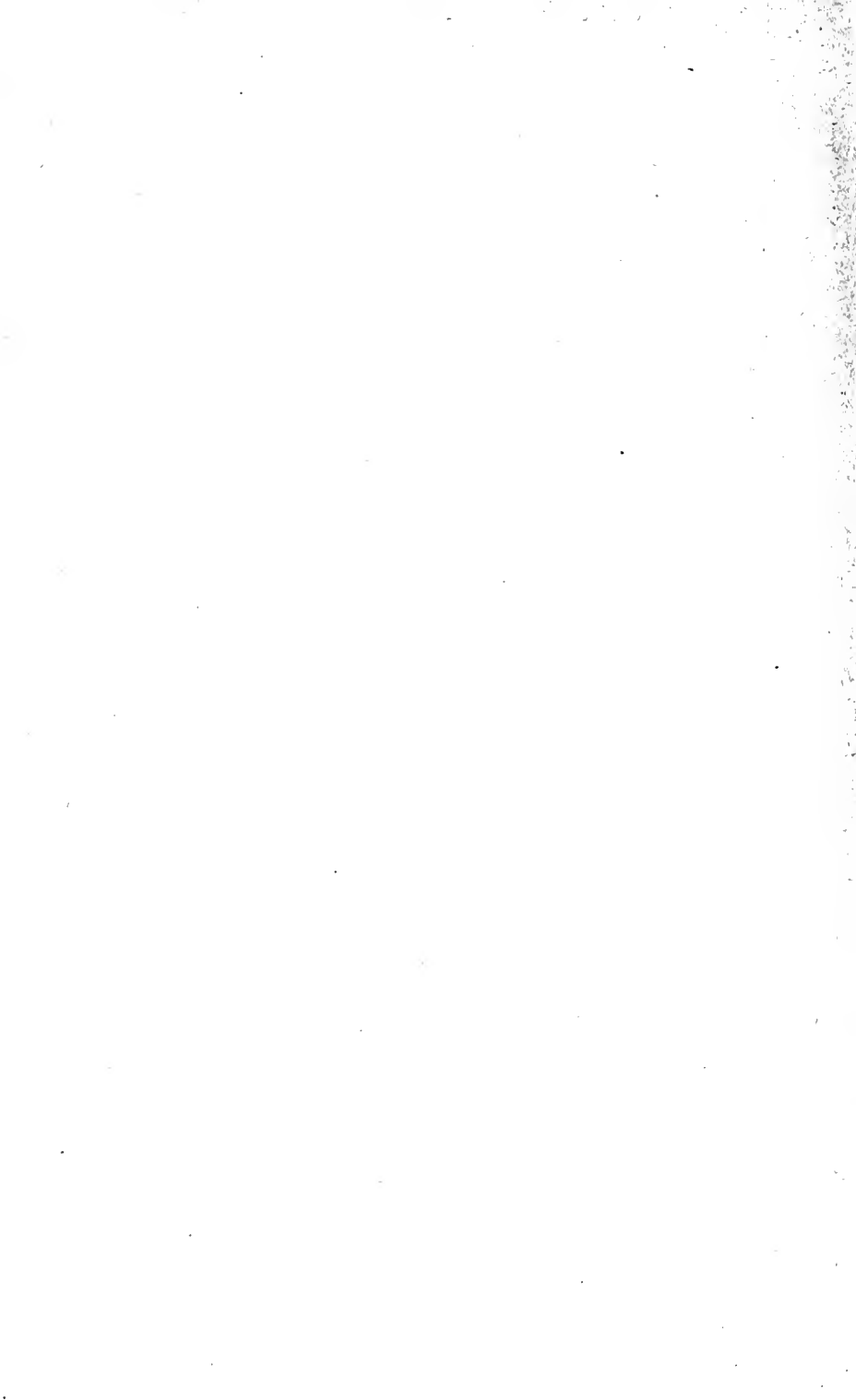


ST. PAUL
THE AUTHOR OF
THE ACTS

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H. HEBER EVANS



ST. PAUL
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OF
THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES
AND OF
THE THIRD GOSPEL.

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BY

HOWARD HEBER EVANS, B.A.

VICAR OF MAPPERLEY,

AND FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF LINCOLN COLLEGE. OXFORD.

JESUS saith :—"I am THE TRUTH."—ST. JOHN xiv. 6.

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“I am prepared to believe anything on sufficient evidence.”—*The late* DR. ROBERT EVANS, D.C.L., *Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Vinerian Scholar, and Proctor of the University of Oxford.*

“Probability is the very guide of life.”—BP. BUTLER, *The Analogy.*

“Not one man in ten thousand is aware that the most undoubted scientific theories are only demonstrable by the balance of probabilities. . . . All that we can say of the well-known Law of Gravity is, that it is shown to be immeasurably more probable than any other explanation of the motions of the universe.”—SIR E. BECKETT, *Origin of the Laws of Nature*, pp. 3, 5.

“He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself.”—1 ST. JOHN v. 10.

“Keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called (ἀντιθεσεις της ψευδωνυμου γνωσεως): which some professing have erred concerning the faith.”—1 TIM. vi. 20, 21.

TO
MY MOTHER,
AND TO
MY FATHER'S MEMORY.

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ST. PAUL
THE AUTHOR
OF
THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

LETTER I.—INTRODUCTORY.

WHY THE SUBJECT IS OF SO MUCH IMPORTANCE IN THE
CONTROVERSY WITH SCEPTICISM.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—On seeing the title-page, two remarks will have occurred to you.

1. I always understood that the Acts were written more or less under the influence of St. Paul.

2. Granted that St. Paul himself was the author, what then? Is that fact, if fact it be, of any great importance?

I. I will first reply to the second of these two observations, and say at once that, in the present state of the controversy between Christianity and scepticism, this fact is of the *very greatest* importance, as you will see if you have sufficient patience to read through these pages.

1. It has never been doubted that St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles were written by one and the same author.* This unity of authorship

* In Luther's Version the heading of the Acts is "Der Apostel Geschichte St. Lucä," as that of the Third Gospel is "Evangelium St. Lucä."

"That the Acts of the Apostles was composed by the author of the Third Gospel is undoubted."—*Ebrard*, "Gospel History," p. 497.

is admitted even by such sceptical critics as Zeller and Renan.* And it is equally indisputable—in fact, it is self-evident—that the Gospel was not written later than the Acts.

2. It is admitted by all competent critics that St. Paul did not survive the reign of Nero. Nero died in June, A.D. 68.†

Thus, if St. Paul was himself the author of the Acts of the Apostles, St. Paul must have been himself the author of the Third Gospel; and, therefore, this Third Gospel, the Gospel according to St. Luke, must have been in existence before June, A.D. 68.

3. And, therefore, the prophecy regarding the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, recorded in Luke xxi., was written down, in any case, more than a year (probably several years) before it was fulfilled.

4. More than this, St. Paul, though not himself an eyewitness of the events of our Lord's life, saw and spoke to Peter and John,‡ who were eyewitnesses—one of these, St. Peter, being *ὁ πρῶτος*,§ the first of the Apostles—and the one to whom Christ gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven—the other being the disciple whom Jesus loved, and to whom, when on the cross, He committed the charge of His mother. They were the two survivors out of the three chief Apostles, Peter, James, and John, most intimately associated

* "The author of this Gospel (St. Luke's) is certainly the same as the author of the Acts of the Apostles."—*M. Renan*, quoted by Dr. Wace, "Authenticity of the Gospels," p. 14.

† Conybeare and Howson, "St. Paul," new edition, p. 781. Eusebius, H. E.

‡ Galatians ii. 9.

§ St. Matt. x. 2. "*Primus inter pares*,"—their leader and spokesman; as is often exemplified in the Gospel narrative.

with our Lord in the Gospels; for instance, at the Transfiguration, in Gethsemane, and at the raising of the daughter of Jairus.

St. Paul, too, had seen more than once James, certainly a kinsman of our Lord; and, probably, the first bishop of the Mother Church at Jerusalem for many years, till his death in A.D. 62.*

St. Paul had the means, by questioning these eye-witnesses and sifting the evidences of Christianity as they existed in those early days, whether written or oral, of thoroughly testing the truth of the Gospel history, of making a thorough personal investigation into the foundations on which the Christian religion rests. We know that the result must have been quite satisfactory to St. Paul's intelligent mind, when we remember that he spent fully a quarter of a century in preaching the Gospel of Christ †—that he spent the best years of his life in preaching that faith which he had once “destroyed,” the believers in which he had formerly so fiercely persecuted. We know that St. Paul must have been satisfied that Christianity was no myth, to have borne five years' loss of liberty, “an ambassador in bonds,” and yet to rejoice in his persecutions for the Gospel's sake, and to say that “he counted all things but loss that he might win Christ, for whom he had suffered the loss of all things”; and that “he knew whom he had believed”; and to state towards the close of his career: “To me to live is Christ”; “I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.” ‡

* Josephus, “Antiquities,” xx. ix. i.

† “Woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel.”—1 Cor. ix. 16.

‡ Gal. i. 23; Eph. vi. 20; 1 Tim. i. 12; Phil. i. 21; 2 Tim. iv. 7.

St. Paul himself was an eyewitness of the stoning of Stephen, and of other events connected with the history of the primitive Church.

He was also the friend and fellow-helper of Barnabas, a disciple from the time of the first founding of the Church, and an associate of Mark (the friend and interpreter of Peter), whose mother's house at Jerusalem was a well-known centre and rallying point of the early Church; and St. Paul, too, as related in Acts xxi., stayed for some days at the house of one of the first seven deacons, Philip the Evangelist.*

Hence, if St. Paul was the author of the Acts and St. Luke's Gospel, the events narrated in the Gospel of St. Luke come to us stamped with St. Paul's approval, and guaranteed by him as being, to the best of his belief, substantially correct; and we have thus the fullest account of our Lord's life and ministry handed down to us by a writer who had every desire, as well as every opportunity, of ascertaining the truth.

5. Now, in order to realise the importance of this, I must trouble you with one or two quotations:—

“Our opponents endeavour to assign the Gospels to writers who were not in a position to give a really credible testimony—to writers who only composed their narratives long after the time when Christ lived.”—*Tischendorf*. †

“The opponents suggest that our four Gospels came into existence between the years A.D. 150 and 175.”—*Tregelles*. ‡

* Acts iv. 36; xii. 12; xxi. 8, 10.

† “When were our Gospels written?” p. 42.

‡ “Historic Evidence of Authorship, &c., of the New Testament,” p. 45.

“The historical character of the Gospels is denied by unbelievers.” “It must be conceded, therefore, that our evidence that the Synoptics were written prior to A.D. 70 by the authors whose names they bear, if we rely exclusively on the literary testimony furnished by the Fathers, amounts not to certainty, but only to a high degree of probability.”—*Prebendary Row.**

“*The Gospels alone* afford us full information respecting our Lord’s character and work, and they must ever be regarded as *the most precious and important of testimonies* to his claims.

“It is this, indeed, which has led the sceptics and unbelievers of this century to direct such persistent and fierce attacks upon the Gospels. It has been felt that if they are *trustworthy records* of what our Lord said and did, the chief positions for which the sceptics have contended are at once overthrown.”—*Dr. Wace.†*

I think I need not add a word more to convince you of the extreme importance of proving the assertion on the title-page, that St. Paul is the real author of the Acts of the Apostles, and therefore also of the Third Gospel.

There is, however, one other important result which follows, as you will see:—

“As every Biblical scholar is aware, there is no question connected with the Gospels which has been felt more difficult or perplexing than that which respects their *origin*.”

“It has hitherto been the *opprobrium criticorum*

* Bampton Lectures, 1877, third edition, pp. 276, 322.

† “Authenticity of the Four Gospels,” p. 4.

that they have not been able to give any probable account of this matter," *i.e.* the origin of the first three Gospels.*

If, therefore, you should be convinced by my arguments that St. Paul wrote the Third Gospel at Rome, you will, I trust, be able to give some probable account of this matter also.

II. I should now like to offer a few observations in reply to the remark that it has always been understood that St. Luke wrote under the influence of St. Paul. No doubt this is true as far as it goes. To establish this it is not necessary to do more than just to quote these few words from Bishop Wordsworth † :—

“The statements of Christian antiquity concerning St. Luke’s connexion with St. Paul . . . are confirmed by the internal evidence presented by the Gospel of St. Luke.”

And from Professor Westcott ‡ :—

“The distinctive character of St. Luke’s life lies in the one certain fact of his long companionship with St. Paul. The earliest writers insist on this with uniform and emphatic clearness.”

Yes, but not with sufficient clearness to convince sceptical writers such as Strauss and Zeller. This is *their* account of the matter § :—

“The Gospel of St. Luke belongs to a period in which it is scarcely possible that there could

* Dr. Alexander Roberts, “Discussions on the Gospels,” pp. 429, 496.

† “Greek Testament,” Introduction to St. Luke’s Gospel.

‡ “Introduction to the Gospels,” fourth edition, p. 234.

§ Strauss, “New Life of Jesus,” E. Tr. vol. i. p. 168.

be any companion of Paul alive and composing books."

"The first testimony in favour of the Lukan origin of the Acts" (I presume Zeller means "testimony in favour of St. Luke being the author of the Acts") "is a full century later than the presumptive date of its composition; its mere existence cannot be proved till the year 170, and that of the Third Gospel cannot be followed up further than Justin and Marcion" (A.D. 140).*

"We must go as far as the beginning of the second century, or perhaps one or two decades further, for the origin of the Gospel;" *i.e.*, the Gospel according to St. Luke was not written till 101-120 A.D. †

"We cannot well go further than A.D. 130 for the composition of the Acts." ‡

"Much rather . . . is it probable that it was written some years before the last date, somewhat betwixt A.D. 110 and A.D. 125." §

You know that tradition, however venerable, counts for very little in this last quarter of the nineteenth century; and even if we admit (as Strauss and Zeller do *not* admit) that St. Luke, the companion of St. Paul, wrote the Acts and the Third Gospel,

* Zeller, "Acts of the Apostles," vol. ii. p. 263. Sceptical writers, even down to our own day (*e.g.*, the author of "Supernatural Religion"), have tried hard to prove that our Gospel according to St. Luke was derived from that Gospel which the heretic Marcion used, and which was really nothing but a mutilated version of St. Luke (cf. Row, "Bampton Lectures," third edition, p. 269; Westcott, "History of the New Testament Canon," fifth edition, p. 315).

† *Ibid.*, p. 272.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

he may have written like Clement of Rome, another of St. Paul's companions, towards the close of the first century, thirty years after the death of St. Paul, and fifty or sixty after many of the events described; so that, therefore, we do not necessarily have any special guarantee as regards much of the matter related.

“That Jesus Christ lived, taught, and died, as the Gospel history tells, few will care to dispute. But when we come to details—to the miracles of his birth, life, and resurrection, to the equally stupendous miracle of his unique personality and character, to the supernatural in his teaching, and to the circumstances of the founding and diffusion of the Church, we are met with a searching demand for proof, *and anything which brings the life and works of Jesus Christ nearer to our historic consciousness, or which bears on the authenticity of our testimony to them, is INESTIMABLY IMPORTANT.*”* I think, therefore, that, by demonstrating that St. Paul was the author of the Acts, I shall supply just *THE missing link* which is so greatly needed to unite the Christ of the Gospels with the Christianity of the Epistles and the Church of to-day.

III. You will, therefore, agree with me both as to the desirability and the vital importance of showing, as I certainly can conclusively show from internal evidence, that the voice of ancient tradition is right when it asserts with Tertullian, “that some made St. Paul the author of his (*i.e.* St. Luke's) Gospel”; and with the writer of the Synopsis ascribed to Athanasius, that “the Gospel of Luke was dictated

* From a recent (1883) able review in the *Guardian*.

by the Apostle Paul, and written and published by the blessed Apostle and physician Luke"; and also that St. Chrysostom was an able and correct critic when he said that he "found in it the style of St. Paul";* and that even Marcion, the heretic, was not wholly in error when, by admitting into his Canon as "the Gospel"—his sole Gospel—a recension of St. Luke, "he claimed only to reproduce in its original simplicity the Gospel of St. Paul." †

Let me, before proceeding to give you the results of my own investigations, quote the opinions of some learned critics as to the similarity of the style and language of St. Luke compared with that of St. Paul. You will remember what I said just now on the authority of Bishop Wordsworth, ‡ "That the statements of Christian antiquity concerning St. Luke's connexion with St. Paul . . . are confirmed by the internal evidence presented by the Gospel of St. Luke." "As St. Paul . . . was eminently the Apostle of the Gentiles, so St. Luke . . . may be entitled the Evangelist of the heathen world" "It is his special purpose and fixed resolution, as it was of St. Paul, to preach Christ crucified. Christ the Sacrifice, Christ the Priest of the World is the central figure of his Gospel."

Dean Alford says (though I must not claim his authority for the authorship of St. Paul) §:—

"It is a remarkable coincidence that the account of

* Quoted by Townson, "Discourses on Gospels," vol. i. p. 35.

† Westcott, "History of the New Testament Canon," 5th ed., pp. 312–315.

‡ "Greek Testament," vol. i. pp. 157, 163.

§ "Greek Testament," vol. i., "Proleg.," pp. 42, 43.

the institution of the Lord's Supper should be nearly *verbatim* the same in Luke xxii. 19, and in 1 Cor. xi. 23."

"Doubtless we may trace a similar cast of mind and feeling in some instances, as, *e.g.*, Luke's carefulness to record the sayings of our Lord which were assertive of his unrestricted love for Jew and Gentile alike We may observe, too, that in Luke those parables and sayings are principally found which most directly regard the great doctrine of man's free justification by grace through faith." Surely *this* is the *special* doctrine of St. Paul,—a doctrine so important that Luther, as we know, held it to be the crucial test "stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ."

Dr. Townson observes *: "It was said of St. Luke by the ancients 'that he taught the Gospel which Paul preached'; and critics remark that there is often great affinity in their phrases, of which the account given by them of the institution of the Lord's Supper has frequently been brought as an example. A sentence is quoted as Scripture (1 Tim. v. 18), 'The labourer is worthy of his reward,' which we nowhere meet with precisely in these words, except Luke x. 7. The language of the precept in the next verse, 'Eat such things as are set before you,' is the same with that in 1 Cor. x. 27, 'Whatsoever is set before you eat.' Another instance of agreement in language is produced by Grotius on Luke xxi. 34, compared with 1 Thess. v. 3 (*αἰφνιδίως ἰφίσταται*)."

Bengel—"the admirable Bengel," as Archbishop

* "Discourses on the Gospels," ed. Churton, vol. i. p. 205.

Trench calls him, whose work Bishop Ellicott speaks of as being “marvellous in the fruitful brevity of its comments,”* and who is generally allowed *rem acu tetigisse*,—Bengel, speaking of the two whole years Paul was at Rome, says, that the Acts were written at that time “*diu ante martyrium Pauli, et sine dubio voluntate Pauli editus.*” And, on the preface to St. Luke’s Gospel, he says also, “*Ceterum excitatus Lucæ stilus, qui cum lætissimo Actorum argumento, exsecutionem Novi Testamenti complectentium, apprime convenit, ex multorum annorum consuetudine, quam cum Paulo Lucas coluit, nonnihil traxisse videtur.*”

I will only append the following remark by Dean Plumptre † in Bishop Ellicott’s “Commentary”:—“In the case of the Gospel of St. Luke, there is 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.”

You will say, perhaps, If this is acknowledged, why take any further trouble? You will recollect that Strauss and Zeller do *not* acknowledge this, and even Dean Plumptre himself says, “There is not the shadow of a trace in the Epistles that the writer had read the Acts. . . . 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;” ‡ and again: “It is probable that neither St. Luke nor St. Mark wrote his Gospel in its present form until

* Preface, “Introduction to the New Testament,” p. 5.

† “Introduction to the New Testament,” p. 147.

‡ “The Acts,” Bishop Ellicott’s “Commentary,” Introduction, p. 8.

the two great Apostles whom they served had entered into their rest.”*

You will see, therefore, that I am not wasting labour on a needless task in proposing to establish this point in opposition to Strauss and Zeller; and in endeavouring to prove more even than this, namely, that *St. Paul was the true author of the Third Gospel and of the Acts*, though Luke, as well, perhaps, as Mark, and Timothy, and others, may have acted as his amanuensis. The hand may be the hand of St. Luke, but the voice is the voice of St. Paul. I shall thus prove (in opposition to M. Renan, who says, “the twenty-first chapter of St. Luke, which is inseparable from the rest of the work, was certainly written after the siege of Jerusalem,” † that is, after A.D. 70), that the whole of St. Luke’s Gospel must have been written down before June, A.D. 68, if not, as seems most probable, before the end of A.D. 64; ‡ and I shall thus

* “St. Mark,” Bishop Ellicott’s “Commentary,” Introduction, p. 13.

† Quoted by Dr. Wace, “Authenticity of the Four Gospels,” p. 14.

‡ M. Renan says, “Hibbert Lectures,” p. 90: “Solid reasons lead us to believe that Paul also suffered martyrdom at Rome. It is, then, natural to refer his death also to the episode of July–August, A.D. 64,” *i.e.*, the first authorised persecution of the Christians by the Roman Government, which took place under Nero (Neander, “Church History,” vol. i. p. 130). “We can, without improbability, connect the deaths of the apostles Peter and Paul with the event just narrated,” *i.e.*, the persecution by Nero, A.D. 64. The prophecy in St. Luke xxi., as M. Renan points out, is “inseparable from the rest of the book,” and therefore must have been recorded in writing even before the Jewish War broke out in A.D. 65, when Gessius Florus was procurator of Judea, and Cestius Gallus governor of Syria (Kitto’s “Bible History of the Holy Land,” p. 491).

prove that the contents of St. Luke's Gospel come to us with the same weight of authority as any of St. Paul's Epistles,* and is, like them, stamped for all time for us Gentile Christians with the *imprimatur* of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, who had seen and conversed with Peter and John, the two pillars of the early Church, † chief of those twelve Apostles who were chosen by Christ Himself, and who had companied with Him, during His earthly life, all the time that the Lord went in and out among them. ‡

I greatly desire to remove this important matter from the uncertain and unstable ground of *tradition* and surmise, and to place it on the solid foundation of *scientifically demonstrated fact*.

In my next letter I will tell you something of the results of my own researches.

* Paley points out in St. Paul's writings, "the air of reality and business, as well as of seriousness and conviction, which pervades the whole . . . in almost every page the language of a mind actuated by real occasions, and operating upon real circumstances." — "Horæ Paulinæ," p. 366.

† Gal. ii. 9.

‡ Acts i. 21, 22.

LETTER II.

ON THE WORDS COMMON OR PECULIAR TO ST. LUKE, OR
THE ACTS, AND TO ST. PAUL.

LET me now set before you the result yielded by the process of verbal analysis.

There are about 1,750 distinct words in St. Luke. One-half of these—that is, 875 words—are actually to be found in the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul (for I do not for this purpose include the Epistle to the Hebrews). Every *second* word used in the Gospel according to St. Luke is a word used by St. Paul in one or more of his Epistles.

There are about 1,450 distinct words used in the Acts of the Apostles. About one-third, or 550, of these are to be actually found in the Epistles of St. Paul, which, it is needless to point out, did not exhaust his entire vocabulary. There are thus certainly fully 1,000 words,* perhaps more, to be found in St. Paul's Epistles, out of perhaps 2,750, which is probably rather over the number of distinct words in St. Luke and the Acts together. The inference is irresistible that, if 1,000 words—more than one out of every three employed in writing the history contained in St. Luke and the Acts—are actually to be found used by St. Paul in his extant Epistles—the inference

* Many of these 550 words, common to the Acts and St. Paul, previously occur in St. Luke, and are included in the 875 words mentioned above.

is irresistible, I say, that, did we possess a larger legacy of St. Paul's writings than his thirteen Epistles in which to search, we should find many of—most of—if not all, the others.

