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THE HISTORICAL NEW TESTAMENT

FIRST EDITION . February 1901.

SECOND EDITION . August 1901.

THE HISTORICAL NEW TESTAMENT

BEING THE LITERATURE OF THE NEW
TESTAMENT ARRANGED IN THE ORDER
OF ITS LITERARY GROWTH AND ACCORD-
ING TO THE DATES OF THE DOCUMENTS

A New Translation

*EDITED WITH PROLEGOMENA, HISTORICAL TABLES,
CRITICAL NOTES, AND AN APPENDIX,*

BY

JAMES MOFFATT, B.D.

SECOND AND REVISED EDITION

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The historical rather than the dogmatic character of Christianity, its transmission at least to us in an historical form, is becoming more and more evident. If this be so, how are we to make it yield its voice to the human conscience and to human hopes? We cannot use it as an oracle. We must take possession of it as a history, before we can construct it into a system. Thus to pass behind the veil of antiquity is the only method of rising to a genuine appreciation of the mind of Christ, or of attaining a clear vision of the perfect religion which it enshrines.—**Martineau.**

Chaque livre de la Bible, appelé à son tour, devra marquer sa place dans l'histoire et révéler à la conscience spirituelle son degré de l'inspiration. Suivant les réponses qu'il aura faites, une part plus ou moins directe lui sera dévolue dans l'œuvre de reconstruction du fait de la révélation, à l'aide des sources historiques du canon. Et c'est alors, mais alors seulement, que l'on pourra tenter, avec quelque chance de succès, d'écrire sur la doctrine chrétienne un livre qui réponde à la réalité.—**Westphal.**

Ich bin überzeugt, dass die Bibel immer schöner wird, je mehr man sie versteht, d.h. je mehr man einsieht und anschaut, dass jedes Wort, das wir allgemein auffassen und im besondern auf uns anwenden, nach gewissen Umständen, nach Zeit- und Ortsverhältnissen einen eigenen, besondern, unmittelbar individuellen Bezug gehabt hat.—**Goethe.**

TO
MY FATHER AND MY MOTHER
IN GRATITUDE AND LOVE AND REVERENCE
I DEDICATE
WHATEVER OF MY OWN WITHIN THESE PAGES MAY BE TRUE AND WISE
FOR IT IS THEIRS

Autrement on l'accuse de ne rien dire de nouveau. Mais si les matières qu'il traite ne sont pas nouvelles, la disposition en est nouvelle. Quand on joue à la paume, c'est une même balle dont on joue l'un et l'autre ; mais l'un la place mieux.—**Pascal.**

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

APART from the translation, the main feature of originality within these pages consists of the leading idea which dominates the volume, and of the way in which this idea has been executed. The critical materials constitute what either are or ought to be more or less familiar positions upon the lines of modern NT research; but they are grouped under a scheme which, so far as I am aware, is quite unique.¹ Briefly put, the design is to arrange that selection of early Christian literature which is known as the "New Testament" in the order of its literary growth, and at the same time to indicate the chief grounds upon which such an order may be determined or disputed. This aim, with its difficulties, utility, and limitations, I have discussed in the Prolegomena.

The Historical Tables will explain themselves. Most of them represent an endeavour to further one of the subsidiary objects for which this edition has been prepared, namely, the need of seeing and setting the NT writings in vital connection with one another and with the main currents of contemporary thought and history. Occasionally this connection becomes obvious at a glance. Sometimes it is indirect. Often it may be a matter of interest rather than of relevance. But

¹ When my work was almost completed, I came across the following sentence quoted by Dr. Walter Lock from a friend's letter (*The Exegesis of the NT*, 1896, p. 19): "You don't want to know about animals and plants and musical instruments; the real Bible is overlaid and smothered by all this . . . I should like to see an English NT with the contents in a different, *i.e.* a chronological order."

upon the whole the significance of a NT writing is never reduced—now and then it is immensely heightened—by juxtaposition with its antecedents and context, even in the outlying history and literature which are lightly named “pagan” and untruly judged as alien. To approach and analyse the NT in the sphere of the unconditioned, is an indefensible mistake: unfortunately it is a mistake which has been hitherto confessed rather than avoided in several schools of criticism. The NT may stand by itself; but the full secret of its genius will be yielded only to the research which goes patiently behind and outside the limits of the canonical collection. Of all unhistorical or semi-historical methods, none has operated so disastrously upon the interpretation of the NT as the tendency to insulate its form and contents; and it is to supply some materials for a mental impression that may counteract such an error, that these Tables have been compiled. In the Jewish and early Christian literature (it is only fair to add), while the various documents have been dated in view of the most recent and reliable criticism, one cannot hope to assign much more than an approximately accurate position to a number of the records, where so considerable a portion of the field is disputable and disputed.

As the printing of the NT text has reduced the available space, I have been obliged substantially to cut out a Historical Introduction written to accompany the Tables, in which the origin and development of the NT literature was sketched from 30 to 150 A.D., in relation to the external context of the Roman Empire as well as to the inner forces at work within the Christian Communities. Some paragraphs from this have been incorporated in the Prolegomena and Notes, and its outlines are reflected throughout the volume. But I wish to take this opportunity of reiterating the need for treating these subjects in connection

with each other, since the impression often left upon most people's minds by the average NT Introduction is that the literature in question lies unrelated and accidental, resembling either

A lonely mountain tarn,
Unvisited by any streams,

or a series of deep scattered pools, one book or group of books coming after the other in a more or less haphazard fashion. Such a dead and spiritless disconnection is to be strenuously repudiated. It is essential for the modern reader to detect the running stream of life that winds, for all its eddies and backwaters, steadily between and through these varied writings. They possess remarkable cohesion. But it is a cohesion which is either misinterpreted or wholly invisible until you stand beside the life they presuppose, and out of which they rise. In fact, NT Introduction and the History of early Christianity are two departments of research which cannot be prosecuted with entire success, so long as they are held apart. Each gains in vitality as it approaches the other.

For similar reasons of brevity, the critical Notes are limited to what is practically a condensed statement of results. Anything like a detailed or continuous account of the processes of argument which lead up to the conclusions underlying the printed text, has been impracticable. I have merely attempted to collate some of the chief results of modern research upon the NT along its literary and historical sides; although even there many details have been left unelaborated, and some almost untouched. At one or two points, I am afraid, this lack of space and scope in which to deploy argument¹ has given an appearance of summary

¹ The compression will be felt most where affinities of language and style come up for discussion. These factors often contain important criteria for dating or placing a given document, and their evidence is repeatedly used throughout the Notes. But the complete grounds for one's judgment in this class of problems are so delicate and various that they cannot be stated, much

treatment or of arbitrariness; but in order to partially obviate this defect, the Notes have been drawn up in such a way as to include copious references to the bibliography of recent criticism. What is offered is no catena or inventory of opinions. It is merely a conspectus of relevant authorities, together with a note of the main arguments in support of each position. One hopes thus to be able to take a line of one's own, without producing an unfair impression or incurring censures like that once passed by Bacon upon tradition and knowledge "which is for the most part magistral and peremptory, and not ingenious and faithful; in a sort as may be soonest believed, and not easiliest examined." Whereas, he rightly proceeded, "in the true handling of knowledge men ought to propound things sincerely with more or less asseveration, as they stand in a man's judgment proved more or less." My plan, then, in the Notes has been to indicate in a handful of sentences the leading data for each book's origin and object, the division and preponderance of authorities upon the question, and finally—by means of sifted references—the select literature. The latter includes for the most part what has proved of chief service in my own work; but the plan also involves a series of references, as any trained observer will detect, to some works which are to be regarded in the main as landmarks and beacons for progressive study. The wealth and the complexity of modern literature upon the NT make selection and economy imperative in drawing up Notes of this kind. But although the method becomes now and then depressingly utilitarian, it will always serve to less discussed, except at a length which would unduly distend the volume. The result is, one has had to rest content with merely indicating the more salient linguistic parallels upon which the position adopted in the text depends. The whole argument from such parallels and affinities in regard to the filiation of early Christian literature is one of several problems that still await discriminating treatment. Hitherto its use has been mainly characterised by arbitrariness and artificiality, and in this respect the critical and the conservative wings of scholarship are equally to blame.

furnish materials by which the view adopted in the text may be corroborated or modified or refused. Both in the Notes and in the Appendix one has constantly felt, indeed, as the translators of the AV put it in their shrewd and neglected Preface, liable "to weary the unlearned, who need not know so much, and trouble the learned, who know it already." As it is never easy to know how far an acquaintance or sympathy with the subject can be presupposed, and to what extent critical processes in this particular department are as yet naturalised, it is hard to judge what materials should be inserted or omitted. However, it is annoying to find that authoritative references are sometimes as inaccessible as the accessible are unauthoritative, and I have therefore chosen in the bibliography to err upon the side of fulness; all the more so, seeing that the present state of NT criticism in this country is still marked by immaturity in many vital sections. Not a few of the arguments in this volume, and indeed whole pages of it, would have been gladly omitted, had there been (for example) any modern and thorough NT Introduction to which an English student could be referred with safety or satisfaction. The lack of such a volume is only one of many *desiderata* felt at every turn by the English worker in NT research. Here, perhaps more than in most branches of historical science, investigation continues to be hampered by the resurrection of the obsolete, the survival of the unfit, and the prominence of the irrelevant; as if the subject itself did not bring with it sufficient obstacles and problems. It is devoutly to be hoped that in the next century some of the enterprise and enthusiasm which have made the OT blossom like the rose during the past fifty years, may be spared by English scholarship to the task of handling with truer reverence and courage the more central problems raised by the NT literature. Few of these are solved; some are scarcely stated yet in proper form. Indeed, for some time to come it is to be

feared that the prospects of free and full NT criticism in this country will be hampered by the fact that not all the results already gained seem to have been perfectly assimilated, while the very methods by which alone conclusions can be formed or adequately tested are often misunderstood or sadly misapplied.

Conditions such as these, to say nothing of the movements within criticism itself, make any enterprise like the present extremely tentative. But I believe it is timely. Unprejudiced treatment of the historical element in Christianity is one of the most immediate needs for faith and truth alike. For if holiness has not its sources in history, the supreme expression of religious thought and conduct has come to us in a historical form, and any intellectual neglect of that form is an error which cannot long be harboured with impunity.

More things than wisdom are best left to be justified by their works, if they are to be justified at all. But a word must be added here upon the translation; especially as that has been an after-thought, or rather an after-necessity. Owing to the difficulty of securing permission to reprint the RV, the only practicable course was evidently to undertake the preparation of an independent version, and it is the result of this difficult and audacious attempt which is now offered to the reader, with extreme diffidence. It is neither a revision nor an adaptation of any previous translation, but has been made directly from a critical study of the literature itself. The task originally lay as far outside my plan as it has proved beyond my powers. Still, I am in hopes that, despite its many drawbacks, the present rendering will contribute something to that mental impression of change and progress in the NT literature which it is the aim of the whole edition to accentuate. Translation, like peace-making, is always a delicate and often an ungrateful business. The translator pleases nobody, not even himself. But his task

in Biblical literature is additionally severe, as three-fourths of his readers instinctively compare his version, not with the original, but with an English classic which has unrivalled associations of literary rhythm and of religious experience. The one claim of the present version is faithfulness. I have tried to make it accurate and idiomatic, besides presenting, to some extent, the *nuances* of individual writers. At the same time, I see very little literary or religious gain in making a fetish of over-precision in the verbal reproduction of the original. There is no obvious reason why the translator should not be allowed to exercise his right of inheritance to something of the same freedom that would be granted him if he were dealing with a Greek classic. Accordingly, while I admit that any version of the NT must incline to be literal, the following pages are not intended for the purists who expect to find in a translation those complete materials for stylistic and grammatical research which only a lexicon can properly afford. If a translator's first duty is to reproduce his text as exactly as possible, his final duty is to write English. As I conceive it, he is not bound to dislocate style in the pedantic attempt to eschew a reasonable use of English synonyms, or to rehearse at any cost Oriental and Hellenistic idioms that come uncouthly to the modern ear. Transliteration is not translation; nor is a paraphrase. The latter tends to looseness and weakness, while an absolutely literal version is often the most inaccurate, as it is sometimes the most hideous thing in the world. To be crabbed is the temptation of the one; to be diluted, of the other. If I have in any degree attained the ideal of my conception, it has been by steering between these two shoals. Attention has been carefully paid to the more recent investigations by Hatch, Kennedy, and Deissmann into the linguistic features of the *κοινή*, as well as to a series of grammatical studies in Hellenistic Greek by Viteau, Blass, Januarius, and Schmiedel. I have further attempted, with

some hesitation, to reproduce, so far as that is possible or desirable in a translation, one or two of the rhythmical and rhetorical features (*σχήματα*) that mark the structure of the NT literature. These are due, in the main, to either of two influences. One is the gnomic method of parallelism, antithesis, and climax, pervading the older Semitic poetry, and especially the Wisdom-literature, upon which the NT writers, in company, *e.g.*, with the author of 4th Esdras, have drawn in form and spirit to a much larger degree than is commonly suspected. Along with this influence (discussed by Jebb and Wilke) another falls to be placed, due to the rhetorical and artistic spirit of the later Greek and Roman prose, which had a vogue not merely in oratory but in the philosophical compositions of the period (Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, 1898, Anhang I., "Ueber die Geschichte des Reims"; and Wendland, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Griechischen Philosophie u. Religion*, 1895), where, as in the older Hebrew literature, poetry never lay far from what we should to-day distinguish as prose. It would be artificial, indeed, to rigidly reproduce all these strophic features in print. Some, like assonance, live only in the original. Some have to be felt rather than exhibited. Others again appeal to the ear more subtly than to the eye. Still quite a number of them are obvious, as Heinrici, Blass, and J. Weiss have seen in Paul, D. H. Müller (*Die Propheten in ihrer ursprüngl. Form*, 1896, I. p. 216 f.), and Briggs (*Expository Times*, viii. pp. 393 f., 452 f., 493 f., ix. p. 69 f.) in the gospels; these it is well to mark, so far as is legitimate, in order to preserve the freshness of their literary charm, no less than for the sake of their occasional bearing upon the larger questions of exegesis and interpretation.

The translation is substantially based upon the critical text which Professor Eberhard Nestle has recently edited with accuracy and success (*Novum Testamentum Græce cum apparatu critico ex editionibus et libris manu scriptis collecto*,

Stuttgart, 1898; *Zweite Auflage*, 1900). Wherever I have been obliged to adopt a different reading, the departure is noted at the foot of the page. I am also responsible myself for the arrangement and punctuation of the text. Passages within brackets denote either displaced sections or interpolations belonging to a date subsequent to that of the writing as a whole. Single brackets imply that there is no MS evidence for the interpolation, while double brackets are used when such external evidence does exist. Darker type denotes a passage incorporated from some earlier source, and phrases or quotations from the OT are printed throughout in italics, although it is rather difficult in many cases to ascertain whether the use of OT language is due to direct reminiscence, to indirect allusion, or merely to the current religious vocabulary of the age. For the evidence upon most of the bracketted passages, as well as for a discussion of some critical points raised throughout the Notes, the reader is referred to the Appendix. The plan of the edition has not permitted any statement of the grounds upon which the Greek text has been determined.

As I have explained in the Prolegomena, one is extremely conscious of the limitations which beset a pioneering edition like the present, both in idea and in execution, particularly when it has to be done practically single-handed. At point after point one has felt the lack of that width of survey, that minuteness of research, that balance of judgment, which are essential to any valid advance in a subject so wide and complex. Most of the volume also has been written and re-written at some distance from libraries, and apart from errors it is more than possible that some important literature has slipped through the editorial meshes, just as some has unfortunately proved inaccessible. I hope that such gaps or slips will not seriously

interfere with the utility and use of the volume.¹ Under the Spartan maxim, *Tout bien ou rien*, it could not have been produced. But I am confident that it is upon the right lines at any rate, and that its general plan will be serviceable even to those who may dislike its presuppositions or dispute several of its particular results. Such as it is, it is offered as a secondary aid to the more exact appreciation of that early Christian literature, the study of which is bound up with so many vital problems in our modern faith.

My warmest thanks are due to those who have aided me during the preparation of this book with literature or suggestions. I wish particularly to thank the following scholars who have revised different parts of my translation: Professor Denney and Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy, who have read over the Pauline epistles (with the exception of 1 Corinthians, which has been undertaken by Rev. David Smith, M.A.); Dr. Marcus Dods (Hebrews and the Catholic epistles); Rev. Canon I. Gregory Smith (Mark); Rev. E. F. Scott, B.A. (Matthew); Rev. Ll. M. J. Bebb (Luke and Acts); Dr. George Reith (the Johannine literature); and Professor Walter Lock (Pastoral epistles). To these scholars I am indebted for the time and care they have generously bestowed upon another man's work. It is only right to add that they are not to be held responsible for any opinion or position expressed throughout the course of the volume, or even for the final shape in which the translation now appears. Mr. Scott and Dr. Reith have done me the further service of reading most of the proof-sheets.

¹ I specially regret that my edition has to appear before the completion of such important critical enterprises as Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, edited by Dr. Sutherland Black and Professor Cheyne, and the *Expositor's Greek Testament*. For some literature which has come to hand or appeared during the printing of this volume, the reader is referred to the Addenda on pp. 709-710.

I should not like these pages to appear without also acknowledging how much they owe to the late Professor A. B. Bruce, without whose impulse and direction they would hardly have been written. Some years ago he was kind enough to look over the sheets and give me the benefit of his advice as the MS began to take shape. But one is indebted to him for much more than even the characteristic generosity which he showed to his old pupils and the demands for work with which he honoured them. His abiding service was one of stimulus; he naturalised critical processes, and with singular open-mindedness resisted tradition and intellectual torpor in handling the NT as a subject either for writing or for preaching. Few of us can take many steps in this department of study without realising more and more keenly that the very possibility of such an advance in this country is largely due to the work done by our old master upon these lines. Where he ventured, others follow. Both by teaching and example he has rendered to many in this generation a timely service of liberation not unlike that which in another sphere America is said by Lowell to have gained from Emerson: "He cut the cable and gave us a chance at the dangers and the glories of blue water." Dr. Bruce's work thrust his students upon the responsibilities of freedom. It awakened them especially to the subtle and comfortable peril of antiquarianism in dealing with the Christian facts, while at the same time it steadied them on the conviction that no genuine faith had ultimately anything to fear from strict and fair enquiry. This was conspicuously brought out in his treatment of the historical basis and element in early Christianity; within that department of theology, those who remember his unsparing methods of research will be the first to feel that the truest loyalty to their distinguished teacher lies not in the slavish repetition of his own ideas or in the reassertion

of his own positions—little he cared for echoes, and least of all for echoes of himself—but in continuing to employ those methods with something of his spirit, sharing his reverent and brave conviction that even the faults and mistakes of candid enquiry somehow work together for the truth, that truth is the surest defence of faith, and that faith is the justification as it is the germ of real criticism. Historical truth and genuine religion were to Dr. Bruce inseparable allies. He wrought this vital conception into his pupils, with the result that any effort upon their part to carry out this principle in its details is naturally felt by them to be primarily derived from his instruction and incentive. Certainly none of them can prosecute enquiries into the development of early Christianity without being sensible of a recurring debt of gratitude, not so much for the actual results of their master's criticism, though these were often fresh and independent, as for the spirit which he habitually inculcated in dealing with that period and with its literature. Under such obligations to him, personal and general, this volume lies. Yet, after all, they form but a single item in the long fragrant debt which, in common with the rest of his pupils and those wider circles who knew him mainly as an author, one is conscious that one owes to the personality of a great Christian scholar, who has done more than almost anyone throughout this country during the last quarter of the present century to make the knowledge of Jesus and his Christianity welcome and rich and reasonable.

A te principium, tibi desinet!

JAMES MOFFATT.

DUNDONALD, AYRSHIRE,
December, 1900,

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE changes possible in this re-issue have had to be very limited. Some misprints have been corrected, an expression modified here and there for the sake of clearness, and a slight amount of fresh material incorporated. Otherwise the volume remains substantially the same. The additions are fewer in some parts (*e.g.* on the Synoptic question) than one could have wished. But I regret their enforced paucity the less that any criticism passed upon the general principles and methods of the *Historical New Testament* has only served to confirm their appositeness and legitimacy. This reception has been encouraging and suggestive. The appreciative welcome accorded to my volume has been due in large measure, I am sure, not to the merits which it has been far too generously imagined to possess, so much as to the gratifying desire which is evidently felt by many English students of the NT, for a devout and untrammelled treatment of the early Christian literature, along lines which run parallel to those dominant in the most influential historical criticism of to-day.¹ The few and insignificant cases where the reception has been otherwise, seem to reveal not a desire certainly, but a clamant and pathetic need, for such a critical enterprise as one has imperfectly but honestly essayed throughout the following pages.

¹ In response to the appeal of several critics, I hope to prepare before long a critical Introduction to the literature of the NT, incorporating the material mentioned on page xiv.

I am not sorry, however, to have this opportunity of removing a misapprehension on the part of many open-minded correspondents, who feel not unjustified scruples at advancing to a critical position upon the NT which they are accustomed to associate, or to hear associated, with indifference, if not antagonism, to what may be called "the supernatural." It may serve to reassure them in some degree if one calls attention once more to the precise tendency and the exact scope of any volume like the present. It is strictly limited in range. It is provisional in many parts, and (as I have frequently urged) preliminary. It deals primarily with the literary sources and historical setting of the NT as a religious growth, and although the basal ideas and conceptions of the faith inevitably enter the discussion here and there, my volume is not in any sense an attempt to deal with them. Let it be borne in mind also, that all who employ similar methods of criticism are by no means to be credited with identical religious presuppositions (surely OT criticism offers sufficient proof of that!), and that a writer must not be supposed to covertly question or to ignore whatever is omitted from his pages, either through lack of space or through restriction of scope. For example, I conceive it would be alike unscientific and dishonest if discussions like those in this edition were conducted on the *a priori* assumption that the miraculous is impossible. Nor is it otherwise with the deity of Christ, the evangelical authority inherent in God's word for faith and Christian experience, and the abiding value of the Community of believers. These and other presuppositions of the NT lie behind this and any other critical investigation into that literature which happens to be conducted by one who lives inside a Christian communion; and while nothing in the following pages is consciously untrue to the principles of thorough historical research, as these must be vigorously

applied to the early Christian records, there is not anything, so far as the present writer is aware, which will be found ultimately irreconcilable with that literature when viewed, in its directly religious aspect, as the witness to a gospel and the outcome of a revelation.

Doubtless this assertion may be challenged. The critical position adopted by writers who share the standpoint of this volume is not absolutely identical with what has been hitherto considered either safe or needful by dominant theologies within this country. But two considerations may be adduced. In the first place, it represents in general a coherent, sane, and unprejudiced attitude to the NT, which in the present bearings of faith continues to be found both tenable and healthy by a great and growing number of scholars in all countries; and (what is more important) it indicates—so far as the present writer at any rate is concerned—a critical basis upon which the essentials of the evangelic faith can be held, and held triumphantly as well as reasonably, in face of the severest literary investigation prosecuted by historical acumen. Some think this a dangerous situation. To some it may seem insincere. Others, again, hold it a beautiful and temporary delusion. But it is at least the honest conviction of those most immediately concerned, and possibly they are not altogether the worst judges of what is involved and gained by a position which is never adopted by a serious thinker without long pains and care, or propounded without a due sense of responsibility. In the second place, the whole business of liberal criticism as conceived and applied to the NT by those who adhere to the standpoint of this volume, springs from the cardinal principle of the Reformed Church: namely, that the Scripture (in this case, the NT) conveys, contains, or represents the Word of God; that it puts man's faith in contact with the Christ who lives and reigns; that it enables us to hear God speak to us his comforts, promises, commands; and that it affords to the experience of

trust and penitence a means of fellowship with God the Father. Such is holy Scripture. It is not the Word of God. It is as our Confession properly defines it, the Word of God written. The growth and transmission of this record of revelation, under the ordinary conditions of human life, constitute a whole series of problems and questions, which criticism may discuss without any prejudice whatever. Our experience of God, as mediated through Scripture, is calmly independent of all such inquiries. The interminable and subordinate matters of date, authorship, and sources, questions of historicity and accuracy, the presence of naïve and sensuous conceptions, of discrepancies and errors—these fall to be treated by the ordinary methods of scientific research. Their solution may sometimes involve the introduction of factors that seem unsatisfactory and dangerous to our modern minds. Some theological reconstruction may from time to time be necessitated. Traditional ideas may require restatement, modification, or expansion. Certain arguments may have to be reset. But through all this providential movement required of criticism, one thing persists—the witness of Scripture to faith; the fact that in this written record, with all its literary imperfections and obscurities, God can still make us understand both words and works that are a gospel to mankind, searching and luminous and redemptive. To assert, either in fear or in hope, that the strenuous but relative activity of historical research can of itself affect the certainty and real content of the believer's life in Christ, is a contradiction in terms, credible only when overweening pretensions are met by panic and half-educated zeal. Those who are inside the department of sensible historical research, as well as within the influence of Jesus Christ, know that these are concentric circles for the human spirit, and that when extravagance is discounted on all sides, there is no reason why they themselves should not safely and sincerely inhabit

a critical position based on such results as are indicated in this volume, or even (it may be) upon others more advanced.

