Gospel or an Epistle for a friend or a church. The latter became natural, in its turn, when the books were in sufficient demand to be sold by booksellers, or when Christian societies were sufficiently organised, as, *e.g.*, in monasteries, to adopt the methods of the trade. Each process had its own special forms of liability to error. Any one who has corrected a proof-sheet will be able to take a measure of what they are in the former. Anyone who has had experience of the results of a dictation lesson can judge what they are in the latter. We may assume that in

most cases, where the work was done systematically, there would be a process for correcting the errors of transcription, analogous to that of correcting the errors of the press now. MSS. of the New Testament, as a matter of fact, often bear traces of such correction by one or more hands.

III. The Sources of Variation.—Experience shows that in such a process as that described, various readings, more or less of the nature of errors, may arise in many different ways. In some cases they may be entirely involuntary. The eye may mistake what it reads, or pass over a word, or, misled by two lines that end with the same word or syllable, omit even a whole line (as in the omission in many MSS. of "He that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also," in 1 John ii. 23); or, where contractions are employed freely, as they were by most Greek writers, might omit or insert the mark that indicated contraction. Thus in the famous passage of 1 Tim. iii. 16 the two renderings, "*God* was manifested in the flesh" and "*Who* was manifested," represent respectively the readings ΘΣ (Θεός, *God*) and ΟΣ (ὅς, *Who*). Or the ear might mistake the sound of vowels, and so we find *Christos* for *Chrestos* (= "gracious") in 1 Pet. ii. 3, or *Hetairoi* (= "companions") for *Heteroi* (= "others") in Matt. xi. 16, or *Kamilon* (= "a rope") for *Kamelon* (= "a camel") in Luke xviii. 25. In not a few cases, however, the element of will came in, and the variation was made deliberately as an improvement on what the transcriber had before him. Taste, grammatical accuracy, the desire to confirm a

doctrine, or to point a moral, or to soften down a hard saying, or avoid a misconception, or bring about a closer agreement between one book and another in passages where they were more or less parallel—all these might come into play, according to the temperament and character of the transcribers. Thus, *e.g.*, one set of MSS. gives in Luke xv. 16, "*would fain have filled his belly;*" and another, aiming apparently at greater refinement, "*would have been satisfied*" or "*filled.*" Some, as has been said, give "*God was manifested in the flesh,*" in 1 Tim. iii. 16, and some "*Who was manifested.*" So, we find "the only begotten *Son*" and "the only begotten *God*" in John i. 18. Some in Acts xx. 28 give "the Church of *God*, which He hath purchased with His own blood," and some "the Church of *Christ*," or "the Church of *the Lord*." 1 John v. 7, which speaks of the "three that bear record in heaven," and which is not found in any Greek MSS. earlier than the thirteenth century, is manifestly an interpolation of this nature. So some give and some omit the italicised words in the following passages:—

"Whosoever is angry with his brother *without a cause,*"
Matt. v. 22.

"Thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee *openly,*" Matt. vi. 4, 6.

"When men speak all manner of evil against you *falsely,*"
Matt. v. 11.

"This kind goeth not out but by prayer *and fasting,*" Mark ix. 29.

"That ye may give yourselves to *fasting and prayer,*" 1 Cor. vii. 5.

Or the alteration might be made

to avoid a difficulty, as when we find "I go *not yet* up to this feast" for "I go *not* up" in John vii. 8, or "*Joseph and His mother*" for "*His father and His mother*" in Luke ii. 33; or to make one Gospel correspond with another, as when we find "*Why callest thou Me good?*" for "*Why askest thou concerning that which is good?*" in Matt. xix. 17; or to bring the Gospel into closer accord with liturgical usage, as when the doxology was inserted in the Lord's Prayer, in Matt. vi. 13, or the full confession of faith, *I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God*, put into the mouth of the Ethiopian eunuch, in Acts viii. 37; or to insert introductory words, "the Lord said," "Jesus said unto His disciples," as in some of the Gospels in our Prayer Book; or mere grammatical accuracy might lead the transcriber to reject forms and modes of spelling which the grammarians pronounced inaccurate. The last class, however, affecting form only, does not come under the notice of the student of a translation, nor need it be much dwelt on even by those who study the original.

IV. Canons of Criticism.—

Men who gave themselves to the work of classifying phenomena such as these, soon found that they had a sufficient basis for the results of an induction. It was easy to note the causes of error, and to frame canons, or rules, by which, in addition to the weight of evidence drawn from the number or antiquity of MSS. and the like, to judge of the authority of this or that reading. Thus, *e.g.*, it has been laid down (1) that, *cæteris paribus*, the shorter of two various

readings is more likely to be the true one; (2) that the same holds good of the more difficult of two readings; or (3) of one that agrees less closely with another parallel passage. In each case there was a probable motive for the alteration which made the text easier or more complete, while no such motive was likely to work in the opposite direction. Other rules, not resting, as these do, on antecedent probability, but on the nature of the materials with which criticism has to deal, will follow on a survey of those materials.

V. Manuscripts.—The extant MSS. of the New Testament are classed roughly in two great divisions, determined by their style of writing. Down to the ninth or tenth century the common usage was to write in capital letters, which, as having been originally of a bold and large type, like those which we use for the title-page of a folio Bible, were spoken of as *literæ unciales* ("letters an inch big"). The word is thus applied by St. Jerome, and from this use of it the whole class of MSS. so written are known as *Uncials*. Somewhat later a smaller running-hand came to be employed, and the later MSS. are accordingly known as *Cursive*. They begin to appear in the tenth century, and extend to the sixteenth. The invention of printing did away with the demand for copies multiplied by transcription, and, with the exception of one or two conspicuous instances of spurious MSS. of parts of the New Testament palmed off upon the unwary as genuine antiquities, none are extant of a later date. Experts in such matters acquire the power of judging, by the style of writing,

or by the material employed, of the date of a MS. belonging to either class, and in their judgment there are no extant MSS. of any part of the New Testament earlier than the fourth century. Most critics, however, are agreed in assigning a date as early as A.D. 350 to the two known respectively as the Sinaitic, as having been discovered by Tischendorf in the monastery of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, and the Vatican, so named as being the great treasure of the library of the Papal palace. Two others, the Alexandrian—sent by Cyril Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Charles I., as a precious *Codex*, or MS., that had been brought from Alexandria—and the Codex Ephraem—so called from its having been found underneath the text of the works of Ephraem, a Syrian Father of the fourth century—are ascribed to the middle of the fifth century.* The Cambridge MS., or Codex Bezae, so called because it was given by Theodore Beza, the French Reformer, to the University of Cambridge in 1562, belongs probably to the latter part of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century. Others—some complete, and some existing only in fragments, either as originals or as palimpsests—came later, in the seventh or eighth, or even as low as the eleventh century.

As a matter of convenience, to avoid the constant repetition of the

* This way of using up old MSS. by partially effacing with pumice-stone what had first been written, and then writing what was thought of more importance, was a common practice in monasteries. The works of many ancient authors have probably fallen a sacrifice to this economy. MSS. so used are known as *palimpsests*, literally, "rescaped."

names of these and other MSS., a notation has been adopted by which letters of the alphabet stand for them, as follows:—

κ (Aleph) for the Sinaitic. This contains the whole of the Greek version of the Old Testament as well as the New, and the *Shepherd* of Hermas, an allegorical book more or less of the *Pilgrim's Progress* type, ascribed to the second century. It represents the early text that was received at Alexandria.

A. The Alexandrian, containing the Old and New Testaments, a Greek Evening Hymn, a Psalm ascribed to David after the slaughter of Goliath, some Psalms ascribed to Solomon, and the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. It is mutilated in parts of St. Matthew and St. John. It represents the text received at Constantinople.

B. The Vatican, containing the Old and New Testaments. This agrees generally with κ, as representing the Alexandrian text of the fourth century.

C. The Codex Ephraem; contains portions of most of the Old and New Testaments, 2 Thess. and 2 John having disappeared in the process of cutting up and re-making. It agrees generally with κ and B, but has been corrected at Constantinople, and so gives later readings in the margin.

D. The Codex Bezae; contains the Gospels and Acts only, with a Latin version. The

presence of the latter shows a Western origin, and the Greek seems to have been copied by an ill-instructed scribe. The Greek text is peculiar, and has more interpolations than any other MS. The Latin represents the version that preceded the Vulgate.

L. The Paris Codex, containing the Gospels only, and with several gaps. It agrees generally with κ and B.

The MSS. that come between D and L, and others, are not of sufficient importance to claim mention here. It is obvious, as every transcription involves the risk of fresh errors, that the later MSS. must be *primâ facie* of less authority than the more ancient, and hence it is not thought necessary to give in this place any detailed account of the cursive MSS. It is, of course possible, as some have urged, that they may represent a text more ancient than that of any uncial; but it is clearly against common sense and the laws of evidence to accept a bare possibility on one side against a strong probability on the other, and all that can be allowed in their favour is that where the uncials differ they may come in and help, so far as they can be shown to give an independent testimony, to turn the scale in favour of this or that reading. MSS. that are manifestly copied from the same original, or come from the same school of transcribers, are obviously not independent, and their value is proportionately diminished.

The following Table of New Testament MSS., from Dr. Scrivener's *Introduction*, p. 225, will show the range of materials with

which criticism has to deal, and the relative proportions of the two classes:—

	Un- cial.	Cur- sive.
Gospels	34	601
Acts and Catholic Epistles	10	229
St. Paul's Epistles ..	14	283
Revelation	4	102
Evangelistaria (Service)	} 58	183
Books containing Gos- pels for the year) ..		
Apostles (do. containing)	} 7	65
Epistles for do.) ..		
	<hr/> 127	<hr/> 1,463

Many of these, however, are imperfect, some containing only a few chapters or even verses.

VI. Versions.—Over and above MSS. of the actual text of the Greek Testament, we have an important subsidiary help in the translations which were made, as soon as the Canon was more or less complete, into this or that language. If we know when a translation was made, we can infer, in most cases with very little room for doubt, what Greek text it was made from; and so can, in some cases, arrive at that which represents an earlier text than any existing MS. Of these versions the most important are—

(1) The Syriac, commonly known as the "Peshito," *i.e.*, the "simple" or "accurate" version, made in the second century. Later Syriac versions were made in the fifth and sixth centuries.

(2) The early Latin version, before Jerome, commonly known as the Italian version. Most of the MSS. belong to the fourth, fifth, or sixth centuries.

(3) Jerome's Latin version, known as the Vulgate (*i.e.*, made in the common or vulgar tongue), represents, of course, the Greek text

received in the churches of Palestine, perhaps also in that of Rome, in the fourth century. The most ancient MSS. of this version are of the sixth century.

(4) The Gothic, made by Ulphilas, the Apostle of the Goths, when they settled on the Danube in the fourth century.

(5) The Æthiopic, in the fourth century.

(6) The Armenian, in the fifth century.

VII. Quotations in the Fathers.—One other element of evidence, often of considerable importance, comes to the help of the textual critic. The early writers of the Christian Church, of whom we speak commonly as the Fathers, read Scripture, studied it sometimes very carefully, and almost in the modern spirit of critical accuracy, lived in it, and quoted it perpetually in their writings. In some cases, of course, they might quote from memory, subject to the risks incident to such quotations; but as soon as they felt that they were writing for educated men, in the presence of adversaries who would easily fasten upon a blunder or misquotation, they would naturally strive after accuracy, and verify their quotations as they proceeded. The Greek Fathers occupy obviously the first place as giving the words of the text of the Greek Testament, and of these the most important are—Clement of Rome (*circ.* A.D. 91—101), Justin Martyr (A.D. 140—164), Clement of Alexandria (*ob.* A.D. 220), Origen (*ob.* A.D. 254), Irenæus, where we have the Greek text of his works (*ob.* A.D. 200), Athanasius (*ob.* A.D. 373), Eusebius (*ob.* A.D. 338), Chrysostom (*ob.* A.D. 407). The earlier writers

are obviously of more authority than the later. That of Origen, on account of his indefatigable labours, and the critical character of his mind, stands as the highest authority of all. Alone, or almost alone, among the early Fathers, he notes, again and again, the various readings which he found even then existing—as, for example, “Gadarenes” and “Gerasenes” in Matt. viii. 28; “Bethabara” and “Bethany” in John i. 28; “Barabbas” alone, and “Jesus Barabbas,” in Matt. xxvii. 17. Of the Latin Fathers, Tertullian (*ob.* A.D. 240), Cyprian (*ob.* A.D. 257), Ambrose (*ob.* A.D. 397), Augustine (*ob.* A.D. 430), Jerome (*ob.* A.D. 420), are the most important, as giving in their quotations the text of the earlier Latin versions, and so enabling us to judge upon what Greek text they have been based.

VIII. Results.—As a rule it is found that the lines of evidence from these classes of materials tend to converge. The oldest MSS., the oldest versions, the quotations from the earlier Fathers present, though not a universal, yet a general agreement. Where differences arise the judgment of one editor may differ from that of another; but as correcting the text upon which the Authorised Version was based, there is now something like a consensus of editors on most important passages. It has not been thought desirable in the Commentary to which this Introduction belongs to bring the evidence in detail before the reader in each individual case; but, as a rule, the readings which are named as “better” than those of our printed Bibles, are such as are supported by convergent

evidence as above described, and adopted by one or more of the most eminent scholars in New Testament criticism.

IX. Printed Text of the Greek Testament.

—It may seem strange at first that the Hebrew text of the Old Testament should have been printed for European use, at Soncino, in 1488, thirty-three years before the Greek text of the New. In the one case, however, we must remember that there was a large Jewish population in almost every great city in Germany, Italy, and France, wanting copies for their synagogues and for private use. In the other, the Latin of the Vulgate satisfied ecclesiastics, and as yet there was not a sufficient number of Greek students even in the Universities of Europe to create a demand for books in that language. During the last quarter of the fifteenth century, however, the knowledge of Greek spread rapidly. When Constantinople was taken by the Turks, refugees fled to Italy and other parts of Western Europe, bringing with them Greek MSS. and offering themselves as instructors. In 1481 a Greek Psalter was printed at Milan, and in a reprint at Venice in 1486 the hymns of Zacharias and the Virgin were added as an appendix, being thus the first portions of the New Testament to which the new art was applied. In 1504 the first six chapters of St. John were appended tentatively to an edition of the poems of Gregory of Nazianzus, published at Venice. About the same time (1502), under Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, the great Cardinal Ximenes, who had founded a University at Alcala, began a

grand work on a princely scale. It was by far the noblest task to which the art of printing had as yet been applied. It was to give the Hebrew of the Old Testament, with the Chaldee Targum or Paraphrase, and the LXX. or Greek version, and the Vulgate. Hebrew and Greek lexicons were appended, and something like a dictionary of proper names. MSS. were borrowed from several quarters, chiefly from the Vatican Library at Rome. The work went on slowly; and was not completed till 1517, four months before the Cardinal's death; nor published till 1522, after it had received the approval of Leo X. in 1520. The edition is commonly known as the Complutensian from *Complutum*, the Latin name of Alcalá. Meantime Erasmus, the head of the Humanists, or Greek scholars of Germany, had been employed in 1515 by Froben, the head of an enterprising publishing house at Basle, to bring out a Greek Testament, which was to get the start of the Complutensian. The work was done hurriedly, in less than a year, and the book appeared in February, 1516. But little care had been taken in collecting MSS., and in some cases we find somewhat bold conjectural interpolations. The omission of 1 John v. 7 was, however, a sign that a spirit of honest criticism was at work. Erasmus had not found it in any Greek MS., and therefore he would not insert it. A second edition appeared in 1519, and in 1522 a third, in which, through fear of giving offence, he had restored the disputed text on the strength of a single MS. of the thirteenth century, now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and known as the *Codex Montfor-*

tianus. Later editions followed in 1527 and 1535.

Paris, however, soon took the lead in meeting the demand, now rapidly increasing, partly through the labours of Erasmus, and partly through the theological excitement of the time, for copies of the Greek Testament. After an edition by Simon de Colines (*Colinaeus*), in 1543, of no great importance, the foremost place was taken by Robert Étienne (or *Stephanus*), and maintained afterwards by his son Henry. His first edition, based upon collations of MSS. in the Royal Library at Paris with the Complutensian text, appeared in 1546; another in 1549. A third, in 1550, was on a larger scale, and gave for the first time—thus marking an epoch in the progress of textual criticism—a systematic collection of various readings to the number of 2,194. A fourth edition, published in 1557 at Geneva, and therefore intended primarily, we may believe, for the use of the pastors and students of the Reformed Church there, is remarkable as giving for the first time the present division into verses. The work of Henri Étienne went on, guided in 1556 by Beza, and the text, as revised by him (not very critically), was printed in successive editions in 1565, 1576, 1582, and 1598. The name of the great Reformer stamped the work with a sanction which most Protestant students recognised. The editions were widely circulated in England, where as yet no Greek Testament had issued from the press; and this and the earlier text of Étienne were probably in the hands of the translators of the Authorised Version.

The house of Elzevir, at Leyden, famous for the beauty of type and

the "diamond" editions which we now associate with the name, took up the work at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and a Greek Testament, almost perfect in typography, was issued in 1624, and another in 1633. Both were based, as far as the text was concerned, upon the later editions of Étienne and Beza, and in the preface to the latter the editor assured the reader that he could now rely on having an undisputed text (*textum ab omnibus receptum*). The boast was not without foundation, and it tended, for a time at least, to secure its own fulfilment. Most English editions in the seventeenth century reproduced it with hardly any variation, and the *Textus receptus*, though no critic now receives it as a whole, still keeps its ground as a standard of comparison. We measure the value of MSS., for the most part, by the extent to which they differ from or agree with it.

The spirit that craves for accuracy as an element of truth was, however, still active in England, as elsewhere. The arrival of the Alexandrian MS. (see above) attracted the notice of scholars. They began to feel the importance of versions as bearing on the text, and in Bishop Walton's famous Polyglot Bible, the Syriac, Arabic, Persian, and Æthiopic versions were printed side by side with the text of Étienne, and various readings were given, though not very fully, from the Alexandrian, the Cambridge, and fourteen other MSS. The work of collecting and comparing these and other materials was carried on for thirty years with unremitting industry by Dr. John Mill, Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and in 1706 the labours of his life were crowned, just before his death, by the publication of an

edition of the Greek Testament, in two folio volumes, which, while practically retaining the text of Étienne—*i.e.*, the *Textus receptus*—contained a far larger mass of materials, and a more thorough examination of their relative value than had ever been before attempted. The Prolegomena extended over 180 pages; the various readings were reckoned at 30,000. The shallow scepticism of the Free-thinkers of the time assumed that all grounds for certainty as to the contents of the New Testament writings had vanished. Timid and prejudiced theologians took up the cry that textual criticism was dangerous. It found, however, a sufficiently able apologist in Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. He urged with great power and success, in a pamphlet published under the pseudonym of *Phileleuthus Lipsiensis*, in 1714, that truth had no need to fear truth; that if the existence of the various readings is compatible with the Christian faith, the knowledge of their existence cannot be fatal to it; that it was with the New Testament, as with other ancient books, a help and not a hindrance, to have to edit from many MSS., and not from one only, which might chance to be defective; that every fresh discovery of variations was, therefore, a step to certainty; and that the result had been to fix the range of possible uncertainty within such narrow limits that no single fact or doctrine of the religion of Christ was imperilled by it. Bentley himself aspired to take a high place among the workers whom he thus defended, and in 1716 sketched out a plan for printing a revised Greek text, on principles which presented a singular approximation to those

that have since been acted on by Lachmann and Tregelles. He believed that it was possible to ascertain from the uncial MSS., the early versions, and the early Fathers, what text was received in the fifth century, and was prepared to receive all later variations. Acting on those principles, he proposed to use the materials which Mill's indefatigable labours had collected.

Bentley was, however, involved in personal troubles and disputes which hindered the accomplishment of his purpose, and for a long series of years the work was left to be carried on by the scholars of Germany, while English students were content to accept, with scarcely any inquiry, the text which was known as Mill's, but which practically hardly differed at all from the *Textus receptus*. Among the former the most conspicuous was Bengel (1734), whose essentially devout Commentary bore witness that criticism did not necessarily lead to scepticism, that he was a verbal critic mainly because he believed in verbal inspiration. He was followed by Griesbach (1774—1806), Scholz (1830—1836), and by Lachmann (1831), who avowedly looked on himself as Bentley's disciple, working on his lines, and completing the work which he had left unfinished. The list culminates in Tischendorf, the labours of whose life in collating and publishing, often in facsimile, MSS. of the

highest value (amongst others, the Codex Ephraem) were crowned by the discovery, in 1859, of the Sinaitic MS. Two countrymen of our own—Dr. S. P. Tregelles (*d.* 1876), and the Rev Dr. Scrivener—may claim a high place in the list of those who, with unshaken faith, have consecrated their lives to the work of bringing the printed text of the Greek Testament to the greatest possible accuracy. Alford and Wordsworth, in their editions of the Greek Testament, though not professing to do more than use the materials collected by others, have yet done much to bring within the reach of all students the results of textual criticism. In Dr. Tregelles's *Introduction to the New Testament*, Dr. Scrivener's *Introduction to New Testament Criticism*, and Mr. Hammond's *Outlines of New Testament Criticism*, in the *Clarendon Press Series*, the student who wishes to go more fully into the subject will find ample information. Of these Lachmann and Tregelles are, perhaps, the boldest in setting aside the *Textus receptus* in deference to the authority of the uncial MSS. and the early Fathers; Scrivener and Wordsworth, and more recently Mr. Maclellan, in maintaining the probability that the cursive MSS., upon which the *Textus receptus* was mainly based, though themselves of late date, may represent an ancient text of higher authority than that of the oldest existing uncials.

III.—THE ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. The Earlier Versions.—Wherever men have believed in earnest that they had the ground-

work of their faith in God mainly or wholly in a written record, it is natural that they should desire, if

their religion has any life and energy, to have that book in the speech to which they were born, and in which they think. The religious life of our early English or Anglo-Saxon forefathers, after their conversion by Augustine, was a deep and earnest life; and as soon as schools and monasteries gave men the power to study the Scriptures in the Latin of the Vulgate translation, portions of them were translated into Anglo-Saxon. There were versions of the Psalms in the eighth century. Bede, as in the well-known narrative of his scholar Cuthbert, died (A.D. 735) in the act of finishing the last chapter of St. John's Gospel. Alfred prefixed a translation of the Ten Commandments, and some other portions of Exodus, to his Code of Laws (A.D. 931). The Homilies of Ælfric (*ob.* A.D. 1005) must have made many passages of Scripture familiar to lay as well as clerical readers. In the tenth century the four Gospels were translated; a little later the Pentateuch and other portions of the Old Testament. Most of these were made of necessity from the Vulgate, without reference to the originals. Hebrew was utterly unknown, and the knowledge of Greek which Theodore of Tarsus (*ob.* A.D. 690) brought with him to the See of Canterbury did not spread. Here and there only, as in the case of Bede, who spent his life in the Monastery of Jarrow, founded by Benedict Biscop, do we find any traces of it, and even in him it hardly goes beyond the explanation here and there of a few isolated terms. There are no signs that he had studied a single chapter of a Gospel in the Greek. It was natural when the Norman rule, introducing a higher culture through

the medium of two languages, one of which was dead and the other foreign, repressed the spontaneous development of that which it had found in existence, that these versions should drop into disuse, and be forgotten. At the best they were but tentative steps to a goal which was never reached.

II. Wycliffe.—The stirrings of spiritual and intellectual life in the thirteenth century, mainly under the influence of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders in the Universities of Europe, led, in the first instance, to the development of a logical and metaphysical system of theology, of which the works of the great schoolmen Peter Lombard (*ob.* A.D. 1164) and Thomas Aquinas (*ob.* A.D. 1274) furnish the most complete examples. This was, for the most part, subservient to the great scheme of a spiritual universal monarchy on the part of the Bishop of Rome, which found its most prominent representatives in Innocent III. (*ob.* A.D. 1216) and Boniface VIII. (*ob.* A.D. 1303). The teaching of Scripture was still formally the basis of that of the schoolmen, but it was Scripture as found in the Vulgate and commented on by the Fathers; and, practically, the comments and glosses of the doctors took the place of the text. Against this, whenever men found themselves on any ground, political or theological, opposed to Rome, there was, in due course, a natural reaction. Roger Bacon (*ob.* A.D. 1292), who certainly knew some Greek and a little Hebrew, is loud in his complaints of the corrupt state of the current text of the Vulgate, and of its defects as a translation. Devotional minds turned then, as always, to the

Psalms, as giving utterance at once to the passionate complaints and the fervent hopes of men in dark and troublous times; and three English versions of them belong to the first half of the fourteenth century. It was significant, as an indication of what was ripening for the future, that the first book of the New Testament to be translated into English should have been the Revelation of St. John. The evils of the time were great. Men's minds were agitated by wild Communistic dreams of a new social order, and by the false revelation of a so-called Everlasting Gospel, ascribed to the Abbot Joachim of Calabria (*ob.* A.D. 1201). It seemed to John Wycliffe, in A.D. 1356, that men would find the guidance which they needed in the Apocalypse, and with this accordingly he began. He soon formed, however, the wider plan of making the whole Bible accessible to his countrymen. It seemed to him, as John of Gaunt put it in a speech before the King's Council, a shameful thing that other nations, French, Gascons, and the Bohemians, who, in the person of the wife of Richard II. had supplied England with a queen, should have the Scriptures in their own tongue, and that Englishmen should not. The next step accordingly was a translation of the Gospels, with a commentary; and by 1380 there was a complete English New Testament. A version of the Old Testament was begun by Nicholas de Hereford, and carried on to the middle of the Book of Baruch, which then stood after Jeremiah, when, as is seen in the original MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, his work was interrupted, probably by an ecclesiastical prosecution, which first summoned him to London and then

drove him into exile. Wycliffe, or some fellow-worker, finished it before his death, in 1384. A few years afterwards it was carefully revised throughout by another disciple, John Purvey, whose text is that commonly printed (as in Forshall and Madden's edition) as Wycliffe's version.

There is much that is touching in the history of the work thus accomplished, as Purvey describes it in his preface. It was hard to get at the true text of the Vulgate; harder often to understand it. He felt that it was a task that required the consecration of all powers, "to live a clean life, and be full devout in prayer;" but he laboured on in the belief that his toil would not be fruitless. "By this manner, with good living and great travail, men may come to clear and true translating, and true understanding of Holy Writ, seem it never so hard at the beginning." A work so begun and completed could hardly fail of success. It met a great want, and in spite of all the difficulty and cost of multiplying books by hand, and the active measures taken by Archbishop Arundel, under Henry V. (*ob.* A.D. 1413), not fewer than 170 copies of the whole, or part, of one or other of the versions, most of them of the Revised text, are still extant. The greater part appear to have been made between 1420 and 1450; nearly half of them being of a portable size, as if men desired to have them in daily use. The book was clearly in great demand, and though the "Lollardie," with which it was identified, was repressed by the strong arm of persecution, it doubtless helped to keep alive the spirit of religious freedom.

Wycliffe's version did not profess

to have been made from the original, and it had, therefore, against it all the chances of error that belong to the translation of a translation. Thus, to confine ourselves to a few instances from the New Testament, the "Pontifex," which stands for High Priest in Heb. ix. 11, 25, and elsewhere, is rendered by "Bishop;" the "knowledge of salvation," in Luke i. 77, appears, as from the *scientia salutis* of the Vulgate, transformed into the "science of health"; for "repent," in Matt. iii. 2, we have "do ye penance"; for "mystery," in Eph. v. 32, "sacrament." The "villages" of the Gospels are turned into "castles" (Luke x. 38); the "soldiers" into "knights"; "pearls" into "margarites"; "unlearned men" into "idiots."

III. Tyndale.—The work of giving an English Bible to the English people had to be done over again, in one sense, under happier conditions. Under the influence of the great Renaissance movement Greece "had risen from the grave," to modify a well-known saying, "with Plato in one hand for the scholars of Italy, but with the New Testament in the other for those of Germany and England." The printing-presses of all countries were at work to multiply and transmit the labours of all scholars from one country to another. The results, as far as the printed text of the Greek Testament is concerned, have already been described above. An impulse had been given to the study of Greek at Oxford by Grocyn (*ob.* A.D. 1519) and Linacre (*ob.* A.D. 1524), who went to Italy to learn what was almost as a newly-discovered language, and was carried forward by Colet, the founder of St. Paul's School (*ob.* A.D. 1419), and

Sir Thomas More (*ob.* A.D. 1525), who, as a layman, gave lectures in one of the city churches on the Epistle to the Romans. Lexicons and grammars began to issue from the press. Erasmus, the great scholar of the age, studied Greek at Oxford, and taught it at Cambridge from 1509 to 1524. It was in vain that the adherents of the old scholastic methods urged that the study of Greek would probably make men Pagan, and that those who read Hebrew were in danger of becoming Jews; in vain that the editors of the Complutensian Bible compared the position of the Vulgate version of the Old Testament with the Hebrew text on one side, and the LXX. version on the other, to that of Christ crucified between the two thieves. Culture asserted the claim of classical studies to be the *literæ humaniores* of education, and men were not slow to discover that without a true and thorough "humanity," in that sense of the word, there could be no true theology.

Foremost in the great work which, carried on step by step through nearly a century, ended in 1611 in what is known as the Authorised Version,* stands the

* The name seems to have been attached to it from the fact that it was undertaken at James I.'s command, and dedicated to him, and that the title-page spoke of it as "appointed to be read in churches." Historians have, however, sought in vain for any Act of Parliament, Vote of Convocation, Order in Council, or other official document so appointing it. Practically, it has tacitly received its sanction from being exclusively printed by the King's printers and the University presses; but simply as a matter of strict law, the Act of Parliament which authorised the Great Bible remains unrepealed, and that is, therefore, still the only version authorised by law.

name of William Tyndale. Born in 1484, studying at Oxford under Grocyn and Linacre, carrying on his Greek studies under Erasmus at Cambridge in 1510, attracted by the new theology of Luther, as he had been before by the new learning of his great rival, he formed the purpose of turning laymen into theologians. Himself a "priest," and more devout and thoughtful than his fellows, he was among the first—perhaps in England quite the first—to realise the truth, that the work of the ministers of the Church was to be not priests, in the scholastic and mediæval sense, but preachers of the Word. At the age of thirty-six he declared his purpose, "if God spared his life, to make a boy that driveth a plough to know more of Scripture than the Pope;" and from that purpose, through all the changes and chances of his life, he never swerved, even for a single hour.

The main features of that life can be stated here but very briefly. Bent upon his work, and knowing that Tunstal, Bishop of London, stood high in repute among the scholars and humanists of the time, he came up to London, in 1522, in the hope of enlisting his support, and presented himself with a translation of one of the Orations of Isocrates as a proof of his competency. He was met with delays and rebuffs, and found that he was not likely to gain help from him or any other prelate. He was forced to the conclusion that, "not only was there no room in my Lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also there was no place to do it in all England."

He accordingly went abroad, first to Hamburg, and began with

versions of St. Matthew and St. Mark with marginal notes; thence to Cologne, where his work was interrupted by one of Luther's bitterest opponents, Cochlaeus; thence, with his printed sheets, to Worms, four years after Luther's famous entry into that city. From its presses came two editions—one in octavo, the other in quarto—in 1525. They appeared without his name. Six thousand copies were struck off. They soon found their way to England. Their arrival had been preceded by rumours which roused an eager desire in some, fear and a hot enmity in others. The King and the Bishops ordered it to be seized, or bought up, and burnt. Tunstal preached against it at St. Paul's Cross, declaring that he had found 2,000 errors in it. Sir T. More wrote against it as being both heretical and unscholarly. The Reforming spirit was, however, gaining ground. Tyndale defended himself successfully against More's criticisms. The books were eagerly read by students and tutors at Oxford and Cambridge. They were given by friend to friend as precious treasures. The very process of buying up created a demand which was met by a fresh supply. The work of destruction was, however, thorough. Of six editions, three genuine, three surreptitious, there were probably 15,000 copies printed. Of these, in strange contrast to the 170 MS. copies of Wycliffe's version, some four or five only, the greater part incomplete and mutilated, have come down to our own time.

Meanwhile Tyndale went on with his work. The prominence of the Jewish element at Worms, the synagogue of which is said to

be one of the oldest in Western Europe, may have helped him to a more accurate knowledge of Hebrew. Jewish editions of the Old Testament had been published by Bomberg in 1518 and 1523. A new Latin translation from the Hebrew text was published by Pagninus in 1527. Luther's Pentateuch had appeared in 1523; the Historical Books and Hagiographa in 1524. A like work was carried on simultaneously by Zwingli and other scholars at Zurich. Tyndale was not slow to follow, and the Pentateuch appeared in 1530; Jonah in 1534. The latter year witnessed the publication of a revised edition of his New Testament, of three unauthorised editions at Antwerp, with many alterations of which Tyndale did not approve, by George Joye, an over-zealous and not very scrupulous disciple. In Tyndale's own edition short marginal notes were added, the beginnings and endings of the lessons read in Church were marked, and prologues prefixed to the several books. The state of things in England had been altered by the King's divorce and marriage with Anne Boleyn, and in return for her good offices on behalf of an Antwerp merchant who had suffered in his cause Tyndale presented her with a copy (now in the British Museum) printed upon vellum and illuminated. The inscription *Anna Regina Angliæ*, in faded red letters, may still be traced on the gilded edges. So far Tyndale lived to see of the travail of his soul; but his work was nearly over. The enemies of the Reformation in Flanders hunted him down under the persecuting edicts of Charles V., and in October, 1536, he suffered at the stake at

Vilvorde, near Brussels, breathing the prayer of longing hope, as seeing far off the Pisgah vision of a good land on which he was not himself to enter, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes." So passed to his rest the truest and noblest worker in the English Reformation.

The labours of Tyndale as a translator of the New Testament were important, not only because he prepared the way as a pioneer for those who were to follow him, but because, to a great extent, he left a mark upon the work which endures to this day. The feeling that his task was to make a Bible for the English people kept him from the use of pedantic "ink-horn" terms belonging to the vocabulary of scholars, and varying with their fashions, and gave him an almost instinctive tact in choosing the phrases and turn of speech which happily have not yet disappeared, and, we may add, are not likely to disappear, in any process of revision. And this, we must remember required at the time a courage which we cannot easily estimate. The dominant feeling of the ecclesiastics was against translating the Bible at all. Those who did not openly oppose it, such as Gardiner and those who acted with him, surrounded their consent with reservations of all kinds. The dignity of Scripture was to be secured by keeping its language as distinct as possible from that of the common people. Time-honoured and ecclesiastical words, on which the Church had, as it were, stamped its seal, were to be used as largely as possible. Tyndale's leading idea was precisely the opposite of this. He felt that the scholastic theology of the time had so surrounded the

language of Christ and His Apostles with new associations, that their meaning, or what had been called their connotation, was practically altered for the worse; and it seemed to him that the time was come for laying the axe to the root of the tree by the exclusion of the terms which had thus been spoilt for common use. And at first the work was done with a thoroughness in which subsequent revisers have not had the courage to follow him. "Congregation" uniformly instead of "church," "favour" often instead of "grace," "mystery" instead of "sacrament," "overseer" instead of "bishop," "repentance" instead of "penance," "elder" instead of "priest," "love" instead of "charity," "acknowledge" instead of "confess." It was just this feature in Tyndale's work that roused the keenest indignation on the part of the Bishops of the English Church, and even of scholars like Sir Thomas More; and made Ridley (the uncle of the martyr) say of it, not untruly as appearance went, that his translation was "accursed and damned (condemned) by the consent of the prelates and learned men." If we wish to picture to ourselves what might have been the result had Tyndale acted as the "prelates and learned men" would have had him act, we may see it in the Rhemish New Testament. If we ask what shape his translation might have taken had he been only a scholar and a critic, we may find the answer in the fragments of a translation left by Sir John Cheke, the great scholar, who first—

“ . . . taught Cambridge and King Edward Greek.”

The first process would have given

us “azymes” for “unleavened bread”; “evacuated from Christ” (Gal. v. 4); “the justifications of our Lord” (Luke i. 6); “longanimity” (Rom. ii. 4); “sicer” for “strong drink” (Luke i. 15); “replenished with fear” (Luke v. 26); “the specious gate of the Temple” (Acts. iii. 2); “a greater host” (Heb. xi. 4); “contemning confusion” (Heb. xii. 2); the “consummator, Jesus” (*Ibid.*)—and so on through a thousand instances. The second, with a pedantry of a different kind, would have given “biword” for “parable,” “frosent” for “apostle,” “freshmen” for “proselytes,” “uprising” for “resurrection,” “gainbirth,” for “regeneration,” and the like. Instead of such monstrosities, we have a version which represents as accurate a scholarship as was possible under the then conditions of culture, and the faithfulness of one who felt that what he was dealing with contained God's message to mankind, and never consciously tampered with its meaning. Two testimonies to its value may well close this brief account of it. One is from the pen of the most eminent of modern English historians. “The peculiar genius—if such a word may be permitted—which breathes through it, the mingled tenderness and simplicity, the Saxon simplicity, the preternatural grandeur, unequalled, unapproached, in the attempted improvements of modern scholars—all are here—and bear the impress of the mind of one man, William Tyndale” (Froude, *History of England*, iii. p. 84). The other comes from one who seems to have felt keenly the change which he found when he had to quote the phrases of the Rhemish version, almost, as it were, to think in it,

instead of those with which his youth and manhood had been familiar, and after which he now sighs with the vain wish that, being what it is, it was with Rome and not against her. "It was surely a most lucky accident for the young religion that, while the English language was coming to the birth with its special attributes of nerve, simplicity, and vigour, at its very first breathings Protestantism was at hand to form it upon its own theological *patois*, and to educate it as the mouth-piece of its tradition. So, however, it was to be, and soon,

'As in this bad world below
Holiest things find vilest using,'

the new religion employed the new language for its purposes, in a great undertaking—the translation of its own Bible; a work which, by the purity of its diction and the strength and harmony of its style, has deservedly become the very model of good English, and the standard of the language to all future times" (J. H. Newman, *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics*, p. 66).

IV. Tyndale's Successors.

—In this, as in the history of most great enterprises, it was true that "one soweth, and another reapeth." Other men, with less heroism and less genius, entered into the labours of the martyr of Vilvorde. The limits of this Introduction exclude a full account of the work of his successors. It will be enough to note briefly the stages through which it passed till it reached what was to be its close and consummation for more than two centuries and a half.

(1) First in order came COVER-

DALE (born 1485, died 1565), afterwards, under Elizabeth, Bishop of Exeter. In him we find a diligent and faithful worker, and we owe to him the first complete translation of the whole Bible, published in 1535. Partly perhaps from his inferior scholarship, partly from a wish to conciliate at once the followers of Luther and those who had been accustomed to the Vulgate, he did not even profess to have had recourse to the original text, but was content with announcing on his title-page that it was "truly translated out of the Douche" (*i.e.*, German) "and Latyn." Tyndale for the New Testament, Luther's version and the Zurich Bible of Zwingli for the Old, were his chief authorities; but he was less consistent than Tyndale, and deliberately defends his inconsistency, in not excluding the words that had become associated with scholastic definitions. He uses, *e.g.*, "penance" as well as "repentance," "priest" as well as "elder," "charity" as well as "love." "Congregation," however, keeps its ground as against "church." Reprints of this version appeared in 1536 and 1537, and even in 1550 and 1553. Among smaller facts connected with this version we may note that the Latin *Biblia*, and not *Bible*, appears on the title-page; that the Hebrew letters forming the name of *Jehovah* are also there; and that the alphabetic elegies of the Book of Lamentations have the Hebrew letters attached to their respective verses. There are no notes, no chapter headings, nor division into verses.

(2) MATTHEW'S BIBLE appeared in 1537, and is memorable as having been dedicated to Henry VIII. and his Queen, Jane Sey-

mour, and set forth "with the King's most gracious license." Who the Thomas Matthew was by whom the book purports to be translated, no one knows. There was no scholar of repute of that name; and though his name is attached to the dedication, the exhortation to the study of Scripture has the initials J. R. as a signature. Possibly, Thomas Matthew was, as some have supposed, a simple *alias* assumed by John Rogers, afterwards the proto-martyr of the Marian persecution, in order that the name of one who was known to have been a friend of Tyndale might not appear with an undue prominence on the title-page. Possibly he was a layman, who made himself responsible for the cost of printing. The book was printed in large folio. Through Cromwell's influence, which was then in the ascendant, backed by Cranmer's—partly, also, we may conjecture, through Matthew's name appearing as the translator instead of Rogers's—the King's license was obtained without difficulty. The publishers (Grafton and Whitchurch) were bold enough to ask for a monopoly for five years; to suggest that "every curate" (*i.e.*, parish priest) should be compelled to buy one copy, and every abbey six. As a literary work, Rogers's translation is of a composite character. The Pentateuch and New Testament are reprinted from Tyndale; the Books of the Old Testament, from Ezra to Malachi, from Coverdale. From Joshua to 2 Chronicles we have a new translation. The most noticeable feature of the book was found in the marginal notes, which made a kind of running commentary on the text, and which were, for the

most part, of a strong Lutheran character. It is scarcely conceivable that the King could have read, with any care, the book to which he thus gave his sanction. As it was, a copy was ordered to be set up in every parish church, and Matthew's Bible was the first authorised version.

(3) It was, perhaps, in part owing to the antagonism which Rogers's notes naturally roused that it was scarcely published before another version was begun under Cromwell's authority. Coverdale was called on to undertake the task of revision, and he and Bonner (names strangely joined) were for a time acting together in getting it printed at Paris, and transmitting the sheets to London. The notes disappeared, and a marginal hand took their place, indicating the "dark places" that required the comment which Coverdale was not allowed to write. This also came out in an extra-sized folio, and is known, therefore, as the GREAT BIBLE. It had no dedication, but there was an elaborate frontispiece title-page, engraved, probably, from Holbein's designs, representing the King on his throne, giving the *Verbum Dei* to Cromwell and Cranmer, while they in their turn distribute it to clergy and laity. It appeared with a preface by Cranmer in 1540, and a copy of it was ordered to be set up in every church. Other editions followed, two in the same year, and three in 1541. In the third and fifth of these two new names appear on the title-page (the first two editions having been issued without the name of any translator) as having revised the work—Tunstal, then Bishop of Durham; and Heath, Bishop of Rochester. The impulse

which Tyndale had given had told even on the man to whom he had applied in vain for support at the outset of his career, and, as by the strange irony of history, he who had been foremost in condemning Tyndale's version as dangerous, full of errors, and heretical, was now found giving the sanction of his name to a translation which was at least largely based on that version. It is significant that under this editorship even the marginal "hands" of Coverdale's unfulfilled intentions disappeared, and the Bishops were thus committed to what twenty years before they had shrunk from and denounced: the policy of giving to the English people a Bible in their own tongue without note or comment. It was well that all this was done when it was. Cromwell's fall, in July, 1540, was followed by a time of reaction, in which Gardiner and Bonner gained the ascendant. They did not, however, venture to recall the step that had thus been taken, and the Great Bible, chained to its desk in every church, and allowed, for some years at least, to be read out of service-time to any who choose to listen, did a work which not even the king's proclamations against discussing its teaching, nor Bonner's threats to withdraw the Bibles unless the discussions were suppressed, were able to undo. It remained the authorised version, recognised in the Liturgical Reforms under Edward VI., and from it accordingly were taken the Psalms which appeared in the Prayer Books of that reign, and have kept their place through all revisions to the present day. The version, as a whole, was based upon Coverdale and Tyndale, with

alterations made more or less under the influence of the Latin versions of Erasmus for the New Testament and the Vulgate for the Old. All readers of the English Prayer Book Psalms have accordingly the means of comparing this translation with that of the Authorised Version;* and, probably, the general impression is in favour of the Prayer Book version as being, though less accurate, more rhythmical and harmonious in its turns of phraseology; often with a felicitous ring in its cadences, that seems, even when the Psalms are read, to carry with it a music of its own. A certain ostentation of learning is seen in the appearance of the Hebrew names of books, such, *e.g.*, as *Bereschith* (Genesis), *Velle Shemoth* (Exodus). On the other hand, by what was obviously the hasty substitution of what was thought a more respectful term than Apocrypha, the books which are now classed under that head are said to be "called *Hagiographa*" (*i.e.*, "sacred writings"), because they "were read in secret and apart."

(4) Nearly contemporaneous with the Great Bible—issuing from the press, indeed, before it—another translation was published in London (1539), by RICHARD TAVERNER, who had been a student at Cardinal College, afterwards Christ Church,

* The use of the "Moriens' land" (*i.e.*, the land of the Moors), in the Prayer Book, where the Bible version has "Ethiopia" (Pss. lxxviii. 31, lxxxvii. 4), may be noted as a prominent instance of the influence of Luther's version, which gives *Mohrenland*, working through Coverdale. Besides the Psalms we find traces of this version in the *Sentences* of the Communion Service, and in phrases such as "worthy fruits of penance," and the like. From it, too, come the quotations in the Homilies.

at Oxford. It affords the attraction of the running commentary on the text which the editors of the Great Bible had deliberately omitted, and on this ground found the acceptance which is indicated by two editions, folio and quarto, of the whole Bible, and two, quarto and octavo, of the New Testament, in the same year, followed by a subsequent reprint. It never occupied, however, any position of authority, nor had it any traceable influence on subsequent versions. It deserves to be noted, however—as if each translation was to have something specially memorable with it—as an instance of a layman's scholarship and devotion, of the assertion of a layman's right to translate, publish, comment on, the Sacred Books. The work which Taverner had done in this way was so far recognised that in the reign of Edward VI. he received a special license to preach, and performed his office with an almost ostentatious disregard of conventional rules of costume, preaching, not in the dress of his university degree, but in velvet hat, damask gown, gold chain, and sword.

(5) THE GENEVA BIBLE. The last five years of the reign of Henry VIII. were conspicuously a time of reaction, but it kept, as has been said, within limits. The old horror of Tyndale's name revived, and all books bearing his name were ordered to be destroyed. The notes in all editions that had them—*i.e.*, Matthew's and Taverner's—were to be erased. No women, except those of noble and gentle birth, no men below what we should call the upper middle-class, were to read the Bible, publicly or privately, to others, or by themselves. Coverdale's New Testament was proscribed, as well as

Tyndale's, and this involved in most instances the destruction of the whole Bible that bore his name. Gardiner proposed that a translation should be made by the Bishops (Tunstal and Heath now disavowing the work of revision for which the title-page of the Great Bible, made them responsible), and urged the retention in the original Latin of every ecclesiastical and theological term, and even of others, such as *oriens, simplex, tyrannus*, in which he seemed to see a peculiar and untranslatable force. That project happily fell through. The matter was discussed in Convocation, and referred to the universities, but nothing more was done. The Great Bible kept its position as the authorised translation.

Under Edward VI. the attention of Cranmer and the other reforming Bishops was occupied with the more urgent work of liturgical reformation, and though many reprints of both Bibles and New Testaments issued from the press, and were eagerly purchased, nothing was done towards a new revision, beyond the appointment of two foreign reformers, Fagius and Bucer, to professorships at Cambridge, with a view to their undertaking such a work. The former was to take the Old Testament, the latter the New. They were to write notes on dark and obscure places, and reconcile those that seemed repugnant to each other. Their work was hindered by illness, and the accession of Mary, in 1553, put a stop to this or any like enterprise.

The work was, however, done for England, though not in England, and in 1557, the last year of Mary's reign, a New Testament with copious notes was printed at Geneva, with an introductory epistle by

Calvin. The work appeared anonymously, but it was probably by Whittingham, one of the English refugees, who had married Calvin's sister. For the first time in the history of the English Bible the chapters were divided into verses, after the manner with which we are familiar, and so the facility of reference and verifying quotations was enormously increased. The example of such a division had been set, as stated above (p. 17), in the Greek Testament published by Stephens (or Étienne) in 1551; but there the verses were only noted in the margin, as is done, for example, in the Oxford reprint of Mill's Greek Testament. It was also the first translation printed in Roman type, and so presenting a clearer and easier page to the reader. The work was carried on by Whittingham, Coverdale, and others, after the accession of Elizabeth, for two years, and the whole Bible was published in 1560. Of all English versions before that of 1611, it was by far the most popular. Size, price, type, notes, division into verses, made it for more than half a century the household Bible of the English people. In most of the editions after 1578 it was accompanied by a useful Bible Dictionary. It was found in every family. It was the text-book of every student. It came in opportunely to fill up the gap which had been caused by the wholesale destruction of Bibles in the later years of Henry VIII. and during the whole reign of Mary. It was only slowly displaced by that which we now know as the Authorised Version—several editions being printed after 1611—and from one point of view it may be questioned

whether there was not loss as well as gain in the displacement. The presence of notes, even if they were, like those of the Geneva Bible, somewhat over-dogmatic and controversial in their tone, was yet at once an incentive and a help to a thoughtful study of Scripture. The reader could find some answer—often a clear and intelligent answer—to the questions that perplexed him, and was not tempted, as a Bible without note or comment tempts men, to a mechanical and perfunctory perusal. For good or for evil, and it is believed that the former greatly predominated, it was the Geneva version that gave birth to the great Puritan party, and sustained it through its long conflict in the reigns of Elizabeth and James. So far as the religion of the peasantry of Scotland has been stamped with a more intelligent and thoughtful character than that of the same class in England, the secret may be found in the more enduring influence of this version among them. Among its other distinctive features it may be noted (1) that it omitted the name of St. Paul in the title of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and left the authorship an open question, and (2) that it avowed the principle of putting words not in the original in italics. One of the English editions of this version is that commonly known as the "Breeches Bible," from its use of that word instead of "aprons" in Gen. iii. 7.

As compared with the Great Bible, the Geneva version shows a careful work of comparison and revision. In the Old Testament the revisers were helped both by the Latin and the French translations of foreign Protestant scholars, especially by the Latin New Testament of Theo-

dore Beza, and by the notes attached to it. Beza's scholarship was above the level of that of most of his contemporaries, and in many instances the corrections which were introduced on his authority in the Geneva version have been recognised by later revisers, and have found their place in the Authorised Version. On the other hand, he was somewhat over-bold in dealing with the Greek text of the New Testament, substituting conjecture for the patient work of laborious criticism; and in this respect his influence was mischievous. On the whole, however, the work was well and faithfully done, and was so far a great step forward to the consummation in which the English people were to rest for more than two centuries and a half.

(6) **THE BISHOPS' BIBLE.** The popularity of the Geneva version, its acknowledged superiority to the Great Bible, which was then the authorised version of the Church of England, coupled perhaps with a slight feeling of alarm at the boldness of the marginal notes, led Archbishop Parker, about 1563—though he had forwarded the republication of that version in England—to undertake the work of revision, by committing the several books of Scripture to individual scholars or groups of scholars. Many of these (Sandys, Guest, Harne, Grindal, and others) were Bishops, and when the book appeared, in 1568, it soon became known by the title which now attaches to it, of the Bishops' Bible. It was published, like most of the Bibles intended for use in church, in a stately folio. It has no dedication, but a portrait of Elizabeth appears on the engraved title-page, and others of Leicester and Burleigh

appear, with strange, almost ludicrous, inappropriateness, before the Book of Joshua and the Psalms. It does not appear to have distinctly received the Queen's sanction, but a vote of Convocation ordered copies to be bought by every Archbishop and Bishop, and placed in his hall or dining-room, for the convenience of strangers, by all cathedrals, and, as far as possible, by all churches. Fresh issues, more or less revised, appeared in 1575 and 1578. The Bishops' Bible is memorable as to a certain extent fulfilling Coverdale's intention, which had been adjourned *sine die* by the successive editors of the Great Bible, and for the first and last time there was thus a quasi-authorised commentary on the whole Bible. It aimed, too, more than most previous versions, at reproducing the exact spelling of Hebrew names, as, *e.g.*, in giving Izhak for Isaac, and affixing the final *u* to names like Hezekiahu, Josiahu, and the like. It classified the books both of the Old and New Testament as legal, historical, sapiential, and prophetic. Passages were marked to be omitted when the chapters were read as the lessons for the day. In the edition of 1572 there was, for the first time, a map of Palestine, with degrees of latitude and longitude; and elaborate genealogical tables were prefixed to it. The judgment of most scholars is unfavourable to this version of the Old Testament, but the New shows considerable scholarship, carrying on its work of revision at each successive issue.

(7) **THE RHEMISH VERSION** of the New Testament, followed by the **DOUAY VERSION** of the Old, was intended partly to refute the charge that the Church of Rome was opposed altogether to the work of

translation, partly to show that she had scholars who were not afraid to challenge comparison with those of the Reformed Churches. It appeared at Rheims in 1582, and had copious notes, mostly of a controversial character. It was just such a version as Gardiner would have welcomed, based avowedly on the Vulgate as more authoritative than the Greek, and on the text of the Vulgate that had been stamped by Clement VIII. with Papal sanction, retaining, as far as possible, all technical and theological terms, such as *depositum* (1 Tim. vi. 20), exinanited (Phil. ii. 7), penance, chalice, priest (for "elder"), host (for "sacrifice"), advent (for "coming"), coinquination (2 Peter ii. 13), peregrination (1 Pet. i. 17), prepuce, azymes, and the like. In many cases, but naturally more in the Old Testament than the New, they were content to rest in a rendering which had simply no meaning at all. Two specimens may be sufficient to show to what extent stones were offered to English Catholics instead of bread.

Eph. vi. 12. "Our wrestling is . . . against princes and potentates, against the rectors of this world of darkness, against the spirituals of wickedness in the celestials."

Heb. xiii. 16. "Beneficence and communication do not forget, for with such hosts God is premerited."

In not a few cases, however, the words of Latin use which were thus introduced had become current in the language of English religious writers, and a list of considerable length might be made of words which the revisers under James I. were not afraid to take from the

Rhemish Testament in place of those which were found in the Bishops' Bible or the Geneva version. Among these we may note "charity" for "love" in 1 Cor. xiii., "church" for "congregation" in Matt. xvi. 18, xviii. 17.

V. The Authorised Version.

The position of the Church of England on the accession of James I. in 1603, in relation to the translations of Scripture then current, presented two conflicting currents of feeling. On the one hand, the Bishops' Bible occupied the position of authority. On the other, that of Geneva had gained a stronger hold on the affections of the English people,* and to a large extent of the English clergy also. The Puritan party wished to dislodge the Bishops' Bible from its pre-eminence, and to make way for one more after the pattern of Geneva. The King and the Court divines disliked the bolder tone of many of the notes of the latter version. Some few perhaps of the school afterwards developed by Laud and Montagu on the one side, by Falkland and Chillingworth on the other, fretted under the yoke of the Calvinistic dogmatism which pervaded both. Accordingly when the Puritan petition, known, from the supposed number of signatures, as "millenary," led to the Hampton Court Conference, the campaign was opened by Dr. Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who, urging some special faults in the Bishops'

* Of the Bishops' Bible there were thirteen editions in folio, six in quarto, and only one in octavo. Of the Geneva version, 1568 and 1611, there were sixteen in octavo, fifty-two in quarto, eighteen in folio.—Westcott, *History of the English Bible*, p. 149.

Bible (the passages selected, Gal. iv. 25, Pss. cv. 28, cvi. 30, were, it must be said, singularly unimportant) pleaded for a new revision. Bancroft, Bishop of London, made the somewhat peevish answer "that if every man's humour were to be followed, there would be no end of translating." The King, however, interposed. He saw in the task of revision just the kind of work which met his tastes as a scholar. He saw in it also an opportunity for getting rid of the obnoxious Geneva Commentary. It was settled then and there, Bancroft withdrawing his opposition on this concession, that the forthcoming version should be issued without note or comment. Fifty-four scholars were selected (only forty-seven, however, are named) probably by the bishops who had most influence with the King, and arranged in six groups, to each of which a given portion of the Bible was assigned. Comparatively few of the names on this list have now any special interest for the general English reader. Of those who are still remembered, we may name Andrewes, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; Overall, the author of the latter part of the Church Catechism; Saravia, the friend of Hooker; Sir Henry Savile, famous as the editor of Chrysostom; Reynolds, who had, as we have seen, been the first to urge revision. The king recommended the translators to the patronage of the bishops, and invited cathedrals to contribute to the expenses of the work. As far as can be traced, the labour was, from first to last, like that of the recent revisers of the Authorised Version, a labour of love, without payment, or hope of payment, beyond the

occasional hospitality of this or that college, which might, perhaps, offer free quarters to a company that included one of its own members. After nearly three years of labour the new Bible appeared in 1611. It bore, as our Bibles still bear, on its title-page, the claim to be "newly translated out of the original tongue; and with the former translations diligently compared and revised," and to be "appointed to be read in churches." The latter announcement, confirmed as it has been by general acceptance, has led to the title of the "Authorised Version," which has since commonly attached to it. Singularly enough, however, there is nothing, as has been said above (note, p. 22), but the printer's title-page as the warrant for this assumption of authority. A fresh revision was talked of under the Long Parliament, 1653, and a committee of scholars appointed in 1656. They met at the house of Lord Keeper Whitelock, and the list included the names of Walton, the editor of the great Polyglot Bible, and Cudworth, the famous metaphysician, but nothing came of the Conference.

The principles on which the translators were to act were definitely laid down for them in fifteen rules, probably drawn up under Bancroft's direction: (1) The Bishops' Bible was to be taken as a basis, and altered as little as possible. (2) Names of prophets and others were to be retained in their common form. This was directed against the plan which had been adopted in the Bishops' Bible. (3) The old ecclesiastical words were to be kept. "Church" was to be used instead of "congregation." This was against Tyndale and the versions that had followed him, with special

reference to the Genevan. (4) Weight was to be given, where a word had different senses, to the authority of the ancient Fathers. (5) The received division of chapters was to be altered not at all, or as little as might be. (6) There were to be no marginal notes, except such as were purely verbal, alternative renderings, and the like. (7) Marginal references should be given at discretion. The next six rules prescribed the details of the work: the revision by one company of the work of another, and the like. The 14th pointed to Tyndale's translation, Matthew's Coverdale's, Whitchurch's (the Great Bible), and the Geneva version, as to be followed where it was thought desirable.

In their preface, written by Dr. Miles Smith—a far more interesting document than the dedication which we find in all our Bibles—some further rules of action are stated as having guided them. They contrast their careful work, extending through three years or more, with the seventy-two days of the legend of the Septuagint. They speak respectfully of previous English versions. They profess to have consulted both ancient and modern translations: Chaldee, Hebrew, Syrian, Greek, Latin, Spanish, French (probably the Geneva version), Italian (probably Diodati's), German (certainly Luther's). They defend their practice of varying the renderings of Hebrew or Greek words, partly on the legitimate ground that one English word will not always express the different meanings of the same word in the original, partly on the somewhat fantastic plea of fairness, that as many English words as possible might have the honour of being

admitted to the sacred volume. A careful comparison shows that in the New Testament their chief standards of comparison were Beza's, the German, and even the Rhemish version, from the last of which, as stated above, they adopted many words and phrases,* and with which the direction to retain the old ecclesiastical terms, at times brought them into close agreement. The general acceptance which the Authorised Version met with, both from scholars and the great mass of readers, may fairly be admitted as evidence that the work was done carefully and well. The revisers were never satisfied, as those of Rheims or Douay sometimes were, with an absolutely unmeaning translation. They avoided archaisms to the best of their power, and with equal care avoided the "ink-horn terms" of a pedantic scholarship. They followed the earlier English versions in the majestic simplicity which, as a rule, had characterised them from Tyndale onwards, and aimed, not unsuccessfully, at greater accuracy. Where they failed, it was chiefly through the circumstances under which they worked. In one respect their deliberate choice of a wrong method, in seeking to vary the renderings of Greek or Hebrew words as much, instead of as little, as possible, has involved them in many mistakes, leading to a false emphasis or a false antithesis, hindering the English reader from seeing how one passage throws light upon another, and making the use of an English concordance of little or no value as a help to interpretation. For other defects they were, perhaps, less responsible. The text of the New Testament was as

* See Westcott's *History*, p. 352.

yet in an unsettled state, and Stephen's (or Étienne's) edition, which they took as their standard, was based on the later, not the earlier MSS. They had learnt Greek through Latin, and were thus led (1) through the comparative incompleteness of the Latin conjugation to confound tenses of the Greek verbs, imperfect, aorist, perfect, pluperfect, which were really distinct; (2) through the absence of a Latin definite article, to pass over the force of the Greek article, or to exaggerate it into a demonstrative pronoun; (3) through the imperfect analysis of the use of the Greek prepositions to give not unfrequently a sense, when the preposition is used with one case, which rightly belongs to it only when it is used with another. (4) The two centuries and a half which have passed since have naturally rendered some words obsolete or obsolescent, have lowered or altered the meanings of others, and have enlarged the range of the English vocabulary so as to take in words which would be as legitimately at the disposal of the revisers now as any which were then in use were at the command of the revisers of 1611. Mr. Aldis Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, and the papers by Canon Venables in the *Bible Educator*, on "Bible Words," may be consulted as authorities on the subjects of which they treat.

A few of the minor, but not unimportant, details of the Authorised Version still remain to be noticed. (1) The two editions printed in 1611 were both in the Old English black letter. Roman type was used in the reprint of 1612. (2) All the editions contained the Apocrypha till 1629. (3) Printers, or the editors employed by printers, have

from time to time modified, though without authority, the spelling of the edition of 1611, so as to keep pace with the real or supposed improvements of later usage. (4) The careful use of italics to indicate the use of words which, though not expressed in the original, were yet essential to the meaning, was, from the outset, a special characteristic of the Authorised Version. This, too, has, from time to time, been modified by successive editors. The text printed in the present volume represents, in this respect, that of 1611, but the Cambridge edition of 1638 is said to be still more carefully edited. (5) The marginal readings and references of the edition of 1611 have in like manner been largely added to or varied by subsequent editors, notably by Dr. Paris in the Cambridge edition of 1762, and Dr. Blayney, who superintended the Oxford edition of 1769. Useful as these are as suggesting possible alternative translations or the comparison of really parallel passages, they cannot be regarded as having the slightest claim to authority, properly so called. Some few corrections of the version itself were also made by these or other editors, on their own responsibility, as, e.g., "about" for "above" in 2 Cor. xii. 12, "unto me" for "under me" in Ps. xviii. 47. Mistakes in printing have made some editions memorable—"vinegar" for "vineyard" in Matt. xxi. 28; "not" omitted from the Seventh Commandment, in 1632; "righteousness" (Rom. vi. 13), in 1653. (6) The marginal dates of the common English Bibles, which first appear in Bishop Lloyd's Bible, in 1701, are also, it should be noted, though often helpful, altogether

without authority. They represent, as now printed, the chronology adopted by Archbishop Ussher, and are, like all such systems, open to correction, as research brings to light fuller or more authentic materials, or criticism corrects the conclusions of earlier scholars. In some cases, as, *e.g.*, in assigning A.D. 60 to the Epistle of St. James, A.D. 96 to the Revelation of St. John, A.D. 58 to the Epistle to the Galatians, the dates assigned assume theories which many recent scholars have rejected. (7) The chapter-headings of our printed Bibles have remained with but little alteration, but they, too, call for a careful revision. That the right of revision has been exercised, however, appears from the changes that have taken place in the heading of Ps. cxlix. from the form which it presented in 1611, "The Psalmist exhorteth to praise God . . . for that power which He hath given to the Church to bind the consciences of men," to its present text, which omits the last six words. In many instances the headings assume, somewhat too decisively, the character of a commentary, rather than a summary. Thus, while Pss. xvi., xxii., and lxix. are dealt with in their primary historical aspect, Pss. ii., xlv., xlvii., lxxii., and cx. are referred explicitly to "Christ's kingdom." "The Church" appears as the subject of Pss. lxxvi., lxxx., and lxxxvii., where it would have been historically truer to say *Israel*. Ps. cix. is referred to Judas as the object of its imprecations. The Song of

Solomon receives throughout an elaborate allegorical interpretation. Isa. liii. is referred specifically to "the scandal of the Cross," Isa. lxi. to "the office of Christ," Mic. v. to "the birth and kingdom of Christ," and so on. Luke vii. assumes the identity of the "woman that was a sinner" with Mary Magdalene. In Acts vi. the Apostles are said to "appoint the office of deaconship to seven chosen men." In Acts xx. Paul is said to "celebrate the Lord's Supper." Apart altogether from the question whether the interpretation in these and other like cases is or is not correct, it is clear that the headings go beyond the function which properly belongs to them, and trench upon the work of the commentator, which the revisers of 1611 deliberately renounced. That there was an element of loss in that renunciation has been already stated, but we may well believe that on the whole it has been well we have the Bible in its completeness, without the addition of any comments reflecting the passing ecclesiastical or Calvinistic dogmatism characteristic of the early part of the seventeenth century, which would in all probability have been clothed, sooner or later, by popular and clerical feeling, with a fictitious authority, or even been invested by legal decisions, or Acts of Parliament, with a real one. It is well, in the long run, that every commentary on the whole or any part of Scripture should be submitted freely to the right and the duty of private judgment.

IV.—THE ORIGIN OF THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS.

I. IT is, of course, an important question whether we have in the four Gospels received by the Church as canonical the evidence of contemporary writers—two of them claiming to be eye-witnesses—or writings of a generation, or two generations, later, the after-growth of the second century, fathered upon authors whose names belonged to the first. The question when the Gospels were written is, it may be admitted, one which cannot be answered precisely within a decade or so of years; nor would it be right to overstate the argument by asserting that we have any evidence external to the New Testament of the existence of the Gospels in their present form earlier than Papias (*ob.* A.D. 170), who names St. Matthew and St. Mark, and Irenæus (A.D. 130—200) and Tertullian (A.D. 160—240), who name all four. The existence in A.D. 170 of a harmonised narrative of the Gospel history of Tatian, known as the *Diatessaron* (*i.e.*, the Gospel as stated by the Four), and the mention of St. Luke in the MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, known from the name of its first editor as the Muratorian Fragment (A.D. 150—190 ?), point to the conclusion that four Gospels bearing the same names as those now received, and presumably, till proof is given of the contrary, identical with them, were recognised and read publicly as authoritative documents in the middle of the second century. And, obviously, they occupied at that time a position of acknowledged superiority

to all other like documents. Men invent reasons, more or less fantastic, such as those which Irenæus gives (*Contr. Hæres.* iii. 11)—the analogy of the four elements, or the four winds—why there should be neither more nor less than four. It is scarcely too much to say that this reputation could hardly have been gained in less than half a century from the time when they first came to be generally known; and so we are led to the conclusion that they must have been in existence at a date not later than A.D. 100—120.

II. An examination of the earliest Christian writings outside the canon of the New Testament is to some extent disappointing. There are very few references to the Gospel narratives in the Epistles that bear the name of Clement, or Ignatius, or Barnabas. They assume the broad outlines of the Gospel history, the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Jesus as the Christ. They contain echoes and fragmentary citations from the Sermon on the Mount, and other portions of our Lord's ethical teaching which had most impressed themselves on the mind and conscience of His disciples; but it must be admitted that we could not infer from them that the writers had in their hands the Gospels as we have them. We may go further, and say that it is antecedently probable that their knowledge was more or less traditional, and that the general acceptance of the Gospels, and therefore, so far as their writings are concerned, even the existence of the

Gospels, may have been of later date. On the other hand, it must be remembered that these letters are, in the strictest sense of the word, occasional, and not systematic. They are directed, each of them, to a special purpose, under circumstances that did not naturally lead the writers to speak of the facts of the Gospel record—even of those of which, on any assumption, they must have had, at least, a traditional knowledge.

III. When we come to the writings of Justin Martyr (A.D. 103—167), the case is altered. He, as having passed into the Church of Christ from the schools of philosophy, was a man of wider culture than any Christian writer since St. Paul. The circumstances of his life led him into controversy with the Jews who questioned the claim of Jesus to be the Christ, and in his argument with them his references to the acts and words of Christ are numerous and often of great length. It is true that he does not cite any Gospel by name, but mentions them generally as “the memoirs” or “records” that are “known as Gospels,” and are read in the weekly meetings of the churches (*Apol.* i. 66), and that where he quotes from these “memoirs” it is at times with such considerable variations of detail as regards their facts, and of expression as regards their teaching, that it has been urged by some writers—notably by the anonymous author of “Supernatural Religion”—that he probably had in his hands some book other than any of the four which we now acknowledge. Against this it may be pleaded, however, that the habits of the age, and the special circumstances of Christian writers, were unfavourable to accu-

rate quotation. The Jewish Scriptures, in their Greek form, were collected into a volume, and could be bought in Alexandria, or perhaps in any great city, without difficulty; but such Apostolical writings as those of which Justin speaks were scarcely likely to be multiplied by either the Jews or heathen scribes who supplied the stalls or shops of booksellers; nor is it probable that the Christian Church was at that time sufficiently organised to command booksellers of its own. A treasured copy, in the hands of the bishop or elder of each Christian community, read publicly at its meetings, was, we may well believe, in that early stage of the growth of the new society enough to meet its wants. The members of that society listened, and remembered and reproduced what they had heard, with the variations which, under such conditions, were inevitable. And even if we were to admit, hypothetically, the conclusion which has thus been drawn, the result would, after all, be neither more nor less than this—that there was in Justin’s time a fifth Gospel in existence, agreeing in all material points with the four, or, at least, with three out of the four. To most men it would seem improbable that such a Gospel should have left no traces of its existence outside the quotations or references from which that existence has been thus inferred, that it should have supplied the most scholarly of the early Christian writers with all his knowledge of the life and the teaching of the Christ, and then have vanished like a meteor. But if it did exist, then it would simply follow that we have, in the unknown Gospel supposed to be quoted by Justin, a

fifth independent witness confirming, at least in substance, the records of the other four.

IV. There are, however, writings which even the most sceptical critics allow to be earlier than the Epistles of Clement and Ignatius. The Epistles of the New Testament are—excluding for the present the so-called *Antilegomena* (2 Pet. ii. and iii., John, Jude)—documents of an antiquity that may well be called primitive. They did not come together into a volume till perhaps the middle of the second century or later. The letters of each writer may be cited accordingly as giving a perfectly independent testimony. Let us ask, therefore, what evidence they supply as to the existence, either of the first three Gospels, or of a common narrative, written or oral, which they embody, each with variations of its own. For the present we limit the inquiry to these three. The fourth Gospel stands apart from them in a distinct position of its own, and the evidence in favour of its having come from the Apostle whose name it bears will be found in the Introduction to it.

Take, then, (1) the EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES. Its contents point to its being, perhaps, the very earliest document in the New Testament. The absence of any reference to the controversy between the Judaisers and the followers of St. Paul leads naturally to the conclusion that it was written before that controversy—prior, *i.e.*, to the Council of Jerusalem of Acts xv. There is absolutely no ground for thinking, as men have thought, that he writes either against St. Paul's doctrine that a man is justified by faith, or against the perversion of

that doctrine by St. Paul's followers. The dead faith which he condemns is not a faith in Christ, as having atoned for sin, but the mere confession of the primary article of Jewish monotheism—"Thou believest that there is one God" (Jas. ii. 19). Taking the EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES, therefore, as the earliest witness, what do we find there? Not, we must freely admit, any reference to the Gospel narrative: but, on the other hand, a mind whose thoughts and mode of teaching had been manifestly formed on the model of the Sermon on the Mount. He, too, teaches by beatitudes (Jas. i. 12; Matt. v. 10, 11), and the one beatitude is an echo of the other. To him, also, God is emphatically the giver of all good things (Jas. i. 17; Matt. vii. 11). He, too, dwells on the danger of hearing without doing (Jas. i. 22; Matt. vii. 24). To him the grass withering before the scorching sun and the hot wind of the desert is the type of all that is most fleeting in fortune or in character (Jas. i. 11; Matt. vi. 30; xiii. 6). He, too, connects the name of our Lord Jesus Christ with that freedom from "respect of persons" which even the Scribes acknowledged to be a leading feature in His character, and which, therefore, He would inculcate in those who professed to be His disciples (Jas. ii. 1; Matt. xxii. 16). He shares his Master's implied condemnation of the "gorgeous raiment" of those whom the world honours (Jas. ii. 2; Matt. xi. 8). To him, as to Christ, to keep the law "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," is the condition of entering into life (Jas. ii. 8; Matt. xix. 19; xxii. 40), and that law, as having been thus confirmed by the great King, is for

him the royal, the kingly law. He re-states the law that the merciful, and they alone, will obtain mercy (Jas. ii. 13; Matt. v. 7; vii. 1). He warns men against the risks of claiming without authority the function of teachers, and forgetting that we all need the guidance of the one divine Teacher (Jas. iii. 1; Matt. xxiii. 8). The same familiar illustration of the tree and its fruits is used by him to set forth the relation of character and acts (Jas. iii. 12; Matt. vii. 16). To clothe the naked and to feed the hungry are with him, as with the Christ, elements of the perfect life (Jas. ii. 15; Matt. xxv. 35, 36). He has the same word of stern reproof for the "adulterous generation" in which he lived (Jas. iv. 4; Matt. xii. 39), and which he reminds of the truth that they cannot be the friends at once of God and of the world (Jas. iv. 4; Matt. vi. 24). He knows that humility is the condition of true exaltation (Jas. iv. 10; Matt. xxiii. 12). He, too, speaks of the Father as One who, though willing to save, is able also to destroy (Jas. iv. 12; Matt. x. 28), and protests, in words that are almost an echo of our Lord's, against the far-reaching schemes of man's covetousness (Jas. iv. 13—16; Luke xii. 16—20). To him the coming of the Lord is the goal to which all things tend (Jas. v. 8; Matt. xxiv. 27). It is nigh, even at the doors (Jas. v. 9; Matt. xxiv. 33). He condemns, as his Lord had done, the rash use of oaths, and tells men, in the very words used by Christ, that their speech should be Yea, yea, and Nay, nay (Jas. v. 12; Matt. v. 34—36). He prescribes anointing with oil as a means of healing the sick, even as our Lord had done (Jas. v. 14;

Mark vi. 13). With him, as in our Lord's miracles, the healing of the sick is associated with the forgiveness of their sins (Jas. v. 15; Matt. ix. 2). It will hardly be contended that so continuous a series of parallels between the Epistle of St. James and the Gospel of St. Matthew is purely accidental. But if it is not so, if there is evidence of a connection of some kind between them, then we have to choose between the hypothesis (1) of both drawing from the common source of the current traditional knowledge of our Lord's teaching; or (2) of the Evangelist incorporating into his report of that teaching what he had learnt from St. James; or (3) of St. James being a reader of a book containing the whole, or part, of what we now find in St. Matthew's Gospel. (See Introduction to St. Matthew.)

I turn to the **FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. PETER**. The opening words attach to the "blood of Christ" the same importance which He Himself had attached to it (1 Pet. i. 2; Mark xiv. 24). The writer takes up the words in which his Lord had bidden men watch with their loins girded (1 Pet. i. 13; Luke xii. 35). He points the contrast between seeing and believing, even as Christ had pointed it (1 Pet. i. 8; John xx. 19). He has learnt to interpret the Prophets, as his Lord had taught him, as foretelling the sufferings that were appointed unto Christ (1 Pet. i. 2; Luke xxiv. 44, 45). He sees in the blood of Christ a ransom for many (1 Pet. i. 18; Mark x. 45), and knows that God has raised Him from the dead (1 Pet. i. 3). He teaches that there must be a new birth wrought in men by the divine word (1 Pet. ii. 23; John iii. 3, 5). He sees in

Christ the stone which the builders rejected (1 Pet. ii. 4, 7; Mark xii. 10), in the crisis through which Israel was passing, the time of its "visitation" (1 Pet. ii. 12; Luke xx. 44). He remembers using the self-same unusual word which occurs in almost immediate sequence in the Gospel record, how the calm recognition of the claims of civil rulers had "put to silence" (literally, *muzzled*) the ignorance of foolish men, and can therefore call on men to follow their Lord's example for His sake (1 Pet. ii. 15; Matt. xxii. 21, 34). He remembers also the marvellous silence of his Master at His trial before the Sanhedrin, and the livid scars left by the scourges of the soldiers (1 Pet. ii. 23, 24; Matt. xiv. 60, 61; xv. 15). Slaves were to recollect, when they were buffeted, that they were suffering as Christ had suffered (1 Pet. ii. 20; Mark xiv. 65). It was by that suffering that the Good Shepherd, laying down His life for the sheep (John x. 11), had drawn to Him the sheep that had gone astray, over whom He had yearned with an infinite compassion (1 Pet. ii. 25; Matt. ix. 36). He has learnt the lesson of not returning evil for evil (1 Pet. iii. 9; Matt. v. 10). He knows the beatitude that had been pronounced on those who suffer for righteousness' sake (1 Pet. iii. 14; Matt. v. 10). He knows, too, that Jesus Christ, having preached to the "spirits in prison" (there is, at least, a possible connection here with Matt. xxvii. 52, 53), went into heaven, and is at the right hand of God (1 Pet. iii. 22; Mark xvi. 19). As if remembering the sin into which he fell because he had not watched unto prayer, he urges others to watch (1 Pet. iv. 7; Mark

xiv. 37). He had learnt, by a living personal experience, how man's love, meeting God's, covers the multitude of sins (1 Pet. iv. 8; John xxi. 15—17). Revilings do but bring to his memory yet another beatitude which he had heard from his Lord's lips (1 Pet. iv. 14; Matt. v. 10). He reminds men how his Lord had commended His spirit to the Father (1 Pet. iv. 19; Luke xxiii. 46). He writes as being himself a witness of the sufferings of Christ (1 Pet. v. 1). He has learnt to see in Him the chief Shepherd, under whom he himself and all other pastors are called to serve (1 Pet. v. 4; John x. 14). His call to others to be "sober and watchful," because their adversary, the devil, was "like a roaring lion, seeking whom he might devour," speaks of the experience of one who had been told that Satan desired to have him that he might "sift him as wheat" (1 Pet. v. 8; Luke xxii. 31).

The doubts which have from time to time been raised as to the SECOND EPISTLE OF ST. PETER prevent my laying much stress on the evidence which it supplies in this matter. My own belief is that the scale turns in favour of its genuineness. In any case, it is as early as any document later than the New Testament writings. Looking to it, then, we note the recognition of the distinction between calling and election, which Peter had himself specially been taught (2 Pet. i. 10; Matt. xx. 16). The writer remembers how the Lord Jesus had shown him that the putting-off of his "tabernacle" should be quick and sudden (2 Pet. i. 14; John xxi. 18). He uses of his own "decease" the self-same word which had been used of that of Christ (2 Pet. i. 15; Luke ix.

31). The vision of the brightness of the Transfiguration, and the voice from the excellent glory, are still living in his memory (2 Pet. i. 17, 18; Mark viii. 2—7). In this, as in the former Epistle, he has been taught to see lessons connected with the coming of Christ, which did not lie on the surface, in the history of Noah and the Flood, to which our Lord had directed men's attention (1 Pet. iii. 20, 21; 2 Pet. iii. 5—7; Matt. xxiv. 37). Here also, then, we have documents, one of which at least is acknowledged as belonging, without the shadow of a doubt, to the Apostolic age, and which abound in allusive references to what we find recorded in the Gospels. In this case it is, of course, more than probable that the writer spoke from personal recollection, and that we may have here the testimony, not of one who had read the Gospels, but of one from whom the information which they embody had been, in part at least, derived. And, assuming the Second Epistle to be by him, we have there a direct intimation of his intention to provide that that information should be embodied for those for whom he wrote in some permanent form (2 Pet. i. 15). For the evidence which leads to the conclusion that the Second Gospel grew out of that intention, see Introduction to St. Mark.

V. We pass to the EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS, which, whether we assume, as seems to me most probable, the authorship of Apollos, or that of St. Paul, or one of his fellow-labourers, Barnabas, or Luke, or Clement, belongs also to the Apostolic age. The writer of that Epistle acknowledges the fact of the Ascension (Heb. i. 3; xii. 2). He distinguishes himself (Heb. ii. 3,

4), just as St. Luke does, from those who had actually heard the word of salvation from the lips of the Lord Himself, but he has heard from them of the Temptation and the Passion of the Christ (Heb. ii. 18), of His perfect sinlessness (Heb. iv. 15), of His tolerant sympathy for all forms of ignorance and error (Heb. v. 2), of the prayers and supplications, the strong crying and tears, of the garden and the cross (Heb. v. 7). The Messianic prophecy of Ps. cx., to which prominence had been given by our Lord's question in Matt. xxii. 42, becomes the centre of his argument. He knows, as one who has traced the descent from David, as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, that our Lord had sprung out of Judah (Heb. vi. 14). The New Covenant, of which Christ had spoken as being ratified by His blood, fills the next great place in his argument (Heb. viii. 8—13; xiii. 14; Luke xxii. 20). He finds a mystical meaning in the fact that the scene of that blood-shedding was outside the gate of Jerusalem (Heb. xiii. 12; John xix. 20). To him, as to St. Peter, the name of Jesus, on which he most loves to dwell, is that He is, as He described Himself, the Great Shepherd of the sheep (Heb. xiii. 20; John x. 14).

VI. We pass, as next in order, to the EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL, taking them, as is obviously more natural in such an inquiry, in their chronological sequence. It is not without significance that the earliest of these, the FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS, opens with a reference to a Gospel of which St. Paul speaks as his (1 Thess. i. 5; ii. 2). It is, of course, true that he uses that word in its wider sense, not as a book, but as a message of glad

tidings; but then that message consisted, not in a speculative doctrine, but in the record of what the Lord Jesus had done, and suffered, and taught, and how He had been raised from the dead (1 Cor. xi. 23; xv. 1, 3), and so the facts of the case suggest the conclusion that the name was given at a later stage—later, but how soon we cannot say—to the book, because the book so called embodied the substance of what had previously been taught orally. He knows that those whose faith in God exposes them to persecution are, in this respect, followers of the Lord, reproducing the pattern of His sufferings (1 Thess. i. 6). He warns men of a “wrath to come,” such as the Baptist had proclaimed (1 Thess. i. 10; Luke iii. 7), and assumes the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Second Coming from Heaven (1 Thess. i. 10; iii. 13), as ideas already familiar. The key-note of his preaching, as of that of the Gospel, is that men have been called to a kingdom of which Christ is the Head (1 Thess. ii. 12; Luke iv. 43). In words which reproduce the very accents of our Lord’s teaching, he tells men that “the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night” (1 Thess. v. 2; Luke xii. 39). For him also the times of trouble that are to precede that coming are as the travail-pangs of the world’s new birth (1 Thess. v. 3; Matt. xxiv. 1). The echoes of the voice that calls men, not to sleep, but to “watch and be sober,” are ringing in his ears, as they had done in those of St. Peter (1 Thess. v. 6; Luke xxi. 34–36). In the SECOND EPISTLE the coming of the Son of Man is painted more fully, as Christ Himself had painted it. He is to come with “the sound of a trumpet, and with angels of His

might” (2 Thess. i. 7; Matt. xxiv. 31; xxv. 31; Luke xxi. 27), and the sentence which He will then pass on the impenitent is characterised as “eternal” (2 Thess. i. 9; Matt. xxv. 46). He, too, has learnt, though as with a fresh revelation of details, that the day of the Lord is not, as men dreamt, at hand, that the end is not “by and by” (2 Thess. ii. 2; Luke xxi. 9). He appeals to a body of traditions—*i.e.*, of oral teaching, which certainly included portions of the Gospel history and of the teaching of Christ (2 Thess. ii. 15; 1 Cor. xi. 23; xv. 1, 2).

THE EPISTLES TO THE CHURCH OF CORINTH present the same general features as to the Coming of Christ, the revelation of Jesus Christ from Heaven, the Resurrection, and the Judgment (1 Cor. xv. 20–28). Their greater fullness naturally presents more points of contact with the Gospel history on which they rest. We meet with the names of Cephas (which we find in that form in John i. 43, and not elsewhere in the Gospels) and of the brethren of the Lord as familiar to that Church (1 Cor. i. 10; iii. 22; ix. 5). The command which Christ had given to His disciples to baptise all nations is known and acted on (1 Cor. i. 14). The story of the Cross is the theme of the Apostle’s preaching (1 Cor. i. 18). Christ is to him the impersonation of the Divine Wisdom (1 Cor. i. 30; Luke ii. 40, 52; xi. 49). He employs the imagery, which Christ had employed, of the Wise Builder who erects his fabric on a firm foundation (1 Cor. iii. 10; Luke vi. 48). He knows the lessons taught by the parable of the Steward (1 Cor. iv. 2; Luke xii. 42), and by that of the Unprofitable Servant (1 Cor. iv. 7; Luke

xvii. 10). The rule of the Sermon on the Mount for those who suffer persecution is his rule also (1 Cor. iv. 12, 13; Luke vi. 27, 28). He illustrates the spread of spiritual influence for good or evil by the same image that gives its distinctive character to the parable of the Leaven (1 Cor. v. 5; Gal. v. 9; Luke xiii. 20), and connects this with the sacrifice of Christ as the true Passover, on the day of that Feast (1 Cor. v. 7; Luke xxii. 15). He has received the thought that the saints shall judge the world (1 Cor. vi. 2; Matt. xix. 28), and on that ground urges men to submit now to injustice (1 Cor. vi. 6, 7; Luke vi. 29, 30). His thoughts of the holiness of marriage rest on the same grounds as those of Jesus (1 Cor. vi. 16; Matt. xix. 5, 6); and he, too, has learnt to see in man's body a temple of the Eternal Spirit (1 Cor. vi. 20; John ii. 21). Outward freedom and slavery are looked on by him as nothing compared with the true freedom of the spirit (1 Cor. vii. 22, 23; John viii. 36). He regards the life of the unmarried, when the choice is made for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake, as higher than that of the married (1 Cor. vii. 32; Matt. xix. 12). The special danger of over-anxiety about earthly things is to him known by the same word that our Lord had used (1 Cor. vii. 32—34; Luke x. 19). The very adverb which he employs to express freedom from it is taken from St. Luke's account of Martha as "cumbered" about much serving (1 Cor. vii. 35; Luke x. 40). He too echoes, in view of the troubles that were coming on the earth, the beatitude pronounced on the wombs that never bare (1 Cor. vii. 40; Luke xxiii. 29). With him, also,

it is not that which goes into the mouth that affects our acceptance with God (1 Cor. viii. 8; Mark vii. 18); and that which he seeks to avoid in eating or drinking is the offending others (1 Cor. viii. 13; Luke xvii. 1). His thoughts of the name, the function, the rights of an Apostle, are based upon our Lord's commission delivered to the Twelve and to the Seventy (1 Cor. ix. 4—14; Luke ix. 3; x. 7). He refers the last to the express commandment of Christ (1 Cor. ix. 14; Luke x. 7), and yet rises beyond those rights to the higher law of giving without receiving (1 Cor. ix. 18; Matt. x. 8). He uses the same unusual word for persistent "wearying" that St. Luke had used (1 Cor. ix. 27; Luke xviii. 5). The narrative of the Last Supper, with all the symbolic significance of its words and acts, with all the associations of the events that came before and after it, is assumed as part of the elementary knowledge of every Christian (1 Cor. x. 16, 17; xi. 23—26; Luke xxii. 19—23). His account of the appearances of our Lord after His Resurrection, though manifestly independent, includes some of those recorded in the Gospels (1 Cor. xv. 3—7; Luke xxiv. 34—36); and his teaching as to the "spiritual body" of the Resurrection agrees with the phenomena which they report (1 Cor. xv. 42—44; Luke xxiv. 36; John xx. 19). His Master's law of veracity in speech is his law also (2 Cor. i. 18; Matt. v. 37), as it had been that of St. James. Our Lord's formula of asseveration, Hebrew as it was, is his formula (2 Cor. i. 20; Luke iv. 24, *et al.*). His thoughts of his mission as a minister of the New Covenant are based on our Lord's words (2 Cor. iii. 6; Luke

xxii. 20). The words in which he speaks of the believer as "transfigured" from glory to glory, are manifestly an allusive reference to the history of Christ's transfiguration (2 Cor. iii. 18; Matt. xvii. 2). He looks forward to the manifestation of all secrets before the judgment seat of Christ (2 Cor. v. 10; Rom. xiv. 10; Matt. xxv. 31), and, almost as in Christ's own language, he states the purpose of His death (2 Cor. v. 15; Gal. i. 4; Mark x. 45). He thinks of Him as being made sin for us—*i.e.*, as being numbered with the transgressors (2 Cor. v. 21; Mark xv. 28), and dwells on the outward poverty of His life (2 Cor. viii. 9; Luke ix. 51), and its inward meekness and gentleness (2 Cor. x. 1; Matt. xi. 29).

We turn to the EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS. There the Apostle's knowledge of the higher truths of the Gospel has come to him, as it came to Peter, not by flesh and blood, but by a revelation from the Father (Gal. i. 12, 16; Matt. xvi. 17). References to external facts are, however, not wanting. The names of James, Cephas, and John are mentioned as already familiar to his Galatian converts (Gal. ii. 9). He echoes the very syllables of the prayer of Gethsemane (Gal. iv. 6; Rom. viii. 16; Mark xiv. 36). He mentions the birth of Christ ("made of a woman") in a way which at least suggests an acquaintance with St. Luke's account of the Incarnation (Gal. iv. 4; Luke i. 31). He sums up all duties of man to man in the self-same law which Christ had solemnly affirmed (Gal. v. 14; Rom. xiii. 9; Luke x. 27). His list of the works of the flesh reads like an echo of our Lord's list of "the things that defile a man" (Gal. v. 19—21; Mark vii. 21, 22).

In the EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS we have comparatively few of these references, but the great facts of the birth from the seed of David (Rom. i. 3), and the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ are assumed throughout (Rom. viii. 34; Eph. i. 20). The command to meet cursing with blessing is repeated (Rom. xii. 14; Luke vi. 28); as is also that of paying tribute to whom tribute is due (Rom. xiii. 7; Luke xx. 25). He has learnt the lesson that nothing that goes into the mouth can defile a man (Rom. xiv. 14; Mark vii. 18). In Rom. xvi. 25 he seems even to point to the existence of "prophetic writings," or "scriptures," as containing the substance of the gospel which he preached; and if we adopt the view that he refers here, not to the older prophets, but to contemporary writings (as St. Peter apparently does in the "prophetic word" of 2 Pet. i. 19), then we have a coincidence confirming St. Luke's statement that there were many such writings anterior to his Gospel (Luke i. 1), and explaining St. Paul's use of the term "scripture" as applied to a quotation from that Gospel (1 Tim. v. 8; Luke x. 7).

THE EPISTLES OF THE FIRST IMPRISONMENT—*i.e.*, PHILIPPIANS, EPHESIANS, COLOSSIANS—speak of Christ as "the beloved" of the Father (Eph. i. 6; Luke ix. 35). "Apostles and prophets" are joined together, as Christ had joined them, and in close connection with the Wisdom of God as sending them (Eph. iii. 5, 10; iv. 11; Luke xi. 49). The parable of the Bridegroom and the Bride is recognised and developed (Eph. v. 25; Matt. xxii. 1; xxv. 1; Luke xiv. 16), and our Lord's citation from Gen. ii. 24 recited (Eph. v. 31; Mark x. 7).

The writer knows that there is no respect of persons with the Lord Jesus (Eph. vi. 9; Cor. iii. 25; Matt. xxii. 16). He takes up and expands the thought of the "whole armour," the "panoply" of God, which is mightier than the "panoply" of evil (Eph. vi. 13; Luke xi. 22). He sees that the true redemption or deliverance of men is found in the forgiveness of sins (Col. i. 14; Luke i. 77; iii. 3). He expresses the perfect law of the believer's life in saying that all personal or corporate acts should be done in the name of the Lord Jesus (Col. iii. 17; 1 Cor. v. 4; Matt. xviii. 20). That name is above every name, because He who bore it, having been in the form of God, had emptied Himself of that glory, and had come to be in the likeness of man, and even in His manhood had humbled Himself still further, and become obedient unto death, even the death of the cross (Phil. ii. 6—9; Luke i. 32; ii. 51).

The PASTORAL EPISTLES—1 TIMOTHY, 2 TIMOTHY, TITUS—carry on the evidence. It is with him one of the faithful sayings, which are as the axioms of Christian doctrine, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners (1 Tim. i. 15; Luke v. 32), to give Himself as a ransom for all men (1 Tim. ii. 6; Matt. xx. 28). The earliest type of the Church's creed includes the Incarnation, the Visions of Angels, the Ascension, as they are recorded by St. Luke (1 Tim. iii. 16; Luke xxii. 43; xxiv. 4, 51; Acts i. 10). He lays down as the rule of discipline for the trial of offenders, that which, though previously acknowledged, had yet, in a specially solemn manner, been re-affirmed by Christ (1 Tim. v. 19; Matt. xviii. 16). He dwells on the good con-

fession which Jesus Christ had witnessed before Pontius Pilate (1 Tim. vi. 13; Luke xxiii. 3). He speaks of the far-off judgment, in Christ's own words, as simply "that day" (2 Tim. i. 18; Matt. vii. 22). He refers once more to his own Gospel as witnessing both to the Resurrection of Christ and His Descent from David (2 Tim. ii. 8). He states again, almost in the very words of Christ, the law of retribution according to which He will deny hereafter those that deny Him now, and will cause those that endure to be sharers in His kingdom (2 Tim. ii. 12; Luke ix. 26). Baptism is for him the washing of a new birth, and that by the working of the Spirit (Tit. iii. 5; John iii. 5). What has been said of the Second Epistle of St. Peter holds good of this last group of the Epistles that bear St. Paul's name. If they are not actually by him, they are yet unquestionably documents that carry us back to a period not later than the close of the First Century or the very beginning of the Second.

VII. The examples that have thus been collected are, it is believed, sufficient to show that the Epistles of the New Testament abound in references, not only to the great facts and doctrines of the Faith, but to the acts and teaching of Christ as recorded in the Gospels. And it must be remembered that there was nothing in the circumstances of the case to lead the writers to more than these incidental and allusive references. They were writing, not the Commentaries or the Sermons which belonged to a later age, but Epistles called for by special necessities, and not naturally suggesting, any more than analogous documents do now, a reference to the details of

the Gospel history; and therefore the fact that the allusions are as numerous as they are, may fairly be accepted as a proof that their memories were saturated, as it were, with the acts and the words of the life of Jesus. These formed the basis of the oral instruction given to every convert (Luke i. 3). They were part of the traditions of every Church, of the Gospel as preached by every Apostle and Evangelist. I do not say that they prove the existence of the first three Gospels as written books, but they prepare the way for all the special evidence—external and internal—which may be adduced on behalf of each of them, and show that they represent what was the current teaching of the Apostle's age. It is probable enough, looking to the literary activity of that time in all the cities of the empire, that there were, as St. Luke says (chap. i. 1), and as Papias implies (see Introduction to St. Matthew), many writers who undertook the task of embodying these floating traditions in writing. If out of these only three have survived, it is a natural inference that they were recognised as the most accurate or the most authoritative.

VIII. And it is at least a presumption in favour of the Gospels with which we are now dealing that they are ascribed to persons whose names were not of themselves clothed with any very high authority. A later writer, compiling a Gospel for Jewish Christians, would hardly have been likely to select the publican-Apostle, the object of scorn and hatred alike to his own countrymen and to the Gentiles, instead of St. Peter or St. Andrew; or the subordinate attendant on the Apostles, whose

help St. Paul had rejected because he had shown himself wavering and faint-hearted (Acts xii. 13; xx. 38); or the physician whose name just occurs incidentally in the salutations of three of St. Paul's later Epistles (Col. iv. 14; Philem. verse 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11). And yet, when we know the names, and track out the history of the men, we see that in each case they explain many of the phenomena of the books to which they are severally attached, and furnish many coincidences that are both interesting and evidential. In the case of one Gospel, that of St. Luke, there is besides this, so close an agreement between its vocabulary and that of St. Paul, that it is scarcely possible to come to any other conclusion than that the one writer was intimately acquainted with the other.

It may be added that whether from the sceptical point of view, or that of those who accept the first three Gospels as a real record of our Lord's words, there is *primâ facie* evidence that they took their present form before the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 72. The warnings of the great prediction of Matt. xxiii., Mark xiii., Luke xxi., as to "the abomination of desolation," and "Jerusalem compassed with armies," the counsel that men should "flee to the mountains" regardless of what they left behind them, the expectation suggested in them of the coming of the Son of Man immediately after the tribulation of those days, all indicate, on either hypothesis, a time of anxious and eager watching—a looking-for of those things that were coming on the earth, which exactly corresponds with the period between the persecution under Nero

and the invasion of Titus, and does not correspond to any period either before or after. There had not been time when the Gospels were written for men to feel the doubt and disappointment which showed themselves in the question, "Where then is the promise of His coming?" (2 Pet. iii. 4).

IX. The book known as the Acts of the Apostles is so manifestly the sequel to the Gospel of St. Luke that it can hardly be put in evidence as an independent witness. On the other hand, it contains elements of evidence, reports of speeches, and the like, that are independent. It shows (Acts xx. 25) that in the churches of Asia Minor, in the very region in which Papias afterwards wrote on the "sayings" or "oracles" of the Christ, the "words of the Lord Jesus" were recognised as at once familiar and authoritative, and that among those words were some that are not found in any of the extant Gospels. A series of coincidences, obviously undesigned, with the Epistles of St. Paul, in regard to facts, as seen, e.g., in Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, and yet more in respect of style and phraseology, as above stated, makes it all but certain that the two writers were contemporary. The fact that the last incident recorded in the Acts is St. Paul's arrival at Rome makes it, *primâ facie*, probable that the book was written shortly after the expiration of the two years of his sojourn there, with the mention of which the book concludes—i.e., about A.D. 65. But if so, then the Gospel to which it is a sequel could not well have been later, and thus the former conclusion gains an additional confirmation.

X. The elements of agreement

and of difference in the first three Gospels fall in, it is obvious, with the view just given of their origin and history. It is scarcely probable, though we are not justified in assuming it to be impossible, that any notes of our Lord's discourses, or parables, or shorter sayings, were taken at the time, or that records of His miracles were then and there reduced to writing. But in the East, as elsewhere, the memory of men is often active and retentive in proportion to the absence of written aid. Men recite long poems or discourses which they have learnt orally, or get into the way of repeating long narratives with comparatively slight variations. And so, when the Church was enlarged, first in Palestine and afterwards at Antioch and the other churches of the Gentiles, new converts would be instructed freely in the words and acts of the Master from whom they took the name of Christians. As the Church spread beyond the limits of Judæa, as it came to include converts of a higher culture, as it spread to countries where those who had been eye-witnesses were few and far between, there would naturally be a demand for documents which should preserve what had first been communicated by oral tradition only, and that demand was certain in its turn to create the supply. It was natural that each of the three great sections of the Church—that of the Hebrew section of the circumcision, represented by James, the Bishop of Jerusalem; that of Hellenistic Judaism mingling with the Gentiles, as represented by St. Peter; that of the more purely Gentile churches that had been founded by St. Paul—should have, each of

them, in the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke respectively, that which satisfied its wants. Each of those Gospels, as will be seen, had its distinctive features—St. Matthew conspicuous for the fullest report of discourses, St. Mark for graphic and vivid detail, St. Luke for a wider range of topic and of teaching, as the work of one who had more the training of a skilled historian, and who, though not an eye-witness, based his record upon fuller and more directly personal inquiries. For the circumstances which led to the composition of the fourth Gospel, and the position which it occupied in relation to the Three, see Introduction to St. John.