More than this, there are 50 words occurring in *both* St. Luke and the Acts, which cannot be found in any other portion of the New Testament except St. Paul's Epistles, such as *το σωτηριον, πρεσβυτεριον*—see Appendix II. (a). There are, in addition, 80 other words—Appendix II. (b)—in St. Luke, peculiar to St. Paul, making 130 words in St. Luke, only to be found in the New Testament in St. Paul's writings; while there are 89 other words (making nearly 140 words altogether) in the Acts peculiar to St. Paul—Appendix II. (c)—that is, a sum total of 220 words, in St. Luke and the Acts together, which St. Paul *alone* uses of all the New Testament writers. If we add to these 30 proper names peculiar to the Acts and St. Paul we have a grand total of 250 words used in St. Luke and the Acts, not only to be found in St. Paul's writings, but to be found *nowhere else* in the New Testament. There are, also, several words—see Appendix II. (d)—in St. Luke and in the Acts which are found nowhere else, but kindred forms of which are peculiar to St. Paul:—for instance, *συγκατατιθῆσθαι, ἐκμυκτηριζειν* (St. Luke); *συγκαταθῆσις* (St. Paul); *μυκτηριζῆσθαι* (St. Paul); *φιλοσοφος* (Acts); *κατανυσσειν* (Acts); *φιλοσοφία* (St. Paul); *κατανυξις* (St. Paul).*

* There are, moreover, other words used in St. Luke, or in the Acts, and by St. Paul, which are very noteworthy, though, perhaps, they may be found used once or twice by other New Testament writers, such as *παραδεισος* and *ὄλοκληρος*, both from the LXX.

I must call your attention here to three important words—

Some of these 250 words are somewhat rare or striking words (ὕπωπιαζειν, πληροφορειν, παραχειμαζειν, ζωγρειν), while many are important words—verbs—compound words; some, indeed, like συμπαραγινεσθαι, ἐπαναπαυεσθαι, συναντιλαμβανεσθαι, συμπαραλαμβανειν, συνευδοκειν, συνεκδημος (for which Plutarch is the only reference given in Liddell and Scott), being double compound words (rather condensed phrases than single words); while νομοδιδασκαλος, to be found both in St. Luke and the Acts, is, as far as I know, to be found in no other Greek writer *whatever*, besides St. Paul, and πρεσβυτεριον (from the Apocrypha, the History of Susanna), common to St. Luke and the Acts and to St. Paul, and εὐαγγελιστης, common to the Acts and to St. Paul, are words not to be found in any other Greek writer up to the end of the first century at least, and then only in ecclesiastical authors, who probably would derive them from St. Paul's writings.

Now let us turn to the particles, and first let me quote what a learned lady* has most truly stated in a little work of hers on some of the Hebrew Psalms:—

“The small particles are the best possible detectives of individuality with regard to authorship. Any

three of the principal verbs—κατηχειν, used in connexion with λογος, as in Galatians vi. 6, πληροφορειν, παρακολουθειν—in the four verses forming the preface to St. Luke (see Note A.), which are used by St. Paul alone of New Testament writers, the two latter within a dozen verses of each other in 2 Timothy, none of which occur in the LXX, except πληροφορειν, in Ecclesiastes once; κατηχειν being used by Philo, Josephus, and Plutarch; παρακολουθειν being found in Xenophon, 2 Maccabees, and Polybius.

* “A short Essay on Psalms IX.–X.,” by Mrs. Eliza Evans, p. 56.

author may borrow words, or use tropes which he has seen elsewhere; but the small *particles* will be *his own* which have been familiar to him from infancy, and which will unconsciously go with him to the grave.”

Bearing this in mind, let us examine the particles in this case. We find—Appendix I. (a)*—10 particles, or words used as particles, in both St. Luke and the Acts which are only to be found in St. Paul’s Epistles; 7 more peculiar to St. Luke and St. Paul; 11 others peculiar to the Acts and St. Paul, that is altogether 17 particles in St. Luke and 21 particles in the Acts peculiar to St. Paul, or, as 10 of these are common to both St. Luke and the Acts, 28 particles in the two works peculiar to St. Paul. How did these 28 particles peculiar to St. Paul creep into a work, the first part of which—St. Luke—expresses so fully the doctrinal views of St. Paul, and the second part of which—the Acts—gives so full and minute an account of the personal experiences, the sayings, doings, hopes, wishes, and fears, and even visions—the inner history—of St. Paul, the substantial truth of which can be easily tested by a comparison with his 13 extant Epistles, as Paley has done in his “*Horæ Paulinæ*” and Blunt in his “*Undesigned Coincidences*”? Can it be merely a strange chance that these doctrines and this history should be recorded by means of particles which immediately and irresistibly suggest the idea that *St. Paul himself* is the author?

As the Greek text of the New Testament varies

* There are fully sixty particles given in the Appendix common to St. Luke, or the Acts, and St. Paul; there are, doubtless, others, but these will suffice.

according to each editor's judgment, having never yet been satisfactorily or authoritatively settled, some slight deductions may have to be made from this total of the number of the particles; but not from their collective weight in argument. It will not invalidate the argument as to authorship, if we find that there are 25, or even only 20, such particles ("the best possible detectives as to the individuality of the author") which are used by St. Paul *alone*, and which are to be found in this work that has generally been more or less connected with St. Paul's name and influence. Some reasonable explanation must be given to account for the presence of these 20 particles *peculiar* to St. Paul. My explanation, which is very simple, is, that *St. Paul himself* placed them where they are.

Let me sum up the results we have obtained so far by verbal analysis. Every *second* word in St. Luke, and every *third* word in the Acts, is actually to be found in one or another of St. Paul's 13 Epistles; 1,000 words used in the narration of St. Luke and the Acts can be found to-day used by St. Paul in his Epistles, of these some are rare and compound words; 250 words in the two works are *peculiar* to St. Paul, and can be found in no other passage in the whole of the New Testament. There are 60 or more particles common to St. Luke, or the Acts, and to St. Paul; while at least 20 particles, the best and most marked proofs of an author's individuality, *peculiar* to St. Paul are used in the history of St. Luke and the Acts. Is not the only adequate, reasonable, and scientific explanation of these facts, *the authorship of St. Paul?*

Before bringing this letter to a close I should like to add a few words as to certain peculiarities common to St. Luke and St. Paul, some of which are not to be found elsewhere in the New Testament. I will only call your attention to the use of *εἰ* with the Subjunctive (St. Luke ix. 13; Phil. iii. 12), nowhere else in the New Testament*; to the use of *μεν* without a parallel clause with *δε* (Acts i. 1, and all through Acts, and Romans vii. 12, and four other places in Romans); *ἄρα* (in St. Luke xi. 48 and the Acts xi. 18), and *μενουυγε* (in St. Luke xi. 28), and both in St. Paul (Rom. x. 18; Gal. ii. 21), placed at the beginning of a clause, contrary to grammatical rules and general usage; *ἦ* for *μαλλον ἦ* (Luke xv. 7; 1 Cor. xiv. 19); *ἑωρακαν*, as in the LXX (St. Luke ix. 36, and Colossians ii. 1), from the old form *ἑωρακαντι*, for *ἑωρακασι*; the Ionic forms *κερδησας* (St. Luke ix. 25), *κερδησαι* (Acts xxvii. 21), *κερδησω* (1 Cor. ix. 19, 20); the Doric forms *ὀδυνᾶσαι* (Luke xvi. 25), *καυχᾶσαι* (Rom. ii. 17; 1 Cor. iv. 7); *ἕζησα*, "confined to later Greek" (Winer, p. 106), (Luke xv. 24; Romans vii. 9); *ἦμαρτησα*, the first aorist for the second (Luke xvii. 4; Rom. v. 14); *ἐβαρηθην* for *ἐβαρυνθην* (Luke xxi. 34; 2 Cor. i. 8); *ἔγγημα* (instead of *ἐγαμησα*, as in Matthew and Mark) (Luke xiv. 20; 1 Cor. vii. 9); *ὑπαρχων* used frequently by St. Paul and by St. Luke, but by no other Evangelist; add to these the frequent attraction of the relative, three times in St. Luke, seven times in the Acts, and seven times in St. Paul, while it occurs but once in St. Mark and twice in St. Matthew; and *προοριζειν* in the

* "As to the Attic usage, the general rule is that only *ἔαν* or *ἦν*, never *εἰ*, is used with the Subjunctive Mood."—*Liddell and Scott*, "Greek Lexicon," p. 358.

Active Voice, only found in the Acts and St. Paul, until Heliodorus, about A.D. 390.*

A study of these peculiarities, some of which no doubt are more striking than others, will at least not diminish our belief that St. Paul was the author of the complete history of the preaching and establishment of the Gospel and the kingdom of God, contained in St. Luke and the Acts.

In my next letter I shall examine the phrases of which St. Luke and the Acts are largely composed, and, I think, with the result of confirming this belief.

* Acts iv. 28 ; Rom. viii. 29, 30 ; 1 Cor. ii. 7 ; Eph. i. 5, 11.

LETTER III.

ON THE PHRASES COMMON OR PECULIAR TO ST. LUKE,
OR THE ACTS, AND TO ST. PAUL.

LET us now see what results an examination of the expressions and phrases in St. Luke and the Acts will yield. There are more than 100 phrases, 112 at least, common to St. Luke and St. Paul, and more than 100 other phrases also common to the Acts and St. Paul; that is, over 200 phrases in the two, St. Luke and the Acts, which same 200 phrases St. Paul makes use of in his Epistles. Thirty-four of these phrases in St. Luke and 16 of these phrases in the Acts, as arranged in Appendix III. (a) and (b), or 50 phrases in all, are common to *both* St. Luke and the Acts; so that fully 125 phrases in St. Luke and nearly 135 phrases in the Acts are to be found actually written in one or another of St. Paul's thirteen Epistles.*

* A few of the phrases are not identical, but present some features of similarity; and it is possible you may think that in a very few this similarity is scarcely sufficient to justify their insertion; though this is a matter of opinion.

Such are *περιτομή ὀκταήμερος* (Phil.),

περιτεμεῖν τῇ ὀγδοῇ ἡμέρᾳ (Luke);

and *διὰ τὸν ἐφεστῶτα ἕτερον* (Acts),

διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην (1 Corinthians).

In others the first person must be changed to the third, the singular to the plural, *ὁ Θεός* put for *ὁ Κυριός*, before the identity would be perfect. On the other hand, the list given does not claim to be an exhaustive one; indeed, I have discovered several additional phrases since the Appendix was printed.

It is true, indeed, that *all* these are not *peculiar* to St. Paul. For instance, St. Matthew uses *παρεχειν μοι κοπους*, and St. Mark, *ἡ βασιλεια του Θεου*, and St. John, *ἀπ' ἀρχης*;^{*} but there are 50 phrases in St. Luke and 60 in the Acts, that is, 110 phrases in St. Luke and the Acts together, which are *peculiar* to St. Paul, and to be found nowhere else in the New Testament. I leave the Epistle to the Hebrews out of these calculations altogether; in the present state of the case I am not justified in appealing to it as one of St. Paul's Epistles. There is, however, such a manifest connexion between the Epistle to the Hebrews and St. Luke and the Acts that there must have been some one mind at work in all three; and, if we can show that St. Paul wrote the Acts, this will also clear up the point which some dispute as to the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Such phrases are: *κατηχειν—λογος* (St. Luke, Gal.); *ὁ ἐργατης ἀξιος του μισθου αὐτου* (St. Luke and 1 Tim.); St. Matthew has a similar phrase with *της τροφης*, instead of *του μισθου*; *ἐν ὁσιοτητι και δικαιοσυνη* (St. Luke and Eph.); *τα παρατιθεμενα ὑμιν ἐσθιετε* (St. Luke and 1 Cor.); *αἰφυιδιος ἐφισταναι* (St. Luke and 1 Thess.); *ζεειν τῷ πνευματι* (Acts and Rom.); *ὁ Θεος—ἀνοιγειν—θυρα* (Acts and Col.); *Θεος, ὡ λατρευω* (Acts and Rom.); *παρισταναι—ζων* (Acts and Rom.); *ἀπο πρωτης ἡμερας* (Acts and Phil.); *πασα συνειδησις* (Acts and 2 Cor.); *δεχεσθαι τον λογον του Θεου* (Acts and 1 Thess.); *οἱ ἐκ περιτομης* (Acts and Gal.); *τελειν τον ὁρομον* (Acts and 2 Tim.). Some of these phrases, though not used by other New Testament writers, are perhaps proverbial

^{*} Some, like *ἀνοιγειν το στομα* and *ἀποδιδουαι λογον*, come from the LXX (*Schleusner*, "Lexicon Veteris Testamenti").

or common expressions; such as ὁ ἐργατης, &c.; ἐν ὀσιότητι, &c., from the Book of Wisdom; but others, such as αἰφνιδίως ἐφίσταναι; δεχέσθαι τον λογον του Θεου; ὁ Θεος—ἀνοίγειν—θυρα; οἱ ἐκ περιτομης; λαλεῖν γλωσσαις—προφητεύειν; τῷ πνευματι ζεῖν, are, to the best of my belief, phrases not to be found in *any other Greek writer whatever*, or only, long afterwards, in ecclesiastical authors.

And here I must call your especial attention to the phrase ἡ σοφία του Θεου (St. Luke xi. 49), which has so puzzled commentators, even Meyer, the prince of German commentators, whose remarks are generally considered so valuable, but who has given, according to Alford, the strangest solution of the difficulty. Alford says, “ἡ σοφία του Θεου εἶπεν here = ἐγὼ in St. Matthew” (that is, our Lord Himself). “Various explanations have been given. The difficulty is that no such passage* exists in the Old Testament.” Alford thinks that the true explanation is this: “The whole saying is a reference to 2 Chronicles xxiv. 18–22 (though only Olshausen and Stier have observed this), being not a citation but a paraphrase of verse 19, giving a true sense of what the Wisdom of God intended by it: ‘He sent prophets to them to bring them again to the Lord: and they testified against them, but they would not give ear.’” This, as it seems to me, does not at all explain how ἡ σοφία του Θεου = ἐγὼ, that is our Lord Himself, as seen by examining Matthew xxiii. 34; but to any one who remembers that St. Paul had spoken of God’s

* That is, no such words are to be found in the Old Testament as seem to be quoted in the remainder of verse 49, “I will send unto them prophets and apostles,” &c.

purpose in Christ as *ἡ σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ*, in Romans xi. 33,* and had preached Christ Himself as *Θεοῦ σοφία* (1 Cor. i. 24), it does not seem at all wonderful that St. Paul, speaking of what our Lord had said on this important occasion, should have given Him the title which was *especially* appropriate—namely, “The Wisdom of God.”

That this is the true solution of the difficulty is confirmed by the fact that in the account of our Lord’s performing a notable miracle in the presence of the Pharisees and others “who were come out of every town of Galilee, and Judæa, and Jerusalem,” the Evangelist is careful to tell us beforehand (St. Luke v. 17) that “the power of the Lord” was present to heal them, thus giving the corresponding half of St. Paul’s phrase in 1 Cor. i. 24, where he says that, though the Jews demanded a sign, Christ is “the Power of God and the Wisdom of God.” Where Christ is working miracles before the unbelieving Pharisees there is the Power of God manifestly working, and where Christ is rebuking the Pharisees and Scribes for their sin and unbelief there is the Wisdom of God speaking. The Evangelist exactly reflects the mind of St. Paul. Why? *Because the Evangelist is St. Paul himself.* We may compare also Luke iv. 32, Acts viii. 10, and 1 Cor. i. 18.

If we find in an important work, containing an elaborate history of a world-wide movement, with the most minute details concerning one man, St. Paul, who may truly have said respecting the matters

* Compare Eph. iii. 5, 10, written by St. Paul at Rome, where *ἡ σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ* and *ἀποστολοι και προφηται* are to be found, as here (St. Luke xi.), in close connexion.

recorded, “*quorum pars magna fui*,”—if we find used in this history 200 phrases of this man who filled so *unique* a position—used, too, to express his doctrinal views and opinions—is it mere credulity to suppose that this narrative must have come from his mind, if not from his hand? If St. Paul had chosen to write such a history, what particles, words, and phrases could he have used but those which we find used? And is it not more likely that St. Paul would have written the history of his own life-work than St. Luke or any one else? In a word, could St. Paul have given any friend the loan or legacy of those 100 phrases *peculiar* to himself—to write an important and minutely-detailed history, of which St. Paul himself is the Hero? * We need not apply Bishop Butler’s canon here, unless there were two St. Pauls working and writing in that age (and St. Paul is, perhaps, excepting our Lord, the most *unique* character in all history, as the book of the Acts, all things considered, is the most *unique* work which antiquity has bequeathed to us).

The writer of the history of St. Paul in the Acts, who uses the phrases St. Paul uses in his Epistles, can have been no other than St. Paul himself.

* Acts xiii.—xxviii.

LETTER IV.

ON THE FIGURES OF SPEECH COMMON OR PECULIAR TO
ST. LUKE, OR THE ACTS, AND TO ST. PAUL.

Now let us go on to examine the various figures of speech. There are fully thirty-five different figures of speech * common to St. Luke, or the Acts, and to St. Paul. Twelve of these figures are common to *both* St. Luke and the Acts, and to St. Paul, namely, Hendiadys, Paronomasia, Litotes, Metonymia, Syntheton, Hypallage, Oxymoron, Ethos, Pleonasmus, Parelkon, Emphasis, and Euphemia. Two of the most important and marked of these figures, namely, Hendiadys and Oxymoron, are *peculiar* to St. Luke and the Acts, and to St. Paul, and occur nowhere else in the New Testament.

Let us begin with Paronomasia, one form of which, a play of words of similar sound or derivation, is, as Archdeacon Farrar says, St. Paul's most frequent rhetorical figure—a figure of which he makes most remarkable use—there are fully a dozen instances of this in his Epistles. Let me point out one in 2 Cor. iii. 2:—

St. Paul writes, *γνωσκομενη και αναγνωσκομενη*. Is nothing suggested as to the authorship of the Acts by finding the very same instance of Paronomasia,

* There are "upwards of 50 specimens of upwards of 30 Greek rhetorical figures in St. Paul."—*Farrar*, "St. Paul," vol. i. p. 630, Appendix.

γνωσκεις ἃ ἀναγνωσκεις, in Acts viii. 30? Were there, then, two men going about the world in that age both interested in the spread of the Gospel, both thoroughly acquainted with Judaism, both familiar with the innermost circumstances of St. Paul's history, and *both* using the figure Paronomasia and this very same instance of it? On which side is the balance of probability here? Would not Bishop Butler say, on the side of St. Paul being the author of the Acts? Again, what is simply λιμοι in St. Matt. xxiv. 7 becomes λιμοι και λοιμοι in Luke xxi. 11. Other instances in St. Paul are to be found in Rom. i. 20, 29, 30; v. 19; 1 Cor. vii. 31; 2 Cor. iv. 8; v. 4.

An instance of Hendiadys* occurs in Luke vi. 48, ἐσκαπτε και ἐβαθυνε—he “dug *and* deepened,” instead of “he dug deep.” It is worth noticing that another instance in Acts xxiii. 6, περι ἐλπιδος και ἀναστασεως νεκρων, occurs in a *speech* of St. Paul's; and, indeed, there are one or two other instances of such figures, as well as of phrases, used by St. Paul in his Epistles, occurring in his speeches in the Acts. Take, for example, ζωην και πνοην in St. Paul's address at Athens (Acts xvii. 25), which seems to be an instance of both Paronomasia and Hendiadys combined; for ζωην και πνοην clearly = πνοην ζωης in Gen. ii. 7. For instances of Hendiadys in St. Paul let me refer you to Rom. ii. 20, 27; Eph. vi. 18; Col. ii. 8; and especially Col. ii. 5, χαιρων και βλεπων ὑμων την ταξιιν, “rejoicing *and* beholding your order,” instead of “rejoicing at beholding, &c.” No forger

* “Hendiadys (vel ἐν δια ἔνοιᾳ) est figura grammatica syntactica quando unum per duo enuntiatur.”—*Bengel*, “Gnomon,” ed. Steudel, Index iv. p. 1097.

could have inserted these examples of Hendiadys in St. Luke and the Acts so naturally, even if he had thought of doing so, and what friend or disciple of St. Paul could have penned them so well and so naturally as St. Paul himself?

Oxymoron * is another figure of speech in which St. Paul delights to express his breathing thoughts, † *θανατουμενοι και ιδου ζωμεν* (2 Cor. vi. 9); *ζωσα τεθνηκεν* (1 Tim. v. 6; see also Rom. i. 20). Is it not strange to find a most marked instance of it in the Acts (v. 41) in connexion with the first opposition and persecution on preaching the Gospel—*χαιροντες οτι κατηξιωθησαν ατιμασθηναι*—“rejoicing that they were accounted *worthy* to suffer *shame* for Christ’s sake”? Again, in Luke ii. 34, Bengel finds “insigne oxymoron.”

We find an instance of Zeugma ‡ in St. Luke i. 64, his mouth was *opened* and his *tongue*, a figure used by St. Paul (1 Cor. iii. 2), *γαλα υμας εποτισα, ου βρωμα*, “I have fed you with (*literally*, given you to *drink*) milk not *meat*.”

We find an instance of Anakoluthon § in St. Luke xxi. 6, *ταυτα α θεωρειτε, ημεραι ελευσονται*, and compare Rom. viii. 3, *το γαρ αδυνατον του νομου, ο Θεος πεμψας, &c.*

* “Oxymoron, a witty saying, the more pointed from being absurd or paradoxical, as *strenua inertia*.”—*Liddell and Scott*, “Greek Lexicon,” fifth edition, p. 1001.

† There are at least ten instances of this figure (Oxymoron) in St. Paul’s Epistles.

‡ “Zeugma, a figure of speech, wherein two subjects *are used jointly* with the same predicate, which strictly belongs only to one.”—*Liddell and Scott*, “Greek Lexicon,” p. 579.

§ “An Anakoluthon, where the construction of the sentence changes, and becomes ungrammatical.”—*Ibid.*, p. 89.

It is not, perhaps, necessary to do more than to give you the references * for the remaining figures of speech:—

6. Allegory (Acts xx. 29; Rom. vi. 23).
7. Hyperbole (Luke xviii. 5; 1 Cor. xv. 52).
8. Hypallage (Acts v. 20; Rom. vii. 24; Acts vi. 6; Luke xvii. 2; Rom. x. 14).
9. Periphrasis (Luke ii. 11; 1 Thess. iv. 12).
10. Antithesis (Luke ii. 14; Rom. viii. 5).
11. Litotes (Luke xvii. 9; Acts xxvi. 19; Philemon, verse 11).
12. Parenthesis (Acts i. 15; 1 Tim. v. 23).
13. Aposiopæsis (Luke xix. 42; Rom. vii. 24).
14. Metonymia (Luke iv. 23; Acts xxvii. 9; 2 Cor. xi. 10).
15. Concisa Locutio (Luke i. 35; 1 Thess. v. 19; Luke iv. 1, 2; Rom. i. 8).
16. Climax (Acts xxiii. 6; Rom. i. 23).
17. Anakephalaiosis (Acts vii. 1; Rom. viii. 30).
18. Antonomasia (Acts iii. 14; Eph. i. 6).
19. Ellipsis (Luke xv. 7; 1 Cor. xiv. 19).
20. Anaphora (Acts xx. 22-25; 1 Cor. iii. 9).
21. Chiasmus (Acts xx. 21; Rom. ix. 24).
22. Syntheton (Luke i. 75; Acts vii. 22; Gal. v. 22).
23. Ampliatio or Prolepsis (Luke ii. 11; 1 Cor. xiv. 22).
24. Asyndeton (Luke i. 17; 1 Cor. xiii. 4).
25. Communicatio (Acts iv. 19; 1 Cor. vi. 2).
26. Anantapodoton (Luke xiii. 9; Rom. ix. 22).
27. Antiphrasis (Acts xxvii. 8, 12; 1 Cor. viii. 10).