I have a life with Christ to live,
But, ere I live it, must I wait
Till learning can clear answer give
Of this or that book's date?
I have a life in Christ to live,
I have a death in Christ to die;—
And must I wait till science give
All doubts a full reply?

Nay rather, while the sea of doubt
Is raging wildly round about,
Questioning of life and death and sin,
Let me but creep within
Thy fold, O Christ, and at Thy feet
Take but the lowest seat,
And hear Thine awful voice repeat
In gentlest accents, heavenly sweet,
Come unto Me, and rest:
Believe Me, and be blest.

These lines of the late Principal Shairp would express the habitual relation of faith to any reasonable conclusions of contemporary research into the stages and forms through which the Christian revelation passed into its classic record in the NT. To explain how all this is possible, or to sketch even in outline the connection of the devotional with the scientific use of Scripture, lies far beyond the limits of this preface. I content myself with generally affirming the reality and permanent significance of the NT as conceived upon the principle of the Reformers, which from the days of Calvin onwards has had to be restated and recovered from time to time within the bounds even of the Reformed Churches themselves. From that principle the whole mass of methods and results within these pages, so far as they are cogent and unbiassed, flows by a logical and legitimate sequence. They could not have been anticipated, but they are naturally covered,

by it. They may not yet prove necessary to very many as a basis for belief in the historic credentials of the Christian faith. But they are essential to some of us. Otherwise this volume, and others like it, would hardly be composed. Recent movements of opinion, by which all that is vital in Christianity has proved capable of readjustment to developments in geology and biology which, it was passionately asserted at one time, would turn out absolutely hostile; the closer outcome of OT criticism, which in removing amid opprobrium much of our traditional prepossessions, has only contributed a stronger and richer footing for belief in the Divine providence over ancient Israel: these are but instances which may reassure us at any similar crisis of transition, since they illustrate the wisdom of discounting extreme statements upon either side, the need of patiently apprehending the exact issues of a question, and especially the native independence and divinity of faith. *Πάντα ὑμῶν*—even the critic and the saint.

Historical research, of course, cannot propose to itself the task of advocating any past programme of dogma, or of supporting, much less supplanting, ecclesiastical tenets; and one should perhaps apologise to dispassionate investigators for the introduction of the above sentences into an historical and critical discussion. My excuse must be that this volume may fall—as I am interested to find it has already fallen—into the hands of some who, in order to appreciate its subject, require to have their mental focus readjusted and to study these pages in the light of obvious presuppositions. Many can supply these presuppositions for themselves. But others cannot. And in order to gain a respectful and intelligent hearing for certain conclusions which may seem at first disconcerting or ambiguous, it is not inexpedient for the critic patiently and lucidly to orientate his work. This is neither redundant nor evasive. It is the plain duty of NT scholars in this country,

especially of those who feel bound to promulgate somewhat liberal opinions, not merely to prosecute their studies with determination, but also in a religious temper to make a conscience of removing, at every possible opportunity, any gratuitous stumbling-block which misrepresentation or misunderstanding is apt to fling upon the path of simple, open-minded faith. Even though one may be unable to win any wide assent for a time to one's conclusions and convictions, one would like to secure confidence and gain some sympathy at least for the spirit and aims of a critical endeavour. Strictly speaking, the critic has nothing to do indeed with the effects of his inquiries. But this canon has its obvious limitations. At any rate one may be educative and irenic. Besides, as the honour of any science is committed even to its humblest worker, he must see to it that no silence or unguarded language upon his part, any more than needless misconceptions on the part of others, be allowed to prejudice the interests or hinder the acceptance of what is true within his own department. Biblical criticism, especially, demands this sense of responsibility from all her servants. She must be free from gratuitous aspersions. And I shall not regret having written these paragraphs if they tend in any sense or in any quarter to allay misgivings, with many of which one has great sympathy, and also to clear the science of NT historical research, so far as that science (in a victorious and somewhat liberal phase) touches the present volume, from imputations of irreverence or the suspicion of innate iconoclasm.

The last written words of the NT happen to bear out not inaptly what has been already urged. *But*, says the writer, using sure and gracious language for an age perplexed amid other things by biblical disputes, and by some of those perils which accompany the benefit of Scripture—*but grow in the grace and knowledge of our Lord and Saviour*

Jesus Christ. To him be the glory, both now and for ever. It is in this spirit that a Christian critic of the NT would approach and execute his task. It does not enter his commission, in the more technical branches of the subject, to parade such a religious gain as the end and motive of his own researches. Yet he entertains no manner of doubt that this must be their ultimate effect, or that one outcome of such genuine historical research as he is able to pursue into the origins of Christianity, will prove to be some enlarged and worthier appreciation of the fact that, when rightly conceived, the spiritual and the historical are but complementary aspects of that real and absolute revelation which has been vouchsafed by God in Christ to human thought and trust.

JAMES MOFFATT.

DUNDONALD, AYRSHIRE,
June 1, 1901.

PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

<i>AA</i> . . . <i>History of the Apostolic Age—</i> McGiffert, <i>A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age</i> (1897). Weizsäcker, Eng. tr. of <i>Das Apostolische Zeitalter der Christlichen Kirche</i> (2nd ed.). J. Vernon Bartlet, <i>The Apostolic Age, its Life, Doctrine, Worship, and Policy</i> (1900).	<i>DB</i> . . . <i>A Dictionary of the Bible</i> (1898–1901), ed. Dr. Hastings.
<i>AJT</i> . . . <i>The American Journal of Theology.</i>	<i>Einf.</i> . . . <i>Einführung in das Griechische NT</i> (Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage 1899), by Professor E. Nestle. Eng. tr. 1901.
<i>BI</i> . . . <i>A Biblical Introduction</i> (1899). The NT section, p. 275 ff. by Prof. W. F. Adeney.	<i>EB</i> . . . <i>Encyclopædia Britannica</i> (9th ed.).
<i>CGT.</i> . . . <i>The Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges.</i>	<i>EBi</i> . . . <i>Encyclopædia Biblica</i> (1899–), ed. J. S. Black and T. K. Cheyne.
<i>Chron</i> . . . W. Brückner, <i>Die chronologische Reihenfolge in welcher die Briefe des NT verfasst sind</i> (1890). Clemen, <i>Die Chronologie der Paulinischen Briefe</i> (1894). Harnack, <i>Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius. Zweiter Theil: die Chronologie der Litteratur bis Irenæus</i> (1897).	<i>Einl.</i> . . . <i>Einleitung in das Neue Testament—</i> Hilgenfeld (1875). Mangold-Bleek (1886). Holtzmann, H. J. (3rd ed. 1892). Jülicher, A. (3rd ed. 1900). Zahn, Th. (1897–1899). Trenkle, F. S. (1897). Schäfer, Aloys (1898).
<i>Class. Rev.</i> . . . <i>The Classical Review.</i>	<i>EWK</i> . . . Ersch und Gruber, <i>Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste.</i>
<i>CR</i> . . . <i>The Critical Review</i> (ed. Principal Salmond).	<i>ExGT</i> . . . <i>The Expositor's Greek Testament</i> (1897–).
<i>CRE.</i> . . . Prof. W. M. Ramsay, <i>The Church in the Roman Empire</i> (5th ed. 1897).	<i>Exp</i> . . . <i>The Expositor</i> (ed. Dr. Nicoll. Small superior numbers ² , ³ , ⁴ , ⁵ , ⁶ refer to the series).
	<i>ExpT</i> . . . <i>The Expository Times</i> (ed. Dr. Hastings).
	<i>GGA</i> . . . <i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.</i>
	<i>GK</i> . . . <i>Geschichte des NT Kanons</i> (Zahn), 1888– .

- Hausrath . Hausrath's *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (Eng. tr. of 2nd ed. 1895: "The Time of the Apostles").
- HC . . . *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament* (H. J. Holtzmann, Schmiedel, Lipsius, and von Soden).
- HD . . . *History of Dogma*, Eng. tr. of Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, (1894-1899).
- HJP . . . Eng. tr. of Schürer's *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*² (1886-1890), entitled, "A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ."
- ICC . . . *The International Critical Commentary*.
- IH . . . *International Handbooks to the NT* (ed. Dr. Orello Cone), 1900- .
- INT . . . *Introduction to the New Testament*.
Weiss B. (Eng. tr. of *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*,² 1886).
Davidson S. (3rd ed. 1894).
Bacon B. W. (1900).
Salmon G. (8th ed. 1897).
Godet, *Introduction au Nouveau Testament—I. Les Épîtres de S. Paul* (1893). Eng. tr. 1894.
II. (div. 1) 1899.
- JpTh . . . *Jahrbücher für protestant. Theologie*.
- JTS . . . *Journal of Theological Studies*.
- KAP . . . *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen d. Alten Testaments*, ed. Kautzsch (1898-1899).
- Keim (i.-vi.) Eng. tr. of *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*.
- Laurent . *Neutestamentliche Studien* (1866), by J. C. M. Laurent.
- LC . . . *Literarisches Centralblatt* (ed. E. Zarncke).
- Meyer . . Meyer's *Commentar zum NT* (latest editions).
- NTTh . . *New Testament Theology*—
- NTTh . . Weiss, Eng. tr. of 3rd ed. (1888).
Bovon, *Théologie du NT* (1893): deux tomes.
Beyschlag, Eng. tr. (1896).
Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie* (1896).
Stevens (1899), *Internat. Theol. Library*.
- PG . . . *Philology of the Gospels*, Blass (1898).
- PM . . . *Protestantische Monatshefte* (1897- , ed. Wehsky).
- Reuss . . E. Reuss, *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften NT* (Eng. tr. of 5th ed. 1884).
- Réville . . A. Réville, *Jésus de Nazareth: études critiques sur les antécédents de l'histoire évangélique et la vie de Jésus* (1897, deux tomes).
- RLA . . Prof. E. de W. Burton, *Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age* (1895).
- RTK . . *Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (ed. Hauck) 1896- .
- SBBA . . *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*.
- SK . . . *Studien und Kritiken* (ed. Köstlin and Kautzsch).
- SPT . . . Prof. W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (1895).
- Syr-Sin . . The Four Gospels translated from the Syriac of the Sinaitic palimpsest (Lewis, 1894).
- TQ . . . *Theologische Quartalschrift*.
- TR . . . *Theologische Rundschau* (ed. Bousset).
- TU . . . *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (ed. Harnack and Gebhardt).
- ThA . . . *Theologische Abhandlungen C. von Weizsäcker gewidmet* (1892).

<i>ThLz</i> . . . <i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i> (ed. Harnack and Schürer).	<i>ZKWL</i> . . . <i>Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft und Kirchliches Leben</i> (ed. Luthardt).
<i>ThSt.</i> . . . <i>Theologische Studien Herrn Prof. D. Bernhard Weiss dargebracht</i> (1897).	<i>ZNW</i> . . . <i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums</i> (ed. Preuschen).
<i>Urc</i> . . . <i>Das Urchristenthum</i> —Pfleiderer, <i>Das Urchristenthum</i> (1887). Spitta, <i>Zur Geschichte u. Litteratur d. Urchristenthums</i> (1893–1896).	<i>ZSchz</i> . . . <i>Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz</i> (ed. Meili).
<i>WH.</i> . . . <i>The New Testament in Greek</i> , Westcott and Hort.	<i>ZThK</i> . . . <i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i> .
	<i>ZwTh</i> . . . <i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i> (ed. Hilgenfeld).

The other abbreviations employed throughout the volume are either obvious or familiar. In addition to what has been already said, however, upon the types employed in the translation (p. xxi), the reader is requested to observe that where OT quotations occur in the body of an earlier source (*e.g.* pp. 189, 295), they are always printed in italics, as elsewhere throughout the volume, although they must in these cases be strictly regarded as part and parcel of the darker type which forms their immediate context. Also, in Tables IV.–V. the straight lines represent more or less direct literary filiation, while mere affinities or indirect influences are marked by means of dotted lines.

ADDENDA

Page 259.—This slowness and comparative reluctance to adopt writing for religious purposes may be illustrated by the remarkable legend of Numa's burial (Plutarch, *Vit. Num.* 22). Two coffins were interred on the Janiculum Hill. One contained the Emperor's corpse; the other his sacred books, which had been composed by him and were thus buried at his own request, in order that their holy contents might duly be preserved, not in books without a soul, but in their proper receptacle, the minds of living men. He had already taught the sacred mysteries to the priests as an oral tradition.

Page 266.—Simon's theory is rejected by Bacon (*INT*, p. 180), and, in detail, by Schmiedel (*EBi*, ii. 1860-1861).

Page 416, n. 1.—It is not improbable, as Mr. Cross suggests, that similarities such as those referred to on p. 272 are due to the fact that these writers all followed a conventional literary form in composing prefaces and dedications. For some recent opinions on Lk 11-4, which formed a model for the preface of Papias, see Hilgenfeld (*ZwTh*, 1901, 1-10), A. Beck's meritorious essay, *der Prolog d. Lukasevanglms*, besides Blass (*PG*, 7-20) and Abbott (*EBi*, ii. 1789-1790).

Page 551, n. 1.—On the Papias-conjecture, see further Bacon (*INT*, p. 42) and Abbott ("very likely," *EBi*, ii. 1815, n. 3), as against Schmiedel (*EBi*, ii. 2508 f.).

Page 606 f.—This position is generally corroborated by Schmiedel (*EBi*, ii. 1870 f.), who admits, however, that an Aramaic (not Hebrew) source may have existed prior to the Logia and the Ur-Marcus. The other side is plausibly advocated by Dr. E. A. Abbott (recently in *Clue and The Corrections of Mark*), who posits a Hebrew original behind portions of the synoptic gospels, and apparently by Halévy ("L'évangile de Marc est la traduction d'un archétype rédigé en langue araméenne, abstraction faite des citations bibliques qui semblent avoir été conformes au texte hébreu"), reviewing Chajes (below, p. 263, n. 1). Zimmermann (*SK*, 1901, 415-458) throws out the suggestion that Mark represents the earliest Greek gospel for the Gentiles, being a Greek edition and translation of the original Hebrew gospel written for Palestinian Jews. The latter was accompanied by another Semitic source (=Matthew's Logia) unknown to Mark. Matthew (66-70 A.D.) was known to but not used by Luke, who wrote after 70. In Lk 1-2 we have yet a third primitive Semitic gospel of the Infancy (Resch) preserved in a Greek version, while in Lk-Acts after Lk 24¹³⁶ the author has freely edited but preserved a fourth Semitic source emanating from the church of Jerusalem.

Page 612.—To the literature on Blass' hypothesis add Jülicher (*Einvl.* 357-360), Gregory (*Textkritik des NT*, I. pp. 44 f.), and especially an elaborate textual study (*Der abendländische Text des Apgeschichte u. die Wir-Quelle*, 1900), in which A. Pott attributes Acts to an editor who worked up, with other materials, a Lucan account of Paul which included the We-journal. Much of the Western text he explains as due to glosses, the "Acta Pauli" having survived in independent form its

incorporation into the larger work, and having thereby affected its text. Cp. Bousset (*ThLz*, 1900, 606-609) and Valentine-Richards (*JTS*, 1901, 439-447).

Page 623, n. 3.—Cp. Jülicher, *Einl.* pp. 188-189 ("bei Jud, Jac, I Pet ist die Fiction etwas Accidentelles, bei II Pet ist sie das Prius im schriftstellerischen Plan.—Jac, Jud, I Pet sind eben noch frei gewachsene Blumen, deren Duft nichts durch den Namen verliert, II Pet ist ein in der Studirstube ausgeklügeltes Kunstproduct," etc.).

Page 636.—W. C. Allen (*Exp Ti*, xii. 189), taking Mark as the translation of an Aramaic original, regards ἀρχή in 1¹ as a mistranslation of the Aramaic "before," and the reference to prophecy as intensive additions made by the translator. Whether εὐγγ. is equivalent to the substance of the gospel story or a written gospel, the phrase is probably one of those later editorial additions which were always apt to encroach upon the introductory matter of a writing.

Page 637.—Fries (*ZNW*, 1900, pp. 291-2) rather needlessly denies Mk 14¹⁻¹⁶ to the Ur-Marcus as inconsistent with the description of it given by Papias (τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα, also nicht παθέντα), referring the passage probably to the Egyptian gospel, along with some other sections in our canonical Mark which (1⁹⁻¹¹. 12-13, 41³⁻²⁰) may have come from the canonical Matthew, or (e.g. 6³¹⁻⁵⁶) from the Egyptian gospel itself, or (81-26) from the gospel of Peter, or finally from some other lost evangelic stories. Add (not seen) Vollgraff, "de tribus locis interpolatis in evangelio secundum Marcum" (*Mnemosyne* XXIX. pp. 148-161).

Page 647.—On Mt 28⁹⁻¹⁰, cp. Soltan (*ZNW*, 1900, p. 235) and Schmiedel ("almost universally given up," *EBi*, ii. 1878). It is partly owing to its early popularity, that "the traces of a chequered career of editorial amplification, recasting, modification are more marked in Matthew than in any other gospel" (Bacon).

Page 648.—Some account has recently been given (*Exp Ti*, xii. pp. 356-359) of an article by Prof. Odland in the *Norsk Theol. Tidsskrift*, where the writer seems to have partly accepted the critical results upon Mt 28¹⁹, i.e. that in its extant form the saying on baptism is only indirectly due to Christ, being the expression of a conviction arrived at by the church under the spirit of its Master. On the other hand, he cannot explain the apostolic practice of baptism except as sanctioned by an injunction of Christ (taking Eph 5²⁶ in this sense, not unlike Klöpper); and as there is no situation available for this injunction previous to his death, the historic credibility of Mt 28¹⁹ and inferentially of Mk 16¹⁶ is rendered somewhat valid.

Page 649, n. 1.—It may be pointed out that a partial analogy for the phenomena underlying passages like Mt 28¹⁶⁻²⁰ might be found in the OT, where divine commands are sometimes (e.g. Jer 32⁸) recognised after the event, the fact or experience in question preceding the significance afterwards attached to it by the devout observer.

Page 651.—Harnack (*ZNW*, 1901, 53-57) strongly supports Hillmann's deletion of Lk 134-35, contending that 36-37 are parallel to and intelligible immediately after 31-33, while in 34-35 the doubt of Mary is psychologically incredible, and the angel's answer illogical after 31 f. Weinel (*ibid.* 37-39) favours an independent conjecture of Kattenbusch (*Apost. Symbol.* II. 621 f.), who simply omits ἐπεὶ ἀνδρα οὐ γινώσκω (134) as a gloss (with, of course, ὡς ἐνομέ., 323), the point of Mary's doubt being not the birth of a son to her, but the restoration, after so many centuries, of the Messianic rule to one who, as the son of Joseph and herself, would be a scion of the Davidic dynasty. On either hypothesis the idea of the virgin-birth is denied to the original gospel, the gloss being introduced probably for harmonistic reasons (based on Mt 1¹⁸⁻²⁵ and Lk 1³¹⁻³²), not later than the editing of the gospel canon.

Page 652.—On the birth-narratives, see Barth (*die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, pp. 250 f.) and L. Conrady (*die Quelle der kanon. Kindheitsgeschichte Jesus'*, 1900). The latter, though partly following Resch, bases them on haggadic tales such as those in the "Protevangelium Jacobi," the synoptic narratives being the poetical expression of more prosaic facts, Mt 1¹⁻¹⁷, 2¹³⁻¹⁵, and Lk 2⁴¹⁻⁵² being editorial additions,

and *μνηστρεύεσθαι* in Mt 1¹⁸, Lk 1²⁷ being equivalent to "married." W. C. Allen (*Exp Ti*, xi. 135 f.) refers the pedigree in Mt partly to 1 Chron 1-3; the importance of such genealogies is discussed by Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, 262-266), Mrs. Lewis (*Exp Ti*, xii. 58-59), and von Soden (*EBi*, ii. 1666-1668); and the growth of tradition is suitably traced by Abbott (*EBi*, ii. 1778-1781). Bacon (*INT*, 224) puts Lk 1-2 subsequent to the Adoptionist heresy; such narratives as Lk 7¹¹⁻¹⁷, 23⁴⁰⁻⁴³, 24³⁶⁻⁴³ "can scarcely be regarded as untouched by legendary influence," though this took place previous to the final editing by R, the compiler of Lk-Acts. [Add *ZwTh*, 1901, p. 177 f.]

Page 653 f.—Add generally Harnack: "Probleme im Texte d. Leidensgeschichte" (*SBB*, 1901), and specially for the literature and contents of 22¹⁹⁻²⁰ a good discussion in *AJT* (1901), pp. 102-116. Canon Robinson also would omit 22^{19 b-20} (*EBi*, ii. 1418-1419).

Page 655.—On the insertion of Lk 24¹², see further Dr. Abbott (*EBi*, 1783, n. 4) and Professor Bacon (*INT*, p. 221 n.).

Ibid.—On the probable gloss, Ac 8²⁶, cp. Cheyne (*EBi*, ii. 1650), whose alternative conjecture of a lacuna, however, is not convincing.

Page 672.—Add Nestle, *Philologus*, 1900, i., "Anklänge an Euripides in d. Ap-geschichte."

Page 674.—The narrative of Paul's activity as an exorcist (Ac 19¹³⁻²⁰, cp. 5¹⁵), which corroborates other evidence upon the popularity of magic in Asia Minor (Gal 5²⁰, *φαρμακεία*, 2 Ti 5¹³, *γοήτης*) among the people reached by Christianity, is described by Cheyne (*EBi*, ii. 1452) in Browning's phrase as "accidental fancy's guardian sheath" of some belief in Paul's thaumaturgic powers (cp. Plutarch, *Symp.* vii. 5. 4, on the well-known *Ἐπίσινα γράμματα*). Cp. Weinell, *Wirkungen des Geistes*, p. 218. The whole passage might have been included among those of which Jülicher (*Einkl.* 350) remarks that in such sections of the NT (Ac 5, 9, 12, 16²⁵⁻³⁹) more than elsewhere "treten die sagenhaften Elemente kräftiger hervor."

Page 676.—On 26⁸. Other instances of textual transposition are found in Ps. Sol. 9¹⁰⁻¹¹, 12⁷⁻⁸, Syr-Sin (Mk 10¹¹⁻¹², 16³, Lk 1⁶³⁻⁶⁴), the Wisdom of Solomon *passim* (according to H. Bois), possibly OT instances such as Zech 4⁶⁻¹⁰, Jer 3⁶⁻¹⁸, 9²³⁻²⁶, 10¹⁻¹⁶, Proverbs (LXX) *passim*, etc. etc. From internal evidence alone it is generally conjectured that Ecclesiastes, especially towards the close, has undergone either dislocation, interpolation, or successive redaction on a larger scale, at a period which, as in the case of the fourth gospel, precedes that of the archetype from which all existing MSS are derived. Another curious instance of textual derangement through some accidental displacement in a MS. is furnished by most of the Greek MSS of Ecclesiasticus (xxx-xxxvi), which preserve a false order of contents, differing materially from that in the Hebrew and Latin. The disarrangement can be traced back to the exemplar of these Greek MSS, in which some pairs of leaves must have got transposed. Similarly with the pseudo-Philonian *De incorrupt. Mundi*, according to Bernays.

Page 689.—19^{13b} a gloss. So also Schmiedel (*EBi*, ii. 2517), adding *βασιλεύς* . . . *κυρίου* (19¹⁶) as probably incompatible with 19¹².