XI. The difference in tone and phraseology between the Gospels and the Epistles may fairly be urged as evidence of the earlier date, if not of the books themselves, yet of the teaching which they embody. (1) Throughout the Gospels the term by which our Lord most commonly describes Himself is the "Son of Man," and it occurs not less than eighty-four times in all. It expressed at once our Lord's fellowship with our humanity, and His specially Messianic character as fulfilling the vision of Dan. vii. 13. The faith of the disciples after the Resurrection and Ascension naturally fastened, however, on the higher truth that the Lord Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God; and the term so familiar to us in the records of the Gospels is not found in one solitary passage through the whole body of the Epistles, and the only examples of its use outside the Gospels are in Acts vii. 56, Rev. i. 13. In the latter of these two passages it is doubtful, from the absence of the

article, whether it is used in the same distinctive sense as in the Gospels, or as meaning simply "a son of man." The broad distinction thus presented can hardly be explained except on the hypothesis that the Gospel report of our Lord's teaching is faithful, and at least substantially accurate, unaffected by the phraseology and theology even of the earliest periods of the Church's history. (2) Hardly less striking is the contrast between the two groups of books as regards the use of another term—that of the *Church*, or *Ecclesia*—as describing the society of Christ's disciples. In the Acts and Epistles it meets us at every turn, 112 times in all. In the Gospels we find it in two passages only, Matt. xvi. 18; xvii. 17. Here also we may point to the fact as a proof that the reports of our Lord's teaching as preserved in the Gospels were entirely unaffected by the thoughts and language of the Apostolic Church, and bear upon them the face of originality and genuineness. (3) The absence of any reference in the Gospels to the controversies of the first century is another argument of like nature. We speak, and within due limits legitimately enough, of the characteristic tendencies and aims of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, of their connection with this or that Apostle or school of thought. But if tendencies and aims had prevailed over honesty and faithfulness in reporting, how strong would have been the temptation to put into our Lord's lips words that bore more or less directly on the questions which were agitating men's minds—on the necessity or the nullity of circumcision, on the justification by faith or works, on eating things

sacrificed to idols, on the reverence due to bishops and elders! All these things are, it need hardly be said, conspicuous by their absence. They are after-growths, which the teaching of Christ recorded in the Gospels does not even touch. The only controversies which it knows are those with Pharisees and Sadducees. The writers of the Gospels must have dealt faithfully with the materials which they found ready to their hands, and those materials must have been collected while the words and acts of Jesus were yet fresh in the memories of those who saw and heard them.

XII. It is indirectly a further argument of the early date of these three Gospels that so little has come down to us, outside their contents, as to the words and acts of Jesus. It lies in the nature of the case, as is, in part, seen by the success which attended the gleaning of which we have just spoken by St. Luke, in part also by the bold hyperbole of St. John's language as he dwelt on the things that Jesus had said or done (John xxi. 25), that there must have been much that has found no permanent record. The Apocryphal Gospels—few of them, if any (with the possible exception of the *Acta Pilati* and the *Descent into Hades*, known as the *Gospel of Nicodemus*), earlier than the fourth century—give little else but frivolous and fantastic legends. Here and there only are found fragments which may be authentic, though they lie outside the limits of the Canonical Gospels. Such as they are, it is interesting and may be profitable to gather up even these fragments so that nothing may be lost; but the fact that these are all, may fairly be ascribed to the prestige and

authority which attached to the Four that we now recognise, and to these only.

I give accordingly, in conclusion, the following sayings, reported as having been among the sayings of the Lord Jesus:—

(1) Quoted by St. Paul in Acts xx. 35, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

(2) An addition to Luke vi. 4, in Codex D, "And on the same day Jesus saw a man working at his craft on the Sabbath-day, and He said unto Him, 'Man, if thou knowest what thou doest, then art thou blessed; but if thou knowest not, then art thou accursed, and art a transgressor of the Law.'" There seems no reason why we should not receive the saying as authentic. Its teaching is in harmony with our Lord's reported words and acts, and it brings out with a marvellous force the distinction between the conscious transgression of a law recognised as still binding, and the assertion of a higher law as superseding the lower.

(3) Quoted by Origen (in *Joann.* xix.), "Be ye trustworthy money-changers." The word is the same as that used in the parable of the Talents (Matt. xxv. 27), and may well have been suggested by it. The saying appears to imply a two-fold parable. The disciples of Christ were to be as the money-changers (*a*) in their skill to distinguish the counterfeit coin from the true—to know, as it were, the ring of what was stamped with the King's image and superscription from that which was alloyed and debased; and (*b*) in the activity with which they laboured, and the wisdom which guided their labours, so that their Lord, at His

coming, might receive His own with usury.

(4) An addition in Codex D, to Matt. xx. 28, "But ye seek (or, perhaps, taking the verb as in the imperative, *seek ye*) to increase from little, and from greater to be less."

(5) From the Epistle of Barnabas, c. 4, "Let us resist all iniquity, and hold it in abhorrence."

(6) From the same, c. 7, "They who wish to see Me, and to lay hold on My Kingdom, must receive Me by affliction and suffering."

(7) From the Gospel of the Hebrews, quoted by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 9, § 45), "He that wonders [*i.e.*, apparently, with the wonder of reverential faith] shall reign, and he that reigns shall be made to rest."

(8) From Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 9, § 45), "Wonder thou at the things that are before thee." This and the preceding passage are quoted by Clement to show that in the teaching of Christ, as in that of Plato, wonder is at once the beginning and the end of knowledge.

(9) From the Ebionite Gospel, quoted by Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxx. 16), "I came to abolish sacrifices, and unless ye cease from sacrificing, the wrath (of God) will not cease from you."

(10) Quoted by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 6, § 34) and Origen (*de Oratione*, c. 2), "Ask great things, and small shall be added to you: ask heavenly things, and there shall be added unto you earthly things."

(11) Quoted by Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 47) and Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dives*, c. 40), "In the things wherein I find you, in them will I judge you."

(12) From Origen (*Comm. in Jer.* iii. p. 778), "He who is nigh unto

Me is nigh unto the fire: he who is far from Me is far from the kingdom." Ignatius (*ad Smyrn.* c. 4) has a like saying, but as a quotation: "To be near the sword is to be near God."

(13) The Pseudo-Clement of Rome (*Ep.* ii. 8), "If ye keep not that which was little, who will give you that which is great?"

(14) From the same (as before), "Keep the flesh pure, and the seal without stain." (The "seal" probably refers to Baptism as the sign of the Covenant.)

(15) From Clement of Alexandria, as a quotation from the Gospel according to the Egyptians (*Strom.* iii. 13, § 92), and the Pseudo-Clement of Rome (*Ep.* ii. 12). Salome, it is said, asked our Lord when His kingdom should come, and the things which He had spoken be accomplished; and He answered, "When the two shall be one, and that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female, neither male nor female." Another like saying is given by the Pseudo-Linus, "Unless ye make the left as the right, and the right as the left, and that which is above as that which is below, and that which is behind as that which is before, ye know not the kingdom of God." In the first of these we may trace a feeling analogous to that expressed by St. Paul in Gal. iii. 28; 1 Cor. vii. 29.

(16) Origen (in Matt. xii. 2), "For them that are infirm was I infirm, and for them that hunger did I hunger, and for them that thirst did I thirst."

(17) Jerome (in Eph. v. 3), "Never be ye joyful, except when ye have seen your brother (dwell-
ing) in love."

(18) Ignatius (*ad Smyrn.* c. 3). Our Lord, after His Resurrection, said to Peter, "Take hold, handle Me, and see that I am not a bodiless demon." This is obviously a reproduction of Luke xxiv. 39—the peculiarity being the use of the word "demon" for "spirit."

(19) *The Clementine Homilies*, xii. 29, "Good must needs come, but blessed is He through whom it comes."

(20) Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 10, § 64), "My mystery is for Me, and for the sons of My house." *The Clementine Homilies* (xix. 20) gives another version, "Keep My mysteries for Me, and for the sons of My house."

(21) Eusebius (*Theophania*, iv. 13), "I will choose these things to Myself. Very excellent are those whom My Father that is in heaven hath given Me."

(22) Papias (quoted by Irenæus, v. 33, 3), "The Lord said, speaking of His kingdom, The days will come in which vines shall spring up, each having ten thousand stocks, and on each stock ten thousand branches, and on each branch ten thousand shoots, and on each shoot ten thousand bunches, and on each

bunch ten thousand grapes, and each grape when pressed will give five-and-twenty measures of wine. And when any saint shall have laid hold on one bunch, another shall cry, 'I am a better bunch, take me; through me bless the Lord.'" This is followed by a like statement as to the productiveness of ears of corn, and then by a question from Judas the traitor, who asks, "How shall such products come from the Lord?" and who receives the answer, "They shall see who come to Me in these times."

The above extracts are taken from Dr. Westcott's *Introduction to the Gospels, App. C*. In some of them, as has been said above, there is no internal difficulty in receiving the words as they stand, as not unworthy of the Teacher to whom they are ascribed. In others, as notably in (15) and (22), whatever nucleus of truth there was at first has been encrusted over with mystic or fantastic imaginations. None, of course, can claim any authority, but some, pre-eminently perhaps (2), (3), and (10), are at least suggestive enough to be fruitful in deep thoughts and salutary warnings.

V.—THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

I. THE Christian Church found itself, as we have seen, in the middle of the second century in possession of the four Canonical Gospels, and of these alone, as authentic records of the words and acts of its Lord. Each was obviously but a fragmentary memoir. They were almost as obviously, though in part, derived from

common sources, independent of each other. It was natural, as soon as they came to be read and studied by men with anything like the culture of historians, that they should wish to combine what they found separate, and to construct, as far as might be, a continuous narrative. So, as we have seen, Tatian, of the Syrian Church,

compiled his *Diatessaron* (circ. A.D. 170), a book which, though now altogether lost, was once so popular that Theodoret (*Hær.* i. 20) states in the fifth century that he had found not fewer than 200 copies in the churches of his own diocese; and about half a century later a like work was undertaken by Ammonius of Alexandria. The historical mode of study fell, however, for many centuries into disuse, and it was not till the revival of learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that attempts, more or less elaborate, were made, first by Gerson, the famous Chancellor of the University of Paris (ob. A.D. 1429), to whom some have attributed the authorship of the *De Imitatione Christi*, and Osiander, the friend of Luther (A.D. 1561), to place all the facts recorded in the four Gospels in their order of chronological sequence. Since that time Harmonies have multiplied, and while, on the one hand, they have often helped the student to see facts in their right relation to each other, they have, on the other, it may be feared, tended to perplex him by their divergent methods and consequently discordant conclusions.

II. It may be admitted that the four Gospels do not lend themselves very readily to this process. That of St. John, which is most precise in its notes of time, as connecting well-nigh every incident which it records with a Jewish feast, is the one which stands most apart, with only here and there a connecting-link from the other three, confining itself almost exclusively to our Lord's ministry in Judæa, as they confine themselves to His work in Galilee. The two which have so much in common, St. Matthew and

St. Mark, that the one has been thought, though wrongly, to be but an abridgment of the other, differ so much in their arrangement of the facts which they record that it is clear either one or both must have been led to adopt an order which was not that of actual sequence. St. Luke, though aiming, more than the others, at chronological exactness (Luke i. 3), was dependent on the reports of others. Probably the very mode in which facts and sayings were for several years transmitted orally and separately made it often difficult to assign to each event its proper place in the series. The assumption, on which some have started, that the order in each Gospel must be accepted as free from the possibility of error in the order of its incidents, has led to an artificial and arbitrary multiplication of similar events, such as would at once be dismissed as untenable in dealing with any other histories. Men have found in the Gospels three blind men at Jericho, and two anointings at Bethany. The counter-assumption that no two events, no two discourses in the Gospels could be like each other and yet distinct, has led to equally arbitrary and fantastic curtailment of the facts. Men have assumed the identity of the feeding of the Five and of the Four Thousand; of the anointing which St. Luke records in chap. vii., in the house of Simon the Pharisee, with that which the other Gospels record as taking place in the house of Simon the leper (Matt. xxvi. 6—13; Mark xiv. 3—9; John xii. 1—11); of the cleansing of the Temple in John ii., at the commencement of our Lord's ministry, with that which the other Gospels

relate as occurring at its close (Matt. xxi. 12—17; Mark xi. 15—19; Luke xix. 45—48).

III. Admitting, however, these elements of difficulty and uncertainty, it yet remains true that they are more than balanced by the advantage of being able to connect one Gospel with another, and to read the narratives of the first three in their right relation to those of the fourth. If difficulties present themselves, so also do coincidences, often of great significance and interest. It is believed, therefore, that it will be a gain for the readers of this volume to have, ready at hand for reference, such a harmonised table of its contents. That which follows is based, though not without variations here and there, made in the exercise of independent judgment, upon the arrangement of the *Synopsis Evangelica* of the great German scholar Tischendorf, as that in its turn was based upon a like work of Wieseler's. It has been thought expedient to give the results rather than to discuss the views which have been maintained on each point that has been thought open to discussion by this or that writer. It is not pretended that what is now presented is throughout free from uncertainty; and where the uncertainty exists, it will be indicated in the usual way by a note of interrogation—(?).

IV. It will be expedient, however, to state briefly what are the chief *data* for the harmony that follows, both in relation (A) to external harmony, and (B) to the internal arrangement of the Gospel narrative that follows:—

A.—(1) Luke iii. 1 fixes the beginning of John the Baptist's

ministry in the fifteenth year of Tiberius. This may be reckoned, either from the death of Augustus (A.U.C. 767), or from A.U.C. 765, when he associated Tiberius with himself as sharing the imperial power. The latter calculation is the one generally adopted. As our Lord is stated to have been at that time "about thirty years of age," this would place His birth in A.U.C. 752 or 750. (2) The narrative of Matt. ii. 1 shows the birth of Jesus to have preceded the death of Herod the Great, which took place shortly before the Passover of A.U.C. 756 or B.C. 4. (3) John ii. 20 fixes the first Passover in our Lord's ministry as forty-six years from the beginning of Herod's work of reconstruction, on which he entered in A.U.C. 734—*i.e.*, in A.U.C. 780; and this agrees with St. Luke's statement as to His age at the commencement of His ministry.

Under (B) the chief points are those which are common to all four Gospels. (1) The baptism of Jesus; (2) the imprisonment of the Baptist; (3) the feeding of the Five Thousand; (4) the last entry into Jerusalem, followed by the Crucifixion. In addition to these, as notes of time peculiar to the Gospels that contain them, we note (1) St. Luke's second-first Sabbath, which, however, is for us too obscure to be of much service as a landmark, and the successive feasts mentioned by St. John, *sc.*, (2) the Passover of chap. ii. 13; (3) the unnamed Feast of chap. v. 1; (4) the Passover of chap. vi. 4, coinciding with the feeding of the Five Thousand, and therefore important in its bearing on the other Gospels; (5) the Feast of Tabernacles in chap. vii. 2; (6) the Feast of the Dedication in chap. x. 22; and,

lastly, (7) the final Passover (chap. xii. 1), in common with the other three. The last-mentioned Feast, however, while it serves, on the one hand, to connect the history with that of the other Gospels, introduces a new difficulty. It cannot be questioned that the impression naturally left by Matt. xxvi. 17—19, Mark xiv. 12—16, Luke xxii. 7—13, is that the meal of which our Lord partook with the disciples was the actual Passover. It can as little be questioned that the impression naturally left by John xiii. 1, 29, xviii. 28, is that the Passover was eaten by the Jews on the evening after the Crucifixion. The question is hardly important except as bearing upon the trustworthiness or authority of the Gospel narratives, but the view which commends itself to the present writer as most probable is that which assumes our Lord and the disciples to have eaten the actual Passover at the same hour as the majority of the other Jews were eating it, and that the priests and others who took part in the proceedings against our Lord postponed their Passover, under the pressure of circumstances, till the *afternoon*, not the *evening*, of Friday (John xviii. 28). That Friday, it may be noted, was the Preparation, not for the Passover as such, but for the great Sabbath of the Paschal week.

A further, but minor, difficulty presents itself as to the hour of the Crucifixion. Mark xv. 26 names the "third hour"—*i.e.*, 2 a.m.; and the "sixth hour," or noon, is fixed by the first three Gospels as the time when the mysterious darkness began to fall upon the scene (Matt. xxvii. 45; Mark xv. 33; Luke xxiii. 44). St.

John, on the other hand, names "about the sixth hour" (xix. 14) as the time when Jesus was condemned by Pilate. Here, however, the explanation lies almost on the surface. St. John used the Roman reckoning, and the Three the Jewish; so that their "early in the morning" and his "about 6 a.m." came to the same thing.

V. A word ought, perhaps, to be said in explanation of the fact that we place the birth of Jesus, not as might have been expected, in A.D. 1, but in B.C. 4. The mode of reckoning by the "year of our Lord" was first introduced by Dionysius the Little, a monk of Rome, in his *Cyclus Paschalis*, a treatise on the computation of Easter, in the first half of the sixth century. Up to that time the received computation of events through the Western portion of Christendom had been from the supposed foundation of Rome (B.C. 754), and events were marked accordingly as happening in this or that year *Anno Urbis Condite*, or by the initial letters A.U.C. In the East some historians continued to reckon from the era of Seleucidæ, which dated from the accession of Seleucus Nicator to the monarchy of Syria in B.C. 312. The new computation was naturally received by Christendom (it first appears as a date for historical events in Italy in the sixth century), and adopted without adequate inquiry till the sixteenth century. A more careful examination of the *data* presented by the Gospel history, and in particular by the fact that the birth of Christ preceded the death of Herod, showed that Dionysius had made a mistake of four years, or perhaps more, in his calculations. The

- A.D. Mark vi. 17—20; Luke iii. 19, 20; Jesus returns through Samaria (John iv. 1—42) into Galilee (Matt. iv. 12; Mark i. 14; Luke iv. 14).
26. Jesus again at Cana: healing of the son of the king's officer of Capernaum (John iv. 43—54).
- The first sermon at Nazareth; DAY OF ATONEMENT (?); October (?); settlement at Capernaum (Luke iv. 16—30).
27. FEAST OF PASSOVER, March (?); PENTECOST, May, A.D. 26 (?); TABERNACLES, October, A.D. 26 (?); or PURIM, February, A.D. 27 (?), most probably the last, at Jerusalem; the cripple at Bethesda (John v. 1—9).
- Jesus begins His public ministry in Galilee (Matt. iv. 17; Mark i. 14, 15).
- Call of Peter, Andrew, James, and John (Matt. iv. 18—22; Mark i. 16—20; Luke v. 1—11 ?).
- Miracles at Capernaum (Matt. viii. 14—17; Mark i. 29—34; Luke iv. 31—41).
- Mission journey through Galilee, including Chorazin (?), Bethsaida (?), Matt. iv. 23; Mark i. 38, 39; Luke iv. 42—44).
- Leper healed (Matt. viii. 1—4; Mark i. 40—45; Luke v. 12—15).
- Capernaum: paralytic healed (Matt. ix. 1—8; Mark ii. 1—12; Luke v. 18—26).
- Capernaum: call of Levi-Matthew (Matt. ix. 9—17; Mark ii. 13—22; Luke v. 27, 28).
- Near Capernaum: second-first Sabbath, March (?), April (?), (Matt. xii. 1—8; Mark ii. 23—28; Luke vi. 1—5).
27. Capernaum: the withered hand healed on the Sabbath (Matt. xii. 9—13; Mark iii. 1—6; Luke vi. 6—11).
- Choice of the Twelve Apostles (Matt. x. 2—4; Mark iii. 16—19; Luke vi. 14—16).
- The Sermons on the Mount (Matt. v., vi., vii.) and on the Plain (Luke vi. 26—65).
- Capernaum: centurion's servant healed (Matt. viii. 5—13; Luke vii. 1—10).
- Nain: widow's son raised to life (Luke vii. 11—17).
- Messengers sent by John the Baptist (Matt. xi. 2—19; Luke vii. 18—35).
- House of Simon the Pharisee; the woman that was a sinner (Luke vii. 36—50).
- Journey through Palestine, followed by devout women (Luke viii. 1—3).
- The charge of casting out devils by Beelzebub (Matt. xii. 22—37; Mark iii. 22—30; Luke xi. 14—26).
- Visit of mother and brethren of Jesus (Matt. xii. 46—50; Mark iii. 31—35; Luke viii. 19—21).
- The first teaching by parables (Matt. xiii. 1—53; Mark iv. 1—34; Luke viii. 4—18; xiii. 18—21).
- Sea of Galilee: the tempest calmed (Matt. viii. 23—27; Mark iv. 35—41; Luke viii. 22—25).
- The Gadarene demoniac (Matt. viii. 28—34; Mark v. 1—20; Luke viii. 26—39).
- Daughter of Jairus raised to life (Matt. ix. 18—26; Mark v. 22—43; Luke viii. 40—56).

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| <p>A.D.
27. Nazareth: second discourse in the synagogue (Matt. xiii. 54—58; Mark vi. 1—6).</p> <p>— Renewed journey through Galilee (Matt. ix. 35—38; Mark vi. 6).</p> <p>— Mission of the Twelve Apostles (Matt. x. 1—42; Mark vi. 7—13; Luke ix. 1—6).</p> <p>— Execution of John the Baptist, March (?), (Matt. xiv. 6—12; Mark vi. 21—29).</p> <p>— Herod the Tetrarch hears of Jesus (Matt. xiv. 1, 2; Mark vi. 14—16; Luke ix. 7—9).</p> <p>— Return of the Twelve to Bethsaida; feeding of the Five Thousand; PASSOVER (Matt. xiv. 13—21; Mark vi. 30—44; Luke ix. 10—17; John vi. 1—14).</p> <p>— Sea of Galilee: Jesus walks on the waters (Matt. xiv. 22—33; Mark vi. 45—52; John vi. 15—21).</p> <p>— Gennesaret: works of healing (Matt. xiv. 34—36; Mark vi. 53—56).</p> <p>— Capernaum: SABBATH AFTER PASSOVER; discourse on the Bread of Life (John vi. 22—65).</p> <p>— Pharisees from Jerusalem charge the disciples with eating with unwashed hands (Matt. xv. 1—20; Mark vii. 1—23).</p> <p>— Coasts of Tyre and Sidon: daughter of Syro-Phœnician woman healed (Matt. xv. 21—28; Mark vii. 25—30).</p> <p>— Deaf and dumb (Matt. xv. 29—31; Mark vii. 31—37).</p> <p>— Feeding of the Four Thousand (Matt. xv. 32—38; Mark viii. 1—9).</p> | <p>A.D.
27 Pharisees and Sadducees demand a sign from heaven (Matt. xvi. 1—4; Mark viii. 10—12).</p> <p>— Bethsaida: blind man healed (Mark viii. 22—26).</p> <p>— Cæsarea Philippi: Peter's confession (Matt. xvi. 13—28; Mark viii. 27—ix. 1; Luke ix. 18—27; John vi. 66—71 ?).</p> <p>— Hermon (?); Tabor (?): the Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1—13; Mark ix. 2—13; Luke ix. 28—36).</p> <p>— Base of Hermon (?): demoniac healed (Matt. xvii. 14—21; Mark ix. 14—29; Luke ix. 37—43).</p> <p>— The Passion foretold (Matt. xvii. 22, 23; Mark ix. 30—32; Luke ix. 43—45).</p> <p>— Capernaum (?): payment of <i>didrachma</i>, or Temple-rate, April (?), May (?), (Matt. xvii. 24—27).</p> <p>— Rivalry of disciples, and consequent teaching (Matt. xviii. 1—35; Mark ix. 33—50; Luke ix. 46—50).</p> <p>— Journey through Samaria; new disciples; Jerusalem: FEAST OF TABERNACLES, October (Matt. viii. 19—22; Luke ix. 51—62; John vii. 1—53).</p> <p>— Jerusalem: the woman taken in adultery (John vii. 53—viii. 11).</p> <p>— Jerusalem: discourse in Temple; blind man healed at Siloam (John viii. 21—59; John ix. 1—41).</p> <p>— Jerusalem: the Good Shepherd (John x. 1—18).</p> <p>— Mission and return of the Seventy (Luke x. 1—24).</p> <p>— Parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke x. 25—37).</p> |
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| <p>A.D.
 27. Bethany: Jesus in the house of Martha (Luke x. 38—42).
 — Disciples taught to pray (Luke xi. 1—13).
 — Two blind men healed (Matt. ix. 27—31).
 — Demoniac healed; subsequent teaching (Matt. ix. 32—34; xii. 38—45; Luke xi. 14—36).
 — Peræa (?); Galilee (?); teaching on various occasions (Luke xi. 37—xiii. 21).
 — Jerusalem: FEAST OF DEDICATION, December 20—27 (John x. 22—39).
 28. January: Jesus on the east side of Jordan (John x. 40—42).
 — Jesus begins to prepare for the journey to Jerusalem; message from Herod (Luke xiii. 22—35).
 — East side of Jordan: teaching, including parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Piece of Money, Prodigal Son, Unjust Steward, the Rich Man and Lazarus, &c. (Luke xiv. 1—xvii. 10).
 — Progress towards Jerusalem (Matt. xix. 1; Mark x. 1; Luke xvii. 11).
 — The ten lepers; teaching, including parables of Unjust Judge, Pharisee and Publican (Luke xvii. 12—xviii. 14).
 — Teaching as to divorce and infants (Matt. xix. 3—15; Mark x. 2—16; Luke xviii. 15—17, infants only).
 — Dialogue with the rich young ruler (?), (Matt. xix. 16—30; Mark x. 17—31; Luke xviii. 18—30).
 — Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard (Matt. xx. 1—16).</p> | <p>A.D.
 28. Bethany: raising of Lazarus (John xi. 1—46).
 — Ephraim: retirement of Jesus (John xi. 47—54).
 — Request of the sons of Zebedee (Matt. xx. 20—28; Mark x. 35—45).
 — Jericho: two blind men healed (Matt. xx. 29—34; Mark x. 46—52; Luke xviii. 35—43).
 — Jericho: Jesus in the house of Zacchæus (Luke xix. 1—10).
 — Parable of the Pounds (Luke xix. 11—28).
 — Bethany: Jesus anointed by Mary, EVENING OF SABBATH BEFORE THE PASS-OVER.
 — Bethany and Jerusalem: FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK: kingly Entry into the city (Matt. xxi. 1—11; Mark xi. 1—11; Luke xix. 29—44; John xii. 12—19).
 — SECOND DAY OF THE WEEK: Bethany and Jerusalem; the barren fig-tree (Matt. xxi. 18—22; Mark xi. 12—14, 20—25).
 — Cleansing of the Temple (Matt. xxi. 12—17; Mark xi. 15—19; Luke xix. 45—48).
 — Parables: discussions with Pharisees, Herodians, Sadducees, and lawyers (Matt. xxi. 23—xxii. 46; Mark xi. 27; xii. 40; Luke xx. 1—44).
 — The last discourse against the Pharisees (Matt. xxiii. 1—39; Mark xii. 38—40; Luke xx. 45—47).
 — The widow's mite (Mark xii. 41—44; Luke xxi. 1—4).
 — The Greeks in Jerusalem (?): the voice from heaven (John xii. 20—36).</p> |
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A.D.

28. Prophetic discourse of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the second Advent (Matt. xxiv. 1—42; Mark xiii. 1—37; Luke xxi. 5—36).
- The parables of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the Talents, the Sheep and the Goats (Matt. xxv. 1—46).
- **THIRD DAY OF THE WEEK**: passed by Jesus in Bethany and Gethsemane (?), Jerusalem (?); compact of Judas with the chief priests (Matt. xxvi. 1—5, 14—16; Mark xiv. 1, 2, 10, 11; Luke xxii. 1—6).
- **FOURTH DAY OF THE WEEK**: nothing recorded; Bethany (?), Gethsemane (?), Jerusalem (?).
- **FIFTH DAY OF THE WEEK**: Peter and John sent from Bethany to Jerusalem; **THE PASSOVER SUPPER**; the Feast of the New Covenant; dialogue and discourses.
- Gethsemane (Matt. xxvi. 17—46; Mark xiv. 12—42; Luke xxii. 7—46; John xiii. 1—xvii. 26).
- **SIXTH DAY OF THE WEEK**: 3 A.M., Jesus taken in Gethsemane; brought before Annas; Peter's denial (Matt. xxvi. 47—75; Mark xiii. 43—72; Luke xxii. 47—62; John xviii. 2—18).
- 6 A.M. The trial before Caiaphas

A.D.

- and the Sanhedrin; their second meeting; Jesus sent to Pilate; suicide of Judas.
28. Jesus before Pilate, Herod, and Pilate again; the people demand release of Barabbas; Jesus led to Golgotha (Matt. xxvi. 59—xxvii. 34; Mark xiv. 55—xv. 23; Luke xxii. 63—xxiii. 33; John xviii. 19—xix. 17).
- 9 A.M. The Crucifixion (Matt. xxvii. 35—44; Mark xv. 24—32; Luke xxiii. 33—43; John xix. 18—27).
- Noon to 3 P.M. Darkness over the land; death of Jesus (Matt. xxvii. 45—56; Mark xv. 29—41; Luke xxiii. 44—46; John xix. 28—30).
- 6 P.M. Embalment and entombment by Joseph of Arimathæa, Nicodemus, and devout women; priests apply for a guard over the sepulchre (Matt. xxvii. 57—66; Mark xv. 42—47; Luke xxiii. 50—56; John xix. 38—42).
- **SABBATH**: disciples and women rest (Luke xxiii. 56).
- **FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK**: the Resurrection (Matt. xxviii. 1—20; Mark xvi. 1—20; Luke xxiv. 1—43; John xx. 1—xxi. 25).
- **TEN DAYS BEFORE PENTECOST** (?): the Ascension (Mark xvi. 19, 20; Luke xxiv. 44—53).

ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE LATE VERY REV. E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D.

I. The Author.—The facts presented by the New Testament records are few and simple. In Mark ii. 14, Luke v. 27, we find Levi, the son of Alphæus, sitting at the receipt of custom (better, perhaps, *at the custom house*) in Capernaum. He is identified by Matt. ix. 9 with the “man that was named Matthew.” The second name may have been given by our Lord, as Peter was given to Simon, or taken by him of his own accord. Its meaning, as “God-given,” like Theodorus, Theodoretus, Dorotheus, Adeodatus, made it a suitable name for one to take for whom old things had passed away and all things had become new, and who thanked God for that unspeakable gift; and its historical associations with the name of the great Mattathias, the father of the Maccabæan heroes, made it—as we see in the case of Matthias, another form of the name—one of the names which, like Judas and Simon, had become popular with all true patriots. In the lists of the Apostles his name is always found in the second group of four, with Thomas, James (or Jacob) the son of Alphæus, and Judas the son (or brother) of James. If, as seems probable, we recognise in Mark ii. 14 the same Alphæus as in Mark iii. 18, we have another instance, in addition to the sons of Jona and of Zebedee, of two, or possibly three, brothers called to act together as Apostles.

A not improbable conjecture leads us a step further. The name of Matthew is coupled, in all the lists in the Gospels, with that of Thomas—sometimes one, sometimes the other name taking precedence—and as Thomas, or Didymus (John xi. 16, xxi. 2), signifies “Twin,” there is, *primâ facie*, good ground for the inference that he was so known as the twin-brother of Matthew. The Alphæus who is named as the father of the second James in the lists of the Apostles is commonly identified with the *Clopas* of John xix. 25, where the Authorised Version wrongly gives Cleophas. This cannot, however, be regarded as certain, and there are serious considerations against it. Mary, the wife of Clopas, is described (Mark xv. 40) as the mother of James the Little and Joses. But the union of these two names (as in Mark vi. 3) suggests that the Evangelist speaks of the brethren of our Lord, and therefore not of James the Apostle. Either, therefore, Clopas and Alphæus are not different forms of the same name, or, if they are, the two forms were used, for the sake of clearness, to distinguish the father of the three or four Apostles from the father, on this assumption, of the four “brethren” of our Lord. Possibly, however, the sons of Clopas have, in their turn also, to be distinguished both from the Apostles and the brethren.

Assuming these facts, the circumstances of the call of Matthew gain a fresh interest. The brothers of the Evangelist may have been already among the disciples who had acknowledged Jesus as the Christ, or at least as a great Prophet. Matthew may have seen and heard Him as He taught in the synagogue of Capernaum. The events which immediately preceded his call had been the healing of the man sick of the palsy, and the proclamation that the Son of Man had power on earth to forgive sins (Matt. ix. 1—8; Mark ii. 1—12; Luke iii. 17—26). We are led to believe, by the readiness with which he obeyed the call of Jesus, that the good seed had already been sown. But he was a publican. He had chosen for himself a calling more lucrative than that of the fisherman or the peasant, but one which brought with it an evil repute and a sense of degradation. The Pharisees shrank from his touch. His companions were "publicans and sinners" like himself. Could he any longer claim to be a "son of Abraham"? (Luke xix. 9.) Would the new Teacher deign to receive him, or even speak to him?

To one in such a state of feeling, the command "Follow Me" would be in itself a gospel. Regardless, apparently, of its being one of the traditional fast-days, which the Pharisees were observing with their usual strictness, he called together his friends and neighbours, mostly of the same calling as himself, and gave them a farewell feast, that they too might hear "the words of grace," in which his soul had found the starting-point of a new life (Matt. ix. 10; Mark ii. 15; Luke v. 29).

Of the rest of his life we know but very little. Called now to be a disciple, he, with his brothers, was chosen afterwards—much, we may believe, to his own astonishment—to be one of the Twelve who were the special envoys of the anointed King. The union of his name with that of Thomas suggests the inference that the two twins were joined together in the work of proclaiming the Gospel. He is with the other disciples in the upper chamber after the Ascension, and on the day of Pentecost (Acts i. 13; ii. 1). From that date, as far as the New Testament is concerned, he disappears from view.

A comparatively late tradition (Euseb. *Hist.* iii. 24; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi.) represents him as having preached for fifteen years in Judæa, and ultimately died a martyr's death in Parthia or Ethiopia (Socrates, *Hist.* i. 19). Clement of Alexandria, however, speaks of his dying a natural death. The fact that Thomas also is reported to have founded churches in Parthia and Ethiopia (Euseb. *Hist.* iii. 1) is at least in harmony with the thought that then, as before during their Lord's ministry on earth, they had been fellow-workers together to the end. An independent tradition that Pantænus, the great Alexandrian missionary, had found the Gospel of St. Matthew among the Indians (Euseb. *Hist.* v. 10) points in the same direction. His asceticism led him to a purely vegetarian diet (Clem. Alex. *Pædag.* ii. 1, § 16). A characteristic saying is ascribed to him by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vii. 13)—"If the neighbour of an elect man sin, the elect man himself has sinned, for had he conducted himself as

the Word (or, perhaps, as *Reason*) commands, his neighbour would have felt such reverence for his life as to refrain from sin." The thought thus expressed is obviously one that might naturally come from the lips of the Apostle, who had not only recorded the Sermon on the Mount, but had framed his life upon its teaching. (Comp. especially Matt. v. 13—16.)

II. The Authorship and Sources of the Gospel.—It has been rightly urged that the very obscurity of St. Matthew's name and the odium attached to his calling, made it antecedently improbable that a later pseudonymous writer would have chosen him as the Apostle on whom to affiliate a book which he wished to invest with a counterfeit authority. On the other hand, assuming his authorship as a hypothesis calling for examination, there are many coincidences which at least render it probable. His occupation as a publican must have involved a certain clerkly culture which would make him, as it were, the scholar of the company of the Twelve, acquainted, as his calling required him to be, with Greek as well as Aramaic, familiar with pen and paper. Then, or at a later date, as growing out of that culture, he must have acquired that familiarity with the writings of the Old Testament which makes his Gospel almost a manual of Messianic prophecy.* The external evidence

begins, as we have seen, with Papias (A.D. 170), who states that Matthew compiled a record of the "oracles" or "sayings" of the Lord Jesus (Euseb. *Hist.* iii. 39). As the work of Papias is known to us only by a few fragmentary quotations, we have, of course, no adequate *data* for proving the identity of the book which he names with what we now know as the Gospel according to Matthew. But the account which he gives of it shows a precise agreement with the prominence given in that Gospel more than in any other to our Lord's discourses; and it is, to say the least, a strained hypothesis, hardly likely to suggest itself except for the sake of a foregone conclusion, to assume the existence of a vanished Gospel bearing Matthew's name, and afterwards superseded by the work of a pseudonymous writer. Papias, it may be added, is described by Eusebius (*Hist.* iii. 39) as having been a hearer of St. John and a friend of Polycarp. He describes himself as caring less for what he found in books—thus implying the existence of many narratives such as St. Luke speaks of (chap. i. 1)—than for what he gathered by personal inquiry from the elders who remembered the Apostles, and who could thus repeat what the Lord Jesus had taught. To him the "living voice," still abiding with the Church, was the most precious of all records, and upon these he based what appears to have been the first Commentary on the Gospel-history and the words of Jesus.

* In St. Matthew's Gospel there are no less than eleven direct citations from the Old Testament, not including those reported as spoken by our Lord. In St. Mark there are two, of which one is doubtful; in St. Luke three; in St. John nine. It is, on any view, striking, that this reference to the teaching of the older

Scriptures should characterise the Gospels of the two Apostles rather than those of the two Evangelists who wrote specially for Gentiles.

He names Arision and John the Presbyter as his two chief informants. Eusebius, while admitting his industry in thus collecting the fragments of apostolic tradition, looks on him as wanting in discernment, and mingling with what was authentic matter that which was strange and legendary. Among these fragments he seems to have included the narrative of the woman taken in adultery ("a woman accused before the Lord of many sins," Euseb. *Hist.* iii. 39), which, though found at present in St. John, bears every mark of having been inserted in that Gospel after it had left the hands of its writer.

III. The Aim and Characteristics of the Gospel.—There was a widely diffused tradition, as early as the second century, that the Gospel of St. Matthew had been written primarily for Hebrew Christians. By many it was believed that it had been written originally in the Hebrew or Aramaic of the time, and that we have only a version of it. So Papias writes that Matthew composed his Gospel in the Hebrew tongue, and that each interpreted it as he could (Euseb. *Hist.* iii. 39); and the statement is repeated by Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 1), who adds, that it was written while St. Peter and St. Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome, *i.e.*, *circ.* A.D. 63—65, and by Jerome (*Præf. in Matt.*). There is, however, no evidence of the actual existence of such a Hebrew Gospel, and the Greek text now received bears no marks of being a translation. The belief that it was, in the intention of the writer, meant for readers who were of the stock of Abraham, receives, at any rate, abundant confirmation

from its internal peculiarities. It presents numerous and striking parallelisms with the Epistle which James, the brother of the Lord, addressed to the Twelve Tribes scattered abroad. It begins with a genealogy—a "book of the generations" of the Christ (Matt. i. 1)—after the manner of the old Hebrew histories (Gen. v. 1; x. 1; xxxvi. 1; Ruth iv. 8). It is contented to trace the descent of the Christ from Abraham through David and the kingly line, without ascending, as St. Luke does, to Adam. It dwells, as has been said, with far greater fulness than any other Gospel, on the Messianic prophecies, direct or typical, of the Old Testament. It does not explain Jewish customs, as St. Mark and St. Luke do. (Comp. Matt. xv. 1, 2, with Mark vii. 3, 4.) It sets forth more fully than they do the contrast between the royal law, the perfect law of freedom (Jas. i. 25; ii. 12), and the corrupt traditions and casuistry of the scribes (Matt. v., vi., xxiii.). It uses the distinctly Hebrew formula of "the kingdom of heaven,"* where the other Evangelists speak of "the kingdom of God." It records the rending of the veil of the Temple, the earthquake and the signs that followed it, which, at the time, could hardly have had any special significance except for Jews (Matt. xxvii. 51—53). It reports and refutes the explanation which the Jewish priests gave at the time he wrote, of the marvel of the emptied sepulchre (Matt. xxviii. 11—15). It dwells more than the others do

* The phrase occurs thirty-two times in St. Matthew, and nowhere else in the New Testament.

on the aspect of the future kingdom which represents the Apostles as sitting on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt. xx. 28). Such features were naturally to be looked for in a Gospel intended for Israelites. We may add that they were also natural in the Gospel of the publican. Foremost among the emotions of one who was called from the receipt of custom, would be the joy that he too was now, at last, recognised as a child of Abraham. To him it would be a welcome task to contrast the higher and purer doctrine of the Lord who had called him, with that of the Pharisees who had scorned and thrust him out. We may, perhaps, even trace the influence of his experience as a collector of customs, in the care with which he brings together his Master's warnings against the vain and rash swearing, and the false distinctions as to the validity of different oaths (Matt. v. 34—37; xxiii. 16—22) which, common as they were in all times and places, were sure to be loudest and least trustworthy in disputes between the publican and the payers of an *ad valorem* duty.

There was, however, another aspect of the publican character. The work of St. Matthew had brought him into contact with those who were known as the "sinners of the Gentiles" (Gal. ii. 15). He had called them to share his joy in the first glow of his conversion (Matt. ix. 10). The new consciousness of being indeed one of a chosen and peculiar people passed, not, as with the Pharisees, into the stiffness of a national exclusive pride, but, as a like consciousness did afterwards in St. Paul, into the sense of universal

brotherhood. And so he is careful to record that visit of the Magi in whom Christendom has rightly seen the first-fruits of the calling of the Gentiles (Matt. ii. 1—12). He dwells, if not exclusively, yet emphatically, on the far-off prospect of men coming from east and west, and north and south, and sitting down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob (Matt. viii. 11). He records the parable which represents the servants of the great King as sent forth to gather guests for the marriage feast from the "by-ways" of the Gentile world (Matt. xxii. 10). He sets forth the law of compassionate judgment, which shall make the doom of Tyre and Sidon more tolerable than that of Chorazin and Bethsaida (Matt. xi. 21—24), and take as its standard, when all the Gentiles are gathered round the throne of the Judge, not the specific truths revealed in Christ, but the great laws of kindness which are stamped everywhere, even when neglected and transgressed, upon the hearts and consciences of those who have known no other revelation.

Lastly, it is in St. Matthew that we find recorded the full commission, anticipating the Gospel as St. Paul afterwards preached it, which bade the disciples not to circumcise, but to baptise—to baptise, not converts from Israel only, but "all the Gentiles," the outlying people of the world, of every race and speech. It follows from what has now been said that the chief aspect in which the form of the Son of Man is presented to us in St. Matthew's Gospel is that of the King who fulfilled the hopes of Israel—a King, not tyrannous and proud, but meek and lowly;

coming, not with chariots and horses, but on an ass's colt, bearing the cross before He wears the crown, and yet receiving, even in unconscious infancy, tokens of His sovereignty, and in manhood giving proof of that sovereignty by His power over nature, and men, and the forces of the unseen world. Seen from this point of view, each portion of the Gospel is part of the great portraiture of the ideal King. The Sermon on the Mount, while it is, in part, the voice of the true Teacher, the true Rabbi, as contrasted with those who were unworthy of that title, is yet also the proclamation by the King, who speaks, not as the Scribes, but as one having authority, of His royal Law (Jas. ii. 8), of the conditions of His kingdom (Matt. vii. 29). The parables of chaps. xiii. and xxv. are brought together with a fulness and profusion found in no other Gospel, because they bring before us, each of them, some special aspect of that kingdom. If he alone of the Evangelists mentions, as coming from our Lord's lips, the word for the Christian society (*Ecclesia*) which, when the Gospels were written, was in universal use, we may see, in the care that he took to record those few words as bearing witness to the true relation of that society to its King and Lord, his sense of the reality of the kingdom. Christ

had built that Church on Himself as the Eternal Rock, and the gates of hell should not prevail against it (Matt. xvi. 18). Where it was, there He would be, even to the end of the world (Matt. xxviii. 20). The play of fancy which led the men of a later age to connect the four Gospels with the four cherubic symbols may have had much in it that was arbitrary and capricious, but it was not altogether wrong when, with a uniform consent, it identified the Gospel of St. Matthew with the form that had the face of a man (Ezek. i. 10; Rev. iv. 7). Assuming the cherubic forms to represent primarily the great manifestations of Divine wisdom as seen in nature, that "face of a man" testified to the seers who looked on it that there was a Will and a Purpose which men could partly comprehend as working after the manner of their own. Interpreted by the fuller revelation of God in Christ, it taught them that the Son of Man, who had been made a little lower than the angels, was crowned with glory and honour, sitting on the right hand of the Ancient of Days (Dan. viii. 13), Lord and King over the world of nature and the world of men, and yet delighting above all in the praises that flowed from the mouth of babes and sucklings (Ps. viii. 2; Matt. xxi. 16).

ST. MARK.

BY THE LATE VERY REV. E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D.

I. The Writer.—There is but one person of the name of Mark, or Marcus, mentioned in the New Testament, and, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it may reasonably be assumed that the Gospel which bears his name is ascribed to him as being, directly or indirectly, its author. The facts of his life as they are gathered from the New Testament may be briefly put together. He bore also the Hebrew name of John, *i.e.*, Joannes, or Jochanan (Acts xii. 12, 25; xv. 37). The fact that he took a Latin and not a Greek surname suggests the probability of some point of contact with Jews or others connected with Rome. As was natural, when he entered on his work among the Gentiles the new name practically superseded the old, and in the Epistles (Col. iv. 10; 2 Tim. iv. 11; Philem. verse 24; 1 Pet. v. 13) he is spoken of as "Mark" only. He was cousin to Barnabas, and was therefore, on his mother's side probably, of the tribe of Levi (Col. iv. 10; Acts iv. 36). His mother bore the name of Mary, or Miriam, and it may be inferred from the fact that her house served as a meeting-place for the disciples at Jerusalem (Acts xii. 12), that she, like her kinsman, was one of the prominent and wealthy members of the Apostolic Church. St. Peter speaks of him as his "son" (1 Pet. v. 13), and it is a natural inference from this that he was converted by that Apostle to

the new faith, but whether this was during our Lord's ministry on earth or after the day of Pentecost must remain matter for conjecture. When Paul and Barnabas return from Jerusalem to Antioch (Acts xii. 25) he accompanies them, and this may be taken as evidence that his sympathies were at that time with the wider work which they were carrying on among the Gentiles. So, when they were sent forth, on their first missionary journey, they chose him as their "minister," or attendant (Acts xiii. 5). His function, as such, was probably to provide for their personal wants in travelling, to assist in the baptism of new converts, and to arrange for their meeting to "break bread" in the Supper of the Lord. For some unrecorded reason, possibly want of courage, or home-sickness, or over-anxious care about the mother whom he had left at Jerusalem, he drew back at Perga in Pamphylia from the work to which they were sent, and returned home (Acts xiii. 13).* We find him, however, again

* It was doubtless on account of this desertion that we find the strange epithet of "poltroon" (*kolobodactylos*) connected with St. Mark's name by some early Christian writers (Hippol. *Philosoph.* vii. 30). He was, by those who took St. Paul's view of his conduct, like the soldier who cuts off his thumb in order to get free from service. The figurative epithet was afterwards the basis of a legend (Pref. to St. Mark in *Cod. Amiat.*) that he had literally mutilated himself in order to

at Antioch, after the council at Jerusalem, and he had so far regained his uncle's confidence that he was willing to take him once more as a companion in his missionary labours (Acts xv. 37—39). To that course, however, St. Paul would not agree, and the result was that the two friends who had so long been fellow-workers in the cause of Christ were divided after a sharp contention.

From this point onwards we get but few glimpses of the writer of the Gospel. He accompanied Barnabas (A.D. 52) in his work among the Jews and Gentiles of Cyprus (Acts xv. 39). About eight years later he was with St. Peter in the city on the banks of the Euphrates which still bore the old name of Babylon, and there must have met Silvanus, or Silas, who had taken his place as the companion and minister of St. Paul (1 Pet. v. 12, 13). It is possible that this may have led to a renewal of the old intimacy between him and the Apostle of the Gentiles, and about four years later (A.D. 64) we find him with St. Paul at Rome, during the Apostle's first imprisonment (Col. iv. 10; Philem. verse 24), and there, it may be noted, he must have met his brother Evangelist St. Luke (Col. iv. 14). He was then, however, on the point of returning to the Asiatic provinces, and contemplated a visit to Colossæ (Col. iv. 10). Two years later (A.D. 66), accordingly, we find him at Ephesus with Timotheus, and the last mention of his name shows that St. Paul had forgotten his former want of steadfastness in the recollection of his recent services,

and wished for his presence once again as being "profitable for ministering"* (2 Tim. iv. 11).

To these facts, or legitimate inferences, we may now add the less certain traditions that have gathered round his name. Epiphanius (*Contr. Hær.* p. 314) makes him one of the Seventy whose mission St. Luke narrates (x. 1), and says that he was of those who turned back when they heard the hard saying of John vi. 60, 66. Eusebius (*Hist.* ii. 15; vi. 14) states, on the "authority of the ancient elders" and of Clement of Alexandria, that he was with St. Peter at Rome, acting as his "interpreter," or secretary, and that he was sent on a mission from Rome to Egypt (*Hist.* ii. 16). There, according to Jerome (*de Vir. illust.* 8), he founded the Church of Alexandria, became bishop of that church, and suffered martyrdom at the hands of the people on the feast of Serapis, in the fourteenth year of Nero, A.D. 68, about three years after the death of St. Peter and St. Paul. In A.D. 815 his body was said to have been taken to Venice, and the stately cathedral in the Piazza of St. Mark in that city was dedicated to his memory. Some recent commentators identify him conjecturally with "the young man with the linen cloth round his naked body" of Mark xiv. 51.

II. The Authorship of the Gospel.—St. Mark is named by Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis (*circ.* A.D. 169), on the authority of a certain "John the Presbyter," as writing down exactly, in his character as Peter's interpreter, "whatever things he remembered, but

avoid the responsibilities of the priesthood.

* This, rather than "for the ministry," is the sense of the Greek.

not in the order in which Christ spoke or did them, for he was neither a follower nor a hearer of the Lord's, but was afterwards a follower of Peter."

The statement is probable enough in itself (Euseb. *Hist.* iii. 39), and receives some additional weight from the fact that the city of which Papias was Bishop was in the same district as Colossæ, which Mark, as we have seen, meant to visit (Col. iv. 10). In another passage, above referred to, Eusebius (*Hist.* ii. 15; v. 8) speaks of him as having been asked to write by the hearers of St. Peter at Rome, and that the Apostle at first acquiesced in, and afterwards sanctioned, his doing so. The same tradition appears (A.D. 160—225) in Tertullian (*Cont. Marc.* iv. 5). It receives some confirmation from the language of the second Epistle ascribed to St. Peter. The Apostle there promises that he will "endeavour" that those to whom he writes may have these things (*i.e.*, the facts and truths of the Gospel) in remembrance, that they might know that they had not "followed cunningly-devised fables," but were trusting those who had been eye-witnesses—at the Transfiguration and elsewhere—of the majesty of Christ (2 Pet. i. 15, 16). Such a promise seems almost to pledge the Apostle to the composition of some kind of record.

Mark, we have seen, was with him when he wrote his first Epistle, perhaps also when he wrote the second, and it would be natural that he should take down from his master's lips, or write down afterwards from memory, what he had heard from him. It may be added that the comparatively subordinate position occupied by

St. Mark in the New Testament records makes it improbable that his name should have been chosen as the author of a book which he did not really write. A pseudonymous writer would have been tempted to choose (let us say) Peter himself, not Peter's attendant and interpreter.

The Gospel itself, we may add, supplies some internal evidence in favour of this hypothesis:—(1.) It differs from St. Matthew, with which to a great extent it runs parallel in the facts narrated, in giving at every turn graphic descriptive touches which suggest the thought that they must have come in the first instance from an eye-witness.

It will be enough to mention here a few of the more striking instances. Thus, *e.g.*, we have (*a*) the "very early in the morning, while it was yet night" of i. 35, as compared with "when it was day" in Luke iv. 42; (*b*) there being no room, "not so much as about the door," in ii. 2; (*c*) the "taking off the roof and digging a hole in it" in ii. 4; (*d*) the "making a path by plucking the ears of corn" in ii. 23; (*e*) the "looking round with anger" in iii. 5; (*f*) the "taking Him, even as He was, into the ship," and the "lying in the stern on the pillow" (iv. 36, 38); (*g*) the account of the manner in which the Gadarene demoniac had "burst asunder" his chains and "worn away" his fetters (v. 4), and how he was "in the mountains crying and cutting himself with stones" (v. 5); (*h*) the "green grass," and the "sitting in ranks and companies by hundreds and by fifties" (vi. 39, 40); (*i*) the "exceeding white as snow so as no fuller on earth can whiten

them" (ix. 3); (*j*) the "Jesus beholding him, loved him" of the young ruler (x. 21); (*k*) the "young man with the linen cloth round his naked body" (xiv. 51); and many others of a like character. (2.) As pointing in the same direction, we may note the instances in which St. Mark, and he alone, reproduces the very syllables which our Lord uttered in Aramaic. Whether they were an exception to His usual mode of speech or not may be an open question, but as connected with His works of healing they had the character of words of power for those who heard them, and so fixed themselves in their memories. So we have the TALITHA CUMI of v. 41, the EPHPHATHA of vii. 34, the RAB-BONI in the Greek of x. 51, the BOANERGES of iii. 17, the ABBA of xiv. 36, the CORBAN of vii. 11, and, though here in common with St. Matthew, the ELOI, ELOI, LAMA SABACHTHANI of xv. 34. (3.) So, too, in a few cases, St. Mark gives names where the other Gospels do not give them: Levi is the son of Alphæus (ii. 14); the ruler of the Synagogue, not named by St. Matthew, is Jairus (v. 22); the blind beggar at Jericho is Bartimæus, the son of Timæus (x. 46); the mother of James and John is Salome (xv. 40); Simon the Cyrenian is the father of Alexander and Rufus (xv. 21). (4.) Some have seen grounds for the inference thus suggested in St. Mark's omission of the promise made to Peter in Matt. xvi. 17—19, and of his "weeping bitterly" after he had denied his Master, but the proof in this case seems somewhat precarious.

III. The first readers of the Gospel.—The position which St.

Mark occupied in relation both to St. Paul and St. Peter—his connection with the former being resumed, as we have seen, after a long interval—would make it probable that he would write with a special eye to Gentile rather than Jewish readers; and of this the Gospel itself supplies sufficient evidence in the full explanation of the customs of the Jews as to ablutions and the like in vii. 3, 4, in the explanation of the word Corban in vii. 11, perhaps also in his description of "the river of Jordan" in i. 5. A closer study suggests the thought, in full agreement with the tradition mentioned above, that he wrote with a special view to Christians of the Roman Church. He alone describes Simon the Cyrenian as the father of Alexander and Rufus (xv. 21), as though that fact had a special interest for his readers. There is but one Rufus mentioned elsewhere in the New Testament, and he meets us in Rom. xvi. 13 as one who was prominent enough in the church of that city for St. Paul to send a special message of remembrance to him; and it may be inferred, with some likelihood, that the wife or widow of Simon of Cyrene (having previously met St. Paul at Corinth, for some personal knowledge is implied in the words "his mother and mine") had settled with her two sons in the imperial city, and had naturally gained a position of some importance. The very name of Marcus indicates, as has been said, some Latin affinities; and it is noticeable, in this connection, that a larger number of words Latin in their origin appear in his Gospel than in any one of the others. Thus we have him giving the Latin *centurio* instead of the Greek

ἑκατοντάρχης (*hekatontarches*) in xv. 39, 44, 45; the Latin *speculator* for "executioner" in vi. 27; *grabatus* for bed (this in common with John v. 8, 9, 10) in ii. 4, 9, 11, 12; *quadrans* for "farthing" in xii. 42; a verb formed from the Latin *flagellum* for "scourging" (this in common with Matt. xxvii. 26) in xv. 15; a noun formed from *sextarius* for "vessels" in vii. 4; *Prætorium* (this in common with Matt. xxvii. 27 and John xviii. 28) in xv. 16; the *denarius* in vi. 37, xii. 15, xiv. 5 (this, however, is common to all four Gospels); the *legio* (found also in Matt. xxvi. 53, Luke viii. 30) in v. 9; *census* (found also in Matt. xvii. 25, xxii. 17, 19) in xii. 14.

IV. The characteristics of the Gospel.—The distinguishing features of St. Mark's Gospel are, it will be seen—(1) vividness and fulness of detail in narrating the events of the history; (2) compression or omission in dealing with our Lord's discourses. This may have been owing partly to the object which he had in view, writing, it may be, for the instruction of catechumens, for whom he judged this method the most fitting, and partly to the idiosyncrasies of his own character. What we have seen of his life and work would prepare us to accept the latter as, to a great extent, an adequate explanation. One who had been chiefly a "minister" or "attendant" (the latter word is the more accurate rendering of the Greek of Acts xiii. 5) on the two Apostles may well be supposed to have been chiefly distinguished for his activity in service, for the turn of mind which observes and notes particulars, rather than for that which belongs to the student, and de-

lights to dwell on full and developed statements of the Truth. We may see in what he has left us, accordingly, pre-eminently the Gospel of Service, that which presents our Lord to us as in the form of a servant, obedient even unto death (Phil. ii. 7, 8); and so far it forms the complement to that in which St. Matthew presents Him to us pre-eminently in His character as a King. Even the characteristic iteration of the ever-recurring "immediately," "anon," "presently," "forthwith," "by-and-by," "straightway"—all representing the self-same Greek word, occurring not less than 41 times—may not unreasonably be connected with his personal experience. That had been, we may believe, a word constantly on his lips in daily life, the law and standard of his own service, and he could not think of his Lord's work otherwise than as exhibiting the perfect fulfilment of that law, a work at once without haste and without pause. So, too, in another point in which he stands in singular contrast to St. Matthew, the almost entire absence of any reference, except in reporting what had been said by our Lord or others, to any prophecies of the Old Testament—there are but two such references in the whole Gospel (i. 2, 3; xv. 28), as rising out of his own reflection—may be explained in part, perhaps, by the fact that he was writing not for Jews, but for Gentiles, to whom those prophecies were not familiar, and also by the fact that his own life in its ceaseless round of humbler service led him to be less than others a student of those prophecies. Assuming the genuineness of the latter of the two passages just referred to (it is absent from nearly all the best

MSS.), we may, perhaps, trace the connection of thought. Words from that 53rd chapter of Isaiah had been quoted by the Apostle to whom he ministered (1 Pet. ii. 22, 23), at a time when he was with him, in special connection with the work of servants and the duty of obedience, and so his mind had been called to those words, but there does not appear to have been in him, as there was in St. Matthew, a deliberate purpose to trace the fulfilment of prophetic words in the circumstances of our Lord's life and work. He was content to paint the scenes that passed before his mind clearly and vividly, and to leave the teaching which the facts embodied to do its work on the minds of his readers.

V. Relation to St. Matthew and St. Luke.—The Gospels of St. Mark and St. Matthew have so much in common, sometimes with each other only, sometimes with St. Luke also, that it is clear that they must have drawn more or less from a common source. Nothing, however, can be more against the whole tenor of internal evidence than the hypothesis that St. Mark epitomised from St. Matthew, or that St. Matthew expanded from St. Mark. The narrative of the second Gospel is in almost every instance fuller than that of the first, and its brevity is obtained only by the absence of the discourses and parables which occupy so large a portion of the other. On either of these assumptions the perplexing variations in the order of events (comp. *e.g.*, Matt. viii. with Mark i. 4, 5) are altogether inexplicable. What is, with our scanty *data*, the most probable explanation is, that the matter common to both represents the

substance of the instruction given orally to disciples in the Church of Jerusalem and other Jewish-Christian communities coming, directly or indirectly, under the influence of St. Peter and St. James, as the Apostles of the Circumcision (Gal. ii. 9). The miracles that had most impressed themselves on the minds of the disciples, the simplest or most striking parables, the narratives of the Passion and Resurrection, would naturally make up the main bulk of that instruction. St. Matthew, the publican Apostle, and therefore conversant, as has been said before, with clerkly culture, writing for his own people, closely connected with James the Bishop of Jerusalem, would naturally be one exponent of that teaching. St. Mark, the disciple and "interpreter," or secretary, of St. Peter, would as naturally be another. That they wrote independently of each other is seen, not only in the details above noted, the addition of new facts, the graphic touches of description, but from variations which would be inexplicable on any other assumption; such, *e.g.*, as Mark's "Dalmanutha" (viii. 10) for Matthew's "Magdala" (Matt. xv. 39), "Syro-Phœnician woman" (vii. 26) for "Canaanite" (Matt. xv. 22), "Levi the son of Alphæus" (ii. 14) for "Matthew" (Matt. ix. 9). Short as the Gospel is, too, there is one parable in it (iv. 26—29), and one miracle (vii. 31—37), which are not found in St. Matthew. It is remarkable, moreover, that there are some incidents which St. Mark and St. Luke have in common, and which are not found in St. Matthew: that of the demoniac in chap. i. 23—27, Luke iv. 33—37;

the journey through Galilee (i. 35—39, Luke iv. 42—44); the pursuit of the disciples (i. 36, 37, Luke iv. 42), the prayer of the demoniac (v. 18, Luke viii. 38); the complaint of John against one that cast out devils (ix. 38, Luke ix. 49); the women bringing spices to the sepulchre (xvi. 1, Luke xxiv. 1). Of these phenomena we find a natural and adequate explanation in the fact that the two Evangelists were, at least at one period of their lives, brought into contact with each other (Col. iv. 10, 14, Philem. verse 24). It is probable, as has been said above, that neither wrote his Gospel in its present form until

the two great Apostles whom they served had entered on their rest; but when they met each must have had the plan formed and the chief materials collected, and we may well think of them as comparing notes, and of the one, whose life had led to less culture, and whose temperament disposed him to record facts rather than parables or discourses, as profiting by his contact with the other, and while content to adhere to the scope and method which he had before marked out for himself, adding here and there what he learnt from his fellow-worker whose "praise was in the Gospel" (2 Cor. viii. 18).

ST. LUKE.

BY THE LATE VERY REV. E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D.

I. The Writer.—But one person bearing the name of Luke, or, in its Greek form, Lucas, appears in the New Testament; and of him the direct notices are few and meagre. He is named as being with St. Paul during his first imprisonment at Rome, and is described as “the beloved physician” (Col. iv. 14). He is still with him, stress being laid on his being the only friend who remained, when the Apostle’s work was drawing to its close (2 Tim. iv. 11). Beyond these facts all is inference or conjecture. Both conjecture and inference are, however, in this case, full of interest, present many unexpected coincidences, and, by the convergence of many different lines of circumstantial evidence, raise the probabilities which attach to each taken separately into something not far from certainty as to their collective result.

The name itself is suggestive. It does not appear as such in any classical writer, or on any Greek or Latin inscription. Its form, however, shows that it is a contraction from Lucanus, as Apollos is from Apollonius, or Silas from Silvanus, and not, as some have thought, another form of Lucius.*

* It follows from this that the Evangelist cannot be identified, as some have thought, with Lucius of Cyrene, who is mentioned as prominent among the prophets and teachers at Antioch (Acts xiii. 1), or the Lucius who is named as a kinsman of St. Paul’s (Rom. xvi. 21). If that identification had been possible, the

This name, again in its turn, was not a common one, and we naturally ask what associations were connected with it. Its most probable etymology points to its being derived from the region of southern Italy known as Lucania. Lucas, or Lucanus, would be a natural name for a slave or freedman, having no family name as his own, who had come, or whose father had come, from that region. Assuming, for the present, St. Luke’s authorship of the Acts, we find in the supposition that this was the origin of his name an explanation of the obvious familiarity with Italian topography shown in his mention of Puteoli, Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns, in Acts xxviii. 13—15. The name Lucanus, was, however, borne at this time by a writer, M. Annaeus Lucanus, who stands high in the list of Latin poets, as the author of the *Pharsalia*, an epic which takes as its subject the great struggle for power between Julius Cæsar and Pompeius. As he was born, not in Italy, but in Spain (at Corduba, the modern *Cordova*), the name with him must have had another than a local significance. Was there any link of association connecting the two men who bore a name which was, as we have seen, far from a common one? We

traditional fame of Cyrene for its School of Medicine (Herod. iii. 131), would have had a special interest in connection with St. Luke’s calling.

are here in a region of conjecture; but on the assumption that there was some such link, we have a probable explanation (1) of the favour shown to St. Luke's friend and companion, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, by the uncle of the poet, J. Annæus Gallio, the Pro-consul of Achaia (Acts xviii. 14—17), and (2) of the early tradition of a friendship between St. Paul and another uncle, the Stoic philosopher, Seneca, issuing in the correspondence of fourteen letters, which, in the time of Jerome (*de Vir. Illust.* c. 12) and Augustine (*Epist.* cliii. 14), was read with interest, and often quoted as a fragment of Apostolic literature. The letters that are now extant under that name are, in the judgment of well-nigh all critics, spurious; but the fact that a writer in the third or fourth century thought it worth while to compose such a correspondence, implies that he was able to take for granted a general belief in the friendship which it pre-supposes; and the many coincidences of thought and language between the Apostle and the Philosopher (as seen, *e.g.*, in the "Essay on St. Paul and Seneca," in Dr. Lightfoot's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians*) are at least striking enough to suggest, if not intercourse, at least some derivation from a common source. Seneca was, it must be remembered, officially connected with the court of Nero during St. Paul's imprisonment; and when the fame of the prisoner and of his doctrine was spread through the whole Prætorium (Phil. i. 13), and congregations of disciples were to be found even among the slaves of the Imperial household (Phil. iv. 22), it

was not likely that a man in his position should remain ignorant of the teacher whose influence was spreading so widely. If the friend and companion of the prisoner bore the same name as the nephew of the philosopher, that coincidence would help to attract attention. If, as the coincidence itself suggests, there had been any previous connection between the two, we have an hypothesis into which all the facts of the case fit in with an almost surprising symmetry. The poet Lucan, we may note, was born A.D. 39. The date of St. Luke's birth we have no materials for fixing, but the impression left by the facts of the case is that he was about the same age as St. Paul,* and therefore older than the poet by thirty or forty years. Was the one named after the other? And does this imply a connection of the whole family with the beloved physician? This, it is obvious, would give an additional support to the superstructure of inferences already raised.†

* St. Paul, *e.g.*, never speaks of him as he does of younger disciples, like Timothy or Titus, as his "child," or "son," in the faith.

† Lucan, as has been said above, was born at Cordova. Now, it is remarkable that when St. Paul was planning an extended journey with St. Luke as his companion, Spain, and not Rome, was to be its ultimate goal (Rom. xv. 28). That country had a large element of Jews in its population in the third and fourth centuries, and it is probable that they had settled there, as in Cyrene and Carthage, from an early period of the Dispersion. Cordova, as one of the chief seats of Roman culture, was certain to attract them, and we find it at a later period one of the chief seats of mediæval Rabbinitism, with a fame already traditional. Another point of some interest still remains to be noticed. The poet was a fellow-pupil with Persius, under one of the great Stoic teachers of the time, L. Annæus Cornutus

The incidental mention of St. Luke's name in Col. iv. 14, places us on more solid ground. He is emphatically distinguished from "those of the circumcision"—Mark and others who are named in Col. iv. 10, 11. He was, *i.e.*, a Gentile by birth, and this fact, it is obvious, is important on all the questions affecting his relations with the Apostle of the Gentiles, and the aim and characteristic features of his writings.

The fact that he was "a physician" suggests other inferences. That profession in the early days of the Empire was filled almost exclusively by freedmen, or the sons of freedmen (the *Libertini* of Acts vi. 9), who, shut out more or less completely from military or official life, were led to devote themselves to science, or art, or literature. The well-known list of the members of the household of the Empress Livia, the wife of Augustus, compiled from the *Columnarium*,* a sepulchre which was opened at Rome, in A.D. 1726, presents many examples of names with the word *medicus* attached to them; among them may be noted that of Tyrannus, which appears in Acts xix. 9 as that of the owner of the "school" or lecture-room at Ephesus, in which St. Paul received his disciples. Where, we ask, was one who made choice of

that profession likely to seek for his education? The answer to that question leads us into yet a new region of coincidences. On the one hand, the town of Crotona, in Southern Italy, had a reputation of some centuries' standing for its School of Medicine (Herod. iii. 131), and this would fall in with the hypothesis of the Evangelist's Lucanian origin. On the other, of all the medical schools of the time, there was none that stood higher in reputation than that of Tarsus, and few that stood so high. The leading physicians of the time, Aretæus the Cappadocian, Dioscorides of Anazarba in Cilicia, Athenæus of the Cilician Attaleia, could hardly have received their training elsewhere. Within a few miles of Tarsus, at Ægæ, on the coast of Cilicia, was a great Temple of Æsculapius, which, as resorted to by sick persons from all countries who came to consult the priests of the Temple (the *Asclepiadæ*, *i.e.*, the guild or brotherhood of Æsculapius), offered the nearest analogue to a modern hospital, as a place for observation and practice. If Tarsus were thus the place, or one of the places, to which Luke went to gain his professional knowledge and experience, we have again what explains many of the facts, more or less perplexing, in the Apostolic history. There is no record of St. Paul's first meeting with him, or of his conversion to the faith. If, with almost all interpreters of repute, we see in the sudden use of the first person plural in Acts xvi. 10 a proof of companionship then beginning between the writer of the book and the Apostle whose labours he narrates, the naturalness with which

(the name is that of the *gens* of Seneca and Gallio), and Persius, as may be inferred from a remarkable description of a feast on Herod's birthday in Sat. v. 180—185, had at least some points of contact with Jewish life and thought.

* The word means literally "a dove-cote," and was applied to the sepulchre as consisting mainly of what we should call "pigeon-holes," in each of which stood a small bin containing the ashes of the dead.

it comes in must be admitted as *primâ facie* evidence of previous acquaintance. But there were other names at that time connected with Tarsus which have an interest for the Christian student. All that we read in the Acts suggests the thought that the Cypriot Jew, the Levite, Joses Barnabas, the Son of Consolation, received his education at Tarsus, and there learnt to love and honour the tent-maker Rabbi, for the reality of whose conversion he was the first to vouch (Acts ix. 27), to whom he turned when his work pressed hard on him, as the fellow-labourer most like-minded with himself (Acts xi. 25), the separation from whom, when they parted, brought with it a bitterness which is hardly intelligible, except on the assumption of a previous affection that was now wounded to the quick (Acts xv. 39). Not altogether, again, without some points of contact with St. Luke, is the fact that the great geographer Strabo, a native of Cappadocia, whose full description of Tarsus (*Geogr.* xiii. p. 627) is obviously based upon personal observation, may have visited that city about A.D. 17, and on the supposition, either of actual contact, or of the attention called to his writings among the students of what we may well call the University of Tarsus, we may legitimately trace his influence as working indirectly in the uniform accuracy of all the incidental geographical notices that occur in St. Luke's Gospel and in the Acts. At Tarsus also, at or about the same period, was to be seen another conspicuous character of the time, the great wonder-working impostor, Apollonius of Tyana, whose life was afterwards published as a

counterfeit and rival parallel to that of Christ, and in whom St. Luke might have seen the great prototype of all the "workers with curious arts," with their books of charms and incantations, whom he describes as yielding to the mightier power of St. Paul (Acts xix. 11, 12).

St. Luke's character as a physician may be considered from three distinct points of view, each of which has a special interest of its own. (1) As influencing his style and language; (2) as affecting his personal relations with St. Paul; and (3) as giving him opportunities for acquiring the knowledge which we find in the books commonly ascribed to him. Each of these call for a special, though brief, notice.

(1.) The differences of style in St. Luke's Gospel as compared with the two that precede it, the proofs of a higher culture, the more rhythmical structure of his sentences, which are traceable even by the merely English reader, in such passages, *e.g.*, as chap. i. 1—4, are in the Greek original conspicuous throughout, the only exceptions being the portions of his Gospel which, like chaps. i., from verse 5, and ii., are apparently translations from a lost Hebrew or Aramaic document. The use of technical phraseology is, in like manner, traceable in his mention of the "fevers (the word is plural in the Greek), and dysentery," of which Publius was healed at Melita (Acts xxviii. 8); in the "feet" not the common *πόδες*, *podēs*, but the more precise *βάσεις*, *baseis*) "and ankle bones" of Acts iii. 7; in the "scales" that fell from St. Paul's eyes (Acts ix. 18); in the "trance," or, more literally, *ecstasy*,

connected with St. Peter's vision (Acts x. 9, 10), as brought on by the Apostle's exposure to the noon-tide sun after long-continued fasting; in the special adjective used for "eaten of worms," in Acts xii. 23; in his notice of the "virtue," or healing power, that flowed forth from our Lord's body (chap. viii. 46); and of the sweat in "clots," or "drops like as of blood," that issued from it in the Agony of Gethsemane (chap. xxii. 44).

(2.) It is noticeable in tracing the connection of St. Paul and St. Luke, that on each occasion when the one joins the other for a time, it is after the Apostle had suffered in a more than common degree from the bodily infirmities that oppressed him. When they met at Troas, it was after he had been detained in Galatia by "the infirmity of his flesh" (Gal. iv. 13). When the one joins the other in the voyage to Jerusalem, it is after St. Paul had had "the sentence of death" in himself, had been "dying daily," had been "delivered from so great a death," had been "carrying about in his body the dying of the Lord Jesus" (2 Cor. i. 9; iv. 10—12, 16). From that time St. Luke seems scarcely to have left his friend, except, perhaps, for short intervals; and the way in which St. Paul speaks of him as "the beloved physician," makes it almost a matter of certainty that it was by his ministrations as a physician that he had made himself "beloved." The constant companionship of one with St. Luke's knowledge and special culture was sure, sooner or later, to affect St. Paul's thoughts and language, and traces of this influence are to be found in many of

the Epistles. Most of these are naturally more manifest in the Greek than in the English words; but we may note as examples the frequent use of the ideal of "health" as the standard of life and teaching, as seen in the phrases "sound," or better, *healthy*, "doctrine" (*ὑγιαίνουσα*) of 1 Tim. i. 10; vi. 3; 2 Tim. i. 13; and in the "doting," or better, *diseased*, of 1 Tim. vi. 4; in the spread of error being like that of a gangrene or cancer (2 Tim. ii. 17); in the word for "puffed up," which implies the delirium of a fever of the typhus type (*τυφωθεῖς*, *typhotheis*) in 1 Tim. iii. 6; vi. 4; 2 Tim. iii. 4; in the conscience seared, or better, *cauterised*, till it has become callous (1 Tim. iv. 2); in the malady of "itching ears" (2 Tim. iv. 3); in the "bodily exercise" or *training* (literally, the *training* of the gymnasium) that profiteth little (1 Tim. iv. 8); in the precept which enjoined on Timothy, as a means of keeping his mind in a state of equilibrium and purity, uncontaminated by the evil with which his office brought him into contact, to "drink no longer water" only, but "to use a little wine, for his stomach's sake and his often infirmities" (1 Tim. v. 23); in the judgment that a reckless disregard of the body is of no value as a remedy against what is technically called *fulness* (not "satisfying") of the flesh (Col. ii. 23). These words are, in almost all cases, characteristic of the Greek of Hippocrates and other medical writers, and the same may be said of the Greek words used by St. Paul for "dung" (*σκύβαλα*—*skybala*, Phil. iii. 8), for "occasion" (*ἀφορμή*—*aphorme*, 1 Tim. v. 14), for "gazing" or "looking

earnestly" (*ἀρετίζων*, 2 Cor. iii. 7—13: the word is used twelve times by St. Luke, and, with the above exceptions, by him only), for "charge" (1 Tim. i. 3, 18), for "contention" (*i.e.*, *paroxysm*) in Acts xv. 39.

(3.) It is obvious that in the East, then as now, the calling of a physician was a passport to many social regions into which it was otherwise difficult to find access. A physician of experience arriving in this or that city, would be likely to become acquainted, not with the poor only, but with men of official rank and women of the higher class. How far, and in what special way this helped St. Luke to obtain the information which he wanted for his Gospel, will call for inquiry further on. Here it will be enough to note that such channels of information were sure to be opened to him.

If, on the data that have been given, it is reasonable to suppose that St. Paul and St. Luke had met at Tarsus, it is almost a matter of certainty that their friendship was continued at Antioch. Here the tradition, given by Eusebius (*Hist.* iii. 4), that St. Luke was a resident in the latter city, agrees with the natural inference from the prominence which he gives to the Christian society there as the mother of all the Gentile churches (Acts xi. 19—30), from his knowledge of the names of its pastors and teachers (Acts xiii. 1—3), from the fulness with which he relates the early stages of the great controversy with the Judaisers (Acts xv. 1—3, 22—35). From Antioch, however, accepting as before the natural conclusion from the change of pronouns, he must have gone to Troas (Acts xvi. 10), and probably begun

or continued there his labours in the gospel, which at a later time won St. Paul's glowing praise (2 Cor. viii. 18).* Thence he went with St. Paul to Philippi, and, as far as we can judge, remained there during the whole period of the Apostle's work at Corinth and Ephesus, the friend and guide of Lydia and Euodia and Syntyche and the other women who laboured with him in the gospel (Phil. iv. 2, 3), until after a visit to Corinth (2 Cor. viii. 18), he joined him again, and the Apostle returned from his winter sojourn in that city, Philippi, was with him once more at Troas, sailed with him to Miletus, and so to Tyre and Ptolemais and Cæsarea, went up with him to Jerusalem, and remained with him or near him during his two years' imprisonment under Felix or Festus (Acts xx.—xxvi.). Then came the voyage to Italy, narrated with the graphic precision of an eye-witness, and throughout in the first person plural (Acts xxvii. 1—44); then the shipwreck at Melita, and the arrival in Italy, and the companionship of two years (broken, perhaps, if we assume Luke, as seems probable, to be the "true yokefellow" of Phil. iv. 3, by a short visit to Philippi) of the first imprisonment at Rome (Col. iv. 14; Philem. verse 24). Then came the last unrecorded missionary journey

* There are, it is believed, no sufficient reasons for rejecting the reference of this passage to St. Luke. It is not meant that St. Paul speaks of his gospel as a book, but the physician was an Evangelist in the primitive as well as the later sense of the word (Acts xxi. 8; Eph. v. 11; 2 Tim. iv. 5), and no one was so likely to have been chosen by St. Paul to be one of the representatives of the Macedonian churches,

of St. Paul in Spain, Asia, Macedonia, Achaia,* during which St. Luke probably continued with him; and then we find him, the last clear glimpse we get, still at the side of his friend and master, when all others were proving time-serving and faithless (2 Tim. iv. 10). Beyond this we have nothing definite. Tradition, not earlier than the fourth century (Epiphanius, *Hær.* 51), says that he preached in Italy, Gaul, Dalmatia, and Macedonia; that he was a painter as well as physician, and was specially famous for seven portraits of the Virgin: that he lived to the age of eighty-four; that he was crucified at Elæa on an olive tree, in the Peloponnesus; or, according to another story, died a natural death in Bithynia. His bones are related to have been brought to Constantinople from Patras in Achaia by order of the Emperor Constantine, and to have been deposited in the Church of the Apostles. A tomb has, however, been discovered by Mr. Wood, bearing the

name of St. Luke among the ruins of Ephesus.

II. **The Authorship of the Gospel.**—The two earliest witnesses to the existence of a Gospel recognised as written by St. Luke are (1) Irenæus, and (2) the early list of sacred books known as the Muratorian Fragment. The former, dwelling on the necessity of there being neither more nor less than four Gospels, as there are four elements, four cardinal points, and the like, names St. Luke's as one of the four. Pressing the analogy of the four symbolic figures of the Cherubim, he compares the Gospel which he names as Luke's to the calf, as representing the priestly, sacrificial side of our Lord's work. "As such," he says, "it began with Zacharias burning incense in the Temple" (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 11). In another passage he speaks of "Luke, the companion of Paul," as having "written in a book the gospel which the latter preached" (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 1). The *Muratorian Fragment*, which has suffered the loss of its first sentences, and so fails to give direct evidence as to St. Matthew and St. Mark, begins accordingly with St. Luke, mentioning, however, his Gospel as the third. What follows is interesting, though being, like the whole fragment, in the language of an obviously illiterate scribe, and presumably a translation from a Greek original, it is at once corrupt and obscure. The nearest approach to an intelligible rendering would be as follows:—"Luke the physician, after the ascension of Christ, when St. Paul had chosen him, as being zealous of what was just and right (*juris studiosus*), wrote in his own name, and as it seemed good to

* The route of the Apostle may be inferred partly from his plans (Phil. ii. 24; Philem. verse 22), partly from the reference to Asia in 2 Tim. i. 15, Macedonia (1 Tim. i. 3), Corinth (2 Tim. iv. 20). I have ventured to suggest Spain as also probable. It is hardly likely that St. Paul would have abandoned the strong desire which he expresses in Rom. xv. 24. And if there was, as has been shown to be probable, a personal connection between Luke and the family of Cordova, there would be fresh motives for his going there. Clement of Rome, it may be mentioned, speaks of St. Paul as having travelled to the farthest boundary of the West (*Epist. ad Cor.* c. 5), a phrase which would hardly have been used by a Roman writer of Rome itself. The tradition as to an evangelising journey into Spain became, as the years passed on, more and more definite, and was accepted by Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Theodoret.

him (*ex opinione*, apparently with an implied reference to chap. i. 2). Yet he himself did not see the Lord in the flesh, and did what he did as he could best attain to it, and so he began his narrative from the birth of John." The passage is every way important, as showing (1) the early identification of the writer of the third Gospel with Luke the physician; (2) the absence of any early tradition that he was one of the Seventy; (3) the fact that the first two chapters were part of the Gospel as known to the writer of the Fragment, or of the still older document which he translated. Papias, who names St. Matthew and St. Mark, is silent, as far as the fragments of his writings that remain show, as to St. Luke. Justin, who does not name the writer of any Gospel, speaks of the "records of the Apostles, which are called Gospels," as having been written either by Apostles themselves, or by those who followed them closely (using the same Greek word here as St. Luke uses in chap. i. 2), and cites in immediate connection with this the fact of the sweat that was as great drops of blood (*Dial. c. Tryph. c. 22*). It seems all but certain from this that he had read the narrative of chap. xxii. 44 as we have it, and that he ascribed the authorship of it to a companion of the Apostles. So Tertullian, who recognises four Gospels, and four only, speaks of "John and Matthew as Apostles, of Luke and Mark as helpers of the Apostles (*Cont. Marc. iv. 2*); and Origen (in Euseb. *Hist. Eccles. vi. 25*) speaks of the Gospel according to St. Luke as being "cited and approved by Paul," referring apparently to the expression "according to my

Gospel" (Rom. ii. 16; xvi. 25; 2 Tim. i. 8), and to "the brother whose praise is in the Gospel," in 2 Cor. viii. 18, 19.

III. The Sources of the Gospel. — The question, Where did the writer of this Gospel collect his information, is obviously one of special interest. In St. Matthew, we have, accepting the traditional authorship, personal recollection as a groundwork, helped by the oral or written teaching previously current in the Church. In St. Mark we have substantially the same oral or written teaching, modified, as seems probable, by the personal recollections of St. Peter. St. Luke, on the other hand, disclaims the character of an eye-witness (chap. i. 2), and confesses that he is only a compiler, claiming simply the credit of having done his best to verify the facts which he narrates. St. Paul, to whom he specially devoted himself, was, as far as personal knowledge went, in the same position as himself. Where, then, taking the facts of St. Luke's life, as given above, was it probable that he found his materials?

(1.) At Antioch, if not before, the Evangelist would be likely to come in contact with not a few who had been "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." Those who were scattered after the persecution that began with the death of Stephen (Acts xi. 19), and the prophets who came from Jerusalem with Agabus (Acts xi. 28), the latter probably forming part of the company of the Seventy, must have included some at least of persons so qualified. At Antioch, too, he must have met with Manaen, the foster-

brother of the Tetrarch, and may have derived from him much that he narrates as to the ministry of the Baptist (chap. iii. 1—20), our Lord's testimony to him (chap. vii. 18—34), the relation between Herod and Pilate, and the part which the former took in the history of the Crucifixion (chap. xxiii. 5—12), the estimate which our Lord had passed upon his character (chap. xiii. 32). That acquaintance served probably, in the nature of things, to introduce him to a knowledge of the other members of the Herodian family, of whom we learn so much from him, and, of the Evangelists, from him only (chap. iii. 1; Acts xii. 1—25; xxv. 13; xxvi. 32).

(2.) During the years of St. Luke's work at Troas and Philippi, there were, we may presume, but few such opportunities; but when he accompanied St. Paul on his last journey to Jerusalem, they must have been multiplied indefinitely. Mnason of Cyprus, the old disciple (a disciple *from the beginning*, as the word signifies, Acts xxi. 16), must have had much to tell him. During St. Paul's stay at Cæsarea there was ample time for him to become acquainted with the current oral, or as his own words imply, written, teaching of the churches of Palestine, which formed the groundwork of what is common to him and the first two Gospels, as well as with the many facts that connect themselves with that city in the narrative of the Acts. We cannot, however, think of a man of St. Luke's culture, bent upon writing a history because he was not satisfied with the "many" fragmentary records that he found already in circulation, resting at Cæsarea during the two

years of St. Paul's imprisonment without pushing his inquiries further. We may think of him accordingly as journeying in regions where he knew our Lord had worked, most of which lay within two or three days' easy journey, while yet there was little record of His ministry there, and so collecting such facts as the raising of the widow's son at Nain (chap. vii. 11—17), the appearance of the risen Lord to the disciples at Emmaus (chap. xxiv. 13—35), the full record, peculiar to this Gospel, of His ministry and teaching in Peræa.

(3.) The profession of St. Luke as a physician, probably also the character that he had acquired as the guide and adviser of the women who formed a kind of sisterhood at Philippi, would naturally give him access to a whole circle of eye-witnesses who were not so likely to come within the range of St. Matthew and St. Mark. He alone mentions the company of devout women who followed Jesus during part, at least, of His ministry (chap. viii. 2, 3), and as he gives the names of the chief members of the company, it is natural to infer that he was personally acquainted with them. So far as they were sharers in the feelings of other women, we may believe, with hardly the shadow of a doubt, that they would dwell especially on all that connected itself with the childhood and youth of the Lord whom they had loved with such devout tenderness, that the bereaved mother whom St. John had taken to his own home (John xix. 27)—sometimes, perhaps, in Galilee, sometimes in Jerusalem—would be the centre of their reverential love. From them, therefore, as those who would be sure to treasure up such a record, St. Luke

may well have derived the narrative—obviously a translation from the Hebrew or Aramaic of Palestine—which forms the introduction to his Gospel (chaps. i. and ii.), and which is distinct in character and style from the rest of his Gospel. But informants such as these would be sure to treasure up also the special instances of our Lord's tenderness and sympathy for women like themselves, and it is accordingly not more than a legitimate inference from the facts of human nature to trace to them such narratives as that of the woman that was a sinner (chap. vii. 36—50), of the contrasted characters of the two sisters at Bethany (chap. x. 38—42), of the woman who cried out, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee . . ." (chap. xi. 27),* of the daughters of Jerusalem who met their Lord on His way to Calvary (chap. xxiii. 27—29), of those, again, who had come up from Galilee, and who stood afar off beholding His death upon the cross (chap. xxiii. 49), and of their buying spices and ointment for His entombment (chap. xxiii. 56).

On the whole, then, everything tends to the belief that St. Luke's statement that he had carefully traced to their sources, as far as he could, the facts which he narrates, was no idle boast; that he had many and ample opportunities for doing so; and that he did this, as we have seen above, with the culture and discernment which his previous training was likely to have imparted. It is obvious, however,

that coming, as he did, into the field of inquiry some thirty, or at least twenty, years or so after the events, many of the facts and sayings would reach him in a comparatively isolated form; and though there is an obvious and earnest endeavour to relate them, as he says, "in order," it might not always be easy to ascertain what that order had actually been. And this is, in part at least, the probable explanation of the seeming dislocation of facts which we find on comparing his Gospel with those of St. Matthew and St. Mark. (Comp. Matt. viii. 1; ix. 1, with the history of the same events in St. Mark and St. Luke.)

IV. The First Readers of the Gospel.—St. Luke's record differs in a very marked way from the other three in being addressed, or, as we should say, dedicated, to an individual. Who and what Theophilus was, we have but few *data* for conjecturing. The epithet "most excellent"—the same word as that used by Tertullus in addressing Felix (Acts xxiv. 3)—implies social or official position of some dignity. The absence of that epithet in the dedication of the Acts indicates, perhaps, that the Evangelist had then come to be on terms of greater familiarity with him. The reference to Italian localities of minor importance, as places familiar to the reader as well as writer, in Acts xxviii. 12—14, suggests the conclusion that he was of Latin, probably of Roman, origin; the fact that the Gospel was written for him in Greek, that he shared the culture which was then common to well nigh all educated Romans. He was a convert, accordingly, from the religion of

* It will be noted that our Lord's words (chap. xxiii. 29), "Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps that never gave suck," seem intended to remind those who heard them of the far-different benediction which one of them had once uttered.

Rome to that of Christ, though he may, of course, have passed through Judaism, as a schoolmaster leading him to Christ. The teaching which he had already received as a catechumen had embraced an outline of the facts recorded in the Gospel (chap. i. 3), and St. Luke wrote to raise the knowledge so gained to a standard of greater completeness. The name, it may be noted, was, like other names of kindred meaning, such, *e.g.*, as Timotheus, not an uncommon one. Among St. Luke's contemporaries, it was borne by one of the Jewish high priests, the brother-in-law of Caiaphas (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 4, § 3), who probably was responsible for St. Paul's mission of persecution to Damascus, and by some official at Athens who was condemned for perjury by the Areopagus (*Facit. Ann.* ii. 55). Beyond this all is conjecture, or tradition which dissolves into conjecture. He is said to have been, by this or that ecclesiastical writer, an Achaean, or an Alexandrian, or an Antiochian; he has been wildly identified, by some modern critics, with one or other of the two persons thus named; it has been held by others that the name (= "one who loves God") simply designated the ideal Christian reader whom St. Luke had in view.

It is, however, reasonable to infer that the Gospel, though dedicated to him, was meant for the wider circle of the class of which he was the representative, *i.e.*, in other words, that it was meant to be especially a Gospel for the educated heathen. It will be seen in what follows, that this view is confirmed by its more prominent characteristics.

V. The Characteristics of the Gospel.—(1.) It has been

said, not without some measure of truth, that one main purpose of the Acts of the Apostles was to reconcile the two parties in the Apostolic Church which tended to arrange themselves, with more or less of open antagonism, under the names of St. Peter and St. Paul, by showing that the two Apostles were substantially of one mind; that the former had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles (Acts x. 48), and had consented to the great charter of their freedom (Acts xv. 7); that the latter had shown his reverence for the ceremonial law by twice taking on himself, wholly or in part, the vow of a Nazarite (Acts xviii. 18; xxi. 26). Something of the same catholicity of purpose is to be found in the Gospel which bears St. Luke's name. It was obviously natural that it should be so in the work of the friend of one who became as a Jew to Jews, and as a Greek to Greeks (1 Cor. ix. 20). Thus we have the whole history of the first two chapters, and the genealogy in chap. iii., obviously meeting the tastes, in the first instance, of Jewish readers on the one side, and on the other the choice of narratives or teachings that specially bring out the width and universality of the love of God, the breaking down of the barriers of Jewish exclusiveness, the reference to the widow of Sarepta and Naaman the Syrian (chap. iv. 26, 27), the mission of the Seventy as indicating the universality of the Kingdom (chap. x. 1), the pardon of the penitent robber (chap. xxiii. 43), the parables of the Good Samaritan (chap. x. 30—37), of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Piece of Money, and the Prodigal Son (chap. xv.); midway between the two, the story

of Zacchæus, the publican, treated as a heathen, and yet recognised as a son of Abraham (chap. xix. 9).

(2.) In the Acts, again, especially in the earlier chapters, we note a manifest tendency in the writer to dwell on all acts of self-denial, and on the lavish generosity which made the life of the Apostolic Church the realisation, in part at least, of an ideal communism (Acts ii. 44, 45; iv. 32, 37; vi. 1.; ix. 36). So in the Gospel we recognise, over and above what St. Luke has in common with others, a principle of selection, leading him to dwell on all parts of our Lord's teaching that pointed in the same direction. The parables of the Rich Fool (chap. xii. 16—21), of the Rich Man and Lazarus (chap. xvi. 19—31), of the Unjust Steward, with its direct and immediate application (chap. xvi. 1—14); the counsel to the Pharisees to "give alms," and so to find a more than ceremonial purity (chap. xi. 41); to His disciples to sell what they have and to seek for treasures in heaven (chap. xii. 33); the beatitudes that fall on the poor and the hungry (chap. vi. 20, 21), are all instances of his desire to impress this ideal of an unselfish life upon the minds of his readers. Even in his account of the Baptist's teaching, we find him supplying what neither St. Matthew nor St. Mark had given—the counsel which John gave to the people—"He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none" (chap. iii. 11). In this also we may recognise the work of one who was like-minded with St. Paul. He, too, laboured with his own hands that he might minister to the necessities of others (Acts xx. 34), and loved to dwell on the pattern which Christ had set when, "being rich, He for our sakes be-

came poor" (2 Cor. viii. 9), and praised those whose "deep poverty had abounded to the riches of their liberality" (2 Cor. viii. 2). He, too, had learnt the lesson that a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth (chap. xii. 15), and had been initiated into the mystery of knowing how, with an equal mind, to be full and to be hungry, to abound and to suffer need (Phil. iv. 12). He, too, warns men against the deceitfulness of riches, and the hurtful lusts springing from them that plunge men in the abyss of destruction (1 Tim. vi. 9, 17).

Lastly, we cannot fail to note, as we read his Gospel, the special stress which he, far more than St. Matthew or St. Mark, lays upon the prayers of the Christ. It is from him we learn that it was as Jesus was "praying" at His baptism that the heavens were opened (chap. iii. 21); that it was while He was praying that the fashion of His countenance was altered, and there came on Him the glory of the Transfiguration (chap. ix. 29); that He was "praying" when the disciples came and asked Him to teach them to pray (chap. xi. 1); that He had prayed for Peter that his faith might not fail (chap. xxii. 32). In the life of prayer, no less than in that of a self-chosen poverty, His was the pattern-life which His disciples were—each in his measure and according to his power—to endeavour to reproduce.

VI. Relations to St. Matthew and St. Mark.—It would be a fair summary of the account of the Gospel of St. Luke thus given, to say that it is in its universality, its tenderness, its spirit of self-sacrifice, pre-eminently the

GOSPEL OF THE SAINTLY LIFE, presenting to us that aspect of our Lord's ministry in which He appears as the great Example, no less than the great Teacher. In other words, since He is represented as at once holy, undefiled, and separate from sinners (Heb. vii. 26), and as able to have compassion on their infirmities (Heb. iv. 15), it is the GOSPEL OF THE SON OF MAN as the great High Priest of humanity in the human phase of that priesthood. It follows with a marvellous fitness upon the Gospel of St. Matthew, that brings before us the portraiture of the true King and the true Scribe—upon that of St. Mark, in which we may trace the lineaments of the true Servant of the Lord. It prepares the way for that of St. John, which presents the Incarnate Word as manifesting His Eternal Priesthood in its sacrificial and mediatorial aspects. In its pervading tone and spirit, it is, as we have seen, essentially Pauline. In its language and style, however, it presents not a few affinities with an Epistle, the Pauline authorship of which is at least questionable, and which not a few have seen reason to look upon as the work of Apollos—the Epistle to the Hebrews. On this ground chiefly many critics, beginning with Clement of Alexandria (about A.D. 200), a man of wide and varied culture, have held that Epistle to have been the work of St. Luke, elaborating and polishing the thoughts of St. Paul (Euseb. *Hist.*, vi. 14). It has, he says, speaking as a critic of style, "the same complexion" as the Acts. Other considerations, it is believed, outweigh the arguments based on that fact; but the resemblance is sufficient to indicate that there were

some affinities connecting the two writers, and the most natural is that which supposes them both to have had, directly or indirectly, an Alexandrian training, and to have formed their style upon the more rhetorical books of the later Hellenistic additions to the canon of the Old Testament, such as the Books of Maccabees as the model of history, and the Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus for that of the more systematic treatment of doctrine. The points of resemblance between the Book of Wisdom and the Epistle to the Hebrews are indeed so numerous as to have suggested to the present writer the thought of identity of authorship.*

It is, of course, obvious to remark that many of the facts referred to are found also in the other Gospels, and formed part of the current oral teaching out of which the first three Gospels grew. Admitting this, however, it is clear that the history of Apollos brought him specially within the range of those who were likely to be conversant with St. Luke's teaching; and if we suppose him to have any written record before him, it is far more likely to have been the third Gospel than either the first or second. The two men, who were friends and companions of the same Apostle, were, at any rate, likely to have met and known each other, and if so it would not be strange that, with like character and like culture, there should be a reciprocal influence between them. Traces of that influence are to be found, it is believed, in the references in the Epistle to some of the passages which, though common to

* The facts that bear upon St. Luke's work, as the writer of the Acts of the Apostles, are naturally reserved for the *Introduction* to that Book.

the other Gospels, are yet specially characteristic of this Gospel; to the temptations of the Son of Man as giving Him power to sympathise with sinners, though Himself without sin (Heb. iv. 15); to His prayers and supplications and strong crying (Heb. v. 7, 8); to His endurance of the cross, despising the shame (Heb. xii. 2); His endurance also of the contradiction of sinners (Heb. xii. 3); to His being the Mediator of a new covenant (Heb. xii. 24), the great Shepherd of the sheep (Heb. xiii. 20).

ST. JOHN.

BY THE VEN. ARCHDEACON WATKINS, D.D.

I. Life of the Apostle John.

—Our sources of information for the life of the Apostle John are, (1) the Four Gospels themselves; (2) the Acts of the Apostles, with references in the Epistles; (3) the traditions which have come to us in the history of the early Church.

(1) From the Gospels we know that St. John was the son of Zebedee and Salome.

The father is mentioned only once in the narrative (Matt. iv. 21, 22; Mark i. 19, 20), but the name occurs frequently as distinguishing the sons. He had "hired servants" (Mark i. 20); and John's own connection with the family of the high priest (John xviii. 15), and the committal of Mary to his care (John xix. 27), may also point to a position removed at least from the necessity, but not from the practice, of labour, which was customary among Jews of all classes (Matt. iv. 21).

Of Salome we know little more. It has been assumed above that she was the wife of Zebedee, and the

mother of St. John; and the assumption is based upon a comparison of Matt. xx. 20; xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40; xvi. 1. It has also been frequently assumed that she was the sister of Mary, the mother of our Lord, mentioned in John xix. 25; and although this cannot be regarded as proved, it is the most probable interpretation. It would follow from this that St. John was the cousin-german of our Lord.

Salome was also one of the band of women who ministered unto the Lord of their substance (Matt. xxvii. 56; Luke viii. 3); and this falls in with the general impression which the narrative gives of the position of the family. She was present at the Crucifixion (Mark xv. 40), and was one of those who brought spices for the embalmment (Mark xvi. 1). In one other passage she is mentioned, and there she appears as asking for her two sons the position of honour in the Messianic kingdom (Matt. xx. 20 *et seq.*). Her prominence as com-

pared with her husband, and the title "mother of Zebedee's children," makes it probable that she outlived him, and that the influence of the mother, whose zeal and love for her sons are illustrated in her ambitious request for them, was that which chiefly moulded the earlier years of the beloved Apostle.

Another member of the household is known to us—James, who is usually mentioned first, and was presumably the elder of the pair of brothers. At the time of his death he was, however, known to St. Luke as "James the brother of John" (Acts xii. 2), and the same writer inverts the order of the names in the same chapter (Luke ix. 28 [? reading], 52). In Acts i. 13, too, the better reading is *Peter and John and James*. The home of the family was on the shores of the Lake of Galilee, at Bethsaida, according to the usual conclusion from Luke v. 9 and John i. 44; or, perhaps, at Capernaum, which was not far from Bethsaida (Mark i. 29).

The sons of Jonas were companions of the sons of Zebedee when they are first mentioned, and had probably been friends in boyhood and youth. Whether the home was at Bethsaida or Capernaum, the Apostle was by birth a Galilean, as were all the Twelve, with the exception, perhaps, of Judas Iscariot (Acts ii. 7). He belonged, then, to the free, industrious, and warlike people of the North—a people who were despised by the more cultured inhabitants of Jerusalem, and upon whom the yoke of Judaism pressed less heavily than it did upon the dwellers in Judæa. Removed from the influence of Scribes and Pharisees on the one

hand, he would on the other hand grow up in contact with men of alien races and creeds, who were found in large numbers in the populous cities of Galilee. The union of Jewish and Greek characteristics which mark the man would be thus formed insensibly in the boy.

We know too little of the family life in Galilee eighteen centuries ago to be able to realise with any fulness and certainty how the years of the Apostle's boyhood and youth were spent; and yet there are certain bold lines which can be distinctly traced. Up to the age of six he, like other Jewish children, would be taught by his parents at home, and then sent to one of the public schools, which, in the period after the Captivity, had been established in every town and important village in Judæa and Galilee. We know that after the fall of Jerusalem Tiberias became the seat of the most famous rabbinic school, and it is probable that there were already established on the shores of the sea of Galilee the seminaries of doctors who had been themselves trained at Jerusalem. The lad would have gone to one of these higher seminaries at the age of sixteen, and would thus have been fitted for the work which, in the providence of God, lay before him, though he was not technically trained at the feet of a rabbi, and was therefore classed among the "unlearned and ignorant" (Acts iv. 13).