* These may be found in Bengel, "Gnomon," fifth edition, by J. Steudel, "Index Terminorum Technicorum," p. 1087.

28. Parelkon (Luke xii. 37; Acts xvi. 3; 1 Cor. vi. 15).
29. Catachresis (Luke xi. 8; xvi. 8; Rom. iii. 27).
30. Ethos (Luke x. 29; Acts xxi. 39; 2 Cor. vii. 8, 12).
31. Emphasis (Luke ii. 48; Acts xv. 18; 1 Cor. vii. 22).
32. Epitasis (Acts vii. 5; 2 Cor. iii. 5).
33. Euphemia (Luke vii. 35; Acts ii. 39; Rom. i. 17).
34. Pleonasmus (Luke xviii. 34; Phil. i. 23).
35. Synecdoche (Luke ii. 11; Rom. vii. 1).

Dean Howson mentions among St. Paul's characteristic Metaphors those referring to the athletic games and to architecture—building.*

We find a Metaphor relating to the athletic games in Acts xx. 24, as well as one relating to building, Acts xx. 32, both of which occur in St. Paul's speech to the Ephesian elders; and the Metaphor of "finishing the course" is also to be found in St. Paul's sermon, recorded in Acts xiii.

I may add that St. Paul uses the Metaphor of "an open door" in 1 Cor. xvi. 9; 2 Cor. ii. 12; and Colossians iv. 3; and the same Metaphor is to be found in Acts xiv. 27 (*not* in a *speech* of St. Paul).

These, perhaps, suffice to show that just the same figures of speech which St. Paul freely used in his Epistles occur in other writings—St. Luke and the Acts—which, if there is any force in argument, any weight in accumulated probability, *must* also have been the work of St. Paul himself.

* Appendix VIII., Paley's "Horæ Paulinæ," p. 442.

LETTER V.

ON THE PARALLELISM IN THE ACTS BETWEEN ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL, AND, ESPECIALLY, ON THE PARALLELISM BETWEEN THE HISTORY OF CHRIST, AS RECORDED IN THE THIRD GOSPEL, AND THE HISTORY OF ST. PAUL, AS RECORDED IN THE ACTS.

BISHOP LIGHTFOOT, of Durham, says: *—"A rough parallelism between the career of the two (St. Peter and St. Paul) reveals itself in the narrative (of the Acts of the Apostles) when carefully examined."

I doubt, however, if the parallelism is not more exact and finely drawn out than the Bishop indicates by the epithet "rough." Dr. E. Zeller says: †—"In this narrative (the Acts of the Apostles) there exists, in the first place, the most remarkable harmony between the actions and destinies of St. Peter and the older Apostles on the one side, and of St. Paul on the other: the two parts are not only similar in the description of their miraculous works

(see chap. ii. 43, compared with chap. xviii. 12;

„ v. 16, „ „ xix. 11;

„ viii. 6 f., „ „ xxviii. 9);

but there is also no species of miracle performed by

* "The Epistle to the Galatians," p. 342 (4th edition).

† "The Contents and Origin of the Acts Critically Investigated," vol. ii. p. 115 (Eng. Tr.).

Peter in the first part which is not attributed to Paul in the second.”

“If Peter opens his miraculous activity (iii. 2) with the healing of the man lame from his birth, Paul’s first miracle of healing (xiv. 8) is likewise a *χλωος ἐκ κοιλίας μητρος αὐτου* Of the Pauline (xiii. 6 ff. compare xix. 13 ff.), as of the Petrine (v. 1 ff.) judicial miracles, the Acts relate one example.”

“*The parallelism of the Pauline and Petrine miracles must, therefore, be at any rate regarded as his own work,*”—that is, the work of the actual author of the Acts, as distinguished from materials supplied by tradition.

“*The author, whatever part of the material he may have derived from tradition, must have made his selection from a definite point of view.**”

“As Paul is in no way behind Peter in the glory conferred by miracles, so are Peter and the primitive community in no degree inferior to Paul in sufferings and adversities; so that this parallel likewise must be essentially laid to the charge, not of history or tradition, but of our author.

“If Paul is cast into prison and brought to judgment, the same occurred first to Peter and John (chap. iv.), then to all the Apostles (chap. v. 17 ff.), and again to Peter alone.

“If Paul received stripes at Philippi, the primitive Apostles received them previously at Jerusalem.

“If Paul was stoned, so was Stephen stoned to death.

“If the Apostles of Palestine were the object of a

* The Italics are not in Zeller.

special divine providence, Paul enjoys it to a no less extent.

“Paul’s career is not more full of sufferings, not less marked by divine providences, than is that of Peter and his associates.” Again : *—

“The Pauline speech, which contains the most minute development of doctrine, so much resembles the earlier addresses of Peter and Stephen that we were obliged to acquiesce in the opinion of those who regard it only as an echo of those discourses.”

However objectionable and offensive may be the tone and spirit of Zeller’s remarks, and whatever may be the explanation, the fact he points out cannot be gain-said, though a good many persons, and even ministers of the Gospel, must have read the Acts without noticing it; when, however, it has been once pointed out, no one can shut his eyes to the fact that there *is* a distinct parallelism running through the Acts drawn by the author between St. Peter and St. Paul, in order to show that they *both* preach the *same* Gospel, and with *equal* authority.

To the above instances of parallelism I would add :—(1) That St. Peter’s denial of Christ, and our Lord’s commission to him (recorded by St. Luke alone, xxii. 32) to strengthen his brethren when converted himself (*ἐπιστρεφεῖν*), corresponds to St. Paul’s denial of Christ, evidenced by the persecution of His disciples before his own conversion, and previously to receiving *his* commission to be a witness for Christ to the Gentiles (as related in Acts viii. and ix.); † and,

* Zeller, vol. ii. p. 123.

† The marked parallelism in the words of St. Peter at Jerusalem on this occasion (recorded in this particular form by St. Luke

(2) That, whereas up to the time of the ordination of the Apostles,* St. Peter is known by his Jewish name of Simon only, afterwards all through Luke from that time (Luke vi.) except in the case just alluded to above, when our Lord addressed him familiarly and solemnly, as “Simon, Simon” (and compare as parallel to this the “Saul, Saul” of Acts ix. 4), he is known by a changed name, Peter; and similarly St. Paul is spoken of by his Jewish name of Saul till he is ordained to the Apostleship of the Gentiles (Acts xiii.); † thenceforward he is always known as Paul. These two instances go far to support the idea that Luke and Acts form one complete work, one organic whole in the mind of the writer.

If you will consult “*Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne*” of Professor Reuss, ‡ you will find the same parallelism pointed out with more brevity and better taste. I will quote a sentence or two:—

“Il est impossible que le lecteur ne soit pas frappé de ce parallélisme, et n’en reçoive l’impression d’une parfaite égalité des deux apôtres au point de vue de l’autorité ecclésiastique; il est donc naturel que nous

alone), and the words of St. Paul, as he was about to make his last journey to Jerusalem, can scarcely be undesigned on the part of the writer:—

St. Peter.

Lord, I am ready to go with Thee, both into prison, and to death (Luke xxii. 33). Cf. L. v. 8, and 1 T. i. 15 (ἀμαρτωλος).

* See Zeller, vol. ii. p. 242.

† Σιμωνα ὄν και ὠνομασε Πετρον (Luke vi. 14); Σαυλος δε, ὁ και Παυλος (Acts xiii. 9).

‡ Vol. ii. pp. 332, 333.

St. Paul.

I am ready, not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus (Acts xxi. 13).

suppositions à l'auteur l'intention de produire cette impression."

And again :—

"On y verra (dans l'histoire) qu'il écrit principalement pour un public prévenu contre l'un des deux chefs de l'Église [*i.e.*, St. Paul] et dont il veut corriger les préjugés."

"La narration de Luc s'applique donc à faire ressortir surtout des traits de la vie publique qui constatent son attachement personnel aux devoirs religieux de sa nation, et à le justifier ainsi de l'accusation d'apostasie prononcée contre lui avec acharnement."

As to the fact, then, of the intentional parallelism between Peter and Paul in the author's mind, there can be no doubt and no disputing.

Having thus established clearly, as I think you will be ready to allow, that the author of the Acts had in his mind the idea, which he does not openly express in so many words, of drawing a complete and minute parallel between St. Paul and St. Peter with the intention of leaving on the reader's mind the impression that St. Paul was not one whit behind St. Peter or any other of the very chiefest Apostles*; having established the fact of a distinct and intentional, but yet not openly expressed, parallelism in the Acts concerning St. Paul and St. Peter (which in itself is *a weighty fact* in support of the authorship of St. Paul), † I propose to point out now that there is another just as distinct and intentional, and yet not openly expressed, parallelism drawn by the author of St. Luke and the Acts between St. Paul in the Acts and our Lord Himself in the Third Gospel. These can be best traced in the Greek

* 2 Cor. xi. 5.

† Cf. Gal. ii. 7, 8.

original, and for this I must refer you to Appendix B*; but something can be gathered even from the English version. I must, first, however, draw your attention to the general parallelism consisting in the facts narrated that St. Paul, following the example of our Lord,—

1. Went about preaching in the synagogues the Gospel, teaching the Word of God, and proclaiming the Kingdom of God (Luke iv. 15, 16; Acts xvii. 1–3; xviii. 4);

2. Worked miracles, and, especially,

3. Laid hands on the sick and healed them (Luke iv. 40; Acts xxviii. 8–10).

4. He was opposed, and persecuted, and rejected by his own countrymen, the Jews, especially by the chief priests and the rulers of the people, even from the commencement of his preaching at Damascus, as our Lord had been almost from the beginning of His ministry at Nazareth (Luke iv. 28, 29; Acts ix. 23).

5. He was so opposed and persecuted in preaching the Gospel and trying to bring the Jews to repentance, to give them a blessing, and to do them the greatest good possible.

6. In spite of opposition the word preached spread (Luke xii. 1; xiii. 17; xix. 37; Acts vi. 7; xix. 20).

7. This persecution culminated in a plot to put him to death (Luke xxii. 2; Acts xxiii. 12–14).

8. St. Paul, as well as our Lord, being under the protection of the Romans, the Jews made accusations with a view to effect their purpose (Luke xxiii. 1, 2; Acts xxiv. 2, 3; xxv. 24).

9. The ultimate scene of this persecution was

Jerusalem, the capital of the Jews—the holy city (Luke xix. 47; Acts xxi. 30, 36).

10. St. Paul, as well as Christ, went up to Jerusalem to meet what should befall him, knowing beforehand what awaited him (St. Luke xviii. 31–33; Acts xxi. 11). This marked parallelism is rendered more complete by:—

11. The seizure at Jerusalem by the Jews (Luke xxii. 47–52; Acts xxi. 27–30).

12. The expostulation with the multitude (Luke xxii. 52, 53; Acts xxi. 40; xxii.).

13. The appearance before the High Priest (Luke xxii. 54, 66; Acts xxiii. 1–5).

14. The appearance before the Roman governor, the accusation being substantially the same, (1) perverting the people, (2) stirring up sedition, (3) claiming sovereignty for Christ in opposition to Cæsar (Luke xxiii. 1, 2; Acts xxiv. 1, 2, 5, cf. Acts xvii. 7).

15. The appearance by order of the governor before one of the Herods.

16. The delivering up to the Roman soldiers (Luke xxiii. 25, 36; Acts xxvii. 1).

The following are the more strictly verbal parallelisms:—

St. Luke (of Christ).

The Acts (of St. Paul).

1. Christ frequented the Temple.
They found him in the Temple
(Luke ii. 46).*

St. Paul frequented the Temple
And *they neither found me in*
the Temple disputing, &c. (Acts
xxiv. 12, *i.e.*, Paul was found in
the Temple, but not disputing).

2. Christ taught in the syn-
agogues on the Sabbath.

St. Paul taught in the syn-
agogues on the Sabbath.

* See Note C., VI., page 99.

And, as his custom (*ειωθος*) was, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath-day (Luke iv. 16).

3. Christ laid hands on the sick and healed them.

He laid his hands on every one of them and healed them (Luke iv. 40).

4. And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it (Luke xxii. 19).

5. Christ in imminent peril of death at the hands of the Jews at Nazareth, escapes the peril.

They rose up, and thrust him out of the city, . . . that they might cast him down headlong (Luke iv. 29).

6. For he shall be delivered unto the Gentiles (Luke xviii. 32).

7. The chief of the people sought to destroy him (Luke xix. 47).

At Jerusalem.

8. They sought (*ζητειν*) to destroy him (Luke xix. 47).

9. The Jews stood and vehemently accused him before Herod (Luke xxiii. 10).

10. Those about him (our Lord) (Luke xxii. 49).

11. I have found no fault in this man (Luke xxiii. 14).

And Paul, as his manner (*ειωθος*) was, went into the synagogue, and three Sabbath-days, &c. (Acts xvii. 2).

St. Paul laid hands on the sick and healed them.

Paul laid his hands on him and healed him (Acts xxviii. 8).

He took bread and gave thanks to God in presence of them all, and when he had broken it he began to eat (Acts xxvii. 35).

St. Paul, in imminent peril of death at the hands of the Jews from Antioch, who came to Lystra, escapes the peril.

Having stoned Paul, they drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead (Acts xiv. 19).

They shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles (Acts xxi. 11).

The chief of the Jews informed him against Paul, laying wait in the way to kill him (Acts xxv. 2, 3).

At Jerusalem (or Cæsarea).

And as they went about (*ζητειν*) to kill him (Acts xxi. 31).

The Jews who came down from Jerusalem laid many and grievous complaints against Paul before Festus (Acts xxv. 7).

Paul and his company (Acts xiii. 13). See p. 120, No. 9.

We find no evil in this man (Acts xxiii. 9).

Pilate, the Roman governor, says:—

12. *Nothing worthy of death has been done by him* (Luke xxiii. 15).

The cry of the multitude:—

13. *Away with this man* (Luke xxiii. 18).

14. He delivered Jesus to their will (Luke xxiii. 25, 36).

15. And there followed him a great company of people (Luke xxiii. 27).

16. Christ quotes Isaiah vi. 9, 10, in Luke viii.

17. Charge made against our Lord (only recorded by St. Luke):—

1. Forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar.

2. Saying that He Himself is Christ a King (Luke xxiii. 2).

18. Our Lord says of Himself:—

Thus it behoved Christ (ὁ Χριστός) to suffer (Luke xxiv. 26).

Festus, the Roman governor, says:—

When I found that he had committed nothing worthy of death. (Acts xxv. 25).

The cry of the multitude:—

Away with such a fellow from the earth (Acts xxii. 22).

They delivered Paul unto a centurion (Acts xxvii. 1).

For the multitude of the people followed after (Acts xxi. 36).*

St. Paul quotes Isaiah vi. 9, 10, in Acts xxviii.

Charge made against St. Paul and his fellow-workers:—

1. These all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar.

2. Saying that there is another King, one Jesus (Acts xvii. 7).

St. Paul says of Christ:—

Christ (ὁ Χριστός) must needs have suffered (Acts xvii. 3).

We may easily discern from these parallel quotations how skilfully the author has inwrought into his narrative the facts that:—1. St. Paul preached the same Gospel as Christ. 2. He was charged with the same offences. 3. He was equally innocent. 4. He was equally persecuted.

These, with one or two exceptions, relate to the closing scenes at Jerusalem. It is, you will grant,

* This refers to an earlier episode, when St. Paul was first seized at Jerusalem, and No. 10 to his first missionary journey.

quite impossible that the writer of St. Luke and the Acts, who did draw such a close parallel between Peter and Paul without telling his readers that he was going to do so, can have drawn such a marked parallel, both in general experiences and in verbal expressions, between St. Paul and our Lord without being himself conscious that he had done so. This is utterly inconceivable and impossible in a work which shows such a decided selection of particular matters for narration out of the general mass of materials, and which displays so much literary self-consciousness as St. Luke and the Acts (see Luke i. 1-4; Acts i. 1).* The writer must have known, when he recorded that Festus said that "Paul had committed nothing worthy of death," that that was exactly the decision of Pilate with regard to Christ, which he had already recorded at the end of his *πρωτος λογος*, or first section of his work; and when he wrote of the multitude at Jerusalem saying of Paul, *αιρε αυτον*, he could not have forgotten that he had already written *αιρε τουτον* as the cry of the multitude at Jerusalem in rejecting Christ; and, even granting that some of these expressions are chance coincidences of language (though it is strange that they occur with regard to St. Paul, and not with regard to St. Peter, or St. John, or St. James, or any one else mentioned in the Acts), the remaining verbal parallelisms,—namely, those numbered 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18,—are altogether too clear, emphatic, and pronounced to be set aside as similar

* "The Gospel of St. Luke is the work of an author who chooses, curtails, and combines."—*M. Renan*, quoted by Dr. Wace, "Authenticity of the Four Gospels," p. 14. "St. Luke is a consummate painter in language."—*Bishop Wordsworth*, "Greek Testament," fourth edition, "Introduction to St. Luke's Gospel," p. 161, note 9.

expressions used by the writer quite unconsciously. The author who, of set purpose and with so much skill, drew so close a parallel between the sayings and doings of St. Paul and St. Peter, could not by any possibility have used these expressions in the Acts regarding St. Paul, which correspond almost word for word with the expressions he had previously used regarding our Lord, without knowing that he had done so, and without having intended to do so.

I have said that the chief verbal parallelisms belong to the closing scenes of our Lord's life and to St. Paul's last visit to Jerusalem. They form part of the account of the sufferings of Christ and of the persecutions Paul endured for Christ's sake.

Now, what man was it (living within 100 years of our Lord's death) who was most greatly interested in introducing into a history of St. Paul this parallelism—this half-hidden, and yet deliberately-designed parallelism—between St. Paul and Christ? What man *could* this be but St. Paul himself?

Why should Luke, years after Paul was dead and gone, have taken the trouble to leave this subtle evidence on the reader's mind, that St. Paul was a true disciple of the Lord, taking up his cross and following after Christ, ready to lose his own life for Christ's sake and the Gospel's?

St. Paul, a prisoner in chains, accused by his own fellow-countrymen, regarded with suspicion and dislike by many of his fellow-Christians, had the best of reasons for wishing to offer such an admirable defence of his own conduct and actions in answer to his bitter opponents and merciless persecutors.*

But St. Luke could have had no object in writing

* Acts xxviii. 15, compared with Gal. v. 11 and Col. iv. 10, 11.

thus after St. Paul's martyrdom, when he might so easily and naturally have expressed freely, in bold, emphatic words, his opinion of, and his love and admiration for, his great leader.

St. Paul had these very ideas in his mind at the time he was a prisoner at Rome—just at the very time when there seems every reason to believe the Acts must have been written. St. Paul had previously said to the Corinthians (it was one of his most firmly-rooted thoughts, and occurs in more than one of his Epistles):—

1. "Be ye followers of me, as I am of Christ" (*μιμηται*) = imitators (1 Cor. xi. 1)—and to the Galatians,

2. "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus," (*στιγματα*) = the scars of his wounds received in the service of Christ his Master, these *στιγματα* being the marks usually branded on slaves at that time to indicate ownership (Gal. vi. 17).

Especially notice this that was written from Rome.

3. "That I may know Him (Christ), and *the fellowship of His sufferings*, being made conformable to His death" (Phil. iii. 10); and

4. "To me to live is Christ" (Phil. i. 21; see also Phil. iii. 7–14). And

5. "I, Paul, now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind (lacking) of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for His body's sake, which is the Church" (Col. i. 24).

6. See also 1 Thess. i. 6, compared with ch. ii. 14–16.

St. Paul at that time was the only person, as far as we know, who wrote in so many words that he desired and rejoiced to imitate Christ, even in the experience

and fellowship of His sufferings. And St. Paul was the one person who had the strongest motive for presenting his life and conduct in this light as a true and faithful disciple and follower of Christ. The Acts give the most minute and detailed personal history of St. Paul, to the exclusion of most of the other Apostles; and in the Acts, this history in which St. Paul is chief actor, we have this singular vein of distinct parallelism (by a writer who has been shown to use such a delicate, unavowed, and yet intentional system of parallelism), which compares St. Paul's experiences—especially his experiences of persecution and suffering—to our Lord's own experiences, and sometimes in the very identical words used about Christ.

If these facts are fairly and fully considered, in addition to the other many proofs, no one can deny that *only* St. Paul *could* have been the author of this remarkable work, the Third Gospel and the Acts.

I will only add that this alone clearly establishes the fact, as it seems to me, that St. Luke and the Acts form one history—one complete whole, one organic conception in the mind of the writer *; and, therefore, St. Luke, *ὁ πρῶτος λόγος*, and the Acts, *ὁ δευτερός λόγος*, were written at the same period, and are two sections or volumes of one history—the history of the rise and progress of the kingdom of God, from the time of John the Baptist to the time that St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, was teaching and preaching the Gospel of the Grace of God at Rome, the capital and centre of the world, *ἀκωλύτως*, no man forbidding him,—as Bengel expresses it, *Paulus Romæ apex Evangelii*.

* The Acts are not the Appendix to St. Luke, but St. Luke is the Introduction to the Acts.

LETTER VI.

ON THE GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ST. LUKE AND
THE ACTS.

I WILL briefly append some further considerations, although, after the direct evidence,—the stubborn facts—already adduced, you will agree with me that this is quite a work of supererogation.

1. The Acts of the Apostles (which is the continuation of the Third Gospel) is evidently written by a Jew. It is equally evident that it was written for the use and on behalf of Gentile readers.*

The writer continually expresses himself in the words and phrases of the Jewish Scriptures, the LXX version; as, for instance, the following:—*ἐγένετο*, it came to pass; *κληθῆναι*, to be called = to be; *εὑρέθηναι*, to be found = to be; *ἤρξατο*, before another verb; the use of *ἀναστας* before another verb; the use of the participle with the auxiliary verb *εἰμι*—in the place of a finite verb; the use of *ἐν τῷ* with the infinitive instead of a conjunction with the proper mood; and the frequent formula, *ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπε*, even where there is no previous question; the use of *ὀνόματα*, names (Acts i. 15) as equivalent to persons † (as in Rev. iii. 4; cf. Numbers i. 2; xxvi. 53); the use of *ὁ ὑψιστος*

* See Luke v. 30; vii. 3; xix. 29—"the mount called the Mount of Olives"; xxii. 1, 7; xxiii. 51—"a city of the Jews"; Acts i. 19; xiii. 45, 46; xx. 3; xxviii. 28. See also paragraph 6 below.

† Hartwell Horne, "Compendious Introduction to the Study of the Bible," p. 82.