Page 690.—It is true that the sabbath-question is passed from at 5¹⁷ (Schmiedel, *EBi*, ii. 2529), but it leads naturally to the question of Moses, and by as natural a transition round (7²²) to the original topic in dispute. To preserve the homogeneity of chap. 10, as well as to group chpp. 8-10 round the feast of dedication in December, to which he considers that their contents most naturally apply, P. M. Strayer (*JTS*, ii. 137-140) ingeniously proposes to regard 10²² as a verse displaced from its original position preceding 8¹², conjecturing further that between 7⁵² and (10²²) 8¹² Christ had retired from Galilee at the close of the feast, and thereafter (Lk 9^{51-10⁴²}) returned finally to the capital. Fries (*ZNW*, 1900, p. 300 n.) suggests the transference of 12²⁷⁻³⁰ to 11⁴¹, between *εἶπεν* and *πάτερ*, while Bacon more boldly still (*AJT*, 1900,

770-795; *INT*, 271-274) reconstructs the whole gospel afresh on the conjectural basis of Tatian's arrangement, attributing all these displacements to editorial composition, not to textual transmission.

Page 693.—The transposition in chap. 18 suggested by Syr-Sin is supported by the evidence of Codex *e*, the best extant Old Latin witness, in which a leaf seems to have been cut out between 18¹² and 18²⁵—the strong presumption being (as Mr. C. H. Turner observes, *JTS*, II. 141-142) that the leaf was excised because it contained the unfamiliar sequence which happens to be preserved in Syr-Sin.

Page 695.—This conclusion in regard to chap. 21 seems generally favoured by Mr. F. C. Burkitt (*Two Lectt.*, pp. 54-72), who also, I am glad to notice, enters a much needed protest against the crude depreciation, too common in this country, of Matthew Arnold's essays on NT criticism.

Page 697.—The subject referred to in note 1 is fully discussed in *EBi*, ii. 2509-2514. Soltau (*ZNW*, 1901, pp. 140-149), partially on the lines of Wendt, elaborates the hypothesis of the fourth gospel's composite origin. Just as the Matthean Logia were combined with the narrative of the Ur-Marcus to form our canonical Matthew (or a first edition of it), so, he conjectures, the editor of the fourth gospel must have reset a narrative-source (not including, however, 20¹⁴⁻¹⁸. 25-29, which are legendary developments of the synoptic tradition) which lay before him, furnishing it with edifying and congruous discourses, and adding certain passages of his own here and there (*e.g.* 7²⁸⁻³⁰. 33-36, 11¹⁻⁴⁶, 12^{1b}) for the sake of completeness. This narrative-source represented a collection of sayings of our Lord, introduced by historical notices; though unequal in value (1^{44f}, 9^{35f}, 19³¹⁻³⁷, *e.g.* "machen einen durchaus legendhaften Eindruck"), its contents often included many genuine reminiscences, geographical, doctrinal (*e.g.* 2¹⁹, 6³⁵=Mt 11²⁸⁻³⁰, 10¹², 13³³⁻³⁵, 15²⁻⁵; also 3¹⁻¹², 4 substantially, 5^{1f}, 9^{32f}, 19²⁶⁻²⁷. 31-37, 20^{3f}), and otherwise (*cp.* *Unsere Evangelien*, pp. 113 f.), all due to the oral tradition of John the apostle. Possessing some canonical authority even by the time of John's death, it was very slightly modified by the synoptic tradition (*e.g.* 21^{3f}, 4⁴⁹⁻⁵⁴). But, in the hands of John the presbyter, certain of its Logia were developed into Christian discourses written in the mystic style of current philosophy, which were finally incorporated by him more or less aptly into the source which had originated them (*e.g.* 11¹⁻¹⁸, 9^{35f}, 10¹⁻¹⁸, 14-17 part).

PROLEGOMENA

It may be said of all that is told of Jesus Christ, that it is written as a *lesson* for us. That is a consideration which in our controversies is often unduly overlooked ; but it is in keeping with the object of the oldest writers, and the practice of the oldest teachers. In matters of religious tradition it is the peculiarity of much that passes for historical, that the spiritual meaning to be found in it is its most important feature. Where something is maintained as an historical fact, it is more often than not a defence of the article of faith bound up with it.—**Harnack.**

Just as the mind which comes to the New Testament has grown historical, it has become more historical to the mind, *i.e.* the mind has been able to discover a more historical character in the literature.—**A. M. Fairbairn.**

Criticism is part of historical exegesis. Criticism is the effort of exegesis to be historical. The effort can never be more than partially successful. But though there may be many failures, the idea of historical exegesis is valuable, because it gives us the right idea of Scripture, which is the reflection of the presence of the living God in human history.—**A. B. Davidson.**

PROLEGOMENA

THIS edition of the NT literature has been planned with the single purpose of exhibiting the documents in a special arrangement, which may be called "historical." The term is slightly ambiguous, but it has been chosen in default of one more suitable. As employed in the title it bears upon the order of the writings, not of the events, and in this way comes to possess a double reference. Primarily it denotes that one after another the books are consistently arranged as they were composed. In this aspect "historical" becomes practically equivalent to "chronological," when that term is taken in a literary sense; so that a "historical" order amounts to the same thing as the successive and natural order of the writings, when these are considered as literary products. Such a principle has its own value and interest. But from it flows a further inference. Writings thus arranged *seriatim* reveal themselves more vividly than before as expressions of a contemporary and continuous movement in thought, action, and feeling, for which again they furnish indirectly much evidence. Now in this sense also the "historical" principle has helped to determine the present edition. Here the NT writings are viewed and sorted in their original sequence as a collection of evidence for the history of early Christian reflection and experience. Take any writing as a historical document in this light, and three elements have to be adjusted—(a) the directly retrospective reference of the book to the period of which ostensibly it treats; (b) the semi-retrospective reference, which it implicitly

contains, to changes in the social and inward situation of things between that period and the date of the book's composition, along with (c) the contemporary reference of the writing—always indirect but often of supreme value—which helps to expose its own surroundings, authorship, and motives. The last-named is the starting-point of historical research. Criticism always requires to have access to this standpoint as a subsidiary base, and it is partly in order to facilitate such access that the present arrangement of the literature has been compiled. "Historical" study in this, no less than in the other, sense of the term has been intended and included in the following pages.

The special advantage which is claimed for this principle of arrangement, is that it preserves one of the vitally significant features in a NT writing, namely, its witness to the period and situation at which it happened to be composed, and into which it is able, when properly interpreted, to throw some rays of light. This correspondence of book and period requires to be emphasised in historical research, particularly as neither the devotional nor the dogmatic use of the NT suggests it, although in reality both rest upon it. The historical spirit has this task placed before it in the field of the NT literature, to examine and determine the successive forms of the Christian consciousness with their change and flow and sequence, so far as these are consecutively preserved by the extant records, in order that through the literature, as Mommsen somewhere remarks upon the evidence for the provincial life of the early Roman Empire, one may "work out by means of the imagination—which is the author of all history as of all poetry—if not a complete picture, at any rate a substitute for it."

Hence the project of presenting the NT¹ literature as far as possible simply in the order of its literary growth,

¹ "New Testament," of course, is a phrase which rises out of a later ecclesiastical terminology not long before the age of Tertullian. Strictly speaking, one has no right to use it in a historical discussion of the writings in question, especially as it is associated with ideas of formality and exclusiveness which are foreign to the literature grouped under its title. Still the term may be retained, like "gospel," for the sake of practical convenience. It must

any given book being placed not according to the time of the event which it records, but purely with reference to the date at which that record is known to have been substantially or finally composed. Chronology of documents is the leading concern. Each writing is allowed to lie in its locality, or as close to its original *venue* as can be ascertained from the extant data. This order of the books in point of composition furnishes, I believe, a fairly good order for not a few purposes of study, and the practical compensations of naturalness and reality must be allowed to outweigh the loss of elegance and symmetry. The idea is to set out the various strata of the literature as these indicate themselves to have been laid down. One after another, as the history proceeds, the records are found to have been deposited in a certain structural order, neither uniform nor—as we handle them usually—undisturbed from their original position, but showing traces of process and accumulation. This is acknowledged upon all hands. Why should it not be expressed? To some degree the very fragmentariness which occurs in the geological record of organic life is paralleled by gaps and fractures in the extant expression of early Christian thought and feeling; but it is common sense to recognise at any rate what may be described as the stratified character of the latter, admitting, *e.g.*, that the Galatian epistle precedes that to the Colossians, and Colossians again the fourth gospel, just as one places the Cambrian formation below the Devonian, the Devonian under the Cretaceous, and the Pliocene over all three.

Some such rearrangement, it has been felt, is among the present desiderata of NT study. The practical necessity for it rests upon two grounds: the general considerations involved in historical research, as well as the special character of the ordinary canonical collection of the writings in remain one of the paradoxes in this subject, that the age commonly named “the New Testament times” is precisely the age in which no New Testament existed. A similar proviso attaches to the employment of “Mark,” “Matthew,” “Luke,” “John,” throughout the following pages. They are used merely as convenient titles for the canonical gospels, and have no reference to the supposed authors or compilers of these books.

question. These requirements now fall to be successively discussed.¹

I.

In common with any other period, the apostolic age calls into play that faculty of sympathetic judgment, comparative analysis, and historical appreciation, by the exercise of which the relevant literary expression and evidence² become transformed into an uncoloured window looking out directly upon the actual field and horizon of the time. One primary principle of such research is a careful and clear recognition of the difference which may exist between the literary date of a writing and the period of time to which its contents principally refer. The two certainly reflect upon each other. Not infrequently their positions are determined through a comparison of their relative aspects. But initially and ideally they must be held separate. Any document may be avowedly a witness to previous facts and feelings. Unconsciously and as really, however, it carries now and then traces of its immediate environment; and it is with this latter, secondary, and indirect relationship that historical criticism has to begin its work. In some cases a NT writing is almost exactly contemporaneous with the period of which it treats: the epistle to the Galatians and that to Philippi are ex-

¹ In a recent novel (of all places!) by Thomas Hardy, the idea has been curiously and roughly anticipated. "Jude, will you let me make you a *new* New Testament, like the one I made for myself at Christminster?" "Oh yes. How was that made?" "I altered my old one by cutting up all the epistles and gospels into separate *brochures*, and rearranging them in chronological order, as written, beginning the book with Romans, following on with the early epistles, and putting the gospels much further on. My University friend, Mr. —, said it was an excellent idea. I know that reading it afterwards made it twice as interesting as before, and twice as understandable" (*Jude the Obscure*, p. 187).

² Heinrici, *Theologische Encyklopädie* (1893), pp. 51–53. On the use of historical method in relation to documents, see Hatch, *Organisation of Early Christian Churches* (1882), pp. 2–17; and, for the importance of source-criticism in modern research, Professor J. B. Bury's edition of Gibbon, vol. i. pp. xlv, xlvi. "We have lived to see an age of source-criticism," says Preuschen, referring to NT research, "which can only be compared to the morphological and biological investigations of natural science" (*ZNW*, 1900, p. 3).

cellent instances. Indeed, taking the word in a fair although somewhat loose sense, we may argue that all the epistles, as well as the sources which underlie the synoptic gospels and the Acts, are "contemporary."¹ In this respect they compare not unfavourably even with most ancient histories, as will be seen from the appended table, which roughly gives some instances of the relative distance between events and their record in the older Jewish and classical literatures. In fact, judged by ordinary standards, the bulk of the NT

Book.	Date of Composition.	Interval.	Main Period of Reference.
Thucydides, . . .	403-396 B.C. (?)	32-15 years	435-409 B.C.
1 Maccabees, . . .	90 B.C. \pm	85-45 ,,	175-135 B.C.
2 Maccabees, . . .	c. 80 B.C.	95-80 ,,	175-161 B.C.
Josephus, "Wars" (bks. 2-7), . . .	75-79 A.D.	10-5 ,,	66-71 A.D.
,, "Antiquities,"	93-94 A.D.	260 years and upwards	-161 B.C. (bks. 1-12)
		260-100 years	161 B.C.-6 A.D. (bks. 13-17)
		100-28 ,,	6 A.D.-66 A.D. (bks. 18-20)
Tacitus, "Annals,"	115-117 A.D. (published)	130-50 ,,	14 B.C.-68 A.D.
,, "History,"	103-106 A.D.	35-10 ,,	69-96 A.D.
,, "Agricola,"	97 A.D.	57-3 ,,	40-94 A.D.
Suetonius, "Vitæ XII. Imperatorum,"	c. 120 A.D.	180-24 ,,	60 B.C.-96 A.D.
Mark, . . .	65-75 A.D.	45-40 ,,	26-29 A.D.
Matthew, . . .	75-90 A.D.	80-60 ,,	6 B.C.-29 A.D.
Luke, . . .	80-90 A.D.	90-60 ,,	" " "
Acts, . . .	90-100 A.D.	65-35 ,,	29 A.D.-62 A.D.
Fourth gospel, . . .	95-115 A.D.	85-80 ,,	26-29 A.D.

literature affords a fairly direct and clear witness to its period. Still, even here, with so remarkable a measure of historic credibility (though trustworthiness does not necessarily increase as the gap between fact and writing diminishes),

¹ In a note to chap. iii. book iv. of his *History of the Conquest of Peru*, Prescott incidentally defines "contemporary" evidence. Speaking of Herrera, the author of *Historia General de las Indias*, he points out that this Spaniard's evidence is "little short of that of a contemporary, since it was derived from the correspondence of the Conquerors, and the accounts given him by their own sons."

between the period recorded and the recording literature some space does intervene, varying from a few years up to nearly a century. Any of the historical writings, then, may be considered with some reason to represent a more or less extended period which has elapsed between the time of its historical reference and the date of its composition. This factor of distance between the life and the corresponding literature is cardinal, and it is necessary to get a sight and sense of it. The difference of time is always significant, though not always to the same degree: it demands in any case to be estimated and weighed. By all scientific research, indeed, this feature is steadily presupposed, while its consequences and bearings upon questions of accuracy, historicity, subjective characteristics, and the like, are paramount and abundantly obvious.

It is worth while to start from the very clear and accepted instances of this principle offered by OT criticism. To take an extreme case, the books of Chronicles are significant, not merely for the period of the monarchy, but also and especially as witnesses to certain ideas and feelings in regard to the law and history of Israel current some five or six hundred years later in the age between the Return and the Maccabean Revolution. In P, the priestly document of the Hexateuch, we obtain not (some would prefer to say "not only") a record of primitive history, but, to some degree, the hopes and religious emotions of an author who wrote in the later monarchy or under the actual shadows of exile and captivity. Similarly the book of the Judges, as we have it, presents a conglomerate of narratives which have been finally recast in the Deuteronomic spirit fully six or seven centuries subsequent to the date of the events which it professes to record. The period of the NT is considerably smaller than that covered by the OT, barely extending beyond a century and a quarter at the most. But its phases, none the less, are varied and successive; and if they are to be defined with any historical lucidity, the above-noted principle must be carried into the criticism of the NT literature and fairly tested there. This need is patent at the very outset. To the historical

student who is engaged in working back, by aid of sources, to the facts, the Christ of the apostles is the forerunner to the Jesus of history. Through the witness of the one we reach the presence of the other. Even with the help of the vivid emotion and imagination current in the apostolic age, we see the central figure as through a glass darkly; but without that age and its memorials we would not see him at all. Certainly the primary question in regard to early Christianity is not what the early Christians believed about Jesus, but what Jesus himself believed. His faith, not faith in him, forms the spring of his religion as a historical force (Meyer, *Die moderne Forschung ü. d. Geschichte des Ur.* 1898, p. 1 f.). Yet for the investigator the faith of Jesus is only accessible through a preliminary survey of the faith which others had in him. Personally he left no written statement or expression of his views and deeds. For these, as well as for the sense of his personality, we are absolutely dependent upon the reminiscences of an after-age, together with the impression produced by him on one or two men of exceptional ability who subsequently joined his cause. Jesus is the author and finisher of the faith. But to arrive at any historical estimate of his conceptions and character, the inquirer must first of all be prepared to spend no slight research upon the materials furnished by the writings of the apostolic age. These are the indispensable record of the ways by which the early Christian faith was formed, transformed, expressed, and propagated.

The sense of confusion, which commonly rises in this mental passage from the naïve to the scientific conception of the NT writings, is due for the most part not to the discipline itself so much as to the fact that it is a comparatively unpalatable and unfamiliar task for us to take into account this very factor of retrospective reference. Each document, we now discover, contains a standpoint as well as a subject. In using the records, one has to keep oneself alive to that, and to be ready to make allowance for what may be termed "the contemporary equation." The trial-task of criticism is in fact to comprise not only the direct reference

of a book to some previous period, but also such delicate and elusive, though not unsubstantial, considerations as those of the place and time in which, the motives for which, and the author by whom, it was composed. For the sake of book and period alike, a just estimate refuses to leave out of account these contemporary tendencies and conditions. Historical inquiry seeks, often and chiefly from the data of the book itself, to determine the precise extent and unravel the actual character of the influence exerted by any particular period upon its literary products. By this means it is enabled to work back to some keener insight into the period itself, while at the same time it becomes competent to estimate with finer accuracy the varying value of the evidence which the writing in question offers with regard to the earlier period of which it treats. This procedure is legitimate, healthy, and remunerative. Tendency-criticism has become a detected idol. It stands exposed as a fanciful and arbitrary method of research. But it is quite another thing to ascertain the mental and social latitudes in which an author seems to have written, to use his work in common with other aids for the discovery and illustration of these latitudes, and again to use these for the elucidation of the book itself. This reflex method of study forms a delicate and necessary practice. Between a writing of the NT and the period at which it was finally composed there exists a more or less direct correspondence. To some extent any writing is moved by its atmosphere, while the period in its turn is set off and indicated by the contemporary writing—

“Like as the wind doth beautify a sail,
And as a sail becomes the unseen wind.”

The classic and abused instance of this relationship has been the book of Acts; but when fairly employed the principle touches almost the whole collection. Paul's writings are the most objective. Their standpoint and subject are practically one, and the date of their composition falls not far from the period of their historical reference. All that needs to be done, as a rule, is to put them in chronological order. That determined, they lie actually parallel to the life which thus

tells its own tale. On the other hand, the more historical narratives point often this way and that; their standpoint is considerably later than their subject, and sometimes different from it. In the criticism of these books—more especially of the synoptic gospels—the real problem is raised. Each falls to be read in its own character and circumstances; and the consequence is that as books they have all to be placed far down the history, considerably later than the events which they discuss and narrate, subsequent even to the Pauline letters. The best defence of this arrangement is an explanation of its significance for the study either of the literature itself or of the age, along with some account, given in suggestion rather than in detail, of the character and functions which actually belong to the gospels as historical records of the NT.

The conception of Jesus in the gospels represents not only the historical likeness so far as its traits were preserved in the primitive evangelic tradition, but also the religious interests of the age in which and for which these narratives were originally drawn up. It is in the balance and adjustment of these two elements that one real problem of NT criticism will always lie. For while such interests were in part created by the original and impressive personality of Jesus as his spirit continued to work upon receptive natures in the church (*"ut quisque meminerat, et ut cuique cordi erat,"* Augustine), some of them (and in particular the Messianic idea) are also to be viewed as later and partially independent reflections; for all their filiation to, or sympathy with, the primitive Christian consciousness, these cannot have exactly corresponded to it in every feature, and therefore may be conjectured to have inevitably coloured in some degree the delineation of its contents. Year by year the spirit of the historical Jesus went on quickening his receptive followers, and shaping¹ in them a life of wider and wider capacities.

¹ This obvious and practical interest prompted the composition of early notes which contained sayings or deeds of the Master. But there is no evidence to prove any similar interest in the primitive apostolic deeds and speeches. These were occasional, not authoritative, and had no special importance at the

They remembered him, and they awaited him. Tradition was the main channel through which this force came to be transmitted. Christ's words were a law, his service and reign a life. The disciples, realising more freshly and fully than ever as the years passed, the contents of their original faith in him, turned ultimately back to reflect with increasing solicitude upon the facts of its historic origin. The reflection had to be put into writing. To preserve these recollections was quite a spontaneous form of literature, and it was from such rudimentary sketches and reminiscences that the first gospels germinated by a process whose intermediate stages are no longer articulate. "La plus belle chose du monde est ainsi sortie d'une élaboration obscure et complètement populaire." Dr. Abbott (*Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels*, p. xi) suggests an interesting parallel in the oral tradition of the Mishna, whose contents have been handed down in a concise and even elliptical form, obscure through its very brevity. If the original evangelic tradition was transmitted by notes compiled in so condensed a fashion, and occasionally requiring some expansion to render them intelligible, a clue might be got to explain the divergent interpretations of the same incident or saying in the synoptists. Some passages, at least, are cleared up in this way (*op. cit.* pp. xxvii—xxxix). And in any case the Mishna throws light upon two facts—(a) the retentiveness of memory, and (b) the persistence of oral tradition, among the contemporaries of the evangelists. Whatever may have been the steps, however, in the process of this literary evolution whose results lie before us in the synoptic gospels, the point is that its motives and surroundings differed seriously from those which would have belonged to the environment of a similar attempt some thirty or forty years earlier. It stands to reason that the outcome of the moment for their contemporaries. Consequently one must differentiate between the disciples' careful memory for Jesus and the subsidiary interest and impression produced by the early disciples themselves upon one another. That is to say, one cannot fairly argue from the early composition of "logia" to the equally early composition of notes and reminiscences like Ac. 1-5 (16). See below, pp. 413 f., 657 f., and Jülicher's *Einl.* pp. 351-353.

apostolic age did not take the form of what a diary composed by a contemporary and companion of Jesus would have been. Yet at the same time this difference is not necessarily a drawback. For in observing the lineaments of Jesus, the right focus was given not by his death nor even by his departure, but in the subsequent discipline of memory and obedience among his followers. Their increasing distance from the object tended in some degree to correct earlier mistakes of judgment in the direction of exaggeration or of undervaluing; by removing certain obscurities the very lapse of time helped to purify and widen in the Christian community the powers of accurate appreciation. Hence the character and date of our extant gospels. Just as the full significance of the traits and issues bound up in the faith of Jesus could not be grasped by his original disciples until he ceased to move beside them—he left them and they knew him—so it proved practically an impossibility for them, even after their subsequent experience of reflection and reminiscence, to achieve the task of creating a final and adequate record. For that they could merely supply materials. It was enough in this for the disciples to be as their Master. Like Sokrates and Epiktetus, he was no author. He wrote once—and that upon the dust. His real epistles were to be found in the character and experience of his followers (2 Co 3³). Nor was it otherwise with them. For other hands than theirs the work of evangelic composition was reserved. It was completed, as perhaps it only could have been, by the *epigoni*. Even those who had received the tradition of the historical Jesus, *κατὰ σάρκα*, from his personal companions, found that his life in subsequent years opened out for them (Jo 12¹⁶ 14²⁶ 16¹³); it

“Orbed into the perfect star
They knew not, when they moved therein.”

But this insight of a second generation was not necessarily inferior at all points. On the contrary, it had some invaluable advantages. In the strict sense of the word, the gospels are not contemporary records. Even the earliest of

them implies an interval between the facts and their record—bridged though that interval may be by continuous tradition and surviving witnesses. But so far from this distance being an altogether regrettable defect, it is in some aspects a profit. Until development has reached a certain stage, analysis will always remain inadequate; indeed, it is hardly possible for it to exist. Lapse of time is essential to a real conception of this as of any other history, for it is only after such an interval of experience and reflection that the meaning and bearings of the life in question come out in their true and sure significance. Interpretation is not bound fast to the contemporary standpoint. It requires facts, but it requires them in perspective. The gospels in reality do more for us, written between 65 and 105, than they would have done if composed before 35. Drawn up after at least one generation had passed away, and written in a world rich with religious passion, speculation, and achievement, these writings give a wider and deeper account of their subject than any that would have been afforded by records composed in the morning of the Christian religion. During the actual lifetime of Jesus, or even immediately after his death, the vital principle of the Life was not to be grasped in its real unity and relationships. Paul understood the secret of Jesus more thoroughly than many who had trodden the roads of Galilee in his company, and listened to his arguments and teaching in the synagogues; and the writers of the Christian biography were not necessarily placed at any serious disadvantage for their task and mission by the fact that their vision was one not of sight but of insight, not of memory but of sympathy. “The living do not give up their secrets with the candour of the dead; one key is always excepted, and a generation passes before we can ensure accuracy.”¹ That canon applies most forcibly to the synoptic gospels,² and their subject. Their best

¹ Lord Acton, *The Study of History* (1895), p. 4; cp. Caird's *Evolution of Religion*, vol. ii. pp. 215-228.