At the age of twelve or thirteen, John would have been taken up, as we know that Jesus was, to keep the feasts at Jerusalem. The holy city, bound up with prophecy and psalm; the temple, the centre of every highest hope and thought

which, at mother's knee or at the feet of the teacher, had been instilled into his mind, now burst in all the glory of its reality upon this Galilean boy. What Oxford and Cambridge are to English schoolboys, or Rome to the pilgrim from distant lands, all this, and a thousand times more than all this, was the city of Zion to the Jewish pilgrim. Well may it be that the gorgeous ritual of the temple so impressed itself upon the receptive youthful mind as to furnish the imagery in which the Visions of the Apocalypse were afterwards to be clothed.

These visits would be repeated three times each year, and form the great events in the year's course. The caravans, the pilgrim-songs, the discourses of rabbis and teachers, the ritual of the feasts themselves, would all leave their mark upon the opening mind, and lead to question and answer as to what these things meant.

In the intervals between the feasts, there would be the regular synagogue services and instructions, the converse with teachers and friends, the daily task in his father's trade, the growth and development of character in and through all these outer circumstances.

The most prominent thought of the times, the subject on which men were ever musing and speaking, was the expectation of the Messiah. Probably every well-trained Jewish boy expected that the Messiah would come before his own life would end. Together with this expectation of the Messiah there were hopes of freedom from the oppression of Rome; and the deep feeling of the masses frequently found vent in open in-

surrection. One remarkable attempt to throw off the hated yoke, which was for a time successful—when Judas the Gaulonite, and Sadoc the Pharisee, ruled the whole country—must have occurred when John was yet a boy, and his spirit must have been fired by the cry of their watchword, "God only is our Lord and Master." (Comp. *Jos. Ant.* xviii. 1.)

And so the years went on. Boyhood passed into youth, and youth into manhood. The study of the law and the prophets, the singing of psalms, the utterance of prayers, the feelings and hopes of his countrymen, must, with successive years, have brought a new meaning. The dreams of childhood and visions of youth grew into the deeper thoughts and fuller hopes of manhood.

Such was the relation of John's mind to the preparation of the past and to the hopes of the future, when the Baptist appeared as the herald of the coming King, and passing from Judæa northwards through the Jordan Valley, cried with a voice which, like a trumpet-blast, awoke men from their spiritual slumber, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Among those who flocked to this new teacher were the sons of Zebedee and the sons of Jonas. The first chapter of this Gospel leads to the thought that they were prominent among the Forerunner's disciples; and to the heart of no one, it may be, of all who heard him did his burning words come with greater power than to that of the young follower whose name was in the after-history to eclipse his own. For days, or weeks, or months, perhaps, the spirit of John the Baptist was leading the spirit

of John the son of Zebedee onward from Old Testament prophecy to Him in whom Old Testament prophecy was to be fulfilled. Neither knew, indeed, that the fulfilment was so near at hand until the Baptist saw the Messiah coming to be baptised, and the disciple heard the cry, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." On the following day the words so full of meaning were again spoken, and a pair of disciples, of whom Andrew was one, and John almost certainly the other, passed from the discipleship of the Baptist to that of the Messiah Himself. They "remained with Him that day," the crisis of the life, in which its whole current was changed.

The next period of the life is one with which we are familiar from the Gospels themselves, and one which, therefore, needs but a brief treatment here. John seems at once to have followed Jesus; to have been present, and perhaps even to have been a central figure, at the marriage at Cana (chap. ii. 5); to have gone thence with Him to Capernaum and Jerusalem (chap. ii. 12, 22); to have been with Him on the return to Samaria; and then probably for a time to have gone back to his ordinary life, learning in the calmness of its retirement the meaning of the lessons which the words and deeds of Jesus had suggested to his mind.

From that retirement he is again called, and perhaps the call was repeated (comp. Matt. iv. 18 and Luke v. 1-11), to be a fisher of men and an Apostle of the Church of Christ. With James his brother, with Simon and Andrew his friends, he is always named in

the first group of the Apostles; and with James and Simon he forms the band of three who are the nearest friends and companions of the earthly life of Christ. They alone are with Him in the presence of death (Mark v. 37); in the Mount of Transfiguration; in the garden of Gethsemane. Peter and John follow Him within the high priest's house at the trial (chap. xviii.); John at least was present at the Crucifixion; and both ran together to the sepulchre. From the call to the Apostleship to the close of the human life of Christ, the story of the life of St. John is bound up with the outer events of the life of his Master. Following in His steps; hearing, and, with greater receptive power than any other hearer, grasping the truths that Christ taught; seeing, and, with greater spiritual intuition than any other witness, reading the signs that Christ did; loving with fuller love, and therefore more fully loved; he was preparing to be prominent among witnesses to, as he had been prominent among those who were witnesses of, the works and teaching and love of Christ.

But his character is not represented as simply receptive. He who gave to Simon the name of Peter to mark him out as the rockman of the Church, gave to James and John, as marking out some characteristics in them, the title "Boanerges" or "Thunder-sons." (Comp. Mark iii. 17.) If "Son of Perdition" was the name of him in whom there was the special characteristic marked by "perdition" (comp. chap. xvii. 12), and "Son of Exhortation" that of him who had this special gift (comp. Acts iv. 36), then

"Sons of Thunder" marks out some force of character—sudden, impulsive, vehement, as the thunder's roll. Of this we find traces in the earlier Gospels. These sons of Zebedee, seeking with their mother the chief places in the Messianic kingdom, declare that they are ready to face all the dangers and difficulties before them; to drink of His cup; to be baptised with His baptism (Matt. xx. 20—24; Mark x. 35—41). They forbid those who cast out devils in Christ's name, and would call fire from heaven to consume those who received not their Lord (Luke ix. 49—54). Of the spirit of the Elijah of the Old Testament they had learnt in the school of the Elijah of the New Testament, and had carried, perhaps, something of the Baptist's stern denunciation of sin, and of his hardness of life and manner, into the work of Christ.

But if this is the character of John as drawn in the earlier Gospels, it is not that which is drawn in the Fourth Gospel itself. There he is the son of love, gentleness, receptivity, rather than the son of thunder; and these are the aspects of his character which have for the most part impressed themselves on Christian art and thought. The difference has often been noted, and for the most part noted by those who have drawn from it the inference that the two pictures cannot represent the same man, and that the later is the ideal of an after age. But the picture of the natural man taken in the fire and vigour of youth may furnish but few points of resemblance with that which represents him in the mellow ripeness of age. Great minds are wholly changed by half a century of expansion and growth; and

experience would seem to show that the earnest, forceful, impulsive character is that which ripens into calm and gentle love. If the youth represents love bursting forth in active strength, the old age represents love passively resting in being loved. The pictures, it should be remembered also, are drawn from different stand-points. The former is from without, representing the character in youth, as seen in its manifestations by others; the latter is from within, representing the character at the close of life, as the writer knew himself, and knew himself to be receptive of the love of Christ.

(2) For the next period of the life of St. John our only authorities are the Acts of the Apostles and their letters. Here, as in the Gospels, he is closely connected with St. Peter. They are named together among those who were "in the upper room" (chap. i. 13); they go up to the Temple together (chap. iii. 1), and are together before the Sanhedrin (chap. iv. 13, 19); they are sent together on the mission to Samaria (chap. viii. 14). Both are in Jerusalem after the Herodian persecution, in which James was killed with the sword (chap. xii. 2), and are at the first great council (chap. xv. 6; comp. Gal. ii. 9). These scanty notices give all that we know of a period which must have extended over some twenty years. While James was the first bishop of the Jerusalem Church, and Peter was the leader of Christianity among the Jews, it can hardly be that St. John was living a life of retirement. Other missions, like that to the Samaritans, may in part have occupied this interval; or he may have carried on a work less promi-

ment, but not less useful, than that of St. Peter and St. James in Jerusalem itself; or he may have returned to Galilee to do a like work there. Wherever he dwelt, he doubtless regarded the solemn committal of the Virgin Mary to his care (chap. xix. 26) as binding while she lived. If we may accept the traditions which place her death in the year A.D. 48 as approximately true, it may account for the fact that St. John is not mentioned with St. Peter and St. James as in Jerusalem during St. Paul's first visit after his conversion, about A.D. 38 (Gal. i. 18, 19); but he is so mentioned, and is regarded as one of the "pillars of the Church," at the visit to the council in A.D. 51 (Gal. ii. 9).

In connection with this residence at Jerusalem, extending, it may be, over many years, we have to bear in mind that while Galilee is the scene of the narrative of the earlier Gospels, Jerusalem is specially that of the Fourth. It assumes a minute acquaintance with persons and places which could be possessed only by one who had resided in the city. (Comp. pp. 99, 100 (b).)

(3) Passing to the later period of the Apostolic life, we are left without any certain guide. He is nowhere mentioned in the New Testament after the Jerusalem council in A.D. 51. It would seem probable that he was not there during St. Paul's visit of Acts xxi., but the argument from silence ought never to be pressed, nor should it be forgotten that St. Luke records the visit only in so far as it concerned St. Paul. We may with greater reason infer that he was not at Ephesus when St. Paul bade farewell to the elders of that city (Acts xx.), nor yet when he

wrote the Ephesian Epistle and the later Pastoral Letters. It may be, indeed, that he had left Jerusalem, but had not yet arrived at Ephesus. A work of which we have no record is suggested by some MSS. of the First Epistle, which assert that it was written to the Parthians, and a tradition of such work seems to have been known to Augustine. It is, however, more probable that the Apostle continued in Jerusalem until the destruction of the city, and that he was then borne on the westward-flowing current of Christianity to the city of Ephesus, which from the middle of the first to the middle of the second century, was its most important centre. (Comp. § III. p. 18.)

Ephesus was the link between the east and the west, between the mystic philosophies of Asia and the schools of Greece. More than any other city it had a charm for St. Paul, who had preached in it and the surrounding towns during three years, and had planted there Churches, which he saw flourish under his care, but in the midst of which he saw also seeds of future error. (See Acts xix.; xx. 29, 30.)

From the Book of Revelation we may infer that, in addition to Ephesus, the surrounding Churches of Smyrna, and Pergamos, and Thyatira, and Sardis, and Philadelphia, and Laodicea were the special objects of the Apostle's care, and that in one of the persecutions which fell upon the early Church he was banished to the island of Patmos. Returning from Patmos to Ephesus after the accession of Nerva, if we may accept the early tradition, he continued there to an extreme old age, combating heresies and teaching the truth.

The old age of St. John became the centre of legends, partly based upon fact, and partly ideal, which the early Christians loved to tell, and many of which have come down to our own day. They thought of his life as charmed, so that poison could not affect it, nor any form of death destroy it; they told—and it was not, Clement of Alexandria says, a story, but a true account—how the old man pursued a lost convert, whom he had committed to the charge of a bishop in Asia Minor, and regained him in the robber's den; how, like the Jewish high priest, he wore upon his head the plate of gold inscribed with "Holiness to the Lord;" how he, with something of the spirit of earlier days, flew from the bath in which the heretic Cerinthus was, lest it should fall upon him; how he was borne into the church when all power to move was gone, and, as if echoing the farewell words of Christ, which he himself had heard, said, "Little children, love one another, little children, love one another;" and how, when asked why he always said this one thing, the old man replied, "Because this is the Lord's command, and if this is done, all is done."

Cassian (*Collat.* xxiv. c. 2) relates an anecdote, which may be given as an illustration of the impression of the Asiatic Church with regard to the character of the Apostle. "The blessed Evangelist was one day gently stroking a partridge, when a young man, returning from hunting, asked in astonishment how a man so illustrious could spend his time in such a manner? 'What have you got in your hand?' replied the Apostle. 'A bow,' said the young man. 'Why is it not

strung?' 'Because if I carried it strung always it would lose the elasticity which I shall want in it when I draw the arrow.' 'Do not be angry, then, my young friend, if I sometimes in this way unstring my spirit, which may otherwise lose its spring, and fail at the very moment when I shall need its power.'"

But space would fail to enter on a field so tempting and so full of beauty as the traditional history of the old age of St. John. Uncertain as we have found the history to be, we cannot expect to have any exact knowledge of the time of his death. Irenæus speaks of him as alive after the accession of Trajan (A.D. 98); Jerome places the death at sixty-eight years after the Crucifixion. He lived, then, until near the close of the first century, or, it may be, that he lived on into the second century; and if we accept the tradition that he was some years younger than our Lord, we have to think of him—the martyr in will, but not in deed—as sinking peacefully to the grave, beneath the weight of more than fourscore years and ten.

[For the matter of this section, comp. Godet, *Introduction, Historique et Critique*, 1876, pp. 35—75 (translated in Clark's Library); Lücke, *Commentar*, 1840, vol. i., pp. 6—40; Neander, *Planting of Christianity* (Bohn's Library); Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*; Macdonald, *Life and Writings of St. John*, 1876; Trench (Francis), *Life and Character of St. John*, 1850; Plumptre, Article "John the Apostle," in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i., pp. 1103 *et seq.*; Archbishop Tait, "St. John's Connection with Christian History and Evidence," *Good*

Words, July, 1868; Miss Yonge, The Pupils of St. John the Divine.]

II. Authorship of the Gospel.—The evidence for the authorship of any writing consists of two distinct branches, of which one (1) traces the external history of the writing, and the other (2) is based upon the contents of the writing itself.

(1) The writing which everybody now understands by "The Gospel according to St. John" has borne this title through the whole history of the Church, and during by far the greater part of that history has borne it without question. From the last quarter of the second century to the last quarter of the eighteenth century the writing was received with almost one consent, as the authentic witness of the Apostle John; but this period of clear and unbroken reception was preceded by one of twilight, in which it is difficult to trace the lines of evidence, and has been followed by one of destructive criticism, extending to our own day. It is believed that to every new investigator who unites competence with candour, the light of the second century becomes more and more clear in the evidence it supplies of the reception of the Gospel as St. John's; and that the chief result of the criticism which would destroy, has been to bring out a criticism of defence which has made the external evidence of the Johannine authorship more conclusive than it has ever been before.

The evidence adduced for the reception of the Gospel as by St. John, at the close of the second century, comes from every quarter of the Church. Irenæus at Lyons, himself a disciple of Polycarp, who was a disciple of St.

John; Tertullian at Carthage, writing against the heretic Marcion; Clement at Alexandria; the Muratorian Fragment at Rome; the Peshito version from Syria; the Old Latin from Africa—all are witnesses speaking with a voice the meaning of which cannot be doubted, and the authority of which cannot be impeached.

Following the line of evidence backwards through the earlier decades of the century, we meet with a fragmentary literature; and the value of the evidence depends upon considerations such as how far we have a rational ground to expect that in Apologies, Letters, Homilies, Apocalyptic Visions, there would be references to a writing like the Fourth Gospel; how far such references are actually found; how far the literary habits of the age justify us in saying that a reference is or is not a quotation; how far it is likely that a Gospel which is confessedly much later than the others, and was possibly for years known only to a limited circle, should, in comparison with these, have influenced the scanty literature of the next age.

To discuss this question is, obviously, far beyond the limits of the present sketch, and requires an acquaintance with languages and a literature, which can hardly be within the reach of those for whom the present pages are meant. The result to which the opinions of the most competent scholars seems to be tending is, that we have in the literature of the earlier part of the second century fully as much reference to the Fourth Gospel as we could reasonably expect it to furnish; and that a full and fair examination of that litera-

ture, even as it has come down to us, must pronounce it to be in support of the Johannine authorship. Upon this point, those of us who are ordinary readers must be content to accept the witness of experts; and there are few students of English Divinity who will doubt that the writer of the following words speaks with an authority such as few can pretend to:—

“ If the same amount of written matter—occupying a very few pages in all—were extracted accidentally from the current theological literature of our day, the chance, unless I am mistaken, would be strongly against our finding so many indications of the use of this Gospel. In every one of the writers, from Polycarp and Papias to Polycrates, we have observed phenomena which bear witness, directly or indirectly, and with different degrees of distinctness, to its recognition. It is quite possible for critical ingenuity to find a reason for discrediting each instance in turn. An objector may urge in one case that the writing itself is a forgery; in a second that the particular passage is an interpolation; in a third, that the supposed quotation is the original, and the language of the Evangelist the copy; in a fourth, that the incident or saying was not deduced from this Gospel, but from some apocryphal work containing a parallel narrative. By a sufficient number of assumptions, which lie beyond the range of verification, the evidence may be set aside. But the early existence and recognition of the Fourth Gospel is the one simple postulate which explains all the facts. The law of gravitation accounts for the various phenomena of motion, the

falling of a stone, the jet of a fountain, the orbits of the planets, and so forth. It is quite possible for any one who is so disposed to reject this explanation of nature. Provided that he is allowed to postulate a new force for every new fact with which he is confronted, he has nothing to fear. He will then—

‘Gird the sphere
With centric and eccentric scribbled o’er
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb,’

happy in his immunity. But the other theory will prevail, nevertheless, by reason of its simplicity.” (Prof. Lightfoot, in *Contemporary Review*, Feb., 1876.)

Important as these results of modern scholarship are, the results attained by the greatest thinkers and scholars at the close of the second century itself are of still greater importance. We have seen above that there was a general consensus of independent testimony to the acceptance of the Gospel by St. John. The evidential value of this fact cannot be over-estimated. Men like Irenæus, and Tertullian, and Clement, were neither morally dishonest nor intellectually incapable. They had to deal, moreover, with opponents who would quickly have exposed deceit and detected error. They and their opponents were intellectually, as well as physically, the children of the second century; their own lives went back far into it; they were removed by one generation only from the probable date of St. John’s death; they had means of inquiry which we have not, and evidence upon which to base their judgment which has been for the most part lost; and it is scarcely too much to say that, had it been wholly lost, the convictions based upon this

evidence would have remained irresistible. The evidence of the Versions is of the same nature, showing that the translators accepted this Gospel as an undoubted portion of the sacred canon. We find that the moment the historic mists which hang over the second century pass away, the reception of the Gospel stands out in the clear light as an undoubted fact. The light did not create this reception, but made visible that which was there before.

The Gospel continued to be received, not without here and there an objection, but without any of historic importance, until the close of the eighteenth century, when Edward Evanson published *The Dissonance of the Four generally received Evangelists, and the Evidence of their Authenticity Examined* (Ipswich, 1792, 8vo). The object was to show that the Fourth Gospel was from a Platonist of the second century. Evanson was answered in the following year by Dr. Priestley and David Simpson, and for a time the scene of the controversy was shifted from English ground. The seed sown took root on the Continent, where it brought forth a host of smaller works, and notably the *Von Gottes Sohn der Welt Heiland* of Herder (Riga, 1797), in which the author seeks to show that St. John described an ideal, not an historic Christ. The well-known *Introductions* of Hug (1st ed., 1808) and Eichhorn 1st ed., 1810) seem to have produced a strong reaction, and during the next decade the older opinion was again triumphant in Germany. In 1820 there appeared at Leipzig Bretschneider's famous *Probabilia*, in which he endeavoured to show the inconsis-

encies between the Fourth Gospel and the earlier three, and to prove that the writer was not an eye-witness, nor a native of Palestine, nor a Jew, and therefore not St. John. The work was more thorough than any of its precursors, and sent a shock through the whole theological world. There were, of course, many replies, and in the following year Bretschneider himself seems to have departed from his positions, and stated that his object was to promote the truth by discussing the subject. Once again came the reaction; and now, indeed, German thought, led by Schleiermacher, and sending forth Lücke's *Commentary* (1st ed., 1820; 2nd ed., 1833; 3rd ed., first part, 1840), which is still a classical work on the subject, was in danger of the other extreme of exalting the Fourth Gospel at the expense of the earlier three. This school maintained its ascendancy until 1835, when another shock was sent through Europe by the "Life of Jesus" of David Friedrich Strauss (*Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet*, Tübingen, 1835—6). The position of Strauss himself with regard to the Fourth Gospel was simply negative. He denied that the Gospel was by St. John, but did not venture upon the harder task of finding another author. But disciples are bolder than their master, and the Tübingen school did not long shrink from a positive hypothesis. Differing on other points, Baur, 1844, Zeller, 1845, and Schweigler, 1846, agreed that the Fourth Gospel belonged to the second half of the second century. Later investigations have again led to a reaction, and the Gospel is now confidently asserted to be the product of the first half

of the century. To take but two representative names—Hilgenfeld (*Einleitung*, Leipzig, 1875) does not now doubt that the Gospel was written between A.D. 132 and 140, and Keim (*Jesu von Nazara*, 1875) would now, with equal confidence, give about A.D. 130 as its date. The last phase of the history again leads us to English ground, and cannot yet have been forgotten by English readers.

The author of *Supernatural Religion* (London, 1st ed., 1874; 6th ed., 1875) could not pass over the question of the fourth Gospel, and concluded that "there is the strongest reason for believing that it was not written by the son of Zebedee."

English scholars have been no longer able to look at the question from without; it has been brought home to them, and has demanded an answer at their hands. That answer has been, and is being given, and the apparent result is that to the author of no English work published during the present generation will the seekers of truth have more cause to be thankful than to the anonymous author of *Supernatural Religion*, who has led to inquiry upon this subject.

(2) Passing to the writing itself, we have to ask what answer the Fourth Gospel gives to the honest inquirer about its authorship. The inquiry is a wide one, and depends upon the careful study of the whole Gospel. Here we can only hope to point out the method in which the reader should pursue the inquiry. (Comp. especially Sanday's *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, chap. xix.)

The chief centres round which modern criticism has grouped her

questions respecting the internal evidence are the following:—

(a) *Was the author a Jew?*—The line between the Hebrew and Greek languages—between Hebrew and Gentile modes of thought—is so definitely and clearly drawn that there ought to be to this question an undoubted answer. The Gospel deals with the ministry of our Lord among the Jews, and it ought not to be difficult to say, with an approach to certainty, whether or not the many Jewish questions which necessarily arise are treated as a Jew naturally would treat them, and as no one but a Jew possibly could treat them. This, like every question related to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, has met with answers diametrically opposed to each other; and yet the evidence for an affirmative answer seems irresistible.

1. The evidence of style can carry no weight with one unacquainted with the Hebrew and Greek languages; but the best Hebraists do not doubt that the style of the Fourth Gospel, while much more Greek than that of the Apocalypse, is still essentially Hebrew. Even Keim admits this (*Jesu von Nazara*, vol. i. p. 116); and Ewald regards it as beyond question that the writer is a "genuine Hebrew, who carries in himself the spirit of his mother tongue" (*Johanneischen Schriften*, vol. i. p. 44). It is not, however, simply that individual expressions are Hebraic, but that the Hebrew spirit comes out in the whole tone and structure of the writing.

2. Still more important than the evidence of style is that which comes from the exact acquaintance with the current Hebrew

thoughts, into which a Gentile could not possibly have thrown himself. (Comp., as a few instances out of many, the thoughts about the Messiah in chaps. i. 19—28; iv. 25; vi. 14, 15 *et al.*; about baptism, i. 25; iii. 22; iv. 2; about purification, ii. 6; iii. 25; xi. 55 *et al.*; about the Samaritans, iv. 9, 22; about the Sabbath, v. 1 *et seq.*; ix. 14 *et seq.*; about circumcision, vii. 22; about the notion that a Rabbi may not speak with a woman, iv. 27; about the Jew's manner of burying, xi. 44 and xix. 40.) These thoughts meet us in every chapter. They flow naturally from the Jewish mind, and could flow from no other.

3. Not less striking than the acquaintance with current Jewish ideas is the knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures. The Fourth Gospel is, in this respect, almost as Hebrew as the first. There can be no need to quote passages; but there are some of special interest, because they show that the writer did not know the Old Testament through the Greek version (LXX.) only, but that he translated for his Greek readers from the original Hebrew text. (Comp. chaps. i. 29; xii. 13, 15, 38, and 40; xiii. 18; xix. 37.)

4. The prominence given to the Jewish feasts, and the way in which the writer makes them centres, and groups events and discourses around them, is one of the striking features of the Gospel. We have Passover (chaps. ii. 13, 23; vi. 4; xiii. 1; xviii. 28); Tabernacles (vii. 2); Dedication (x. 22); "A Feast of the Jews" (? Purim, v. 1).

The writer does not simply name these feasts, he also knows their history, and significance, and ritual. He is familiar with "the last day, the great day," of Tabernacles (vii. 37), and with the technical "Lesser Festival"; with the fact that Dedication was in winter (x. 42); and with the "preparation" of the Passover (xix. 31).

(b) *Was the author a native of Palestine?*—Attention is frequently arrested, in reading the Gospel, by the minute knowledge of places. It will be sufficient here to refer to chaps. i. 28 (Bethany beyond Jordan), 44 (Bethsaida), 46 (Nazareth); ii. 1 (Cana); iii. 23 (Ænon); iv. 5 (Sychar); v. 2 (Bethesda); viii. 20 (The Treasury); ix. 7 (Siloam); x. 23 (Solomon's Porch), 40 (Bethany, comp. i. 28); xi. 54 (Ephraim); xviii. 1 (Kedron), 15 (the high priest's palace); xix. 13 (Gabbatha), 17 (Golgotha); xx. 18 (Bethany near Jerusalem).

There is constantly some explanation added to a name. It is translated for Greek readers; or the moment it is mentioned some incident connected with it occurs to the writer's mind. Many of these examples show an exact acquaintance with the topography of Jerusalem, which must have been acquired before its destruction. The customs of the Temple are familiarly known (chap. ii. 13—17); and not less so are the haunts and habits of the fishermen on the Sea of Tiberias (chaps. vi. 17—21, 22—24; xxi. 6—11), or the synagogue at Capernaum (chap. vi. 17).

The argument from these details is cumulative, and, taken as a whole,

must be acknowledged to be of very great weight.

Let the reader carefully note the incidental way in which all this accuracy comes out, and he will feel that it is not acquired, and that the one simple explanation is that it belongs to a writer who was born and had lived among the places he is writing of, and now dwells upon them with loving memory.

(c) *Did the author live at the time of our Lord's ministry?*—The remarks upon Jerusalem immediately above have their bearing upon this question also; but that which is here specially important is to estimate the evidence which comes from the circle of thoughts in the midst of which the Gospel was written. How difficult it is at any period to realise the ideas of an earlier era every dramatist and writer of fiction knows. He may clothe his characters in the dress of their day, and surround them with the manners and customs of the past, but unless they are in a consummate master's hands they will think and speak in the present. The question then is, Does the writer of the Fourth Gospel think as well as speak the thoughts and words of the first century or not? Now the fall of Jerusalem was a great gulf across which the ideas of the Jews about the Messiah could not pass. With it disappeared from the minds of that generation all hope for a temporal Messianic reign in Jerusalem. And yet this expectation runs like a thread through the whole texture of this Gospel. The inference is that the writer grew up amidst this expectation—lived through the conflict between Jesus, who taught

the spiritual nature of Messiah's kingdom, and the Jews, who could grasp only the temporal—and narrated at the close of the century that in which he himself had taken part, and which with him survived the destruction of Jerusalem.

Other instances of this knowledge of the thoughts of the period are of frequent occurrence. Comp., *e.g.*, chaps. iv. 20, 21 (Jerusalem, the place of worship); vii. 1—13 (murmuring among the people about Jesus); ix. 8 (the neighbours' remark about the blind beggar); x. 19—21 (division among the Jews); xi. 47—53 (consultation of the Sanhedrin); chap. xix. (the various phases of thought during the trial).

(d) *Was the author an Apostle?*—The Fourth Gospel tells us much more of what passed in the Apostolic circle than we are able to gather from the whole of the three earlier Gospels. The writer of this Gospel is as familiar with the thoughts which were suggested at the time to the Apostles as he is with the thoughts of the Jews exemplified in the last section. Take, *e.g.*, chap. ii. 20—22, where the writer records the saying of our Lord regarding the Temple, and how the disciples understood this after the resurrection. There are instances of the same kind of knowledge in chaps. iv. 27; vii. 39; xii. 6; xiii. 28, 29; xx. 9, 20; and the reader may without difficulty note others.

The minute knowledge of incidents in the relation between the Apostles and the Lord would seem to point exclusively to one of the Twelve as the writer. Comp. chaps. i. 38, 50 (Andrew, Simon, Philip, Nathanael, and the unnamed

disciple); vi. 5—7 (the question to Philip), 8 (Andrew's remark), 68 (Peter's question), 70 (the explanatory remark about Judas); ix. 2 (the question about the man born blind); xi. 16 (the character of Thomas and the name Didymus, comp. xiv. 5; xx. 24, 28; xxi. 2); xii. 21, 22 (visit of the Greeks); xiii. (the Last Supper); xviii. 16 (the exact position of Peter and the other disciples and the porteress); xx. 3—8 (the visit to the sepulchre).

In several instances there is remarkable agreement between the character of Peter as drawn in the Fourth Gospel and that which is found in the Synoptists. More striking still, because inconceivable, except by one who drew it from the life, is the character of our Lord Himself. As we try and think out the writer's representation of the human life of Christ, we feel that we are being guided by one who is not picturing to us an ideal, but is declaring to us that which was from the beginning, which he had heard, which he had seen with his eyes, which he had looked upon, and his hands had handled of the Word of Life. (Comp. 1 John i. 3.)

(e) *Was the author an eye-witness?*

—This question has in part been answered above; but it will add strength to the opinion which is probably fixing itself in the candid reader's mind if some of the instances of vivid picturing which Renan and others have noticed in this Gospel are collected here.

1. With regard to persons, all that has been said of individual Apostles applies. Add to them Nicodemus (chap. iii.); Martha and Mary (xi.); Malchus (xviii. 10); Annas, and Caiaphas, and

Pilate (xviii.); the women at the cross (xix. 25); the Magdalene (xxi. 1).

2. The indication of places and of feasts given above apply also in answer to this question.

3. The writer knows the days and the hours when events occurred. He was there, and is writing from memory, and knows that it was about the tenth (i. 39), or seventh (iv. 52), or sixth hour (iv. 6; xix. 14). (Comp. chaps. i. 29—35, 43; ii. 1, 13; iv. 40; xi. 6, 39; xii. 1).

4. We find running all through the Gospel an exactness of description, a representation of the whole scene photographed, as it were, upon the writer's memory, which is of greater weight than any number of individual quotations. Let any one read, *e.g.*, chap. i. 38—51, or ii. 13—17, or xx. 8—10—and these are only instances chosen by way of illustration—and he will, as he thinks of them, see the whole picture before his mind's eye. The only explanation is, that the writer was what he claims to be—a witness whose record is true (chap. xix. 35). (Comp. chaps. i. 14, 16, and xxi. 24.) In this respect the Fourth Gospel reminds us of that by St. Mark.

(f) *Was the author one of the sons of Zebedee?*—Assuming that he was an eye-witness and an Apostle, we are sure that he was not Andrew, who is named in the Gospel four times, nor Peter (thirty-three times), nor Philip (twice), nor Nathanael (five times), nor Thomas (five times), nor Judas Iscariot (eight times), nor Judas, not Iscariot (once). Of the five other Apostles, Matthew is necessarily excluded, and James the son of Alphæus, and Simon the Canaanite

occupy too unimportant a position in the Synoptic narrative to bring them within the limits of our hypothesis.

The sons of Zebedee remain. Now, what is the relation of the Fourth Gospel to them? While they are prominent among the members of the first Apostolic group in the Synoptists, and in the Acts of the Apostles, they are not even mentioned in this Gospel. In chap. i. 41 it is probable that both are referred to, but neither of them is named. In chap. xxi. 2 they are, on any interpretation, placed in an inferiority of order unknown to the earlier or later history, and are probably named last of those who were Apostles. This omission of names is not confined to the sons. It was so with the mother also. All we know of her comes from the earlier Gospels. We gather, indeed, from chap. xix. 25 that she was one of the women at the cross; but we have to turn to the parallel passages before we read of Salome or the mother of Zebedee's children.

Such are the facts; but if one of these brothers is the writer of this Gospel, then, and as far as we now know, thus only are the facts explained and the conditions met. But if the author was one of the sons of Zebedee, we can go a step further and assert that he was St. John, for St. James was a martyr in the Herodian persecution (Acts xii. 1; A. D. 44).

(g) *Was the author the "disciple whom Jesus loved?"*—(Chaps. xiii. 23; xix. 26; xx. 2; xxi. 7, 20. Comp. xviii. 15; xx. 2, 3, 4, 8.) The concluding words of the Gospel (chap. xxi. 24), as compared with verses 7 and 20, formally assert this identification. It may be

granted that these words are not those of the writer, but an attestation on the part of the Ephesian Church. Still they are part of the Gospel as it was first published, and are the words of one who claims to speak from personal knowledge.

But admitting that the writer was the disciple whom Jesus loved, then we have the key to what seems an impossible omission of the sons of Zebedee in this Gospel. The writer deliberately omits all mention of his own family, but his writing is the record of events in which he had himself taken part, and in this lies its value. His own personality cannot therefore be suppressed. He is present in all he writes, and yet the presence is felt, not seen. A veil rests over it—a name given to him, it may be, by his brethren, and cherished by him as the most honoured name that man could bear; but beneath the veil lives the person of John, the son of Zebedee and Salome, and the Apostle of the Lord.

We have now found in the Gospel answers to the questions which have been so often asked, and very variously answered, during the last half-century. If the answers are taken as but small parts of a great whole, and the Gospel itself is carefully read and studied, the evidence will in all its fulness be such as cannot be gainsaid. In the spirit of the striking words which we have quoted before (p. 96), it may be said that while here minute criticism thinks it may trace an error, or there some part of the evidence may be explained away—while various separate hypotheses may be invented to account for the various separate facts—the one postulate which accounts for the

whole of the phenomena, and does violence to none, is that the Fourth Gospel is the work of the Apostle whose name it bears.

Here the two lines of external and internal evidence meet, and if each points only with a high degree of probability, then both together must approximate to certainty.

The indirect line of argument may fairly be used as evidence which leads to the same results. The Fourth Gospel existed as a matter of fact, and was accepted as by St. John, in the last quarter of the second century. If it is asserted that the author was not St. John, we have a right to demand of the assertor that he should account for the fact of its existence, and for the fact of its reception at that time, as the work of the Apostle. This demand has never been met with evidence which would for a moment stand the test of examination.

From one point of view the arguments we have now followed will to most readers seem satisfactory; from another point of view they are painful enough. The fact must be apparent to all that many men have followed out these same arguments to a wholly different result. Among them are men of the highest intellectual culture, and with special knowledge of these special subjects; men whose ability no one has a right to question, and whose honesty no one has a right to impeach. And yet contradictory results cannot both be true. If Lightfoot and Westcott, Ewald and Luthardt are right, then Strauss and Baur, Keim and Hilgenfeld are wrong. Assertions like the following cannot be reconciled:—

“The elaborate explanations,

however, by which the phenomena of the Fourth Gospel are reconciled with the assumption that it was composed by the Apostle John are in vain, and there is not a single item of evidence within the first century and a half which does not agree with internal testimony in opposing the supposition.”*

“We have seen that whilst there is not one particle of evidence during a century and a half after the events recorded in the Fourth Gospel that it was composed by the son of Zebedee, there is, on the contrary, the strongest reason for believing that he did not write it.” †

“That John is really the author of the Gospel, and that no other planned or interpreted it than he who at all times is named as its author, cannot be doubted or denied, however often in our own times critics have been pleased to doubt and deny it on grounds which are wholly foreign to the subject; on the contrary, every argument, from every quarter to which we can look, every trace and record, combine together to render any serious doubt upon the question absolutely impossible.” (Heinrich Ewald, quoted by Professor Westcott as “calm and decisive words,” which “are simply true.” ‡)

“Those who since the first discussion of this question have been really conversant with it, never could have had, and never have had, a moment's doubt. As the attack on St. John has become fiercer and fiercer, the truth during

* *Supernatural Religion*, Ed. 6, vol. ii., p. 470.

† *Ibid.* p. 474.

‡ *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, Ed. 3, p. x. The quotation and comment are repeated in Ed. 4, 1872.

the last ten or twelve years has been more and more solidly established, error has been pursued into its last hiding-place, and at this moment the facts before us are such that no man who does not will knowingly to choose error and reject truth can dare to say that the Fourth Gospel is not the work of the Apostle John."*

In one case or the other the human intellect, honestly inquiring for the true, has been convinced of the false. Plain men may well ask, Which are we to believe, or how can we be certain that either is true? The negative criticism has not shrunk from poisoning its arrows with the assertion that bigotry in favour of received opinions has closed the eyes of its opponents to the light of truth. It may sometimes be so; but unless much of the criticism of the present day is strangely misread, there is a blinding bigotry which prevents men from seeing the truth of received opinions simply because they have been received. There are minds to which the "semper, ubique, et ab omnibus" marks out an opinion for rejection, or at least for cavil. And yet the world is wiser than any one man in it, and truth has been written in other languages than German, and seventeen centuries of a belief which has borne the noblest results and commanded the assent of the noblest intellects, will hold its ground against the changing moods of the last fifty years. The "higher criticism" must not wonder if humbler minds withhold their as-

sent to its *dicta*, until it has agreed upon some common ground of faith which is not always shifting, and individual disciples have proved the depth of their own convictions by adhering to them. These combatants in the battle between error and truth are men of war armed in the armour of their schools, but plain men will feel that they have not essayed this armour and cannot wear it; and will go down to the battle with the moral Philistines who threaten Israel, trusting in the simple pebble of the old faith, and in the arm nerved by a firm trust in the presence of God.

The Fourth Gospel foreshadows its own history. It tells of Light, Truth, Life, Love, rejected by the mere intellect, but accepted by the whole man; and it has been with the historical as with the personal Christ represented in its pages. "Men learned to know Him and to trust Him before they fully understood what He was and what He did. The faith which in the Gospel stories we see asked for and given, secured, and educated, is a faith which fastens itself on a living Saviour, though it can but little comprehend the method or even the nature of the salvation . . . As it was with the disciples, so also it is with ourselves. The evidential works have their own most important, most necessary office; but the Lord Himself is His own evidence, and secures our confidence, love, and adoration by what He is, more than by what He does."*

For the many to whom the evidences as to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel must come as the

* Ewald, in *Göttingen Gel. Anz.*, Aug. 5, 1863, reviewing Renan's *Vie de Jésus*. Quoted by Gratry, *Jésus Christ*, p. 119, and by Professor Liddon, *Bampton Lectures* for 1866, Ed. 7, p. 218.

* Bernard, "Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament," *The Bampton Lectures* for 1864, pp. 43, 44.

testimony of others, and to whom the conflict of testimony must oftentimes bring perplexity, the ultimate test must lie in the appeal of the Gospel to the whole man. If the heart studies the Christ as portrayed in this writing, it will need no other proof of His divinity, but will bow before Him with the confession, "Truly this was the Son of God." Yes; and it will feel also that the penman was one who, more deeply than any other of the sons of men, drank of the Spirit of Christ—that he was a disciple who loved the Lord, a disciple whom Jesus loved; and it will feel that the voice of the Church is the voice of the heart of humanity, feeling as itself feels and speaking as itself speaks, that this writing is the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and that it is the "Gospel according to St. John."

[For the matter of this section the student may conveniently refer to Lücke, Godet, and Liddon, as before; Luthardt, *St. John the Author of the First Gospel*, English translation, Clark, 1875, in which the *Appendix on the Literature*, revised and enlarged by Gregory, is a valuable and distinctive feature; Hutton, *Essays Theological and Literary*, vol. i. pp. 144—276, 1871; Sanday, *Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel*, 1872; *The Gospels in the Second Century*, 1876; Westcott's *Introduction*, Ed. 4, 1872, and *Canon of the New Testament*, Ed. 3, 1870; or in an easier form, *Bible in the Church*, Ed. 2, 1866; Leathes, *The Witness of St. John to Christ*, 1870, *The Religion of the Christ*, 1874; Lightfoot, Articles in the *Contemporary Review*, beginning in December, 1874; Article, "The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel," in *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1877;

Articles on "St. John, and Modern Criticism," by Beyschlag, in *Contemporary Review*, October and November, 1877; and on the other side, *Supernatural Religion*, Ed. 6, 1875, vol. ii. pp. 251—476; Davidson, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 1868, vol. ii. pp. 323—468; Tayler, *The Fourth Gospel*, Ed. 2, 1870.]

III. Time when and Place where the Fourth Gospel was written.—(1) If the Gospel was written by St. John, its date must be placed within the limits of the first century. There is good reason for concluding that the last chapter is an appendix, coming chiefly from the hand of the Apostle himself, but that the closing verses (24 and 25) give the corroborative testimony of others. The fact of an appendix, and the difference of its style from that of the earlier writing, points to an interval of some years, during which, it may be, the original Gospel was known to a limited circle before it was openly published. This appendix is, however, incorporated with the earlier writing in all the oldest copies and versions, and was probably, therefore, thus incorporated during the lifetime of the Apostle. The beginning of the last decade of the first century is a limit, then, after which the Gospel could not have been written by St. John. In fixing a limit before which it could not have been written, there is greater difficulty; but the following considerations point to a date certainly not earlier than A.D. 70, and probably not earlier than A.D. 80.

(a) The absence of all reference to St. John in the Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul.

(b) The style, though strongly Hebraic, is much less so than the Book of Revelation. It is Hebrew partly clothed in Greek, and for this development of thought and language we may assign a period of ten or twenty years. The relation of the Epistles and the Apocalypse to the Gospel belongs to the *Introductions* to those books; but it will be found that the Gospel probably occupies a middle place, being considerably later than the Apocalypse and somewhat earlier than the Epistles.

(c) The subject-matter of the Gospel, while representing a somewhat later development of theology than that of the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, points to a much earlier development than that which we find in the earliest of the Gnostic systems at the beginning of the second century.

(d) The references to the Jews, their customs, places, &c., are as to things at a distance and in the past, and needing explanation in the present. See, *e.g.*, chaps. iv. 9; v. 1, 2 (comp. xi. 18); v. 16, 18; vii. 13, and the instances given before (pp. 98—100).

The earliest historical evidence we have is that of Irenæus, who places the Gospel according to St. John after the other three, *i.e.*, as he places the Gospels according to St. Mark and St. Luke after the deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul, not earlier than A.D. 70, and probably some years later. (See Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.*, v. 8.)

The general voice of antiquity gave A.D. 85 or 86 as the exact year, and while we cannot regard this as authoritative, it falls in with the probabilities of the case. Without fixing the year thus

definitely, we may regard the date as one which could not be much earlier than A.D. 80, or much later than A.D. 90, and conclude that the Gospel in its present form approximates to the later, rather than to the earlier date.

(2) The passage of Irenæus above referred to gives us also a definite statement that the place from which the Gospel was written was Ephesus. "Afterwards, John, the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned on His breast—he again put forth his Gospel while he abode in Ephesus in Asia" (*Against Heresies*, iii. 1, Oxford Trans., p. 204; also Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.*, v. 8). This statement is confirmed by the whole tenor of tradition from the second century downwards, and was never, seemingly, questioned until the commencement of the nineteenth century. It falls in with the other scanty hints of facts in St. John's life, and is in entire harmony with the standpoint of the Gospel. It will be unnecessary to weary the reader with proofs of that which hardly needs to be proved. The facts may be found in a convenient form in Luthardt, *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, Eng. Trans., pp. 115, 166; but even Davidson admits that "Lützelberger and Keim push their scepticism too far in denying John's residence in Asia Minor."

Again, the indirect argument holds good. If Ephesus is not the place from which the Gospel was written, what other place can be named with any show of probability? The only city besides Ephesus in which we might have expected the thoughts of the Prologue is Alexandria; but there is not even the shadow

of a reason for connecting St. John with this city.

IV. The Purpose which the Writer had in view.—

Here, again, there are two lines of evidence which may guide our inquiries: (1) the statements of early writers, which may represent a tradition coming from the time of publication when the purpose was well known; and (2) the indications which may be gathered from the writing itself.

(1) The earliest statement we possess is that of the Muratorian Fragment (see p. 121, and comp. Tregelles, *Canon Muratorianus*, 1867, pp. 1—21, and 32—35), which tells us that “The author of the Fourth Gospel was John, one of the disciples. He said to his fellow disciples and bishops who entreated him, ‘Fast with me for three days from to-day, and whatever shall be made known to each of us, let us relate it to each other.’ In the same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the Apostles, that John should relate all things in his own name with the recognition of them all. And, therefore, though various elements are taught in the several books of the Gospels, this makes no difference to the faith of believers, since all things are set forth in all of them in one supreme spirit, about the birth, the passion, the resurrection, the conversation with the disciples, and His double advent, the first in the lowliness of humiliation which (? has been accomplished), the second in the glory of royal power, which is to come. What wonder, therefore, is it if John so constantly brings forward, even in his Epistle, particular (? phrases), saying in his own person, ‘What we

have seen with our eyes, and heard with our ears, and our hands have handled, these things have we written unto you.’ For he thus professes that he was not only an eye-witness, but also a hearer, and more than this, a writer in order, of all the wonderful works of the Lord.”

On this question the testimony of Irenæus has a special value, from the fact that he was separated from the time of St. John by one generation only, and was directly connected, through Polycarp, with the circle in which the Gospel was first circulated. It may be well, therefore, to quote his words at some length:—“In course of preaching this faith, John, the disciple of the Lord, desirous by preaching of the Gospel to remove the error which Cerinthus had been sowing among men; and long before him those who are called Nicolaitans, who are an offshoot of the knowledge [*Gnosis*] falsely so called; to confound them and persuade men that there is but one God, who made all things by His word, and not, as they affirm, that the Creator is one person, the Father of the Lord another, and that there is a difference of persons between the Son of the Creator and the Christ from the higher Æons, who both remained impassible, descending on Jesus, the Son of the Creator, and glided back again to his own Pleroma; and that the Beginning is the Only Begotten, but the Word the true Son of the Only Begotten; and that the created system to which we belong was not made by the First Deity, but by some Power brought very far down below it and cut off from communion in the things which are beyond sight and

name. All such things, I say, the Lord's disciple desiring to cut off, and to establish in the Church the rule of truth, viz., that there is one God Almighty, who by His Word hath made all things visible and invisible; indicating, also, that by the Word whereby God wrought Creation, in the same also He provided salvation for the men who are part of Creation;—thus did he begin in that instruction which the Gospel contains [then follows chap. i. verses 1—5].” In the next section he quotes verses 10, 11, and 14 against Marcion and Valentinus and other Gnostics who held the Creation by angels or demi-gods. (*Adv. Hær.*, lib. iii., chap. xi., Oxford Trans., pp. 229 *et seq.*)

In an earlier passage Irenæus gives the following account of the heresy of Cerinthus: “And a certain Cerinthus too, in Asia, taught that the world was not made by the First God, but by a certain Power far separated and distant from the Royalty which is above all, and which knows not the God who is over all. And he added that Jesus was not born of a virgin (for that seemed to him impossible), but was the son of Joseph and Mary like all other men, and had more power than men in justice, prudence, and wisdom. And that after His baptism there descended on Him from that Royalty which is above all, Christ in the figure of a dove, and that He then declared the unknown Father and did mighty works; but that in the end Christ again soared back from Jesus, and that Jesus suffered and rose again, but Christ remained impassible as being spiritual” (lib. i., cap. xxvi., Oxford Trans., p. 77).

In lib. iii., cap. iii., Oxford Trans., p. 208, Irenæus relates the story of the Apostle flying from Cerinthus in the bath. This is repeated in Eusebius, iii. 28, Bagster's Trans., p. 131.

Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Jerome agree in the statement that the Gospel was written to meet the heresy of Cerinthus, but speak of the Ebionites instead of the Nicolaitans.

Clement of Alexandria is quoted by Eusebius, as saying, “John, last of all, perceiving that what had reference to the body in the gospel of our Saviour was sufficiently detailed; and being encouraged by his familiar friends and urged by the Spirit, he wrote a spiritual gospel (*Eccles. Hist.*, lib. vi., cap. xv., Bagster's Trans., pp. 247—8), and Eusebius himself says, “The three Gospels previously written having been distributed among all, and also handed to him, they say that he admitted them, giving his testimony to their truth; but that there was only wanting in the narrative the account of the things done by Christ among the first of His deeds and at the commencement of the Gospel.

. . . For these reasons the Apostle John, it is said, being untreated to undertake it, wrote the account of the time not recorded by the former Evangelists, and the deeds done by our Saviour which they have passed by . . .” (lib. iii., cap. xxiv., Bagster's Trans., pp. 126, 127).

We have in these extracts three points of view, distinct but not different, from which it was conceived that the writer undertook his work. His aim was didactic, to teach that which was revealed to him; or it was polemic, to meet

the development of Gnosticism in Asia Minor, of which we find traces in the later Pauline epistles; or it was historic, to fill up by way of supplement those portions of the life of our Lord which earlier evangelists had not recorded. In the later fathers and commentators, now one, now another, of these views is prominent. They do not exclude each other: to teach the truth was the sure way to make war against error; to teach the truth historically was to represent it as it was revealed in the life of Him who was the Truth.

We have to think of the Apostle as living on to the close of the first century, learning in the thoughts and experience of fifty years what the manifestation of Christ's life really was, and quickened by the presence of the promised Paraclete, who was to bring all things to his mind and guide him into all truth (comp. chap. xvi.). He lives among the speculations of men who have tried in their own wisdom to cross the gulf between God and man, and have in Ephesus developed a Gnosticism out of Christianity which is represented by Cerinthus, who was himself trained in Alexandria; just as in this latter city there had been a Gnosticism developed from Judaism, which is represented by Philo. He feels that he has learnt how that gulf was bridged in the person of Jesus Christ; he remembers His acts and words; he knows that in Him, and Him only, does the Divine and human meet; and he writes his own witness at once, in the deeper fulness of its truth, instructing the Church and refuting heresy, and supplying the spiritual Gospel which was as a complement to the existing three.

If we turn to the Fourth Gospel

itself we find that each line of this three-fold purpose may be distinctly traced. The didactic element is apparent throughout. That the writer had before him, not only the instruction of the Church, but also the refutation of the errors of Gnosticism—and that not only in the special features connected with Cerinthus—is clear from the Prologue. We have seen how Irenæus applies this to Cerinthus, but the very term *Λόγος* (*Logos*) shows that the writer did not contemplate his school only. There was an easy connection between Ephesus and Alexandria at the time, and we have an example of it in the teaching of Apollos in Acts xviii. 24. Now the distinctive tenets of all Gnosticism were that the Creator was not the Supreme God, and that matter was the source of all evil. In "all things were created by Him" we have the answer to one; in "The Word was made flesh," the answer to the other.

The writer gives in chap. xx. 21, a formal statement of his own purpose: "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." It is usual to refer to these words as though nothing was further from the writer's thoughts than any polemic purpose. But in the passage quoted from Irenæus, on the heresy of Cerinthus, it will be seen that the separation of the divine Christ from the human Jesus was a prominent tenet. This verse declares that the purpose of the Gospel was to establish the identity of the human Jesus and the Christ who is the Son of God, as an article of faith, that in that faith they might have life through His name.

Eusebius gives no authority beyond "they say" for the statement that St. John had seen the earlier Gospels, and it does not follow that he had seen them in their present form. That he could have done so is, *à priori*, improbable, and there is no evidence of any such circulation of them as would be implied. It is further improbable from the relation between the subject-matter of the Fourth Gospel as compared with the three; it contains too much that is common to all to be regarded as a mere supplement; it differs too much in arrangement, and even in details, to have been based upon a study of the others. Moreover it is in itself a complete work, and nowhere gives any indication that it was intended to be simply an appendix to other works.

In seeking the origin of the Gospels we have the following general lines to guide us. There would be, probably, in the first generation after the life of Christ an oral Gospel, in which all the chief events of His life and the chief discourses were preserved. In different churches different parts would be committed to writing, and carefully preserved, and compared with similar writings elsewhere. Such documents would form the basis of the Synoptic Gospels. Such documents doubtless existed at Ephesus, and John had access to them; but it is to his personal remembrance of Christ's life and work, and his residence in Jerusalem, and his close union with the Virgin Mary, that we are to trace his special information. Mary, and his own mother Salome, and Mary Magdalene, and Nicodemus, and the family of Bethany, and the Church at Jerusalem, are the

sources from which he would have learnt of events beyond his personal knowledge.

[For the matter of this section comp., in addition to the books quoted, Lücke and Godet as before (this part of Lücke's *Einleitung* is of great value, and may be read in the Prolegomena of Alford, who adopts it, and in that of Wordsworth, who rejects it); Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries*, 1875; Neander, *Church History*, § 4, Clark's Eng. Trans., vol. i. pp. 67—93; Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, Eng. Trans., 1874, § 77; Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus*, Lond., 1877.]

V. Contents and Characteristics of the Gospel.—

The Gospel is divided into two main sections at the close of chap. xii. The great subject of the first of these sections is the manifestation of Christ; and that of the second is the result of this manifestation. The first represents the life; the second, the passion, death, and resurrection. Subdividing these main sections, we have the following outline of the general contents of the Gospel:—

(1) Prologue. The link with the eternity of the past (chap. i. 1—18).

(2) Manifestation of Jesus. Varying degrees of acceptance (chaps. i. 19—iv. 54).

(3) The fuller revelation and growth of unbelief among the Jews (chaps. v. 1—xii. 50).

(4) The fuller revelation and growth of faith among the disciples (chaps. xiii. 1—xvii. 26).

(5) The climax of unbelief. Voluntary surrender and crucifixion of Jesus (chaps. xviii. 1—xix. 42).

(6) The climax of faith. Resur-

rection and appearances of Jesus (chap. xx.).

(7) Epilogue. The link with the eternity of the future (chap. xxi.).

The reader will find a detailed analysis of these sections at the end of this *Introduction*. It has been attempted by a consecutive enumeration to indicate the lines of thought running through the whole of the Gospel; but these are many, and a brief sketch may be helpful to those who attempt to trace them.

(1) The Prologue (chap. i. 1—18) strikes, in a few words, the keynote of the whole. The Word with God, and God, revealed to men, made flesh—this is the central thought. The effect of the revelation, received not, received; light not comprehended in darkness, but ever shining; this, which runs like a thread through the whole of the Gospel, is as a subsidiary thought present here.

(2) The manifestation of Jesus (chaps. i. 19—iv. 54) is introduced by the witness of the Baptist, and one of the characteristic words of the Gospel, which has already occurred in verse 8, viz., “witness,” is made prominent in the very first sentence of the narrative portion. This witness of John is uttered to messengers from the Sanhedrin, is repeated when Jesus is seen coming unto him, and spoken yet again on the following day.

The witness of John is followed by the witness of Christ Himself. At first He manifests Himself in private to the disciples, when their hearts respond to His witness; and at the marriage feast, when the voice of nature joins itself with that of man; and then publicly,

beginning in His Father's house, and proceeding in a widening circle, from the Temple at Jerusalem to the city, and then to Judæa, and then Samaria, and then Galilee. Typical characters represent this manifestation and its effects—Nicodemus, the Master in Israel; the despised woman of despised Samaria, herself steeped in sin; the courtier of alien race, led to faith through suffering and love. This period is one of acceptance in Jerusalem (chap. ii. 23); Judæa (chap. iii. 29); Samaria (chap. iv. 39—42); Galilee (chap. iv. 45, 49); and yet its brightness is crossed by dark lines (chap. ii. 24, 25), and the struggle between light and darkness is not absent (chap. iii. 18, 21).

(3) Following this public manifestation, we have in the third section (chaps. v. 1—xii. 50) the fuller revelation of Christ; and, side by side with it, the progressive stages of unbelief among the Jews.

He is Lite, and shows this in the energy given to the impotent man at the pool of Bethesda; but they persecute Him because He did these things on the Sabbath day. He shows that His work is one with the Father's, but they seek to kill Him as a blasphemer. Thus early is the issue of the struggle foreshadowed; and thus early does He point out that the final issue is not in physical death, and trace to the absence of moral preparation the true reason of His rejection (chap. v.).

He is Life, and shows this in blessing the food which gives sustenance to thousands, and in declaring Himself to be “the bread of life,” but they think of manna in the desert, and murmur at one whom they knew to be Jesus-bar-

Joseph claiming to have come down from heaven; and again the line between reception and rejection is drawn. Many go back, but some rise to a higher faith; yet even the light which shines in this inner circle is crossed by the presence of one who is a devil (chap. vi.).

He is Truth, and declares at the Feasts of Tabernacles that His teaching is from heaven, and that He Himself is from heaven, whither He will return. The perception of truth is in the will to obey it. He that willetth to do His will shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God. The effect of this teaching is that many believe, but that the Pharisees send officers to take Him. He is Life, and declares that in Him is the living water which the ritual of the great day of the Feast represented, and this is followed by a division among the people, and even in the Sanhedrin itself (chap. vii.).

He is Light, and declares Himself to be the true Light of the World, of which the illumination of the Feast was but a type. They murmur at successive points in His teaching, and in answer He declares to them what the true witness is, what His own return to the Father is, what are true discipleship and true freedom and true life, by the word of the Son, who was before Abraham. Their hatred passes from words to acts, and they take up stones to cast at Him (chap. viii. 12—59). [The paragraph from chaps. vii. 53—viii. 11 does not belong to this place.]

He is Light, and shows this by giving physical sight to the man born blind. The Pharisees seek to disprove, and then to discredit, the miracle, and again there is a division. Some say that this

man is not of God because He keepeth not the Sabbath. Others ask how a man that is a sinner can do such miracles. Jesus Himself declares the separation which His coming makes between those who are spiritually blind and those who spiritually see (chap. ix.).

He is Love, and declares this in the allegory of the Good Shepherd. Again a division is made prominent between those who are willing to accept and those who have willed to reject Him. Then comes Dedication, and the request to declare plainly whether He is the Christ. The answer brings again to them the earlier teaching of moral preparedness, and they take up stones to stone Him. They justify their act by the charge of blasphemy, which He proves from the Scriptures to be without foundation. But their determination has gone beyond the reach of reason, and they seek again to take Him. Rejected by His own, and in His own city, He withdraws from it to Bethany beyond Jordan. The darkness comprehends not the light, but still it shineth, and "many believed on Him there" (chap. x.).

He is Life, and Truth, and Love, and shows this in going again to Judæa to conquer death, and reveal the fuller truth of the Resurrection and Life, and sympathise with the sorrowing home. The attributes of divinity are so fully manifested that many of the Jews believe, but with the clearer light the darkness is also made more fully visible, and the Sanhedrin formally decree His death. When this decree is passed He again withdraws to the wilderness, but disciples are still with Him (chap. xi.).

As the Passover draws near He is again at Bethany. Love to Him is shown in the devotion of Mary; the selfishness and hatred which shut out love, in the murmur of Judas and the consultation of the chief priests to destroy the life of Lazarus which Jesus had restored. But conviction has seized the masses of the people, and the King is received into the royal city with shouts of "Hosanna!" Even the Pharisees feel that the "world is gone after Him," and there is present the earnest of a wider world than that of which they thought. Men came from the West to the cross, as men had come from the East to the cradle, and are the firstfruits of the moral power which is to draw all men. Life conquering in death is the thought suggested by the presence of the Greeks; light and darkness is again the form in which the thought of His rejection by the Jews is clothed. But the struggle is drawing to a close, and the writer adds his own thoughts and gathers up earlier words of Jesus on those who rejected Light and Truth and Life and Love (chap. xii.).

(4) With the next section (chaps. xiii. 1—xvii. 26) we pass from the revelation to the Jews to the fuller revelation to the disciples. It is the passing from hatred to love, from darkness to light; but as in the deepest darkness of rejection rays of light are ever present, so the fullest light of acceptance is never free from shadows.

His Love is shown by the significant act of washing the disciples' feet, and this is spiritually interpreted. His words of love cannot, however, apply to all, for the dark presence of the betrayer is still with

them. When Hatred withdraws from the presence of Love, and Judas goes out into the night, then the deeper thoughts of Jesus (which are as the revelation of heaven to earth) are spoken without reserve. This discourse continues from chaps. xiii. 31—xvi. 33, when it passes into the prayer of the seventeenth chapter.

It tells them of His glory because He is going to the Father; of the Father's house where He will welcome them; that He is the Way, the Truth, and the Life; that being absent, He will still be present, answering their prayers, sending to them the Paraclete, abiding in them; that His peace shall remain with them. It tells, in the allegory of the Vine, that there is an unseen spiritual union between Him and the Church, and every individual member of it; that there is, therefore, to be union between themselves; that the world will necessarily hate them because they are not of it; but that the Paraclete in them, and they themselves, of their own knowledge, should be the witness to the world.

It tells them the truth so hard to learn—that His own departure is expedient; declares the coming and the office of the Paraclete, and His own spiritual power with them, and comforts them with the thought of the full revelation of the Father, and the final victory over the world which He has overcome. Their faith rises to the sure conviction that He is from God. But even this full acceptance is not unclouded; He knows they will all be scattered, and leave Him alone.

And then having in fulness of love taught them, He lifts His eyes to heaven and prays for Himself, for the disciples, and for all believers,

that in Him, as believers, they may have the communion with the God-head which comes from the revelation of the Father through the Son.

(5) But here again in the narrative Darkness alternates with Light, and Hatred with Love. From the sacred calm of this inner circle we pass (chaps. xviii. 1—xix. 42) to the betrayal and apprehension, the trials before the Jewish and Roman authorities, the committal and crucifixion, the death and burial. Unbelief has reached its climax, and hatred gazes upon Him whom it has crucified.

(6) But love is greater than hatred, and light than darkness, and life than death. From the climax of unbelief we pass to the climax of faith. Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews, and Joseph of Arimathea, join with the band of women in the last office of love. The appearance to Mary Magdalene, to the ten Apostles, to the eleven now including Thomas, has carried conviction to all, and drawn from him who is last to believe the fullest expression of faith, "My Lord and my God" (chap. xx.).

The writer has traced the struggle between acceptance and rejection through its successive stages, and now that the victory is won the purpose of his work is fulfilled. There is a faith more blessed than sight, and these things are written that we may believe.

(7) The things which the writer has told are but a few of those with which his memory was stored. There were many signs not written in this book. He afterwards (in chap. xxi.) adds one of those which serves as a link with the future, in part, perhaps, to prevent a misconception which had

sprung up about his own life. Other disciples, too, give to his writing the stamp of their own knowledge of its certain truth.

Such are the characteristics of this Gospel. We feel as we read them that we are in a region of thoughts widely different from those of the earlier Gospels. The characteristic thoughts naturally express themselves in characteristic words.

The reader will not need to be reminded, as he again and again comes upon the words "light" (which occurs twenty-three times), "life" (fifty-two times), "love" (seven times; 1 John seventeen times), "truth" (twenty-five times), "true" (ideally, nine times), "witness" (substantive and verb, forty-seven times), "believe" (ninety-eight times), "world" (seventy-eight times), "sign" (seventeen times), that he has in such words the special forms which express the special thoughts which have come to us through St. John. Some characteristics in style have been pointed out in sect. II. as bearing upon the authorship of the Gospel.

VI. Sketch of the Literature of the Subject.—References have already been given, under the earlier sections of this *Introduction*, to works where the reader may find fuller information upon the different topics dealt with. Here it is intended to note such works as the ordinary reader may without difficulty have access to, and which bear upon the subject-matter of the Gospel itself.

Of the older commentaries, Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Gospel of St. John*, and the *Tractatus 124 in Joannem* of Augustine, may be read

in the Oxford Library of the Fathers. The *Commentary of Cyril* of Alexandria has lately been translated by Mr. P. E. Pusey, Oxford, 1875. The *Aurea Catena* of Thomas Aquinas is accessible in the Oxford translation of 1841—45.

Of more modern Commentaries, Lampe's three quarto volumes in Latin (*Basileæ*, 1725—27), take the first place, and are a storehouse from which almost all his successors have freely borrowed. The century and a half which has passed since his book appeared has been fruitful in works on St. John. A selection of exegetical works prefixed to the second volume of Meyer's *Commentary*, Eng. Trans., 1875, contains more than forty published during this period, and the number may be largely increased. The Appendix to the English translation of Luthardt's *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, contains a list of some 500 works and articles upon the authenticity and genuineness alone, which have been published since the year 1790.

In our own day the best results of New Testament criticism, as applied to this Gospel, have been presented to the English reader in the *Commentaries* of Tholuck, Ed. 7, 1857, Eng. Trans., 1860; Olshausen, edited by Ebrard and Wiesinger, 1862, Eng. Trans., 1855; Bengel, Eng. Trans., 1874; Luthardt, Ed. 2, 1875—6, Eng. Trans., 1877; Godet, Ed. 2, with critical Introduction, 1877, Eng. Trans., 1877; Meyer, Ed. 5, 1869, Eng. Trans., 1875, all published by Messrs. Clark, of Edinburgh.

In our own country the *Commentaries* of Wordsworth, 1868, and Alford, Ed. 7, 1874, are known to all students of the New Testament,

and the latter work has been also arranged specially for English readers (1868). Two works, which are less known than they deserve to be, may be specially noted as furnishing in a convenient form the patristic interpretation: *Commentary on the Authorised English Version of the Gospel according to St. John*, by the Rev. F. H. Dunwell, London, 1872; and *The Gospel of John, illustrated from Ancient and Modern Authors*, by Rev. J. Ford, London, 1852. Two other English books on this Gospel deal specially with its subject-matter: the well-known *Discourses* at Lincoln's Inn of the late Frederick Denison Maurice, a work marked by his spiritual insight and earnest devotion, and containing a striking criticism on Baur's mythical theory, Camb. 1857; and *The Doctrinal System of St. John*, by Professor Lias, London, 1875.

For all questions of geography, chronology, and Jewish antiquities, the English reader has the latest results of scholarship in the *Biblical Dictionaries* edited by Dr. William Smith and by Dr. Kitto, Ed. 3, 1866; in Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*; in the *Reports* of the "Palestine Exploration Fund;" in the *Synopsis* of Dr. Karl Wieseler, Eng. Trans., 1864; in the *Chronological and Geographical Introduction* of Dr. Ch. Ed. Caspari, Eng. Trans., 1876. Special reference may be made to the articles on Jewish subjects by Dr. Ginsburg in Kitto's *Cyclopædia*. See, e.g., in connection with this Gospel the articles on "Education," "Dispersion," "Dedication," "Purim," "Passover," and "Tabernacles."

On questions of the text, and the translation of the text, a very valuable help has been furnished in

The Holy Bible, with Various Renderings and Readings from the Best Authorities, London, 1876; this Gospel has also been revised by "Five Clergymen," London, 1857, and the results have been incorporated in *The New Testament, Authorised Version Revised*, London, 1876, of the late Dean Alford, who was one of them.

It remains for the writer to express his obligations to the works which he has above mentioned,

and to many others from which, directly and indirectly, thoughts have been suggested. To Lücke, Luthardt (especially in the Analysis), Godet, and Alford (both Commentary and Translation), he is conscious of owing a constant debt; but the work which has influenced his own thoughts most in the study of the New Testament is the *Kritisch Exegetisches Handbuch* of Dr. Heinrich Meyer.

ANALYSIS.

1. Prologue (chap. i. 1—18).

THE WORD

- (1) *was God* (verses 1—5);
- (2) *became man* (verses 6—13);
- (3) *revealed the Father* (verses 14—18).

2. Manifestation of Jesus. Varying Degrees of Acceptance (chaps. i. 19 —iv. 54).

- (1) THE WITNESS OF THE BAPTIST
(chap. i. 19—40):
 - (a) *To the messengers of the Sanhedrin* (verses 19—28);

(b) *At the appearance of Jesus*
(verses 29—34);

(c) *To the two disciples* (verses
35—40).

(2) JESUS MANIFESTS HIMSELF TO INDIVIDUALS (chaps. i. 41— ii. 11):

(a) *To the first disciples—the
witness of man* (verses
41—51);

(b) *At Cana of Galilee—the
witness of nature* (verses
1—11).

(3) JESUS MANIFESTS HIMSELF PUBLICLY (ii. 12—iv. 54);

(a) *In Jerusalem — the Temple* (chap. ii. 12—22);

(b) *In Jerusalem — the city* (chaps. ii. 23—iii. 21);
Nicodemus:

The new birth (verses 1—8);

Belief (verses 9—15);

Judgment (verses 16—21);

(c) *In Judæa* (chap. iii. 22—36). *The Baptist.*

(d) *In Samaria* (chap. iv. 1—42). *The woman of Samaria, and the living water* (verses 1—16). *The people of Samaria, and the fields white unto harvest* (verses 17—42);

(e) *In Galilee* (chap. iv. 43—54).
Received by the people.
The courtier's faith.

of its rejection (verses 31—47).

(b) *His Incarnation is life for mankind* (chap. vi.).

(a) Food given to sustain the hungry (verses 1—15).

(β) His body not subject to natural laws (verses 16—21).

(γ) The multitude follow Him (verses 22—25).

(δ) Teaching of Jesus (verses 26—58):

The work of God (verses 26—29);

The Bread of Life (verses 30—50);

The true food (flesh) and the true drink (blood) (verses 51—58);

(ε) The effect of the teaching — on the one hand defection, on the other a fuller confession of faith (verses 59—71).

(2) JESUS IS TRUTH AND LIGHT AND LOVE (chaps. vii. 1—x. 42).

(a) *Jesus is Truth* (chap. vii.).

(a) The Feast of Tabernacles (verses 1—13).

(β) The teaching of Jesus (verses 14—39):

His doctrine is from the Father (verses 15—24);

He is Himself from the Father (verses 25—31);

He will return to the Father (verses 32—39).

(γ) The effect of the teaching — Division among the multitude and in the Sanhedrin (verses 40—52).

(b) *Jesus is Light* (chaps. viii 12—ix. 41).

3. The fuller Revelation, and Growth of Unbelief among the Jews (chaps. v. 1—xii. 50).

(1) JESUS IS LIFE (chaps. v. 1—vi. 71).

(a) *This follows from the unity of Son and Father* (chap. v.).

(a) Energy given to strengthen the weak (verses 1—9).

(β) Persecution by the Jews (verses 10—18).

(γ) Teaching of Jesus (verses 19—47):

The Father's work also the Son's (verses 19 and 20);

The spiritual resurrection and judgment (verses 21—27);

The physical resurrection and judgment (verses 28—30);

Witness, and the reason

- (*α*) He declares Himself to be the Light, and appeals to the witness of the Father and of Himself (verses 12—20).
- (*β*) His return to the Father misunderstood by the Jews, and explained by Him (verses 21—29).
- (*γ*) True discipleship and freedom (verses 30—59).
 Freedom by the Son's word (verses 30—36).
 Natural and ethical sonship (verses 37—47).
 Eternal life by the Son's word. The Son's eternity (verses 48—59).
- (*δ*) Physical light given to the man born blind (chap. ix. 1—42):
 The miracle itself (verses 1—12).
 The objections of the Pharisees and the witness of the sufferer (verses 13—34).
 Physical light and darkness; spiritual light and darkness (verses 35—41).
- (*c*) *Jesus is Love* (chap. x. 1—42).
- (*α*) The Good Shepherd, who giveth His life for the sheep (verses 1—20).
- (*β*) The discourse at the Feast of the Dedication (verses 22—38):
 The true sheep hear the Shepherd's voice (verses 22—30).
 The charge of blasphemy shown by their Scriptures to be groundless (verses 30—38).
- (*γ*) Rejected in Jerusalem, Jesus goes away beyond Jordan (verses 39—42).
- (3) LIFE, TRUTH, LIGHT, AND LOVE MORE FULLY MANIFESTED. CORRESPONDING INCREASE OF THE UNBELIEF OF THE JEWS (chaps. xi. 1—xii. 50):
- (*a*) *Lazarus restored to life* (chap. xi. 1—46).
- (*α*) The journey to Bethany. Sleep and death (verses 1—16).
- (*β*) The interview with Martha. The Resurrection and the Life (verses 17—27).
- (*γ*) The interview with Mary. Sorrow and love (verses 28—38).
- (*δ*) The open sepulchre. The corruptible and incorruption (verses 39—46).
- (*b*) *The council of the Jews. The decree of death against the Giver of life* (verses 47—53).
- (*c*) *The withdrawal to Ephraim. Many seek for Jesus* (verses 54—57).
- (*d*) *The supper at Bethany. Mary, Judas, the chief priests (love, selfishness, hatred)* (chap. xii. 1—11).
- (*e*) *The entry into Jerusalem. The King and His people* (verses 12—19).
- (*f*) *The wider kingdom* (verses 20—36).
 Certain Greeks would see Jesus. The firstfruits of the West (verses 20—22).
 The seed and the harvest. Life in death (verses 23—26).

The world-wide attraction of the Cross. Light in darkness (verses 27—36).

(g) *The final issue of the unbelief of the Jews.*

(α) The writer's own judgment (verses 27—43):
Or no-faith (verses 37—41);

Or half-faith (verses 42, 43).

(β) The judgment of Jesus (verses 44—50).

The rejection of light (verse 46); love ("that I might save the world," verse 47); truth (verse 49); life (verse 50).

4. The fuller Revelation, and Growth of Faith among the Disciples (chaps. xiii. 1—xvii. 26).

(1) LOVE MANIFESTED IN HUMILIATION (chap. xiii. 1—30).

(a) *The washing of the disciples' feet* (verses 1—11);

(b) *The spiritual interpretation of this act* (verses 12—28);

(c) *The Betrayal. Hatred passes from the presence of love* (verses 21—30).

(2) THE LAST WORDS OF DEEPEST MEANING TO THE FAITHFUL FEW (chaps. xiii. 31—xvi. 33).

(a) *His glory is at hand, because He is going to the Father; they are therefore to love one another* (verses 31—38).

(b) *In the Father's house He will receive them to Himself. He is the Way, the Truth, the Life* (chap. xiv. 1—10).

(c) *Being in the Father, He will be present in the disciples* (verses 11—24):

(α) By answering their prayers (vers. 12—14);

(β) By sending to them the Paraclete (verses 15—17);

(γ) By abiding in them (verses 18—24).

(d) *His legacy of peace to them* (verses 25—31).

(e) *Relation of Jesus and His disciples to each other; and to the world* (chap. xv. 1—27).

(α) Their union with Him. The True Vine: union from within (verses 1—11). Comp. the Good Shepherd (chap. x.); union from without.

(β) Their union with each other (verses 12—17).

(γ) The hatred of the world (verses 18—24):
The reason of it (verses 18—21);

The sinfulness of it (verses 22—25).

(δ) The witness to the world (verses 26, 27):

By the Paraclete (verse 26);

By the disciples (verse 27).

(f) *Their relation to the world and the promise of the Paraclete explained more fully* (chap. xvi. 1—33).

(α) Though the world will hate them, it is still expedient that He should depart from them (verses 1—7).

(β) The coming of the Paraclete and His office (verses 8—15).

(γ) His own departure and return. Their sorrow the birth-pangs of joy (verses 16—24).

- (3) He promises a full revelation of the Father (verses 25—28).
- (c) Their faith is now weak, though they think it strong (verses 29—32), their future shall be one of tribulation, but He has overcome the world (verse 33).
- (3) LOVE MANIFESTED IN HIS INTERCESSORY PRAYER (chap. xvii. 1—26). HE PRAYS—
- (a) For Himself; the glory of the Son (verses 1—5),
- (b) For the disciples; their union with the Father and the Son (verses 6—19);
- (c) For all believers; their union (verses 20, 21); their communion with the Godhead (verses 22—24); which results from the revelation to them of the Father (verses 25, 26).
- 5. The Climax of Unbelief. Voluntary Surrender and Crucifixion of Jesus** (chaps. xviii. 1—xix. 42).
- (1) THE BETRAYAL AND APPREHENSION (verses 1—11).
- (2) THE TRIALS BEFORE THE JEWISH AUTHORITIES (verses 12—27):
- (a) Before Annas (vers. 12—23);
- (b) Before Caiaphas (verse 24).
- (c) Denied by St. Peter (verses 17, 25, 27).
- (3) THE TRIALS BEFORE THE ROMAN PROCONSUL (chaps. xviii. 28—xix. 16):
- (a) The first examination. The kingdom of truth (verses 28—40);
- (b) The second examination. The scourging and mock royalty (chap. xix. 1—6);
- (c) The third examination. The power from above (verses 7—11);
- (d) The public trial and committal (verses 12—16).
- (4) JESUS SUBMITS TO DEATH (chap. xix. 17—42):
- (a) The Crucifixion (verses 17—24);
- (b) The sayings on the Cross (verses 25—30);
- (c) The proof of physical death (verses 31—37);
- (d) The body in the Sepulchre (verses 38—42).
- 6. The Climax of Faith. Resurrection and Appearances of Jesus** (chap. xxi.).
- (1) ST. PETER AND ST. JOHN AT THE EMPTY SEPULCHRE. THEY SEE AND BELIEVE (verses 1—10).
- (2) MARY MAGDALENE AT THE SEPULCHRE. THE ANGELS. "RABBONI." CHANGED CONDITIONS OF LIFE (verses 11—18).
- (3) THE FIRST APPEARANCE TO THE TEN. PEACE TO THEM AND TO THE WORLD (verses 19—23).
- (4) THE APPEARANCE TO THE ELEVEN. "MY LORD AND MY GOD" (verses 24—29).
- (5) CLOSE OF THE ORIGINAL GOSPEL AT THIS HIGHEST REACH OF FAITH. ITS OBJECT: LIFE THROUGH BELIEVING (verses 30, 31).
- 7. The Epilogue to the Gospel. The Link between the Past and the Future** (chap. xxi.).
- (1) THE DRAUGHT OF FISHES (verses 1—8).

- (2) THE BREAKFAST. THE THIRD
MANIFESTATION OF JESUS
TO THE DISCIPLES (VERSES
9—14).
- (3) THE TEST AND THE COMMIS-
SION. ST. PETER AND ST.
JOHN (VERSES 15—23).

- (4) THE CLOSE OF THE GOSPEL.
CONCLUSIVE WITNESS
TO ITS TRUTH:
- (a) *By fellow-disciples* (verse
24);
- (b) *By an amanuensis* (verse
25).

Quarti euangeliorum Iohannis ex decipolis
cohortantibus condiscipulis et eps suis
dixit conieunate mini *odie triduo et quid
cuique fuerit reuelatum alterutrum
nobis ennarremus eadem nocte reue
latum andreae ex apostolis ut recognis
centibus cuntis Iohannis suo nomine
cunta ^c discribet et ideo licit uaria sin
culis euangeliorum libris principia
doceantur Nihil tamen differt creden
tium ⁱ fidei cum uno ac principali spū de
clarata sint in omnibus omnia de natiui
tate de passione de resurrectione
de conuésatione cum decipulis suis
ac de gemino eius aduentu
Primo In humilitate dispectus quod fo
tu secundum ^s potestate regali pre
clarum quod fotutum est quid ergo
mirum si Iohannes tam constanter
sincula etiā In epistulis suis proferat
dicens In semeipsu Quæ uidimus oculis
nostris et auribus audiimus et manus
nostrae palpauerunt haec scripsimus
uobis

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

BY THE LATE VERY REV. E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D.

I. The Author.—The opening words of the Acts, addressed, like the Gospel of St. Luke, to Theophilus, and referring to a former book, as containing a history of the life and teaching of the Lord Jesus, such as we find in that Gospel, are, at least, *primâ facie* evidence of identity of authorship. The internal evidence of style,* yet more, perhaps, that of character and tendency as shown in the contents of the book, confirm this conclusion. A tradition, going back to the second century, falls in with what has thus been inferred from the book itself. The words of Stephen, "Lay not this sin to their charge," are quoted in the Epistle of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne to those of Asia and Phrygia (A.D., 177), given by Eusebius (*Hist.* v. 2). Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria quote from it, the latter citing St. Paul's speech at Athens (*Strom.* v. 2); as also does Tertullian (*De Jejun.* c. 10). The MS. known as the Muratorian Fragment dwells on its being largely the work of an eye-witness, as seen in its omission of the martyrdom of St. Peter, and St. Paul's journey to Spain. Eusebius (*Hist.*

iii. 4) ascribes both books to him, in the same terms; and Jerome (*De Vir. Illust.* c. viii.) almost repeats the words of the Fragment: "Luke wrote his Gospel from what he had heard, but the Acts of the Apostles from what he saw." It will be enough, therefore, as far as the authorship of this book is concerned, to refer for all that is known or conjectured as to the writer to the *Introduction to St. Luke*. There also will be found all that it is necessary to say as to Theophilus as representing the first readers of the Acts.

II. The Title.—It does not follow that the present title was prefixed to the book by the writer himself. For him, probably, it would only present itself as the "second treatise," or "book," which came as a natural sequel to the first. It was not strange, however, especially when the books of the New Testament came to be collected together in a volume, and the "former treatise" took its place side by side with the other Gospels, and was thus parted from its companion, that a distinct title should be given to it. In the title itself the Greek MSS. present considerable variations — "Acts of the Apostles," "Acts of all the Apostles," "Acts of the Holy Apostles," sometimes with the

* Not fewer than fifty words are common to the two books, and are not found in any other part of the New Testament.

addition of the author's name, "Written by Luke the Evangelist," "Written by the Holy and Illustrious Luke, Apostle and Evangelist." The word "Acts" seems to have been in common use in the first and second centuries after Christ for what we should call "Memoirs" or "Biographies," and appears conspicuously in the apocryphal literature of the New Testament, as in the Acts of Pilate, the Acts of Peter and Paul, of Philip, of Matthew, of Bartholomew.

III. The Scope of the Book.

—It is obvious that the title, whether by the author or by a transcriber, does but imperfectly describe its real nature. It is in no sense a history of the Apostles as a body. The names of the Eleven meet us but once (chap. i. 13). They are mentioned collectively in chaps. ii. 37, 42, 43; iv. 33—37; v. 2, 12, 18, 29; vi. 6; viii. 1, 14, 18; ix. 27; xi. 1; xv. 2, 4, 6, 22, 23, 33. St. John appears only in chaps. iii. 1; iv. 13; viii. 14. Nothing is told us of the individual work of any other. Looking to the contents of the book, it would be better described, if we were to retain the present form at all, as the "Acts of Peter and of Paul," the former Apostle occupying a prominent place in chaps. i.—v., x.—xii., xv., the latter being the central figure in chaps. vii. 58, ix., xi. 25—30, xiii.—xxvii. From another point of view a yet more appropriate title would be (using the term in its familiar literary sense) that of the *Origines Ecclesiæ*—the history of the growth and development of the Church of Christ, and of the mission work of that Church among the Gentiles. The starting-point and the close of the book are

in this respect significant. It begins at Jerusalem; it ends at Rome. When it opens, circumcision is required, as well as baptism, of every disciple; the Church of Christ is outwardly but a Jewish sect of some hundred and twenty persons (chap. i. 15). When it ends, every barrier between Jew and Gentile has been broken down, and the Church has become catholic and all-embracing. To trace the stages of that expansion both locally and as affecting the teaching of the Church is the dominant purpose of the book. The "acts" of those who were not concerned in it at all, or played but a subordinate part in it, are, we may venture to say, deliberately passed over. Some principle of selection is clearly involved in the structure of such a book as that now before us, and even without going beyond the four corners of the book itself, we may safely affirm that the main purpose of the writer was to inform a Gentile convert of Rome how the gospel had been brought to him, and how it had gained the width and freedom with which it was actually presented.

IV. Its Relation to the Gospel of St. Luke.—The view thus taken is strengthened by the fact that it presents the Acts of the Apostles as the natural sequel to the Gospel which we have seen sufficient reason to assign to the same writer. For there also, as it has been shown (*Introduction*), we trace the same principle of selection. It is more than any of the other three a Gospel for the Gentiles, bringing out the universality of the kingdom of God, recording parables and incidents which others had not recorded, because they bore witness that the

love of God flowed out beyond the limits of the chosen people on robbers and harlots, on Samaritans and Gentiles. It remained for one who had led his catechumen convert to think thus of the Christ during His ministry on earth, to show that the unseen guidance given by the Christ in Heaven, through the working of the Holy Spirit, was leading it on in the same direction, that, though there had been expansion and development, there had been no interruption of continuity. I have ventured to say (*Introduction*) that the Gospel of St. Luke might be described as emphatically "the Gospel of the Saintly Life." The natural sequel to such a Gospel was a record of the work of the Holy Ghost, the Sanctifier. Looking to the prominence given to the work of the Spirit, from the Day of Pentecost onwards, as guiding both the Church collectively and its individual members, it would hardly be over-bold to say that the book might well be called "the Gospel of the Holy Spirit." At every stage His action is emphatically recognised. Jesus, after His resurrection, had, "through the Holy Ghost, given commandment to the Apostles whom He had chosen" (chap. i. 2). They are to be "baptised with the Holy Ghost" (chap. i. 5), are to "receive power after the Holy Ghost is come upon them" (chap. i. 8). The Holy Ghost had spoken through the mouth of David (chap. i. 16.) Then comes the great wonder of the Day of Pentecost, when all the disciples were "filled with the Holy Ghost (chap. ii. 4), and spake with tongues, and the prophecy, "I will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh" (chap. ii. 17), is quoted as

on the verge of fulfilment. Jesus has "received from the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost" (chap. ii. 33). Once again all were "filled with the Holy Ghost, and spake the word with boldness" (chap. iv. 31). The sin of Ananias is a "lie unto the Holy Ghost" (chap. v. 3). He and his wife have "tempted the Spirit of the Lord" (chap. v. 9). The "Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to them that obey Him," is a witness that the Christ is exalted at the right hand of God (chap. v. 32). The seven who are chosen in chap. vi. are "full of the Holy Ghost, and of wisdom" (chap. vi. 3). Stephen is pre-eminently "full of faith and of the Holy Ghost" (chap. vi. 5). His leading charge against priests and scribes is that they "do always resist the Holy Ghost" (chap. vii. 51.) His vision of the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God is closely connected with his being at the moment "filled with the Holy Ghost" (chap. vii. 55). Peter and John go down to Samaria that those who had been baptised by Philip "might receive the Holy Ghost" (chap. viii. 15—17); and the sin of Simon the sorcerer is that he thinks that that gift of God can be purchased with money (chap. viii. 18—20). It is the Spirit that impels Philip to join himself to the Ethiopian eunuch (chap. viii. 39), and carries him away after his baptism (chap. viii. 39). Ananias is to lay his hands on Saul of Tarsus, that he "may be filled with the Holy Ghost" (chap. ix. 17). The churches of Judæa and Galilee and Samaria in their interval of rest are "walking in the fear of the Lord and the comfort of the Holy Ghost" (chap. ix. 31). The admission of the Gentiles is attested

when "the gift of the Holy Ghost" is poured out on Cornelius and his friends (chap. x. 44—47), and Peter dwells on that attestation in his address to the Church of Jerusalem (chaps. xi. 15—17; xv. 8). Barnabas, when he is sent to carry on that work among the Gentiles at Antioch, is described, as Stephen had been, as "full of the Holy Ghost and of faith" (chap. xi. 24). It is the Holy Ghost who "separates Barnabas and Saul for the work of the ministry," and they are sent forth by Him (chap. xiii. 2—4). Saul, roused to indignation by the subtlety of Elymas, is "filled with the Holy Ghost" (chap. xiii. 9). It is He who guides the decision of the council assembled at Jerusalem (chap. xv. 28), and directs the footsteps of Paul and his companions in their mission journey (chap. xvi. 6, 7). The twelve disciples at Ephesus, baptised before with the baptism of John, "receive the Holy Ghost" when Paul lays his hands on them (chap. xix. 6). He it was who witnessed in every city that bonds and imprisonment awaited the Apostle in Jerusalem (chaps. xx. 23; xxi. 11). It was the Holy Ghost who had made the elders of Ephesus overseers of the Church of God (chap. xx. 28). Well-nigh the last words of the book are those which "the Holy Ghost had spoken by Esaias," and which St. Paul, in the power of the same Spirit, applies to the Jews of his own time (chap. xxviii. 25).

V. Its Relation to the Controversies of the Time.—

I have thought it right to go through this somewhat full induction because it presents an aspect of the book which has hardly been adequately recognised in the critical

inquiries to which it has been subjected. But subject to this, as the dominant idea of the Acts of the Apostles, I see nothing to hinder us from recognising other tendencies and motives, partly as inferred from the book itself, partly as in themselves probable, looking to the circumstances under which it must have been written. An educated convert like Theophilus could hardly have been ignorant of the controversy between St. Paul and the Judaisers, which is so prominent in the Epistle to the Galatians and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. He would know that the Judaising teachers in the Galatian Church had spoken of the Apostle as a time-server seeking to please men (Gal. i. 10); as having no authority but that which he derived from the Church of Jerusalem (Gal. i. 1, 12, 17, 22); that they used the name of James in support of their exaggerated rigour, and worked upon the mind even of Peter, so as to lead him to, at least, a temporary inconsistency (Gal. ii. 11—13); that others of the same school had appeared at Corinth, boasting of their "letters of commendation" (2 Cor. iii. 1); taunting the Apostle with his "bodily presence weak, and speech contemptible" (2 Cor. x. 10); speaking of him as a "fool" and madman (2 Cor. xi. 16); arrogating to themselves something like an ultra-apostolic authority (2 Cor. xi. 4); boasting that they were Hebrews and ministers of Christ (2 Cor. xi. 22). The language of Rom. xiv. shows that disputes analogous in their nature had sprung up at Rome even before St. Paul's arrival; differences as to days and meats (Rom. xiv. 2—6); connected with the very question of eating "things

sacrificed to idols," which had given occasion to one of the canons of the Council of Jerusalem (chap. xv. 20, 29) proposed by James, the bishop of that Church, and which had been discussed fully in the Epistle which St. Paul addressed to the Church of Corinth, at a time when its numbers were largely made up of Roman Christians (1 Cor. viii.—x.). These facts were patent to any one who had any knowledge of St. Paul's work. If Theophilus were, as is probable, an Italian, probably even a Roman, convert, they would be forced upon his notice.

There are, however, other materials for estimating the attitude of the Judaizing party towards St. Paul, and the language they habitually used in reference to him. I do not assume that the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*, *Recognitions*, and *Epistles* are of an earlier date than the second century, but it is a legitimate inference that they represent the traditions of the party from which they emanated, and they help us to fill up the outline which has been already sketched. In them, accordingly, we find James, the bishop of Jerusalem, as the centre of all church authority, the "lord and bishop of the holy Church" (*Epist. of Peter*, c. i), the "archbishop" (*Recogn.* c. i. 73). Peter complains that "some among the Gentiles have rejected his preaching, which is according to the Law, and have followed the lawless and insane preaching of the man who is his enemy" (*ibid.* c. 2. Comp. Gal. iv. 16). He complains that he has been misrepresented as agreeing with that "enemy" (*ibid.*). James declares that circumcision is an essential condition of discipleship (*ibid.* c. 4).

Under cover of the legendary disputes between Peter and Simon the Sorcerer, the personal discipleship of the former is contrasted with that of one who has only heard the doctrine of Jesus through a vision or a dream (*Hom. Clem.* xvii. c. 14. Comp. chaps. ix. 3, 17; xviii. 9; xxii. 18; xxiii. 11; 2 Cor. xii. 1), and it is suggested that one who trusts in those visions and revelations may have been deceived by a demon (*ibid.* xvii., c. 16). Barnabas is named with praise (*ibid.* i., c. 9), but the name of Paul is systematically ignored. The opposition to Peter at Antioch, of which we read in Gal. ii. 11—14, is represented as the work of the sorcerer (*Recogn.* x., c. 54). Almost the only direct reference to the Apostle of the Gentiles is an allusion to the "enemy" who had received a commission from Caiaphas to go to Damascus and make havoc of the faithful (*Recogn.* i., c. 71), and the fact that the "enemy" afterwards preached the faith which he had once destroyed is kept out of sight. With the strange confusion of chronology characteristic of this apocryphal literature, the "enemy" is represented as entering the Temple, disputing with James, attacking him with violence and throwing him down the Temple stairs, so that he lay there as dead (*Recogn.* i., c. 70).

Representations such as these might be met in two different ways. St. Paul, in the manly indignation of his spirit against such misrepresentations, met them, as in the Epistle to the Galatians, by asserting his entire independence of the Church at Jerusalem (Gal. i. 1—12), by showing that they had learnt from him, not he from

them, the fulness and freedom of the gospel which he preached (Gal. ii. 2); that the chief leaders of that Church had given to him and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship in their work among the Gentiles (Gal. ii. 9); that he had not given way by subjection, no, not for an hour, to the Judaizing Pharisee section of the Church (Gal. ii. 4, 5); that he had not shrunk from rebuking, with the general approval of the Church at Antioch, the inconsistency of Peter and of Barnabas (Gal. ii. 11—14). He meets them also, as in 2 Cor. xi. 13—27, by challenging a comparison between his own life and that of his antagonists. St. Luke thought it wise, in writing to a Gentile convert, to lay stress on the fact that the history of the Church of Jerusalem, truly stated, was against the policy and claims of the Judaizers, that the Apostle of the Gentiles, in his turn, had shown every disposition to conciliate the feelings of the Jews. With this view, he records the fact that charges like those which were brought against St. Paul had been brought also against the martyr Stephen (chap. vi. 14); that the Apostle had been admitted into the Church of Christ by a disciple devout according to the Law (chaps. ix. 10; xxii. 12); that he had been received, after the first natural suspicion had been removed by the testimony of Barnabas, by the Apostles at Jerusalem (chap. ix. 27); that it had been given to Peter to be, perhaps, the first to act on the essential principle of St. Paul's gospel, and to throw open the doors of the Church to the uncircumcised Gentiles (chaps. x; xi. 1—13); that he and the Church of Jerusalem had sent Barnabas to carry on that

work at Antioch (chap. xi. 22); that St. Paul had always addressed himself to the Jews whenever there were any to listen to his preaching (chaps. xiii. 5, 14; xiv. 1; xvii. 2, 17; xviii. 4; xix. 8); that he had lost no opportunity of renewing his friendly intercourse with the Church of Jerusalem (chaps. xv. 2; xviii. 22; xxi. 15); and that James, the bishop of that Church, had throughout received him as a beloved brother (chap. xv. 4, 25, 26); that he had shown his willingness to conciliate the Jewish section of the Church by circumcising Timotheus (chap. xvi. 3), and by his taking on himself the vow of a Nazarite (chaps. xviii. 18; xxi. 26); and, lastly, that the Council of Jerusalem had solemnly formulated a *concordat* by which the freedom of the Gentiles was secured (chap. xv. 23—29).

A principle of selection such as this is naturally open to the charge that has been pressed by unfriendly critics, that it tends to lead the writer to exaggerate the harmony between the two parties whom it seeks to reconcile; and stress has been laid on the omission of the dispute between Paul and Peter at Antioch (Gal. ii. 14), as showing that with this view he slurred over what was an important fact in the history which he undertakes to write. It may fairly be urged, however, on the other side, that there is absolutely no evidence that he was acquainted with that fact. As far as we can gather from his narrative, he was not at Antioch at the time. It was an incident on which St. Paul would naturally be reticent, unless forced to allude to it, as in writing to the Galatians, in vindicating his own independence. And even if he did

know it, was this passing, momentary difference of sufficient importance to find a place in a brief compendium of the history of St. Paul's work? Would the writer of a school history of England during the last fifty years feel bound, in tracing the action of the Conservative or Liberal party as a whole, to notice a single passage at arms, in which sharp words were spoken, in debate in cabinet or Parliament, between two of its leaders? Would a writer of English Church History during the same period think it an indispensable duty to record such a difference as that which showed itself between Bishop Thirlwall and Bishop Selwyn in the Pan-Anglican Conference of 1867? That he did not shrink from recording a personal dispute when important consequences were involved is shown by his treatment of the quarrel between Paul and Barnabas (chap. xv. 37—40).

VI. Its Evidential Value.—

(1) *In relation to the Gospels.* Had the Acts of the Apostles presented itself as an entirely independent book, its evidence as to the main facts of the Gospel history would obviously have been of the highest value. It assumes those facts throughout as well known. The main work of the Apostles is to bear witness of the resurrection (chap. i. 32). Jesus of Nazareth had been "approved of God by miracles, and wonders, and signs" (chap. ii. 22). Against him "Herod and Pontius Pilate had been gathered together" (chap. iv. 27). God had "anointed him with the Holy Ghost and with power;" and He "went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil, beginning from Galilee,

after the baptism which John preached" (chap. x. 37, 38). It is obvious, however, that it does *not* present itself as independent. It looks back to a former book, and that former book is the Gospel according to St. Luke. "It was natural," it has been said, "that the writer should thus take for granted what he had thus himself recorded. You cannot, in such a case, cite the second volume to bear witness to the veracity of the first." Admitting this, however—as in all fairness it must be admitted—the Acts present evidence of another kind. If they are shown, by the numerous coincidences which they present with the writings of St. Paul (see *infra*), by their occasional use of the first personal pronoun (chaps. xvi. 10—15; xx. 5; xxi. 17; xxvii. 1; xxviii. 16), by their stopping at St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, instead of going on to the close of his work and life, to be, on any fair estimate of circumstantial evidence, the work of a contemporary, and to have been written before St. Paul's death, in A.D. 65 or 66, then it follows that the Gospel from the pen of the same author must have been of even earlier date. The reference to the "many" who had "taken in hand" to set forth a narrative of the gospel (Luke i. 1) connects itself with the quotation from "the words of the Lord Jesus" in chap. xx. 35, as showing that there was not only a widely diffused oral tradition of the facts of the Gospel history (such as that implied in 1 Cor. xi. 23—25; xv. 3—7), but that there was also a fairly copious Gospel literature, presenting materials for future editors and compilers. But we may go yet further. It has often been urged, as against

the early date of the Gospels in their present form, that they have left so few traces of themselves in the early history and the early writings of the Church. As far as the Epistles of the New Testament are concerned, those traces are far from few; but it may be admitted that they do not refer, as we might, perhaps, have expected them to refer, to any individual miracles, or parables, or discourses of our Lord. The same holds good of the Apostolic fathers; and it is not till we come to Justin Martyr that we get any such frequency of citation as to make it certain that he had one of our first three Gospels or another resembling them, in his hands. Well, be it so; but here we have a work with the same absence of citation, the same vague generalisation in its reference to the outlines only of the Gospel history; and of this book, whatever view may be taken of its date, it is absolutely certain that the writer knew that history in all its fulness. Had the Acts come down to us without the Gospel of St. Luke, its reticence, and vagueness also, might have been urged as against the credibility of the narratives of the Gospels that bear the names of St. Matthew and St. Mark. As it is, it shows that that reticence and vagueness may be compatible with a full and intimate knowledge of the facts so narrated.

(2) *In relation to the Epistles of St. Paul.* Here, as Paley has well put the argument in the opening of his *Horæ Paulinæ*, the case is different. We have a book purporting to be by a contemporary

of St. Paul's. We have thirteen or fourteen documents purporting to be Epistles from him. There is not the shadow of a trace in the Epistles that the writer had read the Acts, or even knew of the existence of the book. There is not the shadow of a trace in the Acts of the Apostles that the writer had read the Epistles, or even knew of their existence. He not only does not compile from them nor allude to them, but he does not even record, as might have been expected, the fact that they had been written. He omits facts which we find in them, and which would have been important as materials for his history. Whatever coincidences the two may present are conspicuously undesigned. So far as they do agree and throw light upon each other, they supply a reciprocal testimony each to the trustworthiness of the other.

The coincidences which thus present themselves cannot be displayed here; while to state them with any fulness would be to re-write the *Horæ Paulinæ* with numerous additions. It will, however, it is believed, be of some advantage to the student to have at least the more important of these coincidences brought under his notice in such a form as to admit of examination without turning to other books, and the following table has accordingly been drawn up with that view. It has been thought expedient to present them as they occur in the Epistles of St. Paul, and to take those Epistles in their chronological order.