(St. Luke vi. 35; Acts vii. 48) as equivalent to ὁ Θεός (as in the Psalms and elsewhere in the LXX.); δασωσι, no nom. expressed, “they” shall give; στομα μαχαίρας, the *edge* of the sword; προσωπον της γης, the *face* of the earth; υἱος ειρηνης, a *son* of peace; φοβαν ἐφοβηθησαν, ἐπιθυμια ἐπεθυμησα, ἀπειλη ἀπειλησομεθα, μενον ἐμενε, παραγγελια παρηγγελιαμεν, διαθηκην διεθετο, οὐ παν ῥημα, = nothing;* και = ך, the Hebrew Vau (Luke xxiv. 18; cf. Isaiah v. 4); also twice so used in St. John’s Gospel (John iii. 10; vii. 4), the work of an undoubted Jew, see below; the use of ὁ βατος, the Hebrew measure, the קב (Luke xvi. 6; Ezra vii. 22); the Hebrew mode of estimating distance, “a sabbath day’s journey” (Acts i. 12); the Hebrew mode of reckoning time, both feasts and fasts (Acts xii. 3; xx. 6; Acts xxvii. 9); and the use of the simple ἀναβαινειν, to go up to *Jerusalem* (Acts xviii. 22).† The intimate acquaintance with the Jewish Law, Temple, Services, and Ritual, as well as with contemporary Jewish History, combined with the constant use of words and phrases taken from the LXX,‡ all prove conclusively that the author was a Jew. The arguments used by Canon Westcott, in his Introduction to the Gospel of St. John,§ to prove that the author of the Fourth Gospel must have been a Jew, apply with equal force and point to the Third

* St. Luke i. 8, 35; ix. 36; iv. 21; Acts v. 17; i. 14; ix. 3; St. Luke ix. 49; vi. 38; xxi. 24, 35; x. 6; ii. 9; xxii. 15; Acts iv. 17; v. 4, 28; iii. 25; St. Luke i. 37. He uses ἐγενετο *sixty* times.

† Compare the expression, “to go down,” perfectly familiar to Oxford men, but not in general use elsewhere.

‡ See Grinfield, “Hellenistic Greek Testament”; St. Luke and the Acts, *passim*. (See also Note C., IV., p. 98.)

§ Canon Westcott, “The Gospel of St. John,” Introduction, pp. vi.–viii.

Gospel, and prove just as conclusively that the author of this Third Gospel was also a Jew, and could have been no other than a Jew. "That which is written in the Prophets is taken as the true expression of what shall be." "The Law is treated as only a Jew could have treated it." "The whole narrative shows that the author was a Jew. He is familiar with Jewish opinions and customs, his composition is impressed with Jewish characteristics, he is penetrated with the spirit of the Jewish dispensation. His special knowledge, his literary style, his religious faith, all point to the same conclusion." . . . "From first to last Judaism is treated of as the starting-point of Christianity."* Luke was a Gentile (Col. iv. 11, 14),†

* Cf. Ebrard, "Gospel History," p. 100.

† Alford says:—"From Col. iv. 11, 14, it would appear that Luke was *not born a Jew*, being there distinguished from *οἱ ὄντες ἐκ περιτομῆς*. It is, however, quite uncertain whether he had become a Jewish proselyte previous to his conversion to Christianity."—"Greek Testament," vol. i. "Prolegomena," p. 40. Now, as to this latter statement, I venture to remark that no one who had not been accustomed from his youth up to hear the LXX version of the Jewish Scriptures read every Sabbath-day in the synagogue, and to study it for himself at home during the week, could possibly have acquired such a thorough familiarity with it as to be able to write a long and important history in its peculiar phraseology. How could a Gentile, how could a Proselyte of the Gate, seeing that he was not a member of the Jewish Church, that he did not participate in its worship, and that he was forbidden to study the Law under pain of death, possibly have acquired this perfect familiarity with the LXX? It is absolutely impossible that St. Luke could have been the author of the Acts if he was a Gentile or Proselyte of the Gate. On the other hand, had St. Luke been a Proselyte of Righteousness, he would have been received into the Jewish Church, he would have undergone the rite of circumcision, and become to all intents and purposes a Jew, so that St. Paul would not have

and probably had not the education,* as he certainly had not the authority, for writing such a great work, or the power of procuring its reception by the Church.†

2. Plainly, the work is an extremely important work—an unique work,—the history of the progress and triumph over opposition of a new form of religion.

3. Plainly, it is the work of an educated,‡ able, travelled writer, who writes as an eye-witness, and as one who had been engaged in the work he describes—“We,”—and who takes the keenest interest in his own narrative, and rejoices in the successful issue of the events he relates,§ namely, the triumph of the Gospel over every form of opposition, and the extension of the kingdom of God far and wide among the Gentiles.

4. From the vividness and minute details of the shipwreck (which occupies a whole chapter, while the three years at Ephesus and the eighteen months at Corinth are dismissed in a comparatively few verses), the shipwreck evidently appeared to the writer an event of

expressly distinguished him from the Jews, “those of the circumcision,” as he does in the passage quoted by Alford (Col. iv.) (see Keil and Prideaux, and cf. Hartwell Horne, “Compendious Introduction to the Study of the Bible,” p. 297; and Smith’s “Dictionary of the Bible,” article “Proselyte”). (See Note C., X., p. 100.)

* We really have not a scrap of direct evidence to prove that Luke was able to write a prescription, or even his own name.

† “Now, of Luke we know no particulars.”—*Zeller*, vol. ii. p. 263.

‡ “The style of the Preface is pure Greek.”—*Olshausen*, vol. i. p. 73. There are fewer Hebraisms in the second part of the Acts (that containing the history of St. Paul) than in the rest of the work.—*Winer*, “Grammar of the New Testament,” p. 35. Jerome, quoted by Bishop Wordsworth, “Introduction to St. Luke,” says that the writer was “inter omnes evangelistas Græci sermonis eruditissimus.” (See Note C., II., p. 96.)

§ Acts xi. 21; xii. 24; xix. 17, 20.

great importance, looming large in his perspective; and it must have been of very recent occurrence to have been narrated with such freshness and vividness. The shipwreck could have been *more* important to no one than to St. Paul, the wish of whose life for years it had been to visit Rome,* except perhaps to the Roman Christians, for whom he doubtless related it thus at length.†

5. It was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, for not a hint is breathed of any such vital change or great catastrophe. St. Paul was made a prisoner because, as the Jews said, he had profaned the Temple,—indeed, his life-work ‡ had been to resist Judaism. If the Temple had been swept away, should we not have some hint in the closing verses of the Acts—something to break the calm continuity of the last few chapters? § We have but to sail back from Rome to Jerusalem to find everything just *in statu quo*,—the Temple standing and its services going on as usual.

6. The Acts are a defence of the *status* of the Gentiles in the Church. Indeed, chapter xv. is said

* Rom. i. 13; xv. 23. (See Note C., V. and XII., pp. 98, 101.)

† “Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit”; though the *olim* represents no greater lapse of time here than a year or two.

‡ Gal. ii. ; v. 11.

§ “It must be remembered that the old landmarks, material and moral, were destroyed by the Roman war.”—*Canon Westcott*, “The Gospel of St. John,” p. xi, Introduction. “Between the generation before the destruction of Jerusalem and the generation after, a great gulf is fixed; and the criteria which determine to which of these generations the products of Christian literature belong seem to me among the most infallible with which criticism has to deal.”—*Professor Sanday*, “On the Study of the New Testament,” p. 31.

by Reuss to be the centre and pivot of the whole work: "On peut dire hardiment que l'histoire de ces conférences forme le centre de tout l'ouvrage, et que le compromis qui y fut adopté en résumé l'esprit;"* "Les questions débattues, c'est l'admissibilité des païens dans le sein de l'église, c'est le dogme de la vocation des hommes non circoncis."† This defence of the Gentiles was written by a Jew, see Paragraph I. St. Paul might well have done this, but not every Jewish Christian in that age would have been ready to do so.

7. The work is of the nature of an Eirenicon. There is a distinct though unavowed parallelism drawn between St. Paul and St. Peter,‡ St. Peter being the chief Apostle sent to the circumcision, while St. Paul was the Apostle sent to the uncircumcised §—the Gentiles.

8. It contains the exact reflection of the state of the Church in St. Paul's own lifetime.|| We have only

* Reuss, "Théologie Chrétienne," vol. ii. p. 331.

† *Ibid.*, p. 330.

‡ Zeller, "Acts," vol. ii. pp. 115 ff., especially p. 154. "Our author wishes to allay the strife . . . to establish peace between the two parties." "We can have no scruple in describing the tendency of the Acts as conciliatory, and itself as an attempt at mediation between Judaists and Paulinists;" cf. "The Bible and Modern Thought," by the late Professor Birks, pp. 98, 99; see also Letter V., p. 37.

§ See Galatians ii. 9.

|| These terms are common to the Acts and St. Paul, ὁ Κύριος, the preached and worshipped Christ, as distinguished from the earlier ὁ Ἰησοῦς of St. Matthew and St. Mark, the Christ "known after the flesh" (2 Cor. v. 16), ἀποστολοὶ, ἐπίσκοποι, πρεσβυτεροὶ, διακονοὶ, εὐαγγελισταὶ, προφῆται, διδασκαλοὶ, μαθηταὶ, χηραὶ, οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς, οἱ πιστευόντες, οἱ σωζόμενοι, οἱ ἀδελφοὶ, οἱ ἄγιοι, οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ, οἱ ἀντικειμενοὶ, οἱ ἀπίστοι, αἱ ἐκκλησιαὶ, κηρυσσεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν, δεχέσθαι

to compare the statements of the Acts with those of the Epistles to be convinced of this,—no two ages of the Church being quite the same, the state of the English Church in the days of Queen Elizabeth, Queen Anne, and Queen Victoria not being identical in all points; nor the time of Simeon quite like the time of Pusey, nor the time of Pusey quite the same as that of Mackonochie.

9. It contains St. Paul's personal history, to the exclusion of that of the other Apostles. St. Paul's name occurs 100 times, while nine out of the twelve original apostles are mentioned only once, and that in the bare list of names in chapter i.; sixteen chapters out of fifty-two in the whole work—and these the last sixteen—being taken up wholly and solely with St. Paul and his sayings and doings, his feelings, hopes, fears, thoughts, wishes, and even visions.*

10. It contains (with St. Luke's Gospel) St. Paul's doctrinal views.†

11. It contains St. Paul's "Apologia pro vitâ suâ":

τον λογον, λαλειν γλωσσαις. We hear nothing, for instance, in St. John's writings about *οι εκ περιτομης*, or those false brethren who opposed St. Paul's life-work and embittered his life. Compare what Canon Westcott says in speaking of the First Epistle of St. John: "The Book answers to a new age of the Church. . . . Outward dangers were overcome. . . . The missionary work of the Society no longer occupies a first place in the Apostle's thoughts. . . . According to his view, the world is overcome finally and for ever There is, therefore, no need for eager exhortation to spread the word. St. Paul wrote while the conflict was undecided. St. John had seen its close."—"The Epistles of St. John," Introduction, p. xxxiii. f.

* Acts xvi. 9; xviii. 9; xxiii. 11.—Paul's Autobiography.

† Bishop Wordsworth, "Greek Testament," Introduction to St. Luke.

(a) with regard to the Jews, his own countrymen, and some of them his fellow-Christians *; (b) with regard to the Roman authorities to whom he had appealed †; indeed, I venture to assert that it is the very first Apology for Christianity written sixty or eighty years earlier even than those of Quadratus, Aristides, or Justin Martyr.

12. There is no mention of St. Paul's death.

13. On the contrary, there is a most joyous and triumphant tone and spirit prevailing throughout the whole work. ‡

14. The Acts contain the exact image and likeness of St. Paul—all his special characteristics as portrayed in his Epistles. Let me remind you of what Bishop Lightfoot § says:—"These facts can be proved from the four Epistles of St. Paul, allowed by all to be genuine (that is, from Romans, Galatians, and 1 and 2 Corinthians). 1. St. Paul assigns to the Jews the prerogative over the Gentiles, a prior right to the privileges of the Gospel. 2. St. Paul's affection for his countrymen. 3. His practical care for his countrymen. 4. His conformity to Jewish habits and usages. 5. His reverence for the Old Testament Scriptures."

"These facts being borne in mind (and they are in-

* Acts xxii., xxiii., xxvi., xxviii. Paul calls himself Ἰουδαῖος (xxi.).

† Acts xxiii., xxiv., xxv., xxvi. Overbeck speaks of "the *political side* of the Acts—its obvious striving to procure for the Christian cause the favour of the State authorities of Rome" ("Introduction to the Acts," E. Tr., p. 23). Paul calls himself Ῥωμαῖος (xxii.).

‡ Paley, "Horæ Paulinæ," ed. Dean Howson, Appendix, iv. p. 424.

§ "Galatians," p. 332 f.

disputable), the portrait of St. Paul in the Acts ought not to present any difficulties. It records no one fact of the Apostle, it attributes no sentiment to him, which is not either covered by some comprehensive maxim, or supported by some practical instance in his acknowledged letters. On the other hand, the tone of the history confessedly differs somewhat from the tone of the Epistles comparing the differences observable in St. Paul's own Epistles, his tone may be said to be graduated according to the temper and character of his hearers." *

Dean Howson † points out how the same characteristic features of the Apostle, "the same man, appear both in the letters (*i.e.*, the Epistles of St. Paul), and in the narrative (*i.e.*, the Acts of the Apostles)." And he mentions as instances of this:—"1. St. Paul's

* This remark of the Bishop's, that the tone of the Acts confessedly differs somewhat from the tone of St. Paul's Epistles, is no less important than true. It is very essential to bear it in mind in making any comparison between them. And I may add that the difference is perfectly explicable and intelligible when we consider the difference in the writer's purpose and object; while the Epistles of St. Paul, addressed to Christian converts to build them up in the faith, are personal and familiar, doctrinal and didactic, hortatory and practical, the Acts of the Apostles, as an Apology for Christianity with regard to both Romans and Jews—a defence of the rights and privileges of the Gentile Christians against Judaisers, St. Paul's own "Apologia" in reply to the accusations made against him to the Romans by the Jews, and an Eirenicon to allay the internecine strife between the Jewish and Gentile members of the Church—have more the character of a systematic composition with a very definite object, and are a formal historical and apologetic treatise. Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 20.

† Paley's "Horæ Paulinæ," Appendix III., pp. 406 ff.; Howson's "Bohlen Lectures," Lecture III., pp. 105 ff. Compare also the same author's "Evidential Conclusions from the Four greater Epistles of St. Paul," pp. 20 ff.

depression of mind at times. 2. His tact and persuasiveness. 3. His sympathy. 4. His strict and scrupulous integrity. 5. His testimony to the resurrection of Christ. 6. His perpetual recollection of his own conversion. 7. His tenacity of purpose."

15. Yet this exact portraiture is produced in the Acts unconsciously and incidentally, for there is no *direct* estimate of St. Paul's character in this narrative, which is devoted to the history of St. Paul's great life-work, though there is such a direct estimate of Barnabas—"He was a good man" (Acts xi. 24)—and of others.

16. Moreover, there is an *indirect* testimony coming from the lips of others embodied in the book (Acts xv. 25, 26). All this is quite inconsistent with any other authorship than that of St. Paul.

17. It appears to have been written at Rome (Zeller,* endorsing what had been previously urged by Olshausen,† speaks of Rome as "the probable birth-place of the Acts"), for it terminates abruptly as soon as Rome is reached,—it having been hinted in Acts i. 8 and Acts ii. 10 that Rome is the goal the writer has in view, while it is plainly stated, as early as Acts xix. 21, that Rome is to be the goal of St. Paul. The history of two years more might have been added, but not a single detail is given; no mention is

* "The Acts of the Apostles," vol. ii. p. 280.

† "Bibl. Com." (E. Tr.), vol. i. p. 17; see also vol. iv. p. 214: "The Acts of the Apostles makes its readers accurately acquainted only with the individuals who had laboured among the Gentiles, especially in Rome itself, namely St. Peter and St. Paul; and yet it treats only of their labours beyond the limits of Rome and Italy, for what happened there is presupposed by St. Luke to be known."

even made of the issue of St. Paul's appeal to Cæsar, this and the circumstances of the two years being, of course, well known to the Christians at Rome.* This view is confirmed by the following remarks of Ebrard †:—

“In what land are we to look for Theophilus and the other readers for whom Luke intended his writings, may be gathered from the fact that he thought it necessary to add an explanation whenever he had occasion to refer to places in Palestine (Luke i. 26, iv. 31, viii. 26, xxiii. 51, xxiv. 13), or Crete (Acts xxvii. 8 and 12), in Athens (Acts xvii. 21), and even to the larger towns in Macedonia (Acts xvi. 12), whereas he assumes that in Sicily and Italy (particularly Lower and Middle Italy as far north as ROME) even the smaller places will be well known,” *e.g.* the Three Taverns (Acts xxviii. 15).

Moreover, the marked similarity of thought and expression between the Third Gospel and the Acts and the Epistles written from Rome (Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, not to mention Philipians), ‡ inevitably point to the same conclusion, *e.g.*, Luke

* “Not only is there no particular account of the process against Paul, but you also feel the want of a concluding address to Theophilus, and a review of the whole,—in short, a formal conclusion of the book.”—*Olshausen*, “Bibl. Com.,” Eng. Tr., vol. iv., p. 507.

† “Gospel History,” Eng. Tr., p. 552.

‡ There must be quite 50 phrases common to the Third Gospel or the Acts, and to St. Paul's Epistles from Rome (see Appendix), besides 125 words, of which 20 are peculiar to St. Luke's writings and these Epistles. Compare also Luke xv. with Eph. ii. The keynote of Philipians, no less than of Luke and Acts, is “Rejoicing.” See Bengel on Phil. i. 4, and *suprà*, p. 57, par. 13. Cf. Note C., III., p. 97

i. 75, Eph. iv. 24; Acts xxvii. 14, 15, Eph. iv. 14; Acts xxv. 14, Col. iv. 7; Luke xxii. 53, Col. i. 13. To this we may add the special mention more than once of St. Paul being a citizen of Rome, the emphasis laid on Rome and Roman laws and privileges throughout the Acts—thrice in one chapter (Acts xvi.).

I do not know whether you will think trivial the following observation (which I am not aware that I have ever seen mentioned before), a straw will sometimes show us from which quarter the wind blows:—while the Hebrew or Aramaic names Barnabas (Acts iv. 36), Son of Consolation, and Elymas (Acts xiii. 8), the sorcerer (ὁ μαγος), are interpreted for the benefit of the readers, the Latin names Ἰουστος (Acts i. 23), Νιγερ (Acts xiii. 1), are not so interpreted. Now these are not Greek names or words, but only the Latin names or words—Justus, “upright,” and Niger, “swarthy,” in Grecian dress,—the meaning of which would be familiar enough to residents at Rome.

I cannot help thinking, also, that the use of ὁ Σεβαστος* in Acts xxv. 21, 25, marks the narrative as composed in the age of Nero, for ὁ Σεβαστος = the reigning Emperor, the one living representative of the imperial majesty and dominion of Rome. There could be only one such representative at a time, and to a writer and to readers in the reign of Trajan, Trajan alone was ὁ Σεβαστος. To a writer and to readers in the reign of Hadrian, Hadrian alone was ὁ Σεβαστος, and it might have been an awkward affair

* “This title, = Augustus, was first conferred by the Senate on Octavianus, and borne by all succeeding emperors.”—*Alford*, “Gr. Test.,” vol. ii. p. 273, on Acts xxv. 21.

to give this title to another, even to a former wearer of the imperial purple. The writer of the Acts mentions all the previous Emperors with the exception of Caligula, the reference to the Emperor immediately preceding Nero being, "in the days of Claudius Cæsar," (Acts xi. 28). We know that Nero was the Cæsar to whom St. Paul appealed, and when we find the writer of this history calling him (though not indeed in the direct narrative) ὁ Σεβαστος, this is surely an indication that the history was written and read while Nero was still the reigning Emperor, the one living representative of the august majesty of Rome.

18. This *unique work* must have had an *unique author*; "the very design of such a history when considered in relation to the Apostolic age was remarkable. The book is a true 'Philosophy of the History' of the Church."* Just such an unique personage was St. Paul. There never has been, there never could be, a second St. Paul.†

19. St. Paul, undoubtedly, had the *motive* for writing such a work, ‡ the history of his own life-work, his own Apologia and the defence of the Gentiles, and an Eirenicon, at a time when he could only reckon three Jewish Christians, among all those at Rome, who were his fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God,§

* Canon Westcott, "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels," p. 235.

† "We know the heart of St. Paul to its inmost depths."—*Farrar*, "St. Paul," vol. i. p. 6. "All that has been written of the peculiarities of St. Paul's style may, I think, be summed up in two words—Intense individuality. His style is himself."—*Ibid.* p. 624. Paul's *position* was as unique as his *character*. Cf. Ewald, v. 135.

‡ Epistle to the Galatians, *passim*.

§ Colossians iv. 10, 11.

and when he had appealed, as a Roman citizen, for justice against the false accusations of his own countrymen, the Jews, to Nero Cæsar, the Emperor of Rome.

20. St. Paul, undoubtedly, had the *materials* for writing such a work, 16 chapters out of 28 of which consist of his own experiences.

21. St. Paul had the *opportunity* during his two years' confinement at Rome—after his previous very active life.

22. And St. Paul had also the *authority* to secure the reception of this work among all the Gentile Churches, who looked up to him as their Teacher, Father, and Founder*—the Churches of Syria, Cilicia, Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, Achaia—and this at a time when “commendatory letters” (2 Cor. iii. 1) were demanded of those who passed from Church to Church—when party spirit ran high owing to the Judaising faction. There are still extant many apocryphal writings which have come down from early times, but which have failed to secure any, or at least any lasting, reception by the Church.†

23. St. Paul's authorship explains every difficulty connected with the Acts (*e.g.* Acts ix. compared with Gal. i.). No other hypothesis does so.

For all these reasons I say that St. Paul, *by the balance of probability*, is the author of the Acts; and

* 1 Cor. iv. 15; ix. 2.

† Cf. Row, “Bampton Lectures,” p. 284.—“Thus it was not St. Luke's name which procured for this Gospel its currency in the Church, *but the authority of the Apostle Paul*. . . . Under these circumstances, it is not astonishing that, in the primitive Church, there was no opposition either to Luke's Gospel or his Acts of the Apostles.”—*Olshausen*, on “The Gospels,” vol. i. p. xli.

when we find that this work—the matter of which consists of St. Paul's *doctrinal views* and of St. Paul's *personal history* (the “inside” view of St. Paul, the exact reflection of St. Paul's subjectivity), for the composition of which St. Paul had *the motive, the materials, the literary ability, the opportunity, and the authority*—when we find that this important, remarkable, and indeed *unique* work is written with St. Paul's OWN *particles, words, phrases, and figures of speech*, there is a weight of evidence which would convince any jury, and which, indeed, amounts to *absolute certainty**—the certainty that the Acts are not memorials of a departed friend, affectionate reminiscences written by a surviving follower—but that they bear in every part, in almost every line and word, the unmistakable impress of the *unique mind* of the *living* St. Paul.

* “The conspiring probabilities of a subject run together into a perfect conviction.”—*Davison* “On Prophecy,” p. 28, quoted in *Farrar's Hulsean Lectures for 1870*, “The Witness of History to Christ,” second edition, Appendix, p. 200.

LETTER VII.

THE SUMMING UP OF THE ARGUMENT.—RESULTS.

MY task is now ended, and I hope you are satisfied with the result; I have shown you that there are in St. Luke or the Acts:—

	<i>Common to St. Paul.</i>	<i>Peculiar to St. Paul.</i>
1. Words	1,000 or more	250
2. Phrases	200 „	100
3. Particles	60 „	25 or at least 20
4. Figures of Speech	35 „	2
5. Peculiarities ...	12 „	6

Moreover, in the preface of St. Luke (ch. i. 1–4) there are, *peculiar* to St. Paul, no less than two phrases and five words, namely, one substantive (*ἀσφαλεια*), one particle (*ἐπειδὴ*), and three important verbs (*πληροφορειν*, *παρακολουθειν*, and *κατηχειν*). (See Note A.)