² If we qualify its second statement, Keim's remark *à propos* of Matthew (in his view, the earliest gospel) holds true of all the three synoptists: “The interval was too short really to sweep away a historical life, the circles of Judaism and Christianity were too disciplined and sober to replace facts by

purposes were excellently served by this interval of years; in fact, it was essential to their value. Letters are immediate and contemporary; they touch directly the things of the day. Histories can only be written from materials gathered close to the period and subject, but they cannot be written until after the lapse of years, during which the past has come to be seen in its true bearings and intelligently construed. Thus, while the materials for this history consist in part of contemporary evidence, furnished by the quick and eager memory of the church,¹ the handling of them belongs to later days. Working with a sympathetic conscience and a religious aim, this age could best produce due records of the earlier period. They are not primitive, indeed, but they are primary. In their present form the synoptic gospels are not the work of men who were originally disciples of Jesus. The latter, with their Jewish habits and Christian hopes, were evidently ill adapted for a task which rightly fell to the activity and insight of a later generation, whose very position of remoteness turned out to be in some respects a vantage-ground for appraising the great Past. Upon the whole the age of Jesus was understood, its essence grasped, its significance reached by means of the refracted light thrown by its issues and expression across the institutions and character of rising Christianity, more adequately than it would have been at a time when its inner nature had only the promise and rudiments of life in which to reveal its inner self. Had it not been for the experience of the church,² the character of

dreams, an Eastern memory was naturally too tenacious, and, moreover, witnesses of the life of Christ still lived" (i. 78). Réville's discussion is in the main quite fair and accurate (i. p. 255 f.).

¹ Cp. Zahn on "the unwritten gospel" (*Einl.* ii. pp. 158-172). The allusion "to this day" (Mt 11¹² 27⁸ 28¹⁵) betrays accidentally, as in the case of Deuteronomy (2²², etc.), the lapse of time between the period and its record in literature.

² This general atmosphere of early Christian experience is as important for the criticism of the gospels as are the idiosyncrasies of the individual evangelists. Even were the personalities of the latter better known than they are, the transmission of Christ's words and deeds, upon which they all depend, is affected in the first instance by the experience, needs, and aims of the apostolic communities rather than by the special cast and colour of particular reporters.

Jesus, we may say, would not have been portrayed with such sympathy and understanding. It needed the four decades between 30 and 70 to render the period before 30 luminous. *Facere celebranda* and *celebrare facta* are two different forms of human energy. It is not often given to one age to accomplish both, and certainly it was not given to the first three decades of our era.

On the other hand, the possibility of such an interval developing less desirable qualities in the tradition (Iren. III. 2. 2, 12. 12) must also be admitted. For example, the two main requirements for the genesis of what is supposed to have been the mythical process, are (a) the Messianic and miraculous¹ conceptions of the early Christians, and (b) a certain time to allow of these ideas passing² into concrete form as incidents and stories (for a list of passages, cp. Stanton, *Jewish*

Indeed, the position of the gospels as compositions in and for the apostolic age supplies one of the most valid criteria for distinguishing the words of Jesus from those of his reporters. That the latter have given a trustworthy and accurate impression of his life is outside reasonable doubt. But the large amount of material which authenticates itself as genuine is bound up with materials which are as patently evidence for the mental and moral inferiority of Christ's reporters to himself. Such inferiority occasionally has caused misapprehension in the record, but on the whole it ensured a good report, better perhaps than would have come from men less impressed by their own subordinate ability, and therefore more apt to have given rein to the activity and inventiveness of their imagination. The profile of Jesus is clear in the gospels, chiefly because the writers were content to view it from below.

¹ The supernatural excitement of the first century seems to have made the rabbis who lived towards its close extremely shy of miracles as a religious proof (*vide* Schechter's *Studies in Judaism*, p. 230 f.).

² On the quick transformation of fact in Eastern popular tradition, and the bearing of this upon the historicity of the NT, Professor Ramsay has a good statement (*SPT*, pp. 368-370). The miracles of Thomas à Becket are a suggestive illustration of this rapid growth under different conditions. Some of these miracles, as Freeman has shown, were chronicled at the very moment of their occurrence, several within half a dozen years after his death. For a recent discussion of this quick legendary growth in its relation to historic testimony, especially upon the NT, see Dr. E. A. Abbott's *Kernel and Husk*, pp. 158-224, and his *St. Thomas of Canterbury* (1898); also Mackintosh's *Natural History of Christian Religion* (1894), chaps. xi.-xiii., and Réville's chapter, ii. pp. 61-85. More conservative statements upon the miraculous elements in the woof of the gospels are given by Bruce, *Miraculous Element in Gospel*² (1890), pp. 79-153, and Stenude, *Der Beweis d. Glaubens* (1897), pp. 89 f., 138 f., 189 f. Otherwise and excellently, Bacon, *INT*, pp. 215 f., 227 f.

and *Christian Messiah*, pp. 368–370). “The simple historical structure of the life of Jesus,” wrote Strauss, “was hung with the most varied and suggestive tapestry of devout reflections and fancies, all the ideas entertained by primitive Christianity relative to its lost Master being transformed into facts and woven into the course of his life. The imperceptible growth of a joint creative work of this kind is made possible by oral tradition being the medium of communication.” The modicum of truth which underlies this exaggerated estimate is not visible until the age and conditions of the gospels are understood. It was not a pre-dogmatic age. The Jews brought many dogmas into the Church, including scenic, semi-material, Messianic categories, and the evidence shows us how much activity in primitive Christianity was devoted to fixing the relations between the old dogmas and the new experience (cp. Cone, *The Gospel and its Interpretations*, 1893, pp. 138–151). The fresh movement triumphed by mastering its inheritance and developing original forms for itself under the limitations of that inheritance. For the nascent religion had to formulate itself. Intuition turned to reflect and justify itself, and by the time that the gospels and even the Pauline letters were composed this tendency had been widely felt in most quarters of Christendom. So with the didactic aim. This again did not necessarily involve any deliberate looseness in reporting facts of history; but it seems to have fostered methods of adapting or creating¹ narrative, according to the

¹ “Can we conceive of an evangelist stepping out of the actual into the possible, in order that he might have ampler scope for the embodiment of his conception of Jesus than the grudging data of reality supplied, especially in the case of a life of so short duration? . . . Viewing the matter in the abstract, we are not perhaps entitled to negative dogmatically as inadmissible such use of ideal situations for evangelic purposes” (Bruce, *Apologetics*, pp. 459, 460). The question is one of the subtlest problems in NT criticism, either as an inquiry into the deliberate aims of the evangelists or as an analysis of the unconscious tendencies under which they worked. Upon the intellectual temper in these days and its relation to religious truth, see Dr. Percy Gardner’s *Exploratio Evangelica*, pp. 148–158; also, for the influence of subsequent ideas upon the narration of facts and events, Dr. A. B. Davidson in *Exp.*⁶ i. p. 16 f. The Alexandrian temper and spirit probably affected even the earliest synoptic tradition to a larger extent than is commonly suspected or admitted. The

predominating tendency of the Oriental mind to cast argument and counsel in the form of stories. The extent, nature, and limits of this feature belong to the inner criticism of the gospels (see Carpenter's *First Three Gospels*, chaps. v., vi., an outline of competent and serious treatment; also Dr. G. L. Cary, in *IH*, i. pp. 74-77). It embraces the origin of the "doublets"—one incident existing in two slightly different forms, and finally shaped into two separate events—the phenomena upon which the mythical hypothesis rests, and also the three *veræ causæ* which, as even Dr. Sanday allows (*DB*, ii. 625), were "to some extent really at work" in shaping the miraculous narratives: (*a*) the influence of similar OT stories which naturally prompted the disciples to imitate them as they recorded the life and wonders of Jesus; (*b*) the translation of metaphor into fact, or of parable into the clothing of external reality, by which misunderstandings of language are the origin of certain

synoptic account of the baptism of Jesus is a case in point. Here the endowment of Jesus with spiritual power at this initial crisis of his career is explained pictorially by the descent of the holy Spirit in the form of a dove. So naïve a way of representing a religious experience was more than a popular conception; it formed an accepted category of thought in current Hellenistic and Rabbinical Judaism, where, as in Philo (Usener, *Religionsgeschichte*, i. p. 50f.; Holtzmann, *HC*, i. pp. 62, 63; Conybeare, *Exp.*⁴ ix. pp. 451-458; Dr. G. L. Cary, *IH*, i. 59, 60) wisdom or the divine spirit (λόγος) was symbolised by a dove. In the third gospel the metaphor is more pointedly transmuted into fact. But evidently the process had already begun before the evangelic tradition acquired its most primitive form (Mk); which is an instructive piece of evidence for the mental atmosphere in which the sources and traditions of the gospels, no less than the gospels themselves, germinated. This method of representation, however, is analogous to the Eastern love of an apologue, with its circumstantial narrative, as the most suitable means of conveying instruction. To present the idea is the main point. "The Rabbi embodies his lesson in a story, whether parable or allegory or seeming historical narrative; and the last thing he or his disciples would think of is to ask whether the selected persons, events, and circumstances which so vividly suggest the doctrine, are in themselves real or fictitious. . . . To make the story the first consideration, and the doctrine it was intended to convey an afterthought, as we, with our dry Western literalness, are predisposed to do, is to reverse the Jewish order of thinking, and to do unconscious injustice to the authors of many edifying narratives of antiquity" (C. J. Ball: *Speaker's Commentary, Apocrypha*, vol. ii. p. 307. See also Cheyne on "the unconscious artists of the imaginative East," *Hallowing of Criticism*, pp. 5-7). Cp. pp. 75, 260.

narratives (a good example, *e.g.* in the cursing of the fig-tree, Mk 11¹²⁻¹⁴. 20-25 with Lk 13⁶⁻⁹); (c) the exaggeration of what were originally quite natural occurrences. However such phenomena be estimated,¹ they are not intelligible unless the writings are set in their true place as influenced by the dogmatic and didactic aims of a later age. Their contents must be judged from their function and atmosphere, as well as from the interval elapsing between their subject and themselves.

It appears, then, that under this common historical law the interval between the subject and the composition of a writing such as any one of the gospels, involves two aspects of reference—the retrospective and the contemporary. These do not in every case conflict, nor is the proportion between them uniform. It varies, and varies above all with the precise nature of the interval in question. For the significance of this interval is not to be estimated simply by the number of its years, any more than contemporaneity is to be made a test of credibility (cp. Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, pp. 46, 47). It depends rather upon the aggregate and importance of the changes in belief, feeling, and situation which have occurred within the period. These may be as revolutionary in five years as in fifty, so that the mere space of time gives no proper clue to the inner spirit of the intervening age. But whenever any of the more serious forms of change occur, be it in manners or opinion, one consequence is that the past is rendered thereby less intelligible than ever to those who now live upon the other side of the gulf. The book of Acts is a case in point. Here the antagonisms of the early Church are sketched in a smoother and less violent form, so much so that the atmosphere of distant reflection tends occasionally to blur the sharp outlines of the past. But this feature proceeds not so much from conscious purpose or from ignorance, as from the inevitable change of interests which takes place whenever any movement is passing—as

¹ Nothing better has been written upon the correct standpoint for such an estimate than Harnack's few paragraphs in *Das Wesen des Christentums* (1900), pp. 16-19 [*E. Tr.* pp. 24 f]. Schmiedel's conspectus is occasionally unfair (*EBi.* ii. 1881 f.).

undoubtedly Christianity did from between 50 and 80—through rapid and urgent phases of development. The completer the development, the sharper the cleavage, the less able in proportion are posterity to realise with proper sympathy and accuracy a situation which already lies at a comparative distance from their surroundings and even their immediate antecedents, so rapidly has time turned it into what is almost a foreign memory. Thus the value of any historical reconstruction, like that offered in a gospel, varies rather with the character than with the area and the extent of its retrospect. The elements of that value consist in (a) the veracity, object, and opportunities of the author; (b) the psychological climate of his age, especially the relation, continuous or interrupted, between itself and the period which is being treated; (c) lastly, and only lastly, the amount of the intervening years. The framework of chronology is apt in this connection to become misleading; it does not correspond unerringly to the real historical “distance.” The fact is, no truth is more general in historical research than that a term of years may possess a real content quite other than that suggested by the space it occupies upon the printed page.

When account is fairly taken of this factor of “interval,” any one of the historical narratives discloses itself at once as, in some scale and shade at least, a work of contemporary reference. It has been written at a certain distance from its subject, after the lapse of more or less significant changes, in a period of characteristic feelings and facts, by an author of certain sympathies and capacities. Put these elements together, and they throw upon the narrative a light of their own. Alongside of the primary retrospective aspect, they bring out the somewhat elusive “contemporary” aspect of its pages. This latter is set out with special emphasis when a gospel is dated according to its composition. Written not as abstract treatises, but for the practical requirements of their age, the gospels—even Luke’s, which most nearly resembles a biography of Jesus—indirectly witness here and there to the circumstances and conditions of the situation in which they originated. They are very far from being theological

pamphlets. The purely objective interest of the life they portray must have been absorbing in the highest degree. Yet even this could not obliterate the incidental reflection of that religious and social background,¹ with its interests, oppositions, changes, developments, and beliefs, during the years 65–105; this the gospels, along with the other Christian documents and the Jewish literature, enable us to fill in with some detail of historical acquaintance. The synoptic narratives carry us into the life lived by Jesus among men. They also carry us into the life men set themselves to live “in Jesus,” a life moulded by his sayings and directed by his spirit, yet including ideas and experiences which could not have existed previously to A.D. 30.

The gospels, then, are not relentless automatic photographs. They are pictures, or rather portraits. Adequate justice is not done to them by resting, as we commonly and naturally tend to do, upon them as objective records which represent with substantial accuracy the life and teaching of Jesus. They are that, first and especially. But they are something more.² In all of them lies an element due to the questions and movements of the age in which they rose. It was their function not only to exhibit conceptions of Jesus which were dominant in the primitive communities, but also to present these impressions accurately and vividly in view of the religious and moral needs which pressed upon various circles of Christendom at the time of their composition. From and for the church of the second generation they were compiled.³ In

¹ *Vide*, for example, Holtzmann, *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, chap. v., “Die s. Evgl. als Geschichtsquellen,” especially §§ 26–28, and *HC*, i. pp. 18, 19; Weiss, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 161–166, 283–310; Bovon, *NTTh*, i. pp. 47–198; Harnack, *HD*, i. §§ 3, 4; Gardner, *Explor. Evangelica*, pp. 478 f., and Bacon, *INT*, pp. 195 f.

² Especially in the fourth gospel, it is not easy to determine always where the record ends and the interpretation begins, either in regard to the sayings or to the events. For the latter, cp. a significant concession from the conservative side by Dr. Sanday (*Contemporary Review*, October 1891); also his articles in *Exp.*⁴ iv., v., in reply to Schürer's *Vortrag*.

³ For their use as addresses in the church of the second century, cp. Justin Martyr's *Apol.* i. 67. On this “historical” element and its religious significance for modern faith, cp. Prof. Mackintosh's *Essays tow. New Theology*, pp. 384–396, and Herrmann's *Verkehr* (Eng. tr.), pp. 56–64, 177–183, with his

this factor of contemporary and practical reference, partly deliberate and partly unconscious, are involved the selection, omission, alteration, and addition of incidents and sayings in the tradition of Christ's life, possibly the creation of certain scenes, the naïve and actual attribution to him of ideas which were ultimately due to his spirit (as the later OT writers anticipate the course of development, and attribute to the pioneers and founders of Israel institutions and ideas which actually represent the later issues of their influence on the nation), the standpoint from which he is viewed in relation to Jew and Gentile, the hopes and experiences by which his life is coloured, and finally, the arrangement of the whole story. In many cases the authors could not help being subservient to the general tone and spirit of their age, or of the particular circle in which they moved. In some cases we can see they did not care to be indifferent. Even the opening words of Mark are a reminder that the evangelic motive¹ in composition was devotional and didactic (to narrate history as "a normal precedent for religious belief and conduct": Zeller), and it was natural—indeed necessary—that the visible and pressing interests of the church should occasionally dominate and modify their minds² as they worked upon the materials of the record. They express and they interpret. As will be noticed below, the variety of the synoptic gospels implies even more than this general atmosphere. Either their sources existed in very divergent forms—that is to say, different recensions had come into circulation under the memory and creative spirit of the primitive church to meet varied require-

article in *ZThK* (1892), pp. 232-273. The topic is often discussed in contemporary Ritschlianism. Also Kähler, *Der sogen. historische Jesus u. der geschichtliche, biblische Christus*, "Die Evangelien als biographische Quellen," pp. 14-127.

¹ Renan (*Les Evangiles*, p. 441): *Écrire l'histoire ad narrandum, non ad probandum*, est un fait de curiosité désintéressée, dont il n'y a pas d'exemple aux époques créatrices de la foi. Cp. the important paragraphs in von Soden's essay, "Das Interesse des apost. Zeitalters an der evang. Geschichte" (*ThA*, pp. 135-165), and Reischle's article, *ZThK* (1897), pp. 171-264.

² The failure to make tangible allowance for this reflex influence exerted upon the gospels by the age of their composition, is one flaw in Keim's great study of Jesus. No attempt to understand the age of Jesus or the age of the apostles will prosper if it uses the gospels as absolutely achromatic documents.

ments—or the insight of criticism must be carried further on, past the common atmosphere, to clear up the individual characteristics which are prominent in each gospel. This latter method of research into their idiosyncrasies and predilections holds true, quite apart from questions of their authorship. Unless these extant peculiarities are merely differences which have previously grown up in a varied tradition, and been more or less unconsciously transcribed by an editor from his sources (as, *e.g.*, Weizsäcker inclines to imagine, *AA*, ii. pp. 32–71), they must be due chiefly to his own initiative and personal intuitions. The motives of this initiative are often hard to discover. But the variations¹ can usually be explained by considerations of the unconscious affinities and conscious prejudices of the writer through whose mind the truth was filtered, the special requirements of the circle for which he was writing, and the character (not to say the amount) of the sources to which he had access, and in the use of which he exercised his own discretion. Several of these prepossessions are quite patent, *e.g.* Matthew's delight in making Jesus fulfil the Messianic rôle (Baldensperger, *Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*,² pp. 46–67), his antagonism to the libertine tendencies of Gentile Christians (7²³ 13⁴¹ 24¹²) in Asia Minor, and his general reflection of a more liberal Jewish Christianity, such as that for which Peter furnished the prototype; along with Luke's (*a*) palpable interest in the Twelve who become

¹ Every historian works by a similar process of sifting and selection, which is regulated partly by his own point of view, partly by the materials which he has at his command. He chooses certain definite aspects, brings the central elements into prominence, and keeps the ancillary in due subordination. For a brilliant and sane discussion, in English, chiefly of the Lucan variations and characteristics, cp. Professor Bruce's *Kingdom of God* (5th ed. 1893), espec. pp. 1–37; Carpenter's *First Three Gospels* (2nd ed. 1894), a careful, lucid sketch, written mainly from the standpoint of Pfeleiderer's *Urchristenthum*, covers a wider field. Havet's paragraphs are dominated as usual by an ultra-radical scepticism (*Le Christianisme et ses Origines*, iv. pp. 225–296), and add little or nothing to the classical discussion in Weizsäcker's *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte*² (1891), erster Theil. In a recent work, *Horae Synopticae* (1899), the Rev. Sir John C. Hawkins, Bart., has made a candid and original attempt on scientific lines to exhibit statistically the linguistic evidence of the synoptic gospels, with its characteristics and implicates; and Wernle's *Synoptische Frage* (1899), pp. 1–108, is a reliable summary of the whole case.

“apostles” in his pages, and are less unflinchingly treated than in the preceding gospels (cp. the omission of Mk 10³⁵, Mt 20²⁰, and the insertion of ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης, Lk 22^{45 b}), his (b) more frequent use of the term “Lord” (κύριος) for Jesus upon earth, and (c) his abridgment of Christ’s polemic against contemporary Pharisaism. But explicit or not, the fact of variation in temper and attitude among the synoptists is conspicuous and irrefragable. Instances are too numerous and familiar to require quotation. They can be found in any good edition of the gospels. Still it is of essential importance to keep the general principle steadily in mind as one reads the historical narratives, so as to understand by dint of legitimate inference the bent and motive of the author. Each gospel has a *cachet* of its own, as it gives not a mere reproduction of external objects and past events, but the writer’s attitude to these and his impressions of them. Each is looking back into the previous history. But the way in which each looks on things necessarily qualifies the character of the narrative; and the amount of qualification that is due to this refraction, whether serious or insignificant, is far from being uniform. The relationship between each writer and the subject varied with the personal endowment and environment of the former. Their common business was to exhibit the actual life of Jesus impressively, to stir the inward vision, to raise the mind, to discipline the conscience; yet none could carry through the task without allowing some characteristic infusion of personal hopes, convictions, and experiences to affect the form and even the contents of the narrative (cp. Holtzmann, *NTTh*, i. pp. 28–110, 399–453, and Brandt’s too radical discussion, *Die evangelische Geschichte u. der Ursprung des Christenthums*, 1893, pp. 512–550; also M. Arnold’s *Literature and Dogma*, chaps. v., vi.; Toy, *Christianity and Judaism*, chaps. ii., iii.; and Cone, *Gospel Criticism*, 1891, pp. 291–336). A partial illustration of the same process can be found in *Paradise Lost*. Milton’s epic is no political pamphlet, nor is it a religious treatise. Yet it is impossible to miss in its dialogues and descriptions either the theology of current Puritanism with its controversies and abstractions, or the

republican tendencies by which the author's conceptions of government were shaped, or finally his instinctive distrust for the intellectual passion awakened by the Renaissance. These elements could not be kept out. They do not form a cardinal feature of the poem, but they cannot be neglected by anyone who wishes to frame an estimate either of the epic or of its age.

A history of the NT, then, would be simply unintelligible if it were severed from any conception of the tendencies and habits existing in that Christian society of which the NT literature is at once an outcome and a reflection. To become legible these books need the context of the religious situation. The significance and connection of the writings cannot be fully grasped until these are approached with some adequate idea of the whole Christian movement during the first and second centuries. From the historical standpoint, Luther's touchstone for an apostolic writing, namely, "Does it preach and urge Christ?" hits off more accurately than many pseudo-literary standards the essential characteristics of the literature; for that literature sprang from the memory and devotion of a Christian consciousness which was at once the product and the partial expression of the self-consciousness of Jesus. This is true of gospels and epistles alike. When those early Christians wrote of themselves and to themselves, they reflected him. When they reported and pictured him, they revealed their inner selves in hints and stray suggestions. The epistles presuppose this personal relation and religious motive, rising as a rule out of previous intercourse between writer and readers, and forming the substitute for that (2 Th 2² 3¹⁴; 2 Jn 12, Jud 3).¹ But a similar characteristic is not absent even from the historical narratives, which have their affinities with the epistles

¹ It is hardly correct to define the post-Pauline epistle as the literary form of an evangelical writing in which an unknown writer came into relations with an unknown public comprising practically the whole of Christendom. It is certainly nearer a religious treatise than a letter; but the epistles preserved in Apoc. 2-3, to say nothing of Heb 13^{7-end} and 2-3 John, demand a closer definition. On the epistolary form of the NT letters, see F. Zimmer's careful analysis, *ZKWL* (1886), 443-453, and Deissmann, *EBz.* ii. 1323-1329.

pretty much as the books of Samuel and Kings are ranked among the early Hebrew prophets; they interpret, urge, comment, explain.¹ In no case is their object merely the presentment of an impersonal record or chronicle, written by a man out of close touch with contemporary life. As it has often been remarked, their motto might be the words, *ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν*. Their general purpose is not to convert. On the contrary, presupposing a certain knowledge of Jesus and faith in him, they aim at developing these by portraying Christ's words and deeds with especial reference to the homely and practical exigencies of present life:²—

“Where truth in closest words shall fail,
When truth embodied in a tale
Shall enter in at lowly doors.”