1 Thess. ii. 2; iii. 4.	St. Paul's suffering at Philippi .	Acts xvi. 22, 23.
" iii. 4	" " " "	Thessa-
	lonica	" xvii. 5.

1 Thess. ii. 18; iii. 1, 6, 7 . . .	St. Paul left at Athens alone . . .	Acts xvii. 16.
„ ii. 14 . . .	Sufferings of the Thessalonians from their own country- men	„ xvii. 5.
„ i. 9 . . .	Thessalonian converts turning from idols	„ xvii. 4.
„ ii. 9, 10; iv. 11 . . .	St. Paul's precept and practice in working	„ xviii. 3.
1 Cor. ii. 1; iv. 19; xvi. 5. . . .	St. Paul's two visits to Corinth . . .	„ xviii. 1; xx. 2.
„ xv. 32 . . .	Fighting with wild beasts at Ephesus	„ xix. 29, 30.
„ xvi. 19 . . .	“Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord” . . .	„ xviii. 18, 26.
„ xvi. 9 . . .	The “effectual door” opened at Ephesus	„ xix. 20, 26.
„ iv. 17—19 . .	The many adversaries	„ xix. 9, 28.
„ iv. 17—19 . .	Timotheus sent to Corinth from Ephesus	„ xix. 21, 22.
„ xvi. 10, 11 . .	St. Paul's doubt as to arrival of Timotheus	„ xix. 22.
„ i. 12; iii. 6 . .	Work of Apollos at Corinth . . .	„ xviii. 27, 28.
„ iv. 11, 12 . .	St. Paul's working for his bread at Ephesus	„ xx. 34.
„ ix. 20 . . .	St. Paul's becoming to Jews as a Jew	„ xvi. 3; xviii. 18; xxi. 23 —26.
„ i. 14—17 . . .	Baptism of Crispus and Gaius . . .	„ xviii. 8.
„ xvi. 1 . . .	Collection for the saints in Galatia	„ xviii. 23.
„ v. 7, 8 . . .	Allusion to the Passover	} „ xix. 22; xx. 3.
„ xvi. 8 . . .	“Tarrying at Ephesus till Pentecost”	
1 Cor. i. 1 . . .	Sosthenes with St. Paul	„ xviii. 12—17.
„ xvi. 6 . . .	St. Paul's wintering at Corinth . . .	„ xx. 3, 6.
„ xvi. 5 . . .	„ journey through Macedonia	„ xx. 1.
2 Cor. i. 16; ii. 13	St. Paul's journey through Macedonia	„ xx. 1.
„ xi. 32, 33 . .	St. Paul's escape from Damas- cus	„ ix. 23—25.
„ i. 8 . . .	The trouble that came on him in Asia	„ xix. 29, 30.
„ xi. 9 . . .	Supplies from the brethren from Macedonia	„ xviii. 1, 5.

2 Cor. i. 19 . . .	Silvanus and Timotheus as St. Paul's fellow-workers at Corinth	Acts xviii. 5.
„ xi. 25 . . .	“ Once was I stoned ”	„ xiv. 19.
„ iii. 1 . . .	Letters of commendation	„ xviii. 27.
„ x. 14—16 . . .	Corinth as then the limit of St. Paul's labours	„ xviii. 18.
Gal. i. 17, 18 . . .	His visit to St. Peter and James the Lord's brother, after his conversion	„ ix. 28.
„ ii. 1 . . .	The journey with <u>Barnabas</u> to Jerusalem	„ xv. 2.
„ ii. 13 . . .	Barnabas with St. Paul at Antioch	„ xv. 35—37.
„ v. 11 . . .	Persecutions from the Jews	„ xiii. 49; xiv. 1—19; xvii. 4—13; xviii. 12.
„ i. 18 . . .	The shortness of the first visit to Jerusalem	„ xxii. 18.
„ ii. 9 . . .	The authority of James, the brother of the Lord	„ xii. 17; xv. 13; xxi. 18.
Rom. xv. 25, 26 . . .	St. Paul's journey to Jerusalem	„ xx. 6; xxiv. 17.
„ xvi. 21—23 . . .	Salutations from Sospater, Timotheus, and Gaius	„ xx. 4.
„ xvi. 3 . . .	Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth and Rome	„ xviii. 2.
„ xvi. 27 . . .	Phœbe of Cenchreæ	„ xviii. 18.
„ i. 13; xv. 23 . . .	St. Paul's desire to visit Rome	„ xix. 21.
„ xv. 19 . . .	The gospel preached in Illyricum	„ xx. 2.
„ xv. 30 . . .	Apprehension of coming danger	„ xx. 22, 23.
Phil. ii. 19 . . .	<u>Timotheus</u> known to the Philippians	„ xvi. 4; xvii. 14.
„ i. 29, 30; ii. 1, 2 . . .	St. Paul's sufferings at Philippi	„ xvi. 22.
„ iv. 2, 3 . . .	Euodia, Syntyche, and the other women at Philippi	„ xvi. 13.
Eph. vi. 21 . . .	Tychicus as known to the Ephesians	„ xx. 4.
„ vi. 19, 20 . . .	St. Paul as an ambassador in a chain	„ xxviii. 16—20.
Col. iv. 10 . . .	<u>Mark</u> as sister's son (better, <i>cousin</i>) to Barnabas	„ xv. 37—40; xii. 12.

Col. iv. 10 . . .	Aristarchus, St. Paul's fellow-prisoner	Acts xix. 29 ; xxvii. 2.
1 Tim. v. 9 . . .	Provision for the maintenance of widows	„ vi. 1.
„ i. 13—16 . . .	The persecutor converted	„ viii. 3 ; ix. 1—10.
„ i. 5, 7 ; iv. 1—4	State of the Church at Ephesus	„ xx. 29, 30.
Titus iii. 13 . . .	Apollos in Crete	„ xviii. 24.
2 Tim. i. 16 . . .	Onesiphorus and St. Paul's chain	„ xxviii. 20.
„ iv. 20 . . .	Trophimus left at Miletus	„ xx. 4.
„ i. 4, 5 . . .	The mother of Timotheus	„ xvi. 1.
„ iii. 15 . . .	His education in the Holy Scriptures	„ xvi. 2.
„ iii. 10, 11 . . .	Persecutions at Antioch, Iconium, Lystra	„ xiii., xiv.
„ iv. 11 . . .	Mark profitable in ministering	„ xiii. 5.
„ iv. 14 . . .	Alexander the coppersmith	„ xix. 33.

It should be stated that the comparison of the Acts and the Pauline Epistles brings to light also some real or apparent difficulties. Of these the most conspicuous are:—

- (1) The omission in ix. 19—23 of the journey to Arabia mentioned in Gal. i. 17.
- (2) The omission in Gal. ii. 1—10 of any notice of the journey to Jerusalem in chap. xi. 30, or of the decrees of the council of Apostles and elders in chap. xv.
- (3) The omission in the Acts of any record of the dispute between St. Peter and St. Paul at Antioch (Gal. ii. 11).

These are examined in detail in the Commentary.*

This method of inquiry may be extended, with similar results, to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and to the two Epistles of St. Peter. It is in the account of Apollos, in chap. xviii. 24—28, that we get what many critics since Luther's time have looked upon as the only satisfactory explanation of the phenomena presented by the first of these Epistles. Assuming the authorship of Apollos as at least a probable hypothesis, the spiritual condition described in Heb. v. 11, vi. 2, as that of some of those who had been under the teaching of the writer, may be compared with that of the twelve disciples at Ephesus who knew only the baptism of John (chap. xix. 1—7). In the reference to the "saints of Italy" in Heb. xiii. 24—apparently as distinct from Roman Christians—we may, perhaps, see a reference to the Church of Puteoli, the only Italian town, besides Rome, mentioned in the Acts as containing "brethren" (chap. xxviii. 14).

* See "A New Testament Commentary for English Readers," *Acts*.

I note, further, a few coincidences of the Apostles and the Epistles of some interest between the Acts | St. Peter:—

1 Pet. i. 11 . . .	The tone in which prophecy is spoken of, as compared with	Acts ii. 16, 17, 30, 31.
„ i. 17 . . .	God no respecter of persons . . .	„ x. 34.
„ i. 22 . . .	Purity by faith and obedience . . .	„ xv. 9.
„ ii. 7 . . .	The stone which the builders re- jected	„ iv. 11.
„ iv. 16 . . .	The name of Christian	„ xi. 26; xxvi. 28.
„ v. 12 . . .	Mention of Silvanus as accounting for St. Peter's knowledge of St. Paul's Epistles (2 Pet. iii. 15)	„ xv. 32, 40.
„ v. 13 . . .	“Marcus my son”	„ xii. 12.

(3) *In relation to External History.*—It is obvious that the Acts of the Apostles take a wider range, both in space and time, than any other narrative book of the New Testament. They cover a period of more than thirty years. The scene is shifted from Jerusalem to Samaria, Cæsarea, Damascus, Antioch, Cyprus, Asia Minor, Greece, and finally ends in Italy. The writer is constantly brought across some of the events of contemporary history, and the scenes which earlier or later travellers have described. Does he show himself in these respects an accurate observer, faithful in his reports, correct in his language? Does he fall into the blunders which would be natural in a man writing a fictitious narrative a century or so after the events which he professes to relate? For a full answer to these questions the reader must be referred to the Commentary; but it may be well to indicate briefly some of the more important of these points of contact with the contemporary history of the outer world:—

Acts v. 37.	Judas of Galilee.
Acts vi. 9.	The synagogue of the Libertines.
Acts viii. 9.	Simon the sorcerer.
Acts viii. 27.	Candace, queen of the Ethiopians.
Acts ix. 36.	Dorcas.
Acts x. 1.	The centurion of the Italian band.
Acts xi. 26.	The name of Christian at Antioch.
Acts xi. 28.	The famine under Claudius.
Acts xii. 23.	Death of Herod Agrippa I.
Acts xiii. 7.	Sergius Paulus of Cyprus.
Acts xiv. 11.	Paul and Barnabas taken for Zeus and Hermes.
Acts xvi. 12.	Philippi a <i>colonia</i> .
Acts xvi. 14.	The purple-seller of Thyatira.
Acts xvi. 16.	The damsel with a Python spirit.
Acts xvi. 22.	The <i>strategi</i> of Philippi.
Acts xvi. 37.	St. Paul's Roman citizenship.
Acts xvii. 6.	The <i>politarchs</i> of Thessalonica.

- Acts xvii. 19. The court of the Areopagus.
- Acts xvii. 21. Character of the Athenians.
- Acts xvii. 28. Quotation from Aratus.
- Acts xviii. 2. Jews banished from Rome by Claudius.
- Acts xviii. 12. Gallio pro-consul of Achaia.
- Acts xix. 9. The school of Tyrannus.
- Acts xix. 24. The silver shrines of Artemis.
- Acts xix. 27—29. The temple and theatre at Ephesus.
- Acts xix. 31—35. The Asiarchs and town-clerk of Ephesus.
- Acts xix. 38, 39. The pro-consuls and the lawful Assembly.
- Acts xxi. 38. The Egyptian rebel.
- Acts xxii. 28. St. Paul's Roman citizenship.
- Acts xxiii. 2. The high priest Ananias.
- Acts xxiii. 24. Felix the governor.
- Acts xxiv. 24. Drusilla.
- Acts xxiv. 27. Porcius Festus.
- Acts xxv. 13. Agrippa and Bernice.
- Acts xxv. 11. Appeal to Cæsar.
- Acts xxvii. The details of the narrative throughout.
- Acts xxviii. 7. The "chief man" of Melita.
- Acts xxviii. 15. Appii Forum and the Three Taverns.

Under this head also it is right to notice that which appears to make against, rather than for, the credibility of the narrative, and I accordingly name the chronological

difficulty connected with the name of Theudas in Gamaliel's speech (chap. v. 36).

(4) *Internal Evidence of Credibility*.—The internal consistency of any book is not necessarily evidence of more than the skill of the writer. Every writer of fiction aims more or less at producing the impression of verisimilitude by touches that have the effect of coincidences between one part of the narrative and another; and the art that conceals art will produce, according to the skill of the author, the impression that the coincidences are undesigned. On the other hand, we feel, as we read some stories, that they contain, in the naturalness of their style, the absence of any sensational dove-tailing of incidents, *primâ facie* testimony to their own veracity. And it is submitted to the reader whether instances such as the following may not fairly claim consideration, as coming under the latter category rather than the former.

- (1) Hostility of the high priests, as Sadducees, to the preaching of the resurrection (chaps. iv. 1, 2; v. 17).
- (2) Barnabas of Cyprus going twice to his own country (chaps. iv. 36; xiii. 4; xv. 39).
- (3) The complaints of the Hellenistæ (Grecians), leading to the election of seven men with Greek names (chap. vi. 1—5).
- (4) The Cilicians disputing with Stephen (chap. vi. 9). The young man named Saul (chap. vii. 58); afterwards described as of Tarsus (chap. ix. 11).

- (5) Philip's arrival at Cæsarea (chap. viii. 40). No further mention of him till we find him again at Cæsarea (chap. xxi. 8).
- (6) Mark's return to Jerusalem (chap. xiii. 13) explained by his mother's being there (chap. xii. 12) and the pressure of the famine (chap. xi. 28).
- (7) Agabus prophesying the famine (chap. xi. 28); again appearing in the character of a prophet sixteen years later (chap. xxi. 10).
- (8) The speech of Lycaonia as accounting for the surprise of Paul and Barnabas at the preparations for sacrifice (chap. xiv. 11—14).
- (9) Conversion of Samaritans (chap. viii. 14). Incidental mention of the brethren in Samaria (chap. xv. 3).
- (10) Men of Cyprus and Cyrene found the Church at Antioch (chap. xi. 20). Barnabas of Cyprus sent to carry on the work (chap. xi. 22). Lucius of Cyrene among the prophets of the Church (chap. xiii. 1).
- (11) Philippi a *colonia* (chap. xvi. 12). Philippians speak of themselves as Romans (chap. xvi. 21).
- (12) Trophimus the Ephesian (chap. xxi. 29) recognised by Jews of Asia, *i.e.*, from Ephesus and its neighbourhood.

apply almost indefinitely in other instances for himself.*

VII. Sources of the History.—It will be assumed here that the use of the first person in parts of the history implies that the writer was then the companion of the Apostle whose labours he records. We have seen, in the *Introduction to St. Luke*, how far the facts that are thus implied brought the writer into contact with persons who could give him trustworthy information as to what he relates in his Gospel; it remains to be seen how far they point to the probable sources of his knowledge as to the events recorded in the Acts.

Acts i.—v. Philip the Evangelist (chap. xxi. 8—10), or Mnason of Cyprus (chap. xxi. 16), or others—and, in particular, the "women" of Luke viii. 2—at Jerusalem.

Acts vi., vii. Philip or St. Paul.

Acts viii. Philip.

Acts ix. St. Paul.

Acts x.—xi. 18. Philip.

Acts xi. 19—30. St. Paul, or, probably, personal knowledge gained at Antioch.

Acts xii. 1—19. John surnamed Mark (Col. iv. 10—14).

Acts xiii. 1—13. St. Paul, or Mark, or Mnason of Cyprus.

The list might, it is believed, be easily enlarged, but these will be sufficient to put the student on the track of a method which he can

* It lies on the surface that I am largely indebted in this part of my work to Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*. I wish also to acknowledge my obligation to Mr. Birks's *Horæ Apostolicæ*.

Acts xiii. 14—52; xiv. St. Paul; or, possibly, knowledge gained by Luke in person on his journey to Troas, or afterwards from Timotheus.

Acts xv., xvi. 1—7. St. Paul, or, probably, personal knowledge, as staying at Antioch, and, possibly, going up to Jerusalem.

Acts xvi. 8—40. Personal knowledge.

Acts xvii., xviii. Probable communications from the brethren who came from Philippi to Thessalonica (Phil. iv. 16), and again to Corinth (2 Cor. xi. 9). General intercourse between the Romans of Philippi and the Roman Jews at Corinth.

Acts xix. St. Paul; or possibly Aristarchus and Gaius of Macedonia, or Tyrannus.

Acts xx. — xxviii. Personal knowledge.

Looking to the manner in which the Gospel begins with what has the character of a distinct document, so strongly marked by Hebraisms that it could scarcely have been written by a Greek writer, it is probable that the first five chapters of the Acts may, in like manner, have been incorporated from an earlier document, recording, like the later history of Hegesippus, the history of the Church of Jerusalem with a special fulness. It will, at any rate, be clear that at every step in the narrative we are able, in the Acts, as in the Gospel of the same writer, to point with a

very high degree of probability to those who here also were "eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word" (Luke i. 2).

VIII. Its Bearing on the Mission-work, Organisation, and Worship of the Church.

—(1) *Mission-work*. It will not, it is believed, be unprofitable to look at the records of the Acts of the Apostles as presenting the type and pattern for all future labours in the work of evangelising the world. It is obvious that the preaching of the Apostles is something very different from that of those who offer to men's acceptance simply a lofty ideal of virtue or high-toned ethical precepts. The central fact of all their teaching is the resurrection of Christ (chaps. ii. 32, 33; iv. 10; x. 40, 41; xiii. 32—37; xvii. 31; xxvi. 23). Upon that proclamation of a fact in the past they build their assurance that He will come again as the Judge of the living and the dead (chaps. iii. 21; x. 42; xvii. 31); that in the meantime He calls men to repent and believe in Him (chaps. ii. 38; v. 31; x. 43; xiii. 38, 39; xiv. 15; xvii. 30, 31); and that thus they may receive remission of their sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost (chaps. ii. 38; viii. 15; x. 45; xix. 2). They are naturally brought into contact, as they preach this gospel, with men of very different habits of thought, varying in their training, their knowledge, and their culture; and they adapt themselves, as far as lies in their power, to all these variations in their hearers. With the Jews of Jerusalem, Antioch in Pisidia, Corinth, and Rome, they draw their arguments almost exclusively from the correspondence between the acts and death and resurrection

of Jesus with what had been written in the Law and Prophets as pointing to the coming Christ (chaps. ii. 14—36; iii. 19—26; vii. 2—53; xiii. 17—41; xxviii. 23). With peasants, such as those at Lystra, they lay their foundation on what we should call the broad lines of a simple natural theology, and appeal to the goodness of God as manifested in the order of nature, in rain from heaven and fruitful seasons (chap. xiv. 15—17). With the Stoics and Epicureans of Athens, St. Paul (he alone, it may be, of the glorious company of the Apostles was fitted for that work) rises to the level of the occasion, and meets the thinkers on their own grounds, appeals to the witness of their own poets, and sets before them what we have ventured to call the outlines of a philosophy at once of worship and of human history (chap. xvii. 22—31).

And it may be noted how carefully in all these cases the preachers abstain from the weapons of terror and of ridicule which men have sometimes used in dealing with the heathen whom they were seeking to convert. There are no statements that the world outside the range of the gospel was sentenced to hopeless condemnation—that the forefathers of those to whom they preached were for ever in the dark prison of Gehenna. They recognised, on the contrary, that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him. (See chap. x. 35.) They speak of the times of ignorance which God “winked at” (chap. xvii. 30). They are no “blasphemers” even of the worship which they are seeking to supplant (chap. xix. 37). They present the Gospel to men’s

minds as realising at once the conscious prophecies of Israel and the unconscious prophecies of heathenism. They come, it is true, with some weapons in which modern missionaries are wanting. They claim to work signs and wonders as attestations of their divine mission (chaps. iii. 6, 7; v. 15; vi. 8; viii. 13; ix. 34—40; xiv. 10; xix. 12; xxviii. 5—8); but they lay far less stress on these than on the “demonstration of the Spirit”—the prophecy that reveals the secrets of the heart, the conscious experience of the power of that Spirit to give a new peace and a new purity to souls that had been alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that was in them (chaps. ii. 38, 39; xi. 17, 18; Rom. viii. 23—26; I Cor. ii. 4).

(2) *Organisation and Worship.* And, it may be noted further, they do not rest satisfied with the conversion of individuals as such, nor with leaving with each believer a book or a rule of life for his own personal guidance. Everywhere they seek to organise a society: the “brethren,” the “disciples,” the “saints,” are formed into a church—*i.e.*, an *ecclesia*, or congregation; and that society receives a distinct and definite constitution. Elders, otherwise known as bishops (chap. xx. 28; Phil. i. 1; Tit. i. 5, 7), are appointed in every city (chaps. xi. 30; xiv. 23; xx. 17), to teach, and preside in worship, and administer the discipline and laws of the congregation. There are ministers or deacons under them, who assist in baptising, in the subordinate offices of worship, in the relief of the sick and poor, and, if they have special gifts, in preaching the gospel to Jews and heathen, and teaching converts also (chap. vi. 3—6;

Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 8). The Apostles appoint both elders and deacons, with the consent—and therefore the implied right of veto—of the congregation, and exercise over them an authority analogous to that of the later bishops (chaps. xiv. 23; xx. 17). There is an organisation of the charity of the Church on the basis of systematic almsgiving; and the Apostles, and, in their absence, the bishop-elders of the Church, act, where necessary, with the help of others as representing the laity of the Church, as treasurers and almoners (chaps. iv. 37; v. 2). The disciples meet to break bread, as their Lord had commanded, on the evening of every day; afterwards, as the Church included men of various classes and employments, on that of the first day of the week—probably, *i.e.*, on Saturday evening (chaps. ii. 46; xx. 7); and the history of the institution of what came to be known as the Supper of the Lord formed the centre of the celebration of that feast (1 Cor. xi. 23—26). The feast itself was preceded by a solemn blessing, and closed with a solemn thanksgiving. Psalms, hymns, and unpremeditated bursts of praise, chanted in the power of the Spirit, such as those of the gift of tongues, were the chief elements of the service (chap. iv. 24—30; Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16). The right of utterance was not denied to any man (women even seem at first to have been admitted to the same right—chap. xxi. 9; 1 Cor. xi. 5) who possessed the necessary gifts (1 Cor. xiv. 26—33) and was ready to submit them to the control of the presiding elder or Apostle. There were in the unwritten traditions of the Church; in its oral teaching as to our Lord's

life and teaching (1 Cor. xi. 23; xv. 1—8); as in its rules of discipline and worship (2 Thess. ii. 15; iii. 6); in the “faithful sayings” which were received as axioms of its faith (1 Tim. i. 15; iv. 9; 2 Tim. ii. 11; Tit. iii. 8), the germs at once of the creeds, the canons, the liturgies, the systematic theology of the future. It is, lastly, instructive and suggestive to note that throughout the history there is no record of any effort to set apart a separate place of worship for the members of the new society. They meet in private houses (chaps. ii. 46; xx. 8; Rom. xvi. 5, 15, 23; 1 Cor. xvi. 19), or in a hired classroom (chap. xix. 9), as opportunities present themselves. There would apparently have been no difficulty in their claiming the privilege which Roman rulers conceded freely to other Jews and proselytes, of erecting a synagogue of their own; but they left this to come in due course afterwards. Their own work was of a different and higher kind. They were anxious rather to found and edify the society which, as built of “living stones,” was to be the temple of the living God, than, in the modern sense of the term, to be the builders of churches.

IX. Its Bearing on the Church History of the Future.—Nor is the record which we owe to St. Luke less instructive considered as the first volume of the history of Christendom. Fairly considered, while it brings before us the picture of primitive Christianity as a pattern to be followed in its essential features, it is as far as possible from presenting it as a golden age of unalloyed and unapproachable perfection. It tells us of men who were of like passions

with ourselves, not free from the bitterness of personal quarrels (chap. xv. 39), or from controversies in which party was arrayed against party on a question on which each held that it was contending for a vital truth (chap. xv. 1—5). It records, as if with an unconscious prevision of future controversies, how that dispute ended in an amicable compromise, each party making concessions, within certain well-defined limits, to its opponents, neither insisting on what an inexorable logic might have looked on as the necessary conclusion from its premisses (chap. xv. 23—30). The writer tends, partly by his natural instincts, partly of deliberate purpose, to dwell on the points of agreement between men rather than on their points of difference; to bring out the good which was to be found in men of different degrees of culture and very varied training. Peter, James, Apollos, Paul, are not for him what they were for so many others—leaders of parties, rivals for allegiance. He is able to recognise in each and all men who are ministers of Christ, fitted for

the work of that ministry by the gift of the Holy Ghost. And in striking contrast to the martyrologists and other annalists of the Church who followed him, he avoids what we may call the sensational element of history; does not dwell (with the one marked exception of St. Stephen) on the deaths and sufferings of the disciples; understates the work, the hardships, and the perils of the Apostle who is the chief figure in his history; aims rather at presenting the results of the actual contest between the new and the old societies, now favourable and now quite otherwise, than at representing the two as in irreconcilable enmity. There is, so to speak, a hopefulness and healthiness of tone, which contrasts favourably with that of later writers after the sword of systematic persecution had been unsheathed, or even in some measure with that of the later writings of the New Testament, such as the Epistles of St. Peter and the Apocalypse, and which may fairly be allowed some weight as evidence for the early date of its composition.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF APOSTOLIC HISTORY.

It will, it is believed, be helpful to the reader to have before him something like a general survey of the history of the Apostolic Age, indicating, at least approximately, the probable succession of events, and the relation which they bore to what then occupied the minds of men as the prominent facts in the history of the world in which they lived; and with this view the following Table has been compiled. Where the dates are uncertain, and have therefore been variously placed, the doubt is indicated by a note of interrogation (?).

A.D. EMPERORS.	APOSTOLIC HISTORY.	CIVIL RULERS.	HIGH PRIESTS.	CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.	A.D.
28 Tiberius, from A.D. 14.	The Day of Pentecost, May (?). (Other dates, varying from A.D. 30—33, have been assigned for this.)	Pontius Pilate, Pro- curator of Judea from A. D. 26.	Caiaphas from A. D. 25, son-in- law of Annas, or Ananias.		28
29	The growth of the Church as de- scribed in Acts ii.—v. may be referred to this period, but there are no <i>data</i> for going further into detail.			Death of Sejanus. Tiberius at Capree. New Sibyl- line books brought under notice of Senate.	29
30					30
31					31
32					32
33				Drusus, son of Germanicus, starved to death.	33
34		Vitellius, Prefect of Syria.		Phoenix reported to have been seen in Egypt.	34
35	Martyrdom of Stephen (?). Peter and John in Samaria. Conversion of Saul.	Herod Agrippa I.	Jonathan, son of Ananias.	Vitellius in Mesopotamia. Philo at Alexandria.	35
36					36
37					37
38	Conversion of Cornelius. Saul at Damasus.			Aretas in possession of Damas- cus. Philo's mission to Rome.	38
39	Saul at Damasus.			Herod Antipapas goes to Rome, and is banished to Gaul. Birth of Lucan.	39
40	Paul at Jerusalem and Tarsus.	Petronius, Prefect of Syria.		Caligula orders his statue to be set up in the Temple of Jeru- salem. Philo at Rome.	40

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF APOSTOLIC HISTORY (continued).

A.D. EMPERORS.	APOSTOLIC HISTORY.	CIVIL RULERS.	HIGH PRIESTS.	CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.	A.D.
41	Claudius. Barnabas sent to Antioch. See of Rome founded by St. Peter (?). Paul at Antioch. Disciples called Christians. Paul and Barnabas go to Jerusalem. The Gospel according to St. Matthew (?). Death of James the son of Zebedee. Peter imprisoned. Paul and Barnabas in Cyprus. Epistle of St. James (?). Paul and Barnabas in Pisidia and Lycaonia.		Simon Cantheras	Birth of Titus.	41
42			Matthias, son of Ananus.	Herod Agrippa made King of Judæa by Claudius.	42
43			Eliouanus, son of Cantheras.	Claudius conquers Britain.	43
44		Cuspius Fadus Procurator of Judæa.	Joseph, son of Canis.	Death of Herod Agrippa at Cæsarea. Plantius in Britain.	44
45		Tiberius Alexander, Procurator of Judæa.		Apollonius of Tyana in India and Persia.	45
46		Ventidius Cumanus, Procurator of Judæa.	Ananias, son of Nebedius.		46
47	Paul and Barnabas return to Antioch.			<i>Ludi saeculares</i> at Rome. Plantius returns from Britain.	47
48				Death of Messalina. Claudius under the influence of Narcissus and Pallas.	48
49	Paul's dispute with Peter (?).	Herod Agrippa II., King of Chalcis.		Herod Agrippa II. made King of Chalcis. Seneca appointed as Nero's tutor. Jews banished from Rome.	49
50	Council at Jerusalem. Paul and Barnabas return with Silas to Antioch.			Caractacus captive in Rome. Foundation of Cologne by Agrippina.	50
51	Paul and Silas start on another mission. Paul's dispute with Peter (?).	Felix, Procurator of Judæa.		Burrus made Prefect of the Praetorian Guards. Astrologers expelled from Italy.	51
52	Paul at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, Corinth.	Herod Agrippa II., King of Batanea and Trachonitis.		Herod Agrippa II. made King of Batanea and Trachonitis.	52
53	Paul at Corinth. First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians.			Marriage of Nero with Octavia.	53

54	Nero.	Paul's journey to Ephesus, Cæsarea, Jerusalem, Antioch. Apollus at Epheesus. Dispute with Peter (?). Apollus at Corinth. Paul in Asia.	Narcissus put to death by Nero.
55		Tumult at Ephesus (May). First Epistle to the Corinthians. Paul in Macedonia. Epistle to the Galatians. Second Epistle to the Corinthians.	55 Tumult in Judæa, headed by the Egyptian of Acts xxi. 38. Birth of Trajan.
56		Paul at Corinth. Epistle to the Romans. Journey to Jerusalem (April, May). Trial before Felix. Paul at Cæsarea.	56 Trial of Pomponia Græcina.
57		Paul at Cæsarea. Appeal to Cæsar. Voyage to Italy. Paul at Melita. Arrives at Rome (April). Lives in his own house.	57 Poppea Sabina, Nero's mistress. Agrippina, Nero's mother, put to death.
58		Paul at Rome. Epistle to the Philippians.	58 Revolt in Britain, under Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni. Apollonius of Tyana at the Olympic Games.
59		Paul at Rome. Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon. Release. First Epistle of St. Peter.	59 Burrus dies, and is succeeded by Tigellinus. Persius dies. Josephus at Rome.
60		Paul in Spain (?). Asia (?). Nicopolis (?). First and Second Epistles to Timothy. The Gospel according to St. Luke and Acts of the Apostles (?) Epistle to Titus. Second Epistle of St. Peter. Jude.	60 Earthquakes in Asia Minor.
61			61 Great fire at Rome. Persecution of Christians.
62			62
63			63
64			64

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF APOSTOLIC HISTORY (continued).

A.D.	EMPERORS.	APOSTOLIC HISTORY.	CIVIL RULERS.	HIGH PRIESTS.	CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.	A.D.
65		Death of Paul and Peter (?) at Rome. Linus Bishop of Rome (?).			Seneca and Lucan put to death by Nero. Death of Poppæa.	65
66		Epistle to the Hebrews (?) . The Gospel according to St. Matthew (?) .			Nero in Greece. Apollonius of Tyana ordered to leave Rome. Martial at Rome.	66
67		Death of Peter and Paul (?). The Gospel according to St. Mark . Epistle of St. James (??) .			Josephus gains favour with Vespasian after the capture of Jotapata.	67
68	Galba.	St. John in Patmos (?). The Apocalypse (?) .			Vespasian takes Jericho	68
69	Otho. Vitellius.	Death of James, the Bishop of Jerusalem (?).				69
70	Vespasian.	Simeon Bishop of Jerusalem; Ignatius of Antioch (?).			The Capitol rebuilt by Vespasian. Jerusalem taken by Titus (Aug. 31). Josephus released.	70
71					Temple of Janus closed. Destruction of the Onias Temple in Egypt. Triumph of Titus and Vespasian.	71
72						72
73						73
74					Berenice at Rome with Vespasian and Titus. Philosophers banished from Rome.	74
75					Temple of Peace at Rome dedicated by Vespasian.	75
76					Coliseum begun. Birth of Hadrian.	76
77		Cletus Bishop of Rome (?).				77
78					Britain conquered by Agricola. Pompeii and Herculaneum destroyed. Death of Pliny the Elder.	78
79	Titus.				Coliseum finished. Pestilence and fire at Rome. Baths of Titus built.	79
80		Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (?).				80

81	Domitian.		
82			Domitian banishes all philo-
83			sophers from Rome.
84			Agricola in Caledonia.
85			Antoninus Pius born.
86			Quintilian at Rome from A.D. 68--
87			88
89			89
90			Philosophers again banished from
91			Rome, Epictetus among them.
92			92
93			Death of Agricola and Josephus.
94			94
95			Juvenal banished.
			Grandsons of the brethren of the
			Lord brought before Domitian.
96			96
97			Death of Apollonius of Tyana.
98			98
			Pliny and Plutarch in favour
			with Trajan.
99			99
100			Pliny's Panegyric on Trajan.
			Martial retires to Spain.
100			100

81 Domitian.

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96 Nerva.

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98 Trajan.

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Clement Bishop of Rome.

St. John thrown into boiling oil
before the Latin Gate (?).Epistle of Clement (?). **The
Apocalypse (?)**. Flavius
Clemens put to death. Domi-
tilla banished.**The Three Epistles of St.
John (?)**.**The Gospel according to
St. John (?)**.Cerdon Bishop of Alexandria ;
Ignatius of Antioch ; Simon
of Jerusalem.

Death of St. John (?).

Death of St. John (?).

ROMANS.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR SANDAY, D.D.

I. **The Epistles of St. Paul generally, and that to the Romans in particular.**—It is a somewhat remarkable fact that so large a part of the documents of Christianity should be taken up with a correspondence. The contents of the Old Testament, heterogeneous as they are, correspond more nearly to what we should expect to find in a sacred volume. A legislation such as that of Moses, songs expressive of deep religious feeling like the Psalms, impassioned addresses like those of the prophets, histories such as the continuous series which trace the fortunes of the Chosen People—all these, we should have thought, were the natural vehicle for a religion. But the composition of the New Testament is something more unique. The foundation of Christianity is laid in a narrative; but the first and greatest development of Christian theology is not embodied in narrative, not in any set and formal treatise, not in liturgies, canons, and works of devotion, but in a collection of letters.

The causes of this peculiarity are not far to seek. Christianity was the first great missionary religion. It was the first to break the bonds of race, and aim at embracing all

mankind. But this necessarily involved a change in the mode in which it was presented. The prophet of the Old Testament, if he had anything to communicate, either appeared in person or sent messengers to speak for him by word of mouth. The one exception of any religious significance is a letter of Elijah to Jehoram in 2 Chron. xxi. The narrow limits of Palestine made direct personal communication easy. But the case was different when the Christian Church came to consist of a number of scattered posts, stretching from Mesopotamia in the east to Rome, or even Spain, in the far west. It was only natural that the Apostle by whom the greater number of these communities had been founded should seek to communicate with them by letter. He was enabled to do so by two things: first, the very general diffusion of the Greek language; and, secondly, the remarkable facilities of intercourse afforded at this particular time. The whole world was at peace, and held together by the organised rule of imperial Rome. Piracy had been put down. Commerce flourished to an extraordinary and unprecedented degree. In order to find a parallel to the rapidity and

ease of communication along the whole coast of the Mediterranean and the inland districts, intersected as they were with a network of military roads, we should have to come down to the present century. St. Paul was in the habit of travelling surrounded by a group of more intimate disciples, whom, as occasion arose, he despatched to the several churches that he had founded, much as a general sends his *aides-de-camp* to different parts of a battlefield; or, without falling back upon those, he had often an opportunity of sending by some chance traveller, such as was probably Phebe, the bearer of the Epistle to the Romans.

The whole of St. Paul's Epistles bear traces of their origin. It is just this occasional character which makes them so peculiarly human. They arose out of actual pressing needs, and they are couched (most of them, at least) in the vivid and fervent language of one who takes a deep and loving interest in the persons to whom he is writing, as well as in the subject that he is writing about. Precept and example, doctrine and practice, theology and ethics, are all mixed and blended together. No religious books present the same variety as the Christian, and that because they are in the closest contact with actual life.

There is, however, as we might naturally expect, a difference in the balance of the two elements—the personal or epistolary element proper on the one hand, and the doctrinal or didactic element on the other. In some of the Epistles the one, in others the other, preponderates. As types of the first class, we might take the First, and still more that noble and unsurpassable Second Epistle to the

Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Philippians. At the head of the second class would be placed the Epistles to the Romans and to the Ephesians.

It can hardly be a chance coincidence that precisely in these two Epistles there are certain MSS. which omit the words of address to the particular church. By reasons which cannot be given in this *Introduction* the writer has been led to the suggestion that the Epistle was at an early period circulated in a double form—one that in which we now have it, and the other, with the personal matter excised, as a general treatise on Christian doctrine. In any case, this character in it is marked: it is the most like a theological treatise of any of the New Testament writings.

How are we to account for this? We shall be in a better position to answer such a question when we have considered more particularly the circumstances under which the Epistle was written, the persons to whom it was addressed, and the object for which it was designed.

II. Time and Place of the Epistle.—And first, as to the time and place of the Epistle. These are fixed within very definite limits. One set of allusions clearly points to Corinth as the place from which the Apostle is writing. In chap. xvi. 23 he speaks of himself as the guest of one "Gaius," and in 1 Cor. i. 14, he says that he had baptised none of the Corinthian Church "but Crispus and Gaius." The name was a common one; still there would be a *prima facie* probability in the identification. In the same verse (chap. xvi. 23), the Apostle conveys a salutation from

Erastus, "the treasurer" ("chamberlain," Authorised version) "of the city," and in 2 Tim. iv. 20 we are told that Erastus "abode in Corinth," which would be natural if Corinth was his home. These indications are clinched by the commendatory notice in chap. xvi. 1 of Phebe, deaconess of the Church at Cenchrea, to whose care it would seem that the Epistle was entrusted. Cenchrea was the port of Corinth.

From another set of allusions (chap. xv. 25, 26) we gather that at the time at which he was writing, St. Paul was about to go up to Jerusalem, bearing with him the sums collected amongst the comparatively wealthy churches of "Macedonia and Achaia" for the poor Christians at Jerusalem. The order in which the two names are mentioned would quite fall in with the assumption that it was from Achaia—of which province Corinth was the capital—that the Epistle was written; and we should also naturally infer that he had passed through Macedonia on his way to Corinth. We find, besides, the intention expressly declared of extending the journey, after his visit to Jerusalem, to Rome (chap. xv. 23—26). All this tallies exactly with the statement in Acts xix. 21, "After these things were ended (*i.e.*, the success of the Apostle's preaching at Ephesus), Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome." Such was his programme; and that it was actually carried out appears from the notices in Acts xx. 1—3, 22, xxi. 15. In the first we find the Apostle spending three months in Greece, in the second he announces at

Miletus the destination of his journey for Jerusalem, in the third he actually arrives there. We learn, moreover, incidentally from his speech before Felix, in Acts xxiv. 17, that the object of his visit to Jerusalem was to bring "alms and offerings." And there are repeated allusions to a collection for the same purpose in both the Epistles to the Corinthians. (See 1 Cor. xvi. 3; 2 Cor. viii. 1, 2; ix. 1 *et seq.*)

The Epistle is thus placed, by a remarkable convergence of evidence, in that part of the Apostle's third missionary journey which was spent in Corinth. The journey in question began at Antioch. Thence the Apostle made his way to Ephesus by a detour through Galatia and Phrygia. At Ephesus he stayed in all about three years, and his preaching was attended with a success which roused the heathen population against him. The disturbance that ensued hastened him on his way to Macedonia. Through Macedonia he passed westwards as far as Illyricum (chap. xv. 19), and thence to Greece, where he spent three months.

It was at Corinth, then, during these three months that the Epistle was written. This would be, according to the system of the best chronologists, in the spring of the year A.D. 58. That the time of the year was spring is fixed by the fact that the Apostle had intended to sail for Syria (Acts xx. 3), which he would not have done during the winter season. The navigation of the Mediterranean was held to be unsafe from October to the middle of March. But the Apostle must have left Corinth before the spring was far advanced, as he had time,

after passing through Macedonia and coasting along the shore of Asia Minor, to arrive at Jerusalem for the Feast of Pentecost—*i.e.*, our Whitsuntide. We shall not be far wrong if we place the Epistle towards the end of the month of February.

III. Place of the Epistle in relation to the rest of St. Paul's Epistles. — Three other Epistles were written during the same journey, the First and Second to the Corinthians, and that to the Galatians. The First Epistle to the Corinthians was written from Ephesus during the spring of the year preceding, A.D. 57. The Second Epistle was written from Macedonia in the autumn of the same year. The Epistle to the Galatians is less clearly dated. It may possibly belong to the earlier part of the three years' residence at Ephesus, and it is assigned to this time and place by the majority of commentators. But when we come to deal with that Epistle, reasons will be given for preferring another view, which places it rather between the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and that to the Romans. We should thus have the following order :—

1 Cor.	Ephesus	A.D. 57	Spring.
2 Cor.	Macedonia	„	57 Autumn.
Gal.	{ Macedonia, or perhaps more probably Greece }	„	57, 58 Winter.

The Epistle to the Romans comes, in any case, last in the group.

Passing to the wider relations of the group to which the Epistle to

the Romans belongs, to the rest of the Apostle's writings, we shall see that it comes second of the four larger groups. The order would be this :—

A. 1 & 2 Thess.	{ 2nd Mis- sionary journey }	A.D.	52
		(end),	53
B. 1 & 2 Cor., Gal., Rom.	{ 3rd Mis- sionary journey }	A.D.	57, 58
C. Philip., Eph. Col., Phil. (<i>Epistles of the Imprison- ment</i>)		{ First Ro- man Im- prison- ment }	A.D.
D. 1 & 2 Tim., Titus (<i>Pastoral Epistles</i>)	{ Interval of free- dom and Second Roman Imprisonment }		A.D.

IV. The Roman Church.—

The next point to be determined is the character of the Church to which the Epistle was addressed. And this we may do well to consider from two points of view. First, with reference to what may be learned respecting it from external sources; and, secondly, with reference to the indications supplied by the Epistle itself.

1. At Rome, as elsewhere, Christianity first took root among the Jews. A large colony of this people existed in Rome at the Christian era. The foundation of it had been laid by the captives carried away by Pompey after the taking of Jerusalem in B.C. 63. A number of these were settled in Rome. They attracted the favourable notice first of Julius Caesar, and then still more of Augustus, who assigned to them a special

quarter beyond, *i.e.*, on the right bank of the Tiber, and opposite to the modern Jewish quarter, or Ghetto, which lies between the Capitol and the river. They were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and, as was always the case where they were treated with toleration, rapidly increased in numbers. A Jewish embassy, which came to Rome after the death of Herod the Great, was able to attach to itself as many as 8,000 Roman Jews, who naturally would represent only the more respectable portion of the male community. This rapid progress received a check under Tiberius, who, in A.D. 19, probably at the instance of Sejanus, obtained a decree of the Senate, sending 4,000 Jews and Egyptians to Sardinia on military service, and forbidding the rest from the practice of their religion on pain of expulsion from Italy. Josephus tells a scandalous story to account for this, but the real reason may, very possibly, have been the fear of secret political machinations under the disguise of religion. In the latter part of his reign Tiberius reversed this policy, and its effects speedily disappeared. Under the next emperor, Caligula, an embassy of Alexandrine Jews, headed by Philo, met with a rough reception; but this would seem to have been more than counterbalanced by the favour extended to Herod Agrippa, who stood high in influence at the Court. This astute politician made use of his position to further the accession of Claudius, and, as a reward, not only was restored to the dominions of his grandfather, Herod the Great, but also obtained an extension of privileges for his countrymen throughout the empire. Later in the reign of Claudius dis-

turbances arose among the Jews at Rome, which seem to have been connected with the first preaching of Christianity, either through the excitement of the Messianic expectations, or through disputes between the Jews and Christians. Suetonius says that they took place at the instigation "of one Chrestus," which, for the heathen historian, would be a not unnatural misconception. The result was a second banishment of the Jews from Rome (Acts xviii. 2). But this again cannot have been really complete, and the Jews who were banished seem in many instances (such as that of Aquila and Prisca) soon to have returned. The effect of the repressive measures might easily be exaggerated. There is abundant evidence to show that, at the time St. Paul was writing, the Jewish community at Rome was numerous and flourishing, and its influence upon Roman society was loudly complained of alike by the philosopher, the satirist, and the historian.

The chronology of the foregoing sketch may be thus exhibited:—

Founding of the Jewish community at Rome by prisoners brought from Jerusalem by Pompey	B.C. 63
Favourable position under Julius Caesar	B.C. 48—44	
and Augustus	B.C. 27—A.D. 14	
Embassy to Rome after the death of Herod	B.C. 4
First decree of banishment under Tiberius	A.D. 19	
Philo's embassy to Caligula	... <i>circa</i>	,, 40
Second decree of banishment under Claudius	<i>circa</i>	,, 49

Return of Aquila and
Prisca to Rome ... A.D. 57
Epistle to the Romans ,, 58

According to the tradition which is still in vogue among the modern representatives of the Roman Church, Christianity was planted there by St. Peter in the year A.D. 41. St. Peter himself is said to have held the episcopate for twenty-five years. This tradition, however, only dates from the time of Jerome (*ob.* A.D. 420), and is therefore much too late to be of any value. It is contradicted by the whole tenor of St. Paul's Epistle, which could hardly have failed to contain some allusion to the presence of a brother Apostle, especially when we consider the express declaration of St. Paul that he was careful not to "build upon another man's foundation." Besides, a distinct *alibi* can be proved by the comparison of Acts xv. with Gal. ii. 1—9, which shows that, at the time of the Apostolic Council in A.D. 52, not only was Peter at Jerusalem, but Jerusalem had been up to that time his head-quarters. He is still the Apostle of the circumcision, and a pillar of the mother church. At a later period he is found, not at Rome, but at Antioch.

It is more probable that the germs of Christianity were carried back to Rome by the "strangers" (Acts ii. 10) whom we find in Jerusalem at the Feast of Pentecost, *i.e.*, Jews resident in Rome who had come up for the purpose of attending the feast. The rudiments of Christian teaching brought back by these would soon be developed in the constant intercourse which took place between Rome and the provinces. The fact

that, in the list of salutations at the end of the Epistle, so many are mentioned who were not native Romans, but had been already under the personal influence of St. Paul, would readily account for the advanced knowledge of Christianity that the Apostle assumes among them.

2. Turning now more exclusively to the Epistle itself, what are we to gather from it in regard to the Church to which the Apostle is writing? The main question to be decided is the proportion in which the two great constituent elements of the primitive Christian Church were mixed and combined in it. Was the Church at Rome, in a preponderating degree, Jewish or Gentile? The answer to this question usually gives throughout the apostolic times the best clue to the doctrinal bearings and general character of any Christian community.

We find throughout the Epistle an easy interchange of address, first pointed, as it were, towards Gentiles, and then towards Jews. In one place (chap. xi. 13) the Apostle says in so many words, "I speak to you Gentiles." In another place (chap. vii. 1) he says as expressly, "I speak to them that know the law," and in proof that this is not merely an external knowledge, he evidently in chap. iii. 19 is appealing to an authority which he knows that his readers will recognise. "What things soever the law saith, it saith to them that are under the law." Accordingly we find, that though the Apostle begins his Epistle by addressing the Romans as a Gentile Church (chap. i. 6, 13), and although the first section of the proof of his great thesis, the uni-

versal need and offer of salvation, bears specially upon the Gentiles, he very soon passes from their case to that of the Jews. Chap. ii. contains a direct expostulation with the one, just as chap. i. had contained a condemnation of the other. Nor is it only a rhetorical artifice that in the section chap. ii. 17—24 the Jew is addressed throughout in the second person. The Apostle evidently had actual Jews before his mind. In like manner, the long parenthetical discussion of the claims and fall of Israel in chaps. ix.—xi. is clearly intended to be double-edged. It has a two-fold application at once to Jew and Gentile. On the one hand it is intended as an apology for the justice of the divine dealings addressed to the Jew, and on the other hand it contains a warning addressed to the Gentile. If stress is laid upon the calling of the Gentiles, it is to provoke the Jews "to emulation." If stress is laid upon the rejection of the Jews, it is in order that the Gentiles may not "be high minded, but fear."

The whole phenomena of the Epistle, then, point to the conclusion that the Church for which it was destined consisted in almost equal proportions of converts from Judaism and from heathenism; and the easy transitions by which the Apostle turns from the one to the other seem to show that there was no sharp and hard antagonism between them. The Epistle is written as if both might form part of the audience that would hear it read. The Church at Rome was divided as yet by no burning questions. The Apostle did not think it necessary to speak strongly on the subject of circumcision on the one hand, or of laxity and

immorality on the other. The differences that existed were of a much milder kind. The "strong" and "weak brethren," whose mutual difficulties are weighed so judiciously in chap. xiv., are not by any means a synonym for Jew or Gentile, though there would naturally be a tendency in parties to divide according to their origin. The asceticism and observance of days alluded to were not common characteristics of Judaism, but belonged especially to the sect of the Essenes. Nor does it seem that the divisions to which they gave rise extended beyond a greater or less degree of scrupulousness or liberality.

The inferences that we have thus been led to draw receive support from an analysis of a different kind. Much light is thrown upon the composition of the Church by the list of names of the persons selected for salutation in the last chapter of the Epistle. These cannot very well be fully discussed in an *Introduction*, but in this place we may so far sum up the results as to say that they point clearly to a mixture of nationalities. The one named Mary (= Miriam) is exclusively Jewish; Apelles is, if not exclusively, at least typically so. But besides these, Aquila and Prisca, Andronicus and Junia (or Junias), and Herodian, must have been Jews. As Aristobulus was a Jew, and the Jews generally hung much together, it is probable that the household of Aristobulus would be mostly Jews also. Urban and Ampliatus (the true reading for Amplias) are genuine Latin names. Julia would be a dependent on the imperial household, of what nationality is uncertain. The rest of the names are Greek, which tallies with the

fact that the literature of the Roman Church was Greek, and there are other evidences that the Church bore a general Greek character up to the middle of the second century. A detailed comparison of the names with those which have come down to us in mortuary and other inscriptions, seems to show that their owners belonged for the most part to the lower section of society—petty tradesmen, and officers, or slaves. There is reason to think that the gospel had already found a footing among the slaves and freed-men of the court, who formed a prominent body in the Church some four years later, when St. Paul sent greetings to the Philippians “chiefly” from them “of Cæsar’s household” (Phil. iv. 20).

We may picture to ourselves the Roman Church as originating in the Jewish synagogues, as gradually attracting converts from the lower orders with which the Jews would come mostly in contact, as thus entering the household of the emperor himself, and, at the time when St. Paul was writing, constantly gaining ground among the Gentile community. As yet, however, the two great divisions of Jew and Gentile exist side by side in amicable relations, and with differences hardly greater than would at this day be found in the opposite views of a body professing the same creed.

V. General Character of the Epistle to the Romans.—

We have, then, two kinds of *data* which may help us to understand the general character of the Epistle. We know that it was written at the same time as the Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians, and we know that it was written to a

Church composed partly of Jewish and partly of Gentile converts with no very pronounced antagonism between them. In these facts we may seek the explanation of the question that was raised at starting—the question how it was that the Epistle to the Romans comes to be so much of a comprehensive theological treatise.

It was addressed at once to Jews and Gentiles. There was, therefore, nothing to disturb the even balance of the Apostle’s teaching. For once, at least, he found himself able to dilate with equal fulness upon both sides of his great theme. His own mind was naturally elevated above controversy. He had worked out a system for himself, which, though its main elements were drawn from the Old Testament, yet transcended the narrow limits of Judaism. His philosophy of things was one in which Jew and Gentile alike had their place, and each received justice, but not more than justice. Hitherto his desire to hold the equilibrium between the parties had been thwarted. He wrote to the Corinthians, but his letter had been prompted by an outbreak of Gentile licence, in the face of which it would have been unseasonable to insist on the relaxation of the Mosaic law. He wrote to the Galatians, but then it was with indignation roused by Jewish bigotry. In each case a one-sided treatment of Christian doctrine was necessary. It was as necessary as it is for a physician to apply local remedies to a local sore.

In the Roman Church the necessity existed in a much less degree. Nor, even if it had existed, would the Apostle have felt it as strongly. The character of the Church was only known to him by report. He

had not the same vivid personal impressions in respect to it as he had of the Churches of Corinth and Galatia.

In these Epistles the strong personal feelings of the Apostle and his vivid realisation of the circumstances with reference to which he is writing, come out in almost every line. "I write not these things to shame you, but as my beloved sons I warn you." "Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come to you. But I will come to you shortly if the Lord will, and will know, not the speech of them that are puffed up, but the power." "I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done the deed . . ." "Out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears: not that ye should be grieved, but that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you. But if any hath caused grief, he hath not grieved me but in part: that I may not overcharge you all." "Ye are our epistle, written in our hearts, known and read of all men . . ." "Ye know how through the infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you at the first. And my temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus . . . I bear you record, that if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me."

These disturbing influences were wanting in the case of the Romans. If the Epistle loses somewhat in the intensity of its personal appeals, it gains in breadth and comprehensiveness. It is the most abstract of

all the Epistles. It is not a special doctrine for special circumstances, but Christian theology in its broadest sense. A double set of reasons combined to produce this. Not only the nature of the Apostle's relation to the Church at Rome and the character of that Church, but also the condition of his own mind at the time of writing. He was writing from Corinth, and just after he had despatched a letter to Galatia. An extreme upon one side balanced an extreme upon the other. Jew and Gentile were present to the mind of the Apostle in equal degree. At last he was able to express his thoughts in their own natural proportions. His mind was in its true philosophical attitude, and the result is the great philosophical Epistle, which was most appropriately addressed to the capital of the civilised world.

VI. Contents and Analysis of the Epistle.—The Epistle represents, then, the most mature result of the Apostle's reflection at this period of his life. It gathers up and presents in a connected form the scattered thoughts of the earlier Epistles.

The key to the theology of the apostolic age is its relation to the Messianic expectation among the Jews. The central point in the teaching of the Apostles is the fact that with the coming of Christ was inaugurated the Messianic reign. It was the universal teaching of the Jewish doctors—a teaching fully adopted and endorsed by the Apostles—that this reign was to be characterised by righteousness. But righteousness was just what the whole world, Jew and Gentile alike, had signally failed to obtain. The Mosaic law had indeed held

up the ideal of righteousness before those who were subject to it, but it remained an ideal, utterly unfulfilled. Left merely to his own powers, threatened with punishment if he failed, but with no help or encouragement to enable him to succeed, the Jew found in the Law a hard task-master, the only effect of which was to "multiply transgressions"—*i.e.*, to provoke to sin and to increase its guilt. Christianity, on the other hand, does what the Law failed to do; it induces a state of righteousness in the believer, and opens out to him the blessedness and salvation which the Messiah came to bring.

The means by which this state of righteousness is brought about is naturally that by which the believer obtains admission into the Messianic kingdom—in other words, Faith. Righteousness is the Messianic *condition*; Faith is the Messianic *conviction*. But by Faith is meant, not merely an acceptance of the Messiahship of Jesus, but that intense and loving adhesion which such acceptance inspired, and which the life and death of Jesus were eminently qualified to call out. Faith opens out a new road of access to the divine favour. This was no longer to be sought only by the painful and laborious—nay, impossible, way of a fulfilment of the divine commands. The favour of God, and admission into the Messianic kingdom, was promised to all who with a true and heartfelt devotion took the Messiah for their king. Of such it was not asked whether they had actually fulfilled the Law in their own persons; their faith was *imputed to them for righteousness*—*i.e.*, taken in lieu of it, as the condition which would exempt them from the wrath and

obtain for them the favour of God.

That which gave to faith this peculiar efficacy was the fact that Jesus, the Messiah, towards whom it was directed, by His sacrificial death had *propitiated* the anger which God could not but feel against sin, and set free the hitherto obstructed current of divine love. Henceforth the anger of God could not rest upon the followers of the Messiah, by virtue of that which the Messiah Himself had done.

But the faith of the Christian was no merely passive principle. Such an ardour of devotion itself needs gain strength by its own exercise. It became by degrees a moral lever by which the righteousness, at first imputed, was made more and more real. It placed the believer in so close a relation to Christ as could hardly be described by any word short of *union* itself. And union with One so holy as Christ was could not fail to have the most powerful effect upon him who entered into it. It brought him into a new sphere entirely different from that of the Law. Henceforth the Law was nothing to him. But the end for which the Law existed was accomplished in another way. By union with Christ he became dead to sin. He entered upon a new service and a new state—a state of righteousness, which the indwelling Spirit of Christ (*i.e.*, the closest conceivable influence of the Spirit of Christ upon the soul) enabled him to maintain. The old bondage of the flesh was broken. The lawless appetites and desires engendered by the body were annihilated by the presence of a deeper and stronger emotion, fanned and cherished by the inter-

vention of a power higher than that of man.

Such, at least, was the Christian's ideal, which he was pledged to aim at, even if he failed to reach it. And the presence of the Divine Spirit within him was something more than the guarantee of a moral life here on earth; it was the earnest of an existence still more glorious in the future. The Christian, by his adhesion to Christ, the Messiah, was brought within the range of an order of things in which not he alone, but all creation, was to share, and which was destined to expand into as yet dimly anticipated perfection. As faith is the faculty which the Christian is called upon to exercise in the present, so Hope is that by which he looks forward to the future. He finds the assurance of his ultimate triumph in the unconquerable and inalienable love of Christ.

One objection might naturally be raised to this exposition of the Christian's privileges. What relation did they bear to another set of privileges—the ancient privileges of the chosen people, Israel? At first sight it seemed as if the throwing open of the Messianic kingdom to faith only, and therefore to Gentiles equally with Jews, was a violation of the Old Covenant. To this objection there were several answers. Even if there had been some further act of choice on the part of God, involving a rejection of Israel, His absolute power of choosing one and refusing another was not to be questioned. But really the promise was not made to the whole of Israel, but only to such as should comply with the condition of faith. All Israel did not do this. Nor was all Israel rejected. If a part of Israel

was rejected, it was only with the beneficent purpose of bringing in the Gentiles. In the end Israel, too, will be restored.

The privileges of the Christian are naturally connected with his duties, and these, as we should expect, the Apostle insists upon in considerable detail. The two points that seem to have a special reference to the condition of the Roman Christians are:—First, the inculcation of obedience to the civil power. This would seem to allude to the disturbances which had led to the expulsion of the Jews from Rome (*"Judæos assidue tumultuantes Romæ expulit"*—Suetonius). The second point is the stress that is laid upon the duty of toleration on the part of the more liberal members of the Church towards those who showed a greater scrupulosity in ceremonial observances, especially those connected with distinctions of meats and drinks. This may, however, have been suggested less by anything that the Apostle knew to have happened in the Church at Rome, than by his recent experiences of the Churches of Corinth and Galatia, and the possibility that similar dangers might arise at Rome.

The analysis of the Epistle which follows is intended to give the reader a clearer conception of its contents, and must not always be taken to represent a conscious division of his subject in the Apostle's mind. This is especially the case with the two headings that are printed in italics. The course of his thought happens to lead the Apostle, in the first instance, to deal with the application of the Christian scheme to the individual; and, in the second, to its application to the great question of Jew

and Gentile, but this is rather accidentally than because such a distinction entered into his plan. The headings are inserted as helping to bring out a point which really exists, and which is, perhaps, of more importance to the reader, who looks upon the Epistle as a theological treatise, than it was originally to its author.

A TREATISE ON THE CHRISTIAN SCHEME AS A DIVINELY-APPOINTED MEANS FOR PRODUCING RIGHTEOUSNESS IN MAN, AND SO REALISING THE MESSIANIC REIGN.

I.—Introduction (i. 1—15).

- a. The apostolic salutation (i. 1—7).
- b. St. Paul and the Roman Church (i. 8—15).

II.—Doctrinal.

- a. **THE GREAT THESIS.**
Righteousness by Faith (i. 16, 17).

Proof—

Righteousness not hitherto attained either by Gentiles (i. 18—32) or by Jews (ii. 1—29).

Parenthetic answer to objections (iii. 1—8).

Confirmatory proof from Scripture (iii. 9—20).

- b. **THE GREAT THESIS REPEATED AND EXPANDED.**

Righteousness by Faith.
The propitiatory death of Christ (iii. 21—26).

- (1) This righteousness is open to Jew and Gen-

tile alike, and excludes boasting (iii. 27—31).

- (2) Proof from Scripture—Abraham (iv. 1—5, 9—25).

David (iv. 6—9).

- (3) *First Climax.* Blissful effects of righteousness by faith (v. 1—11).

- (4) The first and the second Adam (v. 12—19).

Abundance of sin and of grace (v. 20—vi. 1).

c. *The Christian Scheme in its Application to the Individual.*

- (1) Progressive righteousness in the Christian.
Death to sin, through union with Christ (vi. 1—14).

- (2) The Christian's release (vi. 15—vii. 25).

a. Its true nature (vi. 15—23).

β. Illustration from the marriage bond (vii. 1—6).

γ. The inward struggle and victory (vii. 7—25).

- (3) *Second Climax* (viii. 1—39).

a. The Flesh and the Spirit (viii. 1—13).

β. The adoption of sons (viii. 14—17).

γ. Creation's yearning (viii. 17—25).

δ. The Spirit's intercession (viii. 26—27).

ε. Happy career of the Christian (viii. 28—30).

ζ. Triumphant close (viii. 31—39).

c. The Christian Scheme in its world-wide significance and bearing.

Israel's rejection (ix., x., xi.).
A saddening thought (ix. 1—5).

a. Justice of the rejection.

The promise was not made to all Israel indiscriminately, but confined to the chosen seed (ix. 6—13).

Absoluteness of God's choice, which is not to be questioned by man (ix. 14—23).

β. Cause of the rejection.

Self-sought righteousness contrasted with righteousness by faith in Christ (x. 1—13).

The gospel preached and believed (x. 14—21).

γ. Mitigating considerations (xi. 1—36).

(i.) Not *all* Israel fell (xi. 1—10).

(ii.) Special purpose of the fall (xi. 11—24).

The engrafted and original olive branches (xi. 17—26).

(iii.) Prospect of final restoration (xi. 25—29).

Third Climax. Beneficent results of seeming severity (xi. 30—32).

Doxology (xi. 33—36).

III—Practical and Hortatory.

a. The Christian sacrifice (xii. 1, 2).

b. The Christian as a member of the Church (xii. 3—8).

c. The Christian in his relation to others (xii. 9—21).

The Christian's vengeance (xii. 19—21).

d. Church and State (xiii. 1—7).

e. The Christian's one debt; the law of love (xiii. 8—10).

The day approaching (xiii. 11—14).

f. Toleration: the strong and the weak (xiv. 1—xv. 3).

g. Unity of Jew and Gentile (xv. 4—13).

IV.—Valedictory.

a. Personal explanations.

Motive of the Epistle.
Purposed visit to Rome (xv. 14—23).

b. Greetings to various persons (xvi. 1—16).

A warning (xvi. 17—20).
Postscript by the Apostle's companions and amanuensis (xvi. 21—23).

Benediction and doxology (xvi. 24—27).

VII. Style.—The style of St. Paul's Epistles varies considerably, according to the date at which they were written. A highly-strung and nervous temperament like his would naturally vary with circumstances. His life was excessively wearing. We have only to read a catalogue like that in 2 Cor. xi. 23—28, to see the enormous strain to which he was exposed. The list of bodily hardships and sufferings is almost unparalleled, and his own Epistles show what the "care of all the

churches" must have been to him. Hence it is not unnatural that in the later Epistles we should trace a certain loss of vitality. The style is more depressed and formal, and less buoyant and spontaneous. The period at which the Epistle to the Romans was written was, on the contrary, that at which the Apostle's physical power was at the highest. All through the two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Galatians, and the Romans, there is the greatest energy and force of diction. This gains, perhaps, from the fact that all these Epistles were written from dictation. The name of the amanuensis in the case of the Epistle to the Romans, as we gather from chap. xvi. 22, was Tertius. In some of the later Epistles it is possible that the turn of phrase was left more to the amanuensis, but the earlier group of Epistles bears all the appearance of having been taken down just as the Apostle spoke. Hence the broken and disjointed form of some of the sentences, beginning with one construction and ending with another, as in chaps. ii. 5—10, iii. 21—26, v. 12—14, ix. 22—24. A pointed instance would be (if the view taken in this *Introduction* is correct) chap. vii. 21. Hence, also, the insertion of long parentheses, interrupting the sense, as in chap. ii. 13—15, and of digressions such as chap. iii. 3—8. Hence, lastly, the rapid and vehement cut and thrust of indignant questioning as in chaps. ii. 21—23, ix. 19—21, or impetuous challenge as in chap. viii. 31—35. The plain and direct style of the Apostle is well exemplified in the practical and hortatory chaps. xii. —xv. On the other hand, the more involved and elaborate style of the later Epistles finds a parallel in the opening and closing

paragraphs, chaps. i. 1—7, xvi. 25—27.

VIII.—External Evidence of the Genuineness of the Epistle.—It is hardly necessary to collect external evidence to the genuineness of the Epistle, as it bears upon itself the most indisputable marks of originality. As a matter of fact it has not been disputed by any critic of the slightest importance. The external evidences are, however, abundant. Before the first century is out there is a clear allusion to the language of the Epistle in the letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (A.D. 95). This writer entreats the Corinthian Christians to cast off from themselves "*all unrighteousness and iniquity, covetousness, strifes, malignities, and deceits, whisperings and backbitings, hatred of God, pride, arrogance, vainglory, and inhospitality,*" on the ground that "*they that do these things are hateful to God; and not only they that do them, but they also that consent to them.*" The words in italics, many of them markedly peculiar, are taken from the passage Rom. i. 29—32. In another place (§ 46) in the same letter occurs the phrase, "We are members of one another," which recalls Rom. xii. 5. Other allusions that have been found in the Epistle are perhaps less certain. In the first quarter of the next century allusions to the Epistle are alleged from the letters of Ignatius and Polycarp. The first of these are, perhaps, themselves of too doubtful authenticity to be claimed very strongly in evidence. The Epistle to Polycarp, itself well guaranteed, presents an exact repetition of the phrase, "we must all stand before the judgment-

seat of Christ ;" adding, "and each one must give an account of himself." (Comp. Rom. xiv. 10, 12.) The Gnostic writers appealed to the passages, "He who raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies" (Rom. viii. 11), and "sin reigned from Adam to Moses" (Rom. v. 13, 14), in support of their own peculiar views; but it is somewhat doubtful whether the fragments quoted by Hippolytus in which those allusions occur are really to be referred to the founders of the respective sects, Basilides (*circ.* A.D. 125) and Valentinus (*circ.* A.D. 140), or to their followers. The date, therefore, of this evidence is uncertain. So also is that derived from the Epistle to Diognetus which is commonly placed at about A.D. 170. Justin Martyr (*ob.* A.D. 148) seems pretty clearly to have made use of the Epistle, for he quotes precisely the same series of Old Testament passages as is quoted in Rom. iv. 11—17, in the same order, and in the same way—as if they were one connected passage. In the last quarter of the second century, as Christian literature becomes more copious, the references to the Epistle become more express and definite. The letter of the Churches of Vienna and Lyons to that at Rome (A.D. 177) contains an exact verbal coincidence with Rom. viii. 18 ("I reckon that the sufferings of this present time," &c.). In Theophilus of Antioch (A.D. 181) there are unmistakable paraphrases of Rom. ii. 6—9, and of Rom. xiii. 7, 8. Irenæus, writing about A.D. 185, quotes the Epistle directly by name. "This very construction St. Paul put upon it, writing to the Romans, 'Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ,' &c.; and again, writing to the Romans concerning Israel, he

says, 'whose are the fathers,'" &c. Irenæus also quotes expressly Rom. v. 17: "And in agreement with these St. Paul, too, addressing the Romans, says: 'Much more they who receive abundance of grace and righteousness unto life, shall reign through One, Jesus Christ.'" Besides these, there are other long quotations, which are the more to be remarked, as they show in some cases the presence of readings in the Codex used by Irenæus, which, though supported by other authorities, are certainly false, and therefore show that they have already a long history behind them. There are equally express and direct quotations in Clement of Alexandria (flourished A.D. 185—211) and Tertullian (flourished A.D. 198—210). The Epistle to the Romans is also contained in the Muratorian Fragment on the canon *circ.* A.D. 170. From this point onwards the production of further evidence is superfluous. The main points to notice in what has been given are that the *existence* of the Epistle is proved incontestably by Clement of Rome as early as A.D. 95, and that it was attributed to St. Paul by Irenæus in A.D. 185, or some fifteen years earlier by the Muratorian Fragment.

[Of the many Commentaries on this Epistle the most useful are perhaps those of Meyer and Dr. Vaughan. The scholarly tact of the English commentator might, perhaps, have been allowed to correct, even more often than has been the case, the rigorous science of the German. Dr. Vaughan's carefully-assorted references have also been of much service. Special attention has been paid to all that has been written on this Epistle.]

either directly or incidentally, by Dr. Lightfoot. The writer's most mature thoughts upon the connection between the several parts of the doctrinal teaching of the Epistle will be found in the section of the *Introduction* which deals with this subject.

I. CORINTHIANS.

BY THE REV. CANON TEIGNMOUTH SHORE.

To describe briefly the relation in which St. Paul stood to the Corinthian Church, and the circumstances under which he wrote this Epistle, will, I think, be the best and most efficient help to the ordinary reader.

After a stay at Athens of some few months, St. Paul, towards the end (probably) of the year A.D. 51, left that city for Corinth. At Athens, the centre of philosophic thought and culture, St. Paul had preached Christianity. The wide question of the relation of God's providence to the heathen world in times past—Christ crucified and raised from the dead—all these topics had been dwelt on by the Apostle in a speech which still remains a model of the subtlest rhetorical skill and of the most earnest eloquence. Judged, however, by immediate results, the speech on Mars Hill, and the other addresses at Athens, of which we have no record, but which were probably on the same lines, were not successful. Only a few converts were won to Christ.

The Apostle dwells with no fond recollection on his work here. A single sentence* sums up the

results of his labour in a city where the successful planting of the Church would have been of such vast importance: "Howbeit certain men clave unto him, and believed; among the which was Dionysius the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them." There is an undertone of sadness and disappointment in these words of St. Paul's companion and friend, St. Luke.

The Apostle left Athens downcast and thoughtful. The subtle skill, the earnest eloquence, had been employed apparently in vain. The inestimable value which that great exposition of God's dealings with man, as well in the world at large as in the more sacred enclosure of the Christian faith, might have—as we know now it has had—for Christendom, did not present itself to the Apostle's mind as any consolation for the want of practical results at the moment. Athens was a sad memory to St. Paul. He never mentions her name in an Epistle. He sends no words of greeting to any of her children.

From the Piræus—the port of Athens—St. Paul sails for Corinth. It being late in autumn (probably October or November), it is most

* Acts xvii. 34.

likely that the Apostle landed at Cenchreæ, a seaport town on the Saronic Bay.* The experience which he had at Athens, and its bearing on the work on which he was now about to enter in the capital of Achaia, were doubtless the uppermost thoughts in the Apostle's mind during this brief journey. He sees that the power of the gospel to win men to Christ lies in the message itself, and not in the method and style of its delivery. He resolves to lay aside the rhetoric and the merely human eloquence, and in the new field of his missionary labours "to know nothing but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified."† This vow he probably made as he landed at Cenchreæ; and when, a year and a half afterwards, he embarked at the same port on his return journey, he could look back with satisfaction and with thanksgiving on the resolution which he had formed, and the glorious results which had followed in Achaia from his preaching.

A journey of nine miles from Cenchreæ brought the Apostle to Corinth, which was situated in the south-west end of the isthmus, and

at the northern base of the Acrocorinthus. The two things which in older days had made Corinth famous in Grecian history still rendered her a place of supreme importance. From a military point of view, she might be regarded as the key to the Peloponnesus, and commercially she was the central point of the vast trade which was carried on between Asia and Europe. The storms which so constantly raged on the southern shore of Greece drove the vast tide of commerce into the safer overland route, which lay through Cenchreæ and Lechaëum, which latter port was only a mile and a half distant from Corinth. It was at Corinth that, in B.C. 146, the Achaïans made their last stand against the Romans, and were finally defeated by Mummius. After this, Achaïa became a Roman province, and Corinth for a century remained in the condition of utter desolation to which the sword and fire of the victorious consul had reduced it. Some years before the birth of Christ (B.C. 44) Julius Cæsar restored Corinth, and, under the Emperor Claudius, the direct rule of the province was transferred from the emperor to the senate; and hence we find at the time when St. Paul arrived its government was administered by a proconsul.* As St. Paul entered Corinth his eyes might for a moment have rested on the grave of Lais amid the cypress grove outside the walls, and the monument of Diogenes which stood by the gate—fit types of the cynical, worldly philosophy, and the gross, yet attractive, sensuality with which the society of that day and city were permeated.

* I assume that St. Paul went by sea, and not by land, as the words (Acts xviii. 1), "Paul departed from Athens, and came to Corinth," seem to imply a brief and uninterrupted journey. Had he gone by land he would have passed through other towns on the way, some mention of which it would be natural to expect.

† See 1 Cor. ii. 1, 2, and Note there. The word "you," repeated in both these verses, seems emphatic, as if the Apostle meant to bring out a contrast between his former style of teaching among others, and that which he had resolved should be his style of teaching amongst them. The only point on which he had determined when coming to them was, "Jesus Christ, and Him crucified," as the subject-matter of his teaching.

* Acts xviii. 12.

Within the city, most of the buildings were comparatively modern, "run up" within the last century by the imported population of Roman freed-men; while only here and there, in the stately magnificence of an older style of architecture, stood an occasional edifice which had survived the "fire" that had "tried every man's work" in the great conflagration which had swept away the inferior structures of "wood, hay, stubble" when the conquering troops of Mummius had captured Corinth.* The population of Corinth was composed of many and diverse elements. There were Greeks, who thought, by their delight in a tawdry rhetoric and in a sham and shallow philosophy, to revive the historic glory of a past age. There were a thousand corrupt and shameless priestesses attached to the temple of Aphrodite, which crowned the neighbouring hill. There were the families of the Roman freed-men whom Julius Cæsar had sent to rebuild and recolonise the town. There were traders from Asia and from Italy, and all that non-descript element naturally to be found in a city which was practically a great commercial seaport and the scene, every fourth year, of those Isthmian games which attracted among the athletes the best, and among some of the spectators the worst, of the population of the surrounding provinces. All these, like so many streams of human life, mingled together here, and at this particular juncture were met by the vast returning tide of Jews expelled from Rome by Claudius, † and so formed that turbulent

and seething flood of human life on which the barque of Christ's Church was launched at Corinth.

Amongst those who had lately come from Italy were Aquila and Priscilla, his wife. With them the Apostle lodged, joining with them in their occupation of tent-making. Pontus,* the native country of Aquila, and Cilicia, † the native country of St. Paul, were both renowned for the manufacture of the goat's-hair cloth from which the tent-coverings were made. It is probable, however, that an affinity of faith, as well as an identity of occupation, led to the Apostle's intimate association with these friends. If this man and his wife had not been converted to Christianity before this they would scarcely have allowed St. Paul to join himself so intimately with them. The very circumstances of their expulsion from Rome would have embittered them against a Christian. From a remark in Suetonius, we find that the expulsion of the Jews had to do with their riots with Christian converts. Rome cared nothing about the religious opinions of these rival sects; but when their differences led to public riots Rome was then as vigorous and decisive in action as before she had been indifferent. ‡ Having left Italy under such circumstances, Aquila and Priscilla would, if unconverted

* Acts xviii. 2.

† Acts xxi. 39.

‡ "Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome on account of their continual tumults instigated by Chrestus." The name Christ, in pronunciation nearly identical with Chrestus, was mixed up in the riots somehow. That was quite sufficient for the authorities to assume that some person of that name was the author of them.

* See St. Paul's recollection of this in the imagery employed in 1 Cor. iii. 10-13.

† Acts xviii. 2.

Jews, have certainly not taken a Christian as a partner in their home and work; whereas, if already Christians, and suffering expulsion thus from Rome, they would gladly welcome such a convert as Paul. These considerations are confirmed by the course of events at the outset of St. Paul's preaching at Corinth. The Apostle first preaches to the Jews and those proselytes (called "Greeks")* who had at least accepted Judaism so far as to attend the synagogue. He is met with opposition and blasphemy by them, and then turns unto the Gentiles, and teaches in a house close by the synagogue, winning many converts to the faith, amongst others, Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, Gaius, and Stephanas and his household, who received their baptism at the hand of the Apostle himself.† Silas and Timothy joined the Apostle during the earlier part of his sojourn, and probably brought with them some pecuniary help from the Philippians, which was doubly acceptable because of a famine then prevalent and of the Apostle's unflinching determination to take nothing from the Corinthians.‡

Some time in A.D. 53, M. Annæus Novatus, the brother of the philosopher Seneca, arrives at Corinth as proconsul of Achaia. He was called Gallio, having been adopted into the family of that name. His kindly and loving disposition § gave the Jewish faction some hope that they might make him the uncon-

scious tool by which they would wreak their intensifying rage on St. Paul and his Christian companions. Gallio, with the imperturbable calmness of a Roman governor, refuses to allow himself to be dragged into a religious dispute between two sects. In retaliation for this conduct on the part of the Jews, the Greeks take Sosthenes, who had succeeded Crispus as chief ruler of the synagogue—here, no doubt, the ringleader in the persecution of St. Paul—and beat him.* When the same Sosthenes became a convert it was not strange that he and St. Paul should become firm friends. Both had been active enemies of the faith which they now preached, and the two converted persecutors are joined together in the opening of this Epistle to the Corinthian Church (1 Cor. i. 1). For some considerable time the Apostle remains and teaches at Corinth, and then returns to Syria by Cenchreæ. The vow made on landing there had been kept.† Jesus Christ and His cruci-

* In Acts xviii. 17, the words "the Greeks" do not occur in the best MSS., and some commentators conclude that it was the Jewish faction who took Sosthenes and beat him, suspecting him of some leanings towards the faith which he afterwards embraced. I think it more natural to assume that it was the Greek mob who acted thus towards the leader of the defeated faction of the Jews. If it were the Jews writhing under their defeat, surely they would have taken vengeance on some avowed Christian like Paul or Aquila.

† Acts xviii. 18. The words here may, as a mere matter of grammar, refer to either Paul or Aquila; but the whole sense of the passage refers them to the former. The fact that Paul goes on to Jerusalem, and Aquila remains at Ephesus, is almost in itself sufficient to indicate Paul as the one having some solemn obligation to fulfil. I have already indicated that in the solemn vow made by the Apostle, and which was carried out

* Acts xviii. 4.

† 1 Cor. i. 14—16.

‡ See 2 Cor. xi. 7—12; Phil. iv. 15.

§ Seneca says of Gallio, "He was loved much even by those who had little power to love;" and, "No mortal is so dear to me as Gallio to all men."

fixion had been the sole subject and strength of the Apostle's teaching. With what feelings of profound thankfulness must St. Paul, as he sailed from Cenchreæ, have looked back on the work and the success of those intervening months. With Aquila and Priscilla, he arrives at Ephesus, and leaves them there. After a somewhat prolonged tour through Galatia and Phrygia, and a visit to Jerusalem, St. Paul returns to Ephesus, probably in the year A.D. 54. Meanwhile, during the absence of St. Paul on his journey visiting the churches in Galatia and Phrygia, a man arrives at Ephesus who is destined to have a remarkable influence in the future on St. Paul's relation with the Corinthian Church. Apollos, a Jew by religion and an Alexandrian by birth, had been brought up in a city where commerce brought together various races, and where philosophy attracted varied schools of thought. Alexandria, famous also as the place where the Greek translation of the Old Testament had been made, became naturally the seat of an intellectual school of scriptural interpretation, as well as the abode of Greek philosophy. Amid such surroundings, Apollos, gifted with natural eloquence, became "mighty in the scriptures," and was "instructed in the way of the Lord," possibly by some of those Alexandrian Jews who, in their disputes with Stephen,* had become ac-

quainted with the elementary principles of Christianity. His imperfect acquaintance with the Christian faith—limited to the tenets of the Baptist*—is supplemented and completed by the instruction which he receives from Aquila and Priscilla, who were attracted by the eloquence and fervour with which he preached in the synagogue at Ephesus his imperfect gospel. The days spent with St. Paul at Corinth were fresh in the memory of these Christians. The incidents of those days were doubtless often recalled in many a conversation with Apollos, and what he hears fires his earnest soul with a desire to preach the gospel in Achaia. To the various churches—including, of course, Corinth—he receives letters of commendation from the Ephesian Christians, and his preaching is attended with great blessing, "helping them much which had believed through grace." His style of teaching was strikingly different from that which St. Paul—in accordance with his vow "to know nothing but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified,"—had adopted at Corinth. With more intellectual eloquence, and with a wider and more philosophic range of thought, he opened up the deeper spiritual meaning of the Old Testament scriptures, showing from them that Jesus was Christ.† The philosophic school of thought in which he had been educated could be traced in the style of his eloquence, which won many converts amongst those classes to whom the simplicity of Paul's preaching had not been acceptable, and who, on that account, had continued to the end his active opponents.

apparently according to the law of the Nazarite vow (see Num. vi.), was included a resolve as to his teaching at Corinth. What, if any, other motives for the vow the Apostle could have had, must, of course, be matter of the merest conjecture.

* Acts vi. 9.

* Acts xviii. 25.

† Acts xviii. 28.

While the eloquent Alexandrian is preaching in Corinth—watering* where Paul had planted, building up where Paul had laid the foundation, giving strong meat to those whom, in their spiritual infancy, Paul had fed with milk, and winning some new converts amongst those whose Jewish and intellectual prejudices had hitherto been invincible—St. Paul rejoins Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus.† This is not the place to dwell upon St. Paul's work at Ephesus (of which a full account is given in Acts xix.), only so far as it directly bears upon his Epistle to Corinth. During his stay at Ephesus he is constantly hearing news of the Corinthians by those whose business necessitated constant journeyings between these two commercial capitals. The Apostle himself also, during the earlier part of his sojourn, pays a brief visit to Corinth, of which we have no record, and of which we should know nothing but for the casual allusion in his Second Epistle that he is coming to them the *third* time.‡ After some two years' residence at Ephesus, the Apostle determines, after some time, to proceed directly by sea to Corinth, and making it his head-quarters, visit the churches in Macedonia, returning after this tour to Corinth again, on his way back to Jerusalem,§

from whence, finally, he hoped to visit Rome.* This plan is, however, entirely upset by the course of events which we have now to narrate.

Rumours, more or less vague at first, reach St. Paul of a bad state of affairs in the Corinthian Church. The Corinthian Christians were living in the midst of a heathen society. The religion of heathendom, and the sensual license and indulgence which formed a part of it, pervaded all the social customs and entered into the very fibre of the social life of the country. To define, therefore, the precise position which Christians should assume in relation to the political conditions and the domestic institutions of the heathen was a matter of the utmost delicacy and difficulty. Christian thought and practice perpetually oscillated between the license into which human nature easily transformed the liberty of the gospel, and the rigid rejection of every custom which was tainted with heathen approval. To steady in the line of right that trembling pendulum of vibrating religious thought required all the spiritual skill and all the fine delicacy of touch which were characteristic of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. When the earliest rumours reach him of the unsatisfactory condition of some of the Corinthian Christians, he writes a letter to them, in which he probably mentions his intention of visiting them on his way to Macedonia; and he warns them of the great danger of moral contamination to which they would infallibly be subject if they allowed any of the immoral practices of the heathen to receive any sanction

* 1 Cor. iii. 1, 6, 10.

† Acts xix. 1.

‡ I place the unrecorded visit of St. Paul thus early during his residence at Ephesus because it seems to have occurred before the matter treated of in the First Epistle to the Corinthians assumed a serious aspect; otherwise we can scarcely imagine that there should be no allusion in this Epistle to some definite rebuke or instruction for which that visit would have afforded an opportunity.

§ 2 Cor. i. 15, 16.

* Acts xix. 21.

from the Christian Church. Whatever the heathen might think of the lawfulness of sinful indulgence which their own faith surrounded with a distorting moral atmosphere of religious sanction, Christians were to allow no trace of such immorality within the boundaries of the Church. This Epistle has been lost; we can only conjecture its general contents from the circumstances under which it was written, and the reference to it in what is now the First of St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians.*

The Apostle still adheres to his intention of visiting Corinth and Macedonia, and sends Timothy and Erastus to prepare the various churches in Macedonia and Achaia for his coming, and, above all, to set things right at Corinth by, as St. Paul says, "bringing you into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ, as I teach everywhere in every church."†

After the despatch of Timothy and Erastus, more alarming news reaches St. Paul. The household of Chloe‡—some Christian resident, either at Corinth or Ephesus, evidently well known to the Corinthians—report to the Apostle that the Church is disorganised with sectarian strife, and defiled by sanctioning a marriage between a Christian man and a heathen woman who had been his step-mother, and was now divorced from his father. A letter also arrives § from the Corinthians to St. Paul, which was in part a reply to St. Paul's lost Epistle, and which contained various questions regarding doctrine and practice which revealed the disintegrated condition

of religious thought and life in Christian Corinth.* The letter was probably brought to Ephesus by Stephanas and his companions, who supplemented the information which it contained by their own knowledge, based upon personal and recent observation. The arrival of this letter, which called for an immediate answer, and the receipt of this intelligence of a state of affairs which required to be dealt with immediately and vigorously, led to a change in the Apostle's plans. He abandons his intention of going direct to Corinth, so as to give time for a change for the better in the state of that Church; and he can no longer, now that he realises the full extent of the evil, leave it to be dealt with by one of Timothy's gentle disposition. He therefore writes this (Second) First Epistle to the Corinthians, and sends with it Titus, who, going direct to Corinth, would reach that city probably before the arrival of Timothy, who would be delayed visiting other churches *en route*. Titus—whom we may call St. Paul's companion in determination, as Timothy was

* My reason for thinking that the letter from the Corinthians was in part a reply to St. Paul's lost Epistle is that the Apostle says (1 Cor. v. 9) emphatically, "I wrote to you in the Epistle,"—i.e., the Epistle to which you refer. They had probably taken exception to his strict injunction, and said in reply, "If we are not to keep company at all with fornicators, then we must go out of the world altogether." His words seem to me to be an answer to some such captious criticism, and not a voluntary modification or explanation of what he had no reason to suppose should be misunderstood. It has been suggested by some commentators that the lost Epistle had been sent by Timothy. But St. Paul seems to assume as certain that the letter has reached them (1 Cor. v. 9), and to be doubtful whether Timothy was there or not (1 Cor. xvi. 10).

* See 1 Cor. v. 9.

† 1 Cor. iv. 17.

‡ 1 Cor. i. 11.

§ 1 Cor. viii. 1.

St. Paul's companion in conciliation—was far more competent to meet the difficulties which would present themselves in such a state of affairs as existed then at Corinth. Moreover, Titus was a Gentile, whereas Timothy was half Jewish by birth; and so there would be no danger of the most hostile faction in Corinth—the Jewish—awakening any sympathy for themselves in him. How judicious the selection of Titus was is evident by the success of his mission, which we read of afterwards when he rejoined Paul in Macedonia.*

The Epistle was written and despatched probably about Easter, A.D. 57,† and the Apostle's intention is now to remain at Ephesus until after Pentecost, and then proceed, visiting the churches in Macedonia before going to Corinth. This would leave time for this Epistle to have the desired effect, and for St. Paul to meet Titus somewhere—probably at Troas. This Epistle divides itself into two parts. The first Section, extending to chap. vi. 20, deals with the reports which had reached St. Paul as to the condition of the Corinthian Church; and the second Section, which occupies the remainder of the Epistle, is a reply to the letter received from Corinth, including directions for the collection for the saints at Jerusalem and the usual salutations from the brethren.

With characteristic courtesy, the Epistle opens with words of approval and congratulation,‡ which show that the writer's subsequent

censures arise from no desire to see merely what is bad in the Corinthians, but are forced from him by the serious nature of the evils which have to be checked. Three evils are then rebuked—viz., THE SPIRIT OF FACTION,* THE CASE OF PROHIBITED MARRIAGE,† THE APPEALS OF CHRISTIANS TO HEATHEN COURTS.‡ The general principles of the relation of Christianity to heathenism, out of which the advice given under the last two heads has grown, are then solemnly reiterated; § and the first Section of the Epistle closes with these words of earnest warning.

From the second Section of this Epistle we can discover what were the topics concerning which the Corinthians had written to St. Paul. He would doubtless treat of these subjects in the same sequence as they occurred in the letter to which this is the answer. The questions asked were probably these: IS IT RIGHT TO MARRY? The answer to this || is,—that, owing to the exceptional state of circumstances then existing, the unmarried state is better. This advice is, however, to be modified in its practical application in the cases of those who have an irresistible natural desire for marriage and those who have already contracted it.

The second question was: IS IT LAWFUL FOR A CHRISTIAN TO EAT THE FLESH WHICH HAS BEEN ALREADY USED FOR SACRIFICIAL PURPOSES BY THE HEATHEN? To this the answer ¶ is, in general terms, that there is no harm in eating such meat, but that in practice this wide principle of Christian liberty must

* See 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13.

† See 1 Cor. v. 7 and xvi. 18, showing that it was written before Pentecost, and probably at Passover time.

‡ 1 Cor. i. 1–3.

* 1 Cor. i. 10—iv. 21.

† 1 Cor. v. 1–13. ‡ 1 Cor. vi. 1–2.

§ 1 Cor. vi. 5–20. || 1 Cor. vii.

¶ 1 Cor. viii. 1–xi. 1.

be limited by regard to the general welfare of others and their tenderness of conscience.

The third inquiry was: **WHAT IS THE BECOMING DRESS OF WOMEN IN PUBLIC WORSHIP?** This question was rendered necessary by some women pushing the freedom of the faith so far as to appear in public unveiled—a practice which might easily be mistaken by the heathen as the indication of a loose morality. To this the Apostle replies * practically that our Christianity is not to make us transgress the social order and customs of the community in which we live.

The fourth question was: **WHAT IS THE PROPER ORDER OF THE CELEBRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER?** In his answer to this question † the Apostle severely censures the scenes of riot and debauch into which the Love Feasts—with which the Lord's Supper was practically united, though not identical—had fallen, and gives stringent and exact directions as to the means of avoiding such scandal in the future.‡

The fifth question was: **WHICH IS THE MOST VALUABLE OF SPIRITUAL GIFTS?** The discussion of this matter § involves the condemnation of the extravagant value attached by some to the gift of tongues, and the enunciation of the principle that the value of a gift

depends on its utility for the good of the whole Church.

The sixth, and last, inquiry was: **IS THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD A VITAL DOCTRINE OF CHRISTIANITY?** The reply to this* is an elaborate exposition and vindication of the doctrine of the resurrection. The collection for the saints at Jerusalem, information regarding his own change of plans, and some personal matters, occupy the concluding chapter of the Epistle.

After despatching this Epistle, St. Paul is full of fears lest it may have been written with too much severity, and possibly may have exactly the opposite effect from that which he desired. It may fail to reconcile to him the Church so dear to his heart—it may only widen the breach and embitter opponents. The Apostle leaves Ephesus after Pentecost, but his fears increase. Even an "open door" at Troas † cannot detain him in his restless anxiety. No new love could make up for the possible loss of the old one at Corinth in that large and tender heart of St. Paul. He passes over into Macedonia—full of care: there are the echoes of tumults at Ephesus behind him—there is the fear of coming disruption with Corinth before him. At last at Philippi, he meets Titus, who brings him the joyful news that, on the whole, the letter has been successful.‡ The Corinthian Christians are penitent, the chief offender has been expelled, and there is nothing now to prevent the Apostle taking back into his confidence and love the Church to which he was so warmly attached. A

* 1 Cor. xi. 2—16.

† 1 Cor. xi. 17—34.

‡ It seems impossible to us that drunkenness could arise from the abuse of the Eucharistic wine as administered in our own day. A remarkable instance is mentioned in Mrs. Brassey's *Voyage of the "Sunbeam"* (p. 234) of a church which they visited in Tahiti, where cocoa-nut milk was used in the Holy Communion in the place of wine, owing to abuses of the cup which had arisen.

§ 1 Cor. xii. 1—xiv. 40.

* 1 Cor. xv.

† 2 Cor. ii. 12.

‡ 2 Cor. ii. 14.

second letter*—to express his joy and gratitude, to reiterate his exhortations, and to finally prepare the Corinthians for his coming (which he explains had been delayed from no personal caprice, but for their sakes†)—is written, and the last trace of the cloud which, by separating him from them had cast so terrible a darkness over his own soul, is completely and finally removed.

The authenticity of this Epistle has never been seriously disputed; indeed, to deny it would almost involve a disbelief in the historical existence of the Corinthian Church and in the personality of St. Paul. The earliest fathers refer to it as the recognised letter of the Apostle. Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and Irenæus quote passages from it as St. Paul's writing. All throughout this Epistle we have the heart as well as the intellect of the Apostle displayed to us; the Holy Spirit of God not setting aside, but controlling and guiding those good gifts of which, though we call them "natural," He is the Author and the Giver.

Many of the subjects treated of here were local and personal. The combination of circumstances which give rise to them cannot possibly occur again in Christendom; but the principles on which the Apostle decided these matters are imperishable and of universal obligation. They can guide the Church amid the complex civilisation of the nineteenth century as truly and as clearly as they indicated to her the path of safety in the infancy of the Christian faith.

The following works will be found useful by those who desire to enter into a more detailed and exhaustive study of this Epistle:—

The Greek Testament, with a Critically-revised Text, &c., by Dean Alford. Vol. II. Rivingtons, 1871.

The Greek Testament, with Notes, by Bishop Wordsworth.

Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament. Göttingen (Eng. Trans., Clark, 1877).

The Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians, with Critical Notes and Dissertations, by Dean Stanley. John Murray, 1876.

The Life and Epistles of St. Paul, by W. J. Conybeare and the Very Rev. J. S. Howson, Dean of Chester. New Edition. Longmans.

The Hulscan Lectures for 1862, by the Very Rev. J. S. Howson. Third Edition. Strahan & Co.

The Metaphors of St. Paul, by the Very Rev. J. S. Howson.

The Companions of St. Paul, by the Very Rev. J. S. Howson. Isbister, 1874.

Expository Lectures on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, by the late F. W. Robertson. Smith and Elder, 1870.

The Life and Epistles of St. Paul, by Thomas Lewin, M.A. 2 Vols. Third Edition. George Bell & Sons, 1875.

The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom, on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. Vols. IV. and V. of the Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church. Parker, 1839.

G. B. Winer's *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms* (English Translation, by Dr. W. F. Moulton. Eighth Edition. T. & T. Clark, 1877).

* 2 Corinthians.

† 2 Cor. i. 23.

II. CORINTHIANS.

BY THE LATE VERY REV. E. H. PLUMPTRE, D.D.

It is not without some reluctance that I have undertaken to treat of an Epistle which stands in such close connection with that which precedes it that it can scarcely be dealt with by a different hand without some risk of want of unity of treatment.

I have, however, kept on the same main lines of thought and method of interpretation which have been followed in the Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and have been glad to find myself on all important points of one mind with the commentator.

Of the genuineness of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians there has never been a moment's doubt, even among critics who allow themselves the widest range in their attacks on the canon of New Testament writings. External evidence is in itself adequate. The Epistle is quoted by Irenæus (*Hæc.* iii. 7, § 1), by Athenagoras (*De resurr. mort.*), by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 94, iv. 101), and by Tertullian (*De Pudicitia*, c. 13). Testimony of this kind is, however, hardly needed. The Epistle speaks for itself. In

its intense personality, its peculiarities of style, its manifold coincidences with the Acts and with other Epistles (especially with 1 Corinthians, Romans, and Galatians), its vehement emotions, it may fairly be said to present phenomena beyond the attainment of any later writer wishing to claim for what he wrote the authority of a great name. Pseudonymous authorship is, in this case, simply out of the question.

In order to understand the Epistle we must throw ourselves, as by a mental effort, into the mind and heart of the writer at the moment when he wrote or, more probably, dictated it. Of the sins and disorders of the Corinthians as reported to him by successive informants—the household of Chloe (1 Cor. i. 11), and by Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus (1 Cor. xvi. 17); of his treatment of the topics then brought before him; of the probable effect of what he wrote upon the several parties in the Corinthian Church, we need not here speak. It will be sufficient to note that he had sent Timotheus before he wrote the First

Epistle; that he had then sent the First Epistle by Stephanas, his companion; that when they were gone (or possibly with them*) he despatched Titus to complete the work, perhaps as trusting more to his energy than that of the other messengers. Timotheus had returned to him. It is not certain that he reached Corinth. If he did, he came and left before the Epistle had arrived, and was unable to report what had been its result. His timid and shrinking character probably unfitted him for coping with the difficulties which presented themselves. His coming, therefore, however welcome it might be, brought no relief to the Apostle's anxiety. He started from Ephesus, whether before or after the arrival of Timotheus we do not know, and, in pursuance of his plan, went to Troas. But there, too, great as the opportunities for mission-work were (chap. ii. 12), he had no strength or heart to use them. A restless, feverish anxiety devoured him night and day, and he sailed for Macedonia, probably for Philippi. And there, at last, after a time of expectation and anxiety, Titus came to him (chap. vii. 6). His report was evidently more full and satisfactory than that which had been brought by Timotheus. He was able to report, what the latter had not reported—the effect of the First Epistle; and this was, in part, at least, full of comfort. The majority at a meeting of the Church had acted as he had told them to act, in the punishment of the incestuous offender (chap. ii. 6), they had shown generally a desire to clear themselves from the reproach of

sensual impurity (chap. vii. 11), and had manifested warm feelings of attachment to the Apostle personally (chap. vii. 7). They had obeyed Titus as the Apostle's delegate, and had made the work which he had undertaken in much anxiety, a labour of love and joy (chap. vii. 13—16). They had taken up the collection for the saints with an eager interest, and had not only accepted the idea, but had begun to act on the suggestion of 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, as to the weekly payments, and to the alms-box of the house (chap. ix. 13). So far all was well, and had this been all, the Second Epistle to the Corinthians would probably have been as full of thankfulness, and joy, and comfort, as that to the Philippians. But it was not all. Wisely or unwisely, Titus thought it right to tell him of the words and acts of the two parties in the Church of Corinth, who, at opposite extremes, were agreed in resisting his authority. There were some, the party of license, who needed sharp words of censure, and had given no proof of repentance for the foul evils of their former life (chap. xii. 21). There was the Judaising party, claiming to belong to Christ in a sense in which St. Paul did not belong to Him, boasting of their Hebrew descent (chaps. x. 7; xi. 4, 22), arrogating to themselves a special apostolic authority (chap. xi. 5), insolently lording it over their abject followers (chap. xi. 20). And from one or other of these rival parties, probably in some cases from both, there had come—so Titus reported—taunts, sneers, and insinuations against the Apostle's character. He had shown feebleness in his change of plan (chap. i. 17); his personal appear-

* See *Introduction to the First Epistle to the Corinthians*.

ance, feeble and infirm, did not match the authoritative tone of his letters; his speech had nothing in it to command admiration (chap. x. 10); he threatened supernatural punishments, but he did not dare to put his threats to the proof (chap. xiii. 3). What right had he to claim the authority of an Apostle, when he had never seen the Christ in the flesh? Was it certain that he was a Hebrew, a Jew of the pure blood of Palestine, or even that he was of the seed of Abraham? (chap. vi. 22). They turned into a reproach the fact that he had worked for his maintenance at Corinth, and yet had received gifts from the Macedonian churches, as though he had been too proud to put himself under obligations to any but his favourites (chap. xi. 2—10). They insinuated that what he would not do directly he meant to do indirectly, through the collection for the poor of Jerusalem (chap. xii. 16). How could they tell that the fund so secured would find its way to those who were ostensibly its objects? Who was this Paul who came without credentials (chap. iii. 1), and expected to be received on the strength of his everlasting self-assertions? (chaps. iii. 1; v. 12; x. 8, 12; xii. 11). Was there not a touch of madness in his visions and revelations? Could he claim more than the tolerance which men were ready to extend to the insane? (chaps. v. 13; xi. 16—19.)

Conceive all these barbed arrows of sarcasm falling on the ears, and through them piercing the very soul, of a man of singularly sensitive nature, passionately craving for affection, and proportionately feeling the bitterness of loving with no adequate return (chap. xii. 15), and we may form some estimate of

the whirl and storm of emotion in which St. Paul began to dictate the Epistle on which we are about to enter. Joy, affection, tenderness, fiery indignation, self-vindication, profound thoughts as to the mysteries of the kingdom of God which flashed upon his soul as he spoke—all these elements were there, craving to find expression. They hindered any formal plan and method in the structure of the Epistle. They led to episodes, and side-glances, and allusive references without number.

It follows from this that an analysis of such an Epistle is not a very easy matter, and that which follows must be received only as an approximately complete one, helping the student to follow the manifold oscillations of thought and feeling.

- 1.—St. Paul wishes the Corinthians to know his troubles and sufferings before the return of Titus (chap. i. 1—14).
- 2.—He tells them of his first plan of coming to them, and defends himself against the charge of fickleness in changing it (chaps. i. 15—ii. 1).
- 3.—He is glad that he did change his plans, for thus there was time for the repentance on the part of the incestuous offender of 1 Cor. v. 1. Such a one now needed sympathy and pardon (chap. ii. 2—11).
- 4.—He is about to tell them of his meeting with Titus, but the remembrance of the triumphant joy of that moment overpowers him, and fills him with a profound sense of the issues of life and death which hang upon his words (chap. ii. 12—17).