If the subject-matter is Paul's (and indeed Paul himself) and if the phraseology is Paul's, what is left for Luke? where does Luke come in save as a mere scribe or secretary? I will sum up the question in this way,—either

I. The Acts of the Apostles were written in St. Paul's lifetime; or,

II. They were written after St. Paul's death.

If the latter were the case, then

(a), they were written by St. Luke or some other personal friend and follower of St. Paul; or,

(b), they were written by one who was not a personal friend and follower of St. Paul, and who had no direct connexion with St. Paul.

Now, I unhesitatingly assert, and you will cordially agree with me, that no man in his sober senses can maintain thesis (b) after duly weighing all the evidence which has been laid before you in these pages—after the investigation made of the particles, other words, peculiarities, phrases, figures of speech, and parallelisms which all savour so strongly of St. Paul with his “intense individuality.”

Hypothesis (b) may be dismissed, then, without another syllable as absolutely absurd, and impossible; and (a) is no less absurd, for it amounts to this, that, after St. Paul’s death, Luke or some other personal friend so exactly reproduced St. Paul’s thoughts and language, his style and phrases—in a word, his distinguishing features and peculiarities,—that it is most difficult to believe that it is not St. Paul himself who is writing thus. Think how marvellously strong St. Luke’s memory must have been to reproduce, after St. Paul’s death, not only St. Paul’s thoughts, but so many of St. Paul’s peculiar words and phrases,—think how weak and waxlike all the rest of Luke’s character must have been, to be so completely impressed with St. Paul’s commanding personality as to leave no trace of his own individuality, which is thus wholly eclipsed, effaced, swallowed up by St. Paul’s.

The view of the inner heart, and life, and character of any man *can* have come from no one else, originally, but

that man himself; and, if this be found in a document not only containing, but composed of and written with, that man's own words, phrases, and peculiar expressions, that document must have been penned, or at least dictated, during life by the man himself; it cannot have been produced after his death, from notes and materials which some friend has discovered and worked up into a narrative.

Is it *possible* for any one to so exactly reproduce another man's image, and portrait—his inner life and character—in that man's *own* characteristic phraseology?

Did even Boswell *so* reproduce Dr. Johnson in Dr. Johnson's own ponderous phrases and "sesquipedalia verba"? that is, did Boswell *himself* write Johnsonese? Will Canon Liddon give us, in his forthcoming biography of Dr. Pusey, Dr. Pusey's own language and style,—I mean, of course, in the narrative (as distinguished from the epistolary) portions of the biography? I need scarcely point out that Dr. Pusey's style and phraseology are utterly different from those of his friend and follower, Canon Liddon. The idea is simply absurd; it is a psychological impossibility, as I humbly conceive.

But granted it be so—even this refutes the sceptics. The follower of St. Paul who has so exactly and faithfully reproduced his master's thoughts and words and history, may be trusted to have given us in St. Luke's Gospel a faithful reflection of St. Paul's mind with regard to Christ, and to have embodied in it that Gospel which St. Paul preached. We know that the *doctrines* in St. Luke are the exact reflection of the *doctrines* which St. Paul taught. Is it not equally

certain that the main *facts* of Christ's life therein related are the *facts* which St. Paul had ascertained, and with the substantial truth of which he remained satisfied? Were not the doctrines which St. Paul taught, and the practical precepts which St. Paul enjoined, based and built on the facts of Christ's superhuman life? and how would it be a less than superhuman work to separate and disentangle these doctrines and these facts, which are so inextricably interwoven and intertwined with one another? *

There is thus no reasonable and scientific explanation left of the phenomena presented by the Third Gospel and the Acts except No. I., namely, that the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles were written in the lifetime of St. Paul, not later than A.D. 68, as I have already pointed out in Letter I. May I not add in Euclid's triumphant fashion—*quod erat demonstrandum?*

These 1,000 words, &c., are employed to set forth the doctrinal views and the personal history, including the mental experiences, of St. Paul,—in a book evidently written by an able, educated, intelligent writer, such as we do know St. Paul, and such as we do *not* know St. Luke, to have been. It is not even every English physician who is a Sir Henry Holland,—at once intelligent, travelled, and cultured. All doctors, even in our own day, are not necessarily men of “light and leading.” The physicians of that time were probably more like the barber surgeons of the middle ages, or the apothecaries of more modern times—the higher ranks (of the Romans

* Rom. xv. 1-3; 1 Cor. i. 23, 24, 30; xv. 1-7; 2 Cor. x. 1; Eph. ii.; Phil. ii. 5-11; Col. iii. 1.

at any rate) being disinclined to practise medicine, which they left rather to their freedmen.*

This work having been received by the Church as the apocryphal writings never were received, coming down to us with the testimony of Christian antiquity that it was written under the influence of St. Paul, am I too bold in asserting that, looking at the internal evidence, there is *no doubt whatever* that St. Paul himself was the real author of the Acts of the Apostles—and, therefore, also of the Third Gospel? And I may add, as a corollary, that St. Paul's authorship of the Acts clearly establishes St. Paul's connection with the Epistle to the Hebrews.†

Thus, too, a firm *πῶς στῶ*, a solid *point d'appui*, is at once gained as the result of these researches for the solution of what Professor Sanday ‡ calls "one of the *most difficult* problems of New Testament criticism—that which is concerned with the origin and composition of the Synoptic Gospels." § Thus, as I stated in my first Letter, St. Luke's Gospel comes to us Christians to-day with the same authority as St. Paul's

* Kitto, "Bibl. Cycl.," p. 547.

† Besides other points of resemblance, there are quite *seventy* words *peculiar* to the Epistle to the Hebrews and St. Paul's writings, including among these latter the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles.

‡ "The Study of the New Testament," p. 20.

§ Bishop Wordsworth, "Greek Testament," vol. i. p. 172, says: "Dr. Townson (on the Gospels, p. 214) has proved that St. Mark was conversant with St. Matthew's Gospel, St. Luke with St. Matthew's and St. Mark's." All the three Synoptic Gospels, therefore, must have been in existence before June, A.D. 68, at the latest, and it seems probable that St. Matthew's, at any rate, was written before A.D. 50, the date of the Conference at Jerusalem described in Acts xv. Matthew was too *Jewish*, Mark too *brief*, for Paul.

Epistle to the Romans or to the Galatians; thus it certainly was in existence before the end of A.D. 68, the year of the Emperor Nero's death; and, as M. Renan has pointed out that St. Paul did not survive the persecution under Nero, it must have been written before the close of A.D. 64. Hence our Lord's prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, with the Temple, was certainly both written and read several years before His words were fulfilled to the letter by the capture of the city by the Romans, under Titus, A.D. 70.

There is, therefore, an end from this time forward to the assertions of those sceptics who say "that our Gospels came into existence between the years A.D. 150 and A.D. 175," and "that they are the work of writers who only composed their narratives long after the time when Christ lived."* The disciples of Strauss *et hoc genus omne* can no longer echo their master's words,† "Luke had, therefore, seen a longer time pass away since the destruction of Jerusalem than the author of St. Matthew's Gospel had done; he must consequently have written his Gospel considerably later: accordingly the Gospel belongs to a period in which it is scarcely possible that there could be any companion of St. Paul alive and composing books." This certainly is not true, nor is there, in the light of the facts laid before you, more truth in Zeller's statement "that the mere existence of the Acts cannot be proved before the year 170, nor that of the Third Gospel before Justin and Marcion" (A.D. 140).

I have now shown you, beyond contradiction, that

* See Letter I., p. 11.

† "New Life of Jesus," vol. i. p. 168.

St. Paul himself was alive and composing the Third Gospel (which we call St. Luke's Gospel) and the Acts—both which works, therefore, were in existence, at the very latest, before the end of A.D. 68. Hence, since I have proved that St. Luke's Gospel was composed by St. Paul, and that, therefore, in so far as we admit St. Paul's testimony, it is "a trustworthy record of what our Lord said and did," "*the chief positions are at once OVERTHROWN for which the sceptics have contended*, who have made such persistent and fierce attacks upon the Gospels during this century."*

With this result—this great result †—proved as conclusively and as scientifically as the Law of Gravity—proved, namely, by the balance of probability (which is the guide of life), I will for the present rest content, and for a while bid you adieu, only hoping that the dryness of the details may have been compensated for by the interest and importance of the conclusions thus clearly established.

Ever yours,

H. HEBER EVANS.

* See Letter I., p. 11.

† "In approaching Strauss we are attacking the very citadel of modern scepticism."—*Farrar*, "The Witness of History to Christ," Hulsean Lectures for 1870, second edition, p. 65. "It has been the fashion in Germany to call Strauss's book *ein epochmachendes Werk*."—*Ibid.*, p. 65, note 2. Not only is the mythical hypothesis of Strauss completely disproved by the authorship of St. Paul, demonstrated above; but also (not to mention M. Renan) the theories of Weisse and Gfrörer, as well as the conjectures of Baur and the Tübingen School.—Cf. *Ebrard*, "Gospel History," pp. 473-485.

POSTSCRIPT.

I MUST add a few words in explanation of the Appendix. This, as you will see, was originally printed some months ago, and some corrections and additions have been made. I only wish I could think that my work were now quite free from all such errors; but this is not likely to be the case with such a number of words and references. I could have wished, too, to have presented my researches in a fuller and more finished form, but other occupations have prevented this. You must kindly take it as it is, and make what allowance you think needful. I shall be glad to have my mistakes pointed out. You will miss the ordinary Greek accents, but I cannot afford the time for what are really, as a rule, useless ornaments, luxuries rather than necessities, and I must be content to present the same unscholarly appearance as Grinfield's "Hellenistic Greek Testament," and all the most ancient MSS., A B S and the other Uncials, of the New Testament.* Dr. Ezra Abbot's edition of "Hudson's Critical Greek and English Concordance," which I have used, will give the needful references.

I. (a) is a list of the particles, or words used as particles, which are peculiar to what are known as the writings of St. Luke, *i.e.*, the Third Gospel and the Acts, and to St. Paul. The first ten are found in *both* St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts, and nowhere

* Scrivener, "Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament," 3rd ed. p. 45; cf. Matthiæ Gr. Gram. (1832), vol. i. pp. 70, 71.

else in the New Testament. The remaining seven, as far as the next space, are peculiar to St. Luke's Gospel and to St. Paul, and the rest are peculiar to the Acts and St. Paul. But, as I have said, your critical eye may demand some deductions: *e.g.*, ὅπως ἄν occurs only once in St. Paul, and that a quotation from the Old Testament; λοιπον is found in one passage in St. Mark,* according to some editors; υἱοι, you will say, is much the same as υἱν; ἅμα δε και is not essentially different from ἅμα και, which St. Matthew has; but, after all these deductions have been made to the uttermost, the fact remains that fully twenty particles occur in St. Luke and the Acts which no other New Testament writer uses except St. Paul—and you have not forgotten that “particles are the best possible detectives of an author's individuality.”

I. (b) contains forty more particles which are common, though not peculiar, to St. Luke's Gospel, or the Acts, and to St. Paul, making, in all, sixty particles or more, which are thus common to St. Luke and St. Paul.

II. (a) contains a list of fifty words which are found in *both* St. Luke's Gospel, the Acts, and also in St. Paul, and nowhere else in the New Testament.

II. (b) contains eighty-one words peculiar to St. Luke's Gospel and to St. Paul.

* St. Mark xv. 41. Griesbach thought that the το of το λοιπον, which Scholz retained, ought probably to be omitted from the text. Alford does omit it, and Westcott and Hort enclose it in brackets as an alternative reading. Alford, as well as Westcott and Hort, also prints λοιπον in the parallel passage in St. Matthew xxvi. 45, though Scholz and Griesbach both retain το λοιπον. Who shall decide when doctors disagree?

II. (c) contains eighty-nine words peculiar to the Acts and to St. Paul.*

II. (a), II. (b), II. (c) thus contain a list of 220 words from St. Luke and the Acts (some of them rare and compound words) only to be found in St. Paul's writings.

II. (d) contains a few words occurring only in St. Luke and the Acts, kindred forms of which, however, are peculiar to St. Paul.

II. (e) contains a list of 30 proper names peculiar to the Acts and to St. Paul's Epistles, thus raising the number 220, mentioned above, to 250.

For the rest I have found Schmoller's "Concordance of the Greek Testament" of service, and to this I shall refer you.

III. (a) contains a list of 110 phrases which occur in St. Luke's Gospel and in St. Paul. Those marked with an asterisk, 34 in number, are repeated in the Acts, while those to which "P" is prefixed are peculiar to St. Paul among New Testament writers. A complete list of the references to the passage where each phrase may be found is subjoined.

III. (b) contains a list of 100 phrases to be found in the Acts of the Apostles and St. Paul, those marked with an asterisk, 16 in number, being found also in St. Luke's Gospel, while those to which "P" is prefixed are found, out of the Acts, nowhere in the New Testament except in St. Paul's writings.

* I find that one of these words, namely, ἀσφαλῆς (No. 146), occurs once in the Epistle to the Hebrews (vi. 19). The same must be said as to the first of the additional phrases, on page 79, peculiar to St. Luke and St. Paul; for ἐχειν ἀναγκην is used in Heb. vii. 27. Also among the particles peculiar to St. Paul (p. 104) δὲ ἢν αἰτίαν occurs in Heb. ii. 11.

TABLE OF REFERENCE

For the Phrases in the Appendix common to St. Luke's Gospel or the Acts, and to St. Paul's writings.

The phrases marked "P," 110 in number, are peculiar to St. Paul, 50 being in St. Luke and 60 in the Acts.

APPENDIX III. (a). Page 109.

<i>Peculiar to</i>				
<i>St. Paul.</i>	<i>St. Luke.</i>	<i>The Acts.</i>	<i>St. Paul.</i>	
	1	v. 25	iv. 21	Gal. i. 24.
	2	i. 15	iii. 2	Gal. i. 15.
	3	i. 6	viii. 21	2 Tim. ii. 14.
	4	xviii. 31	xxi. 15	Gal. ii. 1.
P.	5	iv. 36	...	1 Cor. xv. 24.
P.	6	xxi. 13	...	Phil. i. 19.
	7	xvi. 2	xix. 40	Rom. xiv. 12.
	8	xxii. 69	...	{ Eph. i. 20.
				{ Col. iii. 1.
	9	xx. 16	...	Gal. ii. 17.
	10	ix. 62	...	Phil. iii. 13.
	11	xxi. 34	...	2 Thess. i. 10.
	12	xvi. 8	...	Eph. i. 21.
P.	13	xi. 49	...	1 Cor. i. 21, 24.
P.	14	ii. 34	...	Phil. i. 17.
P.	15	i. 4	...	Gal. vi. 6.
P.	16	xxi. 36	...	Eph. vi. 18.
	17	xi. 7	...	Gal. vi. 17.
	18	xvi. 8	...	1 Thess. v. 5.

Peculiar to

<i>St. Paul.</i>	<i>St. Luke.</i>	<i>The Acts.</i>	<i>St. Paul.</i>
	ix. 41	...	Phil. ii. 15.
	xviii. 31	vi. 2	1 Cor. xv. 5.
P. 21	xiii. 17	...	Phil. i. 28.
	xxii. 32	...	1 Cor. xvi. 20.
	xiii. 23	ii. 47	1 Cor. i. 18.
P. 24	xii. 46	...	1 Cor. xiv. 23.
	i. 15	...	2 Cor. viii. 21.
P. 26	xxi. 19	...	2 Cor. i. 6.
	viii. 67	...	1 Cor. xv. 40.
	i. 64	...	2 Cor. vi. 11.
	xvi. 16	...	Rom. iii. 21.
P. 30	xxiv. 19	vii. 22	Rom. xv. 18.
	iv. 43	i. 3	Gal. v. 21.
	ii. 40	xi. 23	Rom. v. 15.
	xxii. 53	iii. 2	2 Cor. xi. 28.
P. 34	i. 70	iii. 21	Eph. iii. 9 (Pl.).
P. 35	xii. 35	...	Eph. vi. 14.
P. 36	x. 7	...	1 Tim. v. 18.
P. 37	i. 75	...	Eph. iv. 24.
	vi. 3	...	Titus iii. 15.
	xxiv. 47	ii. 38	Col. i. 14.
P. 40	ix. 38	viii. 34	Gal. iv. 12.
	vii. 41	...	Rom. xiii. 8.
	viii. 13	...	Phil. i. 3.
P. 43	xi. 49	...	Eph. iii. 5.
P. 44	x. 8	...	1 Cor. x. 27.
	ix. 32	v. 17	Rom. xvi. 15.
	xviii. 30	...	Eph. ii. 12.
P. 47	i. 55	...	Gal. iii. 16.
P. 48	xiv. 9	...	Eph. iv. 27.
P. 49	xxiv. 50	...	1 Tim. ii. 8.

<i>Peculiar to</i>			
<i>St. Paul.</i>	<i>St. Luke.</i>	<i>The Acts.</i>	<i>St. Paul.</i>
P. 50	ii. 11	...	Col. iii. 24.
51	xx. 36	...	Rom. viii. 14.
52	xviii. 30	...	1 Tim. vi. 12.
53	iii. 2	...	Eph. vi. 17.
54	xi. 42	...	2 Cor. xiii. 14.
P. 55	xxi. 4	...	2 Cor. xi. 9.
P. 56	xiii. 17	...	Eph. v. 12.
P. 57	iv. 14	...	Rom. xv. 13.
58	ii. 14	x. 11	1 Cor. viii. 5.
59	xx. 25	...	1 Cor. vii. 32.
60	xxiv. 47	...	Rom. i. 5.
61	i. 66	...	Eph. v. 19.
P. 62	xxiii. 15	xxvi. 31	Rom. i. 32.
63	xvii. 29	...	Rom. i. 18.
P. 64	i. 6	...	1 Cor. xiv. 37.
65	i. 55	xxvi. 6	1 Cor. x. 1.
66	x. 1	xiv. 23	1 Cor. xi. 27.
P. 67	xxiv. 3	xix. 17	1 Cor. xi. 23.
68	ix. 10	xv. 6	1 Cor. xv. 7.
69	xix. 33	xvi. 16	Eph. vi. 9.
P. 70	xx. 21	...	Gal. ii. 6.
P. 71	xviii. 27	...	Rom. viii. 3.
P. 72	xvii. 9	ii. 47	1 Tim. i. 12.
P. 73	xi. 41	...	Titus i. 15.
P. 74	ii. 52	xxiv. 16	1 Tim. ii. 5.
75	xx. 47	...	Rom. xiii. 2.
P. 76	x. 26	...	1 Cor. xiv. 21.
77	xviii. 7	ix. 24	1 Thess. ii. 9.
78	ii. 23	xv. 15	Rom. x. 15.
79	xii. 26	...	1 Cor. xi. 34.
80	xiii. 34	i. 11	2 Tim. iii. 8.

<i>Peculiar to St. Paul.</i>	<i>St. Luke.</i>	<i>The Acts.</i>	<i>St. Paul.</i>
81	xxiv. 1	xx. 7	1 Cor. xvi. 2.
P. 82	i. 2	...	1 Cor. xv. 3.
83	vii. 34	...	1 Cor. xv. 32.
84	iv. 40	vi. 6	1 Tim. v. 22.
85	iii. 7	...	1 Thess. i. 10.
P. 86	ii. 48	...	Rom. ix. 20.
87	iii. 8	...	Rom. i. 24.
88	ii. 37	xxvi. 7	2 Thess. iii. 8.
P. 89	xvi. 15	...	Rom. xii. 16.
P. 90	ii. 33	...	1 Cor. xiv. 9.
91	ii. 9	...	2 Cor. iii. 18.
92	v. 17	viii. 10	1 Cor. ii. 5.
P. 93	xviii. 7	...	Col. iii. 12.
P. 94	i. 59	...	Phil. iii. 5.
95	x. 17	iii. 6	1 Cor. v. 4.
P. 96	i. 6	...	Rom. i. 32.
P. 97	xxii. 43	...	Gal. i. 8.
P. 98	xiv. 30	...	Phil. i. 6.
99	xviii. 30	...	Eph. ii. 7.
100	ix. 22	...	1 Cor. xv. 4.
P. 101	xx. 28	...	Rom. x. 5.
P. 102	xvii. 34	...	1 Cor. iv. 6.
P. 103	xx. 38	...	Rom. xiv. 8.
104	vii. 47	...	Eph. iii. 1.
P. 105	x. 1	...	1 Tim. ii. 8.
106	xviii. 32	xxvi. 20	1 Cor. v. 1.
107	iii. 8	...	Rom. ix. 7.
P. 108	xxi. 34	...	1 Thess. v. 3.
109	ix. 10	xxiii. 19	Gal. ii. 2.
P. 110	xxii. 28	...	Gal. iv. 14.
P. 111	v. 33	...	1 Tim. ii. 1.
P. 112	xii. 11	...	Eph. iii. 10.

*Additional Phrases peculiar to St. Paul and to
St. Luke or the Acts.*

	<i>St. Luke.</i>	<i>St. Paul.</i>
ἔχειν ἀνάγκην	xxiii. 17	1 Cor. vii. 37.
ὁδὸς εἰρηνης	i. 79	Rom. iii. 17.
ἡ ἐξουσία του σκοτους	xxii. 53	Col. i. 13.
οἱ ἐν σκοτει	i. 79	Rom. ii. 19.
5 ἐνώπιον ἀνθρωπων	xvi. 15	2 Cor. viii. 21.
εἰς τὴν δοξάν αὐτου	xxiv. 26	Rom. iii. 7.
τι μέρος	xi. 36	1 Cor. xi. 18.
ἐν δοξῇ	ix. 31	1 Tim. iii. 16.
ὑπαρχων ἐν	vii. 25	Phil. ii. 6.
10 πρὸς καιρον	viii. 13	1 Cor. vii. 5.
ἐν τούτῳ χαιρεῖν		
—χαιρεῖν	x. 20	Phil. i. 18.
{ ἐξ ὕψους	i. 78	
{ εἰς ὕψος		Eph. iv. 8.
ᾧ ἀνοητοὶ	xxiv. 25	Gal. iii. 1.
ἀφρον	xii. 20	1 Cor. xv. 36.
	<i>The Acts.</i>	<i>St. Paul.</i>
15 δια τῆς χαριτος	xviii. 27	Rom. xii. 3.
ἔμπροσθεν του βηματος	xviii. 17	2 Cor. v. 10.
ἡ πιστις—ἡ χαρις		
—σωθῆναι	xv. 9, 11	Eph. ii. 8.
ἐν ὀλιγῳ	xxvi. 28	Eph. iii. 3.
ζηλωτης ὑπαρχων	xxii. 3	Gal. i. 14.

	<i>The Acts.</i>	<i>St. Paul.</i>	
20	ἐμφανῆς γινεσθαι	x. 40	Rom. x. 20.
	ἐπιστρέφω προς	ix. 40	2 Cor. iii. 16.
	λαμβάνειν ἐντολήν	xvii. 15	Col. iv. 10.
	οἱ πεπιστευκοτες	xviii. 27	Titus iii. 8.
	εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ		
	Θεῷ	xxvii. 35	Rom. i. 8.
25	μετα εὐχαριστίας	xxiv. 3	Phil. iv. 6.
	ἔχειν εἰρήνην	ix. 31	Rom. v. 1.
	εὐαγγελιζέσθαι		
	εἰρήνην	x. 36	Eph. ii. 17.
	κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν	xiii. 23	2 Tim. i. 1.
	ὑπηκοῦς γινεσθαι	vii. 39	Phil. ii. 8.
30	ὁ Θεὸς—πᾶς—		
	σοι χαριζέσθαι	xxvii. 24	Rom. viii. 31, 32.
	Ἰουδαῖος ὑπαρχῶν	xxi. 20	Gal. ii. 14.
	εἰς διακονίαν	xi. 29	2 Tim. iv. 11.
	τὴν διακονίαν ἣν		
	ἔλαβον παρὰ		
	τοῦ Κυρίου		
	(παρελάβες ἐν		
	Κυρίῳ)	xx. 24	Col. iv. 17.
	Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς		
	κριτῆς ζωντῶν		
	καὶ νεκρῶν		
	(κρινεῖν ζωντὰς		
	καὶ νεκροὺς)	x. 42	2 Tim. iv. 1.
35	οἱ ἀπειθῶντες		
	Ἰουδαῖοι (ἐν τῇ		
	Ἰουδαίᾳ)	xvii. 5	Rom. xv. 31.
	ἀναβιβᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν		
	καρδίαν	vii. 23	1 Cor. ii. 9.