The third gospel bears on the face of it a personal and didactic aim (Lk 1¹⁻⁴, Ac 1¹⁻²), and this applies to its sequel (cp. *ἡμᾶς* Ac 14²²). The fourth gospel also was composed for the religious needs of a circle which was definite and familiar to the author (Jo 20³⁰⁻³¹; cp. also the traditions of its origin, Euseb. *HE*, vi. 14, and the Murat. Canon). Mark and Matthew lack any formal indication of such a purpose. But as far back as the stream of tradition can be followed, it is remarkable that both are made to depend upon original sources which share this very characteristic. Mark, the companion and interpreter of Peter, is reported by Papias to have put into writing the reminiscences of that apostle as these were addressed to the Roman Christians and adapted to their religious needs (*ὅς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας*, Euseb. *HE*, iii. 39). To this report Clement of Alexandria

¹ The strange occurrence of “you” in a professedly historical writing (Jo 19³⁵ 20³¹) implies an audience, though the corresponding “I” is never expressed. “It is the speech of the preacher before an assembled church” (Zahn, *Einkl.* ii. pp. 467, 476).

² On the priority of the moral and religious interests to the historical, Jowett has some sensible remarks: *Plato*, vol. iii. pp. xxxvii-xxxviii. A similar motive dominates the Nikomachean Ethics (i. 2, 5, ii. 2, vi. 5), where Aristotle repeatedly explains that his aim is to determine conduct as well as to propound theory. See p. 75.

adds "a tradition of the former presbyters," that Mark wrote thus at the direct instigation and request of many of Peter's hearers, to whom the gospel was subsequently delivered (Euseb. *HE*, vi. 14). Matthew, according to Eusebius (*HE*, iii. 24), preached formerly to Hebrews: "When he was about to go to others as well, he committed to writing his gospel (τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον), and thus, by his writing, filled up the want which his absence made among those he left behind." These fragments of evidence drawn from the traditions upon the origin of the gospels or from the gospels themselves, corroborate the view by which these writings are regarded as immediately, and in the same sense, if not to the same degree or in the same form, as the epistles, the outcome and transcript of a definitely religious situation. Their *raison d'être* lay in the authoritative and binding power exercised by the words of Jesus over the primitive community from the very beginning, as well as in the need, stirred by exigencies of time and place, for possessing that standard in an accessible and fairly uniform shape, for the purpose of personal conduct, missionary enterprise, and religious nourishment. The gospels, in fact, are the first Christian creed: they are the naïve expression of the creed in history.

This aspect of the gospels requires to be thrown into relief. Historical writing implies inquiry behind it, and inquiry is the outcome of certain needs. It was not that the evangelic writers composed their stories with a moral. The story itself was the moral. The general end for which they wrote was invariably the same; they undertook the task, not as chroniclers reporting a series of past events, nor as literary artists sketching a picture of action, nor even as pupils reproducing a master's words and orders, but simply to train and foster the faith of men in Jesus. There was no thought of gratifying curiosity, still less of formally putting before the world trustworthy records of that faith or of presenting disquisitions upon its issues and origin. The audiences of the evangelists had other needs. For them Christ's words were the primary religious authority. They required to possess these words in a form at once

intelligible, reliable, and applicable to common life; and as they could not love and obey an unknown being, however heavenly and glorious, Jesus had to be set before them as a human character, whose actions and interests were the main channel of his self-expression. How were Christians in the apostolic age to behave to the Jewish authorities, to the current standards and practices of religion, to civil requirements, to outsiders in their district, to their families, to the state? How were they to conduct themselves in mission-tours, when arraigned before magistrates, in view of the Jewish law? Answers to these and a host of other more theoretical questions were sought and found in what Jesus was reported to have said and done. Yet in a large number of cases the precise questions and problems took a form which could hardly have existed except in the experience of the apostolic age, when the early Christians were thrown upon their own resources in view of an unlooked for future, and confronted with the task of energetic propaganda. Written thus, from and for the practical religious interests of the Church, it was inevitable that this characteristic should in a measure affect the contents of the gospels.¹ It is satisfactory to find this frankly recognised even in Mark by so moderate a critic as Zahn (*Einl.* ii. pp. 248, 249, "Die Rücksicht auf die Erbauung und das Streben nach Verdeutlichung schliesst die peinlich genaue Wiederholung der vor Jahren unter ganz anderen Verhältnissen gesprochenen Worte Jesu aus"). He notices *καὶ ἔνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* (8³⁵ 10²⁹), 22⁷ 8³⁸ 9¹ 10^{30f} 13¹⁴ 14⁵⁸, and particularly 9⁴¹ (*ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστρέ*); sayings in all of which we hear the voice of the

¹ Even the structure of a gospel like Matthew shows traces of numerical arrangement (fives and sevens, *e.g.*), introduced in order to facilitate its use as a catechism, or simply preserved from sources used for such a purpose (cp. *Horae Synopticae*, pp. 131–136, for instances of this Jewish habit). The aim of furnishing a code or series of regulations upon various points of Christian conduct is reflected in passages such as Clem. Rom. xiii.; Did. i. Réville calls attention to the didactic and sevenfold grouping of the speeches in Matthew: (i.) the new law, 5³–7²⁷; (ii.) apostolic instructions, 9^{37–38} 10^{5–16} 33–42; (iii.) foes, 11^{7–19} 21–30 12^{24–25} 28. 30. 37–39; (iv.) parables of the kingdom, 13^{1–52}; (v.) relationships within the kingdom, 18^{2–7} 10–23 20^{1–16} 21^{23–27} 22^{1–6} 8–14; (vi.) woes, 23; (vii.) eschatology, 24^{11–12} 26–28. 37–51 25. See p. 75.

apostolic preacher or church, the echo of the years that followed Christ's death, not the very voice of Jesus. Zahn attributes these less to inexactness upon the part of the writer of the gospel, than to the free reproduction of Christ's words in the apostolic preaching upon which the author drew, although he must be considered to have more than once abbreviated his sources (*e.g.* at 1¹³). Such examples of free handling are obvious and familiar; they may be safely taken as an irreducible minimum. Indeed, without falling into arbitrariness, criticism may add, as it has often added, considerably to their number and extent. And if this be the case with Mark, the most primitive and free from tendency among the gospels, how much more likely is it that such features are to be found in the later books. "Even Luke, who, of the three, stands nearest to us children of the West and of the new age, in virtue of his more national talent, education, and purpose, even he could not have said of his work, τοῦ συγγραφέως ἔργον ἐν ὧς ἐπράχθη εἰπεῖν (Lucian, *Hist. Conscr.* 39)." See further, Zahn's essay in *ZKWL* (1888), pp. 581-596, on "Der Geschichtschreiber und sein Stoff im NT." As for Judaism, Mr. Schechter observes, it "bowed before truth, but it never made a covenant with facts only because they were facts. History had to be re-made, and to sanctify itself before it found its way into the sacred annals" (*Studies in Judaism*, p. xxv).

This fact of their practical motive helps also to explain why the personal element appears to have been blanché away from the gospels. "We cannot discover any expression of interior feelings which the writers experienced in painting the life of their Master. There is no enthusiasm, no cry of admiration, no private reflections" (Didon). As we read their pages, it requires some effort to think of their authors at all. They are not readily conceived as compositions skilfully drawn up and executed. While characteristics and tendencies are betrayed in each, betrayed sometimes without very much disguise, none of them gives any direct clue to the individuality of the author's mind. When the Johannine authorship is accepted, the fourth gospel forms a doubtful

exception; but there can be no mistake about the others. Even in the case of the third gospel, where tradition has done most, not only for the question of the authorship, but also for the personal traits and character of the author, the standpoint, notwithstanding, is hardly less objective than in its predecessors. This apparent absence of personal colouring points back to one cause. It is not due to the overmastering impression of the contents, nor to any supposed transmission of Divine truth in its highest phases through channels which must lie apart from the media of human feelings and ideas, as though reflection were alien to inspiration; nor are the authors' names concealed as were those of the Gottes Freunde in the fourteenth century, lest pride of authorship should form a spiritual peril. These anonymous gospels¹ simply represent to a large extent the final shape given to collections of evangelic matter which had been previously composed by and for members belonging to the general body of the Christian societies. The evangelic writings, as a consequence, are almost entirely lacking in the personal interest which attaches to individuality of authorship. Their object and environment told against it. But they are personal in a wider sense. They can all be identified with the utterances of reflection, emotion, and practical experience throughout the circles of early Christianity, as these were stirred by the person and the spirit of Jesus (cp. especially Holsten's *Die syn. Evangelien nach der Form ihres Inhalts*, 1886).²

Thus, either as historical narratives or as letters, the NT writings are an explicit result of living intercourse and mutual service within the Christian communities. Παράδοσις and μαρτύριον are the two words that characterise their con-

¹ For some early difficulties (quod nec ab ipso scriptum constat nec ab eius apostolis, sed longo post tempore a quibusdam incerti nominis viris) raised by this feature of the gospels, see the interesting correspondence of Augustine and Faustus (especially xxxii., xxxiii.). See p. 75.

² Holsten's particular views, however, are less convincing than his general method of treatment. The dogmatic principles which differentiate the gospels are, in his opinion, threefold—(a) the Pauline; (b) the Jewish-Christian; and (c) the anti-Pauline; but recent criticism has moved away from such emphasis upon tendencies within the early church.

tent. The literature represents, as it were, a further and supplementary phase of that social vitality in which the few were called upon to supply instruction and personal stimulus for the rest. In this respect the NT literature attaches itself to the prophetic sections of the Hebrew Canon. So far as the character and motives of the writings are concerned, the religious continuity is genuine. Old and new alike specify a life, with its complex of relationships and responsibilities, in which recourse to authorship occurs neither along the line of a merely literary impulse, nor among the initial and primary conditions of the religious movement. Consequently there is significance even in the gaps which precede and divide the groups of writings. They excite legitimate conjecture and surmise. They indicate the presence of tendencies and forces not yet articulate, apart from which the subsequent literature is inexplicable. The epistles, and more especially the gospels, are results. Like the silence of the persons now and then in the dramas of Aeschylus, the very absence of historical expression (for example, in the first forty years of the Christian religion) is pregnant with meaning. Little is articulate, yet much is being done. A full and fair estimate of this unrecorded period conduces greatly to the appreciation of the subsequent writings, which at once presuppose it and throw back light upon it; they become intelligible when they are viewed as the outcome of a process and progress which is suggested by the very appearance of their origin.

The synoptic gospels, then, are the resultant of several factors. They represent not merely the contemporary feeling and opinion actually abroad within Christian circles between 70 and 100, but also the processes of reflection, the dominant interests and activities of faith, the mental and devotional attitude to Jesus, which must have been current through the memory and teaching of the early Christians during the years that intervened between 30 and 70. And this, not exclusively in the primitive Jerusalem or Palestinian circles. The claims of realism and the historical Jesus were evidently felt even by some who were in sympathy with the main

positions of Paulinism.¹ It is natural to regard Paul "in his passion for ideas and apparent indifference to biographic detail, as an exception, and to think of the majority of his followers as men who, while sympathising with his universalism, shared in no small measure the common Jewish realism" (Bruce, *ExGT*, i. pp. 13-15). This is a valid and attractive supposition, though it lacks definite evidence. It is doubtless a shrewd surmise, like the similar suggestion of Weizsäcker, that Paul had collaborateurs, Barnabas, Apollos, and others, whose independent but allied work in the sphere of dogma helped the later fusion of Jewish-Christian and Gentile tendencies. Certainly there is significance at least in the tradition which attributes the earliest narrative of the historical Jesus to one (Mark) who was a coadjutor and adherent of Paul, and the third gospel to his companion and physician Luke.² But whatever may have been the extent of this retrospective interest, its surviving products are to be viewed as authorities for the apostolic age; they give evidence of a widespread instinct which had arisen for the historical Jesus, and also of the

¹ On the "historical Christ" of Paul, see especially Dr. Matheson's suggestive papers, *Exp.*² i., pp. 43 f., 125 f., 264 f., 352 f., 431 f.; ii., pp. 27 f., 137 f., 287 f., 357 f.; Schmoller's essay, *SK* (1894), pp. 656-705, and the monograph by Roos (*Die Briefe d. Apostels Paul. und die Reden Jesu*, 1887). It is unfortunate that a passage like Eph 4²⁰⁻²¹ ("as the truth is in Jesus") cannot be safely used as evidence for Paul's ideas, since it would in that case prove that he felt the need of emphasising the decisive authority of the historical Jesus. Otherwise, if sub-Pauline, it corroborates the far from imaginary danger prevalent in spite of the synoptic tradition, by which Jesus came to be evaporated into a metaphysical and shadowy abstraction (2 Jn 7, 1 Jn 4^{2,3}, etc.). Hence the need of historical records. It is true that much later again Doketism and historical composition became allies (e.g. the gospel of Peter), but there can be little doubt that this subsequent disposition to record and yet undervalue the humanity of the actual Christ was kin to the earlier tendency which found little gain in preserving any connection with the historical base of Christianity.

² Modern estimates of Luke as an author vary from enlogry to depreciatory criticism. A rather sensible and moderate view of his learning is that of Blass: *Mutatis mutandis fere de eo dici poterit quod de Sophocle dixit Ion Chius: τὰ πολιτικά* (in rebus ecclesiae) *οὔτε σοφὸς οὔτε ρεκτῆριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν τις εἰς τῶν χρηστῶν Ἀθηναίων* (Christianorum) . . . omnino, cum ad minora minimaque descenderis, evanescit ars, apparet saepe incuria; nam perpolitus scriptor neque est Lucas neque esse voluit. The last three words, however, are somewhat gratuitous. Abbott's appreciation of the gospel is admirable (*Ebi.* ii. 1789-1794).

chief tendencies which that instinct was obliged to satisfy or to correct. The gospels were not composed in the interstellar spaces. They are derivative and expressive. They betray, on page after page, their age and situation in a breathing world of human facts and feelings. In the phrase of the old Jewish theosophy, the upper Light never comes down unclothed; and even the gospels, which transmit the light of lights, are clothed upon.¹ In their pages the period of Jesus and the period of the growing church meet:² to unravel the one it is necessary to use inferences drawn from the other. It is for reasons and objects like these that the gospels have been placed in this edition strictly in accordance with the principle of their literary growth. Such general considerations as have been adduced or remain to be noticed, justify, it is thought, the printing of these evangelic records after the Pauline epistles, in spite of the fact that the latter presuppose the main events and ideas which find expression in the former.

Admittedly there is a slight embarrassment in reaching and maintaining this attitude. A set of (evangelic) facts, A, is followed in the order of time by a set (apostolic), B; but the literary record (α) of A may be composed subsequently to

A
B β ,
 α

that (β) of B. Hence the series should come to be

¹ See Martineau's chapter, "The Veil Taken Away," *Seat of Authority*, pp. 573-601. Also Dr. Abbott's fine but sometimes strained treatment, *EBi.* ii. 'Gospels.'

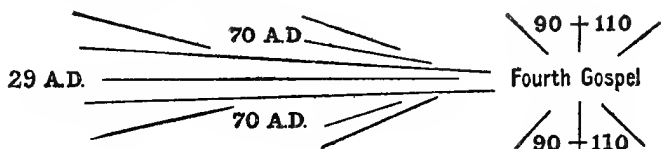
² The work of distinguishing these is the great problem set to the historical sense in dealing with the gospels. Martineau (*Seat of Authority*, p. 577) lays down three canons to be applied by competent historical feeling: (1) "Whenever, during or before the ministry of Jesus, any person in the narrative is made to speak in language, or refer to events, which had their origin at a later date, the report is incredible as an anachronism." (2) "Miraculous events cannot be regarded as adequately attested, in presence of natural causes accounting for belief in their occurrence." (3) "Acts and words ascribed to Jesus which plainly transcend the moral level of the narrators authenticate themselves as his; while such as are out of character with his spirit, but congruous with theirs, must be referred to inaccurate tradition." It is obvious, however, that the whole value of these rules depends upon their definition and application. They will always be taken according to the presuppositions of each critic, and are apt to be used in a rather subjective fashion. At the same time, their general standpoint is of course unimpeachable.

if the strict chronological order of documents is to be preserved, and the fact disengaged from its record. The apparent confusion thus occasioned has simply to be reckoned with; its adjustment is part of the mental discipline required as a preliminary to historical study. In regard to the NT where α = the gospels, and β (roughly) = the epistles of Paul, the church rightly and naturally has reverted to the scheme $\frac{A}{B} \frac{\alpha}{\beta}$, practically ignoring the documents upon the side of their literary birth. The difficulty thus occasioned and increased by the canon will be noticed later on. Meanwhile it is enough to remark that historical study cannot dispense

A
with the scheme $\frac{B}{\alpha} \frac{\beta}{\alpha}$. Its earnest endeavour at the outset

is to consider each writing, especially if it be directly historical, in the atmosphere of its own age, and as a possible, though never a very minute, clue to contemporary life. That determined, it can venture to proceed back and use the book as a guide to previous events. A writing is never intelligible unless we read it as close as possible to the situation at which it was composed. Then the significance of its contents appears—the omissions which at first surprise us, the selection of incidents, the grouping of sayings, the stress put upon this crisis and that, the pragmatism, the general idealisation. Hence the value of this historical method in two directions. To ascertain the contemporary reference is of service not merely for its own sake, for the light thus gained in the task of deciphering the conditions of the age, but also for the sake of the retrospective reference. Dependence can be placed upon the historicity of a writing only after one has thoroughly weighed and allowed for the amount of later tendency which may have affected it. A classic instance of the former gain is to be seen (Weizsäcker, *AA*, ii. pp. 32–69, etc.; Hausrath, ii. 147–156; Réville, ii. p. 149 f., etc.) in the partial reconstruction of the earlier apostolic age, 30–70 A.D., out of the materials presented in the synoptic gospels. The latter gain is most obvious,

perhaps, in the case of the fourth gospel, which contains a reflection of traits and tones in the stir and drift of Asiatic Christianity towards the close of the first century,¹ under the pressure of Hellenistic speculation and of Judaistic controversy. The book is intelligible as a reproduction of the primitive tradition only when it is taken upon the basis of a careful estimate of that reflection. Put in a diagram, the result comes out thus:—



This environment of the fourth gospel embraces points like these: the controversy of Christianity with Judaism upon the OT as a religious codex and creed, accentuated between 70 and 150 (10³³⁻³⁶, etc.); the general rivalry² with Judaism upon the score of authority and prestige; the relation of Christianity to John the baptizer and his followers (1^{9 f.} 3^{22 f.}, etc.)—a practical problem³ which had already agitated the church (e.g. Ac 19¹⁻¹⁰)—the relation of Christianity to the Samaritans (Lk, Ac, Jo 4), with their tradition and religious

¹ Cp. Westcott, *Gospel of St. John*, Intro. pp. xxxv-xl; Wrede, *Ueber Aufgabe u. Methode der sog. NTTh* (1898), pp. 33-41, 73-76; Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen*² (1891), erster Theil, AA, ii. pp. 206-236; Havet, *Le Christianisme et ses origines* (1884), iv. p. 345 f.; Brückner, *Die vier Evangelien nach dem gegenwärtigen Stande der Evglten.-Kritik* (1887); and most recently Holtzmann, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 351-389, besides the full discussions in Thoma, *Die Genesis des Johannes-Evangeliums* (1882), pp. 771-784; Wendt, *Das Johannes-Evangelium* (1900), pp. 216-228; Wernle, *ZNW* (1900), pp. 52-64; and Cone, *The Gospel and its Interpretations*, pp. 267-317.

² The deftness with which the Jewish opponents of Jesus are made to further his dialectic triumph (especially in chaps. v.-ix.) reflects the contemporary polemic of the author and his age. It has been rightly compared to the similar phenomenon in the Sokratic dialogues of Plato, where "the opponents of Socrates are usually lay figures skilfully arranged as a foil to set forth the method and the teaching of the great philosopher" (Dr. Gardner, *Explor. Evang.* p. 165). Cp. Bacon, *INT*, pp. 257 f., on the speeches as compositions.

³ A point worked out with conspicuous ability, though not without some exaggeration (Holtzmann, *ThLz* (1899), 202 f.), by Baldensperger in his *Prolog des vierten Evglins. Sein polemisch-apologetische Zweck* (1897).

propaganda; to Hellenism with its philosophical temper, especially—as the mention of Philip implies (12²²)—in Asia Minor (Euseb. *HE*, iii. 31. 3, v. 24. 2); also the questions of baptism (3) and the Lord's supper (6). These and numerous other burning topics of interest and difficulty in the early church are reflected, as the first century drew to a close, in this notable philosophy of early Christian religion,¹ “a treatise illustrated by history” (Liddon), and are essential to its interpretation. Hawthorne warns the readers of his *Twice-Told Tales*, that if they would see anything in the book they must read it “in the clear brown twilight atmosphere in which it was written; if opened in the sunshine, it is apt to look exceedingly like a volume of blank pages.” The fourth gospel also must be read in the light of its age and environment; not as an attempt to write a concrete biography of Jesus, but as the outcome of reflection upon the past in the evening of primitive Christianity.

The point to be pressed then is, that the principle of this historical method is sound, and that it is silently and necessarily assumed as a criterion in all serious work upon early Christian life and literature. What requires to be brought out is the need of mental adjustment to the preliminary and somewhat subtle task of regarding not merely the epistles, but also the NT historical narratives (more specially the gospels), not as they superficially stand, but as successive although indirect records of an experience and consciousness within the early church, which has itself to be partially deciphered from their contents. Curiously enough, it is within this consciousness again that one of the supreme clues lies for determining the situation and significance of these very records. Such an aspect, by which book and age are correlated, is not *the* point of historical research. But it is one point in it, and a point

¹ But the fourth gospel was not the sole reservoir of this novel method of teaching. Outside of it, before as well as subsequently, a tradition flourished which may be called “Johannine,” i.e. a circle of expressions and ideas of which traces are to be found in the synoptists no less than in Ignatius and the pastoral epistles. This evidence points to a common phase of thought of which the fourth gospel was the supreme and classical product, but not to a literary connection between such different writers (von der Goltz, *TU*, xii. 3, pp. 118 f., 168 f.).

that requires attention. Round an author in those days were living men and women. He wrote of the past, indeed, with a straight and high purpose in his mind. But he wrote for this contemporary circle, with its pressure and its tendencies; the truer he was to his function as a writer, the less he could be indifferent to these.