- 5.—Will this be called the self-assertion of one who has no credentials? His thoughts pass rapidly to the true credentials of effective preaching, and so to the new covenant of which he is the preacher, and so to the contrast between that covenant and the old (chap. iii. 1—18).
6. The sense of the tremendous responsibility of the work thus committed to him, leads him to dwell on his own fitness and unfitness for it. On the one side there is nothing but infirmity and disease, on the other there is the life of Jesus working in his life (chap. iv. 1—18), and the hope of a life after death, in which all that is spiritual in us now shall find itself emancipated from the flesh and clothed with a new spiritual organism (chap. v. 1—9).
- 7.—That hope does not, however, exclude the fear of the judgment through which all must pass. At the risk of seeming mad he must dwell on that fear. Only so can he lead men to estimate rightly the preciousness of the message of reconciliation (chap. v. 10—21).
- 8.—Will those to whom he writes receive that message in vain? He pleads with them by all he has done and suffered for them to give him a place in their affections, above all to give Christ the supreme place in them. Only so can they be indeed God's children (chap. vi. 1—18). They cannot serve him and the lust demon, Belial.
- 9.—His thoughts turn from the party of license, whom he had in view in the previous section, to those who had shown themselves zealous against impurity. Now he can tell these, and such as these, why meeting Titus had given him matter for such warm rejoicing; why he feels that he can trust them (chap. vii. 1—16).
- 10.—A new topic begins, apparently after a pause. He is about to show that he trusts them, by asking them to let their performance in the matter of the collection for the saints be equal to their readiness of will. He tells them of the arrangements he has made for it, and stirs them up by example of the Macedonians, by appeals to their own self; by the hope of God's favour (chaps. viii. 1—ix. 15).
- 11.—As if by the association of contrast, he turns from what he viewed with satisfaction and hope to the sarcasm and insinuations which had caused such acute pain (chap. x. 1—18). He charges his opponents, the Judaising teachers, with intruding into his province, defends himself against some of their special accusations, and challenges them to a comparison of their labours and sufferings with his own (chap. xi. 1—29). Even the infirmities with which they taunted him are, for those who understand them rightly, a ground of confidence and strength (chaps. xi. 30—xii. 18).
- 12.—Having thus defended himself, his thoughts travel on to

the time of his projected visit. He looks forward, not without anxiety, to the possibility of having to exercise his apostolic authority in punishing the offenders both of the party of license and that of the Judaisers. But he hopes that that necessity will not arise. His wish and prayer is that they may be restored to completeness without it. The agitation of his own spirit is calmed, and he ends with words of peace and blessing for them (chaps. xii. 19—xiii. 14).

Of the immediate results of the Epistle, and of the after-history of the Church of Corinth, we know but little. Within a few months he paid his promised visit, and was received with hospitality by one of the chief members of the Church (Rom. xvi. 23). Titus and the unnamed brethren of chap. viii. 18, 22, probably Luke and Tychicus, had done their work effectually, and he could tell the Romans to whom he wrote of the collection for the saints which had been made in Achaia as well as in Macedonia (Rom. xv. 26). They apparently had so far gained the confidence of the Corinthians that they did not think it necessary to choose any delegates of their own to watch over the appropriation of the funds collected (Acts xx. 4). The malignant enmity of the Jews, however, had not abated. His life was endangered by a plot to attack him as he was embarking at Cenchreæ, and he had to change his plans and return through Macedonia (Acts xx. 3). After this we lose sight of the Corinthian Church altogether, and the one glimpse which we get, accepting the Pas-

toral Epistles as genuine, and as coming after St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, is that on his return to his former labours, Erastus, who seems to have travelled with him, stopped at the city in which he held a municipal position of authority (Rom. xvi. 23; 2 Tim. iv. 20). The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, written, probably, about A.D. 95—some thirty-five years, therefore, after the date of this Epistle—shows, however, that the character of the Church has not altered, and that the old evils had re-appeared. A few rash and self-confident persons, putting themselves at the head of a factious party, had brought discredit on the Church's name. It was necessary to exhort them once more to submit to their rulers and to follow after peace (Clem. Rom. i. 1), to remind them of the self-denying labours of the two Apostles, Peter and Paul, whose names they professed to honour (i. 2), of the examples of faith and humility presented by Christ Himself and by the saints of the Old Testament (i. 16—18). The old doubts as to the resurrection (1 Cor. xv.) had re-appeared, and Clement, over and above the teaching of Scripture and of the Apostles on this subject, presses on them the analogy of the stories then current as to the death and revival of the Phoenix* (i. 24,

* The elaborate note in Dr. Lightfoot's edition of St. Clement shows that a fresh prominence had recently been given to the phoenix-legend, which may account for the stress thus laid on it. It was said to have re-appeared in Egypt in the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 34—36) (Tacit. *Ann.* vi. 28). In A.D. 47 a live phoenix was actually exhibited in the *comitium* of Rome (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* x. 2). Historians and *savans*, though they might think the particular instance an imposture, accepted the tradition with hardly a question.

25). The authority of the legitimate pastors of the Church (he names bishops or deacons only, as St. Paul had done in Phil. i. 1) was disputed, and he urges submission, and quotes the Epistle—the first of the two which St. Paul had addressed to them (i. 47)—paraphrasing the section in which he had set forth the excellence of charity (i. 49). The letter was sent by messengers, among whom we find one, Fortunatus, who may have been among the survivors who knew the Apostle's work, and had been the bearer of the Epistle of which Clement has just reminded them. The name, however, like its synonyms, Felix, Eutyclus, and the like, was not an uncommon one, and the identification cannot, therefore, be regarded as more than probable.

Somewhat later on, about A.D. 135, the Church of Corinth was visited by Hegeippus, the historian of the Jewish Church, to whom we owe the narrative of the death of James, the Bishop of Jerusalem. He touched at that city on his voyage to Rome, and remained there for several days. He found the

Church faithful to the truth under its bishop Primus (Euseb. *Hist.* iv. 22). Dionysius, who succeeded Primus in his episcopate, brought out all that was good in the Church over which he ruled, and extended his activity to the Macedonians, the Athenians, the people of Nicomedia, of Crete, and of the coast of Pontus. He bears his testimony to the liberality of the Church of Corinth in relieving the poverty of other churches, to the traditional liberality which it had, in its turn, experienced at the hand of the Roman churches. The teaching of 2 Cor. viii., ix., had, it would seem, done its work effectually. He records the fact that the Epistle of Clement was read, from time to time, on the Lord's Day. A female disciple, named Chrysophora, apparently of the some type of character as Dorcas and Priscilla, was conspicuous both for her good works and her spiritual discernment (Euseb. *Hist.* iv. 23). With this glimpse into the latest traceable influence of St. Paul's teaching, our survey of the history of the Church of Corinth may well close.

GALATIANS.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR SANDAY, D.D.

I. Galatia.—The name Galatia is used in two senses. In ordinary speech it was used to designate that portion of Asia Minor lying chiefly between the rivers Sangarius and Halys, which was inhabited by the tribe of Galatæ, or Galli. This warlike people had been invited over from Europe by Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who repaid their services by a grant of land. Issuing forth from thence, they had been for a time the terror and the scourge of Asia Minor, but they had been at last driven back and confined within the territory originally assigned to them. These events took place in the latter half of the third century B.C. Their power was broken by the Romans in B.C. 189, and though for another century and a half they retained a nominal independence, in B.C. 25 they were formally annexed to the empire of Rome.

Just before this final annexation, during the reign of the last king, Amyntas, the kingdom of Galatia had been considerably enlarged. Amyntas had ranged himself on the winning side in the great civil wars, and he had received as his reward Pisidia, Isauria, parts of Lycaonia and Phrygia, and Cilicia Trachæa. On his death the greater

part of these dominions, with the exception of Cilicia Trachæa, became a single Roman province, which, for administrative purposes, was also known by the name Galatia.

To which of these two Galatias did St. Paul address his Epistle? Was it to the narrower Galatia—Galatia proper—or to the wider Galatia—the Roman province? There are some temptations to adopt the second of these views. In that case we should have a graphic account of the founding of the Galatian churches—for such they would be—in Acts xiii., xiv. At Antioch in Pisidia, which we are expressly told formed part of the kingdom of Amyntas, the Apostle had preached with a success which had called down violent opposition. Iconium, to which he retreated, appears not to have been given to Amyntas, and whether it formed part of the Roman province at this time is uncertain. There is, however, no doubt as to Lystra—where the two Apostles were received so enthusiastically—and Derbe. On the hypothesis that the Galatia of the Epistle is the Roman province, the scenes of the first missionary journey would be directly associated with it. On

the contrary assumption, no details whatever as to the founding of the Galatian churches have come down to us.

In spite of this, and in spite of some other points in which the history may seem to be simplified by assigning to Galatia the wider signification, a balance of considerations seems to prevent us from doing so. There can be no question that St. Luke, in the Acts, wherever he speaks of Galatia, uses the word in its narrower and proper sense, and though this would not be in itself decisive as to the usage of St. Paul, still it is impossible to think that in impassioned passages like Gal. iii. 1, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you," &c., the Apostle is using only an official title. We shall be safe in assuming that he was really writing to the descendants of the Gallic invaders, and that he addresses them by the name by which they were familiarly known.

II. The Galatians.—It does not, however, follow from what has just been said that the Christian converts were taken solely or even chiefly from the native Galatians. They did but give a name to the country; three other nationalities went to make up its population. First came the Greeks, who were so numerous as to give to their adopted home the second name of Gallogræcia. Then, beneath the upper layer of conquering Galatians, there lay a large substratum of the older inhabitants, the conquered Phrygians; and by the side of both—brought partly by colonisation and partly by purposes of trade—were considerable numbers of Jews. Of the disturbing presence of this latter element the

Epistle itself gives us ample evidence.

Still, the predominant body, and that which gave its most distinctive characteristics to the Church, were the genuine Galatians themselves. A question similar to that as to the boundaries of Galatia has been raised in regard to these. To what race did they belong? A large section of the ablest German commentators until quite recently were disposed to claim them as Teutons, the main ground for this being that Jerome, in the fourth century, observed the resemblance between the language spoken in Galatia and that of Treveri, who bequeathed their name to the modern district of Treves, and who are said to have been German. This point, however, is itself perhaps more than doubtful, and as to the Galatæ there is abundant evidence, besides their name, to show that they were Celts, and not Teutons. This was the universal opinion of antiquity, to which even Jerome, notwithstanding his statement about the language, was no exception; and it is confirmed by a philological analysis of the names both of persons and of places in Galatia that have come down to us. The theory of the Teutonic origin of the Galatians is now given up, not only in England, but in Germany.

The Galatians, then, were Celts, and we are not surprised to find in them the Celtic qualities. They came of the race which "shook all empires, but founded none." Their great failing was in stability. Quick to receive impressions, they were quick to lose them; at one moment ardently attached, at the next violently opposed. This is precisely what St. Paul complains of. He gives a striking picture of

the enthusiasm with which he had been received on his first visit. He himself was stricken down with sickness, but that did not damp the ardour of his converts. They would even have "plucked out their eyes," and given them to him. But in a short space of time all this was gone. They had now made common cause with his adversaries. They had forsaken his teaching and repudiated his authority.

The cause of the evil lay in the intrigues of certain Judaisers. And the consideration of the question in debate between them and St. Paul opens out a new subject for discussion.

III. Contents and Doctrinal Character of the Epistle.—The controversy that divided, and could not but divide, the infant Church, came to a head most conspicuously in Galatia. Was the Jewish Law to be binding upon Christians? It was only natural that many should be found to say that it was. Christianity had sprung out of Judaism. The first and most obvious article in the Christian creed—the Messiahship of Jesus—was one that might easily be accepted, and yet all the prejudices in favour of the Jewish Law be retained. It was only a deeper and prolonged reflection that could show the fundamental antagonism between the Jewish view of things and the Christian. St. Paul saw this, but there were many who were not so clear-sighted. The main body of the Church at Jerusalem held tenaciously to the Jewish practices. The old Pharisaic passion for making proselytes still clung to them. And emissaries from this Church

had found their way—as they easily might, through the chain of Jewish posts scattered over Asia Minor—as far north as Galatia.

These emissaries pursued the same tactics as they had pursued elsewhere. They called in question the Apostle's authority. They claimed to act from a superior commission themselves. They disparaged his teaching of personal faith in Jesus. They knew nothing of such faith. They acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah, and with that they were content. They still looked for salvation, as they had done hitherto, from the literal performance of the Mosaic Law, and they forced this view upon the Galatians. They insisted specially on the rite of circumcision. They would not allow the Gentile converts to escape it. They proclaimed it as the only avenue to the covenant relation with God. And no sooner had the convert submitted to circumcision than they proceeded to lay upon him an oppressive burden of ritualistic ceremonies. He was to keep a multitude of seasons, "days, and months, and times, and years." If he was to enjoy the Messianic privileges he must be righteous. But to be righteous was to perform scrupulously the precepts of the Mosaic Law, and in the attempt to do this the convert's whole powers and energies were consumed. The Messiahship of Jesus was something secondary and subordinate. The Judaisers accepted it so far as it seemed to hold out to them a prospect of advantage, but otherwise it remained a mere passive belief. The key to life and conduct was still sought in the fulfilment of the Mosaic Law.

With such a position as this the

Apostle could not but be directly at issue. To him the Messiahship of Jesus (including, as it did, His eternal Sonship) formed the very root and centre of his whole religious being. Faith—or the ardent conviction of this Messiahship in its completest sense—was the one great motive power which he recognised. And the state in which the Christian was placed by faith was itself—apart from any laborious system of legal observances—an attainment of righteousness. The Messianic system was everything. The Law henceforth was nothing. By his relation to the Messiah the Christian obtained all of which he had need. Sin stood between him and the favour of God, but the Messiah had died to remove the curse entailed by sin; and by his adhesion to the Messiah the Christian at once stepped into the enjoyment of all the blessings and immunities which the Messianic reign conferred. It was not that he was released from the obligations of morality (as represented by the Law), but morality was absorbed in religion. One who stood in the relation that the Christian did to Christ could not but lead a holy life; but the holy life was a consequence—a natural, easy, necessary consequence—of this relation, not something to be worked out by the man's unaided efforts, independently of any such relation. The command, "Be ye holy as I am holy," remained, but there intervened the motive and stimulus afforded by the death and exaltation of Christ. "Be ye holy, because ye are bought with a price; because ye are Christ's, and your life is hid with Christ in God."

The Law then no longer held

that primary position which it had occupied under the old covenant. It had fulfilled its functions, which were preparatory and not final. Its object had been to deepen the sense of sin, to define unmistakably the line which separated it from righteousness, and so to prepare the way for that new Messianic system in which the power of sin was not ignored but overcome, and overcome by lifting the believer as it were bodily into a higher sphere. He was taken out of a sphere of human effort and ritual observance, and raised into a sphere in which he was surrounded by divine influences, and in which all that he had to do was to realise practically what had already been accomplished for him ideally. In that sphere the centre and life-giving agency was Christ, and the means by which Christ was to be apprehended was Faith. So that Christ and Faith were the watchwords of the Apostle, just as the Law and Circumcision were the watchwords of the Jews.

Thus the line that the Apostle takes in this Epistle was clearly marked out for him. Against the attacks upon his apostolic authority he defended himself by claiming that, although he was a late comer in point of time, this did not imply any real inferiority. His was not an authority derived at second-hand. On the contrary, he owed his calling and commission directly to God Himself. The proof was to be seen both in the circumstances of his conversion and also in the fact that, though he had once or twice been brought into apparent contact with the elder Apostles, his teaching was entirely independent of them, and was already fully formed when he had at last an opportunity

of consulting them about it. And in practice, not only was he recognised by them as an equal, but even Peter submitted to a rebuke from him. On the other hand, upon the great dogmatic question, St. Paul meets his opponents by an emphatic statement of his own position. Christianity is not something accessory to the Law, but supercedes it. Righteousness is to be sought not by legal observances, but by faith. The old system was carnal, material, an affair of externals. The new system is a spiritual renewal by spiritual forces. Not that there is any real contradiction between the new and the old. For the very type and pattern of the old dispensation—Abraham himself—obtained the righteousness that was imputed to him not by works, but by faith. Thus, the true descendant of Abraham is he who puts faith in Christ. It was to Christ that the promise related, in Christ that the whole divine scheme of redemption and regeneration centred. The Law could not interfere with it, for the Law came after the Promise, by which it was guaranteed. The function of the Law was something temporary and transient. It was, as it were, a state of tutelage for mankind. The full admission to the privileges of the divine patrimony was reserved for those who became personal followers of the Messiah. He was the Son of God, and those who cast in their lot wholly with Him were admitted to a share in His Sonship. To go back to the old stage of ritual observance was pure retrogression. It was an unnatural exchange—a state of drudgery for a state of freedom. It was a reversal of the old patriarchal story—a preferring of Hagar and

Ishmael for Isaac, the child of promise. The Apostle cannot think that the Galatians will do this. He exhorts them earnestly to hold fast to their liberty, to hold fast to Christ, not to give up their high privilege of seeking righteousness by faith, and accepting it through grace, for any useless ordinance like circumcision. Yet the liberty of the Christian is far from meaning license. License proceeds from giving way to the impulses of the flesh, but these impulses the Christian has got rid of. His relation to Christ has brought him under the dominion of the Spirit of Christ. He is spiritual, not carnal; and to be spiritual implies, or should imply, every grace and every virtue. The Galatians should be gentle and charitable to offenders. They should be liberal in their alms. The Epistle concludes with a repeated warning against the Judaizing intruders. Their motives are low and interested. They wish to pass off themselves and their converts as Jews, and to escape persecution as Christians. But to do so they must give up the very essentials of Christianity.

The Epistle is not constructed upon any artificial system of divisions, but the subject-matter falls naturally into three main sections, each consisting of two of our present chapters, with a short preface and conclusion, the last in the Apostle's own handwriting. The first section contains the defence of his apostolic authority and independence in a review of his own career for the first seventeen years from his conversion. This leads him to speak of the dispute with St. Peter at Antioch, and the doctrinal questions involved in that dispute lead up to the second or

doctrinal section, in which his own main tenet of righteousness by faith is contrasted with the teaching of the Judaisers and established out of the Old Testament. This occupies chaps. iii. and iv. The last section, is, as usual with St. Paul, hortatory, and consists of an application of the principles just laid down to practice, with such cautions as they may seem to need, and one or two special points which his experience in the Church at Corinth and the news brought to him from Galatia appear to have suggested.

The following may be taken as a tabular outline of the Epistle* :—

I. — Introductory Address (chap. i. 1—10).

- a. The apostolic salutation (chap. i. 1—5).
- b. The Galatians' defection (chap. i. 6—10).

II.—Personal Apologia : an Autobiographical Retrospect (chaps. i. 11—ii. 21).

The Apostle's teaching derived from God and not man (chap. i. 11, 12), as proved by the circumstances of—

- (1) His education (chap. i. 13, 14).
- (2) His conversion (chap. i. 15—17).
- (3) His intercourse with the other Apostles, whether at (a) his first visit to Jerusalem (chap. i. 18—24), or (b) his later visit (chap. ii. 1—10).
- (4) His conduct in the controversy with Peter at Antioch (chap. ii. 11—14) ;

* Figures are used where the subdivisions are continuous steps in the same argument, letters where they are distinct arguments.

The subject of which controversy was the supersession of the Law by Christ (chap. ii. 15—21).

III. — Dogmatic Apologia : Inferiority of Judaism, or Legal Christianity, to the Doctrine of Faith (chaps. iii. 1—iv. 31).

- (a) The Galatians bewitched into retrogression from a spiritual system to a carnal system (chap. iii. 1—5).
- (b) Abraham himself a witness to the efficacy of faith (chap. iii. 6—9).
- (c) Faith in Christ alone removes the curse which the Law entailed (chap. iii. 10—14).
- (d) The validity of the Promise unaffected by the Law (chap. iii. 15—18).
- (e) Special pedagogic function of the Law, which must needs give way to the larger scope of Christianity (chap. iii. 19—29).
- (f) The Law a state of tutelage (chap. iv. 1—7).
- (g) Meanness and barrenness of mere ritualism (chap. iv. 8—11).
- (h) The past zeal of the Galatians contrasted with their present coldness (chap. iv. 12—20).
- (i) The allegory of Isaac and Ishmael (chap. iv. 21—31).

IV.—Hortatory Application of the Foregoing (chaps. v. 1—vi. 10).

- (a) Christian liberty excludes Judaism (chap. v. 1—6).
- (b) The Judaising intruders (chap. v. 7—12).
- (c) Liberty not license, but love (chap. v. 13—15).

- (d) The works of the flesh and of the Spirit (chap. v. 16—26).
- (e) The duty of sympathy (chap. vi. 1—5).
- (f) The duty of liberality (chap. vi. 6—10).

V.—Autograph Conclusion (chap. vi. 11—18).

- (a) The Judaiser's motive (chap. vi. 12, 13).
- (b) The Apostle's motive (chap. vi. 14, 15).
- (c) His parting benediction, and claim to be freed from any further annoyance (chap. vi. 16—18).

The subject of the Epistle to the Galatians might be summarily described as the same as that to the Romans—the doctrine of justification by faith—*i.e.*, the state of righteousness entered by means of faith. (See *Introduction to Romans*.)

IV. Date of the Epistle.—

Mention has just been made of the Epistle to the Romans, and the resemblance between these two Epistles forms an important element in the consideration of the next question with which we have to deal—the question as to the date of the Epistle, and the place from which it was written.

On this point two views are current. It is agreed that the Epistle was written on St. Paul's third great missionary journey. It is agreed that it belongs to the group which includes 1 and 2 Corinthians and Romans. The difference is as to the place which it occupies in this group. A large majority of commentators suppose it to have

been the first of the four Epistles, and date it from Ephesus at some time during the Apostle's lengthened stay there, *i.e.*, at some time during the three years A.D. 54—57. The other view is that the Epistle was written after the two Epistles to the Corinthians, but before the Epistle to the Romans, *i.e.*, at the end of the year 57 or beginning of 58, from Macedonia or Greece. This view has until recently not had many supporters, but it found a strong advocate in Dr. Lightfoot.

Practically there is a single main argument on each side. In favour of the earlier date, the one point that can be pressed is the expression used in chap. i. 6: "I marvel that ye are *so soon* removed from Him that called you, into another gospel." The conversion of the Galatians appears to have taken place in A.D. 51. St. Paul paid them a second visit in A.D. 54. In the autumn of that year his three years' stay at Ephesus began. And it is argued that the expression "soon" will not allow us to go beyond these three years. "Soon," however, is a relative term. It may mean any interval from a few minutes to one or more centuries. The context must decide. A change, which in the natural course of things would take a protracted length of time to accomplish, might be described as taking place "soon" if it was brought about in a space of time conspicuously shorter than might have been expected. But for the conversion of a whole community to Christianity, and for their second conversion to another form of Christianity wholly distinct from the first, we should surely expect a long and protracted period. Under such circumstances a period of six

or seven years might very well be called "soon." To this argument, then, it does not seem that very much, or indeed any, weight can be attached.

The one chief argument upon the other side is the very close and remarkable similarity, both in ideas and language, between the Epistles to Galatians and the Romans, and, in somewhat lower degree, 2 Corinthians. Any one may observe in himself a tendency to use similar words, and to fall into similar trains of thought at peculiar periods. This is especially the case with strong thinkers who take a firm grip of ideas, but are possessed of less facility and command of words in which to express them. Such was St. Paul. And accordingly we find that the evidence of style as a help to determine the chronological relations of the different Epistles is peculiarly clear and distinct. But in the doctrinal portions of Romans and Galatians we have a resemblance so marked—the same main thesis, supported by the same arguments, the same Scripture proofs (Lev. xviii. 5; Ps. cxliii. 2; Hab. ii. 4), the same example, Abraham, thrown into relief by the same contrast, that of the Law, developed to the same consequences and couched throughout in language of striking similarity—that we seem to be precluded from supposing any interval between them sufficient to allow of a break in the Apostle's mind. And considering the throng of events and emotions through which the Apostle was now passing; observing further that the three Epistles, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans, in this order, form a climax as to the distinctness with which the ideas expressed in them are elaborated, it would seem that the

Epistle with which we are dealing should be placed between the other two; that is to say, we should assign it to the end of the year 57, or beginning of 58, and the place of its composition would probably be Macedonia or Greece.

The course, then, of the history will be this: St. Paul first visited Galatia on the occasion of his second missionary journey soon after the memorable conference at Jerusalem, and probably about the year A.D. 51. His intention had been to pass from Lycaonia due west into the Roman province of Asia. From this, however, he was prevented, as St. Luke informs us, by some supernatural intimation. Accordingly he turned northwards through Phrygia, and so entered Galatia. Here he seems to have been detained by illness (Gal. iv. 13, 14). He took the opportunity to preach, and his preaching was so successful that the Church in Galatia was definitely founded. This work accomplished, he left for Mysia, and thence passed on to Troas and Macedonia, where the better-known portion of the second missionary journey begins. After the conclusion of this journey St. Paul, in starting upon his third missionary journey, again directed his course to Galatia. This time the historian mentions "the country of Galatia and Phrygia" in a different order from that in which they had occurred before. We should conclude, therefore, that St. Paul made his way straight from Antioch; and as no mention is made this time of the churches of Lycaonia, it would seem probable that he took the direct Roman road skirting Cappadocia. On his arrival in Galatia we read that he went through it "in order, strengthening the disciples" (Acts xviii. 23).

We should gather from some indications in the Epistle (chaps. iv. 16: v. 21) that he had found it necessary to administer rather severe reproof to his converts. Already there were signs of false teaching in the Church. The Apostle's Judaizing opponents had obtained an entrance, and he was obliged to speak of them in language of strong condemnation (Gal. i. 9). But the warning was in vain. This second visit had taken place in the autumn of A.D. 54, and from the end of that year till the autumn of A.D. 57, during which he was settled at Ephesus, disquieting rumours continued to be brought to him of the increasing defection of his converts, and the increasing influence of the Judaizing party. Matters went on from bad to worse; and at last, apparently upon his way through Macedonia to Greece, the Apostle received such news as determined him to write at once. The Epistle bears marks of having been written under the influence of a strong and fresh impression; and Dr. Lightfoot, with his usual delicate acumen, infers from the greeting, "from all the brethren that are with me" (chap. i. 2), that it was probably written *en voyage*, and not from any of the larger churches of Macedonia, or, as might have been otherwise thought natural, Corinth. At all events, it would seem that we should be keeping most closely to the canons of probability if we assign the Epistle to the winter months of the years 57—58.

V. Genuineness of the Epistle.—No doubt of any real importance has been or can be cast upon the genuineness of the Epistle. It is one of those fervid outbursts of impassioned thought

and feeling which are too rare and too strongly individual to be imitated. The internal evidence, therefore, alone would be sufficient, but the external evidence is also considerable. It is true that nothing conclusive is found in the apostolic fathers. The clearest allusion would seem to be in the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, cap. 5: "Knowing, then, that *God is not mocked*" (a peculiar and striking word) "we ought to walk in His commandment and His glory" (comp. Gal. vi. 7); and again, in chap. iii., with perhaps a somewhat more direct reference, "who (St. Paul) also in his absence wrote unto you Epistles that you might be able to be built up unto the faith given you, *which is the mother of us all.*" (Comp. Gal. iv. 26.) It is noticeable that though Justin Martyr does not name the Epistle, and, indeed, nowhere directly quotes from St. Paul, yet in two consecutive chapters he makes use of two passages of the Old Testament (Deut. xxi. 23, and xxvii. 26), which are also quoted in close connection by St. Paul, and that these passages are given with precisely the same variations both from the Septuagint and the Hebrew. There is also a clear quotation in Athenagoras (*circa* 177 A.D.). But, until we get towards the end of the second century, the best evidence is not so much that of orthodox writers as of heretics. Marcion, who flourished A.D. 140, laid great stress upon this Epistle, which he placed first of the ten which he recognised as St. Paul's. The Ophites and Valentinians, in writings belonging to this century, quoted largely from it. Celsus (*circa* 178) speaks of the saying, Gal. vi. 14, "The

world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world," as commonly heard amongst Christians. The author of the Clementine *Homilies* (which may be probably, though not certainly, placed about 160 A.D.) grounds upon St. Paul's account of the dispute at Antioch an attack upon the Apostle himself; and the Epistle furnishes other material for accusation. As we draw near the last quarter of the century, the evidence for this, as for most other books of the New Testament, becomes ample. The Muratorian Canon (*circa*. 170 A.D.) places the Epistle in the second place, next to 1 and 2 Corinthians. The Syriac and the Old Latin translations (the second of which was certainly, and the first probably, made before this time), both contain it. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, quote the Epistle frequently, and as a work of St. Paul's. And, what is of still more importance, the text, as it appears in quotations by these writers, as well as in the

versions, and even so far back as Marcion, already bears marks of corruption, showing that it had been for some time in existence, and that it had passed through a lengthened process of corruption. But to prove the genuineness of the Epistle to the Galatians is superfluous. It is rather interesting to collect the evidence as a specimen of the kind of evidence that, in the case of a work of acknowledged genuineness, is forthcoming.

[The English commentator upon the Epistle to the Galatians has no excuse beyond the calibre of his own powers, if his treatment of the subject is inadequate. He has before him two commentaries in his own language, Dr. Lightfoot's and Bishop Ellicott's, which, in their kind, cannot easily be surpassed. It is needless to say that these, along with Meyer, have been taken as the basis of the present *Introduction*, though Wieseler, Alford, and Wordsworth have been consulted.]

THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL'S FIRST CAPTIVITY.

BY THE RIGHT REV. ALFRED BARRY, D.D.

THE Epistles of St. Paul's captivity—to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon—form a distinct group, distinguished by certain marked characteristics both of style and subject, in the series of the writings of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Just as, in comparison with the Thessalonian Epistles, belonging to the second missionary journey, the four great Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans, written at the close of the third missionary journey, show a "second manner," with exactly that union of similarity and diversity which marks a true development of thought and circumstance—so, in comparison with this latter group, the Epistles of the Captivity present a "third manner," itself again markedly distinct from that of the Pastoral Epistles, of still later date. In those early days of Christianity events moved fast; under the living Apostolic inspiration and the rapidity of the Apostolic mission, successive years marked changes as great as would have indicated the lapse of generations in more ordinary times. When we compare the marvellous growth of the Christian Church in the

thirty years (or thereabouts) of St. Paul's own Apostolate—from a small sect limited to Palestine, hardly as yet completely distinguished from the Judaic system, to a community which had its branches in every province of the Roman world, and which was obviously advancing to a world-wide dominion—we may be prepared to find obvious and important developments, both of teaching and of circumstance, even in the various periods of his Apostolic ministry.

I. The Period to which they belong.—In accordance with the great majority of commentators, ancient and modern, I take these Epistles to belong to the Roman captivity, in which the history of the Acts leaves St. Paul, and to which he was consigned about the year A.D. 61. It has, indeed, been proposed by Meyer and other German commentators to refer them to the Cæsarean captivity of Acts xxiv.—xxvi. The reasons on which this proposal is based may be seen in Meyer's edition of the "Epistle to the Ephesians" (*Introduction*, sect. II.). They prove, however, on examination, to be not only trivial, even if

maintained, but in themselves uncertain, resting largely on mere supposition, and certainly incapable of standing against the powerful arguments which may be brought on the other side. These are of two kinds—general and special. Of the first kind is the whole style and tone of the Epistles, indicating a transition to an entirely different and most important sphere of missionary labour, such as could not possibly be found in the comparatively unimportant town of Cæsarea; and, moreover, the obvious expectation by the writer (see Phil. ii. 24; Philemon verse 22) of a speedy release from captivity, which would enable him to visit, not Rome and Spain, as was his intention at the time when he was taken prisoner at Jerusalem (Acts xix. 21; Rom. xv. 24, 25), but Macedonia and the Eastern churches, where at the earlier time he declared that he had “no longer any place” (Rom. xv. 23; comp. Acts xx. 25). Of the latter kind are the references found—especially in the most personal of all the Epistles, the Epistle to his beloved Church at Philippi—to the manifestation of his bonds “in the whole Prætorium” (Phil. i. 13)—a phrase which (in spite of the verbal coincidence with Acts xxiii. 35) could not well be used of his prison at Cæsarea; to the converts made from “Cæsar’s household,” which must surely have belonged to Rome (Phil. iv. 22); to the circumstances of his captivity, which describe with an almost technical accuracy (see Eph. vi. 20) the imprisonment at Rome “in his own hired house with the soldier that kept him,” and the freedom which he then had (Acts xxviii. 16, 30, 31), but which at Cæsarea, particularly

considering the especial object contemplated by Felix in prolonging his captivity (Acts xxiv. 26), was eminently improbable.

In accordance, also, with the general opinion, I should designate this as St. Paul’s “First Roman Captivity”; though it will be, perhaps, more appropriate that the evidence for the common belief that St. Paul was set at liberty from his captivity, and that, after a period of freedom, he underwent a second imprisonment, which was only closed by his death, should be considered in relation to the PASTORAL EPISTLES. For with this belief the acceptance of these Epistles as genuine is closely, if not inseparably, connected.

II. The Genuineness of these Epistles.—On this point external evidence is strong and unvarying. It will be sufficient here to notice that all were included unhesitatingly in all the catalogues and versions of St. Paul’s Epistles, and placed by Eusebius (as by others before him) in the list of the New Testament books “acknowledged by all.” More detailed evidence will be with more advantage given in the *Introduction* to each Epistle.

It is true that, as in the case of many other New Testament books, their genuineness has been challenged, on supposed internal evidence, even by critics who are ready to acknowledge the four Epistles of the preceding group. This adverse criticism has been advanced with different degrees of positiveness against different Epistles of this group. Thus, the Epistle to the Philippians has been but little doubted; and, indeed,

the similarities to St. Paul's earlier Epistles, and especially to the Epistle to the Romans, are so striking that it requires singular perversity to discover or imagine dissonance with them. The beautiful little Epistle to Philemon, again, can hardly be said to have been questioned, except in the mere wantonness of arbitrary criticism. On the other hand, the two Epistles which bear most distinctly the peculiar impress of St. Paul's "later manner"—the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians—have been far more seriously attacked on that very ground; the Epistle to the Colossians, moreover, on the supposition that it involves references to Gnosticism of later date; and the Epistle to the Ephesians, on the supposition—which it might have been thought that an attentive study of these two Epistles would have soon shown to be untenable—that it is a mere copy and expansion of the Epistle to the Colossians. On the peculiar grounds of scepticism in each case it will be more convenient to speak in connection with each Epistle separately; but on the general question of the relation of these Epistles to the earlier group it will be best to dwell here, not merely with a view to show the hollowness of this destructive criticism, but with the more important object of sketching out the main characteristics of this group of Epistles as a whole.

Now it must be considered exactly what is the nature of the question. We have not here an anonymous document, like the Epistle to the Hebrews, as to which we have to inquire into the degree of its likeness or unlikeness to St. Paul's acknowledged Epis-

gles. We have Epistles which not only bear his name, but present various indications marking them as his; and these Epistles are received as his at a very early date—alluded to by Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, formally included in the Muratorian Canon about the year 170. Accordingly, they are either his genuine Epistles, or Epistles written in his name at an early period by some adherent of the "Pauline School" desiring to claim a forged authority from his great master. Now, in the case of forgery, we should expect to find substantial inferiority of power and inspiration, and possibly some discrepancy of the inner reality, as contrasted with the outward form, of doctrine; but certainly no marked difference of style, no peculiar words and phrases previously unknown, no change of expressions, which had become markedly characteristic of St. Paul in the acknowledged Epistles of the earlier group. In the case of genuineness, on the other hand, we should look for substantial identity of thought and teaching, coupled with free variation of expression and style, and with indications of a development of doctrine, corresponding to progress of time, change of scene and circumstance, increase of the power of Christianity over thought and society, as exemplified in the development of the Christian Church. It is all but impossible for any careful student to doubt that it is always the latter—never the former—condition which is distinctly realised in these Epistles. This will be seen clearly on examination both of their style and of their substance.

III. The style of the Epistles.—There is unquestionably a marked difference of style, although in various degrees—the Philippian Epistle showing such difference far less than the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians. Now it is not a little remarkable that the nature of this acknowledged change of style singularly corresponds with the historical change in St. Paul's circumstances. When he wrote the former Epistles he was in the full tide of his Apostolic work; at periods, moreover, of marked excitement and interest—just after the tumult at Ephesus, or on his circuit through Macedonia “round about into Illyricum,” or at Corinth in the very heat of the Judaising controversy. He was then emphatically the preacher and the church-founder. His Letters, written in the intervals of his busy work, would be like fragments of his preaching, marked by the incisive earnestness, the close argument, the impressive abruptness of a pleader for God. When he wrote these later Epistles he was in the enforced inactivity and the comparative rest of imprisonment, and this imprisonment (as, indeed, we might have expected) appears to have been to him a time of study, in those “many writings” which Festus thought at that time to have “made him mad” (Acts xxvi. 24), with such “books and parchments” round him as those which he asked for even in the greater severity of his second imprisonment (2 Tim. iv. 13). He is now not so much the worker as the thinker. The impassioned emphasis of the preacher might naturally be exchanged for the quiet, deliberate teaching of the

Christian sage; sounding the lowest depths of thought; wandering, as it might seem, but with subtle links of connection, from one idea to another; rising constantly in secret meditation from truths embodied in the practical forms of earthly life, to truths as they exist above in the calm perfection of heaven. Who can doubt that this is exactly the change of style which we trace in these Epistles of the Captivity? The Epistle to the Philippians has least of it; for there his remembrance of earlier times would be strongest, and would tend most to reproduce the earlier tone of thought. But in the Colossian Epistle, written to a Church which he had never seen—knowing it, indeed, well, but only by hearsay—still more in the Epistle to the Ephesians, probably an encyclical letter, certainly approaching more nearly to the nature of abstract general teaching, this characteristic difference is most vividly marked.

It manifests itself in the appearance of many words used in no other Epistles, and these frequently words compounded with a thoughtful felicity of compressed meaning. It manifests itself in sentences which, unlike the terse and often abrupt incisiveness of his earlier Letters, flow on without grammatical break, sometimes not without grammatical harshness and obscurity, but with an unflinching connection and evolution of thought, a singular and (so to speak) philosophical completeness of doctrine, a sustained perfection of meditative and devotional beauty. It manifests itself, again, in a constant looking upward to “the heavenly places” of the Ephesian Epistle; sometimes, as in

the opening of that Epistle, to the source of all Christian life in the election of the divine love; sometimes to the angelic "principalities and powers," invisibly fighting for or against that love of God in salvation; sometimes to the life of Christians "hid with Christ in God," in virtue of which we sit with Him in heaven even now; most often, perhaps, of all, to Christ in His heavenly glory, seen now by the eye of faith, ready to reveal Himself in the Epiphany of the great day. Yet, with all this difference of style, the detailed links of connection, both in word and in thought, are simply numberless—mostly showing similarity, not absolute identity, of expression; an independent likeness, not an artificial copyism. Above all, the general impress of the mind and character of St. Paul comes out more and more clearly as we pursue the detailed study of the Epistles. Thus, the character which paints itself in the Epistle to the Philippians is obviously the same as that which we know in the Epistles to the Corinthians, or in that yet earlier Epistle to the other Macedonian Church at Thessalonica, which presents some striking similarities in detail. But there is a greater calmness and maturity, sometimes of peacefulness, sometimes of sadness: it is the picture of an older man. Again, the notion that the teaching of the Ephesian or Colossian Epistle could possibly have come from the weaker hand of a disciple will seem fairly incredible to any who have ever glanced at the writings of Clement of Rome, of Ignatius, or of Polycarp, the scholars of St. Paul and St. John. The inspired hand of the Apostle

is traceable in every line; the very change of style argues at once identity and development. It is a strong internal evidence of the Apostolic authorship; it is in itself full of deep interest and significance.

IV. The Substance of the Epistles.—Still more striking is the corresponding phenomenon in relation to substance. In the doctrine of these Epistles there is the same indication of a true development.

(1) *The Doctrine of Salvation.*—Thus, for example, it is profoundly instructive to examine the relation of these Epistles to that primary doctrine of "justification by faith" which had been the one all-important subject of the Galatian and Roman Epistles. It is touched on here with the same master-hand. "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast" (Eph. ii. 8, 9). "That I may be found in Him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the Law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith" (Phil. iii. 9). But it is no longer the one subject to which all else leads up. It is treated as a thing known and accepted, with a quiet calmness utterly unlike the impassioned and exhaustive earnestness of St. Paul's pleading for it in the crisis of the Judaistic controversy. The emphasis on faith is less vivid and less constant. "Salvation by grace" takes the place of "justification by faith," and leads the thoughts on from the first acceptance in Christ to the continuous work of grace, of

which such acceptance is the first beginning. The Law, which before its idolaters in Galatia or at Rome was resolutely thrust down to its right secondary position, described as the servile "pedagogue to bring men" to the true Teacher, depreciated as the mere subsidiary guard of the covenant of promise, is now less often touched upon, and less unreservedly condemned. It has obviously lost the dangerous fascination with which such idolatry invested it. It is only "as contained in ordinances" that it is now viewed as a separation between Jew and Gentile, or between man and God, or considered as cancelled by "nailing it to the cross" of Christ. We feel that St. Paul is already passing on from the earnest pleading of advocacy of the freedom of the gospel to the judicial calmness which was hereafter to tell how "the law is good if a man use it lawfully" (1 Tim. i. 8). Judaism has, in great measure, at least in the Eastern churches, changed its character. St. Paul's earnest pleading for Christ as all in all has similarly changed its direction and its tone. Against new idolatries it is still necessary to fight to the death. But the old battle is substantially won; on the old field no more is needed than to maintain the victory.

(2) *The Doctrine of the Catholic Church.*—Nor is it less interesting to note how in these Epistles, and especially in the Epistle to the Ephesians, the prominence of the idea of the Kingdom of God has marvellously increased. The Galatian and Roman Epistles (as the history of the Reformation of the sixteenth century showed) are the treasure-house of the truths of

personal Christianity; for the very thought of justification, dominant in them, brings each soul face to face with its own sin and its own salvation, in that supreme crisis of life and death in which it is conscious of but two existences—God and itself. These later Epistles are equally the storehouse of the less vivid, yet grander, conception of the Holy Catholic Church. The central idea is of Christ the Head, and the whole collective Christianity of the Church as His Body. He is conceived not solely or mainly as the Saviour of each individual soul, but rather as "gathering up" all humanity, or even all created being, "in Himself." The two conceptions are, of course, inseparable. In the earlier Epistles the Church is constantly recognised; in these the individual relationship to God in Christ is never for a moment ignored. But the proportion (so to speak) of the two truths is changed. What is primary in the one case is secondary in the other.

It is obvious that this is the natural order. The Christian unity is directly the unity of each soul with Christ, the Head; indirectly the unity of the various members in one Body. When the gospel of salvation first speaks, it must speak to the individual. When the grace of Christ draws all men unto Him, each individual must move along the line of his own spiritual gravitation. But when the truth has been accepted in a faith necessarily individual; when the Saviour has been found by each as the Christ who liveth "in me"—then the question arises, What are His truth and His grace to that great human society, to which we are bound by a network of unseen

spiritual ties? The first and proper answer to that question is the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church. There is a second answer, larger, but less distinct, which goes even beyond this, to contemplate our Lord as the Head of all created being. The relation, therefore, of these Epistles to the earlier group is profoundly natural, even on the consideration of the right and necessary course of idea.

But here, again, it is impossible not to trace in these Epistles a special appropriateness to this period of St. Paul's life and work. Of the three great threads of ancient civilisation—the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Roman—two had already been laid hold of by Apostolic hands, and fastened to the cross of Christ. Now, as “ambassador for Christ,” although “in bonds,” St. Paul had been permitted to “see Rome;” the circumstances of his imprisonment had placed him in the *Prætorium*, in the very citadel of the Imperial grandeur, and had given him access to “those of Cæsar's household.” The Epistles of the former group had been written from cities where Greek thought reigned supreme—from Ephesus, from Philippi, from Corinth. These later Epistles came from the centre of Imperial Rome. Now, it is a commonplace to remark that the main element of all Greek thought was the freedom and sacredness of the individual, whether in the realm of thought, or of imagination, or of action. But the mission of the Roman (as Virgil has, with a true insight, declared in well-known lines) was to teach the greatness of the community—the family, the state, the whole race of humanity; to give laws which were to be the basis of

the “law of nations;” to unite all peoples in one great empire, and, perhaps, by an inevitable inference, to deify its head. It can hardly be accidental that, while the former Epistles dealt with the individual, pointing him to the true freedom and the true wisdom, which Greek philosophy sought for in vain, these Epistles should similarly face the great Roman problem, and sketch out that picture which was hereafter to be wrought into the chief masterpiece of Latin theology—the picture of “the city of God.” We note in the Epistle to the Ephesians the emphatic reference to the three great social relationships, so jealously and sternly guarded by Roman law—the relations of parents and children, husbands and wives, masters and servants—as deriving a higher spiritual sacredness, above all law and convention, from the fact that they are types of the relations of man to God in the great unity in the Lord Jesus Christ. We read in the Epistle to the Philippians of the “city in heaven”—not now the “heavenly Jerusalem” of Jewish aspiration, but simply the city of which all are citizens, whether “Jew or Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free.” We find, both in the Ephesian and Colossian Epistles, a constant recurrence to the thought of all as “one body” or “one temple” in Jesus Christ—supplying that supreme personal relation, which changes the shadowy dream of a divine republic, where the individual is lost, to the solid reality of a well-centred Kingdom of God, preserving at once perfect individuality and perfect unity. We are reminded at every step of the “fifth empire”—“a stone cut out without hands” from the

mountain of the Lord, and growing till it displaced the artificial fabrics of the kingdoms of the world, and filled the whole earth. We contrast the inevitable idolatry of the Roman emperor—remembering that, by a strange irony of circumstance, that emperor was now a Nero—with the worship of the true Son of Man and Son of God, of which all such idolatries are perverted anticipations. I pass over minor points of coincidence between idea and circumstance—such as the remarkable metaphor of the Christian armour, working out a figure previously touched by St. Paul, with an obvious detailed reference to the armour of his Roman jailor; or the adaptation of Stoic ideas and phrases in the Epistle to the Philippians, bearing (as Dr. Lightfoot has shown) peculiar resemblances to the later Stoicism of Seneca, then the leader of Roman thought. But taking only the main idea of these Epistles, and comparing it with the main principle of Roman greatness, it is impossible again not to be struck with a coincidence—which must surely be more than mere coincidence—between the teaching and the circumstances of this period of the Apostle's life.

(3) *The advanced Christology.*—There is another true development, of infinitely greater importance and deeper interest, in respect of what is called the "Christology" of these Epistles. At all times the preaching of Christianity is the preaching of "God in Christ." But attentive study of the New Testament shows that gradually, line by line, step by step, the full truth was revealed as the world was able to bear it—passing, according to the true order of teach-

ing, from visible manifestations to invisible realities, guarding at every step the supreme truth of the unity of the Godhead, so jealously cherished by the Jew, so laxly disregarded in the elastic Polytheisms of the Gentile world. The manifestation of Christ in the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, and Ascension, is, of course, really one. Yet at different times each of the different steps of that one manifestation appears to have assumed greater prominence in Christian teaching; and it may be noted, that as, when we dig through the strata of the earth, we uncover first what is latest, and come only at last to what is earliest in deposition, so in the realisation of gospel truth, the order of preaching is the reverse of the order of actual occurrence of the great facts of the divine manifestation. First, as is natural, came the preaching of "Christ risen;" for the Resurrection—the great miracle of miracles—was the seal of our Lord's Messiahship, declaring Him who was "of the seed of David, according to the flesh" to be "the Son of God with power." As risen and exalted to the right hand of God, in fulfilment of oft-repeated ancient prophecy, He was declared to be both "Lord and Christ." Even clear-sighted heathen ignorance could declare that the great question between Christian and unbeliever was then—as, indeed, it is now—"of one Jesus who was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive." But then, when men were called to receive in the risen Christ remission of sins, to see in His resurrection the pledge of a spiritual resurrection for themselves here, a resurrection of body and spirit in the hereafter, came

the question, How can this be? To that question the answer is found in the one truth which St. Paul declared that in his teaching at Corinth, and (we may add) in his teaching to the Galatians and Romans, he cared to know—the truth of “Jesus Christ, and Him as crucified.” The Resurrection, in itself, was accepted as known; to unfold its meaning it was necessary to go back to the Atonement. Hence the great teaching of these Epistles is of Christ as the one Mediator between God and the countless souls which He has made. That mediation is described sometimes in the phrase “through Christ,” bringing out the access through His atonement to the Father who sent Him; sometimes in the phrase “in Christ,” dwelling not so much on our justification as on our regeneration in Him to the new life. Perhaps in the great struggle for Justification by Faith the former idea was the more prominent. In either phase, however, it is the sole and universal mediation of Christ which is the one leading conception of Apostolic teaching. But, again, the question arises, Who is He who thus is—what surely no merely created being can claim to be—a mediator between God and all human souls, in all lands and in all ages of the world? To answer that question it was needful to go back once more to “Christ Incarnate:” *i.e.*, ultimately, to Christ as He is, not in manifestation, but in His own true being, before He was pleased to stoop to earth, and since He has ascended again to His own glory in heaven. It is on this last phase of thought that the Epistles of the Captivity appear to enter, standing in this respect parallel with the

Epistle to the Hebrews, leading on to the yet fuller teaching of the Epistles and Gospel of St. John.

We notice that it is always through the knowledge of His mediation that they lead us into the region of yet higher truth. St. Paul, in brief yet exhaustive description of that mediation, tells us of Christ, as One “in whom we have redemption through His blood, even the remission of sins.” We notice, also, that the phrase “in Christ,” rather than “through Christ,” is the dominant note in these Epistles. As we have seen already in relation to justification and sanctification, so we find in relation to the objective truths corresponding to them, that it is not so much on “Christ crucified” as on “Christ living in us” that he emphatically dwells. But the especial point of transcendent importance is that he leads us on from the fact of this mediation to draw out explicitly what such mediation implies. The Philippian Epistle, simple and practical as its purpose is, recites, in the great passage of its second chapter (chap. ii. 5—11) the whole creed of our Lord’s Nature and Office—the distinctive creed of Christianity. It marks the two-fold humility of His mediation for us: first, the “taking on Him the form of a servant;” next, the “humbling Himself to the death of the cross.” It turns next to the corresponding exaltation of His human nature in the Mediatorial kingdom (described in 1 Cor. xv. 20—28), so that “in the name of Jesus every knee should bow.” But it does more than this. It speaks of Him as being essentially “in the form,” that is, in the nature, “of God,” in the eternal glory of which “He

stripped Himself" for us; it tells us that to Him is given "the name which is above every name"—the awful and incommunicable name of JEHOVAH. In that deeper teaching it tells us, not of His office, but of Himself; not of His mediation, but of the divine nature which alone made such mediation possible. Again, in the Epistle to the Ephesians, starting from "the redemption in His blood, the remission of sins," the idea of our Lord's mediation is infinitely enlarged and exalted in the conception, that "in Him all things are gathered in one head, both which are in heaven and which are on earth;" that "He filleth all in all;" "ascending above all heavens," "descending into the lower parts of the earth," "that He might thus fill all things." That He is, indeed, the Head of the Church we are told again and again in various forms of expression; but He is more. In Him all created being is summed up; He is, in all that relates to it, the manifestation of God. As in the unity of the Church, so in the wider unity of all creation, we have, co-ordinate with one another, the "one Spirit," the "one Lord," the "one God and Father of all." But far even beyond this, the Epistle to the Colossians carries the same higher teaching. Standing face to face with an incipient Gnosticism, stiffened to some degree into a Jewish type, but presenting all the essential features of the Gnostic idea—of one supreme God and many emanations, all real and all imperfect, from the divine fulness—St. Paul declares explicitly all that the earlier teaching had implied with ever increasing clearness. Our Lord is not only "the

firstborn of God before all creation," "in whom," "through whom," "for whom," "all things in heaven and earth, visible and invisible, were created," and in whom "all things consist." In this the Colossian Epistle would but draw out more forcibly the truth taught to the Ephesians of His relation to all created being. But what is He in Himself? St. Paul answers, "the image"—the substantial manifestation—"of the invisible God," in whom "all the fulness of the Godhead dwelleth bodily." The parallel is singularly close with the Epistle to the Hebrews, which, in similar connection with the great mediation of His one priesthood and one sacrifice, declares Him (chap. i. 3) to be "the brightness of the glory of the Father, and the express image of His person" (the "substance," or *essence*, of the Godhead). There remains little beyond this to bring us to the full declaration of "the Word" who "was in the beginning," who "was with God, and was God." These Epistles of St. Paul correspond, with marvellous appropriateness, to that intermediate period, when his great evangelising work was almost done, and the time was coming for the growth of the school of deep thought on a now acknowledged Christianity, which was to surround the old age of "St. John the Divine."

(4) *The Condition and Trials of the Church.*—The examination of the substance of the Epistles would not be complete without some brief reference to the condition of the Church which they disclose.

In this view, also, we trace the same coincidence with the natural growth of events. The whole tenor

of the Epistles indicates that the Church had reached a condition in which the consideration, not so much of its extension, as of its unity, became the prominent idea. With but little hyperbole, St. Paul could say that the gospel had come into "all the world" of the Roman empire. His own career of active evangelisation had been stopped; in his prison at Rome, the centre of communication with all nations, he would, no doubt, hear of the growth and the trials of other Churches, as we know that he heard of Philippi and Colossæ; he looked eagerly, as from a distance, on the building up of the Temple of God, which was going on by many hands and under many conditions. The one thought and prayer of his captivity was that it should grow as one, "fitly framed and joined together," on the one foundation, and in the one cornerstone. To the Philippian Church the burden of his exhortation is to unity of spirit. In the Ephesian Epistle the great central passage is that which brings out, with all the incisive emphasis of a creed, the description of the "one body" and the "one Spirit"; and the fundamental conception of the gospel, as the reconciliation of the soul to God in Jesus Christ, carries with it as a perpetual undertone, the union of Jew and Gentile in the covenant of God. Even in the Colossian Epistle, although there the main idea of the sole headship of Christ assumes a more absolute predominance, yet the great anxiety of St. Paul for Colossæ and its sister Churches was that their hearts might be "knit together in love" and the "full assurance of the knowledge" of a common gospel. The whole tenor of these Epistles,

standing in contrast with those of the earlier group, thus corresponds with the needs of the more advanced period of Church history.

Nor is this coincidence less evident in relation to the forms of danger, by which the progress of the Church is here seen to be menaced. The old leaven of Judaism still works in the "so-called circumcision," which now deserves, in St. Paul's eyes, only the name of "concision," or self-mutilation. But it has changed its character. The Pharisaic idolatry of the Law, as a law by obedience to which man might work out, if not his own salvation, at least his own perfection, has passed away in the East, though it lingers in the simple, unspeculative Christianity of Macedonia. Perhaps by the very extension of the Church the providence of God had clenched the victorious argument of St. Paul. A Church truly catholic could hardly rest on a rigid code of law, or find the spring of a world-wide salvation anywhere, except in the grace of God accepted by faith. But now, as the Epistle to the Colossians shows, Judaism had allied itself with those wild speculations, weaving the gospel into philosophical or mystic theories of religion, which arose inevitably, when Christianity, assuming to be the religion of humanity, naturally came in contact with the various philosophies and religions of all mankind. Dr. Lightfoot has shown, with much probability, that one form in which it adapted itself to the new condition of things was the form of the old Essenic mysticism. The Epistle to the Hebrews suggests that, on the other hand, it had also fixed its faith on the ritual and sacrifice from which the Essenes

shrank—doubtless as having in themselves a mystic efficacy, perhaps as enabling men to enter into the region of mystic speculation, where they might learn the secrets hidden from the mass of Christians, and revealed only to the perfect. In both forms it is seen as gradually dissolving its old rigidity and carnality, and claiming, in accordance with the spirit of the age, the title of spirituality and mystic perfection.

Still more is the progress of the times shown in this very tendency, to which Judaism so strangely and incongruously allied itself. Gnosticism, in later days, marked the attempts—sometimes serious, sometimes fantastic—to weave Christianity into systems designed to solve the insoluble problem of the relation of the infinite God, both in creation and manifestation, to His finite creatures; to fix the place to be assigned to matter and spirit in the universe; to answer the question how far evil is necessarily associated with matter; and in contemplation of the gospel itself, to determine the relation between the Old and New Covenant, and to define or explain away the mystery of the Incarnation. To what wild developments it ran is told in the true, but almost incredible, record of a subsequent chapter of Church history. But it showed itself—we may almost say that it could not but have shown itself—at the close of the Apostolic age: as soon as the gospel showed itself to be not only a divine life, but a divine philosophy, to an age radically sceptical, both in its eagerness of inquiry and its discontent with all the answers hitherto found. We find traces of it—easily read by those who have studied its after-develop-

ment—in the “endless genealogies,” the false asceticism, or still falser antinomianism of the later Epistles of St. Paul and St. John, in the denial that “Jesus Christ was come in the flesh,” and the idea that “the Resurrection was passed already.” In these Epistles of the Captivity there are similar traces, but less fully developed, especially in the Colossian Epistle. The spurious claims to spiritual “perfection;” the “deceits by vain words;” the “systematic plan of deceit” of a specious antinomianism, for which St. Paul can hardly find language of adequate condemnation; the “philosophy and vain deceit” of the traditions of men, with its mere “show of wisdom” and its “intrusion” into the regions of the invisible; the supposed emanations from the Godhead taking the angelic forms of “thrones and principalities and powers”—all these mark the first beginning of that strange progress which ran its pretentious course in later times. To this time of St. Paul’s history they belong, and to no other.

Thus, as it seems every way, a careful study of the style and substance of these Epistles not only confirms the external testimony which refers them to St. Paul, but illustrates to us the course of the development of the gospel, the progress and the trials of the Church. They light up the historical darkness in which the abrupt close of the record of the Acts of the Apostles leaves us: they are full of those lessons for our own days in which the [close of the Apostolic age is especially fruitful.

V. The Order of the Epistles.—That the Epistles to the

Ephesians, to the Colossians, and to Philemon belong to the same time, and were sent by the same messengers, is tolerably clear. The one question is, whether the Epistle to the Philippians precedes or follows them; and this question can only be answered by probable conjecture. It is obvious, from the progress already made (Phil. i. 12—18), from the whole description of the mission and the sickness of Epaphroditus (Phil. ii. 25—30), from the anticipation of release (Phil. ii. 24), that some time must have elapsed between St. Paul's arrival at Rome and the writing of this Epistle. It has also been noticed, as at least a remarkable coincidence, that Aristarchus and St. Luke, who accompanied the Apostle to Rome (Acts xxvii. 2), are named in the Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon (Col. iv. 10, 14; Philemon verse 24), and not in the Epistle to the Philippians. But this last may be a mere coincidence; and the fact that the Philippian Epistle was not written early in the imprisonment determines nothing as to its priority or posteriority to the other Epistles. The only strong argument on the subject—which has been admirably worked out by Dr. Lightfoot in his *Introduction to the Epistle to the Philippians*, sect. II.—is the remarkable similarity in word and style between it and the Epistle to the Romans, its position as a link between the strong individuality of the earlier teaching and the characteristic universality of the Epistles

to the Ephesians and Colossians, and its dealing with trials and difficulties more nearly resembling those of an earlier time. The argument is strong, yet not necessarily conclusive, for much in all these points depends on the character, and even the geographical position, of the Church addressed. To it, however, in the absence of any solid controverting evidence, we may give considerable weight, and perhaps incline, without absolute decision, to place the Philippian Epistle before the other group in the Epistles of the Captivity.

[In relation to the treatment of the Epistles of the Captivity, it seems right to acknowledge the deep obligation of the writer to the Commentaries of Ellicott, Alford, Wordsworth, Meyer, Harless, and, above all, to the admirable and exhaustive treatment by Dr. Lightfoot of the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon; to Conybeare and Howson, and Lewin, for their full and learned summaries of all that illustrates the life and, in less degree, the writings of St. Paul; but perhaps not least to the *Homilies* of St. Chrysostom—simply invaluable as a commentary, venerable in its preservation of ancient tradition, critically precious as dealing with the Greek as still a living language, and yet modern in that breadth and simplicity of treatment which contrast with the frequent mysticism of great ancient commentators.]

EPHESIANS.

BY THE RIGHT REV. ALFRED BARRY, D.D.

I. The Date and Place of Writing.—This Epistle, for reasons hereafter to be considered, has few detailed indications, either of the personal condition of the writer or of the circumstances of those to whom it is addressed. But one point is made perfectly clear, that it was written by St. Paul when he was the “prisoner of Jesus Christ” (chaps. iii. 1 ; iv. 1), suffering some special “tribulations for them,” which he bade them consider as “their glory” (chap. iii. 13), and being an “ambassador for Christ in a chain” (chap. vi. 20)—the word here used being the same as in Acts xxviii. 20, and being a word almost technically describing the imprisonment “with a soldier that kept him” (Acts xxviii. 16). All these things point unmistakably to what we have spoken of in the *General Introduction* as the first Roman captivity. That captivity began about A.D. 61, and lasted, without change, for at least “two full years.” In the Letter to Philemon, sent by Onesimus, who is associated with Tychicus, the bearer of this Epistle, in Col. iv. 7—9, St. Paul prays him to “prepare him a lodging” against the speedy arrival, which he then confidently expected. Hence our

Epistle must be placed late in the captivity—not earlier than A.D. 63.

II. The Church to which it is addressed.—The Epistle has borne from time immemorial the name of the “Epistle to the Ephesians.” To the Church at Ephesus most certainly, whether solely or among others, it is addressed.

EPHESUS.—Of St. Paul’s preaching at Ephesus we have a detailed account in the Acts of the Apostles. At the close of his second missionary circuit he had touched at Ephesus, and “entered the synagogue” to “reason with the Jews.” In spite of their entreaty, he could not then remain with them, but left Aquila and Priscilla there. From them, probably, with the aid of their convert Apollos, the Christianity of Ephesus began its actual rise. It is not, indeed, impossible that there may have been some previous preparation through the disciples of St. John the Baptist. The emphatic allusion to him and to the simply preparatory character of his work in St. Paul’s sermon at Antioch in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 24, 25), seems to point to knowledge of him in Asia Minor. We know that afterwards St. Paul

found some disciples at Ephesus, baptised only with St. John's baptism (Acts xix. 3); and we note that Apollos, while "knowing only the baptism of John," yet still "teaching the things of the Lord," found a ready acceptance at Ephesus (Acts xviii. 24, 25). But however this may be, the full development of the Christianity of Ephesus was made under St. Paul's charge in his third missionary circuit. His first circuit had been an extension of that Asiatic Gentile Christianity which began from Antioch; his second was notable as the first planting of European Christianity, having its chief centre at Corinth; now his headquarters for the evangelisation of the Roman province of Asia were fixed for three years at Ephesus, a city specially fit for the welding together of Asiatic and European Christianity—for there Greek civilisation met face to face with Oriental superstition and magical pretensions, in that which was made by Rome the official metropolis of pro-consular Asia; and the strange union is curiously symbolised by the enshrining in a temple which was the world-famed masterpiece of Greek art of an idol—probably, some half-shapeless meteoric stone—"which fell down from Jupiter." The summary of his work there—his re-baptism with the miraculous gifts of the disciples of St. John Baptist: the "special miracles" wrought by his hands; the utter confusion both of Jewish exorcists and of the professors of those "curious arts" for which Ephesus was notorious; the sudden tumult, so skilfully appeased by the "town clerk," who must surely have been half a Christian—make up (in Acts xix.) one of the most vivid

scenes in St. Paul's Apostolic history.

Another—not less striking and infinitely pathetic—is drawn in Acts xx. 16—38, in the farewell visit and address of St. Paul to the Ephesian presbyters at Miletus, indicating, alike by its testimony and by its warnings, a fully-organised and widely-spread Christianity—the fruit of his three years' labour. What had been the extent of the sphere of that labour we know not. We gather, with some surprise (Col. ii. 1), that the Churches of the valley of the Lycus—Laodicea, Hierapolis, Colossæ—had not been visited by him personally. Yet, whether by his own presence, or through such delegates as Epaphras (Col. i. 7), "all which dwelt in Asia had heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks" (Acts xix. 10). They might well "sorrow" and "weep sore" at the thought that they should "see his face no more."

Now, in his captivity, certainly to Ephesus, and (as we shall see hereafter) probably to the other Churches of Asia, he writes this Epistle—itsself a representative Epistle, almost a treatise, bearing to the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church a relation not unlike that which the Epistle to the Romans bears to the fundamental truths of personal Christianity.

After this, in the interval between the first and second captivity, we find (see 1 Tim. i. 1; 2 Tim. i. 18) that St. Paul did revisit Ephesus at least once; that, in his deep anxiety for its welfare, he placed it under the quasi-episcopal charge of his "own son Timothy;" and that, in his last captivity, he sent Tychicus, the

bearer of this Epistle, to Ephesus again (2 Tim. iv. 12), perhaps in view of the coming absence of Timothy in obedience to the Apostle's summons.

From that time Ephesus passed into the charge of St. John, as the first of the seven churches of Asia (Rev. ii. 1), commended for its steadfastness, but yet rebuked as "having fallen from its first love." Of this phase of its Christianity, and its subsequent importance in the future history of the Church, especially as the scene of the Third great Council and the previous *Latrocinium*, it would be out of place here to dwell.

THE CHURCHES OF ASIA.—But while there is no doubt that the Epistle was addressed to Ephesus, there seems very strong reason for the opinion, now held by many commentators, that it was an encyclical letter to the churches of Asia, of which Ephesus was the natural head.

The evidence of this opinion may be thus summarised:—

Direct Evidence.—Taking first the direct evidence, we observe (1) that in the opening salutation, which in the ordinary reading is addressed to "the saints which are at Ephesus, being also faithful in Christ Jesus," the words "at Ephesus" are omitted in our two oldest MSS. (the Vatican and the Sinaitic), and in both supplied by a later hand. This omission is exceptional, all other MSS. and versions inserting the words. But it agrees with two remarkable ancient testimonies. Origen, the first great Biblical critic in the early Church (A.D. 186—254), (as appears from a fragment quoted in Cramer's "Catene in Pauli Epistolæ," p. 102, Oxford edition, 1842), noticed that in the

Ephesian Epistle alone there was the "singular inscription," "to the saints who are, being also faithful." Basil of Cæsarea (A.D. 329—379) expressly says (in his treatise against Eunomius, Book ii., c. 19), "this reading was handed down by those who have gone before us, and we ourselves have found it in the ancient MSS."

Now (2) the effect of this omission is to make the passage obscure, if not unintelligible; for the only simple rendering of the Greek would be to "the saints who are also faithful," and this would give an impossible vagueness and generality to the address. Accordingly, ancient criticism (perhaps derived from Origen in the first instance) actually faced the difficulty by giving a mystic sense to the passage. St. Basil, in the passage above quoted, explains it thus:—"But, moreover, writing to the Ephesians as to those truly united by full knowledge to HIM WHO IS, he gives them the peculiar title of the 'saints who are.'" To this interpretation, also, St. Jerome refers thus (in his Commentary on Ephesians i. 1):—"Some, with more subtlety than is necessary, hold that, according to the saying to Moses, Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, HE WHO IS hath sent me unto you, those who at Ephesus are holy and faithful are designated by the name of essential being, so that from HIM WHO IS these are called They who are;" and adds, with his usual strong critical good sense, "others more simply hold that the address is not to Those who are, but to Those who are at Ephesus." Certainly, nothing could show a firmer conviction that the omission of the words "at Ephesus" was necessitated by MS. authority, than the

desperate attempt to meet the difficulty of rendering by this marvellous interpretation.

But (3) we also find that Marcion the heretic, by Tertullian's twice-repeated testimony (in his work against Marcion, Book v., cc. 11, 16), entitled this Epistle, "The Epistle to the Laodiceans." "I omit," he says, "here notice of another Epistle, which we hold to have been written to the Ephesians, but the heretics to the Laodiceans;" and he then proceeds to refer to our Epistle. In another place:—"In the true view of the Church, we hold that Letter to have been sent to the Ephesians, not to the Laodiceans; but Marcion has made it his business to interpolate an address in it, to show that on this point also he is a most painstaking critic." Now (as Tertullian adds) the question of the address was of no doctrinal importance; accordingly, Marcion could not have been tempted in this respect to falsify or invent. He gave the address on critical grounds; and Tertullian says that he "interpolated" it, presumably where there was a blank. Epiphanius, also (320?—402), in his notice of Marcion, (*adv. Hær.*, Lib. I., Tom. III., xii.), after quoting "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," &c., adds:—"For the miserable Marcion was pleased to quote this testimony, not from the Epistle to the Ephesians, but from the Epistle to the Laodiceans, which is not in the Apostle's writings." He apparently refers to an apocryphal letter, of which he says elsewhere that "Marcion received fragments;" and such a letter is noticed in the Muratorian Canon. But looking to Tertullian's clear declaration, we may, perhaps, see here a confused reminiscence of this same critical

achievement of Marcion. Marcion, no doubt, was led to it by a consideration of the well-known passage in the Colossian Epistle (chap. iv. 16) speaking of the "letter from Laodicea," which he (it would seem, correctly) identified with our Epistle.

(4) Now, all these things lead plainly to one conclusion—that, while an unvarying tradition declared that the Letter was "to the Ephesians," yet there was a blank in the oldest MSS. after the words "which are," generally filled up (as in most of our later MSS.) with the words "in Ephesus;" but by Marcion, with no MS. authority, simply on grounds of critical inference, with the words "in Laodicea." That this insertion of Marcion, if intended to infer that the Letter was addressed specially to the Laodicean Church, was unwarrantable, appears obvious, from the whole stream of ancient tradition assigning the Letter to the Ephesians, and the absence of any vestige of such a reading in the existing MSS. But if the Epistle were a circular letter, of which many copies were sent at one time, it would be at least probable that blanks might be left, to be filled up in each case with the proper name of the Church; and this supposition, which has been adopted by many, would furnish a very simple explanation—indeed, the only simple explanation—of this perplexing MS. phenomenon.

Indirect Evidence.—This being the state of the case in relation to direct evidence, we naturally pass on to consider what may be gathered indirectly, either to confirm or to confute this supposition, from the Epistle itself.

Now, the study of the Epistle, as

a whole, must surely convey to the mind the impression of a certain generality and abstractness of character. It approaches closely—at least as closely as the Epistle to the Romans—to the character of a treatise, dealing, with a singular completeness, accuracy, and symmetry of handling, with a grand spiritual truth—the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church. The very opening—strongly reminding us in form, though not in substance, of the opening of the General Epistle of St. Peter to these churches and other churches of Asia Minor (1 Pet. i. 3—7)—is a complete and exhaustive statement of the mysterious truth of the election of the whole Church, as gathered up in Christ and redeemed by Him, in the eternal counsels of God. The celebrated passage (chap. iv. 4—6) on the unity of the Church, while it is full of an almost poetic beauty, has all the fulness and precision of a creed. The practical exhortations of the Epistle are drawn, with a philosophic generality, from the fundamental conception of religious unity. Nor can we fail to notice that the Epistle is entirely destitute of any reference—such as is invariable in St. Paul's other Epistles—to the particular condition, blessings, trials, graces, or defects, of those to whom it is addressed. They are simply spoken of as "you Gentiles," in contradistinction to the children of the old covenant. The sins against which they are warned are the typical sins forbidden in the Second Table, or the sins specially rife in the heathen society of that time in general.

The comparison in this respect with the Colossian Epistle is most instructive. Everywhere the Ephesian Epistle is general and (so to

speak) philosophical in treatment; while in the parallel passages the other Epistle is particular and practical. Now it so happens that in the Epistles of this period we have the Philippian, written to a Church personally known and loved, while the Colossian is addressed to a Church known perhaps well, but indirectly, and not by personal intercourse. The former Epistle is pervaded from beginning to end with the personality of the writer, as fully as the Corinthian or Galatian Epistles themselves. The latter is more distant and more general, introducing the special warnings of the second chapter with a half-apologetic reference to the deep anxiety felt "for them, and for the Laodiceans, and for those who had not seen his face in the flesh." The Church of Ephesus must have been even more intimately known and bound to St. Paul than the Church at Philippi. How near it lay to his heart we know by the pathetic beauty and yearning tenderness of his address to the elders at Miletus. An Epistle written to this Church should surely have had all the strong personality of the Philippian Epistle; yet our Epistle, on the contrary, is infinitely less direct, personal, special, than the Epistle to the Colossians. The inference, even from these general considerations, seems unmistakable—that it was not addressed to any special Church, but least of all to such a Church as Ephesus.

But there are also some indications in detail, looking in the same direction, which cannot all be specified in an *Introduction*. Such, for example, is the vagueness which has been noticed in the two passages (chaps. i. 15; iii. 2), "after I heard of your faith in the Lord

Jesus," and "if ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God given me to you-ward." It is true that the former may be explained of St. Paul's hearing of them since he had left them; and, if confirmed by the parallel case of the Colossians (Col. i. 4), may be neutralised by comparison with Philem. verse 5 ("Hearing of thy love and faith"). It is also true that in the latter case the "if" of the original is not, except in form, hypothetical, and the verb may be "heard," not "heard of." But, making all reservation, there still remains a vagueness, hardly conceivable in reference to such a Church as Ephesus, especially when we remember how St. Paul in parallel cases refers to his former preaching. (See, for example, 1 Cor. ii. 1-4; 2 Cor. i. 12-19; xi. 6-9; xiii. 2; Gal. iv. 13; Phil. iv. 9; 1 Thess. ii. 1-12; iii. 4; 2 Thess. ii. 5.) Such, again, is the generality, absolutely without parallel elsewhere, in the salutation "which is the token in every Epistle"—"Grace be to all them who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity"—compared with the "Grace be with you" or "with your spirit" of the other Epistles. The conclusions, again, of the Ephesian and Colossian Epistles may be compared. I do not lay stress on the simple absence of greetings, for it has been shown (by Alford), by comparison with other Epistles, that this argument is precarious. But it is impossible not to be struck with the vague generality of the one, as compared with the fulness of detail and strong personality of the other. They coincide verbally in the quasi-official commendation of Tychicus, and in this alone.

These indications may be thought to be slight, but they all point one way, and their combined force is not to be lightly put aside.

The indirect evidence, therefore, appears strongly to confirm the supposition which alone gives any simple explanation of the MSS. phenomena. But is there any trace of such an encyclical letter? That there was an "Epistle from Laodicea" to be read by the Colossians, we know; and the context shows conclusively that this was an Epistle of St. Paul himself. Laodicea was near Colossæ, and evidently in close union with it. The special warnings of the letter addressed to the Colossian Church were probably applicable to it also, and accordingly it was to be read there. But why should Colossæ read the "Epistle from Laodicea?" Had it dealt with the peculiar needs of that sister Church this would be inexplicable; but if it were what our Epistle is—general in character, and dealing with a truth not identical with the main truth of the Colossian Epistle, but supplementary to it—then the direction is intelligible at once. It is not (it will be observed) an "Epistle to the Laodiceans," but an Epistle "coming from Laodicea," which would be reached from Ephesus before Colossæ, and which, being the larger and more important town, might naturally be made the recipient of a letter intended for it and Colossæ, and perhaps Hierapolis.

It may be asked, if this be so, why have no MSS. any other address than to the "saints at Ephesus?" and why has tradition invariably called this "The Epistle to the Ephesians," and nothing else? The answer which has been

often given appears to be entirely sufficient. Ephesus was, as the metropolis of Asia, the natural centre of the Apostolic ministry, and the natural leader of the Asiatic churches: standing, as in the apocalyptic epistles (Rev. i. 11), at the head of all. There the Epistle would be first read; thence it would go out to the other Asiatic churches; there it would be best treasured up, and copies of it multiplied; and through these it would be likely to become known to the European churches also. It must have been quoted by some title. What title so natural as "To the Ephesians?" The use of this title evidently preceded the insertion of the words "in Ephesus" in the text. This is natural. We remember that no extant MS., except the Vatican and Sinaitic, is earlier than the beginning of the fifth century. By that time most of the Asiatic churches had sunk into insignificance. The tradition already prevalent of the address to the Ephesians would naturally express itself by the insertion of the words, without which the context of the opening passage is hardly intelligible.

This supposition seems also to be confirmed by the occasional appropriation to Laodicea; for—though after a long interval—Laodicea comes next after Ephesus in importance in Church history. On that ground St. Paul made it the centre of the churches of the Lycus valley. On that ground, also, some claim to the Epistle as an Epistle to the Laodiceans may have survived till the time of Marcion. It is curious that the Muratorian Canon (A.D. 170?), after noting the Epistle to the Ephesians among St. Paul's Epistles, adds: "There is in circulation also an Epistle to the

Laodiceans . . . forged in the name of Paul, to aid the heresy of Marcion . . . which cannot be received into the Catholic Church." Now the Apocryphal *Epistle to the Laodiceans*, still extant, is clearly of later date, made up of quotations or imitations of various passages of St. Paul's Epistles, and in no way bearing on Marcionism. It may perhaps be conjectured that Marcion, not content with altering the title of our Epistle, tampered with it and mutilated it, as we know that he did in the case of other New Testament books. There may be in the Canon (as afterwards in Epiphanius) a reference to this corrupted form of our Epistle, as a separate work; and this would be a kind of survival of the designation of it as an Epistle to the Laodiceans.

On all these grounds, therefore, we must hold it at least highly probable that we have in it an encyclical letter to Ephesus and the sister churches of Asia.

III. The Genuineness of the Epistle. — *External Evidence.* — The external evidence, as has been already said (see *Introduction to the Epistles of the Captivity*), is strong—as strong as for any other of St. Paul's Epistles.

Among the Apostolic fathers there seem to be unquestionable allusions to passages in it: as in Clement of Rome, chap. xlvi., dwelling on "the one God, one Christ, one spirit of grace . . . one calling" (comp. Eph. iv. 4—6); and in Polycarp, chap. xii., uniting the two quotations: "Be ye angry and sin not," "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath" (comp. Eph. iv. 26, 27). In Ignatius (to the Ephesians, chap. xii.) we have

a remarkable reference to the Ephesians as "fellow-mystics" with St. Paul, sharing the mystery of the gospel with him (comp. Eph. i. 9; iii. 4—9; vi. 19); and he adds of St. Paul that, "in all his letter he is mindful of you in Christ Jesus." In the "longer Greek" version of the same Epistle—interpolated at a later date—there is in chap. vi. a direct quotation, "as Paul wrote to you—one body and one Spirit" (Eph. iv. 4—6), and a clear reference to the address (Eph. i. 1) in chap. ix.

Passing on to a later date, we have the Epistle formally recognised in the Muratorian Canon (A.D. 170), apparently representing the tradition of the Church of Rome: quoted repeatedly, and in some cases unmistakably, by Irenæus in the Church of Gaul (about A.D. 130—200); quoted also by Clement of Alexandria (about A.D. 150—210), and Tertullian (A.D. 160—240), representing the opposite school of Carthage. It is found in all ancient versions; and henceforth held without doubt among the acknowledged books in the Church.

Dr. Westcott has also shown ("Canon of the New Testament," pp. 314, 323, 338) that it is quoted by the heretical and Gnostic writers—the Ophites, Basilides, Valentinus, and others. Marcion's recognition and criticism of it we have already seen.

Internal Evidence.—The doubts of its genuineness which have been advanced in our own times turn entirely on internal evidence.

(1) The differences in style and substance between these Epistles of the Captivity and the earlier Epistles of St. Paul have been already discussed. I have ventured

to urge that, corresponding as they do to the time and circumstances of the captivity, marking a true and natural development of doctrine, abounding in points both of similarity and independent originality, these differences are decisive against the idea of imitation, and strongly confirmatory of Apostolic authorship. To the Epistle of the Ephesians these remarks bear a special application, for this Epistle bears most distinctly of all the marks of St. Paul's later manner. I may add, also, that in a very special degree the grandeur and profoundness of treatment, which make it one of the great typical Epistles of the New Testament, speak for themselves as to its Apostolic origin. To lose it would be to leave a strange gap in the development of Christian doctrine, and to mar the harmony of the individual and corporate elements in the Scriptural exposition of the concrete Christian life. To ascribe it to the weaker hand of a mere disciple of St. Paul might, but for actual experience, have well been thought impossible.

(2) But this Epistle in particular has been described as simply an elaborate reproduction of the Colossian Epistle, and accordingly represented as of doubtful originality. It is, of course, obvious (as will be shown in the *Introduction to the Epistle to the Colossians*) that there is a very marked similarity, sometimes in idea, sometimes in actual expression, between the two Epistles. But the more both are studied, the more it must be seen that this similarity is exactly such as belongs to contemporaneousness, and is utterly incompatible with dependence of either upon the other.

In the first place, it is found that there are sections of the Colossian Epistle to which there is nothing to correspond in the Ephesian Epistle, and that these sections are principal and not subordinate. Such are, for example, Col. i. 15—17 (on the nature of the Lord Jesus Christ), Col. ii. 8—18 (the warning against mingled Judaism and Gnosticism), and Col. iv. 9—17 (the special salutations and cautions). The absence of these in the one case, and their presence in the other, are perfectly intelligible on the theory of contemporaneousness, entirely inexplicable on the theory of dependence.

On the other hand, there are sections in the Epistle to the Ephesians of the most emphatic originality, which have no counterpart in the other Epistle. Such are the great opening on the "election of God and the gathering up of all in Christ" (Eph. i. 3—14); the sublime Apostolic prayer in Eph. iii. 14—21; the celebrated and exhaustive passage on the unity of the Church in God (Eph. iv. 4—6); the profound comparison of marriage to the union of Christ with the Church in Eph. v. 23—33; the magnificent description of the Christian armour (Eph. vi. 13—17). To these the same remark must apply: to suppose these the work of a copyist appears all but preposterous.

Next, a careful study shows repeatedly and unmistakably that these differences are not accidental; they arise from a fundamental distinction between the leading ideas in the two Epistles. The Epistle to the Ephesians is the exposition of the reality, the blessing, and the glory, of the Catholic Church as the body of Christ. The famous

image of the spiritual temple (in which, perhaps, we may trace some recollection of that magnificent Temple of Artemis, "which all Asia and the world worshipped") belongs to this Epistle (chap. ii. 20—22), and has no place in the other. The passage to which all else works up as a climax is chap. iv. 4—6, on the "one Body and the one Spirit." Even the ordinary moral duties and social relations of life are treated in chaps. iv. and v. with a characteristic reference to this great principle of unity with man in Christ, which is wanting in the parallel passages of the Colossian Epistle. On the other hand, the Colossian Epistle, having to deal with an incipient Gnosticism, is specially emphatic on the sole headship and the true Godhead of Christ. Its great teaching is of Him, as "the image of the invisible God," "in whom all the fulness (the *pleroma*) of the Godhead dwells bodily" (Col. i. 15—17; ii. 3—8, 10). The passage which occupies the chief place, corresponding to the great passage on Unity in the Ephesian Epistle, is that which dwells on our life as risen with Christ, and hid in God with Him, who Himself "is our life" (Col. iii. 1—4).

But besides this, it may be seen from quite a number of passages that, on the one hand, in detailed passages parallel to each other, the similarity is almost always mingled with clear and characteristic difference, marking an independent coincidence; and on the other, that identical expressions occur again and again in entirely different contexts, and in different degrees of prominence. These are exactly the phenomena we may expect when two letters are written

at the same time to churches which are neither wholly identical nor wholly dissimilar in character, and under the guidance of distinct, yet complementary, ideas. They are wholly incompatible with dependence or deliberate copyism.

On this particular subject, therefore, I cannot but draw the same conclusion as on the general subject of the Epistles of the Captivity, viz., that the indirect evidence which has been thought to weaken, will be actually found to confirm the strong external evidence for the genuineness of the Epistle.

IV. The Contents of the Epistle.—The general character and substance of the Epistle have been already glanced at. It will be sufficient here simply to repeat that the Epistle falls into two great sections—namely, Doctrinal and Practical. In both the one great subject is the **UNITY IN CHRIST**, in some sense of all created being, in a closer sense of humanity, in the closest and most sacred sense of the Holy Catholic Church.

In the doctrinal section (chaps. i. 1—iv. 16) we find this unity noticed in the first chapter as ordained in the eternal predestination of God's love, and manifested in the actual communication to His members of the Resurrection, the Ascension, and glorification of Christ their head. Next it is shown (in chap. ii.) how the Gentiles are called into this regenerating unity out of the deadness of their old life; and thus at once brought into the covenant of God, and so united with His chosen people of Israel

that all alike, as living stones, are built into the great Temple of God. Then (in chap. iii.), after an emphatic declaration of the newness of this mystery of grace, and of the special commission for the revelation of it entrusted to St. Paul, there follows a solemn and fervent Apostolic prayer for their knowledge of the mystery, not by human wisdom or thought, but by the indwelling light and grace of Christ.

Finally, the whole is summed up in a grand passage (chap. iv. 1—16), which brings out in perfect completeness the whole doctrine of this unity—first in its grounds, its means, and its conditions; next in its variety of spiritual gifts; lastly, in the oneness of the object of all, in the reproduction of the life of Christ in the individual and the Church.

The practical section (chaps. iv. 17—vi. 24) opens with an unique treatment of morality and of human relationship, as dependent upon the mysterious unity of man with man and of man with God. First (chaps. iv. 17—v. 21), that unity is made the basis of ordinary moral duties towards man, and the safeguard against the besetting sins of heathen society—bitterness, impurity, and reckless excess. Next (chaps. v. 22—vi. 9), it is shown as the secret of the sacredness of earthly relations of marriage, of fatherhood, and of mastership. In the first case the idea is worked out with a transcendent beauty and solemnity which have beyond all else hallowed Christian marriage; in the others it is more briefly touched upon, with a view chiefly to temper and soften the sternness of

a recognised authority. Finally (chap. vi. 10—24), this portion of the Epistle is wound up by a magnificent and elaborate description of the full panoply of God; and the Epistle then ends, briefly and rather vaguely, with commendation of Tychicus and a general form of salutation.

The general sketch of this most wonderful Epistle will, it is believed, be best explained by the very brief analysis which is herewith subjoined:—

1. Doctrinal Section.

(1) THE INTRODUCTION (chap. i.):

- (a) *Salutation* (chap. i. 1, 2);
- (b) *Thanksgiving for the election of the whole Church in God's love, given through redemption by unity with Christ, shown in the calling and faith both of Jew and Gentile* (chap. i. 3—14);
- (c) *Prayer for their fuller knowledge of this unity with the risen and ascended Christ, the Head of the whole Church* (chap. i. 15—23).

(2) THE CALL OF THE GENTILES (chap. ii.):

- (a) *Out of the deadness of sin and power of Satan into the new life of the risen Christ, accepted in simple faith, wrought out in good works* (chap. ii. 1—10);
- (b) *Out of alienation from the covenant, into perfect unity with God's chosen people, all division being broken down, and full access given to the Father; so that Jew and Gentile alike, built on the one foundation, grow into the living Temple of God* (chap. ii. 11—22).

(3) PRAYER FOR THEIR FULLER KNOWLEDGE (chap. iii.):

- (a) *The mystery of the universal call, new in revelation, specially intrusted to St. Paul* (chap. iii. 1—13);
- (b) *Prayer for their full knowledge of it (though passing knowledge) through the indwelling of Christ, accepted in faith and love* (chap. iii. 14—19);
- (c) *Doxology to the Father through Christ Jesus* (chap. iii. 20, 21).

(4) FINAL SUMMARY OF DOCTRINE (chap. iv.):

- (a) *The unity of the Church in one Spirit, one Lord, one God and Father of all* (chap. iv. 1—6);
- (b) *The diversity of gifts in the glorified Christ* (chap. iv. 7—11);
- (c) *The unity of the purpose of all, viz., the individual and corporate regeneration* (chap. iv. 12—16).

2. Practical Section.

(1) THE NEW LIFE: *learning Christ and growing unto His image* (chap. iv. 17—24).

(2) CONQUEST OF SIN:

- (a) *The conquest of sin in virtue of the sense of unity with man in Christ* (chap. iv. 25—30);
- (b) *Conquest of special besetting sins of malice, impurity, recklessness of excess* (chaps. iv. 31; v. 21).

(3) REGENERATION OF SOCIAL RELATIONS:

- (a) *The relation of husbands and wives consecrated as a type of union of Christ with His Church* (chap. v. 22, 23);

- (b) *The relation of parents and children hallowed as in the Lord* (chap. vi. 1—4);
- (c) *The relation of masters and servants made a brotherhood of service to one Master* (chap. vi. 5—9).
- (4) FINAL EXHORTATION:
The armour of God and the fight against the powers of evil (chap. vi. 10—17).

3. Conclusion.

- (a) *Special desire of their prayers for him in his captivity* (chap. vi. 18—20);
- (b) *Commendation of Tychicus* (chap. vi. 21, 22);
- (c) *Salutation and blessing* (chap. vi. 23, 24).

In conclusion, I may add that it does not appear to me fanciful to suppose that the teaching of this Epistle has a special applicability to our age as the teaching of the Galatian or Roman Epistles had to the sixteenth century. For in all spheres of life—the political, the social, and the ecclesiastical alike—it would seem that our prominent questions are not those of indi-

vidualism, but of socialism in the true sense of the word. Society is contemplated in its corporate life; in its rights over the individual; in the great eternal principles which it truly embodies and partially represents; and, moreover, this contemplation has a breadth of scope which refuses to be confined within the limits of family, or nation, or age. Humanity itself is considered, both historically and philosophically, as only the highest element in the order of the universe which is itself bound together in a unity of unbroken connection and continuous development. It is asked, What has Christianity to declare as a gospel to society at large, and as a key to the mysterious relation of humanity with creation, and so with Him who created it? To that question, perhaps, the answer is nowhere more truly given than in the Epistle to the Ephesians. We need a real and living unity; but it must be such as will preserve the equally sacred individuality of freedom. This Epistle presents it to us in its magnificent conception of the unity of all with God in the Lord Jesus Christ.

PHILIPPIANS.

BY THE RIGHT REV. ALFRED BARRY, D.D.

I. Time, Place, and Occasion of the Epistle.—The indications of the time and place of this Epistle are unusually clear. It is written by St. Paul “in bonds” (chap. i. 7—13); in the *Prætorium* (chap. i. 13), that is, under the charge of the Prætorian guard; it sends greeting from the “saints of Cæsar’s household” (chap. iv. 21); it expresses an expectation of some crisis in his imprisonment (chap. i. 20—26), and a confident hope of revisiting Philippi (chap. i. 26; ii. 24). All these indications place it in the Roman imprisonment of St. Paul—which we know (Acts xxviii. 30) to have lasted without trial or release for “two whole years,” and which certainly began about A.D. 61. The date of the Epistle must therefore be fixed somewhere about the year A.D. 62 or 63.

Nor is the occasion of the Epistle less obvious. The Church at Philippi now, as at an earlier time (chap. iv. 10—19), had sent contributions to St. Paul’s necessities, under the distress and destitution of imprisonment, when he was unable to maintain himself by the labour of his own hands, as he had formerly done at Thessalonica,

Corinth, and Ephesus. Epaphroditus, their messenger, through his affectionate exertions on St. Paul’s behalf, had fallen into dangerous illness, and on his convalescence had been seized with home-sickness, aggravated by the uneasiness of knowing that his danger had been reported to his friends at home (chap. ii. 25—30). St. Paul, therefore, sent him back with this Letter, the immediate object of which was to convey his thanks and blessing for the generosity of the Philippians, and to commend warmly the devotion of Epaphroditus, which had been in great degree the cause of his illness.

II. The Church to which it was written.—Of the first preaching at Philippi we have a full and graphic account in Acts xvi. The preaching began, as usual, from a Jewish centre, but this was only a *proseuche*, or oratory (Acts xvi. 13)—not, as at Thessalonica, a synagogue (Acts xvii. 1); and the whole history shows no indication of any strong Jewish influence. The first convert named is Lydia, an Asiatic of Thyatira, not a Jewess, but “one who worshipped God,” a “proselyte of the gate.” The first opposition came not from

the Jews, as at Thessalonica (Acts xvii. 5, 6, 13), but from the masters of the "damsel possessed with a spirit of divination," simply because by the exorcism of the Apostle the "hope of their gain was gone." The accusation levelled against St. Paul and his companion was one which was intimately connected with the peculiar position of Philippi as a Roman colony—a fragment (as it were) of the imperial city itself. We note, indeed, that at this very time (Acts xviii. 2) "Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome," and it is at least probable that this decree of banishment might extend to the Roman colonies as distinguished from the ordinary provincial cities. Accordingly, in the accusation itself stress was laid on the fact that the accused were "Jews," and the charge was that they preached a *religio illicita*, involving customs which it was "not lawful for the Philippians to receive, being Romans" (Acts xvi. 21). The Church was, therefore, mainly a Gentile Church—the firstfruits of European Christianity — and its attachment to the Apostle of the Gentiles was especially strong and fervent. The Philippians alone, it appears, offered — certainly from them alone St. Paul consented to receive—those contributions to his necessities, which elsewhere (see Acts xx. 33—35; 2 Cor. xi. 7—12; 1 Thess. i. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 8) he thought it best to refuse for the gospel's sake.

The foundation of the Church had been laid amidst a persecution, in which the Roman magistrates, with a characteristic dislike of all foreign superstitions likely to lead to uproar, and a characteristic disregard of justice towards two or

three obscure Jews, simply played into the hands of mob violence. The step which St. Paul afterwards took of asserting his citizenship and forcing the magistrates to confess their wrong-doing (Acts xvi. 37, 38) looks like a precaution to render the recurrence of arbitrary persecution less likely after his departure. But we gather from this Epistle (chap. i. 27—30) that the Church had still, like the sister Church at Thessalonica (1 Thess. i. 6; ii. 14) and the other Macedonian churches (2 Cor. viii. 2), to undergo "the same conflict" of suffering from "their adversaries," "which they had seen in him." It grew up under the bracing air of trial, with a peculiar steadfastness, warm-heartedness, and simplicity, apparently unvexed by the speculative waywardness of Corinth, or the wild heresies of Ephesus or Colossæ. Again like the Thessalonian Church, its dangers were mainly practical (see chap. iii.); the Judaizing influence was probably foreign and not very formidable; the tendencies to Antinomian profligacy (chap. iii. 17—21), to some division by party spirit (chaps. ii. 1—4; iv. 2, 3), to occasional despondency under trial (chap. i. 28), hardly appear to have affected the Church widely or seriously. In its condition, accordingly, St. Paul could rejoice almost without reserve of sorrow or anxiety.

Of St. Paul's subsequent visits to Philippi we have no full record. We cannot doubt that he visited the city on his way from Ephesus to Macedonia and Greece on the third missionary circuit (Acts xx. 3). The common tradition, exceedingly probable in itself, dates the Second Epistle to the Corinthians from Philippi on that occasion.

We know (Acts xx. 6) that it was from Philippi that he started, some months after, on his last journey to Jerusalem. At a period subsequent to this Epistle, we learn (1 Tim. i. 3) that St. Paul, apparently after a visit to Ephesus, "went into Macedonia" after his first captivity, and so, no doubt, fulfilled his hope of revisiting this well-loved Church. After this we have no notice of the Church in history till we read of their kindly reception of Ignatius on his way to martyrdom, and study the Epistle of Polycarp to them, written shortly after, mainly practical and hortatory, and implying, with but slight reservation, a still strong and vigorous Christianity, and a constant grateful memory of the great Apostle. (See, for example, chap. i.—"I rejoiced greatly with you in our Lord Jesus Christ, because ye have adopted the imitation of true love . . . because the firm root of your faith, celebrated from ancient times, remains even until now, and bears fruit unto the Lord Jesus Christ;" chap. iii.—"Neither I nor any like me can follow out fully the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul, who, when he came among you, taught accurately and durably the word of truth.") Tertullian also alludes to it (*de Præser.* xxxvi.) as one of the churches where the "authentic letters of the Apostles"—no doubt, this Epistle itself—were read. Afterwards we have little reference to it in Church history. Like Colossæ, it sank into insignificance.

III. The genuineness of the Epistle. — *External Evidence.* — The evidence for the genuineness of the Epistle is very strong. In all ancient catalogues, from the Muratorian Fragment (A.D. 170)

downwards, in all ancient versions, beginning with the Peschito and the old Latin, it is placed among the undoubted Epistles of St. Paul. In Christian writings, before the end of the second century, knowledge of it may be distinctly traced; after that time it is quoted continually.

Thus, in the Apostolic Fathers, to say nothing of slighter indications which have been noted (as by Dr. Westcott, *Canon of the New Testament*, chap. i., and Dr. Lightfoot, in his *Introduction to this Epistle*), St. Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians (chap. iii.), expressly declares that St. Paul, "when absent, wrote letters to them, by searching into which they can still be built up in the faith," and speaks of them as "praised in the beginning of this Epistle" (chap. xi.). Nor are there wanting expressions in his letter (such as the "using our citizenship worthily of Christ," "the enemies of the cross," the "rejoicing with them in the Lord," the "not running in vain," &c.) which not obscurely indicate reference to the text of our Epistle itself. Again Dr. Lightfoot quotes from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, a Judæo-Christian work, dating early in the second century, certain expressions—"the form of God" and the "fashion of men" (see Phil. ii. 6), the "luminaries" of heaven (see Phil. ii. 15), and, above all, the unique phrase "the bowels (*heart*) of the Son of God" (see Phil. i. 8)—which indicate unmistakably knowledge of this Epistle.

Perhaps the earliest direct quotation of it is in the celebrated Epistles of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne (A.D. 177), on the martyrdoms in the persecution of

Marcus Aurelius (Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, v. 2)—where we find the great passage: "He being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God," &c. Then, as in other cases, the habit of quotation begins in Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, and continues afterwards unbroken. Tertullian, as we have already seen, apparently speaks of the Letter as being read as an Apostolic letter in the Philippian Church; and in his controversy with Marcion (v. 20) so quotes it as to show that it had escaped the destructive criticism and arbitrary mutilation in which Marcion so constantly anticipated the critical scepticism of later times.

Internal Evidence.—But, strong as external evidence is, it is in this case far weaker than the internal, which may be said to rise almost to demonstration. The strong marks of personality which we trace in every line, the unstudied frequency of historical allusion and of undesigned coincidences with historical records, the simple and natural occasion of writing, in the reception of the offerings and the illness of Epaphroditus, the absence of all formal doctrine or ecclesiastical purpose, the fulness and warmth of personal affection,—all are unmistakable marks of genuineness, all are fairly inconceivable on the supposition of imitation or forgery. The character of St. Paul, as unconsciously drawn in it, is unquestionably the same character which lives and glows in the Corinthian and Galatian Epistles; and yet there is in it an indescribable growth into greater calmness and gentleness, which corresponds remarkably with advance of age and change of circumstances. There are also

marked similarities, both of style and expression, with the earlier Epistles, and, above all, with the Epistle to the Romans, the last of the earlier group, which will be found noted in detail on the various passages.* There is also that mingling of identity and development of idea which is notable in all the Epistles of the Captivity. But in this case, perhaps, the similarity is greater, and the diversity less, than in the other Epistles of the same period.

It is, therefore, not surprising that, even in the freest speculation of the higher criticism, there are but few examples of scepticism as to the genuineness of this Epistle.

IV. The main Substance of the Epistle.—(1) *The Picture of the Writer and the Receivers.*—

The first and simplest impression made by this Epistle is the vivid portraiture which it gives us of St. Paul himself—especially in the conflict of desire for the death which is the entrance to the nearer presence of Christ, and for the longer life, which will enable him to gather a fuller harvest for Christ—in the striking union of affection and thankfulness towards the Philippians, with a dignified independence and a tone of plenary authority—in the sensitiveness to the sorrow and inactivity of im-

* Perhaps the most notable are:—

(a) Phil. ii. 10, 11, compared with Rom. xiv. 11.

(b) Phil. iii. 10, 11, compared with Rom. vi. 5.

(c) Phil. iii. 19, compared with Rom. xvi. 18.

(d) Phil. iv. 18, compared with Rom. xii. 1.