	<i>The Acts.</i>	<i>St. Paul.</i>
ἡ εἰσοδος αὐτου	xiii. 24	1 Thess. ii. 1.
ἐπι τη παρακλησει	xv. 31	2 Cor. vii. 13.
μια ψυχη	iv. 32	Phil. i. 27.
40 ὁ Θεος—μετανοια		
—διδόναι εἰς	xi. 18	2 Tim. ii. 25.

Thus the *whole number* in St. Luke and the *Acts* of such phrases *common* to St. Paul is increased to 250, and of such phrases *peculiar* to St. Paul is increased to 150.

APPENDIX III. (b). (Page 112.)

<i>Peculiar to</i> <i>St. Paul.</i>		<i>The Acts.</i>	<i>St. Luke.</i>	<i>St. Paul.</i>
P. 1	...	viii. 14	...	1 Thess. ii. 13.
P. 2	...	xi. 2	...	Col. iv. 11.
P. 3	...	xix. 6	...	1 Cor. xiv. 39.
P. 4	...	xvi. 1	...	Eph. iv. 13.
P. 5	...	xxiii. 1	...	2 Cor. iv. 2.
6	...	ii. 22	...	Rom. xv. 19.
P. 7	...	ii. 42	...	Rom. xii. 12.
P. 8	...	i. 7	...	1 Thess. v. 1.
9	...	xi. 19	...	Phil. i. 14.
P. 10	...	ii. 40	...	Phil. ii. 15.
11	...	vi. 1	...	1 Cor. vii. 8.
12	...	ii. 12	...	1 Cor. xv. 39.
P. 13	...	x. 36	...	Gal. iv. 1.
P. 14	...	xiv. 27	...	Col. iv. 3.
P. 15	...	viii. 5	...	Phil. i. 15.
P. 16	...	xiv. 1	...	Gal. iii. 28.

<i>Peculiar to St. Paul.</i>	<i>The Acts.</i>	<i>St. Luke.</i>	<i>St. Paul.</i>
P. 17 ...	x. 39	...	Gal. iii. 13.
P. 18 ...	xx. 28	...	1 Tim. iii. 15.
P. 19 ...	xxi. 19	...	Eph. v. 33.
P. 20 ...	ii. 5	...	Col. i. 23.
P. 21 ...	xxvii. 23	...	Rom. i. 9.
22 ...	x. 47	...	Gal. iii. 2.
P. 23 ...	v. 36	...	Gal. ii. 6.
P. 24 ...	xix. 4	...	Gal. ii. 16.
P. 25 ...	x. 42	...	Rom. xiv. 9.
P. 26 ...	xiii. 48	...	1 Thess. i. 8.
27 ...	xiii. 39	...	1 Cor. iv. 4.
P. 28 ...	xxi. 22	...	1 Cor. xiv. 26.
P. 29 ...	xiii. 1	...	1 Cor. xii. 28.
P. 30 ...	xxi. 24	...	Gal. vi. 13.
P. 31 ...	xxii. 14	xii. 47	Rom. ii. 18.
P. 32 ...	xx. 24	...	2 Tim. iv. 7.
P. 33 ...	xxiii. 18	...	Eph. iii. 1.
34 ...	x. 3	...	Gal. iv. 14.
P. 35 ...	i. 14	...	Eph. vi. 18.
36 ...	viii. 39	iv. 18	2 Cor. iii. 17.
P. 37 ...	xv. 22	...	1 Cor. xiv. 23.
P. 38 ...	xxi. 14	...	Eph. v. 17.
39 ...	xiii. 39	...	1 Cor. ix. 9.
P. 40 ...	ii. 30	...	Rom. i. 3.
P. 41 ...	ii. 44 (cf. 1 John v. 1)	...	Rom. iii. 22.
42 ...	xxiv. 16	...	Rom. iv. 2.
P. 43 ...	v. 41	...	Rom. i. 5.
P. 44 ...	ix. 31	...	2 Cor. v. 11.
45 ...	xxiv. 15	...	1 Cor. xv. 13.
46 ...	v. 21	i. 16	2 Cor. iii. 13.
P. 47 ...	xviii. 25	...	Rom. xii. 11.

<i>Peculiar to St. Paul.</i>	<i>The Acts.</i>	<i>St. Luke.</i>	<i>St. Paul.</i>
48 ...	xx. 7	xxiv. 30	1 Cor. x. 16.
49 ...	ii. 45	...	Eph. iv. 28.
P. 50 ...	xv. 21	viii. 1	Titus i. 5.
P. 51 ...	viii. 30	...	2 Cor. iii. 2.
52 ...	iii. 20	...	2 Thess. i. 9.
53 ...	ix. 41	...	Eph. i. 1.
P. 54 ...	xx. 1	...	1 Tim. i. 3.
P. 55 ...	ix. 22, 25	...	2 Cor. xi. 32, 33.
56 ...	xiii. 21	...	Rom. xi. 1.
P. 57 ...	x. 12	...	Rom. i. 23.
58 ...	xix. 3	...	Rom. vi. 3.
P. 59 ...	ix. 14	...	1 Cor. i. 2.
P. 60 ...	xv. 21	...	2 Cor. iii. 15.
P. 61 ...	xxviii. 2	...	1 Cor. vii. 26.
62 ...	xix. 25	..	Rom. i. 32.
63 ...	ix. 31	...	Rom. xvi. 16.
64 ...	i. 14	...	1 Cor. ix. 5.
65 ...	xxii. 22	...	2 Cor. xii. 2.
P. 66 ...	xx. 18	...	Phil. i. 5.
P. 67 ...	xiv. 22	...	2 Cor. ii. 4.
P. 68 ...	xxv. 14	...	Eph. vi. 21.
P. 69 ...	xxviii. 31	...	Phil. i. 20.
P. 70 ...	ii. 39	...	Eph. ii. 13.
P. 71 ...	xxii. 1	...	1 Cor. ix. 3.
72 ...	xvii. 33	...	1 Cor. v. 2.
P. 73 ...	ii. 6	iv. 40	Eph. iv. 16.
P. 74 ...	viii. 21	...	Col. i. 12.
75 ...	i. 3	...	Rom. xvi. 7.
P. 76 ...	iii. 23	...	Col. iii. 17.
P. 77 ...	xiii. 30	...	1 Cor. xv. 15, 20.
78 ...	xvii. 2	xxiv. 45	Rom. xv. 4.

<i>Peculiar to St. Paul.</i>	<i>The Acts.</i>	<i>St. Luke.</i>	<i>St. Paul.</i>
79 ...	xxi. 27	...	2 Tim. i. 15.
80 ...	xi. 22	...	1 Cor. v. 1.
81 ...	xii. 4	xxii. 1	1 Cor. v. 7.
82 ...	v. 3	xiii. 16	1 Cor. v. 5.
83 ...	xiii. 23	...	Rom. i. 3.
P. 84 ...	xxiv. 10	...	Rom. xv. 23.
P. 85 ...	xxiv. 17	...	Gal. ii. 1.
86 ...	ix. 21	...	Rom. xiii. 6.
P. 87 ...	xxiv. 24	...	2 Tim. iii. 15.
P. 88 ...	vii. 53	...	Gal. iii. 19.
P. 89 ...	i. 3	...	Rom. xii. 1.
P. 90 ...	xx. 32	...	Eph. i. 18.
91 ...	xxi. 13	...	2 Cor. xii. 14.
92 ...	vii. 55	ii. 9	1 Cor. x. 31.
93 ...	xxiii. 5	iv. 10	1 Cor. i. 9.
94 ...	iv. 32	xii. 15	1 Cor. xiii. 3.
P. 95 ...	iii. 13	ii. 31	2 Cor. x. i.
96 ...	v. 13	xxiv. 9	Rom. xi. 7.
97 ...	xxvi. 12	xii. 1	2 Cor. iv. 4.
98 ...	xxvi. 4	i. 2	2 Thess. ii. 13.
99 ...	xiii. 47	...	Rom. i. 16.
100 ...	xv. 11	...	2 Cor. xiii. 14.

You will now be in a position to study and verify the somewhat uninteresting-looking lists of words and phrases in the Appendix, which I need not say have given me much labour, and on which rests the proof of my assertion of that most important truth, that *St. Paul himself was the real author of the Acts of the Apostles*, and consequently the author also of *St. Luke's Gospel*, which were both written

by his direction at Rome during the leisure of his imprisonment, A.D. 61–63.*

Before doing so, however, you may like to glance at the following observations on the Preface to St. Luke's Gospel (Note A.), and on that "*nominis umbra*" Theophilus (Note B.).

* Spanheim, Pearson, Tillemont, Winer, Anger, Wieseler, Wordsworth, Alford all agree that St. Paul arrived at Rome in A.D. 61, the shipwreck having occurred late in the autumn of A.D. 60.—*Farrar*, "St. Paul," vol. ii. p. 624. The last words in the Acts could not have been written before the spring of A.D. 63. St. Paul's martyrdom (according to M. Renan) took place in the summer of A.D. 64.—*Conybeare and Howson*, "St. Paul," new edition, appendix iii., p. 823; *Renan*, "Hibbert Lectures for 1880," pp. 90, 91.

NOTE A.

ON THE INTRODUCTION TO ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL.

(St. Luke i. 1-4.)

Something depends on the meaning of *ἐν ἡμῖν*. It may mean more than "among us"; it may mean "by us," "by our agency and instrumentality," *κρινειν ἐν ἀνδρῖ* (Acts xvii. 31), *ὁ κόσμος κρινεται ἐν ὑμῖν* (1 Cor. vi. 2), "*ἐν* signifying the instrument and means, and being thus joined with personal names" * (cf. St. Luke xi. 15, *ἐκβαλλει τα δαιμονια ἐν ἀρχοντι των δαιμονιων*). A good deal more turns on the meaning of *πληροφορω* here. Wyclif translates it, "Thinges which ben *fillid* inn us." The Vulgate has, "Narrationem, quæ in nobis *completæ* sunt, rerum." Luther, "Die Rede von den Geschichten so unter uns *ergangen* sind"; while Bishop Lightfoot says, † "There is in the usage of the word no justification for translating it 'most surely believed' in Luke i. 1, and it should, therefore, be rendered 'fulfilled, accomplished.'" The Revisers have improved the translation of this passage by the use of the word "fulfilled"; for, if the true meaning is not "the matters accomplished by us," it is certainly "the things fulfilled among us."

This goes far to prove the truth of what Olshausen says: ‡ "This Proëmium must be viewed as introductory to St. Luke's whole work (the Acts of the Apostles being regarded as a second part of the Gospel)," for the Gospel ends with a promise of the gift of the Holy Spirit, the accomplishing of which we do not hear of till we read on to the beginning of the Acts, and with a prophecy—the preaching the Gospel

* Winer, "Grammar of New Testament Greek," Moulton, third edition, pp. 485, 486.

† On Colossians iv. 12.

‡ "Biblical Commentary," E. Tr., vol. i. p. 75.

among all nations—the fulfilment of which we do not wholly realise till we come to the end of the Acts, and find St. Paul at Rome preaching the kingdom of God to all who come to him.

There can be no doubt that the Third Gospel and the Acts form one organic whole—one complete conception in the mind of the author. He speaks in Acts i. 1 of the Gospel as *ὁ πρῶτος λόγος*; now, *λόγος* is used for “one section,* or part, of such a work as Herodotus,” and *πρῶτος* certainly means “first,” not “former”—first in order of arrangement, not former in time of writing. St. Luke and the Acts form one history, divided, for convenience, into two parts or sections—St. Luke the first part, the Acts the second part.† We have only to remove the last verse which fitly ends St. Luke, and the first eleven verses which serve as an introduction to the Acts, to read the whole as one continuous narrative, the words *ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ* (Luke xxiv. 52, repeated in Acts i. 12) forming the point of junction. This is quite conclusively proved by the very large number of words and phrases in St. Luke which are repeated in the Acts; *both* parts must have come from *one* mind in the *same* condition,—that is, at one and the same time.‡

The Acts are the composition of one who was engaged in

* Liddell and Scott, “Greek Lexicon,” p. 845, iv. 2. “When an author divided a work into several books, it was usual to include only one book in a volume or roll, so that there was generally the same number of volumes as of books.”—*Smith’s* “Classical Dictionary,” small ed., article “Liber,” p. 238.

† Bengel says, “*λόγος* Latinis liber tantam solet habere longitudinem ut lector cupidus unâ lectione absolvere possit.”—“*Guomon*,” Acts i. 1.

‡ There are fully 500 words (more than 60 of which are peculiar to Luke and Acts) out of 1,500, the whole number in the Acts, which are thus repeated, as well as 200 or 300 phrases. Besides this, portions of the Acts seem to have been written down as the fulfilment of previous statements in St. Luke, while the mental standpoint and subjective colouring of the two sections are so precisely identical, that it is psychologically impossible that they can have been divided by any lapse of time or chasm of experience, *e.g.*, St. Luke ix. 5, compared with Acts xiii. 51; St. Luke xxi. 15 with Acts vi. 10.

this great work of preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles. This is shown by the "we"-passages in the Acts*; and there is a "we"-passage also in this introduction (Luke i. 2).

Who is so likely to have penned these as the master mind, the man who was the chief and leader in the work—and who wished to leave a proper history of his life-work behind him—namely, St. Paul? That he did regard his life-work as accomplished, and successfully accomplished, in spite of all opposition and persecution, can easily be seen from Rom. xv. and Col. i. His own view of his position on reaching Rome was certainly that expressed by Bengel, "Paulus Romæ apex Evangelii." †

The mental standpoint of the author of this preface is precisely the mental standpoint of St. Paul at Rome. He writes with much self-consciousness, as is shown in these four verses, and especially by his reference to *ἔγω* in verse 3, and also in Acts i. 1. He also writes with a sense and tone of authority ‡ and decision, as one who by his position and circumstances had a right and an opportunity to deal with the matter, *ἐν ἡμῖν* (verse 1) *ἔδοξε καὶ μοι* (verse 3); the latter phrase (though, no doubt, a common expression) being that used by the Apostles, in issuing their decrees—*δογματά* (Acts xvi. 4)—to the Gentile brethren on the question of circumcision, in Acts xv. 25, 28. Again, the writer does not claim to be an eye-witness, but says that he has received the account from those who were eye-witnesses from the beginning (*ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*), and he states that he has carefully and accurately traced out everything from the very beginning or origin (*ἀνωθεν*) of the events described, with a view to writing a narrative (to super-

* "The key to the Book of the Acts is, I venture to think, to be found in the so-called "we"-passages which form its latter portion."—*Sanday*, "Study of the New Testament," p. 34. So Paul uses "we" in Rom. i. 5.

† See also Renan, "Hibbert Lectures," p. 60: "A sort of profound instinct had always made Paul long to take this journey. His arrival at Rome was an event in his life almost as decisive as his conversion. In it he believed himself to have attained the highest point of his apostolical career."

‡ As if he were not unaccustomed, on occasion, to use the formula of command, *sic volo, sic jubeo*.

sede other existing accounts, πολλοι, verse i.) in due order of the succession of the chief events (καθεξης); which he proceeds to do, first giving the ministry of Christ, in St. Luke; and then the work of His original Apostles, in Acts i.—xii.; and then, in Acts xiii.—xxviii., the spread of the Gospel in widening circles among the Gentiles, through the labours of Barnabas, and especially of St. Paul, the whole history coming to a sudden and abrupt termination, without any proper or formal conclusion, as soon as St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, reaches Rome, the capital of the Gentile world, where the writer, as the crowning event in the history he had undertaken to narrate, leaves him preaching the Gospel, with all boldness and without hindrance, to all who came to him (Acts xxviii. 16, 31). The writer refers to himself and to his friends as connected with the accomplishing of the events related in his history; and, connecting the “we”-passage in Luke i., verse 1, with the many “we”-passages in the latter part of the Acts, it is scarcely possible to doubt that when he refers to the *πραγματα πεπληροφορημενα εν ημιν*,—Luke i. 1,—he would have us understand that these deeds had been accomplished or performed by the agency and instrumentality of himself and his fellow-workers. Surely, all this exactly answers to St. Paul—the unique St. Paul—and to no one else. His Epistles abundantly show that he is self-conscious,—“I Paul” and “I” are very frequent expressions in them.* He was fully aware of his apostolic authority, and more than once referred to it (Gal. i. 1, 12): he was “not one whit behind the very chiefest Apostles” (2 Cor. xi. 5). Though not an eye-witness of our Lord’s life and ministry himself, nor perhaps of the earliest events in the history of the Church, he conferred with those who were—St. Peter, and St. John with whom our Lord’s Mother made her home (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 3). He was the colleague of Barnabas, and was

* There are only two places, I believe, in the direct narrative of the Acts (ch. xvi. 17; xxi. 12–14) where “I Paul” might not be substituted for “Paul.” These, perhaps, were penned by Luke or Timothy. Compare Cæsar’s “Commentaries,” where “Cæsar” stands for “ego,” I.

associated with Mark; he stayed many days at the house of Philip the Evangelist, one of the original seven deacons, who was the companion of Stephen, the first Christian martyr; and he was once, at least, thrown into the company of Mnason, of Cyprus (the home of Barnabas), a disciple "from the first," ἀρχαῖος (Acts xxi. 16). In addition to this, St. Paul's presence at Jerusalem, as related in Acts vii., ix., xxii., xxvi., gave him ample opportunities for accurately tracing out all matters related in his history from the very beginning or origin of Christianity.

St. Paul had received the right hand of fellowship from James, Peter, and John, the pillars of the Church, as the Apostle of the heathen (Gal. ii. 9). St. Paul was the "Apostle and teacher of the Gentiles" (1 Tim. ii. 7), "who laboured more abundantly than they all" (1 Cor. xv. 10); and who, "from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum, had fully preached the Gospel of Christ" (Rom. xv. 19). St. Paul states, in Col. i. 23, that the Gospel had been preached to every creature which is under heaven; "whereof I, Paul, am made a minister" (cf. St. Luke xxiv. 46, 47; Acts xxvi. 20). Surely, then, St. Paul could speak better than any one else of what had been accomplished by the efforts of himself and his fellow-workers and assistants, and St. Paul would be the most likely, as well as the best qualified, writer to tell Theophilus what all Christendom would be interested to know, namely, "what God had wrought at his hands among the Gentiles" (Acts xv. 12; xxi. 19); and how the Gentiles, gladly receiving that Gospel which the Jews generally rejected, had in God's providence succeeded to their privileges, and, entering in at the door of faith which had been opened to them (Acts xiv. 27), had become full and free members of the Church of Christ. The wonder is not that St. Paul wrote the Acts; the marvellous thing would have been if such a man had not written such a history of his own life-work.* The wonder would have been if St. Paul had not left behind him some written record of the historical facts of "that Gospel which

* "No man ever did so great a deed as he did."—*Luthardt*, "Fundamental Truths of Christianity," E. Tr., third edition, p. 206.

he preached among the Gentiles" * during, at least, a quarter of a century, and to which he was accustomed to refer as "our Gospel," † and even as "my Gospel." ‡

Let me add these quotations as to the style of the preface. "As regards the style, we perceive it is pure Greek." § "Luke, in his Gospel, where he was dependent on the Gospel *paradosis*, has more Hebraisms than in the Acts, and the falling-off in the diction after the preface to his Gospel was long ago pointed out." ||

Now, on examining the words and phrases of this introduction, what do we find? We find that St. Paul *alone* of the New Testament writers uses *πληροφορειν* and *παρακολουθειν*, these two within a few verses of each other, in 2 Timothy (iii. 10; iv. 5); *πληροφορειν* is an uncommon word, ¶ it only occurs once in the LXX, in Ecclesiastes—it is scarcely known in classical Greek—but St. Paul uses it four or five times, and he alone.** I may mention that, on comparing 2 Tim. iv. 5, *την διακονιαν σου πληροφορησον*, with Col. iv. 17, *βλεπε την διακονιαν ινα αυτην πληροις*, we see at once that St. Paul used *πληροφορειν* (= *πληρουν*) in the sense of "accomplish or fulfil"; but I must not dwell on this, lest you should say that I am arguing in a circle. St. Paul *alone* uses *καμοι, κατηχειν, ασφαλια, επειδη*. *Ἐπειδηπερ* is not to be found elsewhere in the New Testament, but St. Paul *alone* uses *επειπερ* (Rom. iii. 30). Of the phrases in the Preface St. Paul *alone* uses *καθως παρεδσαν ημιν* (1 Cor. xi. 2; cf. 1 Thess. iv. 1, and 1 Cor. xv. 3), *κατηχειν*—*λογος* (Gal. vi. 6), while in Acts xxvi. 4 ff. the phrase *ο απ' αρχης γενομενος*, and the words *ανωθεν, προγιγνωσκειν* (*επιγιγνωσκειν*), *ακριβης* (*ακριβως*), *κρατιστε* (only in Acts), all occur in a

* Gal. ii. 2; Rom. xv. 19.

† 1 Thess. i. 5; 2 Cor. iv. 3.

‡ Rom. ii. 16; 2 Tim. ii. 8. Compare also 2 Tim. ii. 2, 9; iv. 6.

§ Olshausen, vol. i. p. 73.

|| Winer, "Grammar of the New Testament," p. 31, note 1.

¶ "For the most part only in biblical and Patristic Greek = *πληρουν*."—*Cremer*, "Biblico-Theological Lex.," p. 521.

** See Note C, VII., p. 99.

speech of St. Paul's; and you will bear in mind (as proving that this phrase, which does not occur elsewhere, and these words came from St. Paul himself), that St. Paul's speeches in the Acts do contain real phrases, as well as words, actually used by St. Paul in his Epistles, *e.g.* τελειν του δρομον, απο πρωτης ημερας, πασα συνειδησις, η εκκλησια του Θεου, Θεος ω λατρευω, πολλη θλιψις, and τελειουν την διακονιαν ην ελαβον παρα του Κυριου, in St. Paul's address to the Ephesian elders (Acts xx. 24), which is essentially the same, *mutatis mutandis*, as St. Paul's message to Archippus (in Colossians iv. 17), πληρουν την διακονιαν ην παρελαβες εν Κυριω.

There is, therefore, good reason for asserting that *three phrases, three principal verbs, one substantive, and one particle* in the Preface to St. Luke are all *peculiar* to St. Paul; while all the words of the Preface (except three or four) can be found in St. Paul's Epistles, or else in the Acts*—several of these words in the latter occurring in St. Paul's speeches, and others in those narrative portions which more immediately concern St. Paul.

This being so, it seems that the result of this examination of the preface of St. Luke is that the balance of probability clearly is on the side of St. Paul having been its author, thus confirming what I have already demonstrated from other considerations, namely, that St. Paul was the author who planned and caused to be written in his own lifetime the whole work and history contained in the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles.