At the same time the bearing of this principle upon the NT writers as a source of deviation, is considerably less than might be looked for. It is not nearly so much, at any rate, as is evident in the case of their contemporaries, Tacitus and Josephus. The difference between them, indeed, is so great in degree, that it becomes almost a difference in kind; a fact which lends some plausibility to the position of those who object to ranking the NT historians within the same class as those or other ancient writers. It is tempting, certainly, to isolate them, and apply different standards to their productions. For, as one may be reminded, the relation of a narrator to the subject of his narrative has two possible phases. In the one case he has facts; then the main problem concerns his method of treating them. In the other, he is often dependent upon imagination and inventive power for even the so-called facts which underlie his pages. We are familiar with instances of the former class, in which, through passion or prejudice, ancient writers failed to do justice to their subject (Tacit. *Ann.* 1), or in which the work of modern historians has been perceptibly dominated, not so much by a strong interest in the past for its own sake, as by an irrepressible desire to covertly exalt, or warn, or vilify some aspect of the men and things by which they were themselves surrounded. Good instances of the latter class again are to be found even in the later Jewish apocrypha and apocalyptic. In that field authors seem to have used the licence of imagination in order to freely handle past events, and thereby clothe, or prove, or support ideas and tendencies which belonged to their own age. By neither propensity can it be fairly said that the NT historical writers were unduly biassed. Their world and work indeed lay within the sphere of conditions which made excesses of that kind possible; but their very juxtaposition with such forms

of literary violence and vagrancy shows the almost infinitesimal extent to which their writings were affected. Infinitesimal, that is to say, when one speaks comparatively. For the amount of such a contemporary legitimate influence, even if it be small, is real;¹ and the demand for an estimate of it is compatible with a desire to do the fullest justice to the historicity and trustworthiness of the total narrative. Many estimates of the gospels and their contents really remind one of the phrase with which it used to be said the older school of political economists opened their argument: "Suppose a man upon a desert island." No discussion on the gospels will lead to satisfactory results by any similar isolation of the literature from the interests and activities of the apostolic age. The histories of the NT are no abstract pictures of the past, and their contents are to be rightly orientated only by a criticism which stands between and beyond the conception of

¹Cp. Bruce, *Apologetics*, pp. 448-465; Cone, *Gospel Criticism*, pp. 337-355; and Jülicher, *Einl.* § 29, "Der Wert der Syn. als Geschichtsquellen," a well-balanced discussion: also Zahn (*Einl.* ii. p. 220 f.). After praising Matthew's gospel for the magnitude of conception and the able management of a great theme, which make it superior to any other historical work in the OT or the NT, or even in the literature of antiquity, the last-named proceeds to point out with equal justice that it does not represent a historical work, in the Greek sense of the term. "Was man Geschichte erzählen nennt, versucht Mt kaum." Cp. his instances (pp. 286-289), from Matthew's treatment of the stories and the sayings of Jesus, quoted to illustrate the author's free handling and polemical purpose. "The work is a historical apology of the Nazarene and his church against Judaism." Such a position is true, so far. But it requires to be supplemented (a) by a widening of the writing's scope. The audience in view probably embraced much greater variety of feeling and opinion than was to be found in a purely Jewish-Christian circle. (b) Also the sovereign freedom with which the author handled his material, is considerably more thorough and detailed (e.g. Weizsäcker and Jülicher). For a standard discussion of the whole subject, cp. Holtzmann's *Synopt. Evgl.* pp. 377-514, and for an essay upon the gospels as the outcome of early Christian apologetic, Wernle, *ZNW* (1900), pp. 42-65. Wendland (*Beiträge*, "Philo und die kynische-stoische Diatribe," pp. 1-6), after defining "Diatribe" as "die in zwanglosem, leichtem Gesprächston gehaltene, abgegrenzte Behandlung eines einzelnen philosophischen, meist ethischen Satzes," proceeds to point out that the polemic and conversational tone easily led to the sermon or address. "Und wenn neutestamentlichen Schriften manche Begriffe und Ideen, Stilformen und Vergleiche mit der philosophischen Litteratur gemeinsam sind, so ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die Diatribe schon auf Stücke der urehrlichen Litteratur einen gewissen Einfluss ausgeübt hat, den man sich nicht einmal litterarisch vermittelt zu denken braucht."

them as mere annals, and the equally crude notion that they are the free products of an inventive imagination.

It follows that if the favourite paradox be legitimate—"the epistles are also gospels"—there is equally a sense in which it might be said that "the gospels are also epistles." As the preface to the third gospel openly indicates, the immediate instruction and impulse which it was the function of the oral teaching (and consequently of the epistles) to supply, tended to pass into another religious need, namely, acquaintance with the events and teaching which formed the basis of the faith. This need was finally met not by catechists, but by authors. The epistles were reinforced by the gospels in the common task of religious edification, and in the latter writings traces of their audience and object are still to be discovered, *e.g.* the comments of the evangelist (Mk 3³⁰ 7¹⁹, etc.), their explanations and notes, their obvious wish to correct misunderstandings and prevent misconceptions, their selection of homiletic material, their grouping of narratives and sayings to throw light on contemporary difficulties and facilitate mnemonic retentiveness. The recollection of this intrinsic element will serve to correct any extravagant use of a popular and modern theory which plays off the gospels against the epistles, the former being hailed as undogmatic, impervious to theological reflection, the undefiled sources of genuine Christianity. This tendency has sprung, it is true, from a natural and wholesome reaction. But the reaction has gone quite far enough, when the gospels are practically regarded as if they were records composed during the lifetime of Jesus, or as if they contained an absolutely objective representation of his teaching, and could be compared—in point of value and authority—with the other writings of the NT, considerably to the disadvantage of the latter. There is a sense in which a *prima facie* view like this has a truth of its own. But it is a mischief and disaster to imagine that even the gospels are insulated from contemporary extraneous influences, or that their world is inherently different from the world of the epistles. Gospels and epistles alike are children of what is substantially the same age. They worked

for similar ends. They differ utterly in form, but it is a historical rupture to make out of this difference a clever and false antithesis, finding in the one the religion of Jesus Christ, and in the other the Christian religion. Apart from the fact that the extant gospels, and even the main sources from which they derive, were not composed until at least nine or ten of the chief epistles had been written, the facts of their age and the feelings of their authors could not be wholly obliterated from their pages; and certainly they cannot be passed over in a study of these pages. In undervaluing or absolutely ignoring their subjective and didactic elements, there is neither faith nor philosophy. One might even say, for example, that Peter speaks through Mark's gospel no less than through his own epistle, certainly as authentically as in the speeches attributed to him in Acts; also that the third gospel, no less than the Thessalonian epistles, has in its pages something of the breath and mind of Paul. In fact, the slightest consideration of the circumstances in which the epistles and the gospels were composed, will keep in check a method which is a specious and well-intentioned endeavour to conserve the essence of Christianity, and yet implies an unhistorical divorce between two correlative portions of the NT literature.

The form and substance of these literary products in the dawn of Christianity was determined by the nature of their aim. As the Christian preaching began to extend not only to a second generation, but even previously to non-Jewish audiences and the region of pagan difficulties, the simple evidence of eye-witnesses had to develop fresh methods. Two of these predominated, and survive in different forms. One consisted in exhibiting the historical record of Jesus' words and life. By means of this, some credible and plain evidence was afforded for the historical basis underlying the new faith. Every catechumen and convert would receive some such instruction, and be taught to find within the words of Jesus laws for his own conduct. This evangelic tradition expanded in subsequent years, and from it the gospels rose. But the other method proved a salutary supplement. It contained the appeal to experience, the exhibition of the new faith as a

spirit and a character produced and sustained alike by God's grace in human nature. The statement of this attitude was due primarily and distinctively to Paul. When information about Jesus reached the pagan world, or, for the matter of that, the colonial Jews throughout the empire, "would it not come," as Dr. Crozier graphically argues, "like a sudden illumination in the darkness, which would leave behind it dim visions of something that would haunt the memory? And yet what proof that there was any truth in it? . . . As the actual eye-witnesses [1 Co. 15⁶] sank one by one to their rest, the belief which had arisen in a natural way with them would have died out with them. At each remove the tradition would have become fainter, the evidence more and more hollow and uncertain—the faith of the original believers being more and more untransferable to their descendants of the new generations—until soon it would have been swallowed up again in the great Pagan night that surrounded all."¹ The secure method of propagating the faith was to set forth its inner contents; and it is this aim which prompts the epistolary form and didactic substance of these, the earliest documents of Christianity. The evangelic tradition is presupposed. But it is not prominent. The formal historical base (Lu 1¹⁻⁴) is absent,² partly because it was implied, or could be taken for granted, partly owing to the idiosyncrasies of the author, but chiefly on account of the special apologetic emphasis which Paul laid upon the divine Spirit and self-

¹ *Hist. Intell. Developm.* i. (1897) p. 339. Cp. Mackintosh (*Nat. Hist. of Christian Religion*, p. 338) on the service of Paul in winning entrance for the ideas of Jesus to the average and sensuous understanding (?).

A brilliant sketch of Essene and Orphic influence, and indeed of the ethnic religious situation at the dawn of Christianity, is given by Zeller, *ZwTh* (1899), pp. 195-269. For a sympathetic study of Epiktetus, cp. M. F. Picavet, "Les rapports de la religion et de la philosophie en Grèce" (*Revue de l'histoire des Religions* (1893), pp. 315-344). A readable summary of the Hellenic and Oriental environment may be found in Dr. Gardner's *Explor. Evangelica*, pp. 325-357.

² Paul definitely recalls his readers to the remembrance of the historical Jesus (e.g. 1 Co 11^{23, 24}). Yet upon the whole his writings bear out the estimate which views him as translating the Christian principle "into terms of theology, and so, as it were, writing it in large letters on the clouds of heaven" (Caird, *Evol. Religion*, ii. pp. 200, 201).

sufficiency of the faith. In his earliest paragraph he stands upon history; but it is the history of the Spirit in Thessalonika (1 Th 1⁵⁻⁸), not of Jesus in Palestine. Here, as in his subsequent writings, the distinctive note is an endeavour to ground the guarantee of faith in its moral implicates, along with the argument that these implicates are finally accessible, not in memory, nor in historical research, but in the contemporary Christian experience. He would not have understood the difference between "Jesus" and "Christ in heaven"; but from the modern standpoint it is perfectly true to say that Paul's reasoning rests not on memories of the Galilean Jesus, but on a direct and immediate intuition of that living and exalted Christ, whose holy land is in the human spirit.

The two movements, however, are not independent. Almost parallel to the composition of the Pauline¹ letters ran the transition from the spoken to the written gospel. It must have been gradual: it remains obscure. It was gradual: for the oral teaching subsisted long after the first gospels were put into writing; indeed, the latter were supplementary to it, and did not by their prestige and use supplant it. It remains obscure: for no accurate record of its motives and stages was preserved by an age which could hardly be conscious of the significance attaching to what was being slowly finished under its eyes. Between the early and the final stages of the transition the epistles lie. Their atmosphere is that of the gospels, in the sense that they presuppose the rudimentary teaching of the narratives which came to be worked up into these histories. It is true that the epistles get the start of the gospels in the order of written composition. But this fact has to be qualified, not only by the consideration just mentioned, but also by the other fact that this slowness to commit the history of Jesus to writing was due less to a suspicion of the written word as an adequate representation, than to the value attached in that age to the spoken and taught

¹ Schürer (*HJP*, II. iii. p. 196) notices the languid interest felt by Pharisaic Judaism in history. "It saw in history merely an instruction, a warning, how God ought to be served. Hellenistic Judaism was certainly in a far higher degree interested in history as such."

word as the means of training and informing the mind. The well-known remark of Papias (οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφέλειν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης¹) is characteristic of Christianity in the first century as a whole. Men felt nearer to the central facts of the faith as they listened to the teaching and reminiscences of the older disciples, than through the medium of any record or composition by way of *litera scripta*. Still, the reason of this preference lay in a deeper instinct. For the religion of one who himself wrote nothing and centred everything in the spirit and society of his followers, writing (it was probably felt) must after all be secondary. Before the close of the first century, it is true, Paul's epistles seem to have acquired by their extensive circulation a position of recognised importance and authority, at least in Corinth (Clem. Rom. xlvii), where Zahn (*GK.* i. pp. 811–839), partly resting upon his absurd date for 2 Peter, argues that a collection of these writings existed by the ninth decade of the century. But even were this established, it would not materially alter the fact that the communication of influence and the maintenance of tradition remained for long oral, so far as its main phases were concerned. Not until far on in the literary development does the beatitude for the reader occur (Apoc 1³), or the emphasis upon a scripture's authority (Jo 21²⁴); naturally it is still later when the Christian writings take their place beside the Hebrew scriptures as topics of discussion and reflection (2 Ti 3¹⁶, 2 Pet 3¹⁶). Even the two latter passages are entirely occupied, it is to be noted, with the definition of the writings upon the side of their practical bearing and authority within the Christian societies. The whole movement towards this emphasis upon the written scriptures was accelerated by the parallel tendency in contemporary Judaism,

¹ Compare the remark in Plato's epistles (vii. 341 c.), where he vindicates personal stimulus and instruction as the best means of learning philosophy : ἐκ πολλῆς συνουσίας γιγνομένης περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ καὶ τοῦ συζῆναι ἐξαίφνης οἷον ἀπὸ πυρὸς πηδῆσαντος ἐξαφθὲν φῶς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ γενόμενον αὐτὸ ἐαυτὸ ἡδὴ τρέφει. But the defensive tone of Papias rather suggests that his adherence to oral tradition required some explanation at an age when the written gospels were coming more and more into prominence. See Hilgenfeld on Papias (*ZwTh* (1901), pp. 151–156).

which, after 70 A.D., became more crystallised than ever round the OT canon as its religious standard (cp. the famous passage in 4 Esdras 14²¹⁻⁴⁸). But the comparatively tardy genesis of the historical instinct in the literature of early Christianity was in no sense an uncongenial or surprising feature. It is explicable as we bear in mind the universal adherence to systematic oral testimony, to the reminiscences of eye-witnesses and older men, and not least to the organised worship and social texture of the young Christian societies. That adherence formed the central thread in the strand of early Christianity. As the years passed, however, oral testimony became more and more inadequate, and the task of supplementing it fell to the two great forms of Christian literature, the epistle and the gospel. Both presupposed tradition. Both were the fruit of religious intercourse within the various societies. But in the nature of the case the former had a freer scope; with its superior flexibility and simplicity it established itself as prior in time throughout the churches.

When attention is directed to facts like these, it is brought home to the mind that the NT literature has to be taken as it rose, not symmetrical, monotoned, adamant—"one entire and perfect chrysolite"—but out of a historical process, shaped by varying hopes and needs, and drawn from this or that circle of antipathies and affinities. One palmary inference follows, namely, the need of surveying the mental and social conditions under which the different books were composed, as well as of using the books for that survey.¹ Here, as elsewhere in literature (Heinrici, "Die urchristliche Ueberlieferung u. das NT," *ThA*, pp. 323-339), the surrounding of a document is valuable, no less than its subject. Just as a

¹ A writing may actually become a reliable witness to its contemporary period although its references to an earlier period are found to contain some un-historical traits. The historic value of a document does not depend altogether upon its trustworthiness. The primary question is not, "Are its contents true, or false, or mixed?" but "How did this writing come to be credited and produced at this particular time? What elements in the age made this literary product natural?" The fact that a writing, B, gives an idealised picture of some early period, A, may forbid the complete and unhesitating inferences which might be drawn as to the nature of A; but for all this lack of historicity, it throws fresh light on the period of B's composition and its relation to A (p. 75).

conception of the satiric spirit in its numerous forms is essential to the right understanding of authors like Petronius, Juvenal, and Tacitus, who drew breath in it during the latter half of the first century; just as the historical writers of the Empire were liable to be affected by the habit of recitation which helped to create for them a literary climate; so is it with the historical narratives of the NT. Their characteristics are intelligible only in the light of the distinctively "religious" tendencies current in the latter half of the first century (cp. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, pp. 451-479), for the satisfaction of which they were composed. Consequently some account has to be taken of these as well as of the less obvious features of their mental climate—the prevailing ethnic and Jewish beliefs in the miraculous, the cosmic and psychic ideas of angelology,¹ demonology, and cosmogony, the relation of the material and the spiritual, the Messianic conceptions, the tendencies of current ethics, the popularity of the OT, the apocalyptic effluvia of Judaism, and so forth. Otherwise one will be missing at point after point what ranks as a primary requisite for the study of the NT. For before this life and literature can be strictly estimated, one must look into them and win some feeling of their range and limits, of the successive light and shade, the run and dip of the slopes, the general outlines and broader characteristics of usage and opinion, which are suggested in the extant records. To secure and sustain this mental habit is the sesame of vision and advance. Apart from it, study is generally dull and frequently trifling. Nor is there anything in the method which can be said to be specially elaborate or irksome. Even in the least local writings there is usually some help yielded to the patience and insight of a modern mind bent on reaching the actual incidents and ideas which were at the conception of the writing, or on extricating its antecedents, its relationships, and its neighbourhood.² Obviously this method

¹ The influence of Jewish angel-worship on early Christianity is traced by Lüken in his recent monograph on *Michael* (1898).

² Once for all, by way of summary. To realise that the central materials of the gospels were mainly drawn up and collected during the three or four decades

makes for the intelligibility of the NT as a religious authority, just as it is an axiom of the expositor. But our concern here is mainly with its value for presenting the NT as a series of historical documents. The method puts the reader unequivocally at the right standpoint, and prompts him to ask the right questions. The inquiry must be not only, "What do these pages mean?" but—*πῇ τε συνέστη καὶ ὅπῃ καὶ ὅπως*—"Why was this book written in this particular way, at this particular time? Why now and not earlier? or not later? Why precisely in this temper, style, spirit? Is there any special significance in its method, omissions, date, character? and if so, what?" Questions like these have often to be left imperfectly or dubiously answered. They bring more in some quarters than in others, and it is hardly possible to be explicit anywhere on detail after detail. Some writings have a flavour of the soil in them, due either to the connection of their author with his time, or to the contemporary nature of their subjects. Upon occasion a book actually dates itself and illuminates its period. But other writings seem, at least on a first impression of their contents, to be in the air.¹ Others, again, are more definite, yet exhibit

which followed the death of Jesus, and that the gospels themselves were not composed until the period 65–105; to realise these facts will show—(i.) that the gospels are not purely objective records, no mere chronicles of pure crude fact, or of speeches preserved verbatim; (ii.) that they were compiled in and for an age when the church required Christ not as a memory so much as a religious standard, and when it revered him as an authority for its ideas and usages; (iii.) that they reflect current interests and feelings, and are shaped by the experience and for the circumstances of the church; (iv.) that their conceptions of Christ and Christianity are also moulded to some extent by the activity and expansion of the church between 30 and 60, by its tradition, oral and written, and by its teaching, especially that of Paul. The interval between the death of Jesus and the earliest date at which it can be seriously maintained that a deliberate record of his life existed (c. 65 A.D.), almost exactly corresponds to the interval between the death of Francis of Assisi and the issue of his authoritative biography by Bonaventura, who wrote for practical purposes and under contemporary influence.

¹ Allowance must be made for the element of timelessness in some of these early discussions and records. A NT writer was not always keeping his eye on some contemporary phase of thought or action. Also, it is irrelevant to expect in the early Christian literature allusions to events within the Empire which bulk largely in the common history of the age. For example, because an earthquake

conflicting signs of their day and atmosphere, pointing this way and that. Still, although it cannot always be said of a NT writing, ἡ λαλιά σου δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ, this method of historical interrogation, seeking the period as well as the literary product, is richest in *aperçus* and results, however often it may be baffled. Certainly in the field of NT literature one cannot hope to hear the grass growing. The utmost that can be reasonably expected is to catch and preserve some sense of development upon the whole, and in its more prominent stages. But the method seems to be the one available mode of rendering the history of early Christian thought something better than the mere series of loosely joined enigmas which it too often resembles in current text-books. This literature is not a succession of dark lonely pools; and to take up the books of the NT as isolated pieces of theology or history, to group them on any artificial or *a priori* principles of criticism, is to court gratuitous error, and often to make such knowledge as may be actually secured, both vain and vague.

One outcome of this method is that a writing has to be taken as a problem before it can be expected to resolve itself into a picture. Primarily, though not exclusively or even chiefly, its function is to give evidence of a stage in the process by which the great movement of thought and experience went forward. How suggestive a clue to the experience and hopes of people at any period is furnished by their literature—the books they produced, the writings they enjoyed, the records on which they were sustained! These, we may be sure, were no mere *jeux d'esprit*, isolated or capricious. They give a transcript of their origin and vital

is said to have taken place in the Lycus valley during the seventh decade, it is deduced by many scholars that Colossians and the Apocalypse (2-3) must have been written either just before or long after that catastrophe, as it would have been alluded to in these writings if they had been sent to the district shortly afterwards. The inference is untrue. Early Christian writers were not interested in physical geography, nor ought we, in all fairness, to expect from them information upon the outward details of their age. The man who is absorbed in gazing at the stars grows oblivious to the wind upon his face and the mud and insects at his feet.

function. And what significance, in turn, lies within that experience for the proper understanding of the books in question! That a book like Acts, for example, was probably composed under the Flavian régime, is a fact that speaks volumes.¹ What a satisfactory criticism should attempt to do, is to fairly analyse the meaning of such a fact, to infer from it some of the troubles and triumphs of early Christianity within the Empire, and to detect the precise conditions of internal and external life which prompted the composition of the book there and then. After this historic scrutiny of its antecedents and environment, the book can be used more freely and safely as evidence for the earlier age sketched in its pages. A similar test has to be applied in the case of the other histories in the NT. Each has the signs of its time. Occasionally they are difficult to read, but they are there in greater or less numbers. And if anything is calculated to stir and direct the historical imagination, it is the presentation and study of the relevant documents springing one after another from an underlying life which might otherwise pass undetected or lie misunderstood; just as the charm and fascination of Oriental cities partly consists in the freedom of observing the naïvely open activity and manufacture in street and in bazar. One feels present at the making and shaping of things. It is the engrossing sense of a process, and of a process seen at work. For this the records may prove defective. But although the historic instinct has the duty of supplying carefully the gaps in the rise and course

¹ Similarly the developed state of the Christian churches at that epoch helps to explain the author's omissions as well as his choice of incidents and emphasis upon certain points (*e.g.* the name "Christian," 11²⁶) which had acquired in subsequent years especial prominence. The varied degrees of historicity in Acts are patent enough, but they do not interfere with the total impression of purpose and function which the book bears upon the mind. It is a narrative, accurate upon the whole, written by one who endeavoured to state the facts honestly and impressively so far as they bore upon his main design, but who had probably to depend upon secondhand, inferior tradition at various points in the course of his story. It is scarcely fair to take passages like 1¹⁸, 19 2³⁻¹¹ 5¹⁻¹¹ 19²⁻⁷, 11-20, as characteristic and representative. Like the similar series in Matthew (2²⁻¹² 8²⁸⁻³³ 12⁴⁰ 17²⁴⁻²⁷ 21²⁻⁵ 26⁵¹⁻⁵³ 27⁵¹⁻⁵³, 62-66 28¹¹⁻¹⁵), they rather correspond to the dark lines in the spectrum.

and change of institutions or ideas, a prompted imagination¹—together with a sense of real if half-hidden order—can readily be disciplined till it becomes the very eye of accurate research. Only, its materials need to be arranged, and arranged (as far as possible) naturally. It is always something to be looking at them unwarped. The NT literature constitutes in itself a series of ranged results and successive reflections. It is that, even when—as in the historical sections—it is infinitely more. The consequence is that when the writings are taken thus as an outcome of life, the scheme of their arrangement affords some aid in the work of correcting one's first impressions into greater exactness: the result being that in this supremely difficult field of early Christianity the mind is able to trace with less and less obscurity the dim processes of thought and half-suppressed transitions that over and again occur between phases apparently broken and writings superficially dissimilar.

This habit of reading oneself into the continuity of a period of history by means of sympathetic and accurate insight is in any case hardly won, nor does it become altogether simple in regard to the NT. There also one has to win at the outset a view of the records and documents in their separate rise and relative positions. One by one they come up on the horizon, coherent and successive. It is imperative that their inclusive life be rendered visible and distinct. But the amount of that distinctness will depend largely upon a previous, comparative study of the literature which contains all that is extant of the life's expression.²

¹ "By veracious imagination, I mean the working out in detail of the various steps by which a political or social change was reached, using all extant evidence and supplying deficiencies by careful analogical creation. How triumphant opinions originally spread—how institutions arose—what were the conditions of great inventions, discoveries, or theoretic conceptions; . . . all these grand elements of history require the illumination of special imaginative treatment" (George Eliot, *Leaves from a Notebook*).

² Literary criticism and historical criticism, it is plain, are correlative. In the balance of both lies the only method of attaining anything like reasonable certainty. Exaggerate the latter, and you are liable to read into the writings *a priori* tendencies which impose on each document a place and purpose in some preconceived scheme. Exaggerate the former, and you are at the mercy of

The point is to work with the documents, and to work with them in some reliable scheme or sequence. Method, order, system—that is an essential of research. Work done in the atmosphere of order develops insensibly a mental justice. It produces a trained and accurate sense for understanding the details and mastering the broad lines of a subject, as in this way the various departments come to offer less and less difficulty or embarrassment to the imagination and the judgment. This faculty of determining the place and worth of any fact or phase in the historical development, and of ascertaining and arranging what are the really salient points, is a cardinal element in all critical inquiry, and it particularly applies to NT criticism. To be put *en route* with these early Christian writers is the pressing need for their interpretation. Consequently it is clear gain to have some reliable scheme of the literature kept before the mind until we come to think instinctively along its lines, while the figure of it rises to the historical imagination, unsought and indispensable.