(e) Phil. iii. 5, 6, compared with 2 Cor. xi. 22, Rom. xi. 1. It may be noted that in all these cases there is similarity with difference—the characteristic of independent coincidence, not of imitation.

prisonment, overcome and finally absorbed into an almost unequalled fulness of joy in the Lord. Side by side with this we are next struck with the picture which it gives us of the Macedonian Christianity at Philippi—not unlike that of Thessalonica, though, it would seem, less chequered by fanaticism or disorder, and certainly singularly accordant with the Macedonian character, as it paints itself at once speculatively inferior and practically superior to the Greek, in the pages of history. The Philippian Christianity is pre-eminently vigorous, loyal, and warm-hearted, courageous and patient, little disturbed either by speculative refinements or speculative inventions, hardly needing any warning, except against the self-assertion which is the natural excrement of earnestness, or any exhortation, except to a deeper thoughtfulness, which might “overflow into knowledge,” and prove “the things which are really excellent.” There is no letter of St. Paul’s so absolutely free from the necessity of rebuke, and, accordingly, there is none so full of joy, in spite of all the circumstances of suffering and anxiety under which it was written.

(2) *The Condition of the Church at Rome.*—The next great subject of interest is the light thrown by this Epistle on the progress of the Church at Rome during St. Paul’s imprisonment. Of his preaching to the Jews, the Asiatic Gentiles, and the Greeks, we have plain historical record in the Acts of the Apostles. That record fails us at the moment when he reaches the great centre of heathen civilisation at Rome, simply telling us that his imprisonment was not allowed to be a hindrance to his preaching, first (as always) with the Jews, then, on

their rejection of the gospel, to the Gentiles who were “willing to hear it.” Now, we know by the history of the Neronian persecution in Tacitus that, less than ten years after St. Paul’s arrival in Rome, the Christians were already “a vast multitude,” not only in the Eastern home of their religion, but in the metropolis itself. While we perceive from St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans that, before that arrival Christianity was firmly established in Rome, and suspect that the ignorance of the Jewish leaders concerning “the sect everywhere spoken against” (Acts xxviii. 22) was in great degree affected, yet we cannot but see that these ten years must have been years of rapid progress, in order to justify, even approximately, the description of the Roman historian. Naturally, we conclude that St. Paul’s presence, even in his prison, must have given the chief new impulse to such progress, and inquire eagerly for any indications of his actual discharge to the Romans of the debt of gospel preaching which he had long ago acknowledged as due to them (Rom. i. 14, 15). To this inquiry almost the only answer is found in the Epistle to the Philippians.

There we learn that, as we might have expected, St. Paul’s bonds “turned out” to the great “furtherance of the gospel.” Wherever his prison actually was, it gave him opportunity of influence over the Praetorian guards, and all the rest of the world, civilian or military, who frequented their quarters; it gave him access, moreover, to those of Cæsar’s household—that large community of the *domus Augusta* which included all varieties of occupation,

character, and rank. That the earlier Christianity of Rome was largely under Jewish influence we learn from the whole argument of the Epistle to the Romans; and it has been often remarked that the names included in the long list of salutations in the last chapter show a preponderance of Greek nationality in the converts themselves. But of those who came under the spell of St. Paul's presence, probably comparatively few would be Jews, although indeed at this time, through the influence of Poppæa, the Jewish element might be more than usually prominent in Cæsar's household; and while the greater number of that household who came in contact with him would be slaves of various nationalities, still, in the higher officers and among the Prætorian soldiery, many would be of true Roman origin. Remembering the friendship of Seneca for Burrhus, the Prætorian Prefect at the time of St. Paul's arrival, and the former conduct of Gallio, Seneca's brother, towards the Apostle at Corinth, many have delighted to speculate on the probability of some direct intercourse between the Apostle of the Gentiles and the philosopher of the later and more religious Stoicism, who was then the leader of higher Roman thought. But, however this may be, and whatever may be the real weight of the various apparent similarities to familiar Stoic phraseology which may be traceable in the Epistle, those who have any remembrance of the eagerness of Roman society at this time for new religions, new mysteries, and even new superstitions, from the East, will find no difficulty in believing that one who was placed, by the circumstance of his imprisonment,

in the imperial court itself, might easily have produced a deep impression on men of Roman birth, perhaps of high Roman rank.

This new Christianity would therefore probably be of a type, more purely Gentile, less predominantly Oriental, than the Christianity to which the Epistle to the Romans was addressed. Of the division between the old and the new the Epistle shows traces, in the description of those who preached Christ "of good will" to St. Paul, and those who preached in "factiousness and vain-glory;" for it seems clear, from his rejoicing that "every way Christ was preached," that the division was as yet one of mere faction and party, not of the contrast of false with true doctrine, which we know that he treated with stern, uncompromising severity. (See 2 Cor. xi. 1—4; Gal. i. 6—9.) Like all such divisions, it probably marked and justified itself by some differences in religious teaching and religious life: but if these existed, they did not go down to the foundation. The time, indeed, was not far distant, when the fall of Jerusalem, and the obvious passing away of the whole Jewish dispensation, struck the final blow to the existence of Judaism in the Christian Church. In spite, therefore, of this division, it seems clear that at the time of the Philippian Epistle Christianity had advanced, and was advancing, with rapid strides. "The city which is in heaven" was already beginning to rise from its foundations in the "great Babylon of the Seven Hills," now the very type of the kingdom of the earth, destined hereafter to be, even visibly, the metropolis of Western Christianity.

(3) *The main Subjects of the Epistle.*—Turning to the teaching of the Epistle itself, the main interest centres round the great passage in the second chapter (ii. 5—11), which is the very creed of the Incarnation, Passion, and Exaltation of our Lord Jesus Christ. This is a feature which has been noticed already in the *General Introduction to the Epistles of the Captivity*. Here, therefore, it is only necessary to remark that its advanced Christology is made the more striking by the occasion of its occurrence, which is, in point of form, simply incidental, in enforcement of the familiar exhortation to follow the mind of Christ Jesus in humility and self-sacrifice; and that the singular simplicity and clearness of its enunciation of truth stand to the profounder and more mysterious teaching on the same subject in the Epistle to the Colossians, much as, in later times, the simplicity of a Western creed stands to the greater subtlety of an Eastern. Next in interest, though after a long interval, is the light thrown (in chap. iii.) on the obstinate persistence in Macedonia of the old Judaising influence, elsewhere decaying or passing into new forms; and the appearance both of the pretensions to perfection (chap. iii. 12—16) and of the Antinomian recklessness (chap. iii. 17—21)—a recklessness that is sometimes in association with these pretensions and at other times is in open revolt against them—with which we are but too familiar in subsequent Church history.

(4) *Analysis of the Epistle.*—A short general sketch of the contents of the Epistle is here subjoined:—

I. The First Section (original Letter?).

(1) INTRODUCTION.

- (a) *Salutation* (chap. i. 1, 2);
- (b) *Thanksgiving for their "fellowship" in the work of the gospel, specially shown towards himself* (chap. i. 3—8);
- (c) *Prayer for their fuller knowledge and increase of fruitfulness to the end* (chap. i. 9—11).

(2) DECLARATION OF THE POSITION AT ROME.

- (a) *The progress of the gospel through his bonds, stimulating preaching of the gospel, partly in good will, partly in strife, but in any case a cause of joy* (chap. i. 12—18);
- (b) *His own division of feeling, between desire to depart, and a willingness to remain for their sakes, which he knows will be realised* (chap. i. 19—26).

(3) EXHORTATION:

- (a) *To steadfast boldness under persecution, now present or imminent* (chap. i. 27—30);
- (b) *To unity of spirit in the humility and self-sacrifice of "the mind of Christ Jesus"* (chap. ii. 1—4).

(4) THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST.

- (a) *His humility in the Incarnation: stooping from the form of God to the form of man* (chap. ii. 5—7);
- (b) *His second humility in the Passion* (chap. ii. 8);
- (c) *His exaltation above all created being* (chap. ii. 9—11).

(5) ORIGINAL CONCLUSION OF THE EPISTLE.

- (a) *'Final exhortation to obe-*

dience, quietness, purity, joy with him in sacrifice (chap. ii. 12—18);

(b) *Mission and commendation of Timotheus as St. Paul's forerunner* (chap. ii. 19—24);

(c) *Mission and commendation of Epaphroditus* (chap. ii. 25—30);

(d) *Final "farewell in the Lord"* (chap. iii. 1).

2. The Second Section (Post-script?).

(1) PRACTICAL WARNINGS:

(a) *Against Judaism, by the example of his own renunciation of all Jewish privilege* (chap. iii. 2—10);

(b) *Against claim of perfection, again enforced by his own example* (chap. iii. 11—16);

(c) *Against Antinomian profligacy, as unworthy of the "citizens of heaven"* (chap. iii. 17—21).

(2) EXHORTATIONS RENEWED:

(a) *To unity* (chap. iv. 1—3);

(b) *To joy, thankfulness, and peace* (chap. iv. 4—7);

(c) *To following of all good, in the fulness in which he had taught it* (chap. iv. 8, 9).

(3) ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF OFFERINGS.

(a) *Rejoicing in their renewed care for him* (chap. iv. 10—14);

(b) *Remembrance of their former liberality* (chap. iv. 15—17);

(c) *Thanks and blessing* (chap. iv. 18—20).

(4) CONCLUDING SALUTATION AND BLESSING.

COLOSSIANS.

BY THE RIGHT REV. ALFRED BARRY, D.D.

I. The Time, Place, and Occasion of Writing.—There are in this Epistle indications of the time and place of writing similar to those already noticed in the Epistles to the Ephesians and Philippians. It is written in prison: for St. Paul bids the Colossians “remember his bonds” (chap. iv. 18), and designates Aristarchus as his “fellow-prisoner” (chap. iv. 10). Like the Epistle to the Ephesians, it is sent by Tychicus, with precisely the same official commendation of him as in that Epistle (chap. iv. 7, 8; comp. Eph. vi. 21, 22); but with him is joined Onesimus, the Colossian slave, the bearer of the Epistle to Philemon. The persons named in the concluding salutations (chap. iv. 7—14)—Aristarchus, Marcus, Epaphras, Luke, Demas, and “Jesus, called Justus”—are all, except the last, named in the corresponding part of the Epistle to Philemon (verses 23, 24); two of them, Aristarchus and St. Luke, are known to have accompanied the Apostle on his voyage, as a captive, to Rome (Acts xxvii. 2); and another, Tychicus, to have been his companion on the journey to Jerusalem, which preceded the beginning of that captivity at Caesarea (Acts xx. 4). A direction is given to forward this Epistle to

Laodicea, and to obtain and read a letter from Laodicea (chap. iv. 16), which is, in all probability, our Epistle to the Ephesians—an Epistle (see the *Introduction* to it) addressed, indeed, primarily to Ephesus, but apparently also an Encyclical Letter to the sister churches of Asia.

All these indications may be said to point to one conclusion—not only that the Epistle is one of the Epistles of the Roman captivity (about A.D. 61—63), but that it is a twin Epistle with the Epistle to the Ephesians, sent at the same time and by the same hand, and designed to be interchanged with it in the Churches of Colossæ and Laodicea. These indications are confirmed most decisively by the substance of the Epistle itself, which (as will be seen below) presents, on the one hand, the most striking similarities to the Epistle to the Ephesians, and, on the other, differences almost equally striking and characteristic—thus contradicting all theories of derivation of one from the other, and supporting very strongly the idea of independent contemporaneousness and coincidence of thought.

The occasion of writing seems evidently to have been a visit to the Apostle from Epaphras, the

first preacher of the gospel at Colossæ, and the profound anxiety caused both to him and to St. Paul (chaps. ii. 1; iv. 12, 13) by the news which he brought of the rise among the Colossians (and probably the Christians of Laodicea and Hierapolis also) of a peculiar form of error, half Jewish, half Gnostic, which threatened to beguile them from the simplicity of the gospel into certain curious mazes of speculation as to the God-head and the outgrowth of various emanations from it; to create a separation between those who believed themselves perfect in this higher knowledge and the mass of their brethren: and, above all, to obscure or obliterate the sole divine mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ. To warn them against these forms of error—the last development of the Judaism which had been so formidable an enemy in time past, and the first anticipation of an intellectual and spiritual bewilderment which was to be still more formidable in the future—St. Paul writes this Letter. The Colossian Church was indeed to receive a copy from Laodicea of our Epistle to the Ephesians; but in an Encyclical Letter this peculiar form of heresy could not well be touched upon. Epaphras was for the present to continue at Rome, and (see Philem. verse 24) to share St. Paul's imprisonment. Mark, the nephew of Barnabas, then with St. Paul, was perhaps coming to Colossæ (chap. iv. 10), but not yet. Accordingly, by Tychicus, the bearer of the Encyclical Letter, and Onesimus, a fugitive Colossian slave, whom the Apostle was about to send back to Philemon, his master, this Letter is despatched. Partly it repeats and enforces the

teaching of the other Epistle, but regards these common truths from a different point of view, designed tacitly to correct the errors rife at Colossæ; partly it deals directly with those errors themselves, exploring the Colossians to break through the delusions of their new "philosophy and vain deceit," and to return to the simplicity of the gospel, in which they had all been one in the one mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ.

II. The Church to which it is addressed.—The Church of Colossæ, unlike the Churches of Ephesus and Philippi, finds no record in the Acts of the Apostles; for, although this city is not very far from Ephesus, we gather that it was not one of the churches founded or previously visited by St. Paul personally (chap. ii. 1; comp. chap. i. 4). But it appears, from what is apparently the true reading of chap. i. 7, that Epaphras, named as its first evangelist, and still, to some extent, in charge of it and the neighbouring churches of Laodicea and Hierapolis (chap. iv. 12, 13), was not only a fellow-servant but a representative of St. Paul in his mission to Colossæ. We can, therefore, hardly be wrong in referring the conversion of the Colossians to the time of St. Paul's three years' stay at Ephesus, during which we are expressly told that "all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks" (Acts xix. 10), and supposing that indirectly through Epaphras the Christianity of the Colossians was due to the influence of that great Apostolic preaching under which "the word of God grew mightily and prevailed." We find also that St.

Paul had intimate personal acquaintance, and what he calls emphatically "partnership," with Philemon (see Philem. verse 17), apparently a leading member of the Church at Colossæ. It is not unlikely that through him also the Apostle had been able to influence the foundation or growth of that Church. These circumstances explain the style and tone of this Letter, which seems to stand midway between the personal familiarity and unhesitating authority of such Epistles as the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Corinthians, Galatians, and Philippians, addressed to churches founded directly by St. Paul, and the courteous reserve of the Epistle to the Romans, addressed to a Church over which he could claim none of the authority of a founder. This is, perhaps, especially notable in chap. ii., where St. Paul prefaces his definite and authoritative denunciation of the peculiar errors besetting the Colossian Church with the half-apologetic introduction: "I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh."

The position and history of Colossæ are admirably described by Dr. Lightfoot in his *Introduction* to this Epistle, sect. 1. It lay in the valley of the Lycus, a tributary of the Mæander, near Laodicea and Hierapolis. These two cities stand face to face, about six miles from each other, on opposite sides of the valley, and ten or twelve miles farther up, on the river itself, lies Colossæ, so that any one approaching it from Ephesus or from the sea-coast would pass by Laodicea. The three cities thus form a group,

so that they might naturally receive the gospel at the same time, and the Christian communities in them might easily be under the same general charge. They seem to have been politically united under the Roman Government, and to have been distinguished by a common trade; like Thyatira, they were known for their manufacture of dyes, especially purple dyes, and derived considerable wealth therefrom. Colossæ had been once a place of importance. It is described by Herodotus (chap. vii. 20) as being, at the time of Xerxes' invasion of Greece, "a great city of Phrygia," the site of which is marked by a subterranean disappearance of the river Lycus; and by Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 2, § 6), about a century later, as "a city great and prosperous." But at the time at which this Epistle was written Colossæ was of far less note than the wealthy Laodicea, the metropolis of the district, or Hierapolis, well known as a place of resort for medicinal baths, and consecrated both to the Greek Apollo and the Phrygian Cybele. In the Apocalyptic letters to the Seven Churches of Asia it finds no mention, being probably looked upon as a dependency of the proud and wealthy Church of Laodicea. After the Apostolic age, while Laodicea and, in less degree, Hierapolis are well known, Colossæ sinks into utter insignificance. It may possibly have been laid in ruins by one of the earthquakes which are known to have been common in these regions. Comparatively few remains of it are now found, and the very orthography of the name (*Colossæ*, or *Colassæ*) has, it appears, been matter of dispute. It is notable

that a Church so much honoured and cared for by St. Paul should have had hereafter so obscure and so adverse a future.*

III. The Genuineness of the Epistle.—*External Evidence.*—Speaking generally, the condition of the external evidence is much the same with this as with the other two Epistles. It is included unhesitatingly in all canons, from the Muratorian Canon (A.D. 170?) downwards, and in all versions, beginning with the Peshito and the Old Latin in the second century. Quotations or references to it have not, however, been traced in any of the Apostolic fathers. The first distinct allusion to it is in Justin Martyr (A.D. 110—170?), who says (*Apol.* i. 46, ii. 6; *Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 100):—"We were taught that Christ is the first-born of God;" "We have acknowledged Him as the first-born of God, and before all creatures;" "Through Him God set all things in order." (*Comp.* chap. i. 15—17.) The next is Theophilus of Antioch, who died about A.D. 180:—"God begat the Word, the first-born before all creation." After this, in Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, direct quotation begins and continues uninterruptedly in all Christian writings. (See Westcott, *Canon of the New Testament.*) The external evidence is therefore strong. Never until these later days of arbitrary criticism has the genuineness of the Epistle been questioned.

Internal Evidence.—This Epistle, far more than the Epistle to the Philippians, perhaps a little less

than the Epistle to the Ephesians, bears traces of what I have ventured to call St. Paul's "third manner." To the correspondence of the change, both in style and substance, traceable in these Epistles, to the alteration of St. Paul's circumstances, and the natural development of the gospel and of the Church, I have already referred in the *General Introduction to the Epistles of the Captivity*, and given reasons for maintaining that this change, which has been often made an argument against the genuineness of these Epistles, presents to us phenomena inexplicable on any supposition of imitation or forgery, but perfectly intelligible if we accept the Apostolic authorship.

Some critics, however—of whom Dr. Holtzmann (in his *Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosser-briefe*) may be taken as the chief representative—insist on tracing extensive interpolations (almost amounting to a virtual reconstruction) in what they believe themselves able to discover as the originals both of this Epistle and the Epistle to the Ephesians. Except so far as these hypotheses depend upon the supposed traces of a later Gnosticism in both Epistles, but especially in the Epistle to the Colossians, they seem to resolve themselves into the idea that every passage bearing strong similarity to the teaching of St. Peter and St. John must have been altered or interpolated with a view to accommodation. Without any historical evidence that is in any degree substantial, ignoring both the probabilities of the case and the indirect evidence of Holy Scripture, and disregarding the utter absence of any support whatever in the witness of Christian antiquity, they

* Views of the country near the supposed site of Colossæ, and of the ruins of Laodicea and Hierapolis, are given in Lewin's *St. Paul*, Vol. II., pp. 357—360.

assume an absolute antagonism between St. Paul and the Apostles of the Circumcision, and pronounce every indication of an underlying unity, and a true development of common doctrine, which contradicts this assumption, to be a mark of interpolation or falsification by a later hand. With the rejection of this arbitrary assumption, the greater part of the ingeniously-constructed fabric of destructive criticism falls to the ground.

But, indeed, it appears difficult to conceive how any one attentively studying either of these Epistles, without any preconceived hypothesis, can fail to recognise the internal consistency and unity—all the more striking because indicating a free method, as distinct from a well-squared artificial system—which runs through the whole, and makes the theory of interpolation even more improbable than the theory of imitation or forgery. Nothing, for example, is more notable in this Epistle than the substantial unity, under marked difference of form, which connects the positive statement of doctrine in the first chapter (verses 14—23) with the polemical re-statement in the second chapter. In the former we trace anticipation of the latter, and (so to speak) preparation for the more explicit development of the attack on doctrinal error; in the latter, the very repetitions, with variations, of passages in the first chapter are indicative of a free treatment of the truths previously dealt with by the same hand, and are utterly unlike the tame reproductions or artificial modifications of a mere copyist. The remarkable indications, again, of the co-existence of similarity and distinctness between

this Epistle and the Epistle to the Ephesians (noticed in the *Introduction* to that Epistle), as they preclude the theory of dependence or imitation in either, so are equally fatal to the idea of an artificial interpolation and reconstruction by later hands. They indicate at every point a free, almost unconscious, coincidence, omitting or preserving the parallelisms of idea and expression by a kind of natural selection. They mark a likeness of living organic growths, not of artificial and heterogeneous fabrics. Nor should we omit to notice the sustained power of these Epistles, differing as to the peculiar style of each, but equally conspicuous in both. The Epistle to the Ephesians has about it a certain calm and almost mystic eloquence, a beauty of meditative completeness of idea, unbroken by necessities of special teaching or special warning, which well suits a general Apostolic message to Christians as Christians, in which we seem almost to hear the utterance of an inspired mind, simply contemplating the divine truth in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and speaking out, so far as they can be spoken, the thoughts which it stirs within—conscious of God and itself, only half conscious of those to whom the utterance is addressed. In the Epistle to the Colossians, on the other hand, we find a far greater abruptness, force, and earnestness. The free course of the Apostolic thought, which occasionally, perhaps, rises to an even greater height, is, on the whole, checked and modified by the constant remembrance of pressing needs and pressing dangers—accordingly developing some elements and leaving others comparatively undeveloped: and so, while perhaps

increasing intensity, certainly interfering to some extent with the majestic symmetry of the universal revelation. Each Epistle has its marked characteristics; and these, unquestionably, so run through the whole as to destroy even any show of plausibility in the theory of interpolation.

With regard to the supposed anachronisms in the references to what afterwards became peculiarities of the Gnostic system, it will here be sufficient to say that, on more attentive examination, not only do the supposed objections to the genuineness of the Epistle disappear, but the phenomena of the "philosophy and vain deceit" touched upon in this Epistle, when compared with the opinions either of the past or of the future, accord so remarkably with the characteristics of the period to which the Epistle claims to belong, as to add a fresh confirmation of the conclusions already derived from a consideration of the external evidence, and by the study of the coherence and vigour of the Epistle itself.

In this case, therefore, as in that of the others, we may without the least hesitation dismiss the questions which have been ingeniously raised, and with undisturbed confidence draw from the Epistle the rich treasures of Apostolic teaching.

IV. The main Substance of the Epistle.—In considering the substance of the Epistle, we must distinguish between the large amount of matter common to it with the Epistle to the Ephesians and the portion which is peculiar to this Epistle alone.

In regard of the common matter,

it may be said generally that it is found treated with a greater width of scope and completeness of handling in the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is best studied there in the first instance (see, accordingly, the *Introduction* and *Analysis* of that Epistle), and then illustrated by comparison and contrast with the corresponding passages in this Epistle. It will easily be seen that this illustration is at every point full of suggestiveness and variety. Literal identities are exceedingly rare; in almost every set of parallel passages the treatment in the two Epistles presents some points of characteristic variety, either in expression or in meaning. Speaking generally, this variety depends on two causes. The first turns on the speciality of the Epistle, addressed to a single Church, thoroughly, though indirectly, known to St. Paul; and the generality of the other, approaching more nearly to the character of a treatise rather than that of a letter. The second and the more important cause of this variety is the subtle adaptation even of details to the characteristic doctrines which stand out in the two Epistles respectively.

This last consideration leads on naturally to the examination of the portions of the Epistle to which there is nothing to correspond in the Ephesian Epistle.

(a) We have the passages in the first and last chapters which refer to the foundation of the Colossian Church by Epaphras, the declaration to them of the "truth of the Gospel," and the practical fruitfulness of that teaching (chap. i. 6—11); next, to the deep anxiety felt by Epaphras and St. Paul himself for their steadfastness in the simple truths of the Gospel,

against the speculations of a wild philosophy and the allurements of a mystic perfection in practice (chaps. i. 23, 24; ii. 1—4, 8—10, 16—23; iv. 12, 13); lastly, the particularity and strong personality of the salutations, directions, and blessing at the close of this Epistle (chap. iv. 7—18), singularly contrasting with the brief generality of the other (Eph. vi. 21—24). All these correspond to the former of the causes above named. They mark the difference between a special and an Encyclical Epistle.

(b) Of infinitely greater moment is the special prominence which is given in this Epistle to the doctrine of the sole Headship of Christ. The references to the Church as His body, though not unfrequent, are brief, secondary, unemphatic; and thus stand in marked contrast with the vivid and magnificent descriptions in the Ephesian Epistle of the predestination and election of the whole body of the Church in the eternal counsels "of the heavenly places" (Eph. i. 3—14): of the union of Jew and Gentile in the divine "commonwealth," all divisions being broken down which separated each from the other and both from God (chap. ii. 11—18): of the great Temple, "built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone" (chap. ii. 19—24): of the "one body" and "the one Spirit," the "one Lord, the one God and Father of all" (chap. iv. 4—10). It is especially notable that to the last-named passage, which is the climax of the doctrinal teaching of the Ephesian Epistle, there corresponds in this the equally celebrated but wholly different passage (Col. iii. 1—4), which addresses the Colossians as "risen with Christ," having

their "life hid with Him in God," looking for the time when He who is their life shall appear, and they with Him in glory. The reason of the distinction is made clear at once by the indications of the presence at Colossæ of a tendency to vain speculations, to obsolete Jewish forms, and to half idolatrous superstitions, all of which alike prevented them from "holding the Head," from "being dead with Christ" to the rudiments of the world, from being "risen with Him" to a communion with heaven (chap. ii. 8—23). Accordingly the sole Headship of Christ is dwelt upon—first positively (chap. i. 18—20), next polemically, in warning against error (chap. ii. 8, 16, 18). Both passages are peculiar to this Epistle, as compared with the Epistle to the Ephesians. They deal with a subject on which the needs of Colossæ and its sister Churches forced St. Paul to lay very special emphasis.

(c) But this emphasis does but bring out with greater force what may be found elsewhere. The great characteristic feature of this Epistle is the declaration of the nature of Christ in Himself as the "image of the invisible God;" "firstborn before all creation;" "by whom," "for whom," "in whom," "all beings were created in heaven and earth" and "all things consist;" "in whom dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily" (chaps. i. 15—17, 19; ii. 9). In this the Epistle may be compared with the Epistle to the Philippians (chap. ii. 6, 7). But the simple declaration there made of Christ as "being in the form of God" is here worked out into a magnificent elaboration, ascribing to Him the "fulness of Godhead" and the essential divine attributes of universal creation. It

may be even more closely compared with the Epistle to the Hebrews, which not only describes him as "the express image of the essence of Godhead," but with an emphasis which reminds us of the Judaistic angel-worship condemned in this Epistle, exalts His absolute superiority over all who, however glorious, are but creatures of God and ministering spirits (Heb. i. 1; ii. 4). It is evident, again, that it anticipates, yet with characteristic difference of expression, the doctrine of the "Word of God" taught by St. John, and the ascription to Him of essential eternity and Godhead, and both of physical and spiritual creation (John i. 1—5, 14). It is this which gives to our Epistle an unique doctrinal significance and value. Called out by one of the changeful phases of a pretentious, but transitory error, it remains to us an imperishable treasure. We cannot doubt that till the end of time it will have fresh force of special application, as ancient forms of error recur with more or less variety of outward aspect, and in their constant changes, developments, and antagonisms, stand in significant contrast with the unchanging gospel.

V. Analysis of the Epistle.

—To this general description is subjoined, as before, an analysis of the Epistle:—

I. Doctrinal Section.

(1) SALUTATION (chap. i. 1, 2).

- (a) *Thanksgiving for their faith, love, and hope, the worthy fruits of the truth of the gospel taught by Epaphras* (chap. i. 3—8);

- (b) *Prayer for their fuller knowledge, fruitfulness, and patience* (chap. i. 9—12).

(2) THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST (stated positively).

- (a) *His mediation in the forgiveness of sins* (chap. i. 13, 14);
- (b) *His divine nature as the image of God and the Creator of all things* (chap. i. 15—17);
- (c) *His Headship over the Church and over all created being* (chap. i. 18—20);
- (d) *Special application of His mediation to the Colossians, and declaration of the commission of the preaching of this mystery to St. Paul himself* (chap. i. 21—29).

(3) THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST (stated polemically).

- (a) *Declaration of St. Paul's anxiety for them that they should remain rooted and stablished in the old truth of the gospel* (chap. ii. 1—7).
- (b) *Warning against speculative error, denying or obscuring the truth—*
- (a) Of Christ's true Godhead.
- (β) Of the regeneration of spiritual circumcision in Him;
- (γ) Of His sole atonement and triumph over the powers of evil (chap. ii. 8—15).
- (c) *Warning against practical superstition—*
- (a) Of trust in obsolete Jewish ordinances and mystic asceticism;

(3) Of superstitious worship of angels, trenching on the sole Headship of Christ (chap. ii. 16—19).

(d) *Exhortation to be—*

(a) Dead with Christ to the rudiments of the world;

(β) Risen with Christ to the communion with God in heaven (chaps. ii. 20—iii. 4).

2. Practical Section.

(1) GENERAL EXHORTATION—

(a) *To mortification of the flesh in all the sins of the old unregenerate nature* (chap. iii. 5—9).

(b) *To putting on the new man in all the graces of the image of Christ, receiving the peace of God, and doing all to his glory* (chap. iii. 10—17).

(2) SPECIAL DUTIES OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIP—

(a) *Wives and husbands* (chap. iii. 18, 19);

(b) *Children and parents* (chap. iii. 20, 21);

(c) *Slaves and masters* (chap. iii. 22—iv. 1).

(3) CONCLUSION.

(a) *Exhortation to prayer and watchfulness* (chap. iv. 2—6);

(b) *Mission of Tychicus and Onesimus* (chap. iv. 7—9);

(c) *Salutations from St. Paul's companions* (chap. iv. 10—14);

(d) *Charge to exchange Epistles with Laodicea* (chap. iv. 15—17);

(e) *Final salutation* (chap. iv. 18).

VI. Comparison with Epistle to the Ephesians.—To this outline of the Epistle may also be added a tabular comparison with the Epistle to the Ephesians, noting the general lines of parallelism and peculiarity.

[In the following Table whatever is common to the two Epistles is printed in ordinary type, and whatever is peculiar to each in italics.]

EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

1. Doctrinal Section.

1. (a) Salutation (chap. i. 1, 2).

(b) *Doxology and thanksgiving for the divine election* (chap. i. 3—6).

(c) Prayer and thanksgiving for them (chap. i. 15—18).

2. (a) Declaration of the "gathering up of all in Christ," of His universal media-

EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

1. Doctrinal Section.

1. (a) Salutation (chap. i. 1, 2).

(b) Prayer and thanksgiving for them (chap. i. 3—5, 9—12).

(c) *Special reference to the teaching of Epaphras and its effect* (chap. i. 6—8).

2. (a) Declaration of the universal mediation of Christ, and His headship over the

tion for Jew and Gentile, and His headship over the Church, which is His Body, "the fulness of Him who filleth all in all" (chap. i. 7—14, 19—23).

- (b) *Fuller declaration of the union of Jew and Gentile in one covenant and temple, on sole condition of faith in Christ* (chap. ii. 1—20).
- (c) *The commission to St. Paul of the mystery of the calling in of the Gentiles, once hidden, now revealed to men and angels* (chap. iii. 1—13).
- (d) *Prayer that they may know that which passeth knowledge, by the indwelling of Christ, and be filled to the fulness of God* (chap. iii. 14—21).

3. SUMMARY OF DOCTRINE:

- (a) *The unity of the Church in God;*
- (b) *The diversity of gifts;*
- (c) *The one object of all—personal and corporate edification* (chap. iv. 1—16).

2. Practical Section.

- 1. (a) *General exhortation to put off the old man and put on the new, by learning Christ and being taught in Christ* (chap. iv. 17—24).
- (b) *Warning against various sins, as breaking unity with man* (chap. iv. 25—30).
- (c) *Special warnings against bitterness, against impurity and lust, and against reckless excess and drunkenness* (chap. iv. 31—v. 21).

Church and over all creatures being (chap. i. 13, 14, 18—22).

- (b) *Declaration of the true Godhead and creative power of Christ* (chap. i. 15—17).
- (c) *The commission to St. Paul of the preaching of the mystery once hidden, now revealed, "which is Christ in you the hope of glory"* (chap. i. 23—29).
- (d) *Special warnings against peculiar forms of speculative error and practical superstition, drawing them from Christ, and obscuring His sole mediation and true Godhead* (chap. ii. 1—23).

3. SUMMARY OF DOCTRINE:

The unity of the soul with Christ, in which it is risen and exalted to heaven in Him (chap. iii. 1—8; comp. Eph. ii. 5, 6).

2. Practical Section.

- 1. (a) *General exhortation to mortify our earthly members, to put off the old man and put on the new* (chap. iii. 5—11).
- (b) *Warning against various sins, as unworthy of "the elect of God"* (chap. iii. 5, 8, 9, 13—17).

2. HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS :

- (a) Wives and husbands (chap. v. 22—33). (*The sacredness of marriage as a type of the union between Christ and the Church.*)
- (b) Children and parents (chap. vi. 1—4).
- (c) Slaves and masters (chap. vi. 5—9).

3. CONCLUSION.

- (a) *Exhortation to put on the whole armour of God* (chap. vi. 10—17).
- (b) Request for their prayers (chap. vi. 18—20).
- (c) Commendation of Tychicus (chap. vi. 21, 22).
- (d) "Peace be to the brethren." "Grace be with all them who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity" (chap. vi. 23, 24).

2. HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS :

- (a) Wives and husbands (chap. iii. 18, 19).
- (b) Children and parents (chap. iii. 20, 21).
- (c) Slaves and masters (chap. iii. 22—iv. 1).

3. CONCLUSION.

- (a) Request for their prayers (chap. iv. 2—6).
- (b) Commendation of Tychicus and Onesimus (chap. iv. 7—9).
- (c) *Salutations from the brethren* (chap. iv. 10—14).
- (d) *Message to Laodicea and Archippus, and direction as to the letter from Laodicea* (chap. iv. 15—17).
- (e) "Remember my bonds. Grace be with you" (chap. iv. 18).

[For the Epistle to Philemon, see p. 250]

I. THESSALONIANS.

BY THE REV. CANON MASON, D.D.

IN the earlier part of the year 52, St. Paul, in the course of his second journey, arrived at Thessalonica, the modern *Saloniki*—then, as now, one of the largest and most important cities of the Levant. The wounds which the converted gaoler of Philippi and St. Lydia had tended (Acts xvi. 33, 40) can hardly have been healed, when the Apostles Paul, Silas or Silvanus, and Timothy,* journeying rapidly through Amphipolis and Apollonia, came to found their second European Church (1 Thess. ii. 2). The Jews (who to this day form, it is believed, a moiety of the population of *Saloniki*) were massed there in great numbers, and had there “their synagogue,”—a kind of metropolitan church, contrasted with the mere *chapels* or “prayer-houses” of Philippi and other Macedonian towns.

To this synagogue did St. Paul repair, and there he for “three Sabbath days” reasoned, as usual, with the Jews (1) on the Scriptural necessity for a suffering Messiah;

* Timothy’s presence is not mentioned in the Acts, but seems implied by chaps. xvi. 3, 4; xvii. 14, and made absolutely certain by the Epistle, where the “we” always includes him. Howson, nevertheless, concludes from Phil. ii. 22 that he had been left behind at Philippi.

(2) for a resurrection of the Messiah; and (3) on the claim of Jesus to the Messiahship. We are not informed how long the missionaries stayed at Thessalonica: probably a good deal more than the three weeks during which the preaching at the synagogue continued.† Their converts from among the Jews of the synagogue were few, though the proselytes and the ladies in connection with it joined them in large numbers.

We can draw from the Epistles, in connection with the Acts, a clear picture of the Apostles’ manner of life and preaching at Thessalonica. They lodged in the house of a believing Jew of the name of Joshua, or (in the Græcised form) Jason (Acts xvii. 5; Rom. xvi. 21), but accepted nothing from him but their lodging. To *none* of the Thessalonians would they be indebted (1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 8), but maintained themselves,

† Several facts indicate this: The good organisation of the Thessalonian Church (though this might be partly owing to St. Timothy’s subsequent visit); the fact that St. Paul had time to get regular artisan’s work; the repeated contributions from Philippi that reached him there (Phil. iv. 16); the way in which St. Paul speaks of his habitual conduct among them, and of what he “used to say” (*e.g.*, 1 Thess. ii. 9, 11; 2 Thess. ii. 5).

partly by the contributions twice forwarded to them from Philippi (Phil. iv. 16), but chiefly by hard manual labour, which occupied not the day only, but extended far into the night to make up for daylight hours devoted to preaching. They were determined to be model operatives (2 Thess. iii. 9), and not merely eloquent preachers. And this was not all; besides the work of public preaching and teaching, the Apostles followed their usual method of dealing individually with the converts' souls.

The Thessalonian Christians—"every one" in his turn—thus received the encouragements and warnings of their ghostly fathers (1 Thess. ii. 11). If the presbyters whom they left to carry on this work of admonition continued it with the Apostles' zeal, they might indeed well be described as "*labouring* among them."

The preaching no doubt went on, not only on the Sabbaths, but on the week-days; for though the Acts tell us nothing of evangelistic efforts among the Gentiles, except among the "devout" (*i.e.*, the proselytes), the whole tone of the Epistles proves that the Thessalonian Church was almost wholly Gentile. Besides which, the account in the Acts of the subjects of the three sermons preached on the three successive Sabbaths does not by any means include all that we find mentioned as the staple of the Apostles' preaching there. Thus, it is clear that they had spoken strongly of the *regal* aspect of our Lord's work. The charge on which they were arraigned was the charge of proclaiming "another king" (or *emperor*, for the word is the same in Greek), "one Jesus." It was,

in fact, the proclamation of what is specially distinguished as the "gospel of the kingdom" (Matt. iv. 23; ix. 35; xiii. 19; xxiv. 14; Luke viii. 1, Greek; xvi. 16), that is, not only the good news of Jesus Christ's complete empire over the individual soul, but the good news that He has organised us all into a well-disciplined Church (Rev. i. 6, Greek; comp. John xi. 52), which was to form an *imperium in imperio* within the Roman dominions. And accordingly we find the Thessalonians reminded that one of the best blessings which God had bestowed upon them was His calling them into "His kingdom" (1 Thess. ii. 12), and encouraged by the thought of God's counting them "worthy of the kingdom of God, for which they suffered" (2 Thess. i. 5). The full development of this "kingdom," at the King's return, was indeed very probably the main subject of the preaching. On this point the Thessalonians appear to have had the most accurate information (1 Thess. v. 2). St. Paul assumes that they thoroughly believed the doctrine (1 Thess. iv. 14). They not only knew the very form in which our Lord Himself had taught the impossibility of forecasting the date, but they had been told again and again (2 Thess. ii. 5) what changes must take place before the Advent of the kingdom was to be expected. At every turn in the Epistle it is mentioned. And the moral laws of the kingdom of God had been taught in the most explicit manner (1 Thess. ii. 11), not only with reference to sins which the Gentile world permitted freely (1 Thess. iv. 1, 2), but also with regard to strenuous industry (2 Thess. iii. 6, 10). And as in Galatia

(Acts xiv. 22) so here, the sufferings that fenced the entrance of that kingdom were fully prophesied (1 Thess. iii. 3, 4).

This teaching, delivered with all the tenderness of a nursing mother, and all the authority of a father, and all the devotion of a friend (1 Thess. ii. 7, 8, 11), yet sternly and unflatteringly (1 Thess. ii. 5), told upon the Thessalonians with great effect. The Apostles themselves were in the most exalted and confident frame of mind (1 Thess. i. 5), and their hearers, in spite of many difficulties (1 Thess. i. 6; ii. 2. 14), received with enthusiasm the instruction as proceeding from God and not from man) (1 Thess. ii. 13). The difficulties, however, soon increased. The Jews grew jealous of the work going on among the Gentiles, especially among their proselytes (Acts xvii. 5), and vehemently set themselves to forbid such preaching (1 Thess. ii. 16).

The abandoned Greeks who idled in the market-place were stirred up to make a riot against these disturbers of the world, whereupon the Greeks, with the passionate servility which usually marked what was called under the Empire a free Greek town,* took up eagerly the cry that to preach Jesus as Emperor was treason to Claudius, and began a prosecution of Jason before the politarchs.

* The city of Thessalonica had been made a *libera civitas* because of the support it had given in the civil wars to the cause of Octavian and Antony. Such cities were exempt from the interference of the provincial government, and had their own forms of administration. Thessalonica had her popular assembly, and for supreme officers certain magistrates called politarchs—a name elsewhere unknown.

The prosecution only resulted in Jason's being bound over to keep the peace; but the irritation was so great that it was judged expedient for the Apostles to leave the city and proceed southward.

From Thessalonica St. Paul travelled to Berea, from Berea to Athens, and from Athens to Corinth. But though he had quitted Thessalonica, he had not forgotten his infant Church, and had not intended to be absent from it long. Twice at least (1 Thess. ii. 18) he had seriously endeavoured to make his way back, "but Satan hindered" him.

The persecution of the Church had by no means been appeased (as they had hoped) by the expulsion of the missionaries; and St. Paul dreaded lest the temptation should have been too fiery for Christians so imperfectly taught and organised (1 Thess. iii. 10). In his extreme agony of mind for them, unable himself to travel northward, he determined, at the cost of utter loneliness in a strange and most unsympathising town (Acts xvii. 16; 1 Thess. iii. 1), to send Timothy to see how they fared, and to help them. To St. Paul's great relief, the younger Apostle brought back, on the whole, an excellent report. True, there were several most grave faults to be found with the Thessalonian Church, which will be best understood from the table of the Epistle's contents, but the practical St. Paul had evidently not expected even so much progress as had been made, and was overjoyed (1 Thess. iii. 8). And this Epistle—the earliest of all that are preserved of its author, perhaps the earliest book of the New Testament—contains

St. Paul's comments on Timothy's report.

The question now occurs, At what point of the narrative in the Acts is the writing of this Epistle to be placed? Was it written at Athens, or at Corinth? Almost all critics agree that it was written at Corinth.*

The difficulty, it may here be pointed out, consists in identifying the return of St. Timothy with his report (1 Thess. iii. 6), with the coming of Silas and Timotheus in Acts xviii. 5.

The narrative of the Acts seems, at first sight, to exclude the supposition that Silas or Timothy had paid a visit to St. Paul between the time of his leaving Berea and the time for their rejoining him at Corinth; while the words of 1 Thess. iii. 1—5 seem as urgently to require that Timothy at all events should have been with St. Paul at Athens. But, on closer inspection, the Acts prove rather to favour this supposition; they tell us that

* The subscription at the end of the Epistle has no weight whatever, not representing even a tradition, but being merely an uncritical inference from chap. iii. 1. The only way in which any case can be made out for the Athenian date is to suppose that the past tenses in iii. 1, 2, 5, are what is called in Greek the *epistolary aorist*, equivalent to our *present*, as e.g., where St. Jude (verse 3) says, "I gave all diligence," "it was needful," or St. John (1 John ii. 14), "I have written," literally, *I wrote*. Thus it would mean that Timothy has just obeyed St. Paul's hasty summons, and arrived at Athens by way of Thessalonica, as (from Berea) he naturally might. "Being no longer able to forbear, I am determined to be left at Athens alone, and I send Timothy; I send to know your faith, lest through the tempter's temptation of you our labour should prove in vain." The following verse will then mean—"Not that I seriously distrust you; for the other day when Timotheus came," &c.

St. Paul sent a peremptory and immediate summons to his two colleagues whom he had left in Macedonia (xvii. 15), which summons they promptly obeyed, and if so, would no doubt reach him long before the meeting at Corinth mentioned in Acts xviii. 5; besides which, the very words, "while Paul waited for them at Athens," seem to imply that they came to that city. A few other points may be mentioned which help to fix the date. On the one hand, the letter cannot be placed *later* than the departure from Corinth, for we never read of St. Silas being with St. Paul after that time. For the same reason it must have been written some *while* before the departure from Corinth, as the Second Epistle (which equally bears Silvanus' name) was also written thence. But on the other hand, it must not be placed too early. For (1) the Thessalonian Church had had time to extend its missionary zeal over all Macedonia, and indeed over all Greece; (2) the Jewish persecutions had had time to gain crushing force and consistency; (3) errors and disorders had had time to spoil the faith and morals of the community; (4) at any rate, a few of the believers had fallen asleep, which, considering the probable numbers and nature of the members of that young Church, requires a probable lapse of some months.

The contents of the Epistle bear every sign of an early date. None of the great doctrines which are considered specially Pauline are touched upon in it, such as "faith," in its special sense, or "justification." There is no Judaic legalism to oppose, as in Galatians; St. Paul "can still point to them"—the churches of Judæa—"as ex-

amples to his converts at Thessalonica" (chap. ii. 14). There is no Gnosticism to confront, as in the Epistle to the Colossians or to St. Timothy. Again, the great prominence given to the doctrine of the Advent seems an indication of what St. Paul calls "the beginning of the gospel" (Phil. iv. 15). The earliest gospel must needs consist in teaching that CHRIST was alive from the dead, and giving each Christian a vital interest in His present life, and this cannot be effected without much preaching of the Advent.

It has already been remarked that the Thessalonian Church consisted almost wholly of Gentiles. This may be easily seen from the Epistle. There are no quotations from the Old Testament, nor arguments founded upon it. The name of Satan (1 Thess. ii. 18) is the only approach to a reference to Scriptural knowledge. The earliest revelation with which the Church is supposed to be acquainted, and which forms the canonical standard of reference, is the tradition which the Thessalonians have received from their founders by word of mouth (2 Thess. ii. 5). The Thessalonians are never credited with any experience like "turning from dead works," but, on the contrary, they had "turned to God from idols" (1 Thess. i. 9). The fierce and bitter invective against the Jews is far different in its language from what it would have been had any large proportion of the Church been but neophytes from Judaism; and, indeed, the Jews are clearly distinguished from "your own countrymen" (chap. ii. 14). The difficulty with which the young Church accepted the doctrine of the resurrection also points in that

direction, as well as the dulness of conscience with regard to the sinfulness of fornication (chap. iv. 5).

The Epistle, which is entirely practical throughout, divides itself more clearly into its component sections than perhaps any other of St. Paul's Epistles. There are two main portions. The first (chaps. i., ii., iii.) is narrative and personal, designed to attach the Thessalonians more closely to the writers' persons by the ties of common memories, of imparted information, and of sympathy over the news which had been brought from Thessalonica. Attention having been thus secured, the two remaining chapters are occupied with instructions upon special points in which the Church was deficient. The contents (after the salutation) may be tabulated thus:—

I. THE NARRATIVE PORTION (chaps. i. 2—iii. 13).

A. Containing reminiscences of the apostolic *sojourn* at Thessalonica (chaps. i. 2—ii. 16).

- (1) Thanksgiving for the display of *God's power and love* both in the missionaries and in the converts (chap. i. 2—10).
- (2) Reminder of the missionaries' conduct there (chap. ii. 1—12).
- (3) Acknowledgment of the Thessalonians' hearty response (chap. ii. 13—16).

B. Containing an account of the Apostles' (especially St. Paul's) anxieties and efforts for the Thessalonians since they left them (chaps. ii. 17—iii. 10).

Then follows a prayer for them, which connects the first portion naturally with

the first subject of instruction in—

II. THE EDUCATIONAL PORTION
(chaps. iv. 1—v. 28).

- (1) The necessity of abstaining from fornication (chap. iv. 1—8).
- (2) The extension of sober church feeling (chap. iv. 8—12).
- (3) Discussion of certain points connected with the Advent:—
 - (a) The respective part therein of the quick and the dead (chap. iv. 13—18).
 - (b) The uncertainty of its date, and consequent need of vigilance (chap. v. 1—11).
- (4) Duty to the Presbyters (chap. v. 11—13), who are charged to see that orderly discipline is enforced (chap. v. 14, 15).
- (5) Various spiritual directions, chiefly with regard to public worship (chap. v. 16—28).

The *genuineness* of the Epistle can scarcely be said to have been ever seriously doubted. Though there are no certain patristic quotations from it, or allusions to it, earlier than the end of the second century, it has passed unchallenged (even by Marcion) until the present century. Schrader and Baur in this century have argued against its Pauline authorship, alleging the

absence of “Pauline” theology, contradictions to the account in Acts, marks of date which they suppose to be subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem, &c. But the internal evidence is so convincing that even such a sceptical critic as M. Renan has no hesitation in admitting both Epistles to the Thessalonians into his second class of Epistles, which he calls “Undoubted Epistles, although some objections have been made to them,” and his words are as follows:—“The difficulties which certain moderns have raised against them are but those light suspicions which it is the duty of criticism to express freely, but without being stopped by them when there are more powerful reasons to draw one on. And these three Epistles (*i.e.*, 1 and 2 Thess. and Phil.) have a character of authenticity which overbears every other consideration.” The attack upon the Epistles was renewed in the summer of 1877 by Holsten, in the German *Annual of Protestant Theology*.

[The principal works which the author has made use of are the Commentaries of Lünemann and his English follower Ellicott, as well as those of Hammond and of Wordsworth, together with such works as Renan’s and Howson’s accounts of St. Paul, and MS. notes from lectures of Professor Lightfoot.]

II. THESSALONIANS.

BY THE REV. CANON MASON, D.D.

WE may confidently assert that this Epistle was written by St. Paul from Corinth during his residence there of a year and a half, within a few months of the First Epistle: that is, in the year 53. Not only are all its main features so like those of the First as to suggest a very close connection in time, but it is despatched by the same apostolic group—Paul, Silvanus, and Timotheus; and, as we have remarked in the *Introduction to the First Epistle*, we have no reason to believe that Silvanus was in St. Paul's company later than the departure from Corinth in 54. It suits well with this date that the Apostle is in fear of certain "monstrous and depraved persons" (chap. iii. 2), who may well be the Jews who brought him before Gallio.

The circumstances which called forth the Letter were as follows. Since the First Epistle had been despatched St. Paul had been able to receive fresh tidings of the state of the Thessalonian Church, concerning which he was naturally anxious,

as it was so young when he had been forced to leave it to itself and to God. The tidings were both good and bad. On the one hand, there was marked progress in some of the points which had before caused solicitude. St. Paul uses enthusiastic language (chap. i. 3) of the advance made in *faith* (comp. 1 Thess. iii. 10), and in individual *brotherly charity* (comp. 1 Thess. iv. 10), and also of their *steadfastness* in persecutions which were still afflicting them (chap. i. 4)—persecutions in which, apparently, both the Jews and the Gentiles joined. We may likewise gather, from the silence of the present Letter, that St. Paul's instructions on the state of the departed faithful had taken good effect: this being, perhaps, the special increase in *faith* mentioned above. We find, moreover, that there is no further need of warnings on the subject of purity or of submission to ecclesiastical authority. On the other hand, there were three great faults to find.

(1) The tendency to disorders

and idleness, which had been censured both directly and indirectly in the former letter, had become stronger instead of receding. Some considerable number of the little Church had become mere "busybodies"—had left off work, expecting maintenance at the public expense of the community while they indulged themselves, probably, in what seemed more religious pursuits.

(2) We can trace more clearly in this Epistle than in the former the doctrinal ground on which such disorders were justified by those who were guilty of them. They had been "shaken from their reason," and were still "in trepidation" (chap. ii. 2), from a belief that "the day of the Lord" was already upon them. Panic and exultation alike had the effect of making the Thessalonians think it not worth while to attend to the things of a doomed world.

(3) This belief had been, if not created, yet confirmed by some audacious forgeries and fictions (chap. ii. 2). Even in the First Epistle St. Paul gives signs of uneasiness, as though he were not sure of the honesty of some of his correspondents in their use of his name and writings (1 Thess. v. 27). Now it is clear that, in more than one way, persons (who might be only half conscious of their fraud) had attempted to impose on their brethren. They had pretended to a direct inspiration or angelic visitation, which had revealed to them the immediate nearness of the Advent. They had misrepresented the oral teaching given by St. Paul during his stay at Thessalonica. They had, perhaps, wrested the words of his First Epistle, which had certainly given a colourable

pretext for what they now taught. More probably still, from the precaution given in chap. iii. 17, they had actually written a letter, or letters, purporting to be from the Apostle, in which the doctrine was definitely taught.

To all these three faults the writer opposes the authority of what they knew to have genuinely proceeded from himself. He has nothing to unsay. They are to "hold fast the traditions" (chap. ii. 15) which, written or unwritten, were his. (1) He reminds them not only of his example (as in the First Letter), but of his teaching levelled at their dissipated religiousness: "Withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which they received of us" (chap. iii. 6); "Even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any has no mind to work, neither let him eat" (chap. iii. 10). (2) He recalls the very definite instructions which showed that the end was not by-and-by. The Roman empire was still standing, and therefore the Man of Sin could not be revealed as yet, and therefore Christ could not be on the point of coming. "Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things?" (chap. ii. 5.) (3) He enforces, against their forgeries, his present Letter, even at the risk of provoking an open rebellion: "If any man obey not our word by this Epistle, note that man, and have no fellowship with him" (chap. iii. 14).

The style of the Epistle (except in the studied obscurity of the prophetic passage) is clear and easy, like that of the First; and the structure is also very simple, as will be seen from the following analysis,

and marked by the same characteristic feature as the First: *i.e.*, the *prayer* which leads on from one section of the Letter to another:—

I. THE SALUTATION (chap. i. 1, 2).

II. THE RETROSPECTIVE PORTION (chap. i. 3—12).

- (a) Thanksgiving for progress made (chap. i. 3, 4).
- (b) Hopes thus afforded against the Advent Day (chap. i. 5—10).
- (c) Prayer for continuance in so happy a state (chap. i. 11, 12).

III. THE INSTRUCTIVE AND HORTATORY PORTION (chaps. ii. 1—iii. 18).

(1) *On the date of the Advent.*

- (a) Caution against believing the Advent close at hand (chap. ii. 1—3).
- (b) What must happen first (chap. ii. 3—10).
- (c) Terrible fate of the apostates (chap. ii. 11, 12).
- (d) Thanksgiving that the Thessalonians' fate is so different (chap. ii. 13, 14).
- (e) Exhortation and prayer (chap. ii. 15—17).

(2) *On the necessity of work.*

- (a) Request for prayers for himself, which skilfully serves to predispose the readers to obey the ensuing commands (chap. iii. 1—4).
- (b) Prayer for the same purpose (chap. iii. 5).
- (c) Commands to make all work, and to excommunicate the refractory (chap. iii. 6—15).

(d) Prayer for tranquillity (chap. iii. 16).

(e) Final benediction, with attention drawn to the autograph (chap. iii. 17, 18).

The genuineness of this Letter, like that of the First, is practically uncontroverted. We seem to have very early testimony to its use—St. Polycarp appearing in two places to quote it, though anonymously, according to his custom; and St. Justin, speaking of the Man of Sin in a manner which might indeed be explained by saying that that doctrine was common to the Catholic Church, not special to St. Paul, but which is more simply referred to this Epistle. The objections of a few modern scholars (Baur, Schrader, &c.) are chiefly drawn from the prophecy in chap. ii., from supposed contradictions between this Epistle and the First—especially in regard to the date of the Advent; from fancied allusions to the persecution of Nero; from a mistaken notion that the doctrine of an Antichrist (which was in reality pre-Christian) was only invented by the Montanists.

Doubts have been entertained by a few critics, who acknowledged the genuineness of both, which of these Letters is the earlier in date. Ewald, the greatest of these critics, placed the Second Epistle first. It was, he thought, placed second in the Canon because, as a rule, the shorter letters in the Canon follow the longer. The arguments, however, which he adduces are scarcely worth considering, in face of the fact that in 2 Thess. ii. 15 we have an allusion to a former Epistle. All the historical portion of the First Epistle (especially 1 Thess. ii.

17; iii. 11) bears evident tokens of being the earliest communication that had passed between St. Paul and his spiritual children since he had left them.

[The chief books consulted by the author have been those already mentioned in 1 Thessalonians:—The Patristic commentaries, partic-

ularly St. Chrysostom; Hammond, Lünemann, Ellicott, and others; and the posthumous edition (which appeared too late for use in annotating the first Epistle) by the Presbyterian Professor Eadie. His notes are, however, little but a reproduction of Bishop Ellicott's, without their concentration.]

I. TIMOTHY.

BY THE VERY REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, D.D.

I. Timothy.—Timothy was a native of the province of Lycaonia in Asia Minor—most probably of Lystra, a small town some thirty miles to the south of Iconium, the modern *Könich*. His father was a pagan, but his mother and grandmother, Lois and Eunice, were Jewesses, evidently devout and earnest in the practice of the religion of their forefathers. They became Christians, apparently, at the time of St. Paul's first visit to Asia Minor in company with Barnabas (A.D. 46), (Acts xiv. : 2 Tim. i. 5 ; iii. 15).

From Lois and Eunice Timothy no doubt learned the rudiments of the faith of the Lord Jesus. Some five years later, in company with Silas (A.D. 51), St. Paul paid a second visit to Asia Minor. Moved probably by the devotion and earnestness of the young son of Eunice, and seeing in him the promise of a loving and heroic life, St. Paul took Timothy in the place of Mark, whose heart had failed him in the presence of so many difficulties and dangers. From this time (A.D. 51) Timothy's life was closely associated with that of his master.

He was with the Gentile Apostle in Macedonia and Corinth (A.D. 52—53), (Acts xvii. 14 ; xviii. 5 ; 1 Thess. i. 1) ; with him at Ephesus, whence he was sent on a special mission to Corinth (A.D. 55—56), (1 Cor. iv. 17 ; xvi. 10) ; with him when he wrote from Macedonia the Second Corinthian Letter (2 Cor. i.

1) ; with him at Corinth when he wrote to the Roman Church (A.D. 57), (Rom. xvi. 21) ; with him when he was returning to Asia, where he was arrested prior to the long captivity at Cæsarea and Rome (A.D. 57—58), (Acts xx. 4). We find him again specially mentioned as the Apostle's companion during that long Roman imprisonment (A.D. 61—63). (See the Epistles written at that period—Col. i. 1 ; Philem. verse 1 ; Phil. i. 1.)

After the Apostle's release from his first great captivity (A.D. 63), (see *General Introduction to the Pastoral Epistles*), Timothy, still St. Paul's companion (1 Tim. i. 3), was left in charge of the Ephesian Church (probably about A.D. 64). While fulfilling this work he received the two Epistles of St. Paul (A.D. 64—65) which bear his name. In the Epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 23) Timothy is alluded to as having been imprisoned and again liberated. This solitary notice, however, throws but little light on the life of the Apostle's famous disciple, except that it seems to tell us that the pupil's life was full of hardship and danger, as was the master's, and that the younger man had well learned the lesson of St. Paul, who bade him with his dying breath (2 Tim. ii. 3) "endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ."

Nicephorus and the ancient martyrologies tell us that Timothy died by martyrdom under the Emperor

Domitian some time before A.D. 96. Baronius, however, puts his martyr-death a little later—A.D. 109—when the Emperor Trajan was reigning.

The accompanying table will assist the reader in following the life of Timothy:—

A.D.	ROMAN EMPEROR REIGNING.	—
46	Claudius.	First meeting between Paul and Timothy, still a child, at Lystra—probably in the house of Eunice and Lois.
51		Paul and Silas take Timothy with them from Lystra.
52		Timothy accompanies Paul in his journey through Macedonia.
53		Timothy is with Paul at Corinth.
54—56	Nero.	Timothy is with Paul at Ephesus.
57		Timothy is with Paul at Corinth. Paul writes Epistle to Romans.
58		Timothy is with Paul in the journey from Corinth to Asia.
62—63		Timothy is with Paul during the Roman imprisonment.
64		Paul leaves Timothy at Ephesus.
65—66		Timothy receives the two Epistles from Paul.
Not later than 96. Or, according to Baronius, 109	} Domitian. } Trajan.	Alleged martyrdom of Timothy
		Alleged martyrdom.

II. Date of the Epistle.—The First Epistle to Timothy was written apparently in the year 65—66, while the Apostle was passing through Macedonia, after a probable journey into Spain and a return to Ephesus, at which city he had left Timothy in charge of the Church.

III. General Contents of the Epistle.—No systematic arrangement is followed in this Epistle. Its contents may be roughly divided into six general divisions, coinciding with the six chapters:—

1.—St. Paul reminds Timothy of his especial commission at Ephesus—the repression of a school of false teachers which threatened to subvert the Church.

This leads to a brief review of the Apostle's own past history (chap. i.).

2.—The second division is occupied with directions respecting the public worship of Christians, and the parts which each sex should take in public prayer (chap. ii.).

3.—Treats of the office-bearers in the Church—bishops (or, *elders*), deacons, and deaconesses (chap. iii.).

4.—Again St. Paul refers to Timothy's commission in respect to false teachers. He dwells upon the deceptive teaching of asceticism, showing the dangers which accompanied such doctrine. The practical godly life of Timothy and his staff would, after all, be the best antidote to the poison disseminated by these unreal, untrue men (chap. iv.).

- 5.—Treats (*a*) of the behaviour of the Church officials to the flock of Christ; (*b*) of the public charities of the Church in connection with destitute and helpless women; (*c*) of a certain order of presbyteral or *elder* widows, which, in connection with these charities, might be developed in such a Christian community as Ephesus; (*d*) rules for Timothy, as chief presbyter, respecting ordination and selection of colleagues in the ministry, &c. (chap. v.).
- 6.—A few plain comments on the great social question of slavery. How Christian slaves were to behave in their condition. The false teachers must be sternly combated in their teaching on this point. Timothy is warned with solemn earnestness against covetousness. This, St. Paul argues, was the root of all false teaching (chap. vi.)

One golden thread seems to run through this, and, it may be said, through the other two Pastoral Letters. St. Paul's earnestness in these last days of his life seems rather to expend itself in exhortations to Christian men and women to live a good, pure, self-denying life. Doctrine, in these last words of the noble, generous toiler for the Lord, retreats a little into the background. It is true that he reiterates in several places the grounds of a Christian's belief—that he rehearses in plain and evidently well-known phrases the great articles of the Christian faith; but his last words dwell rather on life than on theology. The errors of the false teachers whose deadly influence Timothy was to counteract belonged rather to an evil life than to a false belief. The pure and saintly conduct, the pattern home life—these things, Timothy and his colleagues must remember, were the surest antidote against the poisonous teaching and the selfish practice of the enemies of the Lord Jesus.

II. TIMOTHY.

BY THE VERY REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, D.D.

I. Contents of the Epistle.—Like the First Epistle, the Second Letter presents no regular plan.

- 1.—It commences with expression of deep love to Timothy (chap. i. 1—5);
- 2.—And then passes on to exhortation to a fearless and faithful discharge of his duties (chap. i. 6—14).
- 3.—These exhortations are interrupted by the Apostle's memory of many faithless ones, and of one faithful friend (chap. i. 15—18).
- 4.—The Apostle renews his exhortations to Timothy to a brave endurance, even if suffering come on him. He tells his disciple Timothy what has nerved him, Paul, to endure to the end. Then he renews his pleading, that Timothy should be careful in guarding against a religion of mere words—instancing what such a teaching might end in (chap. ii. 1—26).
- 5.—Again St. Paul interrupts his exhortation by writing down his sad forebodings of evil times (chap. iii. 1—9).
- 6.—Then he encourages his disciple by recounting his own

suffering and deliverances. Timothy too must suffer, only let him remain steadfast in the faith (chap. iii. 10—17).

- 7.—The Apostle closes with a solemn command that his disciple should teach earnestly, for he, the old master, was at the end of his course. He would, if possible, see his dear friend once more, so he prays him to come speedily, well nigh all having deserted him. He ends with a touching reminiscence of his first trial in the Roman court of justice, and with a few greetings (chap. iv. 1—22).

This second Epistle to Timothy has been well termed the "will or testament" of the master, addressed to his favourite disciple, and containing his last wishes, written as it was under the shadow of approaching death. It is full of light and shade; the tone of the exhortation, the warning and the encouragement constantly changing. Now the words are sad with a strange parting solemnity, now bright with the glorious sunshine of the Apostle's immortal hopes. Yet in every line of this most touching of all

the Pauline writings we cannot fail to perceive something of the gloom which, owing to desertion of so many friends, had saddened that gallant, loving heart of St. Paul.

He was well-nigh quite alone, almost friendless in the midst of mortal foes, an old man, worn out with toil, weakened by illness and privation, expecting a death of agony; and yet in spite of his surroundings, in spite of his own seeming failure, in spite of his own baffled hopes, he writes to his best-loved disciple in sure confidence, that he, Timothy, will war the same warfare as his master Paul had warred; that he, Timothy, though by nature perhaps timid and shrinking, will, undeterred by dangers, sufferings, and the sad prospect of a painful death, bravely carry on the work he has seen his master do, and for the sake of which he has seen his master die. He writes to him in sure confidence that the teaching respecting the mystery of the atoning blood, the doctrine of Christ, and the life lived by Christ, the sum of the sacred deposit of the Catholic Faith committed to his charge, would be preserved intact and safe by him, and by him then handed down, when his life-work was done, to other faithful hands.

The Epistle, though ringing with a ring of hope, yet paints the future of the Church in sombre colours. The enemies would increase, and

the love of many would wax cold, and in coming years the man of God would be exposed to persecution, hatred, and to cruel suffering: and yet though all this is found in this strangely touching little writing, no one who has read these dying words of St. Paul can lay the Letter down without a prayer of thanksgiving for this Epistle of immortal hope.

II. *Date of the Epistle.*—The Second Epistle to Timothy was written by St. Paul from Rome during his second imprisonment in that city, about the year A.D. 66. We may suppose that shortly after the writing of the First Epistle to Timothy the Apostle had been arrested at Nicopolis, "the city of victory," in Epirus (see Titus iii. 12), probably on the capital charge of being connected with the burning of Rome (A.D. 64), and after a short delay had been conveyed to Italy. The words of chap. iv. 16 refer to the first hearing of his cause, either by Nero himself, or, more probably, by the infamous Tigellinus, the Prætorian Prefect. It was no doubt shortly after this first hearing, that St. Paul, feeling that the end for him was at hand, wrote this Second Epistle to Timothy. The exact date of the martyr's passing to his rest is unknown. The last hour probably came before he looked for it, for, notwithstanding the urgent summons, no tradition speaks of Timothy again looking on the face of his beloved master.

TITUS.

BY THE VERY REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, D.D.

I. **Titus.**—Among the early Christian leaders of the school of Paul, Titus, to whom one of the three Pastoral Epistles of the Gentile Apostle was addressed, must have occupied a prominent position. For some unknown reason his name never occurs in the Acts (save, perhaps, in the doubtful reference, Acts xviii. 7, on which see below); but from a few scattered notices in the Epistles of St. Paul we are able to gather some notion of the work and influence of this distinguished and able teacher of the first days.

The silence of St. Luke in the Acts with reference to one who evidently played so important a part in the days when the foundations of the Christian Church were being laid, has been the subject of much inquiry. Attempts have been made, but with little success, to identify Titus with one or other of the characters prominent in the Acts story—with Luke himself, for instance, or Silvanus (Silas). The only possible identification, however, is with the "Justus" of Acts xviii. 7, to which name, in some of the older authorities, the name "Titus" is prefixed. The circumstances, as far as we know them, connected with Justus would fit in with this identification. This Justus was, like Titus, closely connected with Corinth; and like Titus, too,

was an uncircumcised Gentile, attending the Jewish services as a proselyte of the gate. That these two were identical is possible, but nothing more.

Titus was of Gentile parentage, and probably a native of Antioch—the great centre of that early *Gentile* Christianity of which St. Paul was the first teacher, and, under the Holy Ghost, the founder. Some time before A.D. 50—51 the master and scholar had come together. In that year he accompanied Barnabas and St. Paul to the council of Apostles and elders which was convened at Jerusalem to consider the question of the general obligations of the Mosaic law. The result was the drawing up of the charter of Gentile freedom from all the restraints of the Jewish law. (See Acts xv.; Gal. ii. 1—3.) From this time (A.D. 50—51) the glad tidings that Christ was indeed a Light to the Gentiles (Isa. xlix. 6) spread through Asia, North Africa, and Europe with a strange and marvellous rapidity. There is no doubt, from the scattered notices in the Epistles of St. Paul, that Titus was one of the most active agents in the promulgation of the gospel story among the peoples that had hitherto sat in darkness and in the shadow of death.

The following table will give

some idea of Titus' connection with St. Paul :—

DATE.	EMPEROR OF ROME.	
Before A.D. 50—51	Claudius.	Titus meets with and is instructed by St. Paul at Antioch in the faith. (Comp. Tit. i. 4: "My own son in the faith.")
50—51		Titus accompanies St. Paul and Barnabas to the council of Apostles and elders at Jerusalem (Acts xv. ; Gal. ii. 1).
54—55	Nero.	Probably with St. Paul during part of his second missionary journey. He is evidently well known to the Galatians, from the familiar reference to him in the Epistle to that Church. Perhaps he is alluded to in Gal. iii. 5.
56		With St. Paul at Ephesus. Thence sent on a special mission to Corinth, probably bearer of the First Epistle to the Corinthians (2 Cor. xii. 18).
57		With St. Paul in Macedonia (2 Cor. vii. 6—15), and perhaps with St. Paul at Corinth, if identical with Justus, according to the reading of some of the older authorities.
65—66		Titus is superintending presbyter in Crete.
66—67		At Rome with St. Paul; thence sent to Dalmatia (2 Tim. iv. 10). [Tradition speaks of Titus as returning from Dalmatia to Crete, where he died in extreme old age as Archbishop of Gortyna.]

Titus, as we have seen, was a Gentile—was the one chosen by the great Apostle in very early days as the example of Christian freedom from Jewish rites and customs. At first the pupil, then the friend of St. Paul, we find him, in the brief notices in the Epistles, evidently occupying a position quite independent of, and in no wise subject to, his old master. He is St. Paul's "brother," "companion," "fellow-labourer" (2 Cor. viii. 22, 23); St. Paul's trusted and honoured friend. His missions of investigation and love, his arrangements for the famous collection for the poor saints at Jerusalem, were apparently undertaken spontaneously, rather than by the direction of a superior and elder officer of the Church. (See, for instance, 2 Cor. viii. 6, 16, 17.) Now the Acts is confessedly a very early writing, and must have been put forth not later than A.D. 62—63; would it not be very probable that, in such a work, so prominent a Gentile, who had publicly, with St. Paul's consent, held himself free from all Jewish restraints, and by his prominent example preached the perfect equality of the Gentiles in the kingdom of God—would it not be very probable that in the Acts the name and work of such a person would be omitted? The fierce hostility of a large section of the Jewish race to St. Paul on account of this very teaching of equality is well known; it probably compassed in the end his death. The gentle, loving spirit of St. Luke, while telling the story of the foundation of the Christian Church with scrupulous accuracy, would be likely to avoid such passages of the early history which would tend to alienate any. (He never, for instance,

hints at such scenes as the Galatian Epistle, chap. ii., relates so graphically.) This same spirit, which ever sought to win rather than to alienate, induced him, perhaps, to avoid the mention of the famous Gentile leader Titus at a period when the fierce hostility of the Christians of the Circumcision was endeavouring to compass the fall of St. Paul and the disruption of the school of Gentile Christianity.

The Holy Spirit loves to work, we know, by purely human instruments—now by the tender conciliatory pen of a Luke—now by the fiery zeal of a Paul, which refuses to recognise danger, or to acknowledge the possibility of failure.

Later on, the appointment of the brilliant and successful Gentile organiser to the chief superintendence of the churches of Crete was one of singular fitness. "There was," as it has been well said, "a strange blending of races and religions" in the island which boasted the possession of the birthplace of Zeus (Jupiter), and rejoiced in the vile mysteries practised in the worship of Dionysus (Bacchus). There were many Jews, we know, at Crete, but the Gentile population, of course, far outnumbered them. The congregation seem to have been numerous and full of life, but disorganised and troubled with disorder, misrule, and even dishonoured with many an excess utterly at variance with their Christian profession. Who so fitted to restore order and to enforce a sterner rule in such communities as the friend of St. Paul, who had worked already so great a work among the turbulent and licentious Christians of Corinth, and had persuaded by his marvellous skill so many Gentile congregations to unite in help-

ing with a generous liberality the pressing needs of their proud and haughty Jewish brethren who had treated them with disdain?

After the year A.D. 65—66 the story of Titus is uncertain. We know he rejoined the Apostle at Rome, and left him again for Dalmatia (2 Tim. iv. 10).

Then traditional recollections which lingered in Crete tell us how he returned from Dalmatia to the island, where he worked long and presided over the churches, and died at an advanced age. The church of Megalo-Castron, in the north of the island, was dedicated to him. In the Middle Ages, his name was still revered, and his memory honoured. The name of Titus was the watchword of the Cretans when they fought against the Venetians, who came under the standard of St. Mark. The Venetians themselves, when here, seem to have transferred to him part of that respect which elsewhere would probably have been manifested for St. Mark alone. During the celebration of several great festivals of the Church the response of the Latin clergy of Crete, after the prayer for the Doge of Venice, was, *Sancte Marce tu nos adjuva*; but after that for the Duke of Candia, *Sancte Tite tu nos adjuva* (Pashley's *Travels in Crete*, quoted by Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*).

II. Contents of the Epistle.

—After a formal salutation and greeting St. Paul reminds Titus of his special work in Crete, viz., that the government of the various churches must be properly organised—a body of elders, or presbyters, must be ordained and set over the congregation. The qualifica-

tions of these officers are then detailed. They are for the most part of a moral nature ; but these elders must also possess the power necessary for teaching and influencing such a people as were the Cretans (chap. i. 1—16). St. Paul passes on to the special kind of instruction Titus and the elders must impart to men and women of varied ages, sexes, and ranks in the Cretan churches—to aged men, to aged women, to the young of both sexes, to slaves—and then proceeds to show the reason why such instruction must be given. God's grace, he says, has appeared in the work of redemption, bringing sal-

vation to all—old or young, free or slaves (chap. ii. 1—15). St. Paul now points out to Titus how the Christian community must conduct themselves towards the heathen world. There must be no thought of rebellion among the worshippers of the Lord Jesus. Again he enforces these solemn admonitions by an appeal to the loftiest Christian truths. He closes his Letter by reminding his friend that this practical teaching, based on gospel truth, must be the standard of instruction ; no time must be wasted on useless theological questions. A few personal requests are added (chap. iii. 1—15).

PHILEMON.

BY THE RIGHT REV. ALFRED BARRY, D.D.

I. The Date, Place, and Occasion of the Epistle.—

These are all perfectly clear. The Epistle is of the same date as the Epistle to the Colossians, sent by Onesimus, who was one of the bearers of that Epistle (Col. iv. 9); dwelling emphatically on St. Paul's imprisonment (verses 1, 9), looking forward confidently to a speedy release and a return to Asia (verse 22). Even the salutations, with one exception, are the same in both (verses 23, 24, comp. with Col. iv. 10—14). It is written to intercede with Philemon for Onesimus, his slave—formerly “unprofitable,” a runaway, and probably a thief, but now converted to a new life by St. Paul at Rome, and after his conversion becoming at once “profitable” to St. Paul for ministrations in his captivity, and likely to be profitable also to his old master, to whom, accordingly, St. Paul sends him back, with this letter of intercession.

II. The Persons to whom it is addressed.—

All we know of Philemon is gathered from this Epistle. It is nowhere actually said he was a Colossian; but this is inferred from the fact that Onesimus, his slave, is described as of Colossæ

(Col. iv. 9). It is clear that he was St. Paul's convert; but, as the Apostle had not visited Colossæ (Col. ii. 1), we may probably conjecture that he had been brought under his influence during his long stay at Ephesus. Possibly, like Epaphras (Col. i. 7), he had been, under St. Paul's auspices, an evangelist of his native place. For he is evidently a man of mark; “the Church” gathers “in his house;” he is able, by his love, “to refresh the hearts of the saints,” probably by temporal as well as spiritual gifts; to him St. Paul entrusts the charge of preparing a lodging for his hoped-for visit, and describes that visit as “being granted,” “through his prayers,” to him and his. We note also that the Apostle treats him as almost an equal—as a “brother” (not “a son”), as “a fellow-labourer,” and as a “partner.”

This last phrase—used distinctively, and without any words of limitation to some particular work—is unique. It occurs in close connection with the promise on St. Paul's part to take upon himself the pecuniary responsibility of any default of Onesimus—a promise emphasised by the writing of a bond of obligation in legal form. Ac-

cordingly, it has been supposed that Philemon was St. Paul's partner in the "tent-making" by which he maintained himself with Aquila and Priscilla—first, certainly, at Corinth (Acts xviii. 3), and afterwards, as it appears (Acts xx. 35), at Ephesus; that he may have still had in his hands some of the money earned by that common labour, and that from this St. Paul offers to discharge the obligation taken upon himself for Onesimus. The supposition is ingenious, and certainly quite possible; but it revolts against all our conceptions of St. Paul's character to suppose that he would work beyond what was actually necessary for maintenance, so as to accumulate money, and keep a regular debtor and creditor account with Philemon. Nor is it easy to see why, if this was so, he should have so urgently needed in prison the supplies sent from Philippi (Phil. iv. 10—13). Accordingly, it seems better to refer the "partnership" or communion" (see verse 6 of the Epistle) principally, if not exclusively, to some united work of evangelisation or beneficence (possibly devised during the common labour at Ephesus) for the Churches of Asia, and especially for the Church of Colossæ. Ecclesiastical tradition, as usual, makes Philemon the Bishop of Colossæ in the hereafter.

Of Apphia we know nothing, except that tradition, and the style in which the Epistle mentions her, both support the idea that she was Philemon's wife. Archippus, a minister of the Church, either of Colossæ or of Laodicea (see Col. iv. 7), is on the same ground supposed to have been his son. The tone of the whole Epistle gives the impression of some wealth and dignity in the family, nobly used for

the relief of necessity and the knitting closer of the bonds of Christian unity.

III. The Genuineness of the Epistle.—It is notable that, unlike the other two personal Epistles—the Second and the Third of St. John, if, indeed, the Second be really personal—this Epistle found its place in all catalogues, from the Muratorian Canon downwards, and in all the ancient versions. We might have supposed that, in respect of such reception, it would have suffered from the improbability of any public reading in the Church, from the want of adaptability to theological or ecclesiastical uses, and from the idea which seems to have prevailed—which is noticed by St. Chrysostom on the Epistle, and which St. Jerome in his preface to the Epistle (vol. vii., p. 742, ed. Vallarsii, 1737) refutes with his usual strong sense and trenchancy—that the occasion and the substance of the Epistle were too low for the Apostolic inspiration. "They will have it," St. Jerome says, "either that the Epistle which is addressed to Philemon is not St. Paul's, or that, even if it be his, it has nothing in it tending to our edification; and that by many of the ancients it was rejected, since it was written for the purpose merely of commendation, not of instruction." But this kind of criticism did not prevail against the common acceptance of its authenticity. Even Marcion did not tamper with it, as Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* v. 42) and St. Jerome expressly declare. Origen, the great critic of the East, as St. Jerome of the West, quotes it without hesitation. In the Church generally it remained unshaken as

one of the Epistles accepted by all.

In the larger criticism of modern times the very reasons which induced doubt in the fourth and fifth centuries will be accepted as the strongest internal evidence of its genuineness. The utter improbability of the forging of such an Epistle, which admits of no controversial or directly theological use, the exquisite beauty and naturalness of the whole style, even the vivid picture which it gives of an ancient Christian family—all have been felt to preclude any except the most wanton scepticism as to its genuineness. It is hard to conceive how any one can read it without feeling that we have in it a picture of the Apostle of the Gentiles, which we could ill afford to lose, but which no hand, except his own, would have ever ventured to paint.

IV. The Substance of the Epistle.—The great interest of this Epistle is two-fold—(1) in its personal relation to St. Paul's life and character, and (2) in the light which it throws on the attitude of the gospel towards slavery.

(1) It is the only strictly private Letter of St. Paul—the one survivor, we may suppose, of very many—preserved to us in the Canon of Holy Scripture. For all the other Epistles are either Letters to the Churches, or Pastoral Epistles of authoritative direction. Accordingly it exhibits the Apostle in a new light. He throws off, as far as possible, his Apostolic dignity, and his fatherly authority over his converts. He speaks simply as Christian to Christian. He speaks, therefore, with that peculiar grace of humility and courtesy, which

has, under the reign of Christianity, developed the spirit of chivalry, and what is called "the character of a gentleman"—certainly very little known in the old Greek and Roman civilisations—while yet in its graceful flexibility and vivacity it stands contrasted with the more impassive Oriental stateliness. It has been customary and natural to compare with it a celebrated letter of the younger Pliny on a like occasion (*Ep.* ix. 21, quoted in Dr. Lightfoot's *Introduction*). But in Pliny himself there was a tone of feeling differing very much from the more ancient Roman character, approaching more nearly to the modern type. It would be curious to inquire whether, in this tone of character, as in the actual tenets of the later stoicism, there might not be some unknown and indirect influence of the Christianity which as yet would have been probably despised. Nor will the comparison for a moment place even the highly accomplished and cultivated Roman on a level with the Jewish tent-maker of Tarsus.

There is to us a vivid interest in the glimpse thus given into the private and personal life of St. Paul. We note, for example, the difference of tone—the greater pathos and the less unqualified rejoicing—in which he speaks of his captivity. We observe the gladness with which, when he rightly may, he throws off the isolation of authority, and descends into the familiarity of equal intercourse, lingering with an obvious delight in the very word "brother," which breathes the very spirit of freedom and equality. We see how, under the Apostolic mission, as under the Apostolic inspiration,

free play of personal character and of familiar companionship could still live and flourish. We seem to know St. Paul better, even as an Apostle, because we are allowed to see him when he chooses not to be an Apostle, but a "partner," and, moreover, "such an one as Paul the aged, and the prisoner of Jesus Christ." But, even beyond this, we may fairly draw from this Epistle a priceless lesson as to the place which true courtesy and delicacy occupy in Christian character, and especially as to their entire compatibility with high Apostolic enthusiasm, with a keen insight into realities as distinct from forms, and with the greatest possible plainness of speech in due season. We feel, as we read, how little it accords with the idea that Christian men and Christian ministers "have nothing to do with being gentlemen." We understand how true courtesy, as distinct from artificial and technical culture of manners, is the natural outgrowth of the "lowliness of mind" in which "each esteems other better than himself," and of the sympathy of love which "looks not only upon our own things," but, even in greater degree, "upon the things of others."

(2) But of far greater interest still is the illustration of the attitude assumed in the New Testament, and in the early Church, towards the monstrous institution of slavery.

How deeply that institution of slavery was engrained in all the history of antiquity, both Eastern and Western, we know well. Nor will this surprise any one who remembers that inequality—physical, mental, and spiritual—is, quite as truly as equality, the law of human life. Service and lordship, in some

sense, there must always be; and it is absurd to deny that this law is, because we wish that it were not, or perhaps think that it ought not to be. But equality is the law of the primary qualities and rights of nature; inequality only of the secondary qualities and rights. If this relation be reversed in practice, we pass from what is natural to that which, however frequent, is yet fatally unnatural. Slavery is just such a reversal. Because one race is stronger, abler, more commanding, more civilised than another, this is made a ground for crushing out, in the weaker race, all the essential attributes of humanity. Primarily by the unnatural agency of war, secondarily by systematised organisation in peace, the slave is made to cease to be a man: he is treated simply as a brute beast of somewhat higher organisation and usefulness than his fellows, or even "as a living chattel or machine"—having no rights whatever, except those which humanity may teach towards the lower creatures, or expediency enforce in relation to the machinery of the prosperity and progress of the master. Since, in some sense, freedom of action and cultivation bring out natural inequalities more and more strikingly, slavery, in the absence of some counterbalancing power, rather advanced than receded with the progress of heathen civilisation. Under the Roman Empire, depending mainly on organised force rather than on intellectual cultivation, it presented this characteristic and intolerable incongruity, that it held in bondage men at least as noble in race as their conquerors, men even more highly cultivated, and heirs of more ancient civilisations.

That the Old Testament should recognise the existence of slavery, especially in inferior and degraded races, was only to be expected. That slavery under the patriarchal simplicity should have been lighter than under the higher civilisation of the nation of Israel, though at first sight startling, is yet, on more careful thought, seen to be natural. That the Mosaic law should attempt only to mitigate the irresponsible despotism of the master, and that in this respect it should make a marked distinction between the Israelite and the foreigner, is thoroughly accordant with our Lord's declaration, that it was made "for the hardness of men's hearts," and with the exclusiveness of privilege which it claimed in all things for the chosen race. Slavery, accordingly, continued in the Jewish people, though—thanks to those mitigations of the Law, to the protest against oppression and cruelty so familiar to us in prophecy, and to the very influence of a spiritual religion, wherever this was really accepted—it was actually very far milder than under Greece or Rome. Still it did exist. Nor will this surprise those who have duly weighed—what advocates and opponents of slavery, in dealing with the Old Testament, have constantly failed to weigh—the essentially imperfect and preparatory character of the Jewish covenant.

But what line would Christianity take? Nothing, of course, could be clearer than that it was radically opposed in principle to the whole conception and practice of slavery. For it brought out the fundamental equality or brotherhood of all, in the regenerate human nature, in which "there was neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond

nor free." It devoted itself with a very special earnestness to redress all existing inequalities, by exalting the humble, by glorifying weakness, by restraining the self-assertion of strength. Above all, it consecrated that brotherhood in Jesus Christ; its whole conception of the spiritual life consisted in the union of each individual soul with God in Christ, so giving to individuality a sacredness utterly incompatible with the very possibility of absolute despotism of one Christian man over another. But of carrying out the principle there were two ways. One was, so to speak, "of law," embodying it at once in a declaration of freedom, abrogating all slavery within the Christian Church, protesting against it, as against all moral evils, in the world at large. The other was "of the Spirit," proclaiming the great truth of brotherhood in Christ and sonship of God, and then leaving it gradually to mould to itself all institutions of society, and to eradicate whatever in them was against God's fundamental law, reasserted in the word of Jesus Christ. Now of these two ways it is not hard to see that to adopt the former way would have been to revolutionise suddenly the whole of society, to preach (though unwillingly) a servile war, and to arm all existing governments by the very instinct of self-preservation against the infant Church, which, even as it was, excited their suspicion and alarm. Independently of all thought of consequences, we could not but anticipate that by its very nature Christianity would take the way of the Spirit, rather than the Law. But there can be no doubt that, historically, this was the way which it did take without hesita-

tion or reserve. The principle laid down broadly by St. Paul (1 Cor. vii. 20—24) was that "every man should abide" in the outward condition "in which he was called," only "with God," in the new spiritual unity with God sealed to him in the blood of Jesus Christ. He applied that principle to the cases of circumcision and uncircumcision, marriage and celibacy; he did not shrink from applying it for the Christian community to the case of submission to "the powers that be," even to death, and for the individual to the crucial and extreme case of slavery and freedom.

However we may interpret the Apostle's words in 1 Cor. vii. 21, they clearly imply that to one who is at once "the Lord's freeman" and "Christ's slave" the outward condition matters comparatively little. It may be that in this case, as in the case of marriage, St. Paul was partly influenced by the consideration that "the time was short." Yet his teaching really depended, not on this expectation, but on the fundamental principle and method of Christianity. The declaration, "Not now a slave, but a brother" a "brother beloved," and "a brother beloved in the Lord," brought the forces of human duty and human affection, under the inspiration of religious faith, to bear on the prison-house of slavery. Deeply founded as its walls were, and cemented by the use of centuries, they could not but fall under the combined attack of these three irresistible powers.

Meanwhile the gospel set itself to two immediate works. First, to raise the self-respect of the slave, to comfort his sorrow, to nerve him to bear the hardships of his cruel

lot. This it did sometimes by glorifying suffering, in the bold declaration to the slave that his suffering, whatever it was, was a brotherhood in the suffering of the Lord Jesus Christ, who Himself "took upon Him the form of a slave," and "suffering for us left an ensample," in which even the helpless and despised slave could "follow His steps" (1 Pet. ii. 18—25). Sometimes, on the other hand, by setting forth to him the spiritual freedom, which no "master after the flesh" could take away, and by declaring that all service was ultimately a service to the Lord, to be rendered not only "from the heart," but "of good will," and rewarded here and hereafter with the heavenly prize (Eph. vi. 5—8; Col. iii. 22—25). Under both these convictions it taught the slave still to be patient under "subjection," till the end should come. Next, Christianity turned to the masters. It bade them remember their responsibility to the same Master in heaven, under whom their slaves served, and who would certainly make, in His strict retribution, no "respect of persons;" it claimed that they should "do the same things" to their slaves, recognising a mutual duty, and giving them all that was "just and equal," due to the indefeasible rights of humanity; above all, that they should recognise in them a common brotherhood in Christ.

Now this is precisely the line which St. Paul pursues in respect of Onesimus. He, the runaway slave of Philemon, apparently an idler and a thief, had made his way to Rome, "the sink," as its writers bitterly complained, "of the civilised world." There St.

Paul had somehow found him, and had regenerated the true humanity which had been degraded in him. He had found him a dear son; he had felt the comfort of his affectionate ministrations. How deeply this had impressed on his mind the whole question of slaves and masters we see by the strong emphasis, marked by almost verbal coincidence, with which, in the Ephesian and Colossian Epistles, he dwells on the subject generally. But, coming to the particular case, he bids Onesimus acknowledge the mastership of Philemon, and go back to submit to him, and to offer atonement for his past misdeeds and flight. He will not even interpose by authority, or, by keeping Onesimus at Rome, put any constraint on Philemon's freedom to use his legal power. But he shows, by his own example, that the slave is to be treated as a son. He sends him back, not as a slave, but as "a brother beloved in the Lord." He "knew that Philemon would do even more than he said." He may have looked forward in prophetic foresight to the time when the whole Christian community, like Philemon, should draw the inference, unspoken but irresistible, and set absolutely free those who were not slaves, but brethren.

That expectation has been realised. It is remarkable that from very early days the iron cruelty of

this Roman slave law began to give way. We may allow much in this respect to the growing dominion of universal law, and to the influence of the nobler philosophies; but we may be permitted to doubt whether the unacknowledged principles of Christianity were not already leavening public opinion, and beginning to make the change even in law, which was afterwards seen in the codes of Christian emperors. But one thing is certain historically, that in the abolition, certainly of ancient serfship in Europe, and perhaps of modern serfship in Russia, in the prohibition of the slave trade, in the great sacrifices for emancipation made by England in the last generation, and the United States of America in this, it was Christianity, and not simple philanthropy, which actually did the beneficent work. The battle was the battle of humanity; but it was fought under the banner of the Cross. Even while we wonder that the victory should have been so long in coming, we must confess that it has been won; and against all forms of mitigated slavery in modern society, experience certainly warns us to trust, not to the sense of common interest, the conviction of mutual duty, or even the enthusiasm of philanthropy, but to the faith which recognises in the poorest and the weakest, even in the idler and the sinner, "a brother beloved in the Lord."

HEBREWS.

BY THE REV. F. W. MOULTON, D.D.

As the Epistle to the Hebrews is presented to the reader in our English Bibles, various questions which beset many other books of the New Testament appear to have no place. It is entitled "The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews"; and from the subscription we learn that it was written in Italy and sent to its readers by the hand of Timothy. It is hardly necessary to say that, whether these statements have or have not a foundation in fact, they are wholly destitute of authority here; for no ancient manuscript adds to the Epistle anything beyond the simple words "To the Hebrews," and even this inscription can scarcely have been affixed by the writer himself. Within the few pages at our disposal we can do little more than present a summary of the ancient evidence on the points in question and the chief results of modern investigation.

I. Ancient Testimonies. Canonicity.—That the Epistle was known and read before the close of the first century is beyond doubt. The earliest Christian writing beyond the limits of the New Testament is the Epistle

addressed to the Church of Corinth (about A.D. 95), by Clement, writing in the name of the Roman Church. This Letter contains no express quotation from any Book of the New Testament, and one only (the First Epistle of St. Paul to the same Church) is mentioned by name. In several places, however, words from some of St. Paul's Epistles are interwoven with the text without formal introduction. In exactly the same manner, but to a greater extent, does Clement make use of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as the following quotation (from chap. xxxvi.) will show: "Through Him the Lord willed that we should taste the immortal knowledge; who, being the brightness (or, *effulgence*) of His majesty, is so much greater than angels as He hath inherited a more excellent name. For it is thus written: He who maketh His angels winds (or, *spirits*), and His ministers a flame of fire. But in regard to His Son thus said the Lord: Thou art My Son, I have this day begotten Thee. Ask of Me, and I will give Thee nations as Thine inheritance, and as Thy possession the ends of the earth. And again He saith unto Him: Sit at My right hand, until

I have made Thine enemies a footstool of Thy feet.”

This passage does not stand alone; but of itself it is sufficient to prove that the Epistle was well known to the Roman Church at this early date. The traces of the Epistle in the second century are clear, but not numerous until we reach its closing years. Quotations present themselves in the Homily which is commonly called Clement's Second Epistle, written at Corinth or Rome about A.D. 140; in writings of Justin Martyr (A.D. 145), Pinytus, of Crete (A.D. 170), Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch (A.D. 180). It is also important to note that the Epistle was one of the twenty-two books included in the Syriac version of the New Testament, the date of which is probably not later than A.D. 150. That Marcion should have rejected the Epistle, and that it is passed over in the Muratorian Fragment (probably written at Rome about A.D. 170) are points of little consequence; for Marcion is known to have rejected whatever conflicted with his system of doctrine, and the Latin document has not come down to us complete.

One testimony belonging to the close of the second or the beginning of the third century is of great interest and importance. It is found in one of the works of Clement, who succeeded Pantænus as head of the catechetical school of Alexandria, about A.D. 190. The work itself survives in fragments only; but the following passage is preserved by Eusebius (*Eccles. History*, vi. 14): “And in his *Outlines*, to speak generally, he (Clement) has given brief expositions of all canonical Scripture, not even passing by the disputed books — I mean the Epistle of Jude and

the rest of the Catholic Epistles, the Epistle of Barnabas and the so-called Apocalypse of Peter. And, moreover, he says that the Epistle to the Hebrews was Paul's, but had been written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language, and that Luke, having with great care translated it, published it for the Greeks; hence this Epistle and the Acts are found to have the same colouring of style and diction. He remarks that the Epistle does not begin with ‘Paul an Apostle,’ and with reason; for (he says), writing to Hebrews, men who had become prejudiced against him and were suspicious of him, he acted very wisely in not repelling them at the outset by giving his name. Then a little below he adds: And as the blessed presbyter before now used to say, since the Lord, as Apostle of the Almighty, was sent to Hebrews, Paul through modesty, as having been sent to Gentiles, does not inscribe himself Apostle of Hebrews, because of the honour belonging to the Lord, and also because he went beyond his bounds in addressing Hebrews also, when he was herald and Apostle of Gentiles.”

We can hardly doubt that by “the blessed presbyter” is meant Pantænus, whom Clement held in the highest esteem. “Thus” (as Dr. Westcott observes) “the tradition is carried up almost to the Apostolic age.” It will be seen that with a strong affirmation of the Pauline authorship of the Epistle is joined a distinct recognition of its unlikeness to the other writings of the Apostle. Of much greater importance is the testimony of Origen. Many passages from his writings might be quoted in which he speaks of the Epistle as

St. Paul's, and many more in which he appeals to it as to other portions of the New Testament, without any reference to authorship. In one of his latest works, however, *Homilies on the Hebrews* (written between A.D. 245 and 253), we have the complete expression of his views. The Homilies are not preserved to us, but the passage is given by Eusebius in his *Eccles. History* (vi. 25), and is as follows: "That the style of the Epistle which bears the superscription *To the Hebrews* does not exhibit the Apostle's plainness in speech (though he confessed himself to be plain in his speech, that is, in his diction), but that the Epistle is more Grecian in its composition, every one who knows how to judge of differences of diction would acknowledge. And again, that the thoughts of the Epistle are wonderful, and not inferior to the acknowledged writings of the Apostle, this, too, every one who gives attention to the reading of the Apostle's words would allow to be true." To this, after other remarks, he adds: "But if I were to give my own opinion, I should say that the thoughts belong to the Apostle, but the diction and the composition to some one who wrote from memory the Apostle's teaching, and who, as it were, commented on that which had been said by his teacher. If, then, any Church holds this Epistle to be Paul's, let it be approved even for this. For not without reason have the men of olden time handed it down as Paul's. But as to the question who wrote the Epistle, the truth is known by God (only); but the account which has reached us is a statement by some that Clement who became Bishop of Rome was the writer, by others that it was

Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts."

The influence of Origen would naturally be great in removing doubts as to the acceptance of the Epistle. Whilst the more thoughtful would learn from him to distinguish between directly apostolic authorship and canonicity, the effect of his opinion and example on the many would be to strengthen the belief that the Epistle should be accounted St. Paul's. From this time onwards the Church of Alexandria, as represented by a succession of writers, seems to have held the Pauline authorship as a matter free from doubt.

It is otherwise with the Latin writers of North Africa. Tertullian (about A.D. 200), indeed, once quotes some verses of chapter vi., but assigns them to the *Epistle of Barnabas to the Hebrews*; an Epistle which, he says, deserves more respect than the *Shepherd of Hermas*, as being written by a man who learnt from Apostles and taught with Apostles. No other certain quotation from the Epistle presents itself in Latin writers for many years. At the close of the third century it would seem, as far as we may judge from extant Christian literature, that the Epistle was known and received by the Churches of Alexandria, Syria, Rome, and Asia Minor, and that in Alexandria and Syria it was regarded as a work of St. Paul. Writing before A.D. 326, Eusebius expressly mentions the Church of Rome as rejecting the Pauline authorship of the Epistle. It is not necessary to give any express quotations from writers of the fourth century. By this time the doubts respecting the Epistle are confined to the Western Churches: in Syria, Palestine, Asia

Minor, Alexandria, Constantinople, the Pauline authorship appears to have been universally admitted. The influence of Jerome and Augustine ultimately prevailed in the West: neither of these eminent Fathers appears really to have regarded the Epistle as St. Paul's, but they agree in the expression of a strong conviction of its canonical authority.

The object of this summary of ancient evidence has been to show how the Epistle won its way to universal acknowledgment as a part of sacred Scripture, and at the same time to present the chief testimonies of the early Church on the other important questions which concern the Book. It cannot be thought surprising that for a time many should evince hesitation in regard to such a document as this—anonymus, peculiar in character, and addressed to a special and limited circle of readers. The doubts have in later times had little power. Their effect may, for the most part, be traced in a varying estimate of the importance of the Book as compared with the undoubted writings of St. Paul.

II. Authorship.—In regard to the authorship of the Epistle, the most important ancient testimonies have been cited already; and in them we find more or less clearly stated almost all the possible solutions of the problem. The character of the Epistle is beyond all question Paul-like (if we may so speak, to avoid the ambiguity of "Pauline"). If then it is not to be ascribed directly to St. Paul, we must suppose either (1) that it is a translation from a Hebrew original written by him; or (2) that, whilst the substance of the Epistle is his,

the diction and style belong to one of his companions, who, for some unexplained cause, put the Apostle's thoughts into form; or (3) that the Epistle was written by a friend or disciple of St. Paul. Each of the four hypotheses may, as we have said, claim the evidence of early writers; but it is a matter of extreme difficulty rightly to estimate the value of this evidence. That the Epistle was *directly* written by St. Paul is an opinion of which we have no distinct evidence earlier than the third century. Even then the language used on the subject is not perfectly clear; for Origen's example proves that the quotation of the Epistle under St. Paul's name may mean nothing more than a recognition that its substance and teaching are his. If Origen had influence in producing the later consensus of opinion as to the authorship, that opinion may fairly be judged of (to a considerable extent) by reference to Origen's own explanation of the sense in which he ascribed the Epistle to St. Paul. At all events, his plain statement of the case as it presented itself in his day seems distinctly to prove that there existed no such clear and authoritative tradition in favour of the Pauline authorship as might claim our submission, upon the ordinary principles of literary criticism. To internal evidence Origen makes appeal: to the same test of internal evidence we believe the case must now be brought. Similar observations apply to the other hypotheses. Each of these appears earlier in existing documents than that of which we have been speaking. The opinion expressed by Clement, that the Greek Epistle is a translation, was probably derived by him from Pantæ-

nus: the traditions mentioned by Origen cannot be of later date; and Tertullian's reference to Barnabas carries back the last hypothesis to the close of the second century. But again it is impossible to say whether the ancient testimonies present independent evidence, or are no more than conjectures to explain the patent facts. At all events, the variance in the traditions may leave our judgment free, especially as we can plainly perceive in what way the traditions might very possibly arise.