* 'Ασφαλης and γραφω also occur within ten verses of the words quoted on the preceding page; *ινα επιγινω, γνωμαι το ασφαλης*, are to be found a chapter or two earlier (xxii. 24, 30); *καθεξης* (Acts xviii. 23), while the two verbs, *επιχειρειν, επιγιτωσκειν*, are used together in Acts ix. 29, 30, in recounting the personal experiences of St. Paul. These words and phrases of the preface thus occurring in the latter part of the history, most of them at the end of the Acts, show that the whole was published together as one continuous history (compare Olshausen's remarks as to the preface being the preface to the whole work); especially as the preface to a work is, as Alford points out, generally written last, after the work itself is completed.

NOTE B.

ON THEOPHILUS.

On referring to Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible" (smallest edition), I find the following:—"Theophilus, the person to whom St. Luke inscribes his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. From the honourable epithet applied to him in Luke i. 3, it has been argued, with much probability, that he was a person in high official authority."

That is but a *meagre* account of the man to whom was first addressed a work of such importance, containing the fullest history we have of our Lord's life and of the labours of His Apostles, without which, indeed, we should know nothing of the early days of Christianity; and which, for 1800 years, has been treasured by the whole of Christendom. A very slight examination of the contents, however, will suffice to convince us that a history so unrivalled in interest and importance was never designed *merely* for the private perusal of any individual, however exalted his rank might be. Even Olshausen,* who thinks that Theophilus was probably a distinguished Roman, says: "Theophilus, accordingly, stands before us as the representative of inquiring heathens in general; and the Acts of the Apostles is most thoroughly adapted to the wants of such." The words quoted above come from the smallest edition of the "Dictionary of the Bible," but the very largest can add nothing more certain, nothing more satisfactory. The fact is, nothing *whatever* is known as to Theophilus. He is a mere shadow. The fullest accounts of him are given by those who lived longest after him. Theophilus is, if I may venture to change one word in a well-known quotation, "*Nomen et præterea nihil.*" . . . "Many have thought,

* "The Gospels," vol. iv. p. 214.

from the time of Origen, that Theophilus is simply a symbolic title of the true disciple.”*

It is curious that the Church should know absolutely nothing of a convert of high rank at a time when “not many mighty, not many noble men, were called” (1 Cor. i. 26), to whom it owes, indirectly, so much. But not every one has fancied *κρατιστε* to necessarily imply high rank. Wyclif, with his “Thou best teofle,” not deeming him of sufficient importance to bestow on him even a capital “T”; Tyndale, with his “good Theophilus”; and Luther, with “mein guter Theophile,” did not think so.

Moreover, certain it is that this token of high rank has vanished by the time we reach Acts i. 1 (which, in any case, is an argument in favour of there having been no interval between the composition of the two parts of the history), for there we find, familiarly enough, plain “Theophilus,” pure and simple—plain, unvarnished “Teofle,” as Wyclif has it, with a variation in the spelling, which is perhaps not to be wondered at, coming as it does from one whose own name can be spelt in sixteen different ways; though Tyndale manages to make out of it “Deare frende Theophilus,” and Luther “Lieber Theophile.” No doubt *κρατιστε* was used, like *bone* † or *optime* in Latin, as equivalent to “my good friend,” and was meant here to apply to any Christian reader (much as an author nowadays addresses his courteous reader, or gentle reader), and should be rendered, “my excellent Theophilus,” or “my good friend Theophilus.”

Epiphanius, quoted by Alford on Luke i. 4, wrote—*ειπουν τινη Θεοφιλω τότε γραφων τουτο ελεγεν, η παντι ανθρωπω Θεον αγαπωντι*. But Epiphanius is mistaken, I think, in supposing that Theophilus is properly “one loving God,” though sometimes it may have had that meaning; it means rather “one beloved by God”: *φιλοθεος*, used by Aristotle, and St. Paul in 2 Tim. iii. 4, is “one loving God,” formed on the same analogy as *φιλαργυρος*, “loving money,” and many other

* Professor Westcott’s “Introduction to Study of Gospels,” p. 235, note 3.

+ Horace.

similar words: take, for instance, Τιμοθεος, "honouring God"—St. Paul's "own son in the faith, Timothy" (1 Tim. i. 2); Θεοφιλος—"dear to God," or "loved by God"—formed like Θεοδιδακτος, "taught by God," which is used by St. Paul in 1 Thess. iv. 9, or Θεοδοτος (3 Maccabees i. 2) = Θεοδωρος, "given by God," or "the gift of God."

Now, "Beloved," and "Beloved of God," is just the mode of address which St. Paul uses in writing from Rome at this time (Phil. iv. 1, αγαπητοι, "Beloved"), and which he had used previously in writing to these very Roman Christians, for whom the Acts, as it would appear (and, indeed, as I have proved), were written (αγαπητοι Θεου, Rom. i. 7, "Beloved of God"). What is the difference in meaning between αγαπητος Θεου and Θεοφιλος? There is none whatever; but the latter may well do duty as a proper name.

That St. Paul was keenly alive to the form and sound, and even to the shades of meaning, of words, is conclusively shown by his constant play on words—his frequent use of the figure Paronomasia; and that such thoughts were passing through his mind at this very time at Rome, is evident from his play on the name of Onesimus, the *unprofitable** slave in the Epistle to Philemon.

Whence I conclude that Theophilus stands for any baptised Gentile Christian convert, and that St. Paul chose the title as expressing his affectionate regard for all Gentile converts (for whom his great history was written), including ourselves—as αγαπητοι Θεου.

* Ἀχρηστος, the word used by St. Paul, in verse 11, is a synonym for ἀνονητος = unprofitable; ὀνησιμος = profitable—"an affectionate play on a name": comp. verse 20, δναιμην (see Bishop Lightfoot, "Philemon").

NOTE C.

I. "*The Acts of the Apostles*" is not the proper title of the book. (See page 87.)

"The title of the book (the Acts of the Apostles) was certainly not prefixed by St. Luke, for the manuscripts differ very much with respect to it; he would himself probably have named it *λογος δευτερος*."—*Olshausen*, "Bibl. Com.," E. Tr., vol. iv. p. 214.

"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," *i.e.* to the latter, namely, the Acts of the Apostles.—*Dean Plumptre* in Bishop Ellicott's "Commentary," "The Acts of the Apostles," Introduction, p. 1.

II. *The Acts are the work of a highly-educated author.*

(See page 53.)

There can be no denying the all-embracing range of the author's mind, seeing that he gives so accurate an account of such multifarious and widely-different subjects. He speaks to us familiarly of the Jewish law and ceremonial, of heathen mythology, of Greek philosophy, of Roman history; he mentions Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians. He is intimately acquainted with the circumstances of the Primitive Church; he knows all about the Herods and the Cæsars; he is not ignorant of geography, and he is so cosmopolitan as to be equally at home in Ephesus, Athens, Rome, and Jerusalem. He is not unacquainted with politics, and knows something at least of medicine; while it has even been said that he displays a

correct (though not a technical) knowledge of seamanship. Any man who knew, and could accurately write on, all these topics, in those days at least, must have been very observant, very intelligent, and very highly educated. We have convincing proof that St. Paul was such a highly-educated man; but we have no evidence that St. Luke possessed the intelligence, education, or literary ability needed to originate or compose such an interesting, important, and ably-written history as that contained in St. Luke and the Acts.*

III. *There is a very close connexion between the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Ephesians.* (See page 60.)

There seems every reason to think that the so-called Acts of the Apostles are the *historical* and *apologetic* treatise on the *rights* and *privileges* of the Gentile Christians, while the *encyclical* Epistle, known to us as the Epistle to the Ephesians, is the *doctrinal* and *practical* treatise on the *privileges* and *duties* of the same Gentile Christians in the Church of Christ. Both these important treatises (which afford the most con-

* To give some examples: he speaks of Herod the king and Herod the tetrarch; of Epicureans and Stoics; of Jupiter, Mercury, Diana, Vengeance, Castor and Pollux; makes a latent reference to Apollo; and tells us of Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius Cæsar. We have mentioned, by one apparently well acquainted with them, Jerusalem, Antioch, Athens, Crete, Ephesus, Corinth, and other towns and places. We have the words (one or two being unusual words),—some of which are to be found in Josephus, and others of which have been found on coins and in ancient inscriptions,—*ζηλωτης*, *πνευμα Πυθωνος* (an allusion to the Oracle at Delphi), *ὁ Σεβαστος*, *νεωκορος* (verified by numismatic evidence), *σικαριος*, *βαρβαρος*, *Συρτις*, *καυσιων*, *ἀνεμος τυφωνικος*. We read of Asiarchs and Politarchs, of Roman colonies and Roman citizens, of magistrates, deputies, and lictors, and at Malta of *ὁ πρωτος*, the chief man of the island, a title (*πρωτος Μελιταιων*) which has been found in inscriptions at Citta Vecchia, the former capital of Malta—not far from St. Paul's Bay, the traditional scene of the shipwreck. In Acts xxvii. we have proofs of acquaintance with seamanship; and in Acts xxviii. (the dysentery accompanied by fever) evidence of medical knowledge as great (on that point at least) as that of Hippocrates himself (*Hobart*, "Medical Language of St. Luke," p. 52).

vincing internal evidence of the closest connexion) were written by the same author, St. Paul, about the same time, A.D. 62, at the same place, Rome.

Dr. Hort says :—"The very probable view that the Epistle traditionally entitled *προς Ἐφεσίους* was addressed to a plurality of churches has naturally given rise to the supposition that the words *ἐν Ἐφεσῶ* (ch. i. 1) are not so much spurious as local, filling up an intentional gap in the text for Ephesian readers, but intended to be replaced by *ἐν* and another name for readers belonging to other churches addressed."

"Transcriptional evidence strongly supports the testimony of documents against *ἐν Ἐφεσῶ*" (ch. i. 1). "There is much probability in the suggestion of Beza and Ussher, adopted by many commentators, that this Epistle was addressed to more than one church. It is certainly marked by an exceptional generality of language, and its freedom from local and personal allusions places it in marked contrast to the twin Epistle to the Colossians conveyed by the same messenger." "Apart from any question of the reading (ch. i. 1), this is the simplest explanation of the characteristics of the Epistle."—*Westcott and Hort*, "Greek Testament," vol. ii., p. 302; and Appendix, pp. 123, 124.

IV. The following are the references to the phrases of the LXX (Letter VI., par. 1, page 51):—Gen. vi. 2; Isaiah xlix. 6; Gen. v. 25 and Dan. i. 19; Gen. xi. 6; Numbers xxii. 20; 1 Kings i. 7; Gen. xviii. 27; Deut. xxv. 2; Josh. xix. 48; 2 Kings xviii. 8; 1 Kings xx. 31; Lev. viii. 35; Deut. viii. 19; Ex. xi. 1; xxii. 23, 26; Ps. lxxxviii. 3. St. Paul uses similar Hebrew expressions: Col. i. 11; 2 Cor. xi. 2; 1 Cor. xvi. 10; 2 Tim. ii. 19; 1 Thess. v. 5; 2 Thess. ii. 3; Eph. iv. 1; Rom. iii. 20; 1 Cor. ix. 7; 1 Thess. iii. 4; Phil. ii. 8; iii. 9; Rom. ix. 7, 26 (quoted from the LXX.); Gal. i. 23; iv. 18.

V. With regard to the shipwreck (Letter VI., par. 4, page 53), Archdeacon Norris says:—"This voyage was *the* crisis of St. Luke's whole narrative . . . To show how the

Gospel came to Rome was the great purpose he kept steadily in view from first to last . . . How naturally, when at length the Apostle is embarked on the final voyage, the interest culminates, and every peril becomes invested with critical importance!"—"Key to the Acts," p. 129.

VI. (Letter V., page 43.) I may mention that the word *προκοπτειν*, applied to Christ in St. Luke a few verses further on (ch. ii. 52), is applied by St. Paul to himself (Gal. i. 14). The same may be said of *κακουργος* (Luke xxiii. 32; 2 Tim. ii. 9). Both these words are *peculiar* to St. Paul and St. Luke.

VII. (On the Introduction to St. Luke's Gospel, p. 91.) St. Paul uses the word *πληροφορειν* twice in one chapter (2 Tim. iv. 5 and 17). In the latter verse he says, *ινα δι' εμου το κηρυγμα πληροφορηθη* (cf. Luke i. 1). He thus uses *πληροφορειν* in the sense of "fulfil or accomplish," in connexion with the preaching (*κηρυγμα*) "of the Gospel committed to his trust" (1 Tim. i. 11), "whereunto he was ordained a preacher" (*κηρυξι*) (1 Tim. i. 6). Moreover, it is at Rome that St. Paul makes use of the unusual word *πληροφορειν* in this way. Does not, then, the *ινα δι' εμου το κηρυγμα πληροφορηθη* of St. Paul at Rome exactly correspond to, and give us all the light we need as to the exact meaning of, the *πραγματα πεπληρορημενα εν ημιν* of the Preface to St. Luke, which much-discussed phrase occurs at the very beginning of that elaborate history, the end, fulfilment, and climax of which is St. Paul himself preaching the Gospel at Rome?

VIII. (On the Introduction to St. Luke's Gospel, page 86.) That the author of the Third Gospel uses *πληροφορειν* in the sense of "fulfil," may be seen by tracing the word *πληρουν* (and its compounds and equivalents, *συμπληρουν*, *τελειν*, *τελειουν*) throughout his history. His work is *emphatically* a

history of "Fulfilment." Another instructive word to trace thus (as showing the organic unity of the two parts) is the word $\phi\omega\varsigma$.

IX. (On the Introduction to St. Luke's Gospel, page 87.) The two sections of the history are of the same length, and each covers about the same period of time,—namely, thirty years.

X. (Letter VI., page 52.) The tradition, repeated by the Fathers from Irenæus (A.D. 160) downwards, attributing the Third Gospel to St. Luke, most probably arose, I think, from St. Paul's statement to Timothy written at Rome, "The time of my departure is at hand. . . . Only Luke is with me" (2 Tim. iv. 6, 11), and is rather a testimony to the authorship of St. Paul, and to the fact that this Gospel was composed at Rome. Cf. Eusebius, H. E., II. xxii. "It is instructive to notice how the tradition [that St. Luke was a native of Antioch, &c.] grows more definite in time."—*Canon Westcott*, "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels," p. 233, note 1. "The ancients were giants in Divinity, but children in Criticism."—*Dean Burgon*, "The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark," p. 227.

XI. Three phrases are to be found in the First Epistle of St. Peter very similar to, if not identical with, those that I have given as *peculiar* to St. Paul (1 Peter i. 8; iv. 5; v. 10). I have not thought it worth while to remove these latter, as this fact does not at all affect the validity of the argument. Indeed, it rather confirms it, for the striking resemblance of the phraseology of this Epistle to the phraseology of St. Paul has been commented on by more than one critic. "The first doubt, in modern times, was thrown on the authenticity of the First Epistle of St. Peter by Cludius, on the ground that its thoughts and expressions are too like those of St. Paul, to have been written by the Apostle whose name it bears."—*Alford*, "Greek Testament," fourth edition, vol. iv. "Proleg.," p. 114. "St. Peter, therefore, we see, did not manifest any

resentment towards St. Paul for the rebuke given at Antioch. . . . He frankly comes forward and adopts *St. Paul's own language* on that *very question* which had been the subject of their *dispute*.—*Bishop Wordsworth*, “Greek Testament,” Introduction to the First Epistle of St. Peter, pp. 43, 44. Eichhorn supposed that it was written by John Mark, as the connecting link between Peter and Paul; and Schwegler thought that the purpose of the Epistle was one of reconciliation of the teachings of St. Peter and St. Paul.—See *Alford*, pp. 114, 115, and compare Letter V., page 37.

XII. (Letter VI., par. 3 and 4, page 53.) The writer of the Acts was shipwrecked at Melita (Acts xxvii. 37; xxviii. 1). Now we *know* that St. Paul was shipwrecked at Melita, and it is possible that Aristarchus may also have been shipwrecked at the same time (Acts xxvii. 2; Col. iv. 10); but have we any real reason to suppose that Luke was shipwrecked at Melita—have we the least evidence to show that Luke ever suffered shipwreck in his life? If Luke was *not* shipwrecked at Melita, it is quite clear that he could not have written Acts xxvii. 19, “We cast out with *our own hands* the tackling of the ship,” and, therefore, Luke *could not* have been the author of the Acts. I may add that this very expression, *αὐτοχειρες*, reminds us strongly of St. Paul's favourite phrase, *ταῖς ἰδίας χερσὶ*, in 1 Cor. iv. 12, and elsewhere. The name of Luke is not *even once* mentioned in the Acts, though St. Paul's name occurs more than a *hundred times*.

I cannot refrain from adding, as my concluding observation, that as St. Paul's authorship of the Third Gospel repels the fierce attacks made on Christianity from the *historical* side, and proves Baur, Strauss and the other sceptics to be *wrong*, and their theories *unfounded*; so, applying the maxim “*ab uno disce omnes*,” we may not unnaturally expect that the prevailing purely *scientific* scepticism, with all its arrogant

assertions and assumptions—all the more to be deplored because of their demoralising influence on the masses of mankind,—the Materialism of Professor Tyndall, the Positivism and Agnosticism of Professor Huxley and Mr. Herbert Spencer, may speedily prove to be equally *unfounded*, and, therefore, equally untenable.

The poet tersely expresses that which Bishop Butler, in his unanswerable work, has proved,

“Nature is Christian.”*

This fact has been acknowledged by such eminent scientific authorities as Sir James Simpson, that true Benefactor of suffering humanity, by the gentle and modest Professor Faraday, and, last but not least, by that intellectual giant, the Founder of modern science, the great Sir Isaac Newton himself. But, in addition to, and more convincing even than, all external testimony, every Christian has the evidence of his own inner spiritual consciousness and experience, which *to him* is as truly a *fact* as any outward phenomenon.

He feels and knows that Christianity, however misunderstood or misrepresented it may be, is, in its essence, a message from God to men. In spite of all “oppositions of science falsely so called,” having “the witness in himself,” the Christian knows that CHRIST is, and ever must be, THE TRUTH.

“My doctrine is not mine, but His that sent me. If any man will do His will, *he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of GOD, or whether I speak of myself.*” †

“Heaven and earth shall pass away, but MY WORDS shall *not* pass away.” ‡

* Young, “Night Thoughts.”

† St. John vii. 17.

‡ St. Luke xxi. 33.

APPENDIX A.



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I. (a).

ἐπειδὴ.		εἰ μὴ τι.	
παντως.		γε without another par-	
ἀλλ' ἢ.		ticle.	17
ὅπως ἂν.			
ἄρα.	5	μαλλον δε.	
ἀπο του νυν.		ἅμα δε και.	
ἀνθ' ὧν.		λοιπον.	20
τα περι.		οὐ μονον δε—ἀλλα και.	
το πως.		νυνι.	
ὅπως μὴ.	10	εἰ πως.	
		ἀλλ' οὐδε.	
ἀλλα και.		ὁμοθυμαδον.	25
μενουνγε.		δι' ἣν αἰτιαν.	
ἀλλα γε.		τα κατα.	
ἔσωθεν with the article.		ὁ και.	28
εἰ δε και.	15		

I. (b).

ἐπι το αὐτα.		εἰς τέλος.	
διο.		ἐπειτα.	
ἀχρις οὐ.		τοιουνν.	15
ἱνατι.		τουτεστι.	
εἰ μὴ.	5	ἐκτος.	
οὐδεποτε.		εἰ δε μηγε.	
εὐ.		δη.	
πολλῳ μαλλον.		διοτι.	20
ποσῳ μαλλον.		μεν οὐν.	
εἰ και.	10	οὐκετι.	
ἐπει.		μηκετι.	
μεταξυ.		καθως και.	

ἔξωθεν.	25	διαπαντος.	
μαλιστα.		ὤς.	
ὁμοίως δε και.		ἀμα και.	35
ὑπερ with accusative.		ὁμοίως και.	
ὥστε.		δια τουτο.	
ὥσπερ.	30	ὅταν.	
ὥσαυτως.		ἕως ἀν.	
ἐν ταχει.		φησι.	40

II. (a).

ἀνακρινειν.		καταξιουν.	
ἀναπεμπειν.		κατηχειν.	
ἀντιλαμβανεσθαι.		κολλασθαι.	
ἀπειθης.		μεθιστανειν.	30
ἀπολογεισθαι.	5	μερις.	
ἀσφαλεια.		νομοδιδασκαλος.	
ἀτενιζειν.		ὀνομαζειν.	
ἀτοπος.		ὀπτασια.	
ἀφισταναι.		ὀριζειν.	
βουλη.	10	παντως.	35
γραμμα.		παρακλησις.	
δεκτος.		πατρια.	
διαγγελλειν.		παυειν.	
διαμαρτυρεσθαι.		πειθεσθαι.	
διαπορευεσθαι.	15	πολιτης.	40
διερμηνευειν.		πρεσβυτεριον.	
δογμα.		προδοτης.	
δυναστης.		σιγαν.	
ἐβδομηκοντα.		συνεσθειν.	
ἐπειδη.	20	συνευδοκειν.	45
ἐπιφαινειν.		το σωτηριον.	
εὐγενης.		τυγχανειν.	
ἐφισταναι.		χρηματιζειν.	
ἥσυχαζειν.		χρειν.	
καταγειν.	25	ψαλμος.	50

II. (b).

ἀδελος.		ἐξουθενειν.	85
αἴτημα.		ἐξουσιαζειν.	
αἰφνιδιος.		ἐπαινειν.	
αἰχμαλωτιζειν.		ἐπαναπανεσθαι.	
ἀμεμπτος.	55	ἐπιμελεισθαι.	
ἀναζην.		ἐπιτελειν.	90
ἀναλίσκειν.		ἐπιτροπος.	
ἀναλυειν.		ζωγειν.	
ἀναμνησις.		ἦχειν.	
ἀνοητος.	60	κακουργος.	
ἀνοια.		καταργειν.	95
ἀνταποδιδοναι.		κατευθυνειν.	
ἀνταποκρινεσθαι.		κοιτη.	
ἀντικεισθαι.		κυριενειν.	
ἀπελπίζειν.	65	λειτουργια.	
ἀπολυτρωσις.		μεθη.	100
ἀπορια.		μεθυσκεσθαι.	
ἀπωθεισθαι.		μεταδιδοναι.	
ἀροτριαν.		οἰκονομια.	
ἀροτρον.	70	ὀσιοτης.	
ἀχαριστος.		ὀψωνιον.	105
βιωτικος.		παγισ.	
βυθίζειν.		πανοπλια.	
διαιρειν.		πανουργια.	
διαμενειν.	75	παρακολουθειν.	
ἐγκακειν.		πληροφορειν.	110
ἐκδιωκειν.		πρεσβυτης.	
ἐκζητειν.		προκοπτειν.	
ἐκκακειν.		προνοια.	
ἐκφερειν.	80	σκοπειν.	
ἐκφευγειν.		σπουδαιως.	115
ἐνδοξος.		στεира.	
ἐντυγαυειν.		στεναγμος.	
ἐξαποστελλειν.		συγκαθιζειν.	

συγκλειειν.	
συγχειρειν.	120
συμπαραγινεσθαι.	
συναντιλαμβανεσθαι.	
συνοχη.	
σωματικως.	
ταξις.	125

ὑπωπιαζειν.	
ὑστερημα.	
φιλαργυρος.	
φορος.	
φρονησις.	130
χαριτων.	