All this is introductory, but there is truth and fruit in it. No amount of acquaintance with the verbal contents of the literature can avail unless it is capable of finding the various documents in natural contact with the periods and crises from which they actually emerged. Contemporaries understood these writings from their age. So, in a sense, do we. But, on the other hand, whatever knowledge we possess of the age is usually due to our study of the writings. Mainly from their own evidence, partly from the general non-Christian literature of the period, partly from the available inscriptions, this reconstruction has to be contrived. But

verbal arguments and the insufficient evidence of style, while the historical situation lacks definiteness and content. The latter is perhaps the bias to be feared in modern criticism. As Gunkel puts it, though for another purpose, *die Welt besteht nicht nur aus Menschen, die Bücher schreiben, und die sie abschreiben. Die moderne Kritik hat bisher die Bedeutung der mündlichen Tradition vielfach übersehen und ist allzu geneigt, bei jeder Berührung zweier Schriften auf litterarische Abhängigkeit zu schliessen* (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 58). See Wrede's arguments in *GGA* (1896), 517 f., and *Ueber Aufgabe u. Methode der sog. NT Theologie* (1898), pp. 25–34, 49–51; also Preuschen's article (*ZNW* (1900), pp. 1–15), “*Idee oder Methode?*” and the essay by Bousset (*TR* (1899), pp. 1–15).

the two latter methods presuppose the first; and the first involves this need and practice of accurate chronological handling. To ascertain the relative order of the NT writings in general, to take them up one by one as they were given¹ to the early Christian communities, to approach a document as it lies, warm and alive, within its special period, to let each successively make its characteristic and precise impression upon the mind, to follow the varied courses, thus lighted up, of the early Christian reflection as it worked upon the facts of the evangelic consciousness, to trace the varied implicates of the Christian spirit in their evolution—this, a mental discipline to start with, is an invaluable apprenticeship for acquiring some keener insight not merely into the individual contributions and traits of special writers and writings, but also into the sweep and scope of what is “beyond question the most momentous fact in history, the effect produced by the teaching of Jesus and his disciples,”² so far as that effect falls within the scope of the NT literature. ✓

Such a rearrangement of the literature as that offered in this volume is therefore intended to serve as a sort of map. With its aid the reader will be enabled more successfully to make his way into and throughout the varied phases of the apostolic age in natural succession, as well as to gain a standpoint for any further surveys of its theology or organisation. A distinct effort is needed if the modern mind is to realise the situation of any NT document. There is always work to be done in the way of rendering explicit circumstances and conditions which are vitally important for the interpretation

¹ One must demur, however, to descriptions of the NT literature as “the documents formally put before the world by a society—as adequate accounts of its own origin, and tests of its future teaching and practice” (Lock, *Exegesis of the NT*, p. 10), or of an individual book like Acts as “an authorised account of the deeds of apostles” (Robinson, *EBi*, i. 675). This is the ecclesiastical or canonical standpoint, not the historical. It reflects the mind not so much of the original writers of the NT literature as of the later generations who used that literature for the wider purposes of the catholic church.

² Goldwin Smith. On the richness of present NT research in the matter of historical points of view, see Harnack’s remarks, *Contemp. Rev.* (1886), pp. 221–225.

of a writing, and yet are mostly taken for granted in its pages. To bring these assumed, sub-conscious facts together is a task awaiting the historical imagination at almost every step, part of its province including the mastery of those facts and relationships which are implied in the structure and connection of a given record, and with which one must sedulously learn to feel at home. A subsidiary and provisional aid to this can be furnished often by a study of the documents in question. History, as Niebuhr used to declare, has two methods for supplying the deficiencies of her sources; she has criticism and the divining faculty. Plainly, both must work together. Indeed, in exegesis and interpretation, criticism constantly depends upon the faculty of intuition. But, on the other hand, the divining power of the historical imagination cannot see to contribute its final and special gift of reconstruction until criticism has attempted as far as possible to discharge its preliminary task and arrange the materials in some approximately reliable scheme. Appreciation of past ages is frequently hindered by nothing more serious than some trifling amount of obscurity which has been allowed to remain secreted in the traditional presentment of the materials for modern study. An equally slight alteration of position will occasionally put the observer in the way of considerable results. That is the hope and aim of the present edition with regard to the NT. Here, no less than elsewhere, the very sequence of writings is at times full of significance; any literary method which promotes the comparative study and use of these writings has a value of its own for the larger work of historical and religious appreciation, in forcing attention to some aspects and relations of the NT which lie in shadow, as well as in bringing the mind closer to the original design and actual shape of the literature in question. Within the NT, of all places, one cannot afford to dispense with any plain mechanical assistance to the imaginative faculty,¹ as it

¹ "If the critical education of the historian suffice, he can lay bare, under every detail of architecture, every stroke in a picture, every phrase in a writing, the special sensation whence detail, stroke, or phrase had issue; he is present at the drama which was enacted in the soul of artist or writer; the choice of a

exercises its function of quickly reaching, carefully deciphering, and accurately following these modes of earlier and different thought. *Voir c'est avoir*. Even an optical aid may prove at times of curious service to the mind.

II

What is required, then, is some displacement within the canonical stereotyped order of the NT. As it stands, in either a Greek or an English edition, this order was compiled for different purposes and on different principles from those of modern historical research. The object was palpably didactic. The churches naturally endeavoured to arrange the literature in order to bring out the rise and progress of the Christian spirit and society. From the third council of Carthage in A.D. 397, a general arrangement appears to have prevailed, which has been reproduced from Jerome's Vulgate in our English Bibles, with one great change. Three unities or groups of writings—the "gospels," the "epistles of Paul" with or without Hebrews, and the "catholic epistles"—were massed together, closed by the Apocalypse. Roughly speaking, this may be described as the dominant order. The chronological principle, so far as it was considered at all, evidently referred to the order of the events narrated or presupposed; hence, *e.g.*, the book of Acts often came between the gospels and the following epistles. Still, it was usage, not law, that really determined the sequence. East and West differed considerably upon this as upon weightier topics; and the scheme remained unfixed, indefinite. For a long time, indeed, one or two books seem to move up and down the canon in quite an arbitrary fashion.

These and other variations, however, in the canonical order

word, the brevity or length of a sentence, the nature of a metaphor, the accent of a verse, the development of an argument—everything is a symbol to him; while his eyes read the text, his soul and mind pursue the continuous development and the everchanging succession of the emotions and conceptions out of which the text has sprung" (H. A. TAINÉ).

of the NT writings belong to the history of the canon¹ rather than to a study of the writings themselves. They represent interests and tendencies quite other than chronological. In the group of the gospels, *e.g.* Matthew and John are occasionally put first, as their authors were considered to be personal disciples or apostles of Jesus. The connection of Mark and Luke with the historical Christ was secondary; they were merely apostolic men, and as a result their gospels were put later (Tertull. *adv. Marc.* iv. 2). Other variations are less obvious in motive. In the group of Pauline letters it is not certain, even in Marcion's arrangement, whether a chronological principle is at work at all. Other interests, at any rate, predominate in his and other catalogues, as in the Muratorian fragment, where Paul's epistles to the seven churches are grouped together in order to precede those addressed to private individuals. Similarly with the phalanx of the "catholic epistles." The fairly common order—James, 1 Peter, John—may be a reflection of (Gal 2⁹) the relative rank assigned to the trio of supposed authors in the judgment of the early church. In other cases the arrangement—Judas preceding James—probably echoes the successive admission of each to canonicity. Among the groups themselves, the Pauline epistles and the "catholic" change places between Acts and the Apocalypse, while the last-named may be said almost invariably to close the NT canon,² a position

¹Gregory's "Prolegomena to Tischendorf's NT," III. 1. pp. 131-140, *De librorum ordine*; Laurent, p. 41 f.; Zahn, *GK*, i., pp. 60-80, ii. pp. 343-383; S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge* (1893), pp. 301-306, 331-342; Westcott, *History of NT Canon* (Appendix D); *Studia Biblica*, iii. (1891), pp. 217-325; Jülicher: *Einl.* pp. 442-445; Nestle, *Einl.* 128-132 (*E.Tr.* 161 f., etc.); also the closing essay in Bovon's *Jésus et l'Eglise des premiers jours*. The lingering indefiniteness of the canonical order is curiously illustrated by a phrase of Athanasius (Festal. epp. xxxix.), who introduces his arrangement of the biblical literature with the words *χρήσομαι πρὸς σύστασιν τῆς ἐμαντοῦ τόλης κτλ.*

²At the close of Dante's pageant of the NT writers (*Purgatorio*, xxix.) there appears—

"Behind them all,
One single old man, sleeping as he came,
With a shrewd visage";

i.e. John, the author of the Apocalypse.

naturally suggested by its contents and the aptness of its conclusion (Apoc 22^{18, 19}).

In short, hardly any attempt seems to have been made to arrange even the letters of Paul in chronological order, much less to determine the date of each writing separately. When all had come to be gathered into a whole, the principle of arrangement varied: a desire to separate controverted and accepted writings (as in the Muratorian fragment), a specifically theological intention,¹ some regard to the relative length of the epistles, or to the dignity and rank possessed by the different churches to which they were addressed, probably some idea of parallelism to the OT or symmetry with it,² possibly considerations of authorship. The usage throughout the churches was quite inexact: the principles that determined it divergent.³

In view of the practical ends of the canon, little exception can be taken to this procedure of the church. So far, a modern reader might cheerfully acquiesce in the dictum of Spinoza: *documentorum causas nihil curamus*. But when the question comes to be one of analytic criticism as a prelude to some historical synthesis, it is no longer an adequate method to take the literature exactly as it happens to stand. To acquire any grasp of the problems of origin, composition, and independence, some critical base is required, and this must be sought in a rearrangement of the documents. Otherwise, investigation is simply handicapped. It is lured to ignore the relative positions of the leading records, and thus to miss the sense of their order and proportions. For the canonical order of the NT is not even a neutral medium for such study.

¹For subjective reasons, *e.g.* Luther, followed by Tyndale, placed Hebrews, James, Judas, and the Apocalypse disapprovingly at the end of the N.T. after "the true and certain capital books."

²*Sicut post legem prophetarum, et post prophetas hagiographi, ita post Evangelium apostoli, et post apostolos doctores ordine successerunt*: Hugo de S. Vict. *De Script.* 6, though "doctores" carries us beyond the NT canon.

³A curious arrangement seems to occur in the *Apostolic Constitut.* (ii. 57): "Let our acts be read, and the letters of our fellow-worker Paul . . . and afterwards let a deacon or presbyter read the gospels." But this is probably a mere ecclesiastical injunction.

Occasionally it becomes a positive and plentiful hindrance. Even for a trained and alert intelligence there is a certain effort in reading, say 1 Thessal., and at the same time refusing to allow the intrusion of ideas developed in the Galatian and Roman letters which precede it in the printed Testament. How arduous, yet how necessary, to read the Apocalypse before the fourth gospel, or again to study Hebrews and Acts without being swayed by the previously printed and subsequently written pages of John!¹ These are but instances of the blurring effect produced by the canonical order, with all its excellence and convenience. Nor is there any reason why such an effect should not be obviated. Print may be made to serve the mind instead of misdirecting it, and the service is greatly to be desired. True criticism of the NT is like science, it becomes "a precious visitant" only when it has been trained in the methods of historical evolution,

"Taught with patient interest to watch
The processes of things, and serve the cause
Of order and distinctness."

Part of this teaching is to have the imagination impressed exactly and vividly with the recurring sequences of thought and feeling. But these, again, to be lucid, must be exhibited in the natural order of their expression; and they can readily be thus exhibited. Under the most favourable circumstances, a taxing effort is required to realise the NT facts and conceptions with anything like consecutiveness and coherence. To reduce some of the initial and avoidable obstacles, and to help the mind past these to a scrutiny and appreciation of the matters which are really at issue in NT criticism, constitute one aim of the present edition, and furnish the justification of its divergence from the canonical order. It is offered as a minor contribution to the study of the records, on the principle that some light is often to be

¹To this in part may be also due the unhistorical presuppositions which treat the minor writings of the NT unfairly by reading into them or expecting from them more or less systematic developed conceptions. Cp. Deissmann's spirited protest in regard to the mishandling of the catholic epistles, *ZThK* (1893), pp. 133, 134, with Wrede's equally judicious discussion, *Ueber Aufgabe u. Methode der sog. NTTh*, p. 17 f.

found in the mere knowledge that one book comes after another, especially when that knowledge is stereotyped in black and white. The customary arrangement fails to entirely conceal or express this truth of succession. Consequently these pages will do their work as they present, in some more adequate form, the materials for that regular survey apart from which the process of critical research is apt to find itself misled or hampered.

III

One or two sentences fall to be added by way of explanation.

The priority of the Pauline epistles to the gospels suggests three considerations which are extremely important for a proper attitude to the whole subject—(a) Their priority does not *ipso facto* support, although it certainly suggests, a theory of literary dependence between these writings and, say, the third and fourth gospels. The final proofs of such filiation are internal. There is a natural temptation to lay almost peremptory stress upon the external positions of books, and this delusion is encouraged by the printed form of a modern edition. But such unscientific assumptions must be ruled out of court. In this case, as in the case of other NT groups, the literary relationship between an earlier and a later document (when their relative position can be independently fixed) depends upon a far wider and subtler range of facts, such as the extent to which any writing may have circulated¹ during the first century, beyond its originally local scope (an extent which varies, of course, with its subject and form), and also the amount of organic connection which may be presumed to have existed between one writing and another

¹ Classical literature furnishes some analogies for this. Christian writings may have been (a) reproduced by means of written copies, a method which would be at best limited, or (b) read with comments to various circles of listeners. Probably the latter method was more common in the early days of Christianity (1 Ti 4¹³, Apoc 1³, μακάριος ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας, etc.). Pliny's correspondence is full of references to the custom of "publishing" a book by reading it aloud to a group of friends.

under the ascertained literary methods of the age. The order of documents in time, as that is exhibited in a printed scheme, does not necessarily involve the dependence of the later on the earlier. Apart from a further scrutiny of the conditions under which the writings were composed and of their contents, the assumption is unwarranted. The precedence of one writing over another in the matter of years may or may not imply literary dependence. Print at any rate can merely afford a basis for the discussion of such problems, and it is only in a minority of cases that the date of a NT writing cannot be established with some measure of security apart from the question of its literary connections.

The special relation of Paulinism to the literature and life of the next generation forms, however, a problem of great moment for the study of the apostolic age. After Philippians, the early Christian literature represents a development which is merely semi-Pauline, so far as it can be termed Pauline at all. The distinctive principles of Paulinism were too characteristic and individual to form a basis for the general Christianity of the churches as a whole; although these were largely indebted for their emancipation from Judaistic Christianity to Paul's vigour, yet their relation to Jesus, the Law, and the OT, and their conceptions of faith, sin, and righteousness, were for the most part only verbally akin to those of the great apostle. The sharp antithesis of the earlier conflict waned. Paul's general universalism passed on to find analogous elements in the more liberal phases of Jewish Christianity, and from these under the prevalent Hellenism of the age grew the "catholicism" which stamps the sub-Pauline literature. The original Paulinism, however, in its religious idiosyncrasies of thought and feeling, was buried with its author, or survived merely in his epistles. Outside of these it never lived in its entirety and individuality. Paulinism touched more or less deeply all subsequent Christian writers, for without it they could hardly have written at all. But none was a Paulinist, in the strict sense; none even an anti-Paulinist. For them and their age, as even Clem. Rom. proves, the Pharisaic world of Paul had

little interest or attraction. It merely represented a special phase in which the principles of catholic Christianity had first won a final triumph. The great "pathologist of Judaism" was the pioneer, not the founder, of Gentile Christianity as it rose after 70 A.D. into a denationalised and broad organisation of communities throughout the Empire. His main contribution was to build the bridge from Semitic monotheism to those Hellenistic conceptions which were needed to develop the essential spirit of the new faith. As for many of his arguments and antitheses, his theological categories, solutions, and methods of interpretation, they proved of little or no service to the majority of later Christians, whose early training and altered circumstances demanded help from quite another standpoint. The presuppositions of the later catholicism or general Christianity of the sub-apostolic age did not lie in distinctively Pauline conceptions. The Gentile Christians who formed the large majority in most of the Christian communities, were susceptible less to the idiosyncrasies of Paul's great genius than to the influences making for monotheism and morality which his preaching shared with the liberal Judaism of the Diaspora, Hellenistic ethics, and the social aspirations in the Empire. These ideals and dispositions converged to create a situation which formed a vantage-ground for what proved to be the permanent shape of the new faith. Law to these Christians was a different thing from what "the law" had been to Paul or to the Palestinian nationalists within the church. Such essential principles as the universalism of the gospel—an idea of Jesus which Paul had the honour of being the first to enunciate and urge—the abolition of national distinctions, the supremacy of Jesus as a revelation of God,—these and the like passed into the average consciousness of Christianity. But the deep postulates upon which Paul based his religious psychology failed to win a similar recognition. The conceptions of faith and redemption, the idea of the Christian's union with Christ, the principle of the Spirit, are instances of elements unassimilated by a later age, which even in employing the same language failed to use it with the rich thought and

feeling of the great apostle. It is a complex and important problem, this whole question of the relation between early Christianity and its great figure who was second only to Jesus. To what degree each of the subsequent writings has been influenced by the style and conceptions of Paulinism, how far such influence—when it can be traced—was conscious, or due to the general atmosphere of the age which had absorbed many of the Pauline phrases, how far also such apparent resemblances may be the result of a common pre-Christian consciousness, to what extent Paul can be taken as a fair exponent of average Christianity,—these are among the chief inquiries which fall to be answered before the early Christian development can be historically traced.¹ Especially vital is the question of how far the Pauline epistles can be regarded as representing even the common Christianity of their own period. The loss of any other documents directly springing from that period, and reflecting some of the varied phases of early Christian development during these decades between 30 and 70, is quite irreparable. How different, for example, would be our conception of the Reformation did we merely possess the writings of Luther without a vestige of Zwingli, Carlstadt, Melancthon, Hutten, or Erasmus! But in any case there was nothing in the development of post-Pauline Christianity which exactly corresponded to the revival by which Isaiah's ideas were carried forward to a central and dominant place in the Deuteronomic phase, after the bitter reaction which followed the great prophet's death. The heroic spirit of Paulinism² met with no reaction and no revival—inside the limits covered by the NT literature.

¹ A recent editor of the *Book of Jubilees* (W. Singer, 1898) has actually assigned it to the years 58–60 A.D., treating it as a Pharisaic manifesto against the lax method of Pauline Christianity with reference to the law, and as a sharp recall to the exclusiveness and rigidity from which many were being seduced. Similarly, Headlam, *DB*, ii. 791. Feine (*Das gesetzcsfreie Evangelium des Paulus*, 1899) tries to show that Hellenistic Judaism only influenced Paul after his conversion, and that the apostle's pre-Christian consciousness was rigidly Pharisaic, but already superior to the position of the original apostles relatively to the law.

² See Dr. Denney's finely sympathetic paragraphs in *ExGT*, ii. pp. 572–575, and Harnack's appreciation in *Das Wesen Christentums* (1900), 110 f. (*E.Tr.* 177 f.).

The rest of that literature may be said to lie in the wake of Paulinism, but only in the qualified sense already noted. None of the writings can be described as directly derivative from it.¹

(b) A cognate reflection, arising from what has been already urged, is that the printed order of the writings must not be hastily identified with a dogmatic or religious progress. For example, the chronological arrangement is not a diplomatic attempt to exaggerate, by a sort of revived Marcionitism, the value of Paul's epistles, or to displace the gospels from their premier position as Christian sources. The connection between the Pauline letters and the gospels is too delicate a problem to be solved on purely chronological presuppositions. How far the facts and sayings in the synoptics have been affected² by the statements of the epistles or the influence which they exerted, is a question which really lies outside the province of the present attempt. Bias against such a theory or in favour of it, does not enter into one's commission. Here documents are treated as documents. The scientific study of the NT must begin—wherever it may finish—with the serious and thorough estimate of its extant records, and it is exclusively for the sake of this that the present arrangement has been compiled. To call attention to the facts—which in this case include the literary priority of the Pauline epistles—is the sole business of literary chronology. An

¹ There is a growing disposition in the best criticism of to-day to discount either anti- or pro-Pauline tendencies even in the synoptic gospels. By the time that these came to be written it is probable that the nascent catholicism of the early churches formed a prevailing atmosphere in which the earlier Paulinism only survived as one of several elements. Besides, a number of ideas and expressions may have been the common possession of early Christianity previous to 60 A.D., though from the accident of their preservation solely in the Pauline letters we dub them specifically "Pauline."

² Tendency-criticism, as I have already said, is a detected idol; but so is the literalism which would read the NT out of all connection with its period. Beyond dispute, the whole meaning of historical criticism implies the existence of such forces and feelings as those which the older critics of the Tübingen school shaped into too rigid a mould. Their main error lay in neglecting personalities for ideas, and in ascribing to deliberate volition what was for the most part either the unconscious effect of prepossession, or the outcome of popular prejudice shared by a large body of the early Christians.

estimate of that priority, in its bearings and limitations, belongs to other methods of research, and to another province of inquiry. As regards the idea of a logical progress of development, the Pauline epistles illustrate again the truth of that inevitable and familiar axiom, that succession does not necessarily coincide with a progressive or a retrograde series. Priority is not equivalent to superiority. The NT presents no graduated scale upwards or downwards. Development, here as well as elsewhere, is not synonymous with ordered and orderly advance on every side. While the Pauline letters apparently give the keynote to the whole, in reality the subsequent literature indicates a wealth of thought and experience which can be construed neither as an expansion of Paul's original conceptions nor as a declension from them. The same is true of the other groups. Further, the printed order is apt again to hide the fact that phases of thought may have been for some time in existence before any expression of them occurs in literature. The synoptic gospels and the fourth gospel are instances in point. That one book is dated some years after another does not prove the greater maturity of the former. Nor—to take an opposite illusion—does the religious authority of writings in the NT vary absolutely with their proximity to the third and fourth decades of the first century. It is often difficult to conjecture why one book came to be written so early as it was actually written, difficult also to imagine how another was not composed at a much earlier period. Metaphors are notoriously unsafe; but one is tempted to compare the cognate writings of the NT not so much to the locks of a canal, or to the waves of a flowing tide, as to the various branches of a delta. To speak without figure, it is risky to base judgments of development and maturity upon arguments which are mainly drawn from chronological appearances. Affinities of thought and feeling do not necessarily accompany chronological proximity. Writings that belong to the same school of experience and reflection may be separated by years, even by whole decades, from one another; while, given conflicting interests and a scattered area, a single epoch will often produce works of

quite a divergent spirit, reactionary as well as progressive. One of the most salutary items to be remembered in this connection is that the Apocalypse, Acts, and the epistle of Clem. Rom. are substantially contemporaneous documents; which is almost as significant as the fact that in the OT literature, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deutero-Isaiah, with their deviating ideas and conceptions, represent what are practically contemporaneous phases of Jewish religious development.

(c) Finally, the form of such an edition as this might convey the impression that the letters of Paul were the literary pioneers of Christianity—as though, like Coleridge's mariners, they were—

“The first that ever burst
Into that silent sea.”