If we now proceed to test each of the hypotheses that have been mentioned by the testimony which the Epistle gives respecting itself, the first question to be decided is, Have we the Epistle in its original form? If the opinion quoted by Clement is correct—that the Greek document before us is a translation—our right to argue from its characteristics will be materially affected. This opinion has not lacked advocates, and has been in recent years maintained in an able but disappointing work by Dr. Biesenthal. We have no space here for the discussion of such a question, and can only express in a word or two the results to which the evidence before us leads. We do not hesitate to say that the hypothesis appears absolutely untenable: for one difficulty which it removes, it introduces many more. Dr. Biesenthal's own treatment of various passages is sufficient to show that those who regard the Epistle as translated from a Hebrew original must necessarily regard it as a translation that is often inaccurate, and needs the correction of the commentator. Few will be prepared to surrender the Epistle to such treatment, unless under

constraint of argument immeasurably stronger than any yet adduced.

Our inquiry therefore is limited to the Greek Epistle as it stands. The questions at issue are very simple. What is there, either in the substance or in the diction of the Epistle, that may lead us to ascribe it to St. Paul? What peculiarities of thought or language separate it from its writings? In its general arrangement and plan the Epistle to the Hebrews cannot but remind us of St. Paul? It is true there is no opening salutation or direct address, such as is found in all St. Paul's Epistles. These Epistles, however, differ greatly amongst themselves in this respect. Thus, in writing to the Galatians, the Apostle is impatient of anything that may detain him from the great topics on which he is to speak; and it is possible to imagine reasons which might lead him to avoid all mention of the Church addressed, and even to keep back his own name. But, waiving this, we recognise at once the familiar plan: first the discussion of dogmatic truth; then the earnest exhortation based on the doctrine thus presented; and, lastly, the salutations, interwoven with personal notices, with doxology and prayer. The main outlines of theological teaching are in close accord with St. Paul's Epistles: chaps. ii. and v., for example, as strikingly recall Phil. ii., as does chapter xiii. the closing chapter in the Epistle to the Romans. Other points of special resemblance will easily suggest themselves, such as the relation of the writer to those whom he addresses (chap. xiii. 18, 19, &c.) the mode in which he refers to Timothy (verse 23), his

Pauline illustrations (see chaps. v. 12, 13; xii. 1—4), his choice of Old Testament passages. Under the last head may be specially mentioned the quotation of Ps. viii. (1 Cor. xv. 25—28) and Deut. xxxiii. 30 (Rom. xii. 19); see chaps. ii. 6; x. 30. It is not necessary in this place to go into further detail in proof of a position allowed by all, that (as has been already said) the Epistle, whether by St. Paul or not, is Paul-like in the general character of its teaching and in many of its special features.

It is of much greater moment to examine those passages of the Epistle and those peculiarities of teaching or language which have been adduced as inconsistent with the Pauline authorship. Resemblance may be accounted for more readily than points of difference; for a disciple of St. Paul would hardly fail to exhibit many of the traits characteristic of such a master. Here, it will be seen, the distinction between style and subject matter must be carefully observed. If this Epistle could be proved to differ in diction only from the acknowledged writings of St. Paul, some theory of mediate authorship (similar to that mentioned by Origen) would be very possible; if the discordances lie deeper, no such theory can be maintained.

When an argument must rest on characteristics of Greek diction and style, it is very probable that different conclusions may be reached by different readers. This question, again, cannot be examined here in any detail. The writer can only state the impression made upon his own mind by the original text, and especially by the careful

study pursued for the purpose of this work. From point to point the general likeness of the Epistle to St. Paul's writings came out more and more plainly; on the other hand arose a continually increasing wonder that the Greek sentences and periods should ever have been attributed to that Apostle's hand. We have before us Epistles belonging to every period during the last thirteen or fourteen years of St. Paul's life, written under widely different circumstances,—some during the enforced leisure of imprisonment, others amid active labour. We can trace differences of style resulting both from the time of writing and from the circumstances which called forth the Epistles; but these differences lie within a comparatively narrow compass. At whatever date St. Paul might be supposed to have written this Epistle, we can compare it with some other of his writings belonging nearly to the same period; and the differences of language and style presented by the two documents are, we are persuaded, far greater than those presented by the most dissimilar of the thirteen Epistles. Stress has been laid on the unique character of this Epistle, as the only one addressed to the Hebrews by the Apostle of the Gentiles; but it has been well asked why St. Paul should adopt a more finished Greek style in addressing Jews than when writing to the Greeks of Corinth. For ourselves we must express our decided conviction that, whatever may be the relation of the Epistle to St. Paul, the composition of the Greek was certainly not his.

The remaining points of difference which (it is alleged) separate this Epistle from St. Paul's writ-

ings, may be ranged under the following heads:—(1) statements of fact which we cannot suppose to have proceeded from the Apostle; (2) divergence in doctrinal view; (3) peculiarities in the use of the Old Testament; (4) the use made of Alexandrian writers.

(1) The most important passage is chap. ii. 3: "which (salvation) at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard." In these words the writer appears distinctly to sever himself from those who had directly received the word from the Lord. It is urged that he is here associating himself with his readers, as when in chap. iv. 1 he writes, "Let us therefore fear;" see also chaps. x. 24, 25, 26; xii. 1, *et al.* We will not venture to say that an Apostle *could* not have thus written; but, bearing in mind the necessity which lay upon St. Paul to defend his Apostolic position, and the claim which he consistently makes to have received his teaching by direct revelation (Gal. i. 1, 11, 12, *et al.*), we must hold it extremely improbable that he should use words that might even appear to represent him only as a disciple of the Apostles. On the other passages which have been brought into this controversy a very different judgment must be passed. It is alleged that in the description of the Temple furniture (chap. ix.) the writer falls into mistakes, asserting that the altar of incense (or, *the golden censor*) was placed in the Holy of Holies, that the ark contained the pot of manna and Aaron's rod, and that even in his own day the Most Holy Place into which the high priest entered year by year still contained the cherubim and the ark of the

covenant. If the writer has indeed fallen into these mistakes, we may safely say that he is not St. Paul. But, as it would not be difficult to show in detail, there is no real reason for impugning the accuracy of his words. No part of his description relates to the Temple services or furniture: he is occupied throughout with the injunctions of the Mosaic law and the arrangements of the Tabernacle. Even the association of the altar of incense with the Most Holy Place may be very easily explained. If the view we have taken is correct, this argument against the Pauline authorship must fall to the ground. It is not necessary, therefore, to do more than mention the ingenious attempt of Wieseler to show that in the descriptions of chap. ix. the writer had in mind, not the Tabernacle or the Temple of Jerusalem, but the temple built by Onias at Leontopolis in Lower Egypt (about B.C. 170).

(2) The alleged differences of doctrinal statement are of three kinds. Of St. Paul's favourite topics some are absent from this Epistle, some are treated in a different manner: and, again, certain themes here brought into prominence are not noticed in the Epistles of St. Paul. Thus we find only one passage in this Epistle in which the Resurrection of our Lord, ever a prominent topic with St. Paul, is mentioned (see chap. xiii. 20); the law, faith, righteousness, are looked at from a different point of view; the prominence here given to the High-priesthood of Jesus is foreign to St. Paul's Epistles. It would require a volume duly to examine the various particulars adduced under this head; for the real question is not whether

the teaching is *opposed* to St. Paul's, but whether the various themes are treated in the manner characteristic of the Apostle. We do not believe that the most careful examination will detect any real discord between the dogmatic teaching of this Epistle and that of St. Paul; but the peculiarities of selection of topics and in mode of treatment are sufficient (even when all allowance has been made for the special position and aim of the Epistle) to suggest that, if St. Paul "laid the foundation," it is another who "buildeth thereon," "according to the grace of God which is given unto" him (1 Cor. iii. 10). The resemblances in teaching may show the presence of the Apostle, but the new colouring and arrangement prove that he is present only in the person of a disciple on whom his master's mantle has fallen, and who is taught by the same Spirit.

(3) A similar conclusion is suggested by a review of the arguments that are founded on the difference in the use of the Old Testament. It need hardly be said that in the Epistle before us this subject is of the greatest consequence, for "the whole argument of the Epistle depends on the reality of the spiritual meaning of the Old Testament." But the essential principle involved is found as truly in St. Paul (see 1 Cor. x. ; 2 Cor. iii. ; Gal. iv. ; Eph. v., *et al.*). The New Testament is not divided against itself in its recognition of the Old. As has been truly said,* "The authority of Christ Himself encourages us to search for a deep and spiritual meaning under the ordinary words of Scripture, which, however, can-

not be gained by any arbitrary allegorising, but only by following out patiently the course of God's dealings with man." But again when we come to details we find marks of divergence from St. Paul. In the Epistle to the Hebrews the word of Scripture is almost always quoted as the direct utterance of God ("He saith," "He hath said,") whereas St. Paul commonly uses the formula, "It is written," or "The Scripture saith." The latter mode of introduction, which occurs about thirty times in the Pauline Epistles, is not once used in this; and, on the other hand, such examples as Eph. iv. 8 are very rare in St. Paul. The quotations in this Epistle, again, are commonly taken directly from the LXX., even when it differs from the Hebrew; and for the most part agree with that text which is preserved to us in the Alexandrian manuscript: St. Paul shows more acquaintance with the Hebrew. In each of these arguments (the former especially) there is force. The latter, however, has been pressed unduly; for an examination of the quotations as they stand in the best text of the Epistle, will show not a few departures from the Greek version, and there are not wanting tokens of the writer's acquaintance either with the Hebrew original or with a more accurate translation of some passages than the LXX. affords.

(4) One distinguishing peculiarity of this Epistle is found in the many remarkable coincidences both of thought and of expression with the writings of Philo of Alexandria. In this *Introduction* we cannot quote examples; and nothing short of a collection of all the points of similarity, as presented in the Greek text, will show this characteristic

* Westcott, *Introduction to the Gospels*, p. 412.

of the Epistle in its proper light. Both St. Paul and St. John exhibit acquaintance with the Alexandrian philosophy, but it has left comparatively slight traces in their writings. The resemblance in language in many passages of this Epistle is all the more remarkable because of the fundamental differences in doctrine between the Christian teacher and the Alexandrian philosopher. Another point of interest can only be briefly mentioned—the many words and phrases common to this Epistle and the Book of Wisdom. The reader is referred to the remarkably interesting papers by Professor Plumptre in vol. i. of *The Expositor*, on “The Writings of Apollos.”

On a review of the whole case, there is only one conclusion that appears possible—that the Epistle was written by one who had stood in a close relation with St. Paul, but not by St. Paul himself. It will be readily understood that the arguments given above are not adduced as being of equal weight: some are only confirmatory, and might not have very much force if they stood alone; but all point with more or less distinctness to the conclusion which has been stated. Farther than this we cannot go with certainty; and it is perhaps the wisest to rest satisfied with this negative result. If we turn to the positive side, we have little to guide our judgment. Three names only seem to be mentioned by early writers—those of Barnabas, Clement of Rome, and St. Luke. The Epistle is quoted by Tertullian, as we have seen, as a work of Barnabas; and two later Latin writers, Philastrius and Jerome, mention the same tradition. In one passage Jerome says that very many (perhaps meaning

many of the Greek ecclesiastical writers) assign the Epistle to Barnabas or Clement; in another he mentions Tertullian alone as an authority for this, and seems to attach no special importance to the opinion. It would seem that the tradition was very limited; it is especially noteworthy that the name of Barnabas is not found in the passages quoted from Origen. We know too little of Barnabas to judge for ourselves of the intrinsic probability of the hypothesis: the so-called internal arguments which have been adduced by some are of no worth. The Epistle which bears the name of Barnabas belongs, in all probability, to the beginning of the second century, and has no connection with the companion of St. Paul. That Epistle, therefore (which presents a remarkable contrast to the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews; see Westcott *On the Canon*, pp. 43—45), yields no evidence in the present inquiry.

In regard to Clement we can speak with more confidence, as we possess one Epistle which is certainly from his hand. That document contains passages belonging to our Epistle, but they are no doubt quotations from it, and the general style and character of Clement's Letter forbid us to ascribe the two works to the same writer. Much more favour has in recent times been shown to the other tradition which Origen records—that the Epistle was written by St. Luke. The resemblance of language between this Epistle and St. Luke's writings are numerous and striking; but with all this there is great dissimilarity of style. The difference between a Letter such as this and historical or biographical memoirs must indeed be taken into account;

but even when allowance has been made for this, it is difficult to receive the writer of the Acts as the author of our Epistle.

Another consideration also is of weight. We can hardly doubt that we have before us here the work of a Jew; but St. Paul's words in Col. iv. 11, 14, imply that St. Luke was of Gentile birth.

The subject is not one for confident assertion; but we may venture to strongly doubt whether the Epistle can be ascribed to any of those suggested by ancient writers. One other hypothesis must be mentioned, which has commanded the adhesion of many of the ablest writers of recent times.

Luther was the first to express (in his *Commentary on Genesis*) an opinion that the Epistle to the Hebrews was the work of Apollos. Some will maintain that conjecture is inadmissible, but certainly all the conditions of the problem appear to be satisfied by this conjecture.

The record of St. Luke in Acts xviii. 24—28, xix. 1, supplemented by St. Paul's references in 1 Corinthians, might seem to have been expressly designed to show the special fitness of Apollos for writing such an Epistle as this.

If it be not unbecoming to go beyond the words of Origen on such a subject as this, and to favour an hypothesis for which no express evidence can be adduced from ancient times, we can have no hesitation in joining those who hold that it is the Jew of Alexandria, "mighty in the Scriptures," "fervent in spirit," the honoured associate of St. Paul, who here

carries on the work which he began in Achaia, when "he mightily convinced the Jews, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was Christ."

III. **Readers.**—The inquiry as to the original readers of the Epistle is even more difficult. It may be assumed with confidence that the present title of the Epistle is not that which it originally bore. There has sometimes been a disposition to deny the propriety of the name Epistle; and it has been thought that the peculiarity of the opening verses, containing, as they do, neither address nor author's name, may be most easily explained on the supposition that the work is a homily or general treatise. But a very slight examination will prove that such a theory has no foundation. The closing verses show that a particular community is directly addressed, a community well known to the writer, whose affection the writer knew himself to possess, though some individuals may have distrusted him and misjudged his acts and motives. He complains of their declension in Christian knowledge, and points out its cause (chap. v.); thankfully recognises their generous love to the brethren (chaps. vi. x.); and urges them to be true to their own past history (chap. x.). He cannot but have known that the trials and necessities of many other communities were very similar; but, like St. Paul, he addresses the wider only through the narrower circle. The immediate impulse was given by the news he had received respecting brethren for whom he himself had laboured, and over whose welfare he was bound diligently to watch. The Epistle needed no express inscription to make the first

readers understand from whom it came and to whom it was sent; and it is not impossible that (as Ewald suggests) the watchfulness of enemies may have rendered some concealment a matter of prudence. The absence of the writer's name has been considered confirmatory of the belief that Apollos wrote the Epistle. In one Church, as we know, rival factions had arisen, some saying, "I am of Paul," others "I am of Apollos;" and the incident recorded in 1 Cor. xvi. 12 seems to point to the regret of Apollos that his name should have been so used. Such a feeling may have continued to operate, and have led to this partial withdrawal of himself from view. (See Alford's *Gk. Test.* vol. iv. pp. 60, 61.)

It is very plain that the Epistle is addressed to Jewish Christians, and its present name was probably given when the Epistle had passed into more general use, in order to make its destination clear. In the New Testament the name Hebrew is strictly opposed to Hellenist or Grecian Jew (Acts vi. 1), and denotes one who adhered to the Hebrew language and usages; there would therefore be some inconsistency between the name and the language of the Epistle, if the title proceeded from the writer himself. Again we are in the main thrown back on internal evidence; but in this case the materials before us are very scanty, when doubtful or irrelevant passages have been set aside. One verse of the Epistle, and one only, contains any note of place: "They of Italy salute you" (chap. xiii. 24). Unfortunately these words admit of two opposite interpretations. Either the author is himself

in Italy, and sends to the Hebrew Christians whom he addresses the salutations of an Italian church; or, writing to Italy, he transmits the message which those "of Italy" who are now with him send to their fellow-Christians at home. Between these two interpretations it seems impossible to decide with any confidence; though, in itself, the latter might be the more probable. Perhaps the only other indication that we possess is the manifest destination of the Epistle for a community of Jewish Christians, exposed to peculiar danger from the solicitations and the persecutions of the unbelieving Jews. Such a community would most naturally be found in Palestine, and accordingly the prevalent opinion has been that the Epistle was first sent to Jerusalem, or to some neighbouring town. The words of chap. ii. 3 are perhaps less suitable to Jerusalem—a city in which there would still be living many who had heard the word from the Lord Himself. In chap. vi. 10 the writer speaks of a ministration to the saints which at once recalls the efforts of St. Paul and others to send help to the Christians of Jerusalem, who were oppressed by poverty. This passage *may* imply that the readers of the Epistle had engaged in that particular labour of love, but it cannot be proved that the meaning is not perfectly general. The language of chap. x. 32—34 decides nothing, if the first member of verse 33 is to be understood figuratively; and verse 34, which has been urged in regard to the question of authorship, loses all such significance when the true reading is restored. From chap. xii. 4 has usually been drawn the inference

that no members of the Church had suffered martyrdom: even here, however, it is not at all probable that any such allusion is intended. On the whole, it is difficult to resist the impression that the writer addresses some Church in Palestine, though Jerusalem itself may be excluded by chap. ii. 3. The readers seem to have lived under the shadow of Jewish power and influence, where opposition to Christianity was most bitter, the temptation to unfaithfulness greatest, the abjuration required of the apostate most complete. The exhortation of chap. xiii. 13, the warning of chap. x. 25, the remarkable appropriation of Old Testament promises and threatenings which we find in chap. x. 27, 28, 30, would fall with wonderful force on the ears of men in whose very presence the spirit of Judaism was exerting all its power. That there are still difficulties must be felt by all. We should not have expected that a Letter addressed to such a Church would be written in Greek, or that the writer's appeal would be to the Greek translation of the Old Testament; but the phenomena which other books of the New Testament display forbid us to regard these difficulties as decisive. It is not possible here to enumerate the other opinions which have been maintained. The reader will find an able argument in favour of Rome in Alford's *Prolegomena to Gk. Test.*, vol. iv.: others have argued the claims of Alexandria.*

* Prof. Plumptre's hypothesis that those addressed are Christian ascetics of (or connected with) Alexandria is worked out by him in a very interesting manner (see *Expos.* i. 428—432), but does not appear to suit the facts of the Epistle as well as the view defended above.

IV. Date.—There is very little to guide us as to the time when the Epistle was written. The present tenses of chap. ix. 2—9 are often understood as implying that the Temple service still continued; but there are strong reasons for explaining the verses otherwise. On the other hand, the general complexion of the Epistle is such as to convince us that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem. Of the imprisonment of Timothy (chap. xiii. 23) we know nothing from any other source. It has often been supposed that he shared St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome (see the *Introduction to 2 Timothy*). The date of the martyrdom of St. Paul is, however, uncertain; and it does not seem possible to say more than that our Epistle was probably written some three or four years before Jerusalem fell—in other words, about A.D. 66.

V. Object and Contents.—The discussion of the very important external questions which connect themselves with this Epistle has left us but little space for a notice of its internal character. By reason of the demands that it would make upon the space at disposal it is impossible to give an account of the peculiar difficulties which the Epistle presents; all other considerations have therefore been sacrificed to the desire of exhibiting, as exactly as possible, the connection and course of thought. The Christians addressed were in imminent danger of apostasy. The danger was occasioned partly by seductions from without, partly by weakness within. Even when the fabric of Jewish power was falling, the influence of its past history, its glorious trea-

sure of promise, its unique associations, retained a wonderful power. As we look back on the years preceding the fall of Jerusalem the case of the people may seem to us hopeless; but the confidence of the nation was unbroken, and even at that period we note outbursts of national pride and enthusiastic hope. Bitter hate and contempt for Christianity on the one hand, and the attraction of their ancestral worship and ritual on the other, had apparently won a victory over the constancy of some Christians belonging to this Hebrew community. Where open opposition had not prevailed, the tone of Christian faith had been lowered. The special temptation of these Christians seems to have been towards a loss of interest in the higher Christian truths, and a union of elementary Christian teaching with that to which they had been accustomed as Jews. The arguments of the first and other chapters show that they held the foundation truths; the exposition of the fifth and sixth chapters proves that the full significance of the doctrine they held was not understood, and that the doctrine was near to losing its power. In no Epistle, perhaps, do we find a more carefully sustained argument; of none can be said as truly that the whole Epistle is a "word of exhortation."

The design of the writer is to show the superiority of Christianity over Judaism. He in whom God has in these last days revealed Himself to man is His Son, to whom the Scriptures themselves bear witness as exalted above the highest of created beings, the angels, who are but ministers of God (chap. i.). The law was given

through angels: salvation has now come through the Son, who, though Lord of the world to come, the Heir and Fulfiller of God's highest promises to man, submitted to suffering and death—not of necessity, but that He might by His atonement deliver man from sin and death, and might become a true High Priest for man (chap. ii.). As the faithful Apostle and High Priest He is exalted above God's most favoured servants upon earth, even above Moses (chap. iii. 1—6).

This is the first division of the argument, designed to establish the supremacy of the revelation given through the Son of God, and to remove "the offence of the cross." Next follows a powerful section of exhortation and warning. Do not imitate the unfaithfulness through which Israel failed to enter into the true rest of God (chaps. iii. 7—iv. 16).

The second portion of the Epistle (extending to chap. x. 18) is occupied with the Priesthood of Christ. Once only is the current of the argument interrupted. After the first introduction of a prophecy which will form the theme of later chapters, the writer pauses to bring into relief the carelessness which his readers have shown, and the peril they have incurred; the result is to give most powerful effect to the argument for which he is preparing them (chap. v. 11—vi. 20). Jesus made perfect through suffering (chap. v. 1—10) has after declared by God High Priest been the order of Melchizedek; by this declaration the Aaronic priesthood is abolished, giving place to a priesthood which abides continually, through which all that the former priesthood sought in vain to attain

is made sure to man for ever (chap. vii.). This High Priest, seated at God's right hand, is Minister in the heavenly sanctuary, Mediator of the New Covenant (chap. viii.); and in Him all the types of the first covenant are fulfilled, for by His one offering of Himself He has put away sin, and established the new covenant in which sin is pardoned and man sanctified (chaps. ix. x. 1—18).

The remainder of the Epistle is in the main directly hortatory. These being our privileges, let us not by unfaithfulness fall short of them, for terrible is the doom of the unfaithful, and glorious the reward of Faith (chap. x. 19—39), which from the beginning has led God's servants on to victory, and of which Jesus is the Author and

Perfecter (chaps. xi. — xii. 4). Chapters xii. and xiii. continue the exhortations of the earlier chapters, but in a higher strain.

We cannot conceive of any argument by which the end contemplated could be more effectually accomplished, and men more powerfully turned from "the offence of the cross" to glorying in Christ Jesus. The value which the Epistle has for us and the extent of its influence on our theology it would be hard to over-estimate. Its peculiar importance lies in the exposition which it gives of the earlier revelation, showing the meaning of the types and arrangements of the former dispensation, and their perfect fulfilment in our Lord, and in its witness to the power and abiding significance of the divine word.

JAMES.

BY THE REV. E. G. PUNCHARD, D. D.

I. The Writer.—*Questions of Identity.* — “James, a servant (literally, *a slave*) of God and the Lord Jesus Christ:” this is all the direct information to be learned from the author concerning himself. The name James was, of course, a favourite with the Jews under the more common form of Jacob, and is familiar to us in studying the books of the New Testament. We read there of:—

1. James, the son of Zebedee.
2. James, the son of Alphaeus.
3. James, “the Lord’s brother.”
4. James, the son of Mary.
5. James “the Less” (or, “the Little”).
6. James, the brother of Jude.
7. James, the first Bishop of Jerusalem.

Is it possible for us to decide between so many, or even feel fairly convinced that we can identify one of these as the writer of our Epistle? To reject them all, and ascribe it to another James, of whom no further mention is made, would seem to be the addition of fresh and needless difficulty to a problem already sufficiently obscure. The first claimant in the above list may be dismissed at once, from the fact of his early death. James the Great, as he is called, the brother of John, was

executed by Herod Agrippa I. in A.D. 44 (Acts xii. 2), a date much too early for this Letter; and no tradition or opinion worthy of consideration has ever attributed it to him.

The next inquiry must be one of much circumspection, beset as it is with thorns of controversy: in fact, the conflict of authorities must seem well-nigh hopeless to an ordinary mind. Apart from the main question, many collateral ones have arisen to embitter the dispute, and by no means the last word has been said on either side. If, then, an attempt be here made to arrive at some conclusion, it must confessedly be with much misgiving, and full admission of the almost equal arguments against our decision.

By comparing St. Paul’s description concerning numbers 4 and 7 (above) in Gal. i. 19 and ii. 9—12, it is thought he must be referring to one and the same man; let that be granted, therefore, to begin with. We may identify numbers 3 and 4 by the knowledge that James the son of Mary had a brother called Joses (Matt. xxvii. 56), and so also had James “the Lord’s brother” (Matt. xiii. 55); and further we may consider numbers 3 and 6 identical, because each was brother to Jude (Mark vi. 3;

Jude, verse 1); James the Little, number 5, is clearly the same as the son of Mary, number 4. (Comp. Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40; Luke xxiv. 10.) These might, it is true, be coincidences merely, and when we remember the frequency of Hebrew names, seem insufficient for more than hypothesis; but we are arguing on probability only, and not to absolute demonstration. Thus far, then, numbers 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 are thought to be one and the same person—the Apostle James, and he the Lord's brother; the claims of number 1 have been disposed of; those of number 2, the son of Alphæus, remain. The question, perhaps the greatest of all, is whether the process of identification can be extended further, for on this depends largely the issue of the dispute with regard to the brethren of the Lord and the perpetual virginity of His mother.

Further Consideration of "the Brethren of the Lord."—We have no need in the present instance to enter on the war-path of this theological quarrel. There seems an intentional silence in Holy Writ concerning the family of our Saviour, to teach us, perhaps, that it stood in no spiritually peculiar position nearer to Him than we may be ourselves, and to remind us of His precious words, "Whosoever shall do the will of My Father which is in heaven, the same is My brother, and sister, and mother" (Matt. xii. 48—50). Bearing this in mind, and with thoughts of peace in our heart for those who truly—and reverently—differ from us, we may soon learn the outlines of this discussion.

The terms "brother" and "brethren" meet us so often in

the New Testament, as applied to Jesus Christ, that we can hardly pass them by. Do they infer the strict and actual relationship, or one merely collateral?

1. *Uterine, or Helvidian Theory.*—The advocates of the natural sense, that these men were the younger sons of Joseph and Mary, urge the plain meaning of the Greek word *adelphos*, i.e., "brother," and deny its use figuratively. They point, moreover, to Matt. i. 25, and suppose from it the birth of other children in the holy family. Those who shrink from such a view are charged with sentiment, as impugnors of marriage, and even with ideas more or less Manichæan concerning the impurity of matter. The German commentator Bleek, and Dean Alford and Dr. Davidson amongst ourselves, contend thus for the actual brotherhood, maintaining the theory originally propounded by Helvidius, a writer of the fourth century, answered by the great Augustine. To their first argument we may answer that in Holy Scripture there are four senses of brotherhood, namely, of blood, of tribe, of nation, of friendship, and the three last of these will all apply to the case in point. As for the view based on Matt. i. 25, the words, either in the Greek tongue or our own, authorise it not. To say "he did not do such a thing until the day of his death" does not (as Bishop Pearson has observed) suggest the inference that he did it then or afterwards; and the term "firstborn" by no means implies a second, even in our present use of language, under similar circumstances. Above all, though it is confessedly no argument, there is the feeling alluded to by Pearson and others, and acquiesced in by

many, that there could have been no fresh maternity on the part of

“Her who with a sweet thanksgiving
Took in tranquillity what God might
bring;
Blessed Him, and waited, and within her
living
Felt the arousal of a Holy Thing.”

“And as after His death His body was placed in a sepulchre ‘wherein never man before was laid,’ so it seemed fitting that the womb consecrated by His presence should not henceforth have borne anything of man.”

2. *Agmatic or Epiphanian Theory.*
—A second class of divines are in accordance with the theory of Epiphanius, who was Bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, towards the end of the fourth century, and no mean antagonist of the Helvidians. At the head of their modern representatives, *facile princeps* for scholarship and fairness, is Bishop Lightfoot.

The brethren of the Lord are said to be the sons of Joseph by a former wife, *i.e.*, before his espousal of the Virgin Mary, and are rightly termed *adelphoi* accordingly. Far from being of the number of the Twelve, they were believers only after Christ's resurrection.

Thus, then, are explained such texts as Matt. xii. 46, Mark iii. 31, Luke viii. 19, John vii. 5. By this supposition James the Lord's brother must be a distinct person from James the son of Alphæus. But an objection—nay, “the one which has been hurled at the Helvidian theory with great force . . . and fatal effect”—is strangely thought by Lightfoot to be powerless against his favourite Epiphanian doctrine. It is this: our Lord on the cross commended

His mother to St. John: “Behold thy mother,” “Behold thy son” (chap. xix. 26, 27); “and from that hour,” we are told, “that disciple took her unto his own home.” If the Uterine theory be right, she had at least four sons living at the time.

“Is it conceivable that our Lord would thus have snapped asunder the most sacred ties of natural affection?” Nor could the fact of His brethren's unbelief “override the paramount duties of filial piety”; and the objection is weakened further by our knowledge that within a few days “all alike are converted to the faith of Christ: yet she, their mother, living in the same city, and joining with them in a common worship (Acts i. 14), is consigned to the care of a stranger, of whose house she becomes henceforth an inmate.”

Now, all this argument, forcible and fatal as it unquestionably is to the idea of real and full relationship, is hardly less so against that of step-sons. For, seeing they were borne by a former wife, they must have been older than Jesus: and, on the death of Joseph, the eldest would certainly have become head of the family, in full dominion over the younger children and the widow herself, and with chief responsibility for their protection and welfare. The custom prevailed under Roman law as well as Jewish, and exists in the East still: being, in fact, a relic of immemorial antiquity.

Nor can we conceive, for other than the weightiest reasons, such as immorality or crime, that our Lord, who came “not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil,” would thus openly have set one of its firmest obligations aside. It seems clear

that the widowed mother watching by the cross, and soon to be childless among women, with the sword of separation piercing to and through her own soul (Luke ii. 35), had none to care for her, except the beloved disciple into whose charge she was given by her dying Son.

3. *Collateral, or Hieronymian Theory.*—There remains one proposition more, known, from the name of its foremost champion, Jerome, as the Hieronymian theory; and this, on the whole, presents fewest difficulties to the religious mind. The sons of Alphæus (or Cleopas: the name is the same in different dialects) were the cousins of our Lord, their mother and His being sisters; and such a relationship would entirely justify the use of the word "brethren." The balance of evidence seems to the present writer to incline towards this venerable belief; and, identifying "the son of Alphæus" with "the brother of the Lord," he considers him to have been the James of the Epistle. Unless this solution of the difficulty be allowed, we are committed to the recognition of a *third* James an *Apostle*, and one so called in only a secondary sense. It is true the term was not strictly applied to the original twelve, and therefore might have been applied to a third James as well as to a Barnabas; and we will further admit that, if James were one of the unbelieving brethren mentioned in John vii. 5, he could hardly have been the early convert enrolled by our Saviour in His apostolic band: though Bishop Wordsworth, on the contrary, thinks that he, like Peter, might have fallen away for a time. A better account for such a statement may

be sought in the reflection that, although it is recorded "neither did His brethren believe in Him," there is no evidence against them *all*; and in the absence of negative proof it seems safer—at least, not inconsistent with the charity which "hopeth all things"—to think of James and Jude as happy exceptions to the family jealousy and mistrust.

Again, unless we consider the son of Alphæus the brother of our Lord in the tribal sense of Jerome, we must admit the existence of two men, strikingly similar in life and calling, evidently related, each with a mother named Mary, and brethren Joses and Jude; and to which of these two, if they were not one and the same, can the Epistle be best ascribed?

Opinions of Theologians.—These problems, hard assuredly, seem fairly such as may best be solved by the ingenuity of ancient writers, well acquainted with contemporary ideas. The opinions of moderns, such as Lightfoot, Bleek, Alford, and Davidson, are grounded on no discovery of facts hidden from theologians who were at least as able and honest as themselves; and the old testimony has been so thoroughly sifted that, until more be brought forward, we had better remain undecided if we cannot hold a conclusion fortified by the consensus of Clement of Alexandria and John the Eloquent, in the Greek Church; Jerome and Augustine, in the Latin; Pearson, Lardner, Horne, Wordsworth, and Ellicott in our own; and by German writers, such as Lampe, Hug, Meier, and Lange.

Conclusion.—Thus we see the best ecclesiastical authority and traditions have pretty constantly

assigned the authorship of the Catholic Epistle to the third name on our list (above), and identified him with the second, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, in accordance with what we venture to affirm is the plainest path out of the maze.

Further History of James.—So much externally; for interval evidence we have a singular agreement between the fervid abrupt style of the Letter and the character of its reputed writer, known as “the Just” by the Jews, and termed by them (in honour, not reproach) the “Camel-kneed,” from his long and frequent devotions. In no way conspicuous amongst the disciples, he comes into prominence only after the Resurrection; perhaps that witness to the Lord Christ was specially needed in his case to perfect faith, and to transform the silent man of prayer into the strong and fearless leader of the infant Church.

As the first Bishop of Jerusalem, we find him (Acts xv.) presiding in a solemn assembly to hear the missionary reports and to arrange for the requirements of Gentile converts. The pastoral letter (Acts xv. 24—29) may be compared with the catholic one now before us, as it was probably written by the same hand. The last Scriptural notice of James is (Acts xxi. 18) on St. Paul’s final visit to the Holy City, when, again, a synod of the elders seems to have been held. A Greek Christian writer, named Hegesippus, himself a convert from Judaism, tells us more of the fate of this “bulwark” of the fold. Comparing his highly artificial account (preserved for us in the history of Eusebius: too prolix for insertion here) with the narrative in Josephus, the plain truth seems

that James the Just was hurled from a pinnacle of the Temple, and finally despatched by stoning, as a believer in Jesus of Nazareth, about the year 69, immediately before the siege of Jerusalem by the Roman emperor Vespasian. Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 9) accuses the high priest Ananus, a Sadducee, of the judicial murder, and declares that the “most equitable of the citizens, and such as were the most uneasy at the breach of the laws, disliked what was done,” and complained to King Agrippa and Albinus the procurator, who, in consequence, removed Ananus from his office. Many authors, ancient and modern, have been of opinion that the martyrdom of James was the “filling up of the sins of Jerusalem, and made its cup of guilt to overflow.”

“Though the mills of God grind slowly,
yet they grind exceeding small:
Though with patience He stands waiting,
with exactness grinds He all.”

II. His Epistle.—*To whom written.*—In the first and chief place, James unquestionably wrote to his countrymen, scattered over the whole earth, though still belonging to their twelve tribes. But in no sense can the Letter be looked upon as an appeal to unbelieving Jews, abounding as it does with references to Christian doctrines held, and Christian works to be maintained, by those who had “the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.” That the majority of its readers would be the poor and meek can hardly be doubted, if we turn to such passages as those in chap. ii. And it would seem that these struggling societies of humble Christians were in a danger more peculiar to the poor—that is, of

envying and fawning upon the rich and well-to-do; forgetting that they themselves were oppressed by such, dragged before judgment-seats, and exposed to the blasphemy and contempt outpoured by unbelievers on the "Christian" name (chap. ii. 6, 7).

Style and Character.—In his denunciation of the rich defrauders, James breaks out into a fiery eloquence worthy of an ancient prophet; the tender change from rebuke of the wrongers to comfort for the wronged (chap. v. 7, 8) is unsurpassed in the whole roll of inspired utterance; and in condemnation of lust (chap. iv. 1—4), pride (chap. iv. 5—10), evil-speaking (chap. iv. 11, 12), and all worldliness (chap. iv. 13—17), the fervour and righteous indignation of the Apostle show of themselves the manner of his life and death: for again, as with God's servant of old, "the land was not able to bear all his words" (Amos vii. 10).

Scope and Aim.—Nothing can be clearer and simpler than the scope and aim of this Letter; as the Sermon on the Mount compared with the rest of Matthew, so this exhortation of James the Just (or "the Wise," as the Greeks love to call him) stands forth among its fellow Epistles, a lovely gospel of good works, of Christian steadfastness and patience. Some theologians, unfortunately, blinded by their own partial apprehension of one side of God's truth, have misread its chapters, and found therein an opposition to the doctrine of St. Paul. Luther even could go so far as to call the Epistle "worthless as one of straw." Happily, later criticism has vindicated the teaching of the brother of the Lord; and the plainest reader may learn for

himself that Paul and James were at one, infallibly moved by the same Spirit of the living God.

State of Religious Opinion.—*Judaism and Christianity.*—Let us recollect a little more fully the condition of the faith among those Christians who were first converted from Judaism. With them the adherence to outward forms, the stickling for the letter of the Law, and other like barren principles, had become a belief, which displayed itself in new shapes, corresponding with their altered state of religion. "Wherever," it has been well said, "Christianity did not effect a complete change in the heart, the old Jewish spirit naturally manifested itself in the professed converts." It was what our Puritan divines quaintly, but correctly, termed "the popery of the human heart." The souls that had trusted wholly and entirely in sacrifice as a bare substitution of victims, and deliverance from an indiscriminate vengeance, now clung to faith as a passive thing, instead. The old idol had, as it were, been torn down by these ardent disciples: a new one was upraised to the vacant niche; faith in a faith became the leading idea, and the light which was in them turned to darkness, the breath of life to death.

Affected by Oriental Theories.—But perhaps a cause of this confusion is to be found much farther afield. The Jewish Church had become largely affected by the more remote Eastern thought; the captivity, while it eradicated utterly all wish for idolatry, influenced the chosen people in a strange and unlooked-for way. The power of the mystical speculations of India, more especially of the devout fol-

lowers of Gōtama Sakya Muni, now known as Buddhists, is only beginning to be rightly pondered by Christian scholars and divines. It was not the Persian systems, nor the Chaldæan, but the Hindu (and not infrequently working through, and by means of, them) which perplexed anew the Oriental mind. Here was, doubtless, the origin of the Essenes and other offshoots of Judaism; and even in the Church itself similar mischief may be traced in the varying forms of heresy which drove her almost to destruction. The ancient theory of sacrifice in India was abandoned by the Brahmans, and in its place faith was everywhere preached; the sole essential was dependence on God; implicit "reliance on Him made up for all deficiencies in other respects, whilst no attention to the forms of religion or to the rules of morality was of the slightest avail without this all-important sentiment."* Precisely the same wave of thought seems to have broken on the Jewish Church; and one not much dissimilar, we know, in later times, has changed the whole set of religious tendencies in Western Europe.

Denounced accordingly.—It seems, then, that in complete aversion from such innovations, James wrote what he did of moral righteousness, as opposed to correct belief; in other words, contending for a religion of the heart and not the lips alone; with him Christianity was indeed "a life, and not a mere bundle of dead opinions." "Wilt thou know, O vain man," pleads the impassioned Apostle (chap. ii. 20, 21), "that faith with-

out works is dead? Was not Abraham our father justified by works when he had offered Isaac?" And surely here we catch the echoes of a greater than James, who answered the Jews when they boasted to Him in the Temple, "Abraham is our father," "If ye were Abraham's children ye would do the works of Abraham" (John viii. 29). His "faith, working by love," upheld him through a desolating trial. If we look at the motive, he was justified by faith; if we look at the result, he was justified by works. No less a faith than Abraham's could have wrought thus mightily before the face of heaven, or can so take the kingdom thereof by violence still; and the theology which could discern opposition in the plain declarations of God's word herein is fit only for the dust that has buried its volumes on forgotten shelves.

"Who are we that with restless feet,
And grudging eyes unpurged and dim,
Among the earthly shadows beat,
And seek to question Him?"

Date of the Epistle.—The Epistle has been called "general"—that is, "universal"—chiefly because it was addressed to no body of believers in one place in particular. The absence of all allusion to Gentile converts fairly proves an earlier date than the circular letter preserved in Acts xv. 24—29, that is, somewhere about the year A.D. 44. And, if such be correct, we must look on this as one of the oldest writings in the canons of the New Testament.

Genuineness and Canonicity.—It does not seem to have been known at first to all the early Church, no direct quotation being found till the time of Origen,

* See Elphinstone's *India*, Vol. i., Book 2, chap. iv., quoting from the text-book called *Bhāgwat Gīta*.

though indirect references may be traced in the Apostolic Fathers. In the list of sacred books universally acknowledged, or the contrary, drawn up by Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea (in Palestine), at the beginning of the fourth century, the Epistle of James is amongst the latter—the “antilegomena,” or “those spoken against,” along with the Epistles of Jude, 2 Peter, and 2 and 3 John. The uncertainty was with regard to its author; little doubt ever being felt concerning its inspiration. The great Greek Fathers of the fourth century all quote it as canonical, and are supported by the Latin. Some of the divines of the Reformation, however, mistrusted it, chiefly on account of internal and doctrinal evidence; and, of course, the German rationalists have eagerly attacked the Epistle from such a ground of advantage. But it has thus far well survived the storms of controversy, and will as surely remain unharmed, to be the help and delight of the patient souls who trust still that “the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.”

“*Hora novissima, tempora pessima sunt, vigilemus ;
Ecce minaciter imminet Arbiter Ille supremus :
Imminet, imminet, ut mala terminet, æqua coronet,
Recta remuneret, anxia liberet, athera donet.*”

So wrote Bernard of Morlaix, seven hundred years ago, with the words of James (chap. v. 8) above quoted in his heart. It were well to grave them on our own: “For yet a little while, and he that shall come and will come, and will not tarry” (Hebrews x. 37). The free translation appended is the familiar one, by Dr. Neale:—

“The world is very evil; the times are waxing late;
Be sober and keep vigil; the Judge is at the gate:
The Judge that comes in mercy, the Judge that comes with might,
To terminate the evil, to diadem the right.”

ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

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 2. Evil speaking (chap. iv. 11, 12.)
 3. *α.* Worldliness (chap. iv. 13—17).
 β. Trust in riches (chap. v. 1—6).

[References. — Much abler and fuller treatment of the subject may be read in the following books, to all of which, and to many others by way of reference, the present writer is under much obligation:—

Alford's *Greek Testament, with a Critically-revised Text.* Vol. IV. Rivingtons, 1871.

Bleek's *Introduction to the New Testament.* (Translated by Urwick). Vol. II. T. & T. Clark, 1874.

Davidson's *Introduction to the New Testament.* Vol. III. Bagster, 1851.

Horne's *Introduction to the Holy Scriptures.* Vol. IV. Twelfth Edition. By Tregelles. Longmans, 1869.

Lightfoot on *St. Paul's Epistles to the Galatians: Dissertation II., The Brethren of the Lord.* Macmillan, 1869.

Meyrick's articles on "James" and "The General Epistle of James," in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible.* Vol. I. Murray, 1868.

Wordsworth's *New Testament, with Introductions and Notes, The General Epistles, &c.* Rivingtons, 1872.]

III. Conclusion.

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I. PETER.

BY THE REV. CANON MASON, D.D.

I. The Author.—The authorship of this Epistle can hardly be called a matter of question. If it be not St. Peter's own, we have no choice but to set it down as an impudent forgery. It claims directly, and in the simplest form, to be the writing of the chief Apostle of our Lord (chap. i. 1). The author asserts himself to be a "witness of the sufferings of Christ" (chap. v. 1), and yet does it so modestly and with such absence of detail as would be inconceivable in a forger acquainted with St. Peter's history. The enthusiastic and impassioned style of the Letter corresponds with the character of St. Peter as we find it recorded in history; and in several marked points not only the doctrinal statements, but even the literary style and turn of the sentences, recalls the style of St. Peter's speeches in the Acts. The fact that the Letter was written in Greek (for the adjectives alone are sufficient disproof of the theory that it is a translation from an Aramaic original) is no objection to the Petrine authorship. Galilee was a half-Greek country, studded with Greek cities; St. Peter's brother bore a Greek name. No Galilean of the middle classes

(to which St. Peter evidently belonged) could have been ignorant of the language; indeed, there is sufficient evidence that Greek was as much used in Galilee as Aramaic.

It seems that no question was ever entertained until this century with regard to the genuineness of the Epistle by any church, or by any individual, whether orthodox or heretical. The Epistle was, indeed, rejected by Marcion, but distinctly on the ground that it *was* St. Peter's. Origen speaks of it as one of the books whose authority had never been disputed. The Second Epistle of St. Peter, which, even if not genuine, cannot be dated later than the early part of the second century, refers back to it, and refers to it expressly as the work of St. Peter. St. Clement of Rome, writing (probably) A.D. 95, though he does not directly quote from it with marks of citation, has expressions such as "His marvellous light," and several others less marked, which seem certainly to indicate his acquaintance with it. St. Polycarp (about 115 A.D.), bishop of one of the churches to which the Epistle was addressed, within the compass of one short letter to the Philippian, cites it again and again—*e.g.*, "In

whom, though ye never saw Him, ye believe, and believing, ye rejoice;" "not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing;" and many other passages. St. Polycarp's friend Papias (according to Eusebius) made use of this Epistle too, and seems to have made special comments on the connection between St. Peter and St. Mark. Besides traces of the use of it to be found in Hermas, Theophilus, and others, it is freely quoted, and by name, by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and all subsequent writers. In fact, it would be difficult to imagine stronger external evidence in its favour. M. Renan, to take one example of an historical critic whose theology is not that of St. Peter, writes: "If, as we are happy to believe, this Epistle is really Peter's, it does honour to his good sense, his straightforwardness, and his simplicity;" and he gives many good reasons for his belief.

There is but one argument against the genuineness of the Epistle to which any weight at all can be assigned, and even this loses all its force when it is examined. "As for the eclectic and conciliatory tendencies observed in the Epistle of Peter," writes M. Renan (*Antichrist*, p. ix.), "they constitute no objection to any but those who, like Christian Baur and his disciples, imagine the difference between Peter and Paul to have been one of absolute opposition. Had the hatred between the two parties of primitive Christianity been as profound as is thought by that school, the reconciliation would *never* have been made. Peter was not an obstinate Jew like James." Without necessarily agreeing in this description of James

we may well accept the statement that St. Peter was a man peculiarly susceptible of impressions, and (even putting out of view the two Epistles in our canon) his admiration, and indeed his awe of St. Paul, are visible to any reader of the Acts and the Epistle to the Galatians. No writer recognises them more frankly than M. Renan (*Saint Paul*, pp. 85, 86). Now, on the one hand, it is very easy to exaggerate the Pauline character of this Epistle. It contains no one doctrine, such as Justification by Faith, which is essentially bound up with the name of St. Paul. On the matter of the free admission of Gentiles into the Church (which indirectly forms a large element in this Epistle) St. Peter had made up his mind long years before he came much under the influence of St. Paul (Acts x. 34; xi. 17; xv. 11). But on the other hand, there were special reasons why, in this Epistle, all St. Peter's sympathy for his co-Apostle should come out. He was using, either as his secretary, or as his letter-bearer—perhaps in both capacities—that liberal-minded Silas (chap. v. 12), who, after being chosen by the Church of Jerusalem as their own exponent to the Gentiles of Antioch, had attached himself to St. Paul, accompanied him in the most momentous of his missionary travels, and had (apparently) devoted himself to the edification and extension of those Asiatic churches which the two had founded together. St. Mark, too, dear to St. Peter as his own "son" in the faith (chap. v. 13), had been but recently again (after early misunderstandings) a chosen companion of St. Paul, and was probably not very long returned from a mission on which that

Apostle had despatched him into Asia Minor (Col. iv. 10). And, moreover, all St. Peter's chivalrous nature would be aroused by the manner in which the churches of all that region, or any rate the Jewish element in them, were beginning to revolt (as at Corinth also) against their founder when his back was turned.

II. The Place, Time, and Occasion of the Epistle.—

The place from which the letter was written was, we may say without any hesitation, Rome. If this be not the case, we must understand the "Babylon" of chap. v. 13 to mean the Eastern Babylon; and it is neither very probable in itself that St. Peter should have visited that city, and there have been met by St. Silas and St. Mark, nor is there any trace of a tradition, however meagre, that he ever travelled in those parts. On the other hand, were it not for the abuse made of the fact by the supporters of the Papacy, no one would ever have questioned the universal and well-authenticated tradition which affirms that St. Peter was, along with St. Paul, co-founder of the Church of Rome. The whole subject has been, of late years, sifted to the bottom by various German and other writers, especially by Dr. Hilgenfeld in repeated articles between 1872 and 1877 in his *Zeitschrift*. Though every conceivable difference may be found between these authors respecting the dates and duration of St. Peter's sojourn at Rome, very few are so hardily sceptical as to reject altogether evidence as strong, early, and wide, as that on which we believe that Hannibal invaded Italy. This fact being then certain,

the only question is whether Eusebius is right—or St. Clement of Alexandria, and even Papias, whom he appears to be quoting—in suggesting that "Babylon" in this Epistle meant Rome.*

About this there can be no difficulty. Not only is Rome so styled in the Apocalypse, and some few years later in the Jewish *Sibylline Oracles*, but M. Renan quotes passages from various Rabbinical writings where the same name occurs with the same meaning. The Jews delighted in substituting symbolical names and epithets even in plain prose speech (*e.g.*, Jerubesheth for Jerub-baal, Haman the *Agagite*; St. Peter himself, if the Second Epistle be his, seems to do the same when he calls Balaam "the son of *Bosor*"); and the detestation of Rome, natural to a Jew at all times, and heightened by Christianity when once the persecution began, found vent for itself in all manner of names culled from the Old Testament, such as Nineveh and Edom, as well as Babylon.

If, then, Rome be the place from which St. Peter wrote, how can we find approximately the time? It cannot be put earlier than the year 64, for two reasons especially: (1) because it shows a deep acquaintance

* The words occur in a passage describing the origin of the Gospel of St. Mark, which ends thus, "and that [St. Peter] ratified the book for the churches to study (Clement, in the sixth of his *Hypotyposes*, has put the story in our hands, and his account is substantiated also by the Bishop of Hierapolis named Papias), and that Peter mentions Mark in his former Epistle, which also they say that he composed at Rome itself, and that he means this when he calls the city in a figurative kind of way 'Babylon,' in these words, *The co-elect one in Babylon greeteth you, and Mark my son.*"—(Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* II. xv. 2.)

with the Epistle (so-named) to the Ephesians,* the date of which is 62 or 63; (2) because direct persecution had broken out against the Christians *as* Christians, and this did not take place until after the great fire at Rome in July, 64. The phenomena of the letter will not bear interpreting by the theory of simple disaffection, however deep and spiteful, of the populace against the Christians. They are liable at any moment, even away in Asia, to be called upon to give an account for their faith in the law courts (chap. iii. 15). If any of them is proved to be a Christian, he will very likely "suffer"—suffer capital punishment—for that crime (chap. iv. 16). The whole piece is burdened with persecution of a most systematic kind on every side. There is, however, one side-question which causes some difficulty. St. Paul is not mentioned as joining in

the salutation to the churches which he had founded. Why so? No more probable conjecture can be made than that, shortly after writing his Epistles to the Asiatic Churches, St. Paul was tried and liberated, and made that journey into the far West on which he had long set his heart, and which St. Clement of Rome, who must have known well, says that he took. By this journey he escaped death in the outbreak of Nero's persecution; and St. Peter, arriving at Rome about the same time, finds him gone, and Silas and Mark just coming back to headquarters from their work in Asia, with reports of division and disorder which required immediate attention. Accordingly St. Peter issues this circular Letter which we have before us.

Opinions are much divided as to whether the Letter was addressed primarily to Jewish or to Gentile Christians, or, again, to both indifferently.

Either answer is beset with difficulties, but the question cannot be fully discussed here, though the present writer adheres to the usually-received opinion that St. Peter keeps to his original intention of going to the circumcision only.

The pact between the Apostles was, indeed, not of that rigid nature which would preclude the possibility of his writing to the Gentiles, even as St. Paul wrote to Jews; still, it seems more natural on the whole to suppose that he adhered to the pact. The Letter is throughout exactly what the author describes it as being (chap. v. 12). He "exhorts and testifies that this is God's true grace." That is, he insists upon the Jewish Christians recognising fully that St. Paul's

* Compare chap. i. 1, 2 with Eph. i. 4; chap. i. 3 with Eph. i. 3; chap. i. 4, 5 with Eph. i. 11, 18; chap. i. 12 with Eph. iii. 10; chap. i. 14 with Eph. ii. 2, 3; chap. ii. 5 with Eph. ii. 20, 21, 22; chap. ii. 13 with Eph. vi. 5; chap. iii. 1 with Eph. v. 22; chap. iii. 22 with Eph. i. 20, 21; chap. iv. 3 with Eph. ii. 2; and other passages. The connection with Silvanus, and with Mark, is sufficient to explain St. Peter's close familiarity with an Epistle which had been destined (largely) for the same readers as his own. His deep knowledge of the Epistle to the Romans (which is traceable in very many passages) is a strong argument in favour of the identification of "Babylon" with Rome. There are some indications also of an acquaintance with the Epistles to the Thessalonians, again perhaps through Silvanus. It is noteworthy, as showing the position which St. Peter held amidst conflicting parties, that the document which, next after the Epistles to the Romans and Ephesians, has most influenced this Letter, is the Epistle of St. James; for instance, compare chap. i. 6, 7 with Jas. i. 2, 3; chap. i. 24 with Jas. i. 10, 11; chap. iv. 8 with Jas. v. 20; chap. v. 5-9 with Jas. iv. 6-10; *et al.*

gospel was all that it ought to be (chap. i. 12, 25), and exhorts them to consequent unity and to brotherly love. The presence of persecution both increases the temptation to fall away and likewise heightens the heinousness of such desertion; therefore every warning together with every encouragement is pointed by the mention of sufferings as well as of the reward that is coming when Christ returns.

[The writer has not only had the usual printed commentaries and books of reference, but every now and then has had the advantage of manuscript notes of lectures (such as will scarcely be heard in Cambridge again) by Bishop Lightfoot, lent to him by the Chancellor of Truro Cathedral.]

II. PETER.

BY THE REV. ALFRED PLUMMER, D.D.

I. The Authorship.—The question of the authenticity of our Epistle is one of well-known difficulty. The objections to its genuineness are more serious than those against any other book in the New Testament, and yet are not so conclusive as by any means to have silenced those who defend the authenticity. Before proceeding to a consideration of the arguments on each side, two remarks seem to be necessary.

(1.) The Epistle must stand or fall as a whole. It is impossible to reject passages which appear to be open to objection and retain the rest. The thought is eminently consecutive throughout, the style is uniform, and the writer frequently glances back at what he has said before or anticipates what is coming. The net-work of connected ideas which thus pervades the whole cannot be severed otherwise than violently. Moreover, the singular want of agreement among those who advocate an expurgated edition as to what portions should be struck out and what not, is another reason for refusing to disintegrate the Epistle. Thus, Grotius thinks that the words "Peter" and "Apostle," in chap. i. 1, and chaps i. 18 and iii. 15, 16, are interpolations. Beriholt would re-

tain chaps. i. and iii., rejecting chap. ii. Lange (in *Herzog*) would reject all that lies between chaps. i. 19 and iii. 3, *i.e.*, from the words "knowing this first" in chap. i. 20, to the same words in chap. iii. 3. Ullmann surrenders all but chap. i. Bunsen retains nothing but the first eleven verses and the doxology.

(2.) It is inexpedient to encumber the discussion with an attempted *reductio ad horribile* of one of the alternatives. A court must not concern itself with the consequences of finding the prisoner guilty. Let us, therefore, at once set aside all such notions as this: that if the Epistle is not by St. Peter, "the Church, which for more than fourteen centuries has received it, has been imposed upon by what must, in that case, be regarded as a Satanic device." Satan forging the Second Epistle of St. Peter would indeed be Satan casting out Satan. Or, again, "If any book which she reads as the Word of God is not the Word of God, but the work of an impostor, then—with reverence be it said—Christ's promise to His Church has failed, and the Holy Spirit has not been given to guide her into all truth . . . The testimony of the universal Church of Christ, declaring that the Epistles which we receive as such are Epistles

of St. Peter and are the Word of God, is not her testimony only—it is the testimony of Christ.” Every true Christian will sympathise with the zeal for God’s Word which is conspicuous in these passages; but it will be well to keep apart two questions which they combine and almost confuse—(a) Is this Second Epistle the work of St. Peter? (b) Is it part of the Word of God? The second question is here taken for granted. The Church answered it in the affirmative fifteen hundred years ago, and it is no part of the present work to question the decision. Only the first question will be discussed; and to attempt to settle it by considerations such as the passages just quoted suggest, is neither just, nor wise, nor in the deepest sense reverent. It is not just; for how can we give a fair hearing to adverse evidence if we approach it in a spirit which compels us to regard it as false or misleading? It is not wise; for what will be our position if, after all, the adverse evidence is too strong for even our pre-judgment? It is not reverent; for it virtually assumes that the Almighty *cannot* exalt an Epistle put forth under a pretended name to the dignity of being His Word; and that He who spoke to His chosen people by the lips of impure Balaam cannot speak to us by the writings of one who may have ill-advisedly assumed the pen of an Apostle. Hos. i. 2, 3 and iii. 1, 2 may warn us to be on our guard against pronouncing hastily beforehand as to what means and instruments it is or is not possible for God to employ for the instruction of His people.

These remarks are not made with a view to surrendering the authenticity of the Epistle as a thing of

no moment, but only that we may be able to weigh the evidence with calmness. The question of the genuineness of the Epistle is one of immense interest and no small importance; but there is no terrible alternative before us. If, after all, we have to admit that the Epistle is possibly, or probably, or certainly not the work of St. Peter, the spiritual value of the contents, both in themselves and in having received the stamp of the Church as canonical, will remain absolutely unchanged; although, possibly, our own views of God’s providence in relation to the canon of Scripture may require re-consideration and re-adjustment. This, however, is but the common experience both of the individual and of the race. Men’s views of God’s dealings with them are ever needing re-adjustment, as He hides and manifests Himself in history; for His ways are not as our ways, nor His thoughts as our thoughts.

The objections to the genuineness of the Epistle are of four kinds: being drawn (a) from the history of the Epistle; (b) from its contents in relation to the First Epistle; (c) from the contents considered in themselves; (d) from the same in relation to the Epistle of St. Jude.

In each case it will be most convenient to state the adverse facts first, and then what may be said on the other side.

(a) *External Evidence: The History of the Epistle.*—Among the earliest writers there is a remarkable silence with regard to this Epistle. There is no mention of it, and no *certain* quotation from it or allusion to it, in either the first or second century. Neither the Apostolic Fathers nor Justin Mar-

tyr nor Irenæus yield anything that can be relied upon as a reference. It is probable that Irenæus did not know of its existence; it is almost certain that neither Tertullian nor Cyprian did. About Clement of Alexandria there is some doubt, owing to inconsistent statements of Eusebius and Cassiodorus. But seeing that in the large amount of Clement's writings now extant there is only one possible, and not one probable, reference to it, and that, in quoting 1 Peter, he writes, "Peter in his *Epistle* says," the probability is that he did not know it. The Muratorian Fragment (*circ.* A.D. 170) omits it. It is wanting in the Peschito or old Syriac version (and St. Peter was personally known in Syria, especially at Antioch), and also in the old Latin version which preceded the Vulgate. Thus we are brought quite into the third century without any sure trace of the *Epistle*.

Origen certainly knew it. In those of his works which exist only in the Latin translation of Rufinus he quotes it as the work of St. Peter. But Rufinus is not a trustworthy translator; and Origen, in works of which the original Greek is still extant, either expresses a doubt about it or rejects it by implication, as Clement of Alexandria does. Eusebius certainly rejected it; Chrysostom, Theodore, and Theodoret probably did so; and we learn from Didymus, Jerome's preceptor, that doubts about it still survived late in the fourth century, though he seems to have overcome them in himself. At the Reformation these doubts revived again, and have never subsided since. At the present time, a large number of the

best critics consider the *Epistle* suspicious or spurious.

On the other hand, there are possible allusions to it in Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Hermas, Justin Martyr, Melito, Theophilus, and Hippolytus: and some even among adverse critics consider those in the *Shepherd* of Hermas (*circ.* A.D. 140) to be certain. These possible allusions cannot here be given, but they may be found from the following references:—Clement ii. 5; iii. 4; Polycarp, iii. 4; Hermas, ii. 13, 15, 20; iii. 5; Justin Martyr, ii. 1; iii. 8; Melito, iii. 5—7; Theophilus, i. 19, 21; Hippolytus, i. 21. The first *certain* reference to the *Epistle* as by St. Peter is in a Latin translation of a letter by Origen's pupil, Firmilian of Cæsarea, to Cyprian (A.D. 256). Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Jerome, Rufinus, and Augustine accepted it, although they knew that it had been much suspected; and they, of course, had evidence which has not come down to us. The Councils of Laodicea (*circ.* A.D. 360) and of Hippo (A.D. 393) formally included it in the Canon, decisions which have never been reversed. Its omission from the Muratorian Fragment is somewhat weakened by the fact that 1 Peter (about which there is no doubt) is omitted also; and, as a set-off to its omission from the Peschito, we have the fact that Ephrem Syrus seems to have accepted it.

Thus the adverse external evidence, serious though it is, is anything but conclusive. It can easily be explained. Communication between the churches was fitful and irregular, sometimes slow, sometimes very rapid. Accidents might favour the circulation of the First

Epistle and delay that of the Second. The very fact of its being the first Letter from the pen of the chief Apostle would promote the spread of the First Epistle; and as it was known to have been written only a few years before the death of St. Peter, this would make a second Letter within so short an interval a little improbable. The marked difference of style and language between the two Letters, which Jerome tells us had attracted notice, would increase the distrust. The amount of apocryphal literature which began to appear at a very early date, and flooded the Church in the second and third centuries, made all churches very suspicious about unknown writings; and several of these apocryphal books bore the name of St. Peter. Every year that the arrival of the Epistle at any particular church was delayed would make its acceptance by that church less probable. The fate of the Fourth Gospel, on account of its appearing after the others had obtained full possession of the field, is an illustration of similar causes and effects. When we remember that many narratives of Christ's life (Luke i. 1, Note) and some letters of St. Paul have entirely perished, we need not be surprised that a short Epistle like this, containing little that ordinary Christians did not know, should have remained for more than a century quite unknown to many churches and suspected by others. If the external evidence were all, we might admit that the general and authoritative reception of the Epistle in the fourth century, *after* such full doubt and debate, is more than sufficient for us.

(b) *Internal Evidence: The Con-*

tents of the Second Epistle in relation to the First.—Very formidable lists of points of difference between the two Epistles have been drawn up, but recent adverse critics have ceased to urge many of these supposed differences; we may, therefore, content ourselves with some of the most telling of such arguments as specimens. (α) 1 Peter uses Old Testament phraseology, and quotes Old Testament writers; 2 Peter, with two doubtful exceptions (chaps. ii. 22; iii. 8), does neither. (β) 1 Peter is mainly about suffering persecution; 2 Peter is mainly about heresy. (γ) 1 Peter speaks of the Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ; 2 Peter mentions none of them. (δ) 1 Peter represents the return of Christ as near (chap. iv. 7), and calls it a "revelation" (chaps. i. 7, 13; iv. 13); 2 Peter represents it as possibly distant (chap. iii. 15), and calls it "coming" (chaps. i. 16; iii. 4, 12). (ε) 1 Peter calls our Lord simply "Christ" or "Jesus Christ;" 2 Peter always adds "Saviour" (five times; and the word does not occur once in 1 Peter), or "Lord," or both. (ζ) 1 Peter insists on *faith*; 2 Peter on *knowledge*. (η) The Greek of 1 Peter is smooth, with easily-moving sentences, simply connected; that of 2 Peter is rough, with heavily-moving sentences, of which the construction is often harsh and, when prolonged, broken.

To these and similar arguments it may be replied that considerable differences between the two Epistles are admitted, but they may easily be exaggerated. Of the above, some are not strictly true; in particular, (α) and (ε); others tell rather in favour of the genuineness

of 2 Peter. Why should a second letter, written soon after the first, on a very different subject, repeat the topics of the first, or even use much of its phraseology? Encouragement under persecution and denunciation of corrupt doctrine and conduct require very different language. Great similarity of expression under such very different circumstances would have looked like the careful imitation of a forger. Jerome's suggestion, that St. Peter used different "interpreters" in the two Epistles to put his thoughts into Greek, is a possible solution of many differences; but it is not likely that St. Peter, though originally an illiterate fisherman, was still, at the end of a long and active life, unable to write the Greek of either Epistle; and both of them show traces of a writer not perfectly at home in the language. King's theory, that 2 Peter is a translation from an Aramaic original, is another possible solution. But neither theory is needed. Both Epistles are too short to supply satisfactory materials for an argument of this kind; and neither of them exhibits any such marked characteristics as those found in the writings of St. Luke or St. Paul or St. John. An anonymous pamphlet on any subject by Carlyle or Victor Hugo would probably be assigned to the right author at once; but most writers, even if known by many books, have no such marked style as would betray them in a few pages on a special subject; and here we are arguing as to the authorship of a tract of four pages from a tract of six pages on a different subject. In such a case, similarities, which cannot easily be the result of imitation, are stronger

evidence of identity of authorship than dissimilarities are of non-identity. Difference of mood, of subject, of surroundings, would probably account for all the dissimilarities, did we but know all the facts. The First Epistle would seem to have been written with much thought and care, as by one who felt a delicacy about intruding himself upon communities which St. Paul had almost made his own. Hence the earnest, gentle dignity of the Epistle, which makes one think how age must have tamed the spirit of the impetuous Apostle. But in the Second Letter, written probably under pressure, we see that the old vehemence is still there. There is a slight indication of it in the way in which he goes at once to the point (chap. i. 3—5); as he nears the evil which has so excited his fear and indignation, the construction becomes broken (chap. i. 17); and when he is in the full torrent of his invective, feeling seems almost to choke his utterance. Hence the rugged Greek, from which at times we can scarcely extricate the construction; hence, too, the repetitions, which some have thought a sign of inferiority. They are the natural results of emotion struggling to express itself in a language with which it is not perfectly familiar. Similar harsh constructions and tautological repetitions may be found in some of St. Peter's speeches as recorded in the Acts (chaps. i. 21, 22; iii. 13—16, 26; iv. 9; x. 36—40).

Against the admitted differences may be set some very real coincidences, both in thought and language, between the two Epistles. These also may be exaggerated and their force over-estimated; but

when soberly treated they are a valuable contribution to the evidence. Obvious similarities of language are of no great moment; for it is admitted by all, whatever their conclusions, that the writer of the Second Letter must have known the First. But subtle coincidences of thought, lying almost beyond the reach of the conscious imitator, are worth considering. (See chaps. i. 3, 5, 7; ii. 18, 19.) The traces of St. Paul's phraseology, which have been urged against the originality of 2 Peter, may, from this point of view, be counted in its favour, for such traces are very strong in the First Epistle.

The arguments, therefore, to be drawn from a comparison of the two Letters do not give much support to those who impugn the genuineness of the Second Epistle. A patient consideration of the facts may lead some to the conclusion that, considering the brevity of both Letters, and the different purpose of each, the amount of agreement, both on and below the surface, throws the balance in favour of both being the product of one mind. The assertion that had the Second Epistle not claimed to be by St. Peter no one would ever have dreamed of assigning it to him, is easily made, and not easily refuted; but study of the phenomena will lead to its being doubted.

(c) *Internal Evidence: The Contents of the Epistle considered in themselves.*—It is in this section of the argument that by far the most serious objections to the authenticity occur. The following have been urged:—(a) It is unlike the simple, practical spirit of St. Peter to enlarge upon the manner of the

creation and of the destruction of the world (chap. iii. 5—7, 10—12). (β) It is unlike an Apostle to appeal to “the commandment of your Apostles” (chap. iii. 2). (γ) The interchange of future and present tenses (chaps. ii. 1, 2, 3, 10, 12, 13; iii. 3, 5) looks like a later writer trying to write like a prophet in an earlier age, and at times forgetting his assumed position. (δ) Ideas belonging to an age later than that of the Apostles are introduced. Of this there are four marked instances—(1) The expression “the holy mount” (chap. i. 18) betrays an age which professes to know where the Transfiguration took place (of which the Gospels tell us nothing), and which has a taste for miracles. (2) No such argument as that urged by the scoffers (chap. iii. 4) would be possible in St. Peter's lifetime; it implies that at least the first generation of Christians has died out. (3) 2 Peter is addressed (chap. i. 1) to all Gentile Christians, and at the same time (chap. iii. 1) to the same readers as those of 1 Peter, which is addressed (chap. i. 1) to particular churches, *i.e.*, the post-Apostolic idea that the letters of Apostles are the common property of all Christians is implied. (4) St. Paul's writings are spoken of as equivalent to Scripture (chap. iii. 16).

Let us take these objections in order. (a) That St. Peter should enlarge upon the details of the creation and of the destruction of the world is not more strange than that he should enlarge upon “the spirits in prison” (1 Pet. iii. 19, 20; iv. 6). It would almost seem as if such mysterious subjects had an attraction for him (1 Pet. i. 12). At least it is more reasonable to

suppose this, seeing that there are some facts to support us, than to settle precariously what "the simple, practical spirit of St. Peter" would or would not be likely to enlarge upon. (β) Let us grant that an Apostle is often content with insisting on his own authority: this is no proof that he would never appeal to the authority of another Apostle. In 2 Peter the writer has more than once stated his personal claim to be heard (chap. i. 1, 18), and is then willing to sink his own authority in that of the Apostolic body, nay, is anxious to do so; for, as in the First Epistle, he still feels a delicacy about addressing congregations which, in the first instance, belonged to the Apostle of the Gentiles, and so he not only appeals to that Apostle's commandment, but points out that his commandment is at the same time that of Jesus Christ. In Eph. iii. 5 St. Paul makes a similar appeal to the authority of others; and it may warn us to be cautious in arguing as to what an Apostle would be sure to do in certain cases when we find this passage used to cast doubt on the Apostolic origin of such an Epistle as that to the Ephesians. (γ) This plausible argument will not bear close inspection. The evils which the writer foretells are already present in the germ. Moreover, the prophetic present as equivalent to a future is very common in prophecies; the future is so confidently realised that it is spoken of as present. In similar prophecies in the New Testament there is a similar mixture of future and present (2 Thess. ii. 3, 7; 2 Tim. iii. 1, 2, 8). (δ) We come now to the most weighty group of objec-

tions. (1) The expression "the holy mount" does not imply that the mount is known; and the theory that it does is reduced to an absurdity when it is further urged that "the holy mount," as applied to a known spot, must mean Mount Zion. Would any sane Christian, whether of the first or of the second century, represent the Transfiguration as taking place on Mount Zion? "*The mount*" simply means the one spoken of in the Gospels in connection with this event. Nor does the epithet "holy" indicate a miracle-loving age. Any Jew would naturally use it of a spot where the glory of the Lord had been revealed (Ex. iii. 5; Josh. v. 15). (2) The force of this argument is not so great as at first sight appears. In the Epistle of Clement of Rome (A.D. 95—100) the same scoffing argument is quoted as condemned by "Scripture" (chap. xxiii.). The "Scripture" is probably not 2 Peter. But we here have proof that this scoffing objection was old enough to have been *written against* before A.D. 95. The kindred error of Hymenæus and Philetus was in existence in St. Paul's lifetime. Besides which, it is not so certain as it is assumed to be that "since the fathers fell asleep" refers to Christians at all. The argument may be a piece of Sadducism, which had found its way into the Christian Church; the tone of it is not unlike that in Mark xii. 23. (3) The premises here are too vague for so definite a conclusion. To state the premises fairly we must say 2 Peter is addressed *in the main* to all Gentile Christians, and also *in the main* to the same readers as 1 Peter, which is addressed *mainly* to five or six different churches. From such indefinite data no very clean-cut

and decided result can be obtained. Moreover, it is open to question whether the idea that the letters of Apostles are the common property of Christians was not in existence even in the Apostolic age. The phenomena of the text of the last two chapters of Romans tend to show that this idea was beginning to arise some years before the traditional date of St. Peter's death. The Epistle to the Ephesians would lead us in the same direction. So that it is doubtful (a) whether the idea is implied in 2 Peter; (b) whether it was not in existence in St. Peter's lifetime. (4) No objection, probably, has had more effect than this. "The other Scriptures," it is urged, may mean either Old Testament or New Testament writings; in either case, we are face to face with a writer later than the Apostolic age. If Old Testament Scriptures are meant, it is incredible that St. Peter would place Epistles of St. Paul side by side with them as Scripture. If New Testament Scriptures are meant, this indicates a date at which certain Christian writings had begun to be considered equal in authority to the Old Testament, and this date is later than the death of St. Peter. In chapter iii. verse 16 it is quite probable that not Old Testament, but Christian, writings are meant; not any definite collection of writings, but certain well-known documents, other than the Epistles of St. Paul just mentioned. We must remember that the Greek words for "other" are sometimes used loosely, and rather illogically, without the two individuals, or two classes, being exactly alike (comp. Luke x. 1; xxiii. 32; John xiv. 16); so that we cannot be sure that the writer

means to place these Epistles of St. Paul on precisely the same level with "the other Scriptures." And that "Scripture" was used in the first century as rather a comprehensive term is shown by the passage from Clement of Rome alluded to above, where he quotes (chap. xxiii.) as "Scripture" a passage not found either in the Old or the New Testament. Again, the high authority claimed by Apostles for their own words makes this passage, although unique in the New Testament, quite intelligible. (Comp. Acts xv. 28; 1 Cor. v. 3, 4; 1 Thess. ii. 13.) Perhaps the nearest parallel is 1 Pet. i. 12, where evangelists are placed on the same level with the Old Testament prophets, a very remarkable coincidence between the two Epistles. One more consideration must be urged. The date of St. Peter's death is not certain, and the traditional date may be too early. Several of the objections just considered would be still further weakened if St. Peter's death took place not in the third, but in the fourth quarter of the century.

But besides answering objections we may observe—(1) that the writer professes to be Simon Peter (chap. i. 1), one whose death Christ foretold (chap. i. 14), a witness of the Transfiguration (chap. i. 16—18), and the writer of the First Epistle (chap. iii. 1); (2) that he speaks with authority (chap. i. 12, 13, 15, 16), yet is not afraid to admit the high authority of prophecy (chap. i. 19); (3) that there is some trace of the conciliatory position between Jewish and Gentile converts which St. Peter occupied between the rigour of St. James and the liberty of St. Paul (chaps. i. 1, 2: iii. 15); (4) that

the expression "our beloved brother Paul," so unlike the way in which Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Clement of Alexandria speak of St. Paul (see chap. iii. verse 15), is a strong mark of an Apostolic author—a writer of the second century would scarcely find his way back to this; (5) that some striking coincidences exist between thoughts and expressions in this Epistle and passages in St. Peter's speeches as reported in the Acts.

On the other hand, no weight can be allowed to the argument that "all motive for forgery is absent." It is quite true that "this Epistle does not support any hierarchical pretensions nor bear upon any of the controversies of a later age."

But a motive quite sufficient can be found, viz., to put down with the authority of an Apostle an alarming corruption, both in doctrine and conduct. This motive might have induced excellent men in the primitive Church to write in the name of St. Peter, and the moral sense of the community would not have condemned them. Such personations, purely in the interests of religion and virtue, are neither impossible nor unknown; and the very words "forgery" and "impostor," in reference to such acts and agents in primitive times, are fallacious. We must beware of transferring our own ideas of literary morality to an age in which they were absolutely non-existent.

(d) *Internal Evidence: The Contents of the Epistle in relation to the Epistle of St. Jude.*—This subject is discussed in the *Introduction to Jude*. The conclusion there ar-

rived at is that the priority of neither Epistle can be proved, but that the balance inclines decidedly towards the priority of 2 Peter. If the priority of Jude should ever be demonstrated, then we have still more reason for placing the date of St. Peter's death later than A.D. 67 or 68, unless the authenticity of 2 Peter is admitted to be more than doubtful.

The conclusion, then, to which this long discussion leads us is this—the objections to the Epistle are such that, had the duty of fixing the Canon of the New Testament fallen on us, we should scarcely have ventured, on the existing evidence, to include the Epistle; they are not such as to warrant us in reversing the decision of the fourth century, which had evidence that we have not. If modern criticism be the court of appeal to which the judgment of the fourth century is referred, as it has not sufficient reasons for reversing that judgment it can only confirm it. Additional evidence may yet be forthcoming. A Hebrew or Greek text of the *Book of Enoch* might settle the relation between 2 Peter and Jude beyond dispute; and this would clear the way not a little. Meanwhile, we accept the authenticity of the Epistle as, to say the very least, *quite the best working hypothesis*.

II. *The place and time.*—The suggestions as to the place where the Epistle was written are mere conjectures; we have no evidence of any value. As to the date, any time after the writing of the first Epistle may be right; probably not long before the Apostle's martyrdom. The fact that the destruction of Jerusalem is not men-

tioned is reason for believing that it had not taken place when the letter was written. If it be said that a writer personating St. Peter would have avoided so obvious a blunder, we may reply (1) that these are just the pitfalls into which literary personators in an early age fall; (2) that it is not certain that it would have been a blunder—St. Peter may have been living A.D. 70; (3) that the destruction of Jerusalem would have served the purpose of the letter so well, as an argument (more strong than the Transfiguration) for Christ's return to judgment, as a fulfilment of prophecy on this subject, and as a signal instance of divine vengeance, that no explanation of its omission is so satisfactory as that it had not yet taken place.

III. Object and Contents.—

The object of the Epistle is twofold: (1) warning against the seductions of false doctrine and the licentiousness akin to it; (2) exhortation to increase in the grace and knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. The basis for both is the same—the certainty of Christ's return to judgment. With true tact, the writer begins and ends with exhortation and encouragement; the warning and denunciation lie in between, and strongly as the latter are worded, terrible as are the metaphors and illustrations employed, even here the gentleness and tenderness of one who knew from experience what tenderness could do for those who had gone the length of "denying even the Master that bought them" (2 Pet. ii. 1; Luke xxii. 61) continually come to the surface, and break the flood of vehement denunciation (chaps. ii. 5, 7—9; iii. 1, 2).

The plan of the contents is easily recognised, and the transitions from one division to another are so natural, that (as remarked at the outset) it is impossible to strike out any portion as spurious and retain the rest.

I.—Introductory.

Address and greeting (chap. i. 1, 2).

II.—Hortatory and Argumentative.

- (1) Exhortation to increase in spiritual graces, in order to gain eternal life at Christ's coming (chap. i. 3—11).
- (2) Transition to the argumentative part; the purpose of this Epistle stated (chap. i. 12—15).
- (3) Basis of the exhortation—the certainty of Christ's coming, which is proved:
 - (a) By the Transfiguration, which was an anticipation of it (chap. i. 16—18).
 - (b) By the utterances of prophets, who have predicted it (chap. i. 19—21).

III.—Warning.

- (1) *First Prediction*: False teachers shall have great success and certain ruin (chap. ii. 1—10); their impious practices described (chap. ii. 10—22).
- (2) Transition to the second prediction; the purpose of both Epistles stated (chap. iii. 1, 2).
- (3) *Second Prediction*: Scoffers shall throw doubt on Christ's return (chap. iii. 3, 4); their argument refuted (chap. iii. 5—9).
- (4) Basis of the warning—the certainty of Christ's coming (chap. iii. 10).

IV.—Hortatory.

- (1) Concluding exhortations
(chap. iii. 11—18);
(2) Doxology (chap. iii. 18).

IV. The False Teachers and the Scoffers.—We are probably to regard these as in the main identical; but in spite of the vigorous language in which they are described, it is difficult to say what particular heresy is indicated. As in many of the Old Testament prophecies, the picture is painted in strong, lurid colours; but the outlines are not sufficiently defined to enable us to specify any distinctive characteristics. The spirit of heresy, capable of developing into endless varieties, rather than any one of the varieties themselves, is placed before us. Cavilling, pride, irreverence, impatience of restraints, impatience of mysteries—these form the corrupt atmosphere in which heresies are generated, and these are just the qualities that are depicted here. The indefiniteness of the description has been pointed out by critics on both sides of the question of authenticity. It is a strong argument in favour of an early date for this Epistle. A writer of the second century, with the full-blown Gnosticism of Basilides, Carpocrates, Valentinus, and Marcion around him, could scarcely have divested himself of his experience, and given us, not the details of what he saw and heard, but the germs that had developed into these after a growth of half a century. Historic divination, by means of which the essentials of an earlier age are discovered and separated from what is merely accidental—historic imagination, by means of which these essentials are put together in a lifelike picture—are powers of

modern growth. The divination of the second century was exercised on the future, not on the past; its imagination on the possibilities of the unseen world, not on the realities of the world of sense. The disagreement of critics as to the time in the second century at which the letter was probably written makes us all the more disposed to doubt whether the second century is right at all. Bleek suggests A.D. 100—150; Mayerhoff, *circ.* A.D. 150; Davidson, *circ.* 170; Schwegler and Semler, A.D. 190—200.

The view here taken of the false teachers and scoffers, that they are the forerunners of the Antinomian heretics of the second century, is confirmed when we turn to St. Paul's Epistles. There we find indications of these evils at a slightly earlier stage. We see him contending against corrupt practices, which were on their road to being established, inasmuch as some tried to justify them on principles which were a caricature of his own teaching. His Christian liberty is stretched to cover the detestable maxim, "Let us do evil that good may come," participation in idolatrous feasts, incestuous marriages, intemperance at love-feasts, &c. (Rom. iii. 8; 1 Cor., *passim*). A self-satisfied knowledge is intruding itself (1 Cor. viii. 1—4). The resurrection of the dead is being denied (1 Cor. xv. 12; 2 Tim. ii. 18). In 2 Peter the corrupt practices and the corrupt principles are more definitely combined. St. Peter predicts that still greater abominations than those against which St. Paul wrote will not only be justified, but taught upon principle. Going beyond those who denied the resurrection,

men will mock at the coming of Christ and the day of judgment. Thus the false teachers of 2 Peter are just a step nearer to the systematised Antinomianism of the second century than the evil-doers denounced by St. Paul. St. Jude shows us in active operation the mischief of which St. Paul and St. Peter had seen the beginning and foretold the development. Tertullian, Irenæus, and Hippolytus tell us to what hideous proportions and fantastic variety the development eventually progressed.

It is well known that the framers of our Authorised Version, while on the whole making an enormous advance on previous English versions, sometimes went back. In some instances the changes they made in the translations on which they worked were the reverse of improvements. Perhaps no portion of the New Testament is more full of cases of this kind than the Second Epistle of St. Peter. In a large number of such cases it will be found that the earlier versions which are superior to the Authorised Version are Wiclif's and the Rhemish; and not unfrequently that the version which has led our translators astray is the Genevan. None of these three versions was among those which the translators were instructed to use; and of Wiclif's they probably made very little use; of the other two they made a great deal of use. Wiclif's version and the Rhemish were made from the Latin Vulgate, not from the Greek; so that we have what at first sight seems to be a startling fact, that versions made from a Latin translation are often

superior to the best version made from the Greek. The explanation is simple. The Vulgate is a good Latin translation of excellent Greek texts; our version is a good English translation of very defective Greek texts. "The errors in the text of our English Testament inherited from them are considerably more important than the existing errors of translation" (Westcott). The late Dr. Routh, when asked what commentary he considered to be on the whole the best, is said to have answered, "The Vulgate." The facts just noticed are a striking illustration of his meaning.

[In writing the *Introduction* to this Epistle, use has been made of the Commentaries of Alford, Bengel, Brückner's edition of De Wette, Hofmann, Huther, Reuss, Schott, and Wordsworth, together with the Introductions of Bleek and Davidson, and the articles in Smith and Herzog. A much better use might have been made of them had time permitted. But it is only just to the editor and the reader to say that the commentator on 2 Peter and Jude was asked to undertake the work at very short notice, and to complete it within a very short time. If he is found to have undertaken a task beyond his strength, he must plead in excuse the attraction which the work had for him, and the wish to render help to a far abler but over-worked contributor to this Commentary.*]

* The work here referred to is, of course, the "New Testament Commentary for English Readers," from which, as stated in Bishop Ellicott's Preface to these books, the Introductions have been extracted.

I. JOHN.

BY THE VEN. W. M. SINCLAIR, D.D.

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| I. WHO WAS THE WRITER ? | V. WHEN WAS IT WRITTEN ? |
| II. WHO WERE THE READERS ? | VI. WHERE WAS IT WRITTEN ? |
| III. WHAT WERE THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE CHURCHES ? | VII. WHAT IS ITS SCOPE ? |
| IV. IS THE WRITING AN EPISTLE ? | VIII. NOTES ON DIFFICULT PASSAGES. |
| | IX. LITERATURE. [SAGES.] |

I. Who was the Writer ?— Three Epistles come before us in the New Testament bearing a very strong family likeness to each other and to the Fourth Gospel. They carry no superscription in their text, but “the elder,” or “the old man.” Whose are they ? The manuscripts from which they are derived have always said “John’s,” and in some is added “the Apostle.”

We will here consider the First. The Second and Third will be treated separately. The evidence for the First is as strong as anything could be. It was accepted as the Apostle’s by the whole Church. Eusebius, the historian (born about A.D. 270), places it among the writings “universally admitted (*homologoumena*)”; and Jerome states that it received the sanction of all members of the Church. The only exceptions were such sects of heretics as would be likely to repudiate it as not harmonising with their theological errors; the Alogi, or “Unreasonables,” an obscure and rather doubtful sect in the second century, who rejected St. John’s Gospel and the Revelation, and therefore, probably, these

three Epistles; and Marcion, in the same century, who chose such parts of the New Testament as suited him best, and altered them at pleasure.

The evidence of quotation and reference begins early. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, became a Christian A.D. 83. In the epistle which he wrote to the Philippians, occur these words: “For every one that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is anti-christ.” The likeness to 1 John iv. 2, 3, is marked; and it is far more probable that a loosely written letter, such as his, should embody a well-known saying of so sententious and closely-worded a treatise as the First Epistle of John than the other way.

Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, flourished in the first half of the second century. Irenæus, who was born about the end of the first century, says that he was a hearer of St. John. This is contradicted by Eusebius on the evidence of Papias’ own writings (*H.E.* III. 39, 1, 2); but he wrote a work called, *An Explanation of the Oracles of the Lord*, in which he bore witness to

the authenticity of Christian doctrine. The account of his work is derived from Eusebius, the historian, who says that "he used testimonials from the First Epistle of John." By balancing the name of St. John in this sentence with that of St. Peter, Eusebius evidently understood the Apostle.

About A.D. 100 was born Justin Martyr. In his time was written the anonymous epistle to Diognetus. Six of its chapters contain indisputable reminiscences of the First Epistle. The epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons was written in A.D. 177. It quotes 1 John iii. 16. Carpocrates, the Gnostic, lived at Alexandria at the beginning of the second century. He tried to pervert 1 John v. 19, "The whole world lieth in the evil one." Irenæus cites three passages from the First Epistle, mentioning its author; and Eusebius mentions this piece of evidence in exactly the same manner as that from Papias. Clement of Alexandria was born about A.D. 150. Like Irenæus, he quotes passages from the First Epistle, naming the author. So Tertullian, born about the same time, Origen, and the succeeding Fathers. About A.D. 170, a Canon of the New Testament was drawn up by some teacher for the use of catechumens. This is now known by the name of Muratori, who discovered and printed it A.D. 1740. (See Tregelles' *Canon Muratorianus*, pages 1, 81—89 : Oxford, 1867.) "What wonder," it says, "that St. John makes so many references to the Fourth Gospel in his Epistles, saying of himself, 'that which we have seen with our eyes, and have heard with our ears, and our hands have handled, that have we

written ? for thus he professes himself not only the eye-witness, but also the hearer and the writer of all the wonders of the Lord in order." And after cataloguing St. Paul's Epistles, it continues : "The Epistle of Jude, and the two which bear the name of John as a title, are considered General." The writer evidently means the Second and Third Epistles, which might not have been considered general from their shortness and slightness. The Peschito, or Syrian version, of about the same date, gives the same evidence as the Muratorian Canon. We have thus a consentient voice from the churches of East and West, of Syria, of Alexandria, of Africa, and of Gaul.

So strong, so clear, is the external proof. On the internal nothing can be better than the words of Ewald. "As in the Gospel, we see here 'he author retire to the background, unwilling to speak of himself, and still less to support anything by the weight of his name and reputation, although the reader here meets him, not as the calm narrator, but as an epistolary writer, as exhorter and teacher, as an Apostle, and, moreover, as the only surviving Apostle. It is the same delicacy and diffidence, the same lofty calmness and composure, and especially the same truly Christian modesty, that cause him to retire to the background as an Apostle, and to say altogether so little of himself. He only desires to counsel and warn, and to remind his readers of the sublime truth they have once acquired ; and the higher he stands the less he is disposed to humble 'the brethren' by his great authority and directions. But he knew who he was, and every word tells plainly that he only

could thus speak, counsel, and warn. The unique consciousness which an Apostle as he grew older could carry within himself, and which he, once the favourite disciple, had in a peculiar measure; the calm superiority, clearness, and decision in thinking on Christian subjects; the rich experience of a long life, steeled in the victorious struggle with every unchristian element; and a glowing language lying concealed under this calmness, which makes us feel intuitively that it does not in vain commend to us love as the highest attainment of Christianity — all this coincides so remarkably in this Epistle, that every reader of that period, probably without any further intimation, might readily determine who he was. But where the connection required it the author intimates with manifest plainness that he stood in the nearest possible relations to Jesus (chaps. i. 1—3; iv. 16; v. 3—6), precisely as he is wont to express himself in similar circumstances in the Gospel; and all this is so artless and simple, so entirely without the faintest trace of imitation in either case, that nobody can fail to perceive that the selfsame author and Apostle must have composed both writings" (Ewald, *Die Johann. Schriften*, i. 431).

No less than thirty-five passages of the Fourth Gospel are common to the First Epistle. These expressions occur in twenty-three different places, and are used in a way of which only the author of the same two treatises could be capable. Considerably more than half of the parallel places in the Gospel belong to the farewell discourses of John xii.—xvii. There the tender, loving, receptive, truth-

ful, retentive mind of the bosom-friend had been particularly necessary; at that great crisis it had been, through the Spirit of God, particularly strong; and the more faithfully St. John had listened to his Master and reproduced Him, the deeper the impression was which the words made on his own mind, and the more likely he was to dwell on them in another work instead of on his own thoughts and words.

The style may be his own both in Gospels and Epistles, modified by that of our Lord; the thoughts are the thoughts of Jesus. An examination of the following list of parallels will illustrate this:—

First Epistle of John.	Gospel of John.
Chap. i. 1, 2.	Chap. i. 1, 2, 14.
" i. 4.	xv. 11.
" i. 10.	xvi. 24.
" ii. 1, 2.	v. 38.
" ii. 4—6.	xiv. 16.
" ii. 8.	xi. 51, 52.
" ii. 11.	xiii. 15, 34, 35.
" ii. 23.	xiv. 21—24.
" ii. 27.	xv. 10.
" iii. 1.	xiii. 34.
" iii. 8.	xii. 35.
" iii. 10.	xv. 23, 24.
" iii. 13—15.	v. 24.
" iii. 16.	xiv. 26.
" iii. 22.	xvii. 25.
" iv. 5, 6.	viii. 44.
" iv. 9.	viii. 47.
" iv. 16.	v. 24, 38.
" v. 3, 4.	xv. 18, 19.
" v. 9.	xv. 12, 13.
" v. 12.	ix. 31.
" v. 13.	xvi. 23.
" v. 14.	iii. 31.
	xv. 19.
	viii. 47.
	iii. 36.
	vi. 69.
	xiv. 15.
	xvi. 33.
	v. 36.
	iii. 36.
	xiv. 6.
	xx. 31.
	xiv. 13, 14.
	xvi. 23.

The proof that the Fourth Gospel was the work of St. John is given in the *Introduction* to that Gospel, in this volume. On internal grounds alone, without the strong external evidence already sketched, an unbiassed mind would find it very difficult to believe that the First Epistle (and the Second and Third also) are not by the same author. Even the style and construction have an identity which could not easily be spurious or accidental. This is seen in the habit of thinking in periods the limbs of which are parallel and co-ordinate instead of progressive: the juncture of these by "and" instead of by particles, expressing consequence or movement: the peculiar use of four special particles: the general Aramaic framework of the diction: and the constant reappearance of special words and phrases. The identity of ideas in both writings is of the same character; they bear no sign of imitation, but are the free production of the same spirit. Light, life, darkness, truth, the lie, propitiation, doing righteousness, doing sin, doing lawlessness, life and death, loving and hating, love of the Father and love of the world, children of God and children of the devil, the spirit of truth and the spirit of error: all these notions underlie the thought of both Gospel and Epistle. The writer of each, too, has the same characteristics: love of the background for himself; absorbing devotion to his Lord; faithful receptiveness and faculty for sympathetic reproduction of His thoughts and spirit; pure unruffled, unflinching movement among the very inmost facts of life and being; intense unhesitating indignation (like thunder from a clear sky) for wilful de-

prayers of spiritual truth; and the absolute tranquillity of that certainty which comes from long conviction and demonstrable experience. So, again, the particular dogmatic notes of each are the same: the Spirit already marking off the true from false believers, and so preparing the way for the final judgment; the manifestation of the sons of God already by the presence of the Father and the Son in the Spirit; the actual present beginning of everlasting life, and the safety from future judgment; the present existence of the last hour; Christ the actual Paraclete, the Divine Spirit being another. It would, indeed, be difficult to find a more structural and penetrating identity between the works of any author whatever than there is between the Gospel and the First Epistle.

It was Scaliger (1484—1558) who first announced "the three Epistles of John are not by the Apostle of that name." The tradition mentioned by Eusebius that there was living at Ephesus at the same time as St. John a presbyter of the same name, to whom great weight was attributed because he was a hearer of our Lord, seems to have given rise to the notion that "the elder" of the three Epistles was this traditional person. Those who take this view are guilty of the fallacy that if this man existed he must have had all the characteristics of the Apostle because he had his name and was contemporary. It is far more probable that the beginning of the three Epistles gave rise among the ignorant to the tradition.

In modern times, S. G. Lange was the first who questioned the Epistle on internal grounds. His

argument rests on the assumption that it is destitute of all characteristic individuality and personality; that the affinity of the Epistle to the Gospel is an imitation; that the Epistle exhibits marks of senile decay; and that if it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem mention must have been made of it in chap. ii. 18. Few sound critics will think these assumptions worth refutation. The next opponent, Bretschneider, lived to recant his doubts. The unreasonableness of Claudius, Horst, and Paulus, is even more arbitrary, imaginative, and groundless than that of Lange.

The Tübingen school have a preconception of their own to support. As, according to them, there can be no miracle, so there can be no direct revelation; the beginning of Christianity must have been the natural consciousness of an individual, such as Jesus of Nazareth, developing gradually through a much longer period than the accepted Christian history; they hold that Christ only slightly modified Judaism; that in the hands of St. Peter and St. John in the Apocalypse, His teaching took an Ebionite form, in the hands of St. Paul was adapted to the Gentile world at large; thence arose contentions, in reconciliation of which the greater part of the writings of the New Testament were composed, as party-writings without strict historical value. The Epistle is therefore treated by different members of the school as it will best suit their special theory. Kœstlin and Georgii think the author of the Gospel the same as of the Epistle; Zeller supposes it possible that they may be by different hands. Baur pronounces the Epistle a weak imitation of the Gospel; Hilgen-

feld a splendid product of it. Thus they contradict each other. The main arguments of Baur are five, and may be given as a specimen:— (1) Studious anxiety of the writer of the Epistle in his preface to be considered the same as the author of the Gospel; (2) vain attempt at drawing a distinction between divine and human testimony; (3) the eschatology of the Epistle more material than that of the Gospel; (4) the ideas of propitiation and Christ the interceding Paraclete more like the Epistle to the Hebrews than the Gospel; (5) the teaching wholly Montanistic, because it describes Christians as holy and sinless, mentions the anointing, and draws a distinction between venial and mortal sins. Of these it may be shortly said (1) that an imitation would have been more skilful, and that the intense consciousness of the eye-witness would necessarily produce the same line of thought when St. John was prefacing his moral treatise as when he was writing his history; (2) that the distinction runs throughout the Gospel; (3) to a candid reader the difference is impossible to discover; (4) no expression could be more sacrificial than “the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world;” (5) St. John is describing the ideal, not a class: the anointing is most certainly not that in baptism, mentioned for the first time by Tertullian, but that of “pouring out the Spirit:” and there is no reference whatever to the six or seven deadly sins of Tertullian, while there is a very distinct similarity between the idea of the sin unto death and the sin against the Holy Ghost of the Gospels. Baur, in fact, as Düsterdieck says,

has taken the Gnostic and Montanistic caricatures of the Apostolical teaching as if they were its type and origin.

The Epistle, then, has abundant historical evidence; the internal evidence that it is by the same hand as the Fourth Gospel is particularly strong; and the attacks of hostile critics are peculiarly arbitrary and unfounded.

II. Who were the Readers?

—There is in St. Augustine's works—and he often quotes this Epistle—a solitary citation of it as written to the Parthians. Whether this was his own opinion, a mere current traditional title, or a clerical error, the designation seems to have arisen from the fact mentioned by Clement of Alexandria that the Second Epistle was sometimes called "that to the virgins" (the word in the Greek for "virgin" being *parthenos*). This title evidently became misunderstood, and may have been applied to the First Epistle in error. One critic has discovered in "that which ye heard from the beginning" a proof that the readers were the inhabitants of Judæa; another, identifying St. John's correspondent Caius with St. Paul's host at Corinth (it was one of the commonest of all classical names), fancies that they must have been Corinthians; but it was evidently written to no church in particular: probably to a circle of churches in immediate connection with St. John, such as the seven addressed in the Revelation. The warning against idolatry may not unreasonably suggest Gentile Christians, and the contrast of the knowledge of the true God in Jesus Christ, implying eternal life, with the dazzling speculations

of innovating teachers, harmonises with the historical notice that St. John resided at Ephesus.

III. What were the Circumstances of the Churches?

—(1) There is no allusion to persecutions. The hatred of the world, the victory over the wicked one, the victory over the world, suggest spiritual conflict rather than hostile attacks.

(2) The internal indications point rather to disunion, want of brotherly love, want of steadfastness in the fellowship of the Father and the Son, the seductions of worldliness, the snares of false brethren, the evils of a time of peace, when persecution no longer braces the sinews of faith, and warning is needed rather than consolation; or when perversion has lost the moral shock of novelty, and Christian loyalty the fire of its indignation; a time full of evidence of continued spiritual vitality in old and young, but also when a recognised leader of a church can be so ambitious as to reject the authority of the last of the Apostles, and when heathen speculation rather than Jewish prejudice is beginning to corrupt Christian faith.

(3) The particular heretics combated had a Docetic tendency, not yet fully developed. Their theory was that the Son of God was a phantom, united for a time with the man Jesus. St. John's contemporary, Cerinthus, already noticed in the *Introduction* to his Gospel, held that Jesus was the son of Joseph, to whom the Logos was united from His baptism to His crucifixion. The stress laid on the true knowledge as growth in understanding what had been re-

vealed from the beginning, points also to the beginning of Gnosticism, the system which exalted speculation into religion, buried Christianity under a heterogeneous philosophy, and substituted intellectual athletics for faith working by love.

(4) The only division of Christians recognised is that into mature and young. All alike receive the unction of the Holy Ghost. John himself joins in the confession of sin. He lays on all the duty of trying the spirits. He makes all alike responsible directly to the Lord.