II. (c).

ἀκροβυστια.	
ἀναγνωσις.	
ἀναθεμα.	
ἀναλαμβάνειν.	135
ἀναστατον.	
ἀνατιθεσθαι.	
ἀνεσις.	
ἀπειλη.	
ἀποβολη.	140
ἀποδεικνυναι.	
ἀπολουειν.	
ἀποστασια.	
ἀποστολη.	
ἀπροσκοπος.	145
ἀσφαλής.	
βαρβαρος.	
διαταγη.	
δρομος.	
ἐγκαλειν.	150
ἐμμενειν.	
ἐμφανής.	
ἐνδυναμουν.	
ἐνευλογεισθαι.	
ἐννομος.	155
ἐξαρτιζειν.	
ἐπεχειν.	

ἐπεικεια.	
ἐπιμενειν.	
ἐπιστασις.	160
ἐπιστολη.	
ἐπισυστασις.	
εὐαγγελιστης.	
εὐεργεσια.	
εὐσεβειν.	165
ζειν.	
ζημια.	
ἡσυχια.	
θεατρον.	
θυρις.	170
ιδιωτης.	
καθηκειν.	
καταγγελλειν.	
κατανταν.	
κατασκαπτειν.	175
κειρειν.	
κορεννυμι.	
λειτουργειν.	
μαρτυρεσθαι.	
μεταλαμβάνειν.	180
νοσφιζεισθαι.	
νουθετειν.	
ξενια.	

ὁμοθυμαδον.		ῥαβδιζειν.	
παραγγελια.	185	σκληρυνειν.	
παραιτεισθαι.		στοιχειν.	205
παρασκευαζειν.		συμβιβαζειν.	
παραχειμαζειν.		συμπαραλαμβανειν.	
παροξυνεσθαι.		συνδεσμος.	
παρρησιαζεσθαι.	190	συνεκδημος.	
πειθαρχειν.		συνιδειν.	210
πεντηκοστη.		συστελλειν.	
περιεργος.		σωφροσυνη.	
περιερχεσθαι.		τετρακοσιοι.	
περιποιεισθαι.	195	τετραποδα.	
πικρια.		τηρησις.	215
πολιτεια.		ὑβρις.	
πολιτενεσθαι.		ὑποστελλειν.	
προοριζειν.		φιλανθρωπια.	
προπετης.	200	χειροτονειν.	
προσφορα.		χρησθαι.	220
πυκνος.			

II. (d).

αἰσθανεσθαι.		αἰσθησις.	
	αἰτιαμα.	αἰτιασθαι.	
	ἀναψυξις.	ἀναψυχειν.	
	κατανυσσειν.	κατανυξις.	
	ἀνγη.	ἀνγαζειν.	5
	ἀφιξις.	ἀφικνεομαι.	
ἐκμυκτηριζειν.		μυκτηριζεσθαι.	
	ὁμιλειν.	ὁμιλια.	
συγκατατιθεσθαι.		συγκαταθεσις.	
	φθεγγεσθαι.	φθογγος.	10
φιλονεικια.		φιλονεικος.	
	φιλοσοφος.	φιλοσοφια.	

II. (e).

'Αθηναί.		Κιλικία.	
'Ακυλας.		Κορινθος.	
'Αντιοχεια.		Κρητη.	
'Αντιοχεια of Pisidia.		Κρισπος.	
'Απολλως.	5	Λυστρα.	20
§ 'Αραβια (Gal. i.).		Μαχεδονια.	
† 'Αραβες (Acts ii.).		Μιλητος.	
'Αρισταρχος.		Πρισκιλλα.	
'Αχαια.		'Ρωμη.	
Βαρναβας.		Σινα.	25
Δαμασκος.	10	Σωσθενης.	
'Εβραιοι.		Τροφιμος.	
'Εραστος.		Τρως.	
Θεσσαλονικη.		Τυχικος.	
'Ικονιον.		Φιλιπποι.	30
Κεγχραι.	15		

III. (a).*

*ἔδοξασαν τον Θεον (G.).	
*ἐκ κοιλιας μητρος (G.).	
*ἐνωπιον του Θεου (2 T.).	
*ἀναβαινειν εἰς Ἱεροσολυμα (G.).	
ἐξουσια και δυναμις (1 C.).	5
ἀποβησεται εἰς (P.).	
*ἀποδιδοναι λογον (E.).	
καθημενος ἐκ δεξιων της δυναμεως του Θεου (E.).	
μη γενοιτο (G.).	
τα ὀπισω (P.).	10
ἡ ἡμερα ἐκεινη (2 TH.).	
ὁ αἰων οὔτος (E.).	
ἡ σοφια του Θεου (1 C.).	

* For the references to St. Luke and St. Paul, see p. 75.

κεισθαι εἰς (1 TH.).	
κατηχεῖν — λογος (G.).	15
ἐν παντι καιρω (E.).	
παρεχεῖν μοι κοπους (G.).	
οἱ υἱοὶ του φωτος (1 TH.).	
γενεα διεστραμμενη (P.).	
*οἱ δωδεκα (1 C.).	20
οἱ ἀντικειμενοι (1 C.).	
οἱ ἀδελφοι (1 C.).	
*οἱ σωζομενοι (1 C.).	
οἱ ἀπιστοι (1 C.).	
ἐνωπιον Κυριου (2 C.).	25
ἐν ὑπομονη (2 C.).	
ἕτερος — ἕτερος (1 C.).	
ἀνογειν το στομα (2 C.).	
*ὁ νομος και οἱ προφηται (R.).	
λογω και ἔργω (R.).	30
*ἡ βασιλεια του Θεου (G.).	
*ἡ χαρις του Θεου (R.).	
*καθ' ἡμεραν (2 C.).	
*ἀπ' αἰωνος (pl. E.).	
αἱ ὀσφνες περιεζωσμεναι (E.).	35
ὁ ἔργατης ἀξιος του μισθου αὐτου (1 T.).	
ἐν ὀσιοτητι και δικαιοσυνη (E.).	
οἱ μετ' αὐτου ὄντες (T.).	
*ἡ ἀφεις των ἀμαρτιων (C.).	
*δεομαι σου (G.).	40
ὁ ἕτερος (R.).	
μετα χαρας (P.).	
ἀποστολοι και προφηται (E.).	
τα παρατιθεμενα ὑμιν ἔσθιετε (1 C.).	
*οἱ συν ἐμοι (R.).	45
ἐν τῷ καιρω τουτῷ (E.).	
τῷ Ἀβρααμ και τῷ σπερματι αὐτου (G.).	
διδοναι τοπον (E.).	
ἐπαιρειν χειρας (1 T.).	
Χριστος Κυριος (C.).	50

- υίοι εἰσι του Θεου (R.).
- *ζωη αἰωνιος (1 T.).
- ῥήμα Θεου (E.).
- ἡ ἀγαπη του Θεου (2 C.).
- το ὑστερημα ὑμων (1 C.). 55
- τα γινουμενα ὑπ' αὐτων (E.).
- ἐν δυναμει Πνευματος ἁγιου (R.).
- *ἐπι της γης (1 C.).
- τα του Θεου (1 C.).
- παντα τα ἔθνη (R.). 60
- ἐν τη καρδια ὑμων (E.).
- *ἄξιος θανατου (R.).
- ἀπ' οὐρανου (R.).
- αἱ ἐντολαι του Κυριου (1 C.).
- *οἱ πατερες ἡμων (1 C.). 65
- *ὁ Κυριος (1 C.).
- *ὁ Κυριος Ἰησους (1 C.).
- *οἱ ἀποστολοι (R.).
- *οἱ κυριοι (masters) (E.).
- προσωπον τινος λαμβανειν (G.). 70
- το ἄδυνατον (R.).
- *χαριν ἔχειν (1 T.).
- παντα καθαρα ἐστι (T.).
- *Θεος και ἀνθρωποι (1 T.).
- λαμβάνειν κριμα (R.). 75
- ἐν τῷ νομῷ γραφεσθαι (1 C.).
- *νυκτος και ἡμερας (1 TH.).
- *καθως γεγραπται (R.).
- τα λοιπα (1 C.).
- *ὄν τροπον (2 T.). 80
- *τη μια των σαββατων (1 C.).
- καθως παρεδωκα ὑμιν (1 C.).
- ἔσθιειν και πινειν (1 C.).
- *χειρας ἐπιτιθεναι (1 T.).
- ἀπο της ὀργης της ἐρχομενης (της μελλουσης) (1 TH.).
- τι ἐποιησας οὕτως; (R.). 86
- ἐν ἑαυτοις (R.).

* <i>νυκτα και ημεραν</i> (2 TH.). <i>το υψηλον</i> (pl. R.). <i>τα λαλουμενα</i> (sing. 1 c.). <i>δοξα Κυριου</i> (2 c.). <i>δυναμις Κυριου</i> (1 c.). <i>ο Θεος — οι εκλεκτοι</i> (c.). <i>περιτομη οκταημερος</i> (P.).	90
* <i>εν τω ονοματι</i> (1 c.). <i>το δικαιωμα του Θεου</i> (R.). <i>αγγελος απ' ουρανου</i> (εξ) (G.). <i>αρχεσθαι — τελεισθαι</i> (P.). <i>ο αιων ο ερχομενος</i> (pl. E.). <i>τη τριτη ημερα εγερθηναι</i> (1 c.). <i>Μωσης γραφει</i> (R.). <i>εις — ετερος</i> (1 c.). <i>ζην τω Θεω</i> (R.). <i>ου χαριν</i> (E.). <i>πας τοπος</i> (1 T.).	95
* <i>τα εθνη</i> (1 c.). <i>τεκνα τω Αβρααμ</i> (R.). <i>αιφνιδιος εφισταναι</i> (1 TH.). * <i>κατ' ιδιαν</i> (G.). <i>ο πειρασμος μου</i> (G.). <i>δεησεις ποιεισθαι</i> (1 T.). <i>αι αρχαι — αι εξουσιαι</i> (E.).	100
	105
	110

III. (b).*

<i>δεχεσθαι τον λογον του Θεου</i> (1 TH.). <i>οι εκ περιτομης</i> (G.). <i>λαλειν γλωσσαις — προφητευνειν</i> (1 c.). <i>κατανταν εις</i> (E.). <i>πασα συνειδησις</i> (2 c.). <i>σημεια και τερατα</i> (R.).	5
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* For the references to the Acts and St. Paul, see p. 81.

προσκαρτερεῖν τῇ προσευχῇ (R.).	
χρονοὶ — καιροὶ (1 TH.).	
λαλεῖν τὸν λόγον (P.).	
γενεὰ σκολία (P.).	10
αἱ χηραὶ (1 C.).	
ἄλλος — ἄλλος (2 C.).	
Κυριὸς παντῶν (G.).	
ὁ Θεὸς — ἀνοίγειν — θύρα (C.).	
κηρυσσεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν (P.).	15
Ἰουδαῖοι — Ἕλληνες (G.).	
κρεμασαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου (G.).	
ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ (1 T.).	
καθ' ἐν ἑκάστον (E.).	
ὑπο τὸν οὐρανὸν (C.).	20
Θεὸς ᾧ λατρευῶ (R.).	
Πνεῦμα λαμβανεῖν (G.).	
τι εἶναι (G.).	
πιστεῦειν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (G.).	
νεκροὶ καὶ ζῶντες (R.).	25
ὁ λόγος τοῦ Κυρίου (1 TH.).	
ἐν τούτῳ δικαιοῦσθαι (1 C.).	
τι οὖν ἐστὶ; (1 C.).	
προφῆται καὶ διδασκαλοὶ (1 C.).	
τὸν νομὸν φυλασσεῖν (G.).	30
*γινώσκειν τὸ θέλημα (R.).	
τελεῖν τὸν δρόμον (2 T.).	
Παῦλος ὁ δεσμιὸς (E.).	
ἄγγελος τοῦ Θεοῦ (G.).	
προσευχή καὶ δεήσις (E.).	35
*Πνεῦμα Κυρίου (2 C.).	
ἡ ὅλη ἐκκλησία (1 C.).	
τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου (E.).	
ὁ νομὸς Μωσέως (1 C.).	
κατὰ σάρκα (R.).	40
παντες οἱ πιστευοντες (R.).	
πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν (R.).	
ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ (R.).	

ὁ φόβος του Κυριου (2 c.).	
ἀναστασις νεκρων (1 c.).	45
*οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ (2 c.).	
τω πνευματι ζειν (R.).	
*κλαν ἄρτον (1 c.).	
χρειαν ἔχειν (E.).	
*κατα πολιν (T.).	50
γινωσκειν — ἀναγινωσκειν (2 c.).	
ἀπο προσωπου του Κυριου (2 TH.).	
οἱ ἅγιοι (E.).	
πορευεσθαι εἰς Μακεδονιαν (1 T.).	
ἐν Δαμασκῳ — χαλαν — δια του τειχους (2 c.).	55
ἐκ φυλης Βενιαμιν (P.).	
πετεινα — τετραποδα — ἔρπετα (R.).	
βαπτισθηναι εἰς (R.).	
ἐπικαλουμενοι το ὄνομα (1 c.).	
Μωσης ἀναγινωσκεται (2 c.).	60
δια την ἐνεστῶσαν ἀναγκην (1 c.).	
τα τοιαυτα (R.).	
αἱ ἐκκλησiai (R.).	
οἱ ἀδελφοι Κυριου (1 c.).	
ὁ τοιουτος (1 c.).	65
ἀπο πρωτης ἡμερας (P.).	
πολλη θλιψις (2 c.).	
τα κατ' ἐμε (E.).	
πασα παρῴησια (P.).	
οὐ εἰς μακραν (E.).	70
ἡ ἐμη ἀπολογία (1 c.).	
ἐκ μεσου (1 c.).	
*εἰς ἕκαστος (E.).	
κληρος — μερις (C.).	
οἱ και (R.).	75
πας ὅστις ἂν (C.).	
ὁ Θεος — ἐγειρειν — ἐκ νεκρων (1 c.).	
*αἱ γραφαι (R.).	
οἱ ἐν τη Ἀσια (2 T.).	
ἀκουεσθαι (to be reported) (1 c.).	80

*το πασχα (1 c.).	
*ὁ Σατανας (1 T.).	
ἐκ σπερματος Δαβιδ (R.).	
πολλα ἔτη (R.).	
δι' ἔτων (G.).	85
εἰς τουτο (R.).	
ἡ πιστις — Χριστος (2 T.).	
ὁ νομος εἰς διαταγας ἀγγελων (G.).	
παρισταναι — ζων (R.).	
κληρονομια ἐν τοις ἀγιοις (E.).	90
ἔτοιμως ἔχειν (2 c.).	
*δοξα Θεου (1 c.).	
*γεγραπται γαρ (1 c.).	
*τα ὑπαρχοντα (1 c.).	
*κατα προσωπον (G.).	95
*οἱ λοιποι (R.).	
*ἐν οἷς (2 c.).	
*ἀπ' ἀρχης (2 TH.).	
εἰς σωτηριαν (R.).	
ἡ χαρις του Κυριου Ἰησου Χριστου (2 c.).	100

H. H. E.

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A P P E N D I X B.



I.—St. Paul's own Thoughts and Words in comparing his own experiences to Christ's Example and Sufferings	118
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I.

St. Paul's Own Thoughts and Words in Comparing his Own Experiences to Christ's Example and Sufferings.

1. *μμηται μου γινεσθε, καθως κἀγω Χριστου.*—1 Cor. xi. 1.
2. *ἐγω γαρ τα στιγματα του Κυριου Ἰησου ἐν τῷ σωματι μου βασταζω.*—Gal. vi. 17. (Στιγματα were the marks branded on slaves to indicate ownership; St. Paul refers to the scars of his wounds received in serving his Master.—*Alford.*)
3. *ἐμοι γαρ το ζην, Χριστος.*—Phil. i. 21.
4. See also Phil. iii. 7–14, especially verse 10, *του γνωναι αυτον, (Christ) . . . και την κοινωνιαν των παθηματων αυτου, συμμορφουμενος τῷ θανατῷ αυτου.*
5. *νυν χαιρω ἐν τοις παθημασιν ὑπερ ὑμων, και ἀνταναπληρω τα ὑστερηματα των θλιψεων του Χριστου ἐν τῇ σαρκι μου ὑπερ του σωματος αυτου, ὃ ἐστιν ἡ ἐκκλησια.*—Col. i. 24.
6. *και ὑμεις μμηται ἡμων ἐγενηθητε και του Κυριου, δεξαμενοι τον λογον ἐν θλιψει πολλῃ.*—1 Thess. i. 6; cf. ch. ii. 14–16.
7. *συγκληρονομοι δε Χριστου· εἰπερ συμπασχομεν, ἵνα και συνδοξασθωμεν.*—Rom. viii. 17; cf. 2 Tim. ii. 8–12; Phil. i. 20, 29, 30.
8. *Χριστῷ συνεσταυρωμαι· ζω δε, οὐκετι ἐγω, ζῆ δε ἐν ἐμοι Χριστος.*—Gal. ii. 20.
9. *πασα ἡ θλιψις ἡμων . . . καθως περισσευει τα παθηματα του Χριστου εἰς ἡμας.*—2 Cor. i. 4, 5.

10. That St. Paul was not unfamiliar with the use of parallelism (and antithesis) may be gathered from Gal. iv. 24-26, and other passages in his Epistles. See Bishop Lightfoot's note on the word *συνστοιχει* (verse 25), which occurs in St. Paul's Allegory of the Two Covenants, "'answers to'; literally, 'belongs to the same row or column with' It is not improbable that St. Paul is alluding to some mode of representation common with Jewish teachers" (page 178).

II.

Instances of Parallelism between our Lord and St. Paul, especially in Luke xxiii., the Record of our Lord's Passion.

St. Luke (of Christ).

The Acts (of St. Paul).

1. *εύρον αὐτον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.*
—Luke ii. 46.

ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εύρον με.—Acts xxiv. 21.

2. *κατὰ τὸ εἶωθος αὐτοῦ.*
—Luke iv. 16, teaching in the synagogue on the Sabbath-day.

κατὰ τὸ εἶωθος τῷ Παύλῳ.—Acts xvii. 2, teaching in the synagogue on the Sabbath-day.

3. Christ lays hands on the sick and heals them.—*ὁ δὲ ἐνὶ ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιθεις ἔθεραπευσεν αὐτούς.*—Luke iv. 40.

St. Paul lays hands on the sick and heals them.—*ὁ Παῦλος ἐπιθεις τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ἰασατο αὐτον.*—Acts xxviii. 8; cf. verse 9.

4. *καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἐκλάσε.*—Luke xxii. 19.

καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσεν τῷ Θεῷ—καὶ κλάσας.—Acts xxvii. 35.

5. Christ, in imminent peril of death at the hands of the Jews at Nazareth, escapes the peril. — *και ἀνασταντες ἐξ-εβαλον αὐτον ἐξω της πολεως.* “That they might cast him down headlong.”—Luke iv. 29.

6. Related of the Scribes and Pharisees with regard to Christ, *ἐνεδρευοντες αὐτον . . .* —Luke xi. 54.

7. Our Lord says of Himself:—*ἰδου ἀναβαινομεν εἰς Ἱεροσολυμα παραδοθησεται γαρ τοις ἔθνεσι.*—Luke xviii. 31, 32.

8. *οἱ πρωτοι του λαου.* Luke xix. 47, seeking his death.

9. *οἱ περι αὐτον.*—Luke xxii. 49.

At Jerusalem.

10. *ἰζητουν αὐτον ἀπολεσαι.* —Luke xix. 47.

11. The plot among the Jews at Jerusalem to compass, by means of treachery, the death of Christ.—Luke xxii. 2-6.

St. Paul, in imminent peril of death at the hands of the Jews from Antioch who came to Lystra, escapes the peril. —*και λιθασαντες τον Παυλον, ἐσυρον ἐξω της πολεως.* “Supposing he had been dead.”—Acts xiv. 19.

Related of the Jews who banded themselves together to kill St. Paul, *ἐνεδρευουσι γαρ αὐτον.*—Acts xxiii. 21.

Agabus, the prophet, says of St. Paul, *δησουσι ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ οἱ Ἰουδαιοι, και παραδωσουσι εἰς χειρας ἔθνων.*—Acts xxi. 11.

οἱ πρωτοι των Ἰουδαιων.—Acts xxv. 2, seeking his death.

οἱ περι τον Παυλον.—Acts xiii. 13.

At Jerusalem.

ζητουντων δε αὐτον ἀποκτειναι.—Acts xxi. 31.

The plot among the Jews at Jerusalem to compass, by means of treachery, the death of St. Paul.—Acts xxiii. 12-16.

12. Pilate, the Roman governor, says, οὐδεν ἀξιον θανατου ἐστι πεπραγμενον αὐτω. —Luke xxiii. 15.

Festus, the Roman governor, says, μηδεν ἀξιον θανατου αὐτον πεπραχεναι.—Acts xxv. 25.

13. οὐδεν εύρον εν τῳ ἀνθρωπῳ τουτω αιτιον. — Luke xxiii. 14.

οὐδεν κακον εύρισκομεν εν τῳ ἀνθρωπῳ τουτω.—Acts xxiii. 9.

14. ὁ λαος ἀνεκραξαν δε παμπληθει, λεγοντες· αἶρε τουτον.—Luke xxiii. 13, 18.

το πληθος του λαου κραξον· αἶρε αὐτον.—Acts xxi. 36.

15. τον δε Ἰησουν παρεδωκε. —Luke xxiii. 25.

τον τε Παυλον παρεδιδουν. —Acts xxvii. 1.

16. ἠκολουθει δε αὐτω πολυ πληθος του λαου.—Luke xxiii. 27.

ἠκολουθει γαρ το πληθος του λαου.—Acts xxi. 36.

17. Our Lord quotes, in Luke viii., Isaiah vi. 9, 10.

St. Paul quotes, in Acts xxviii., Isaiah vi. 9, 10.

18. Charge made against our Lord :—

Charge made against St. Paul and his fellow-workers :—

(1) κωλυοντα Καισυρι φορους διδουσαι.

(1) οὗτοι παντες ἀπεναντι των δογματων Καισαρος πραττουσι.

(2) λεγοντα ἑαυτον Χριστον βασιλει εἶναι.—Luke xxiii. 2.

(2) βασιλεια λεγοντες ἑτερον εἶναι, Ἰησουν.—Acts xvii. 7.

19. Our Lord saying :— οὐχι ταυτα ἑδει παθειν τον Χριστον ;—Luke xxiv. 26.

St. Paul saying :—ὅτι τον Χριστον ἑδει παθειν.—Acts xvii. 3.

20. Luke xxiii.—Christ accused by the Jews before the Roman governor, Pilate; (verse 2) ἤρξαντο δε κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ, λεγοντες,

(1) Τουτον εύρομεν διαστρεφοντα το ἔθνος,

(2) και κωλυοντα Καισαρι φορους διδουσαι—ὅτι ἀνασειει τον λαον, διδασκων καθ' ὅλης της Ἰουδαιας, (verse 5)

(3) λεγοντα ἑαυτον Χριστου βασιλεα εἶναι (verse 2).

Acts xxiv.—St. Paul accused by the Jews before the Roman governor, Felix.—ἤρξατο κατηγορειν ὁ Τερτυλλος, λεγων . . . (verse 2)

(1) εύροντες γαρ τον ἀνδρα τουτον λοιμον,

(2) και κινουντα στασιν πασι τοις Ἰουδαιοις τοις κατα την οἰκουμενην,

(3) πρωτοστατην τε της των Ναζωραιων αἵρεσεως* (verse 5; cf. ch. xvii. 7).

* Zeller, vol. ii. p. 225, says of this, "Not only is the resemblance, but also the actual connexion, unmistakable . . . observe the threefold predication of both the accused." Zeller says this, however, without any intention or desire of proving the authorship of St. Paul, but only with the design of showing that the Acts and the Third Gospel are the work of a single author. I am not aware that this latent parallelism between the history of Christ in St. Luke and that of St. Paul in the Acts has ever before been so fully traced out.

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