IV. Is the Writing an Epistle?—As an Encyclical Letter, it would have no special dedication nor salutations; the Epistle to the Hebrews is similarly without the one, that of St. James without the other. "I write" occurs seven times, "I have written" six, "you" thirty-six, "little children" ten, "beloved" six, "fathers" and "young men" twice each, "brethren" once. The introduction is an amplification of the ordinary epistolary address, founded on a reminiscence of the more abstract introduction to the Gospel. Bacon says: "An Epistle has more natural feeling than a treatise; more ripe development than momentary conversation." Düsterdieck says: "The whole writing rests as thoroughly on a living personal relation between the author and his readers, the application of the written exhortation is so absolutely personal, that this ground is enough to make us consider the writing as a genuine Epistle. This epistolary character belongs, moreover, to the whole keeping and character of the short writing. With all logical order

there reigns in it that easy naturalness and unconstraint of statement which suits the immediate interest and hortatory tendency of an Epistle; while the strict, progressive, dialectical development, peculiar to a treatise or a homily, is held back." It may be described, then, as a circular letter of St. John to the churches connected with his ministry, embodying a succinct statement of his principal views of Christian doctrine. There is no good reason for calling it either with one critic, the "polemical," or, with another, the "practical" part of the Gospel; or "a homiletical essay, the readers being present;" or "a summary," or "a companion letter of the Gospel."

V. When was it written?—

(1) As it contains no reference to persecutions, it is less likely to have been written in the time of Trajan (A.D. 98—117); probably before the end of the reign of Domitian, A.D. 96; after the reign of Nero and the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 70. Thus we get the period between A.D. 70 and 96. A date near 70 is less likely, because the breaking up of the Jewish world would have made some reference of the kind probable. "The last hour" is a note of spiritual, not material time.

(2) Jewish opposition no longer troubles the apostolic horizon.

(3) The life of individual churches apart from Jerusalem seems by this time the natural order of the Christian world.

(4) The heresies are the seeds of Docetism and Gnosticism: this points to the end of the first century.

(5) St. John is not mentioned in the Acts after the Jerusalem Council

of A.D. 51. But he does not seem to have been at Ephesus when St. Paul took leave of the elders in A.D. 60. (See *Introduction to the Gospel*.) If St. Paul died in A.D. 64, St. John can hardly have begun working at Ephesus till then. The tone of the Epistle implies a long and ripe pastoral intimacy. St. John was banished to Patmos before the end of the reign of Domitian, A.D. 96. He died after A.D. 100.

(6) It must always be a matter of opinion whether the Gospel or Epistle was written first. It may be that a comparison of John xx. 31, "These things are written that ye might believe," with 1 John v. 13, "These things have I written unto you that believe," indicates an earlier and more elementary object for the Gospel; but it cannot be pressed. It is certainly likely that the doctrinal chords struck in the Narrative should afterwards receive their fuller variations in the Exhortation. It may even be that some of the churches or their members, aroused by these solemn notes, asked St. John for a doctrinal writing.

(7) On the whole, there is no improbability in putting the date about A.D. 90.

VI. Where was it written?

—On such a point as this we are left to groundless conjecture, which is useless. An old tradition mentions Ephesus.

VII. What is its Scope?

That the joy which Christians already had might not be dimmed by the world or by error, but might be crowned with completeness even in this life (1 John i. 4), and that they might realise the assurance of

the actual beginning of eternal life within them.

For this purpose God is held up as Light and Love, both through Jesus Christ. By that exercise of their will, which would make them remain in Christ as they knew Him, both by hearing and by their consciences, they would enjoy the serene dignity of companionship with the Almighty Father and His Son, and so secure these two grand objects.

Christians, looked at in the ideal, cannot be wilful sinners; but when betrayed into sin, they may recover through confession and reconciliation. The proof of the Christian life must be sought in obedience to the will of God, showing itself specially in true brotherly love. The chief dangers are the world and the depravation of Christian doctrine.

The light of God is shown in the absolute distinctness from Him of everything that is evil.

The love of God is shown in that sonship of Christians which is manifested by personal righteousness. Its correlative in us is love to God, shown in pure love for one another. The purity of love is measured by the purity of faith. And that faith is irrefragably grounded in the witness of the Old Testament through the Father, culminating in the inauguration of baptism; in the witness of the New Testament through the Son, culminating in the blood of Calvary; and in the witness of the Spirit speaking through our own consciences.

Christians cannot be reminded too often that their religious life is a matter of positive, demonstrable, realised facts, to be completed by earnest continual progress. They

are already in the Father and in the Son; they have eternal life begun within them; they have passed from death unto life; they have the witness of the Spirit. If they are in doubt, they can prove the truth of their life by obedience to God and love to the human family. For those in sin or error they can pray. The sight of the world and the knowledge of the Redeemer make it finally most important that they should hold to the faith in the utmost simplicity, and avoid all substitution of shadow for substance.

St. Paul writes now in a storm of argument, then in a humble strain of self-forgotten, self-abasing expostulation and entreaty; now eloquently on high abstract truths, now in exquisite descriptions, then about the homeliest and simplest duties. St. John moves in a calm sphere of certainty among the very highest, grandest, and largest of Christian truths, raising the general outlines of human life into the same atmosphere till they are illuminated and penetrated by the clear rays of Light and Love. All is simple, broad clear, calm, sure. He writes at once with the most commanding authority, and the most loving tenderness; the profoundest wisdom, and the most touching simplicity; the most searching knowledge of the human heart and its difficulties and failures, and the most elevating and bracing courage and confidence; the gentlest affection, and the most pitiless and sternest condemnation of wilful departure from truth in practice or opinion.

It is noticeable that in a treatise on the very innermost secrets of religious life, to all Christian souls are attributed the same duties and

privileges, and no mention is made of ministerial authority or responsibility; and that, though fellowship with the Father and the Son and the witness of the water and the blood are both brought into prominence, no allusion is made to sacraments.

VIII. Notes on Difficult Passages.

(1) *Propitiation.*

"He is the propitiation for our sins" (1 John ii. 2).

"Sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins" (1 John iv. 10).

The same form is used in Luke xviii. 13: "God be merciful (*be made propitious*) to me a sinner;" and in Heb. ii. 17: "to make reconciliation for the sins of the people."

In classical Greek the verbal form means "to make a person favourable."

From these facts it is clear that Christ is regarded as making God favourable to us. The word "reconciliation" introduces another idea, and should be kept for another Greek word, which occurs in 2 Cor. v. 18, 19; Eph. ii. 16; Col. i. 20. Although God is kind to the unthankful and the evil, yet for the sake of eternal Order and Righteousness He is represented to us as unable to pass over rebellion without punishment, as a warning and a security as well as a discipline. In this sense He could not look favourably on the world until His Son had bought it back by becoming sin for us. Thus He is the sacrifice on behalf of the sins of the whole world, which enables the Father, whose name is Love, to show the full scope of His favour. Divine love then can have

its perfect operation in reconciling man, or bringing him back. Expiation appeases that wrath, without which God would not be just; Reconciliation breaks down the enmity of man in his state of sin.

(2) *Brotherly love.*

The unflinching truthfulness and courage of St. John are nowhere more remarkable than in the pertinacity with which, amongst the perversions of human affection which are the blot of all societies, and were especially flagrant in the ancient world, he urges his friends to brotherly love. Love is the fulfilling of the law, the proof of union with God, the sign of having passed from death unto life, the great commandment of Christ, the outcome of birth from God, the witness of God's presence, the perfection and crown of our love to Him: the absence of it is the mark of spiritual death. It is that desire for the good of others, temporal and eternal, without which self-denial and self-sacrifice are but barren pride. Like St. Paul, it knows no man after the flesh—that is, for mere fancy, pleasure, or advantage—but is the instant recognition of merit and of God's good gifts wherever they may present themselves. Founded on faith and measured by it, it is absolutely pure and unselfish; it would lay down life itself for the good of others. And because it is that attitude of the human mind towards its fellows which is the reflex of God's mind towards us, it embraces and implies all human virtues.

(3) *The last hour* (chap. ii. 18).

This phraseology occurs first in Gen. xlix. 1, "That I may tell you that which shall befall you in the last days;" where it means "the

sequel of days," "far-off times." So Num. xxiv. 14, "What this people shall do to thy people in the latter days;" Deut. iv. 30, "When all these things are come upon thee, even in the latter days;" and Deut. xxxi. 29, "Evil will befall you in the latter days."

In Isa. ii. 2, it has begun to mean the new age of the world; a vague indefinite time, during which, or before which, Messiah's kingdom would be established. "It shall come to pass that in the last days the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established." So Micah iv. 1.

In Matt. xii. 32, our Lord distinguishes between this world (or rather, *age*) and the world to come. So "this time" is contrasted with "the world to come" in Mark x. 30 and Luke xviii. 30. In our Lord's usage, then, the beginning of the kingdom of Messiah belonged to the present age, and the coming age would not be till the completion of that kingdom. So the day of resurrection and final judgment, the beginning, that is, of the coming age, is "the last day" of the present (John vi. 39, 40, 44, 54; xi. 24; xii. 48).

St. Paul also speaks of the present age and the coming, the sufferings of the present time and the glory that shall be, and of things present and things to come (Rom. viii. 38). In Tit. ii. 12, 13, those who live "in this present world" are "looking for the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour." He says that "in the last days" before that final period there "shall come perilous times" (2 Tim. iii. 1); and that "in the latter times some shall depart from the faith (1 Tim. iv. 1). Although actually in this present

age, yet, according to St. Paul, Christians have more or less entered on the coming age proportionally to their degrees of progress. So the present age is regarded as tainted with sin and alienated from God (Rom. xii. 2; 1 Cor. ii. 6, 8; iii. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 4; Gal. i. 4; Eph. ii. 2; 2 Tim. iv. 10). Since the first advent of Christ, he regarded the present age as beginning to draw to its close; "our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come" (1 Cor. x. 11).

St. Peter identified his age with the "last days" of the prophets (Acts ii. 17), and considers the date of the first advent as "in these last times" (1 Pet. i. 20). But as, a few verses before (verse 5), he speaks of "salvation ready to be revealed in the last time"; and again (2 Pet. iii. 3), "There shall come in the last days scoffers" (comp. Jude, verse 18), he evidently looked to a still more definite close of the already closing age.

St. James, too, looked forward to such a period: "Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days" (Jas. v. 3). The Epistle to the Hebrews, like the first usage in St. Peter, treats the existing times as "these last days" (Heb. i. 1, 2); "now once in the end of the world hath He appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself" (Heb. ix. 26). As well as this, it looks forward to the future age of which Christians already, in varying degrees, partake: "Have tasted the powers of the world to come" (Heb. vi. 5); "Christ being come an high priest of good things to come" (Heb. ix. 11). This tasting is only a beginning, not an actuality, till the second coming (Heb. xiii. 14).

St. John, then, having, like the other Apostles, the notion that the first age was drawing to its close, and that the latter days were already upon the earth, and believing—or, at the very least, firmly hoping—that the second advent was not far off, did not hesitate, especially in view of Matt. xxiv. 22, 24, to speak of the time of his old age as "the last hour." Of the date of the second coming even the Son was to be ignorant; but at any rate, since the death of the last of the Apostles, and the closing of the Canon, there had been no change in the Christian dispensation; it has been a constant repetition of repentance, forgiveness, watching.

(4) *Antichrist.*

"As ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists" (1 John ii. 18).

"He is the antichrist, that denieth the Father and the Son" (1 John ii. 22).

"Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God; and this is that spirit of antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come: and even now already it is in the world" (1 John iv. 3).

"For many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh. This is the deceiver and the antichrist" (2 John, verse 7).

Our Lord foretold false Christs and false prophets, who "shall show great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect" (Matt. xxiv. 11, 24; Mark xiii. 22, 23).

St. Paul spoke of the growth of the antichristian "lie," especially in the cities of Asia Minor. "After my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing

the flock. Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them" (Acts xx. 29, 30; and 2 Tim. iii. 1—9). These would be but anticipations of that concentrated force of opposition for which St. Paul looked immediately before the second coming. "For that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God . . . Then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of His mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming: even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved" (2 Thess. ii. 3—10).

St. John meant by the antichrists what St. Paul meant by the grievous wolves; the individual manifestations of "the spirit of antichrist," which St. Paul describes as "he whose coming is in them that perish." There is a difference, however, in the application of the idea, for the opposer in St. Paul's view is rather from without, St. John's principle of evil rather from within. Just as St. John noticed the same tendencies showing themselves in the same way in different individuals, and called them spirits, so in looking forward to a more formidable and final apostasy, he calls it "the spirit of antichrist," which has already declared itself in

so many personal antichrists. St. Paul's "man of sin" must be of the same spiritual character, for no human being could ever be powerful and dangerous enough to answer the description.

(5) *The three witnesses* (1 John v. 7, 8).

The authority for the words, "in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one; and there are three who bear witness in the earth," is a copy made in the sixteenth century, of Codex 173, which dates from the eleventh.

The words are wanting in all the Greek Codices, including the Codex Sinaiticus, and in all the ancient versions, including the Latin, as late as the eighth century. Since then they are found in three variations. Had they been known they must have been quoted in the controversies about the Trinity; but they are not cited by any Greek or any of the older Latin Fathers. A quotation from Tertullian (*adv. Prax.* 25) and a parallel quotation from Cyprian (*Ep. ad Jub.*), where each is establishing the doctrine of the Trinity, refer to John x. 20, and xvi. 5; and another from Cyprian (*de Unit. Eccl.* p. 79) refers to 1 John v. 8, where the spirit, the water, and the blood, were interpreted patristically as direct symbols of the Trinity.

The words probably crept into the text gradually from Greek notes on the passage, and from the expression of Cyprian, which would be placed alongside to show how he interpreted St. John's meaning. The second place in Cyprian runs thus: "The Lord says, 'I and My Father are one'; and again, concerning the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, it is written: 'And these three are one.'"

Their first appearance is in a work ascribed to Vigilius, of Thapsus, at the close of the fifth century. They afterwards occur in Latin translations. They first appeared in print in the earliest Greek edition, the Complutensian, published A.D. 1522. (See Dr. Scrivener's *Introduction to the Critical Study of the New Testament*, on this passage.)

Erasmus at first refused them, but at last yielded to pressure, when he heard that they were in the Codex Britannicus. But that manuscript is only of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Stephanus, Beza, and the Textus Receptus followed his lead. Luther never translated them; in his first commentary he pronounced them spurious, in his second he commented on them. We owe them solely to the reluctant deference paid by Erasmus to unlearned current opinion. There is hardly a passage in all literature more demonstrably spurious.

On the internal evidence, after such adverse criticism, it is hardly necessary to speak, but it may be well to quote Sir Isaac Newton. After writing of the fulness and strength of the argument as it stands, without the inserted words, he says: "If you insert the testimony of the three in heaven, you spoil it, for the whole design of the Apostle being here to prove to men by witness the truth of Christ's coming, I would ask how the testimony of the 'three in heaven' makes to this purpose? If their testimony be not given to men, how does it prove to them the truth of Christ's coming? If it be, how is the testimony in heaven distinguished from that on earth? It is the same Spirit which witnesses

both in heaven and in earth. If in both cases it witnesses to us men, wherein lies the difference between its witnessing in heaven and its witnessing in earth? If in the first case it does not witness to them, to whom does it witness? And to what purpose? And how does its witnessing make to the design of St. John's discourse? Let them make good sense of it who are able; for my part I can make none." (Paraphrastic exposition.)

IX. Literature.—I am indebted chiefly to Dr. Karl Braune, *The Epistles General of John*, in Dr. J. P. Lange's series (an English Translation is published by T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh); to Dr. H. A. Ebrard's *Die Briefe Johannes*, Königsberg, 1859 (an English translation was published by T. and T. Clark in 1860); and to Dr. Friedrich Lücke's *Commentar über die Briefe des Evangelisten Johannes*, Bonn, 1836 (an English translation was published by T. and T. Clark in 1837). Perhaps the best authority of all is Erich Haupt, *Der Erste Brief des Johannes*, Colberg, 1870; London, Williams and Norgate. There are also Dr. J. E. Huther's *Handbuch über die Drei Briefe des Apostel Johannes*, 3rd Edition, Gottingen, 1868, in Meyer; De Wette in his *Commentary on the New Testament*; and Düsterdieck's *Die Drei Johanneischen Briefe*, Gottingen, 1852—54.

Of the Greek commentaries, those of Diodorus of Tarsus and Chrysostom have been lost; a few fragments remain from Clement of Alexandria, a few more from Didymus of Alexandria. *Catenæ* have been preserved from Oecumenius, Theophylact, and two Scholiasts.

Among Latins, an *Expositio* remains by Augustine, and one by Bede. The epistle was also commented on by Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, Beza, Zwingli, and Bullinger. Calovius, Grotius, and Bengel are often quoted in modern editions.

Besides the commentaries of

Wordsworth and Alford should be mentioned A. Neander's *The First Epistle of John practically explained*, Berlin, 1851 (translated by Mrs. Conant, New York, 1853), and F. D. Maurice's *The Epistle of John: Lectures on Christian Ethics*, Macmillan, 1867; also the able but posthumous edition of W. E. Jelf.

II. AND III. JOHN.

BY THE VEN. W. M. SINCLAIR, D.D.

- I. WHO WROTE THEM?
- II. DATE.
- III. CHARACTER AND SCOPE.

- IV. WHERE WERE THEY WRITTEN?
- V. LITERATURE.

I. **Who wrote them?**—It is difficult to imagine why any should suppose these two Epistles to be by different hands. Was this author the Apostle?

(1) *External Evidence.*—This is not nearly so strong as for the First. It is natural that it should be so, for the two Epistles seem to have been regarded as of far less general interest; and, therefore, there was less obvious propriety in placing them in a collection of important Apostolical literature, and little reason why they should be quoted at all. The main argument for them is, indeed, their unaffected, inartificial kinship to the First. The oldest authority for the Second is the Muratorian Canon, composed before A.D. 170. Origen speaks of St. John's Epistles in the plural, and his disciple, Dionysius, cites the Third by name. The Muratorian Canon speaks of two Epistles of John, apparently distinct from the First. The Muratorian writer explains the principle of his arrangement of the Canon distinctly: saying that the Epistles of Paul to

Philemon and Timothy, although addressed only to individuals, were placed in the Canon on account of their character. And even if the two Epistles of John mentioned were the First and Second, the fact that the Epistle to Philemon has precedence of those to Timothy (and Titus), probably because it is addressed also to Apphia and Archippus, and the church in Philemon's house, makes it very easy to understand that the Second Epistle of John (early supposed to be addressed to a church under the symbolic form of a lady) would be received into a canon, while the Third, addressed to an unknown individual, and dealing with special circumstances, might not be considered sufficiently general for such a position. In early days there must have been many fugitive writings of the Apostles; and the discretion of the churches in selecting from them for an authorised collection would be guided probably more by usage than by deliberate valuation. Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 190—220), says,

“The Second Epistle of John, written to the Virgins, is of the simplest character; it is written to a certain Babylonian, called Electa, but that means the election of the holy Church” (*Opera*, p. 1011, ed. Potter). Origen, in addition to what has been quoted from him above, is alleged by Eusebius (*Ecl. Hist.* vi. 25) to have said, “Not all consider these Epistles to be genuine,” without endorsing the doubt himself. Dionysius of Alexandria, pupil and successor of Origen, makes use of the Second and Third Epistle to illustrate St. John’s diction; he says that they were generally received as St. John’s by tradition. Irenæus, disciple of Polycarp and of Papias (he died A.D. 202), quotes 2 John, verse 7, by a mistake of memory, as belonging to the First Epistle; the words of 2 John, verse 11, he cites as by John the disciple of the Lord. Ephrem the Syrian knew both Epistles, but it is easy to understand why two small fragments of such a private character were not translated in early days, and therefore did not appear in the Peshito version; for that contains only three general Epistles (James, 1 Peter, 1 John). Cyprian shows that the Second Epistle was received as Apostolical and Canonical in the North African Church, by the fact that he mentions a quotation of the tenth verse by Aurelius, Bishop of Chullabis. Eusebius by speaking of St. John’s Epistles in the plural number (*Demonstratio Evangelica*, iii. 5) shows that he himself recognised some other Epistles as well as the First; but, as from their shortness and small range there had been very slight occasion to quote them, he put them among the highest class of those writings which were not

placed by absolutely universal consent in the authoritative Canon, and were therefore called Antilegomena. Jerome gives the “opinion of several writers,” not as his own, that they were by the traditional John the Presbyter; a view rejected by Oecumenius and Bede. In the Middle Ages they were received without question as the Apostle’s; then Erasmus took up the opinion mentioned by Jerome, and was followed by Grotius. Most modern commentators recognise them as Apostolic. The Tübingen writers are, of course, obliged to consider them as later, referring them to Montanistic, or at any rate, sub-apostolic times.

(2) *Internal Evidence.*—The term “elder”: The fact that St. John does not give his name is in favour of authenticity. As in the Gospel and the First Epistle, he prefers to retain a dignified incognito, intelligible to all whom it concerned. Even if the messengers did not know whose letters they were carrying, even if the correspondents did not know the handwriting, they would be perfectly aware from the style and matter, and the promise of a visit. It is doubtful whether by “elder” he meant “aged,” or an official position. In classical Greek these words would have a different form, but St. John’s Greek is that of a man who had become accustomed to a provincial form of the language late in life, and quite admits of slight irregularities. If he means an office, there is nothing to show that all the Apostles always used the apostolic title. St. Peter called himself “fellow-presbyter” (1 Pet. v. 1), and Eusebius called the Apostles Presbyters (*Ecl. Hist.* iii. 39). The Apostles and “Overseers”

were, in fact, only a specially responsible and important branch of the Presbyterate. As the last remaining Apostle, St. John might prefer not to insist on a designation now unique; or, as the name "elder" was originally adopted with reference to mature age, he may have used it as a hint of his own advanced years; or the dangers of the times may have made it advisable for him, for his messenger, and for his correspondents, to drop the higher title.

The only authority for the existence of another John at Ephesus, at the same time as the Apostle, called "the elder," and "the disciple of the Lord," is Papias, quoted by Eusebius. Is it not possible, that, as Eusebius says that he was "very small in mind," there may be some confusion in some of these details? May not even the confusion itself have arisen from these anonymous Epistles being misunderstood by the unintelligent? But, even admitting the existence of such a second John, it is too much to ask us to believe that he resembled the Apostle not only in name and history, but also in style, character, and thought. And where it was extremely reasonable that the Apostle should leave out his name, it becomes most improbable that this alternative John should have left it out.

The Second and Third Epistles are full of peculiar forms, common also to the First. Notice 2 John verse 1, "knowing the truth"; verse 2, "abide in"; verse 3, "in truth and love"; verse 4, "walking in"; verse 5, "the commandment which we had from the beginning" (1 John ii. 7); verse 6, "this is love, that"; "as ye heard from the

beginning" (1 John iii. 11, 23); verse 7, "deceivers are gone forth" (1 John ii. 18); "confessing not Jesus Christ coming in the flesh" (1 John iv. 1, 2); "the anti-christ"; verse 9, "abideth not in the doctrine, hath not God" (1 John ii. 23); "hath the Son and the Father"; verse 12, "that our joy may be full" (1 John i. 4); 3 John, verse 1, "in truth"; verses 3, 4, "walkest in truth"; verse 11, "is of God, hath not seen God" (1 John iii. 6, 10; iv. 8). There are five or six expressions in the two Epistles which do not occur elsewhere in St. John's writings, but it would be in the highest degree absurd to confine any writer exclusively to the language used in a former production: Additional reason for variety here would be found in the simple colloquial character of the writings.

Accordingly, while there is every reason to hold that the Second and Third Epistles are by the author of the First, and the First by the Author of the Gospel, it is difficult to find any valid reason to the contrary.

II. Date.—In the absence of all evidence to the contrary, it seems probable that the circumstances and time were not very dissimilar in all three Epistles.

III. Character and Scope.—In the Second, the Apostle, who is probably staying at the same place as some of his correspondent's children, writes to a mother and her other children to express his sympathy and delight at the faith of the family, and to warn them against admitting false teachers to their circle. It contains noticeable definitions of love, antichrist,

and of true and false believers. It also has a general lesson on the treatment of wilful depravers of divine truth.

In the Third, he recounts how some missionaries had been badly received by Diotrophes, who had ambitiously obtained for himself the chief influence in a certain church, but notwithstanding Gaius had been courageous and kind enough to entertain them hospitably. Gaius is exhorted to help them still further. The Letter gives us an idea of the high importance of hospitality at the time as a Christian virtue; and brings out the fact that St. John's authority was no less disputed in certain cases than St. Paul's. It is probable that the church of Diotrophes had not been founded by St. John;

and St. John had special claim to be obeyed; and that ecclesiastical influence seems to have by this time become vested in a single head.

IV. Where were they written?—Probably at Ephesus, before a tour of inspection. Had they been written in Patmos, some notice of the captivity might be expected.

V. Literature.—To the authorities mentioned in the *Introduction* to the First Epistle, add the Articles in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, and a paper by Professor Salmon on the Third Epistle in the *Christian Observer*, April, 1877. I should mention again my obligations to Dr. Karl Braune.

JUDE.

BY THE REV. ALFRED PLUMMER, D.D.

I. The Author. — Whatever may be our opinion with regard to 2 Peter, sober criticism requires us to believe that this Epistle was written by the man whose name it bears. To suppose that Jude is an assumed name is gratuitous. It remains to determine who the Jude is who addresses us.

He tells us that he is a "servant of Jesus Christ" and "brother of James." Had he been an Apostle he would probably have said so. (Comp. Rom. i. 1; Titus i. 1; 2 Pet. i. 1.) Had he been an Apostle he would not have claimed attention by calling himself "the brother of James," when he possessed so very much stronger a claim. The fact that (verse 17) the writer appeals to the words of Apostles proves nothing; an Apostle might do so. But at least such an appeal is more natural in one who is not an Apostle: there being no reason why he should keep his Apostleship in the background if he possessed it. Our Jude, then, is the Judas of Matt. xiii. 55, and the Juda of Mark vi. 3; *not* the Judas of Luke vi. 16 and Acts i. 13, where "*brother of James*" should more probably be "*son of James*." The author of this Epistle is rightly described as

the *brother* of James, "brother" being expressed in the Greek. The James indicated is James "the Just," the brother of the Lord, and first Bishop of Jerusalem, who, though not an Apostle, was nevertheless a person of such dignity as quite to account for this writer thinking it worth while to mention his near relationship to him. The present question is mixed up with the vexed question as to the brethren of our Lord, already discussed on p. 272 *seq.* The view here taken is that they were not the sons of Alphæus—*i.e.*, cousins—but in some real sense brethren: either the children of Joseph and Mary, or of Joseph by a former wife, or by a levirate marriage, or by adoption.

Which of these four alternatives is the right one will probably never be determined. Jerome's theory that they were our Lord's cousins, children of Alphæus, is contradicted by John vii. 5. It owes its prevalence in the West mainly to Jerome's influence. The identification of James the Lord's brother with James the son of Alphæus, which it involves, has never prevailed in the Eastern Church. Our author, then, together with his better-known brother, James, were

in some sense our Lord's "brethren," and not Apostles. If it be asked, Would not Jude in this case have appealed to his relationship to Christ rather than to his relationship to James? we may securely answer "No." As the author of the *Adumbrationes* centuries ago remarked, religious feeling would deter him, as it did his brother James in his Epistle, from mentioning this fact. The Ascension had altered all Christ's human relationships, and His brethren would shrink from claiming kinship after the flesh with His glorified Body. This conjecture is supported by facts. Nowhere in primitive Christian literature is any authority claimed or attributed on the basis of nearness of kin to the Redeemer. He Himself had taught Christians that the lowliest among them might rise above the closest of such earthly ties (Luke xi. 27, 28); to be spiritually "the servant of Jesus Christ" was very much more than being His actual brother.

Of this Jude very little is known. Unless he was an exception to the statement in John vii. 5 (of which there is no intimation), he did not at first believe on Christ, but joined the Apostles after the convincing fact of the Resurrection (Acts i. 14). That, like his brothers, he was married, appears from Hegesippus, who tells us (Euseb., *H. E.* III. xx.) that two grandsons of Jude were brought before Domitian as descendants of a royal house, and therefore dangerous persons; but on their proving their poverty, and explaining that Christ's kingdom was not of this world, they were contemptuously dismissed. This story almost implies that the relationship to Christ was very close; for Hegesippus

remarks, by way of explanation, that Domitian was afraid of Christ, just as Herod was. Statements of St. Jude's preaching in various parts of the world rest upon late and untrustworthy evidence. That he was an Evangelist, is implied in his writing this Epistle; but nothing is known respecting his labours.

II. Authenticity.—The authenticity of the Epistle has been questioned by some from very early times, but without sufficient reason. The evidence against it is mainly this. *External.*—The Epistle is not contained in the Peshito or ancient Syriac version; Eusebius classes it among the disputed books (III. xxv. 3; II. xxiii. 25); Theodore of Mopsuestia seems to have rejected it; few references to it are found in early writers. *Internal.*—It cites apocryphal books, has a suspicious relationship to Romans and 2 Peter; is difficult in style. Against this we may urge that Ephrem Syrus seems to have recognised it; the Muratorian Fragment (*circ.* A.D. 170) contains it; the old Latin version contains it; Tertullian (*De Cult. Fem.* I. iii.) accepts it as genuine and Apostolic; Clement of Alexandria quotes it as Scripture (*Strom.* III. ii.; *Paed.* III. viii.); Origen, though he knew of doubts about it (*Comm.* on Matt. xxii. 23) fully accepted it (on Matt. xiii. 55; xviii. 10, *et al.*); Jerome (*Scip. Eccles.* iv.) says that many rejected it because it quoted apocryphal books, but that it ought to be reckoned among the Scriptures; the Councils of Laodicea (*circ.* A.D. 360) and of Hippo (A.D. 393) formally included it in the Canon. The doubts about it are very intelligible: it was not by an Apostle,

and therefore seemed wanting in authority, and it quoted apocryphal works. Its brevity fully accounts for its not being often quoted. It is too insignificant to be a forgery; a forger would have said more, and would have selected some well-known name, and not that of one but little known, to give authority to his production.

The difficult style is natural enough in a Jew writing Greek well, but not with ease. As already stated in reference to 2 Peter, a theory that these two Epistles (2 Peter and Jude) are translations from Aramaic originals has been advocated. (See *Did St. Peter write in Greek?* By E. G. King, Cambridge, 1871.)

It would be most presumptuous on the part of one who is ignorant of Hebrew to pronounce an opinion on the arguments used; but the *number* of them seems to be insufficient. Mere internal evidence of this kind ought to be very strong to counterbalance the entire absence of external evidence. Jerome would certainly give information on this point, if he possessed any, when he makes his own suggestion that St. Peter made use of different "interpreters" when writing his two Epistles.

III. The Place and Time.—

As to the place, we have no evidence, either external or internal. The Epistle contains some indications of time.

(1) The fact that the destruction of Jerusalem and consequent ruin of the Jewish nation is not mentioned among the instances of divine vengeance (verses 5—7) is a strong reason for believing that

the Epistle was written before A. D. 70.

(2) The fact that such libertines as are here described are allowed to remain members of the Christian community points to a time when Church discipline is in its very infancy. The evils are very similar to those which St. Paul has to condemn in the Church of Corinth (1 Cor. v. 1, 2; vi. 8—18; xi. 17—22).

(3) It seems to be implied (verse 17) that some of those addressed had heard Apostles.

IV. Object and Contents.—

The object is plainly stated (verses 3, 4)—to urge his readers to contend earnestly for the faith which was being caricatured and denied by the libertinism and practical infidelity of certain members of the community. In what Church or Churches this evil prevailed we are not told; but it would be more likely to arise among converts from heathenism than from Judaism. The plan of the Epistle, short as it is, is evidently laid with considerable care; and the writer betrays a fondness for threefold divisions which is quite remarkable. It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that wherever a group of three is possible he makes one. One or two of the triplets may be accidental, but the majority of them can hardly be so; and this fact may be worth remembering in discussing the question of priority between this Epistle and 2 Peter. There are ten (or possibly twelve) groups of three in this short Epistle of 25 verses: viz. (1 and 2), verse 1; (3) verse 2; (4) verse 4; (5) verses 5—7; (6) verse 8; (7) verse 11; (8) verses 12—15, 16—18, 19;

(9) verse 19 ; (10) verses 20, 21 ; (11) verses 22, 23 ; (12) verse 25. Of these, (4) and (10) are perhaps doubtful ; but there can be no question about the rest, although the last two are obscured in the English version, owing to our translators having followed a defective Greek text.

(1) INTRODUCTION.

(a) *Three-fold address and three-fold greeting* (verses 1, 2).

(b) *Purpose of the Epistle* (verse 3).

(c) *Occasion of the Epistle* (verse 4).

(2) WARNING AND DENUNCIATION.

(a) *Three instances of God's vengeance* (verses 5—7), and *application of these three instances to the libertines who are now provoking God* (verses 8—10).

(b) *Three examples of similar wickedness* (verse 11).

(c) *Three-fold description corresponding to these three examples* (verses 12—15 ; 16—18 ; 19).

(3) EXHORTATION.

(a) *To strengthen themselves in the faith by prayer, godliness, and hope* (verses 20, 21).

(b) *To treat these libertines with discrimination, making three classes* (verses 22, 23).

(c) *Concluding doxology* (verses 24, 25).

V. The relation of Jude to 2 Peter.—The similarity both in substance and wording between a considerable portion of these two Epistles is so great that only two alternatives are possible ; either one

has borrowed from the other, or both have borrowed from a common source. The second alternative is rarely, if ever, advocated ; it does not explain the facts very satisfactorily, and critics are agreed in rejecting it. But here agreement ends. On the further question, as to which writer is prior, there is very great diversity of opinion. One thing, therefore, is certain, that whichever writer has borrowed, he is no ordinary borrower. He knows how to assimilate foreign material so as to make it thoroughly his own. He remains original even while he appropriates the words and thoughts of another. He controls them, not they him. Were this not so, there would be little doubt about the matter. In any ordinary case of appropriation, if both the original and copy are forthcoming, critics do not doubt long as to which is the original. It is when the copy itself is a masterpiece, as in the case of Holbein's Madonna, that criticism is baffled. Such would seem to be the case here. The present writer is free to confess his own uncertainty. A superficial acquaintance with the subject inclined him to believe in the priority of Jude ; further study disposes him to think that the balance is decidedly in favour of the priority of 2 Peter, although the balance is considerably short of proof. The question cannot be kept distinct from that of the authenticity of St. Peter. Every argument in favour of the authenticity of 2 Peter is something in favour of its priority, and *vice versa* ; although many arguments bear more upon one point than the other. If, then, the genuineness of 2 Peter is accepted as probable, this will add additional weight to the considerations now to

be urged in favour of the priority of 2 Peter; and they in turn will strengthen the arguments for its genuineness.

This question as to the relation between these two Epistles seems to be one in which the old-fashioned view is not so far wrong after all. And some value may fairly be allowed to the old-fashioned arguments for it: (1) that the account of evil-doers in 2 Peter is in the main a prophecy, whereas St. Jude speaks of them as present; the inference being that St. Jude recognised in what he saw the mischief which St. Peter had foretold; and added weight to his own denunciations by framing them in the very words of the Apostle: (2) that St. Jude's warning, "remember the words which were spoken before by the Apostles . . . how that they told you there shall be mockers in the last time walking after their own ungodly lusts" (verses 17, 18), is an obvious reference to St. Peter's prediction, "There shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts" (2 Pet. iii. 3). Of course a forger, with St. Jude's words before him, might frame his own words to fit them; but in that case we have still to account for St. Jude's warning, "Remember the words which were spoken before by the Apostles," &c. They may refer to such passages as Acts xx. 29; 2 Tim. iii. 1; or (as some who insist on "how that they told you," or "used to tell you," prefer) to warnings given orally by the Apostles; still 2 Pet. iii. 3 is the most obvious reference.

No doubt it is antecedently more probable that a small Epistle should be republished with much additional matter, than that one-

third of a longer Epistle should be republished with very little additional matter: but what has been said above about 2 Peter being a prophecy, of which St. Jude saw the fulfilment, is an answer to this. Besides which, we may urge that it is antecedently improbable that a forger should take so much from an Epistle that was not only known, but regarded with suspicion in some quarters, because of its quoting apocryphal books. That St. Jude is quoted by one or two writers who seem not to know or to reject 2 Peter (Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen) may be allowed some weight; but this could easily be accounted for, and in itself is not very convincing.

One argument used for the priority of Jude seems to the present writer to tell strongly for the priority of 2 Peter. It is this: that the evil-doers denounced by St. Jude are much more distinctly portrayed than those denounced in 2 Peter. We know from history that the errors indicated increased rapidly from the apostolic age onwards. The later writer, therefore, would have the clearer picture *before his eyes*. Would not the clearer *description*, then, be likely to be his? (See above on the *False Teachers and Scoffers: Introduction to 2 Peter*.) In connection with this point it is worth considering whether the careful directions which St. Jude gives as to the way in which different classes of the ungodly men are to be treated does not point to a later stage of the evil. Again, the rather fanciful arrangement into triplets which prevails in St. Jude's Epistle looks more like a second writer working up old material than a first writer

working under no influence from a predecessor.

Of the numerous minute arguments drawn from the wording of parallel passages, only one or two specimens can be given here. Jude, verse 6, contains a telling piece of irony in the double use of "kept," which is wanting in 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude, verse 10, contains a striking antithesis, very epigrammatically stated, which is wanting in 2 Pet. ii. 12; Jude, verses 12, 13, contains some fine similes, especially the one of "wandering stars," which would have fitted the "false teachers" admirably; yet most of them are absent from

2 Peter. Would a writer who is quite willing to borrow anything that will serve his purpose (this is evident, whichever is the borrower) have wilfully rejected all these good things? If they are improvements added by St. Jude, all is natural enough. It is worth mentioning, in conclusion, that the arguments urged for an Aramaic original tell decidedly in favour of the priority of 2 Peter.

While admitting, therefore, that the case is by no means proved, we may be content to retain the priority as well as the authenticity of 2 Peter as at least *the best working hypothesis*.

THE REVELATION.

BY THE RIGHT REV. W. BOYD-CARPENTER, D.D.

- I. THE AUTHOR.
II. THE DATE AND TIME OF WRITING.

- III. SCHOOLS AND PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION.
IV. GENERAL SCOPE OF THE BOOK.
V. LITERATURE.

I. The Author.—The general opinion of the Church of Christ has accepted the Apocalypse as the work of John the Apostle, but this general opinion has been called in question. Our space can only allow us to lay before our readers a brief *résumé* of the reasons which have been urged on either side. For convenience it will be as well to ask the following questions:—

(1) *Was the Writer's name John?*
—At first sight it would seem that there could be but one answer to this question. The book announces itself as written by a person whose name was John. Four times over does the name occur (Rev. i. 1, 4, 9, xxii. 8).

Is there any reason for questioning the witness thus given by the book itself? It has been asserted that the writer does not claim to be John, but only "gives a report of a revelation which John had re-

ceived" (Scholten). It is perfectly true that a writer might thus dramatically represent the Apostle John as the seer of the revelation; but such possibility is no proof that it was so, and certainly cannot be entertained in the total absence of all proof. The reiteration of the name four times is out of harmony with this conjecture; and the theory would not, as Gebhardt has remarked, be applied to any other book of the New Testament. Would any serious reply be "thought necessary should it occur to some one to reject the First Epistle to the Corinthians, because from such passages as 1 Cor. i. 13, it does not follow that the author identifies himself with Paul, but gives (1 Cor. i. 1, 2), after the manner of an introduction, a report of an Epistle which the Apostle wrote?"

We may assume, then, that the writer's name was John.

(2) *Was the Writer John the Apostle?*—It is round this question that we meet the most serious conflict.

(a) It is admitted on all hands, even by those who oppose the apostolic authorship of the book, that the great consensus of early opinion regarded the writer as St. John the Apostle. "From the time of Justin Martyr to that of Irenæus and the great Fathers, the Apocalypse was recognised as a production of the Apostle." Such is the opinion of Keim (*Jesu v. Nazara*). "We find the Revelation unhesitatingly attributed to him (St. John) by the Fathers from the middle of the second century downwards; by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and others" (Bleek). The opinion of the third century was the same. Origen, whose opposition to millenarianism adds value to his testimony, Cyprian, Lactantius, and others, acknowledge the Apocalypse as the work of St. John.

Setting aside the opinion of Marcion, and of the unimportant sect of the Alogi (see *Introduction to the First Epistle to St. John*), doubts respecting the apostolic authorship seem to have commenced with Dionysius of Alexandria; these doubts which were echoed hesitatingly by Eusebius, were based not on historical or critical, so much as upon doctrinal grounds: the dread of millenarianism created a wish to discredit the book which appeared to lend such weight to the disliked doctrine. It is needless to follow the history of this controversy; it is enough to notice that the first breach of this continuous early opinion in favour of the apostolic authorship grew out of doctrinal prejudice rather than candid examination.

(b) In later years, the controversy has been fought from different bases of operation. The conflict respecting the authorship of the Fourth Gospel (see *Introduction to St. John's Gospel*) has complicated the dispute. It seemed to some impossible to believe that the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse proceeded from the same pen. The divergence in style and language was, in their view, too great to admit of their being written by the same man, even though that man were an Apostle. If the Gospel was the work of St. John, the Apocalypse could not be. The generally accepted opinion that St. John wrote the Apocalypse was assailed by those who, in their wish to preserve their faith in the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel, were ready to sacrifice the Book of Revelation. This was substantially the view adopted by Neander, Lücke, Ewald, Bleek, Dusterdieck, and others. In opposition to these, others were ready to adopt the other hypothesis: they accepted the view that the two books could not have been the work of one and the same writer; but they preferred to sacrifice the Gospel: the Apocalypse was the work of St. John; the Gospel, therefore, could not be. Such was the view of those who, like Baur, aimed at discrediting the Fourth Gospel, or who wished to support the theory of a designed antagonism between the school of St. John, and that of St. Paul. Neither of these parties—those who would sacrifice the Apocalypse to the Gospel, and those who would sacrifice the Gospel to the Apocalypse—represent the most recent phase of the controversy. Another class of thinkers

arose who felt that the witness which the Fourth Gospel and the Revelation alike gave to the Person of Christ was too strong to be allowed the authority of an Apostle by those who had formed other and lower conceptions of the Jesus of the Gospels. They saw no glimpses of His heavenly glory and majesty in the synoptical Gospels. They found that the Book of Revelation was full of them. The Christ of the Apocalypse was the Word of God, the King of Kings; the Christ of the Gospels was One who came not to be ministered to, but to minister. The portrait given in the Gospels of "the loving and amiable Son of Man," as the Divine Son of God was patronisingly styled, was not to be found in the Apocalypse; such a book could not have been written by one who personally knew the gentle and self-sacrificing Prophet of Galilee—least of all, perhaps, by the beloved disciple. Such is the view of the more recent critics, and advanced with varying power and arguments by Volkmar, Hökstra, and Scholten. The book was a forgery, or at best the composition of some other John—not of John the Apostle. Besides, it was urged, the Apostle could not have been the author, for it is clear that the writer lived in Asia Minor, whereas the Apostle John never was in Asia Minor at all.

Such is, perhaps, the most recent phase of the controversy.

(c) We have not space to do more than touch but briefly, and only upon a few of the arguments advanced against the apostolic authorship of the book. It will, perhaps, be best to specify three or four.

(i.) St. John the Apostle, it is

said, never resided in Asia Minor; he could not, therefore, have been the author of a book which is undoubtedly the work of one resident there.

It is proverbially difficult to prove a negative: it is increasingly difficult when only negative evidence can be adduced, and this is all that can be appealed to. The argument, if argument it can be called, runs thus: the residence of St. John in Asia Minor is not mentioned by those whom we might have expected to mention it: therefore, St. John did not reside there. To use the words of a modern critic (Mr. Matthew Arnold), "But there is the rigorous and vigorous theory of Prof. Scholten, that John never was at Ephesus at all. If he had been, Papias and Hegeppus must have mentioned it: if they had mentioned it, Irenæus and Eusebius must have quoted them to that effect. As if the very notoriety of John's residence at Ephesus would not have disproved Irenæus and Eusebius from advancing formal testimony to it, and made them refer to it just in the way they do. Here, again, we may be sure that no one judging evidence in a plain fashion would ever have arrived at Dr. Scholten's conclusion; above all, no one of Dr. Scholten's great learning and ability" (*Contemporary Review*, vol. xxv., p. 988).

To this also we may add Gebhardt's words:—"No one in the second century could believe that the Apostle John was the author of the Apocalypse, without at the same time believing that he lived in Asia Minor; and in like manner, the acknowledgment of the Apocalypse as the Apostle's from the time of Justin Martyr downwards, made prominent by Keim, is an acknow-

ledgment of his residence in Asia Minor, and inferentially at Ephesus."

(ii.) There are, it is stated, traces of non-apostolic authorship in the book.

(a) The manner in which the Apostles are spoken of (see chaps. xviii. 20 and xxi. 14) is thought to be inconsistent with the opinion that the Apostle wrote it. The Apostles are mentioned with a degree of objectivity, and are assigned a prominence which is unlikely if an Apostle were the writer. But with regard to the last, if St. John describes the foundations of the heavenly Jerusalem as bearing the names of the twelve Apostles, St. Paul speaks of the Church being built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets (Eph. ii. 20). The imagery is distinctly apostolic; and if the Apostles are mentioned with "objectivity" in the Apocalypse, are they not mentioned with an equal, if not greater, degree of objectivity by St. Matthew? (Matt. x. 2-4.)

(b) But, it is argued, there is no hint given throughout the book that the writer is an Apostle. If St. John were the writer, would he not betray himself somewhere as the beloved disciple? Should we not have some allusion to his intimacy with his Master, or to some circumstance connected with the life and ministry of Christ? In reply, it is enough to remark that the nature of the book would not lead us to expect such allusions. He writes as a Prophet, not as an Apostle. It would be as idle to expect some allusion to the circumstances of Milton's political life in the *Paradise Lost*. "The Apocalypse declares itself not to be the work of an Apostle in the same

sense as Schiller's poetry declares itself not to be the work of a professor at Jena" (Gebhardt).

But it may be further urged that there are not wanting certain characteristic allusions which reveal the writer. The allusions to the piercing of the Saviour's side (chap. i. 7; comp. John xix. 34), and to the washing, or cleansing (chaps. i. 5; vii. 13, 14; xxii. 14; John xiii. 8-10), are not to be overlooked; and more than these may be detected by a careful student.

(γ) There is no trace of Apostolic authority.

If we are not to expect personal reminiscences, we surely should expect the air of official authority. But the answer is, Do we not find this? The language is surely that of one who does not doubt that his name will carry a guarantee with the book. (Comp. Prof. Davidson's article in Kitto's *Biblical Cyclopedia*.)

(iii.) The Christology of the book is described as non-apostolic. The picture which the Apocalypse gives of Jesus Christ is not that of the Gospels. In the Gospels we have the loving and gentle Son of Man; in the Apocalypse we have the Word of God, whose eyes are as a flame of fire, and whose mouth a sharp sword, &c. Is not the whole conception of the kingly Christ thus portrayed the product of a later age? "The picture of Christ which here comes before us seems to presuppose a conception so perfectly free, that it can only belong to a later Christianity" (Scholten). "The apotheosis of Christ is too strong to be ascribed to a contemporary and disciple of Jesus" (quoted in Gebhardt).

Such objections as these arise

from a fundamental misconception of the character and work of Jesus Christ. The Christ of the Gospels is not the colourless creation which has been evolved out of the thought of men living eighteen centuries afterwards. The Christology of the Apocalypse is distinct enough, but it does not differ from the Christology of St. Paul; and it is in complete harmony with the lofty and divine utterances of our Lord Himself even in the synoptical Gospels. Time and space would fail us in illustrating this position; it will suffice to refer to two or three passages, which might be multiplied: Matt. xxv. 31; xxvi. 13; Luke v. 20; vii. 8, 9, 23, 35; ix. 41; x. 16—20.

(iv.) The divergence in style between the Revelation and the Fourth Gospel demands a few words. We have spoken of those critics, who, in their desire to preserve the authority of the Gospel, have been willing to throw overboard the apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse. Is it necessary to do this? It has been shown that the external evidence is in favour of the apostolic authorship. In the language of Prof. Davidson, "With the limited stock of early ecclesiastical literature that survives the wreck of time we should despair of proving the authenticity of any New Testament book by the help of early witnesses, if that of the Apocalypse be rejected as insufficiently attested." Is there any reason in the internal character of the book sufficient to reverse this verdict? Or, in other words, assuming (and the stormy controversy has rather increased than diminished the right to the assumption—see *Introduction to St. John's Gospel*) the apostolic author-

ship of the Fourth Gospel, is there any ground for believing that the Apocalypse could not have proceeded from the same writer? There are no doubt strongly marked differences. We have not space to touch on the whole question. One or two points call for notice. There are differences of language; there are "anomalies," "awkward dispositions of words," "peculiar constructions;" "the Greek is moulded by the Hebrew tendencies of the writer." This is no doubt largely the case; but there has been often a want of appreciativeness at the root of some criticisms like these: some violations of grammatical construction have been set down to ignorance on the part of the writer, when it is clear that they were intentional. Notably, the language of Rev. i. 4 is beyond all doubt designedly ungrammatical; indeed, as Bishop Lightfoot has pointed out, were it not so, the writer would not have possessed sufficient literary power to construct a single sentence. Nor has sufficient weight been allowed to the different characters of the two books, or the interval of time which elapsed between their writing. The highly wrought rapture of the seer, when beholding the visions of the Apocalypse indicates a mental state in which volitional control is at the minimum, and the automatic action of the mind is left free. At such a time the images and associations which have been originally imbedded in the memory are those which rise uppermost to clothe the thoughts. Thus the strong Hebrew colouring is precisely what we should expect from one who, of ardent temperament, has spent the whole of his earlier life in Palestine, and among

those who were constantly talking over Messianic hopes and prophecies. (Comp. John i. 38—41.) The force of this is not invalidated by saying that the seer did not write the visions as he saw them, but recorded them afterwards. In the first place, it is merely an assumption to affirm this; in the next, even were it true, the man who records such visions must recall the whole mental condition in which he was at the time of the vision, and would preserve in his record the characteristics of such a state of mind. Nor can much stress be laid upon the fact that the writer was not young. The visions of God are given to the old as well as to the young. The loftiest revelations were given to Moses when he had passed fourscore years: and, even from a merely human point of view, it is possible for a man of sixty to retain the fire and warm imagination of youth. Even in modern life, when the faculties are too often drudged into imbecility by forced and premature development, and deprived of their full and ultimate power by being made reproductive when they ought to be remaining receptive, we may find the powers of imagination survive the strain and incessancy of toil; indeed, in some cases the imaginative powers have gathered force till the line of the three-score years has been passed. Edmund Burke was sixty when he wrote his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, and none will condemn him for deficiency in imagination. It was not in the ardour of youth that Dante wrote the *Divine Comedy*. The conditions of ancient and Eastern life were probably much more favourable to the preservation and quiet ripening of

the powers of thought and imagination. The truth is that there is nothing so deceptive as the comparison between the ages and powers of different writers; there is no standard which can be used as a measure. Some men of sixty are, in mental force, more nearly allied to men of forty than to those of their own age; and the addition of twenty or five-and-twenty years brings them to the mellow and quiet autumn-time of their life.

The Apocalypse may be "sensuous," full of "creative fancy," "objective," and "concrete;" the Gospel may be "calm," "mystic," "spiritual," and delighting in "speculative depth"; but differences equally great may be found in the works of other writers. Literature supplies numberless instances of such varieties. "It is strange," wrote Lord Macaulay, "It is strange that the *Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*, and the *Letter to a Noble Lord* should be the productions of one man;" yet no one has been found to doubt that they were both written by Edmund Burke. The writings of De Quincey supply examples. Let any one compare the *Autobiographic Sketches*, or *The Confessions of an Opium Eater*, with one of the little flights of fancy—such as the *Daughter of Lebanon*—written under different conditions, and he will find how much diversity may be found in the works of the same writer. And, not to go beyond the Gospels, might it not be said that there is a great separation in tone and thought between our Lord's discourses in Matt. xxiii.—xxv. and the Sermon on the Mount? We have, then, in the two books—the Gospel and the Apocalypse—different subject-matter, vision instead

of history; a wide interval of time—some twenty or twenty-five years; and, with this interval of time, a changed atmosphere of associations and influences, Greek instead of Hebrew: these in themselves would account for divergences greater even than we find.

If we can thus account for the differences we meet with, we have to remember that there are resemblances in the two books which can scarcely be accidental, and which, found in two independent books, would have suggested to some shrewd critic the theory of a common authorship. There is a strong resemblance in language and imagery: both books delight in the words "witness" (*martyr*), "to overcome," "to keep" (the word of God), "sign" (*semeion*), "dwell," or *tabernacle* (in this last case the coincidence is lost sight of in the English version, because the word "dwell" is used instead of *tabernacle*, or "tent"), "true" (*alethinos*), (John i. 9; xix. 35; Rev. iii. 14; xix. 9).

There is a similarity in the terms used to describe our Lord. He is the *Word* (John i. 1—3; Rev. xix. 13); the *Lamb* (John i. 29; Rev. v. 6); the *Shepherd* (John x. throughout; Rev. vii. 17); the *Bridegroom* (John iii. 29; Rev. xix. 7; xxi. 2); similar images are used—the *Living Water* (John iv. 10; vii. 38; and Rev. vii. 17; xxi. 6; xxii. 17); the *Hidden Food*, bread, or manna (John vi. 32—58; Rev. ii. 17); the *Harvest* (John iv. 34, 38; Rev. xiv. 15). The same incident—the piercing of our Lord's side—is referred to; and the word employed, both in the Gospel and in the Apocalypse, is singularly not the word used in the LXX. version of the prophet Zechariah. There, is besides, a similar

disposition towards a seven-fold arrangement of subjects in the Gospel and the Revelation. (See *Introduction to St. John's Gospel*.)

Further resemblances might be pointed out. These, however, will suffice to show that Prof. Davidson, in his candid, impartial, and valuable article (see above), says no more than truth when he writes: "After every reasonable deduction, enough remains to prove that the correspondences between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel are not accidental. They either betray one author, or show that the writer of the one was acquainted with the other. These cognate phenomena have not been allowed their full force by Lücke, Ewald, De Wette, and Düsterdieck."

To conclude. The author represents himself as John in a way, and at a time, that would naturally suggest that he was either John the Apostle and Evangelist, or wished to pass as such. The general consensus of early opinion believed that the Apostle was the writer. The doubts grew out of doctrinal prejudice; there is no reasonable ground for disputing the residence of the Apostle in Asia Minor. There are not wanting traces of personal reminiscences such as the beloved disciple would have cherished. The portrait of Jesus Christ is in complete harmony with apostolic teaching; and the difficulties which beset the theory that there were two Johns—one who wrote the Gospel, and the other the Apocalypse—are greater than those which surround the theory of a common authorship.

It is only necessary to add the attesting language of various and independent critics. "The apostolic

origin of the Apocalypse is as well attested as that of any other book in the New Testament" (Davidson). "The testimony has been pronounced more absolutely convincing than can be adduced in favour of the apostolic authorship of any of the books of the New Testament" (*Edinburgh Review*, October, 1874).

II. The Date and Time of Writing.—The evidence for determining the date of the Apocalypse is in many respects conflicting. Any conclusion on the matter should be given with caution and hesitation, and with the full admission that the arguments which can be brought on the other side are entitled to consideration. It has been too much the practice among the supporters of different theories to insist with unwise positiveness upon their own view. Briefly, there are practically only two opinions, between which the reader must decide. The book was either written about the year A.D. 68 or 69, or about a quarter of a century later (A.D. 96), in the reign of Domitian.

The later date was that which was accepted almost uniformly by the older theologians. In favour of this early tradition has been appealed to. The most important witness (in some respects) is Irenæus, who says that "the Apocalypse was seen not long ago, but almost in our own age, towards the end of the reign of Domitian." Other writers have been claimed as giving a support to this view by their mention of Patmos as the place of St. John's banishment; and it is plain from the way in which Eusebius quotes the mention of the Patmos exile by Clement of Alexandria, that he associated it

with the reign of Domitian. On the other hand, it must be remembered that neither Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, or Jerome, state that the banishment took place in the reign of Domitian. Tertullian, indeed, represents Domitian as *recalling* the exiles; and other writers affirm that the banishment took place much earlier. Theophylact, for example, declares that the Apostle was in Patmos thirty-two years after the Ascension; and the preface to the Syriac version of the Apocalypse affirms that the revelation was given to St. John in Patmos, whither he was banished by the Emperor Nero. Another tradition assigns the writing to the reign of Trajan. Epiphanius, in a passage of doubtful value, places the exile in the reign of Claudius.

On the whole, then, there is not any very certain conclusion to be drawn from the external evidence. The exile in Patmos receives ample support, but the date of the exile is hardly settled by early tradition.

Will the internal evidence help?

The advocates of the later date rely much upon the degenerate state of the Asiatic churches, as described in the Epistles to the Seven Churches. The Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon were written during the captivity of St. Paul at Rome, about the year A.D. 63. If, then, the Apocalypse was written in A.D. 69 or 70, we have only an interval of six or seven years to account for a striking change in the spiritual condition of the Asiatic churches. Can we believe that a Church which is so forward in love as that of Ephesus (Eph. iii. 18) can have in so short a time left its first love?

Can it be believed that the Laodicean Church — whose spiritual condition in A.D. 63 can be inferred from that of Colossæ (Col. i. 3, 4) — can have, in six brief years, forsaken their “faith in Christ Jesus, and their love to all the saints,” and become the “lukewarm” Church (Rev. iii. 15, 16) of the Apocalypse?

It may be noticed, in passing, that the above argument assumes that the (so-called) Epistle to the Ephesians was really addressed to the Church at Ephesus; and this is by no means certain: the weight of evidence appears to incline the other way. But allowing this to pass, and, for the purpose of argument, assuming that the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians afford indications of the spiritual condition of these and kindred Asiatic churches, it does not seem to the writer that the above argument can be sustained. The two propositions on which its force depends are the following:—

- (1) It is impossible that churches could change much for the worse in six years.
- (2) A comparison between the Apocalypse and the Letters of St. Paul show a great change for the worse.

From these two propositions it is inferred that the interval must have been more than six years: a generation at least being required to account for such degeneracy. “It bespeaks a change of persons, the arrival of a new generation” (Hengstenberg).

It is believed that neither of the two propositions mentioned above can be sustained. (1) It needs no long time for the first ardour of

young converts’ zeal to cool. The New Testament gives us examples of such rapid changes: the “evil eye” of a perverted teaching bewitched the Galatians (Gal. iii. 1), so that the Apostle marvelled that the disciples were so rapidly turning away to another gospel (Gal. i. 6). Changes quick and real soon sweep over a religious community, especially in districts where the natural temperament is warm, impassible, and vivacious. It is not impossible that six years may make changes in the religious condition of churches.

But (2) it is more important to consider the second proposition, and to ask whether it is so certain that any such great change had taken place in the instances now before us. A comparison of the Epistle to the Colossians and that to Laodicea rather leads to an opposite conclusion. The learned Bishop Lightfoot has shown that the same truths need enforcing (comp. Col. i. 15—18, and Rev. iii. 14), the same practical duties are taught (Col. iii. 1, and Rev. iii. 21), the same lukewarmness is the subject of caution (Col. iv. 17, and Rev. iii. 19), the same denunciations are heard against the pride of life, in wealth or intellect (Col. ii. 8, 18, 23, and Rev. iii. 17, 18). “The message communicated by St. John to Laodicea prolongs the note which was struck by St. Paul in the Letters to Colossæ. An interval of a very few years has not materially altered the character of these churches. Obviously the same temper prevails, the same errors are rife, the same correction must be applied” (Bishop Lightfoot, *Epistle to the Colossians*, pp. 41—44).

A similar comparison might be

made between the two Ephesian Epistles. The impression left from a perusal of St. Paul's Letter to the Ephesians, whether addressed to that Church or not, is that he was not without a fear that the warm love which prevailed among the Christians addressed might soon change: it is a love above the accidents of time and the powers of change which he desires may be theirs (Eph. vi. 24; Rev. ii. 4). The area of comparison between this Epistle to the Ephesians and the Epistles to the Seven Churches becomes much wider when we regard it, in harmony with probability, as a circular letter addressed to the Asiatic churches: then the resemblances become more plain, and the so-called great change in spiritual condition disappears. It will be sufficient to mention the following: Eph. i. 18, Rev. iii. 18; Eph. ii. 6, Rev. iii. 21; Eph. iii. 8, Rev. ii. 9; Eph. iii. 17—19, Rev. ii. 4.

Enough has been said to show that the argument from the spiritual condition of the churches lends little or no support to the later date, but fairly strengthens the earlier.

The advocates of the earlier date adduce other internal evidence. They lay great weight upon inferences drawn from chaps. xi., xiii., and xvii. They argue that the measuring of the Temple and the treading down of the Holy City, described in chap. xi. 1, 2, is a token that Jerusalem had not yet fallen. This argument does not seem to the present writer satisfactory. The measuring of the Temple is symbolical, and it is unsafe to ground an argument upon it. The aim of the vision seems to us to point out the safety of the germ-Church during the times of

desolation. The external framework, the old Jewish polity, might be swept away (chap. xi. 2; comp. Heb. viii. 13): the true spiritual germ would never die, but spring forth in fuller and freer vigour. Such a vision might indeed have preceded the fall of Jerusalem; but it might also have been given as a consolation and an instruction afterwards.

Hardly more convincing is the argument from chaps. xiii. and xvii. In the account of the seven-headed wild beast we read of seven kings, five of whom are fallen. The seven kings are said to be the emperors of Rome. The five fallen are Augustus, Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, Nero; the one that is, is Galba. The force of this depends upon the truth of the interpretation. If the seer meant the seven kings to represent seven emperors of Rome, then the date of the Apocalypse is fixed to the age of Galba; or to that of Nero if we begin to reckon with Julius Cæsar. The former is the most correct method of reckoning. To make the sixth head Vespasian, as some would do, is, as Dr. Davidson has remarked, quite arbitrary. There is no reason for omitting Galba, Otho, and Vitellius from the reckoning. But the force of the argument for the date here depends upon the truth of the interpretation; and the foundation passages in the prophecy of Daniel, from which the Apocalyptic seer drew so much of his imagery, describe under the emblem of the wild beasts, kingdoms, or world-powers, rather than individual monarchs. Still, of course, it is possible that there may be a double interpretation—one more local, the other more general—here as well as elsewhere.

But the requisite interpretation does not seem to be sufficiently clear for the purpose of argument.

Nor can the argument from silence be accepted. There is no allusion to the fall of Jerusalem in the book; but it is scarcely safe to infer that the book was therefore earlier than that catastrophe.

One other internal (so called) argument respecting date may be noticed here. Lücke cites chap. xviii. 20, where the Apostles and prophets are invited to rejoice because they have been avenged on Babylon, to prove that St. John the Apostle was dead when the book was written. This is one of those prosaic errors into which even the most learned and trustworthy of literary experts are betrayed by their own acuteness.

There yet remains another class of evidence: that of language and style. Assuming the common authorship of the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse (see *Introduction* to the Gospel, and section on the Author above), we shall have very little doubt that the general probability is in favour of the Apocalypse having been written first. Not only is the Gospel marked by the sententiousness of age, and the Apocalypse by the warm colouring of earlier life, but the influence of Jewish Associations is more strongly marked in the latter; while Greek influences are more distinctly traceable in the former.

The evidence on this head inclines to the earlier date, but it is not absolutely conclusive: the prevalence of Hebraic influences noticeable in the Apocalypse might well fit in with the later date. The influences of youth often re-assert themselves with startling vigour in declining years: the provincial-

isms and accent of boyhood have been resumed by men in the evening of life, after having been kept long in abeyance by the joint powers of control and culture. Illustrations of this will occur to the reader. But, in the instance before us, the probability seems to lie the other way: in the Apostle's case the Hebraic influences did prevail during the early life; the Greek influences were present during his later life; and we may well believe that the Apocalypse "marks the Hebraic period of St. John's life which was spent in the East, and among Aramaic-speaking populations"; and that the Gospel was written twenty or thirty years afterwards, at the "close of the Hellenic period during which St. John lived in Ephesus, the great centre of Greek civilisation." (See Bishop Lightfoot's Article on "Supernatural Religion," *Contemporary Review*, vol. xxv., p. 859.)

To conclude this brief summary, we may say that the general weight of evidence is in favour of the earlier date, and certainly this supposition fits in best with all the circumstances of the case.

III. Schools and Principles of Interpretation.—Before entering upon the general meaning of the book, it is desirable to lay before the reader a brief account of the different schools of Apocalyptic interpretation.

(1) *Schools of Interpretation.*—It is well known that there are three main systems of interpretation: these are called, from their special tendencies of thought, the Præterist, the Futurist, and the Historical.

The Præterist in general maintains that the visions of the

Apocalypse relate to events and circumstances which are past: the prophecies of the book—at least in their primary intention—have been fulfilled. Among the advocates of this view may be reckoned the names of Grotius and Hammond, the learned and eloquent Bossuet, Eichhorn, Ewald, De Wette, Lücke, Düsterdieck, Professor Moses Stuart of America, and in this country the late lamented Professor Maurice, Prof. Davidson, and Mr. Desprez.

The Futurist is at the opposite pole of interpretation, and maintains that the fulfilment of the book is still future, when our Lord will come again. Professor Davidson has separated the Futurists into two classes—the simple Futurist and the extreme Futurist: the difference between these classes being that the simple Futurist believes that the prophecies of the book are future in fulfilment, while the extreme Futurist holds that even the first three chapters are prophetic. Among those who have maintained the more moderate Futurist view may be mentioned De Burgh, Maitland, Benjamin Newton, Todd, and the devout Isaac Williams. The extreme Futurist view has been supported chiefly by some Irish expositors.

The Historical school holds a sort of middle place between the Præterist and Futurist. Its advocates believe that in the Apocalypse we have a continuous prophecy, exhibiting to us the main features of the world's history: the visions therefore are partly fulfilled, partly they are in course of fulfilment, and a portion still remains unfulfilled. This view has been sustained by men of conspicuous ability. It was the interpretation which commended

itself to many of the Reformers, and was favoured by Wiclif, Bullinger, Bale, and others. It was upheld with more systematic power by such distinguished writers as Mede, Vitringa, Daubuz, Sir Isaac Newton, Whiston, Bengel, and Bishop Newton: more recently it has been advocated by Hengstenberg, Ebrard, Auberlen, by Elliott and Faber, by Bishop Wordsworth and the late Dean Alford, by Barnes, Lord, and Glasgow.

It is, of course, to be understood that there are many varieties of interpretation even among those who belong to the same school of interpreters: but it would quite exceed the limits at our disposal to speak of these varieties.

Against these schools of interpretations it is not difficult to find objections. It is hard to believe, with the Præterist, that the counselling voice of prophecy should have spoken only of immediate dangers, and left the Church for fifteen centuries unwarned; or, with the Futurist, to believe that eighteen centuries of the eventful history of the Church are passed over in silence, and that the whole weight of inspired warning was reserved for the few closing years of the dispensation. Nor, on the other hand, can we be thoroughly satisfied with the Historical school, however ably and learnedly represented. There is a certain nakedness about the interpretations often advocated by this school: the interpreter is too readily caught by external resemblances, and pays too little heed to inner spiritual and ethical principles. A mistake into which this system falls is that of bringing into prominence the idea of *time*. According to them, the visions of the book are pictures of occurrences

to take place at a certain fixed date. Now it must never be forgotten that the question of *time*—the time when this or that was to happen—was one which our Lord steadily put on one side. It was not for His disciples to know the times and the seasons. The knowledge of the time of an event is insignificant compared with the knowledge of the forces, elements, and laws which combine to produce it. This seems to be our Master's teaching to His followers all through time. Our study is to know what are the foes we have to contend against, what combinations they are likely to make, in what power they are to be confronted, what difficulties are likely to arise, what certainty there is that all difficulties will be surmounted and every foe overthrown. It matters not for us to know when these things shall be: it may be at the first watch, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing: the time is a matter of no ethical importance. It is thus St. Peter treats it: "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." It is but the echo of his Lord's warning. It may take a long time or a short time for the moral laws and moral forces at work in the world to bring forth a crisis period. To take St. Peter's words as laying down a kind of prophetic "time-measure" is to fall into that fatal source of error, the conversion of poetry into prose. We are not, then, to look for any indications of *time* in the visions of the Apocalypse: and what might have made this very plain is the employment of proportional numbers to denote the prophetic epochs in the book. These carefully-selected numbers, always bearing a

relationship to one another, and so selected that a literal interpretation of them is almost precluded, are beyond doubt symbolical, and thus in harmony with the whole character of the book. "Most numbers in the Revelation should not be taken arithmetically, but indefinitely, because they are part of the poetic costume borrowed from the Old Testament" (Davidson). The anxiety respecting the "times and seasons" has led many interpreters into voluminous errors, and has created a Thessalonian restlessness of spirit in many quarters. Infinitely more important is it to notice the moral and spiritual aspects of the book, the evil and the good principles which are described in conflict, and the features which in different ages the combat will assume.

But, though the time-interpretation of the book is thus to be placed in the background, it must not be so done as to imply that the book has no reference to occurrences which will happen in time. If some of the Historical school of interpreters have so forced the question of time into prominence as to ignore the more important ethical bearings of the book, it is no less true that critics on the other side have erred in removing the application of the book wholly out of the sphere of history, and giving it only the force of a fairy tale with a possible and doubtful moral. This is to set aside the value of the book to the Church of Christ as she moves across the vexed and stormy sea of this world's history. The visions of the book do find counterparts in the occurrences of human history: they have had these, and they yet will have these, fulfilments; and these fulfilments belong neither

wholly to the past, nor wholly to the future: the prophecies of God are written in a language which can be read by more than one generation: what was read here helped the early Christian to whom imperial Rome was the great Babylon which absorbed to herself the wealth, and the wickedness, the power and persecuting spirit of the world, to whom the emperor may have seemed as a wild beast, savage and relentless, rising out of the tumults of peoples and nations, fickle and ruthless as the sea. No less have the visions of this book consoled the mediæval saint or poet, who felt that the most influential seat of the Church had become the metropolis of worldliness when "The Prince of the New Pharisees" was seated in St. Peter's chair, and when out of a professedly Christianised Society had arisen a power aspiring to some religious culture, but fierce, wild, and wanton as the wild beast of ancient days. (Comp. Dante, *Inf.* xxvii. 85; and Rossetti's *Antipapal Spirit of the Italian Poets*—passim.) Nor is the force of the consolation exhausted; in the future, the visions of this book, showing the certain triumph of all that is good and true, in the final consummation of Christ's kingdom, may hereafter serve to console men and women groaning under a tyranny of ungodliness more terrible and more specious than any which have preceded it, because built up of a pride which worships physical laws, while it treads under foot all moral laws, and spurns contemptuously all spiritual laws. In the past, the book has had its meaning: in the future, its meaning may grow fuller and clearer; but in the

present also there is no doubt that it has its practical value for all who will reverently and patiently hear and keep the sayings of this book.

We are disposed to view the Apocalypse as the pictorial unfolding of great principles in constant conflict, though under various forms. The Præterist may, then, be right in finding early fulfilments, and the Futurist in expecting undeveloped ones, and the Historical interpreter is unquestionably right in looking for them along the whole line of history; for the words of God mean more than one man, or one school of thought, can compass. There are depths of truth unexplored which sleep beneath the simplest sentences. Just as we are wont to say that history repeats itself, so the predictions of the Bible are not exhausted in one or even in many fulfilments. Each prophecy is a single key which unlocks many doors, and the grand and stately drama of the Apocalypse has been played perchance out in one age to be repeated in the next. Its majestic and mysterious teachings indicate the features of a struggle which, be the stage the human soul, with its fluctuations of doubt and fear, of hope and love—or the progress of kingdoms—or the destinies of the world is the same struggle in all.

(2) *The Principles of Interpretation.*—It will have been seen that the writer does not feel at home under the leadership of any of the three great schools of prophetic interpretation. The Church of Christ owes much to all of them, though the cause of truth has suffered much from many who have sought to be prophets when at the most they could aspire to be inter-

preters; but the result even of the errors of interpreters has been the slow formation of sounder views, and therefore an advance towards a clearer, because a more modest, system. There are certain principles which seem to be now very generally accepted as essential to the right understanding of the book. It is not, indeed, to be supposed that the acceptance of these principles will enable the student to unlock every mystery, or expound every symbol; but it will certainly save him from following "wandering fires." Of these principles the chief seem to be the following:—(1) the root passages in the Old Testament prophecies must be considered; (2) the historical surroundings of the writer are to be remembered; (3) the fact that the book is symbolical must never be forgotten; (4) the obvious aim of the book to be a witness to the triumph and coming (*parousia*) of Jesus Christ must be recognised. These principles are simple enough, but their neglect has been only too fatally evident. The difficulty, indeed, lies rather in the application of these principles than in their acceptance. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that the Præterist school has been apt to ignore the first of these principles; the Historical school has not adequately recognised the second; and the Futurist school is in constant danger of forgetting the third; while partial views in all schools have violated or weakened the value of the last principle.

The "coming of Christ," viewed from the human side, is a phrase which is not always to be held to one meaning: it is, in this respect, analogous to the "kingdom of God." "Holy Scripture, beyond

all doubt, recognises potential and spiritual, as well as personal, 'comings' of the Lord."* "There are many comings of Christ. Christ came in the flesh as a mediatorial Presence. Christ came at the destruction of Jerusalem. Christ came, a spiritual Presence, when the Holy Ghost was given. Christ comes now in every signal manifestation of redeeming power. Any great reformation of morals and religion is a coming of Christ. A great revolution, like a thunderstorm, violently sweeping away evil to make way for the good, is a coming of Christ" (Robertson, *Sermons*, Fourth Series, p. 73). It is thus that the sacred writers speak as of Christ's coming always at hand: "The judge standeth at

* The whole note from Bishop Waldegrave's *Bampton Lectures* is worth quoting. "Holy Scripture, beyond all doubt, recognises (1) potential and spiritual, as well as personal, 'comings' of the Lord. See, for potential 'comings,' Matt. x. 23; John xxi. 22, 23; Rev. ii. 5, 15, 16, 22—25; iii. 3, 10. . . . See, for spiritual 'comings,' Ps. ci. 2; John xiv. 18, 21—24; Rev. iii. 20. In like manner Holy Scripture recognises (2) a potential and spiritual, as distinct from a personal, 'presence' of Christ with His people. See Matt. xviii. 20; xxviii. 20; Mark xvi. 20; 2 Tim. iv. 17. Now such potential and spiritual comings and presence will naturally, when translated, if I may so speak, into the language of imagery, assume the outward appearance of a personal and visible coming and presence. And this fact will abundantly account for the use of language (expressive of potential and spiritual comings) like that in Ps. cii. 13—16; Isa. xix. 1, 16, 19—21; xl. 10; lix. 20; Zech. ii. 10—12: (expressive of potential and spiritual presence) like that in Ps. cxxxv. 21; Isa. xii. 6; xxiv. 23; lx. 13; Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24; xli. 22; xliii. 1—9; xliv. 1, 2; Joel ii. 27; ii. 17, 20, 21; Micah iv. 7; Zeph. iii. 14, 15; Zech. vi. 12, 13; viii. 3, without expecting a personal reign of Christ upon earth as its only adequate counterpart."

the door," "The coming of the Lord draweth nigh." So, also, our Lord speaks: "I will not leave you comfortless; I will come to you." Thus, viewed from one aspect, the "coming of Christ" has various applications; but viewed from another aspect, it will be seen to be a phrase expressive of a simple thought, and free from all perplexing ambiguity. The coming of Christ, viewed from the divine side, is as a single act, in which all subordinate applications are included. There is no past or future with God. All that is being done, is, in one sense, done. God's dealings, as seen by human eyes, are, as it were, projections on the page of history. An illustration may help. A telegraph cable, whether cut straight through or on the slope, will present to view exactly the same combination of copper and iron wire, gutta-percha and tarred yarn; but in the elliptical section the elements will appear in more extended order than in the circular section: so the same features, which to us appear separate and successive, when viewed from the higher level of heavenly thought may be seen as forming parts of one act. The various advents of Christ may thus be viewed as forming elements in one Advent, which is progressive from one side, but complete from another. The morning spreads itself in every direction over the forehead of the sky, and yet is but one morning. All the varying scenes from the First Advent to the Second are but the beatings of the wings of God's new day. "It is," as the prophet expressed it in language of glorious paradox, "It is one day, known to the Lord, neither clear nor dark, but one day, at whose eventide it shall be light."

If this be true, there is no necessity for leaping to the conclusion that, when the sacred writers warned their hearers that the coming of the Lord was near, they were mistaken, or that they sought to sustain the fainting hopes of the early Church by expectations which have proved false. Doubtless some did not understand the full and deep meaning of the words employed: doubtless many still clung to their carnal conceptions: but the apostolic language, whether from the pen of a St. Paul, St. Peter, or St. John, expresses the wider and truer thoughts of the coming of Christ. We find them anxious to remind those to whom they wrote that the idea of an immediate visible personal coming of Christ must not be allowed to gain possession of the mind. There were forces at work which must have their way before the end would come: seeds had been planted, and these must grow: the sowing and the harvest are linked together as one in the law of growth, and are yet separate. Thus the spirit of wilfulness and impatience is rebuked when men grasp the true thoughts of God. Yet it must not be supposed that the waiting Church of Christ will be disappointed of her hope, or that the heavenly Bridegroom will not come. He will come again; and all the preliminary and subordinate advents in judgment and in comfort will then be seen to have been earnestings of the fulness of His coming. The interpreters are as men who stand upon a plain to watch the sunrise. When the first veil of night is withdrawn, and the starlight is somewhat paled, the more ardent than the rest will cry, "The dawn!"

but the rest answer, "Not yet." Then when the mountain peaks begin to flame, another will cry, "The dawn!" and the rest will still reply, "Not yet." And when the landscape around catches its true colours, another will cry, "The dawn!" but only when the great and glorious orb leaps into view will all be one in crying, "The dawn! the dawn!" So is the coming of Christ. Some look upon the faint lightening in the moral atmosphere, and say, "Christ comes!" Others look to the reflected lights of truth proclaimed in the high places of the world, and say, "Christ comes!" Others look to the general diffusion of knowledge, and say, "Christ comes!" They are right, and they are wrong: right, for it is indeed Christ who is thus enlightening the world; they are wrong, for there is a coming greater than these, when He will, in fuller manifestation of Himself, tabernacle with His people as their everlasting light.

IV. General Scope of this Book.

(1) *Its Aim.*—What is the aim of this book? The answers given, though various, have much in common. Some see in it a prediction of the overthrow of Paganism; others carry it further, and see the destruction of Papal Rome; others read in it the rise and fall of some future Antichrist. Thus far the opinions vary; but in one respect there is agreement: the Revelation aims at assuring the Church of the advent of her Lord: it is the book of the Coming One. Every school of interpretation will admit this. Some indeed will say that the expectation raised was never fulfilled, but all appear to unite in regarding

the Apocalypse as the book of the advent. We may take this as a key to its meaning; it proclaims Christ's coming and victory. But is it the victory of Christ over Paganism, or over degenerate forms of Christianity, or over some final and future antichristian power or person? The true answer appears to be, It is the victory of Christ over all wrong-thoughtedness, wrong-heartedness, and wrong-spiritedness; the pictures given in the visions find their counterpart not in one age only, but gather their *full-fulfilment* as the ages advance: the fall of Paganism is included in the visions, as the downfall of the world-power of Imperial Rome is included; but the picture-prophecy is not exhausted, and will not be till every form of evil of which Pagan and Imperial Rome, of which the wild beast and Babylon are types, has been overthrown. The ages are seen in perspective; the incidents separated from one another in historical sequence, are gathered into one prophetic scene, and the Apocalypse presents us with a variety of these prophetic scenes, which depict the salient features of the conquest of evil, the triumph and advent of Christ—"He comes" is the key: He comes when Paganism falls—He comes when brute world force is cast down; He comes when worldliness falls—He comes, and His coming is spreading ever over the world, shining more and more unto the perfect day. Clouds may gather, and make the epochs which are nearest the full day darker than those which preceded them, but still in every epoch leading up to the golden day; the line of conflict may advance and recede from time

to time, but it is a triumphant battle-field which is pictured. It is thus the book of the advent and victory of Christ.

But is it a book affording false hopes? Is it an echo of the wish of the early Christian Church, or is it a revelation from Christ to the waiting and perhaps impatient Church? I believe it is the latter. So far from the book giving colour to the expectation of an immediate personal coming of Jesus Christ, it seems distinctly to caution the early Christians against cherishing mistaken notions: "that day shall not come except there come a falling away first," was the caution of St. Paul; the caution of St. John, though expressed in pictorial form, is none the less emphatic. Let any one bear in mind the eager impatience of suffering Christians in early days, and let them read the Apocalypse, and they will learn that its undertone is, "Not yet, not yet," but still surely is He coming; not as you think, but as He thinks well, so is He coming. Let the seals furnish an illustration: the first shows an ideal conqueror; Christ, or the gospel of Christ, goes forth to conquer—it is the picture of the Church's hope; the vision tells her that her hope is right, Christ will conquer; but it is the prelude of visions which tell her that her expectation is wrong if she expects that the kingdom of Christ will be established without conflict, pain, suffering, and revolution. The succeeding seals are the pictures of the things which must needs be: the wars, the persecutions, the sorrows which will afflict the world because she will not accept her King; the parable of Luke xix. 11—27, and the emphatic warn-

ing language of Christ Jesus in Matt. xxiv. 4—14, are not forgotten in the Apocalypse. In it we are bidden to remember, that though the victory is sure, the victory is through suffering; we are shown scenes which betoken the prolonged sorrows of the faithful, the obstinate tenacity of evil, its subtle transformations, and the concealed powers by which it is sustained: we are thus, as it were, shown the world's drama from a heavenly view-point, not in continuous historical succession, but in its various essential features, it is in this dramatic—that it does not tell its story right on, but groups its episodes round convenient centres, bringing into special prominence successively the principles of God's world-government. It is thus an apocalypse unfolding in symbolical forms the characteristic features of the struggle between good and evil, when the power of the gospel enters the field; it is the revelation of the coming (*parousia*) of Christ, because it shows not only that He will come, but that He does come: that He who has been revealed, is being revealed, and will yet be revealed.

(2) *The Form.*—It is the symbolical form which hinders many in the right understanding of the book. "I am a man of the earth," wrote Göthe; "I am a man of the earth, earthy; to me the parables of the unjust steward, the prodigal son, the sower, the pearl, the lost piece of money, &c., are more divine (if aught divine there be about the matter), than the seven messengers, candlesticks, seals, stars, and woes." This is only saying that symbolism employed in the one case was simpler than that employed in the

latter—simpler, that is to say, to Western minds; for it may perhaps be doubted whether the symbolism which to the Teutonic mind seemed so strange, may not have been simple enough to those who were accustomed to Hebrew symbolism. But however this may be, the general symbols of the book are not so difficult as might appear. There is not space at our disposal to enter upon a discussion of this in detail. Certain features, however, are worthy of notice. The geographical imagery needs attention: Jerusalem stands as the type of the good cause, Babylon as the type of the metropolis of the world-power: Jerusalem is thus the Church of Christ (this symbolism is in complete harmony with St. Paul and other apostolic writers, (comp. Gal. iv. 24—31; Heb. xii. 22, 23). Babylon is the emblem of Pagan Rome, but not only of Pagan Rome, for the Babylon type remains to this day: there are inspiring powers on the side of the heavenly Jerusalem—God is with her; she shall not be moved; the metropolis of evil has the assistance of evil powers: the dragon, the wild beast, and the false prophet are for a time with her. The family of evil bears a marked parallel to the family of good throughout the book: there is a trinity of evil powers on the side of Babylon the harlot, as the blessed Trinity are with the bride, the heavenly Jerusalem.

The scenes in the great conflict arrange themselves round the members of these families of good and of evil. The general features and the elements of this struggle are depicted. There are numerical symbols: seven is the number of perfection, six of man's

worldly perfection without God, four of the universe, three and a half of a limited period. There are seals, trumpets, and vials; the seals of the book which could only be opened by Christ betoken that the direction of earth's history and its explanation can be found only in Christ; the trumpets are the symbols of God's war against all forms of evil; the vials are the tokens of the retribution which falls upon those who turn not at the divine summons to righteousness. The strong symbolism of the book has a two-fold advantage: when the application of the visions are not to be exhausted in one age, the pictorial form is the most convenient to embrace the manifold fulfilments. Again, the author has clothed his thoughts in the "variously limiting, but reverential and only suitable drapery of ancient sacred language and symbolism, in the conviction that the reader would penetrate the veil and reach the sense" (Gebhardt).

(3) *The General Structure.*—The majority of critics see a seven-fold structure in the book. The commentators differ, as might be expected, as to the way in which this seven-foldedness of structure shows itself; but most of them arrange the different parts of the book in a seven-fold fashion. This is worthy of note, as the Fourth Gospel (see *Introduction to St. John's Gospel*) has been shown to have a similar seven-fold arrangement. When we notice the fondness of the seer for such an arrangement in the subordinate visions, it is not to be wondered at that the whole book should fall into seven groups; but we must be careful not to be carried away by our love of symmetry. The charts and

maps of Apocalyptic interpretation are often very Procrustean. The general structure of the book, however, may be noted.

There are :—

1. The Preliminary Chapters.—Christ and His Church.

- (1) THE VISION OF THE CHRIST (chap. i.).
- (2) THE MESSAGES TO THE CHURCHES (chaps. ii., iii.).

2. The Visions.

- (1) THE VISION OF THE THRONED ONE (chap. iv.).
- (2) THE VISIONS OF THE CONFLICT, in two main sections.
 - (a) *The conflict seen from the world side* (chaps. vi.—xi.):
 - (a) The seven seals (chaps. vi.—viii. 1).
 - (β) The seven trumpets (chaps. viii. 2—xi.).
 - (b) *The conflict seen from the heavenly side* (chaps. xii.—xx.):
 - (a) The spiritual foes (chaps. xii.—xiv.).
 - (β) The seven vials of retribution (chaps. xv., xvi.).
 - (γ) The fall of foes (chaps. xvii.—xx.).
- (3) THE VISIONS OF PEACE (chaps. xxi., xxii. 1—6).

3. The Epilogue (chap. xxii. 6—21).

It will be seen that there is a moving onward from the more external to the deeper and more spiritual aspects of earth's story. The earlier visions (the seals, for example) show the ordinary phenomena of the world's story—war, famine, death, revolution. The

next series (the trumpets) show us that there is another, even a spiritual war, going forward in the world, and that changes and revolutions are often tokens of the inner spiritual battle in life. These visions, however, are, so to speak, all in the sphere of earth: in the next series we are shown that the war carried on here is one which has its heavenly counterpart. The conflict is not simply between good men and bad, but between principalities and powers. (See an interesting article on "The Ideal Incarnation," by Dr. S. Cox, in the *Expositor*, Vol. II., p. 405.) There is a heavenly view-point of all things on earth: there are spiritual forces, the ideal Church, the unseen strength of God, and the hidden inspirations of evil. In this struggle all evil will be vanquished. The earthly manifestations of evil, as well as the un-earthly inspirations of it, will fall; the great and arch-enemy will be overthrown; the true spiritual, eternal rest be reached, and the golden age be realised. We are thus taught, in this ever-deepening spirituality of the book, to look beneath the phenomena, to trace the subtle and unmasked principles which are at work, to separate between the false and the true, to believe in *ideals* which are not mere ideas, but the true thoughts of God, which will one day be made real in the eyes of men, and which are even now real to the eye of faith. Thus does the Book of Revelation become the unfolding of a dream which is from God. In it are painted the scenes of earth's history: the thirst of a nation's life and its passing groan; the tears and prayers of the unreckoned holy ones of earth; the

agony of half-despair which even the best have felt in the night of conflict, that has so often been the eve of triumph; the sustaining faith which has transfigured the weakling into a hero, and nerved the heart of a solitary saintship to do battle alone against a degenerate Church or a persecuting world; the silent victory of truth, or the unperceived growth of worldliness and falsehood. The book is thus a help and stay—not as yielding fruit to curiosity. It is not a manual of tiresome details: it is not meant to be a treasure-house of marvels for the prophetic archaeologist: it is a book of living principles. It exhibits the force and fortune of truth as it acts upon the great mass of human society: it shows the revolutions which are the result. It shows the decay of the outward form, the release of the true germ, which will spring up in better harvests. It shows us how the corn of wheat may fall and die, and so bring forth much fruit. It shows us how evermore, from first to last, Christ is with us—encouraging, consoling, warning, helping, and leading us onward through conflict to rest.

V. Literature of the Apocalypse.—It is perfectly hopeless to touch so vast a subject as this. The mere list of works on the Apocalypse given in Darling's *Cyclopædia Bibliographica*, published in 1859, occupies fifty-two columns. A history of various interpretations is given in Lücke, *Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis*; a similar sketch is given by Bleek, *Lectures on the Apocalypse*; and Elliott (*Horæ Apocalypticæ*, vol. iv.) has presented us with an exhaustive and impartial account, *History of*

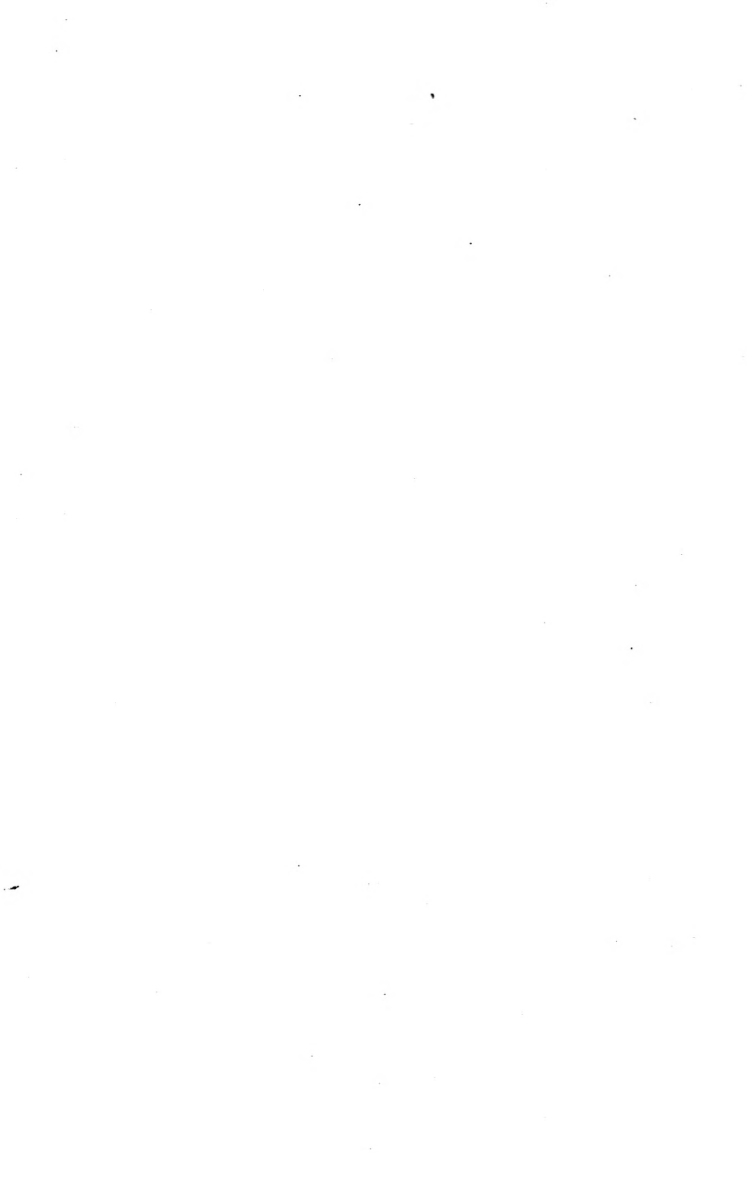
Apocalyptic Interpretations, followed by *A Critical Examination and Refutation of the Three Chief Counter-schemes of Apocalyptic Interpretation*; and also of Dr. Arnold's *General Prophetic Counter-theory*. Dean Alford's article (*Greek Test.*) on "Systems of Interpretation," is lucid and compact.

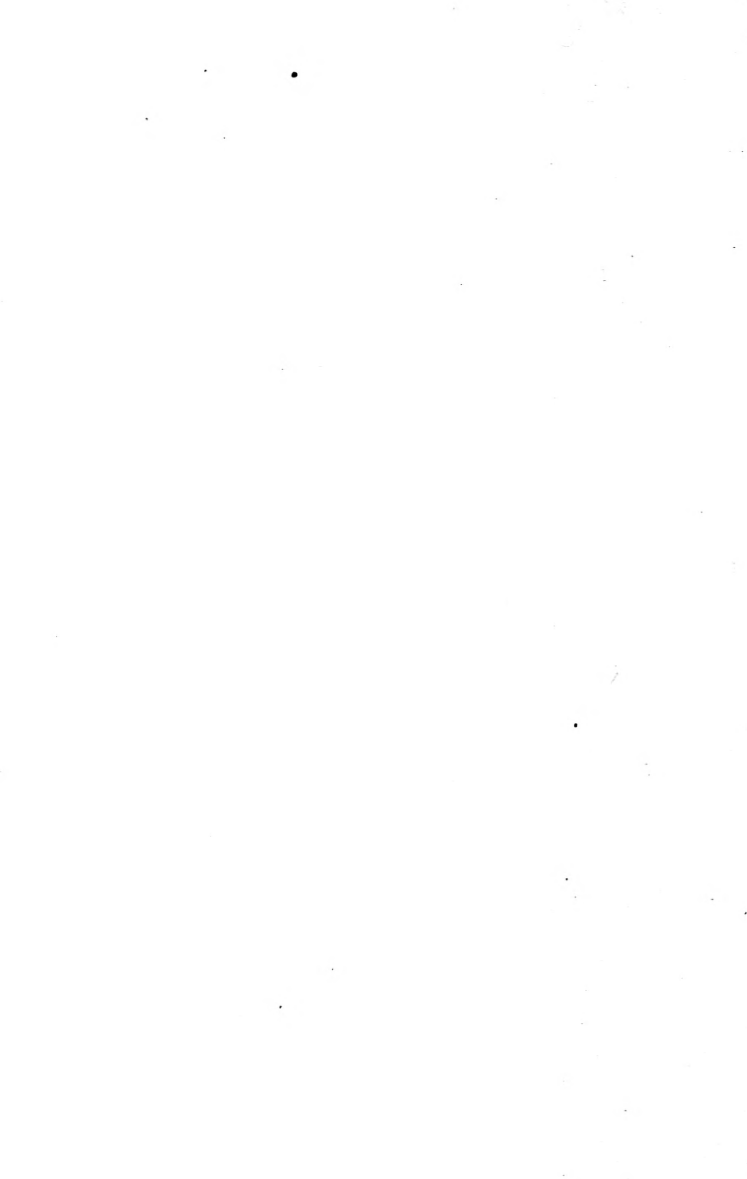
Of Commentaries, leaving unnoticed earlier expositions, those of Vitringa, De Wette, Ewald, Bleek, Hengstenberg, Meyer, Ebrard, Auberlen, and Düsterdieck; of Hammond, Bishop Newton, Elliott, Alford, Bishop Wordsworth, Cunningham, Woodhouse, Moses Stuart, De Burgh, I. Williams, besides the works of Faber, Maitland, and Prof. Birks, are well known; and Dr. Currey's *Notes on Revelation*, in the *Christian Knowledge Society's Commentary*, add much to the value of a really useful work.

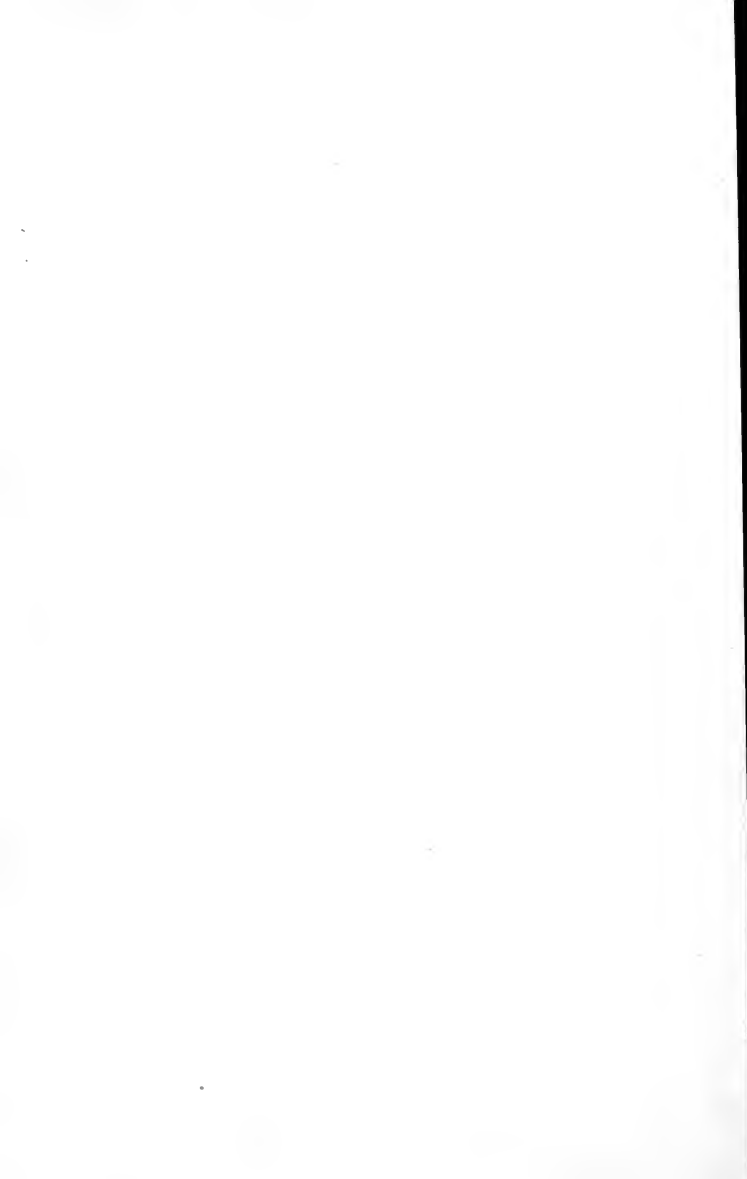
Of lectures, the late Professor Maurice's *Lectures* are full of thought and interest; and many are indebted to Dr. Vaughan (now Dean of Llandaff) for his *Lectures on the Revelation of St. John*, which are models of what expository lectures ought to be. Gebhardt's *Lehrbegriff der Apokalypse*, now accessible to English readers in Clarke's Foreign Translation Library—(Gebhardt's *Doctrine of the Apocalypse*) is a valuable addition to the literature of the subject; it contains a close and careful comparison between the doctrine of the Apocalypse and that of the Gospel and Epistles of St. John. Of other books may be mentioned—Rev. S. Garratt's *Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, considered as the *Divine Book of History*; *Prophetic Landmarks*, by Rev. H. Bonar; Dr. J. H. Todd's *Donnellan Lectures*;

and Bishop Wordsworth's *Hulsean Lectures. The Apocalypse*, by Rev. Charles B. Waller; *The Parousia, a Critical Inquiry into the New Testament Doctrine of our Lord's Second Coming*; *The Life and Writings of St. John*, by Dr. J. M. Macdonald, of Princetown. On special points the following works may be noted:—On the Epistles to the Seven Churches, in addition to Archbishop Trench's indispensable work, and to Stier's well-known one, a valuable contribution has been given by Prof. Plumptre. On the Millennium: Bishop Waldegrave's "New Testament Millenarianism" (*Bampton Lectures*), and

the Rev. Dr. Brown's work, entitled *Christ's Second Coming: will it be pre-Millennial?* On the Babylon of the Apocalypse: Bishop Wordsworth's *Rome, the Babylon of the Apocalypse*. On the types and symbols: Fairbairn's *Typology of Scripture*; Rev. Malcolm White's *Symbolical Numbers of Scripture*; and the essay on "The Formal Elements of 'Apocalyptic'" prefixed to Lange's *Commentary on Revelation*. Of this last book, which has not been mentioned above, it is to be regretted that, with much that is most valuable, it should be disfigured by pedantry of style.







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