Undoubtedly their value is capital. For all intents and purposes these letters give what is practically the earliest and most adequate expression of the new faith as it shaped itself in the mind of many during the first generation. But, as has been already remarked, the precise relation of Paulinism to contemporary Christianity is another of those questions in the discussion of which a chronological arrangement of the literature fails to supply a complete answer by itself, and indeed may prove somewhat misleading. Two facts have to be borne in mind. (i.) While the Pauline epistles were the first and incomparably the finest, they were not the sole literary products between 30 and 60 A.D. These years cannot have been altogether a “silent sea.” To say nothing of apocalyptic fragments and early Christian songs, there are indications that, although hardly any definite traces have been preserved, letters must have been gradually employed during this period as a means of strengthening Christian intercourse and intelligence. Evidence for this is to be found, *e.g.*, in allusions to ἐπιστολαί συστατικαί (2 Co 3¹), letters of commendation or introduction, as a feature of church-life (Ac 18²⁷) which Paul found in existence.¹ This primitive Christian literature

¹ A specimen is preserved in Ro 16¹⁻²⁰ (cp. below). For an interesting Jewish instance of the practice, cp. the epistles of credit and authority given by the

was, like the primitive ceramic art of Hellas, comparatively private. Upon vases intended for the household's use, painting first lavished its grace and skill; and in letters for the quieter purposes of intercourse,¹ the literary spirit was employed by Christians before the aim and scope of it became enlarged. In the nature of things, the use of epistles, taken over from the habits of Judaism, and especially Alexandrian Judaism (*e.g.* Jer 29¹. 25. 31, *epp.* of Jerem. and Baruch, also 2 Mac 1¹. 10),² preceded evangelic narratives. The former were occasional and immediate in character, the latter—*λόγια, διηγήσεις, απομνημονεύματα*—imply a rather more advanced epoch, when the early advent of Jesus was no longer a momentary expectation, and his life had come into greater importance and prominence. Nevertheless, by 60 A.D. at least, such notes and collections may have begun to exist in rough form. The current was at any rate setting unmistakably in that direction. Possibly, during the time of Paul's later literary activity, written evangelic narratives were in existence here and there, especially within the primitive Palestinian churches. The primary need for these is to be found in the fact that a new generation was rising, dependent for their acquaintance with the history of Jesus upon a fast-diminishing company of eye-witnesses, in the rapid extension of the Christian communities, and even in the mission activities of the Palestinian disciples. To these impulses there must also be added another which sprang from them before long, namely, the need of

Jewish leaders in Jerusalem to Paul (Ac 9² 22⁵). The term "epistle," however, is as inadequate to express the contents of writings like Romans and Ephesians, as is "satire" when applied to the poems of Lucilius or Juvenal.

¹ On the desire for instruction, at a later epoch, *cp.* Polyk. *ad Phil.* iii. 2, xiii. 1, 2. Up to the close of the canon the epistle retains its place as a means of enforcing discipline (3 Jn), and of conveying religious instruction (Jud 3). *Cp.* Batiffol, *Anciennes Litt. Chrétiennes*, "La Littérature Grecque," pp. 1-24, and Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, pp. 190-252.

² *E.g.* Ac 28²¹, *ἡμεῖς οὐτε γράμματα περὶ σοῦ ἐδεξάμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας*. The Christian use in Ac 15, 16⁴; Clem. Rom. lxiii. The famous epistle of Aristaeus to Philokrates has been called "a predecessor, in form, of the larger NT epistles." On the other hand, the original literary form introduced by Christianity was the gospel.

translating the tradition from the original Aramaic vernacular into Greek. That attempts must have been made to meet such requirements is inherently probable (Blass, *PG*, pp. 21–24; Wright, *Composition of the Four Gospels*, pp. 1–31). It is also corroborated by the surviving gospels. Even the earliest of these leaves no impression of tentativeness on the mind; there is nothing of that comparative lack of precision and definite outlines which is often felt in the pioneers of any department in literature. They represent the midsummer, not the spring, of their literary cycle. The subject had been already—perhaps often—handled, even before Mark's gospel took its present shape; although these earlier narratives, like the sources and authorities of Tacitus in the *Annales*, have disappeared. Luke's preface proves that our first three gospels are "first" for us, not absolutely "first." They were the best, not the only narratives. It is still far from being probable that the literature, of which they are the survivors, and which they seem to have speedily antiquated, could have existed as far back as the sixth decade; nevertheless, upon any reasonable criticism of the synoptists, their sources and substance must have partially existed in written form by the opening of the seventh decade. "Mox etiam libros de Jesu compositos esse puto, vel in eosdem usus vel Theophilis (qui profecto multi fuerunt) destinatos, ut intra viginti fere annos a Christi excessu jam copia quaedam talium librorum exstaret. Erat enim aetas illa litterarum plena, novaque religio minime intra illiteratam plebem manebat."¹ This is probably to push matters too far back. But there is evidence sufficient

¹ Blass (*Acta Apostolorum*, p. 5), who recently has argued for the composition even of Luke's gospel (!) before 60, and of written narratives before 50 A.D. (vide his editions of "Acts" and "Luke," *PG*, pp. 31, 33–52, and article in *Exp. T.* vii. 565). Dr. Sanday (*Bampton Lect.* p. 283) and Professor Bruce (*ExGT*, i. 24, 25) seem inclined to agree that the great central portion of the tradition in the synoptic gospels existed in some fixed shape before the fall of Jerusalem. "Die Evangelien gehören ihrem wesentlichen Inhalte nach noch der ersten, jüdischen Epoche des Christenthums an, jener kurzen Epoche, die wir als die paläontologische bezeichnen können," Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christenthums* (1900), p. 14; ETr. p. 21. Add Bacon, *INT.* 203.

to prove that during the Pauline period early Christianity had produced sporadic forms of epistolary literature, and at least the embryonic phases of what subsequently came to be wrought up into evangelic narratives. (ii.) Together with this feature, another must be reckoned. About twenty years elapsed between the crucifixion and the earliest of Paul's epistles. During this time, and even previous to his conversion, a Christian life was active, which did not owe its origin to him. He found churches in existence when he became a Christian, and alongside of his activity other agents worked more or less independently of his principles. These factors, and others like them, have to be taken into account in forming an adequate estimate of the period between 30 and 70. The accident that only Paul's theology survived in literary products, and that the minor contemporary currents failed to win any equal or at least immediate record, ought not to be allowed to distort the historical view into an undue exaggeration or depreciation. This is one of those cases where again it must be said that the written expression of an age needs to be corrected and supplemented by the recollection that the real importance of any movement is not to be adequately measured by the literary memorials which it afterwards secured. Before and through and round the Pauline letters, the mind's eye has to see much that cannot be set down in black and white.¹

Facts like these bring out very forcibly the introductory and limited character of a chronological edition. To know the birthday of a book, as Dr. Martineau insists, is still a long way from a settlement of its parentage. A longer way,

¹ On the relation of Paul's theology to the teaching of Jesus, there are very fine essays by Wendt (*ZThK* (1894), pp. 1-78) and Gloatz (*SK* (1895), 777-800). Generally speaking, we may say that in investigating the facts and beliefs that lie between 30 and 45 (or even 65), we are peering through a haze which renders their outline uncertain at many points, and occasionally prevents us from being sure whether we are viewing a given object in its true proportions, or whether indeed it is not an unsubstantial illusion. No contemporary documents exist. The main guide is inference based on later writings and developments, from which the historical imagination argues back with more or less penetration to the course of anterior events.

one might add, from decisive conclusions upon its value and trustworthiness. Certainty on the date does not win everything at once. The supreme adjective for chronology is "preliminary," and few will be so hasty as to imagine that, even were the question of dates more settled than it is at present, a corresponding assurance would have been thereby attained with regard to the historical contents and connections of the records. Their historicity and inner relations are always further problems, although it is upon these more than once that the question of the date partially depends. Consequently, while it is possible to tabulate luminously and honestly what seem to be results of thorough criticism—though provisional, they need not be indefinite—the attempt must be prefaced by the reminder that they do not form the whole, seldom even the major part, of the critical business. Beyond them lie the burning questions.¹

For the most part a similarly provisional character attaches even to the "date" of a document. That also has to be taken in a somewhat loose sense. Usually it is equivalent to a *circa* of one or two years, occasionally to a larger period, during which the writing is first known to have been in circulation.² Only in a few cases, like those of the Thessalonian and Corinthian letters, can the exact year, and even the month, be determined.³ The fact is, a consensus of opinion is to be

¹ At the same time, exception must be taken to the unqualified remark that "the doctrinal contents of an epistle may be correctly and adequately exhibited, whatever view be held respecting its author or its date" (Stevens, *NTTh*, p. 248). Surely, *e.g.*, the epistle of James is one thing in the pre-Pauline period, and a very different thing in the post-Pauline. 1 Peter becomes in the seventh decade a writing of such spirit and significance as are considerably altered when it is taken some twenty or sixty years later. Change the locus of an epistle, adopt one view or another of its authorship, and the lights inevitably shift. In fact, the more accurately a writing is understood in connection with its age, the more vital to its interpretation are the problems of authorship and date. They seldom become altogether accessory or subordinate, nor are they in any case quite a matter of indifference either to the interpreter, or to any one who endeavours to use such a document carefully in his reconstruction of early Christianity.

² The later ecclesiastical term *δεδημοσιευμένοι γραφαί* (Origen) suggests mainly the public reading of the writings in church (= *publicari*).

³ In dating the OT writings upon a similar scheme, the dialects and idioms of Hebrew are of large service (cp. Margoliouth, *DB*, iii. p. 33 f). A change in

gathered from the conflicting special investigations of scholarship only by some such self-denying ordinance of abstinence from *minutiae*. Fortunately, for most practical purposes it is not necessary to go further into details. As a rule the relative date of a writing is sufficient, *i.e.* its place in the general scheme before or after certain other books, previous or subsequent to some fixed point in history. More than this often cannot and need not be demanded. In NT criticism, as emphatically as elsewhere, the Aristotelian canon holds: Be content with attaining so much precision and accuracy as the nature of the subject in hand allows. Generally, with the exception to which I have referred, it is a matter of small moment to know the exact month or even year in which a writing was composed, and the mere passion for a date, as for a theological label to a writing, is easily carried over the bounds of healthy scholarship. Beyond a certain point, absorption in such *minutiae* becomes a distraction. It is not impossible—witness certain lines of hypercriticism—to neglect the cedar of Lebanon through the amount of wasteful attention paid to the hyssop on the wall. The balance needs to be more correctly struck in many cases. In fact the purposes of interpretation are excellently served, as a rule, by assigning to the various writings of the NT and their dates a range which refuses to be unduly precise, and is content for the most part with ascertaining their relative order. One might almost declare with Dr. Bosanquet, that

vocabulary and syntax can be felt as one passes, *e.g.*, from the older narratives of Sam-Kings to Deutero-Isaiah and the memoirs of Ezra-Nehemiah; similarly, to the criticism of writings like Ecclesiastes, Daniel, and Esther, the linguistic evidence of Aramaisms proves at many points invaluable. Unfortunately this aid of language fails in the criticism of the NT almost entirely. Differences can be traced between the Greek of one writing and another, but the scale of the literature is too confined and the time too brief for such idiosyncrasies to afford reliable data towards determining the chronology of the writings. Hellenistic Greek, as employed in the NT, does not fall into periods. Its varied elements help to differentiate one group of writings from another; but Latinisms or Hebraisms seldom if ever yield any sure materials for fixing or even verifying the relative position of this book and that. The principles upon which stylistic features can be safely used as a criterion for the date or grouping of a writer's various compositions, are stated carefully by Zeller, *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, neue Folge, iv. 1. pp. 1-12, "Sprachstatistisches."

occasionally it is something at least "to know when they were not written."¹

Just as these limitations do not interfere with the genuine advantage and aim of a chronological order, neither is that order disqualified by the fact that the grounds upon which it rests are partially tentative. To some extent, it is true, criticism has cleared the area of debate and sensibly reduced the more extravagant theories. There are signs that the trouble of the documents at least is abating. But this does not apply to every point or side of the question. To write with anything like justice and accuracy upon the criticism of the NT, even in regard to the dates of its literature, one is often obliged to employ a staccato and chilling repetition² of "perhaps" and "probably"; while to take any line of one's own means opposition here and there to a more or less weighty body of critics. Several of the writings still abide our question. Indeed, in almost every department of research upon the beliefs and customs of the early Christian age, gaps are discovered, points between which no connection is easily visible, intermediate stages that must have once existed and cannot now be reconstructed with sureness, blanks in the course and sweep of life which only the historical imagination can be relied on to fill up. All this affects the arrangement of the literature. Such employment of surmise and hypo-

¹ "How to read the New Testament," *Essays and Addresses* (1891), p. 159. Cp. Rainy, *The Bible and Criticism*, pp. 14-23. Some of the more recent movements in criticism are occasionally described as a "retreat from the second century"; but this phrase needs considerable qualification, and certainly does not support the vague impression which seems to prevail in some circles, that to assign a document to the second century is to stamp it as second-rate. Such an idea is an unhistorical misapprehension. No evidence exists to prove that about the year 100 A.D. a night of unclean and inferior things descended upon early Christianity, when the "good things of the day" began "to droop and drowse."

² Though this is often practised to quite a needless extent. It is useless to follow the first part of Cicero's well-known maxim for the historian—*ne quid falsi dicere audeat*—without adding courage to caution and proceeding—*deinde ne quid veri non audeat*. Much more is definite in NT criticism than is commonly allowed, and the affectation of reticence and hesitation is due as often to intellectual looseness or incapacity, as to a proper desire to be scrupulously fair and accurate in judgment.

thesis puts the literary problems on conjectural ground; it forbids robust and unambiguous statements, and frequently makes any approach to unanimity impossible. Still, this is a risk that has to be taken and will have to be taken with any arrangement and at any time. Besides, it must be added, recent movements in NT criticism have made such an attempt at a chronological order much more feasible than has hitherto been the case, by clearing up one or two difficulties to the verge of actual probability. The days are past when the beginning of knowledge in many quarters seems to have been contempt for Eusebius and his authorities. Tradition is being wonderfully, though far from entirely, rehabilitated, and that implies a wider province of common agreement¹ upon the individual and relative positions of the NT writings. This is true even when one hesitates to accept *in toto* Harnack's seductive and exuberant vindication of tradition,² or the particular theories which he applies to the NT writings. There can be no doubt that by this critical tendency, of which his famous

¹ From the standpoint of an intelligent and dispassionate outsider, the late Mr. G. J. Romanes was on the whole justified in claiming that the outcome of the great battle upon the Christian texts had been, "impartially considered, a signal victory for Christianity." As he pointed out, "prior to the new [biblical] science, there was really no rational basis in thoughtful minds either for the date of any one of the NT books, or, consequently, for the historical truth of any one of the events narrated in them. But now all this kind of scepticism has been rendered obsolete" (*Thoughts on Religion* (1895), pp. 155, 156). At the same time, as the Notes and Appendix will show, there are several points at which the need is to follow up tracks of fresh inquiry rather than to halt in any final conclusions.

² In the *Vorrede* to his "Chronologie" (1897). It is unnecessary to quote the well-known sentences, particularly as their foundation has been rather shaken by the subsequent discovery of compositions like the Coptic "Acts of Paul" (cp. Dr. Schmidt, the editor, in *ThLz* (1898), 316, and Harnack himself, *ibid.* (1897), 629). That a work of this kind should be accepted by sub-apostolic tradition does not tend to increase one's confidence in that tradition, and certainly warrants any cautious investigator in refusing to accept statements simply because they are current in the church by the time of Irenaeus. Tradition, as an accurate channel for the transmission of genuinely canonical literature, does not deserve the blank certificate which Harnack seems or seemed inclined to award it. Further, the standpoint of his scheme with regard to the NT literature cannot be said to be exactly representative, nor does it afford any adequate grounds for the belief that it implies a conservative reaction in NT criticism.

volume is one of the most outspoken representatives, the outlines of the NT literary order have been brought into greater distinctness, and now approximate more nearly to finality. The limits within which doubt and guess are tenable have been sensibly contracted; and in this way an attempt like the present cannot be pronounced either premature or illegitimate, although several of its problems still remain complex and unmapped. Of the individual documents, the majority bear so plainly the date and character of their origin, that there is little risk of an uncertain answer to the question, "Whose image and superscription is this?" It is only the minority that resemble defaced coins upon which the marks of place and time either have turned illegible or else have never been cut at all. In the order adopted in the present edition, were Ephesians and 1 Peter put (say) ten or twenty years later, Acts brought down nearer to the opening of the second century than I have been able at present to place it, and Matthew (Luke?) similarly thrown back, these slight changes would be almost sufficient to represent an arrangement of the NT literature upon which a large body of liberal criticism at the present day is agreed with practical unanimity.

The prospects of such a healthy state of matters in NT criticism depend, however, upon the straightforward rejection of any *eirenicon* like that which is occasionally offered in this country by some influential writers (*e.g.* Gore, *Lux Mundi*,¹⁰ pp. xvii f., xxix f., 240 f., 258 f., etc.; and Driver, *Introd. Lit. OT*,² p. xvii f.), who, conceding the rights of criticism within the province of the OT, decline to admit the legitimacy of similar historical research in the NT literature, upon the ground either that the latter collection possesses certain qualities of finality and authority which exempt it from being judged by the canons of ordinary treatment, or that it was "produced under very different historical conditions." This rôle of the theological Canute is due to excellent motives; but it must be pronounced not merely indefensible but injurious to the best interests of faith and truth. The compromise rests on a misapprehension, and is as unnecessary as

it is illegitimate.¹ It has no basis in the facts which come under discussion. The condition of early Christianity in the first and second centuries, it is true, was such as to render the limits within which tradition could be modified considerably less than in the older Semitic literature. In the latter we often deal with centuries where in the former the unit is a decade. Besides, the contexture and vitality of the early Christian communities naturally made testimony upon the whole less ambiguous and remote than in the long spaces of Hebrew development. But the comparative brevity of this period and its internal excellence do not imply that its record must *ipso facto* be strictly historical, nor do they absolutely preclude the activity of such influences as elsewhere modify, develop, and transmute existing traditions under recognised tendencies of human life. As any tyro in NT criticism is aware, during the period between 30 and 130 A.D. such influences were particularly keen, owing to the mental atmosphere of the time and the religious ferment excited by the new faith. Between the quality of the testimony in the OT and that of the NT the difference is patent and material; still it is a difference not of kind but of degree. The principles and standards of historical proof are the same, whatever literature be the subject of inquiry, although the scale of application naturally varies in proportion to the character of the materials. Early Christianity does not indeed require the same elaborateness or methods of literary science as are demanded by the condition in which the OT documents have reached the modern scholar; but unless the character of the first and second centuries A.D. be estimated by historical methods, in as thorough and free a spirit as the age of Samuel or Isaiah, it will continue to remain a province for arbitrary guess-work, and to present the average reader with a series of writings whose sense and connection lie at the

¹ Hort, as usual, occupies the correct standpoint (*Hulsean Lectures*, 1894, pp. 175, 176): "No line is possible between what has come to men, and their interpretation of what has come to them. . . . The words and facts of gospel history and of apostolic history, as historical and literary phenomena, demand to be subjected to historical and literary criticism."

mercy of dogmatic or devotional fantasy. Similarly, to hold that the religion enshrined in the NT is final in substance and supreme in quality, does not require its adherents to rail off that literature nervously and sharply as *ex hypothesi* a sacred enclosure, nor have those who do so the right of assuming that this is an essential or permanent position. Unique contents do not imply unique setting, any more than piety of character carries with it physical, moral, or mental perfection. "Ἐχομεν τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστράκινοις σκεύεσιν." The historicity of the tradition embodied in the NT literature is far too solid to require privileged treatment or to need exaggerated claims on its behalf. Indeed, its excellence becomes visible and intelligible only as the forms in which it has been preserved are allowed to pass the test imposed by the ordinary canons of historical and literary science when these are fairly applied; any attempt to preclude this analysis as irrelevant or dangerous must be firmly set aside. Such attempts read more or less into the literature: they do not read it for itself. A concern to establish the historicity and continuity of the faith is praiseworthy; but when it assumes the advocate's garb and intrudes upon the study of early Christian literature, it seems apt to affect rather prejudicially even admirable work that is professedly written upon critical principles (cp. *ICC*, "Romans," p. xli, "Luke,"² p. v.). For the historical student of that literature it is safer to assume that the categories of the three great C.'s do not exist. His work is merely with the pre-suppositions and embryonic phases of church and creed and canon, nor can even the first of these be postulated by him except in a most modified and unmodern sense. As the facts that lead to these emerge, his task draws to a close. To drag them back into the fabric of that early age is not merely to naïvely beg the whole question at issue, but to court anachronisms and solecisms on every side, and to conclude with results which are almost as pathetic and incongruous as those produced by Voltaire's application of the French "unities" to the Shakespearian drama.

It is by steering clear of such errors that liberal criticism

is alone able to reach a position in regard to the NT literature which satisfies the interests alike of faith and scholarship. In pursuance of this course, the following edition has been arranged. On a first glance, probably, the impression left by it may be disconcerting and chaotic, a bewildering sense of eddies and currents running vaguely through those early years; but this feeling of discomposure is inevitable in the nature of the case. It proceeds not merely from the contrast and familiarity of the canonical order, but also from the fact that the real connection of the writings, as well as the historical movement in which they appeared, both lie below the surface and must be made out from a study and comparison of the records. Besides, literature is like the life of which it forms one expression: neither is apt to be symmetrical. History seldom moves in the rhythm of dialectic, and it is not customary for vitality of belief and action to show itself in a neat elaborated series of pamphlets and discussions. The real growth of such an age as that of early Christianity is to be sought in the confusing and apparently conflicting phases of energy, belief, and morals, whose very richness surges up in records like the NT documents, diverse and scattered. These in their irregular sequence are simply the proof of a wealthy and developing genius in the religion they delineate, a religion which was not less heterogeneous than the Judaism out of which it rose.

As the initial feeling of awkwardness passes, however, it is hoped that some clearer insight into the NT will accrue from the use of this edition along with the canonical order. The alteration of the conventional focus should be justified by such gains as a more genuine and tenable impression of the unity within the NT, and of its advance in institutions, ethics, and ideas, a sense of the larger sky behind the church, a vista of the variations and discrepancies within the apostolic consciousness, decreased liability to error in some lines of research and interpretation, a truer orientation of the documents, and the new mental possession (afforded by print) of some conclusions in regard to the NT which have already commended themselves by their own sense and force. It is

for results like these that one looks in this genetic order of the literature as it lies beside the history. Even if in outward form the arrangement seems rather an unshapely mass, like the body of Oedipus, "not goodly to the sight" (οὐ σπουδαῖον εἰς ὄψιν), perhaps it may be added ultimately of the one as of the other in point of practical effectiveness, "but the gains from it are better than beauty" (τὰ δὲ κέρδη παρ' αὐτοῦ κρείσσον' ἢ μορφὴ καλή).

N.B.—P. 18: The extent and influence of metaphor in the genesis of early Christian tradition have been recognised by none more acutely than by Dr. E. A. Abbott in a series of works upon the gospels, notably in his recent article on the "Gospels" (*EBi*, ii. 1785 f.). Without questioning the legitimacy of the hypothesis, we may, however, challenge several of the detailed applications by which it is used to explain incidents or dissolve apparent discrepancies in the evangelic tradition.—P. 26 f.: A similar practical motive for authorship is plainly avowed in the well-known prologue to Ecclesiasticus (also 2 Esdras 14²²⁻¹⁵³, Baruch 1¹⁴). "Non fuit Matthaeo curae historiam ut gesta erat texere sed Christi doctrinam exprimere" (Maldonatus, a Jesuit of the 16th century, quoted by Jülicher, *Gleichnissreden Jesu*, i. p. 3).—On the relation (p. 28 n.) of the colophon in Matthew (καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτι κτλ., 7²⁸, etc.) to the work of Papias, which also had a fivefold division (συγγράμματα πέντε, Euseb. *HE*, iii. 38), see Nestle, *ZNW*, 1900, pp. 252-254. Numerical pragmatism is quite a feature of Matthew as of the fourth gospel.—The "I" and "we" of authorship actually occur (p. 30) in the gospel of Peter, where they are plainly introduced to heighten the claim to apostolic authorship and dignity.—P. 39, line 16: In 7^{19b} "the writer shows his opinion on the controversy at Antioch" (Bacon, *INT*, 210).—An excellent popular statement of this familiar law (p. 44 n.) may be found in Dr. E. B. Tylor's *Anthropology*, chap. xv. ("History and Mythology"). As he correctly points out, "it is often possible to satisfy one's self that some story is not really history, by knowing the causes which led to its being invented." This principle, of course, is the supreme organon of tendency-criticism. For a recent estimate of tendency in the synoptic gospels, probably reflecting the maximum amount, see *EBi*, ii. 1839-1845.—P. 45, line 14: As already cited on pp. 18-19, the contemporary belief in miracles made it almost inevitable that a miraculous element should exist in stories dating from the first century A.D. "The real miracle would be, if we should find a homely narrative emanating from Galilee in the first century to have originally contained no such elements; and most of the arguments adduced against the value of the Gospels as a contemporary narrative would prove, *mutatis mutandis*, that St. Bernard's account of the miracles of his friend St. Malachi is spurious" (Conybeare, *Monuments of Early Christianity*², p. 5). Weinel (*Wirkungen des Geistes u. der Geister im nach-apost. Zeitalter bis auf Irenäus*, 1899, pp. 63-70, 109 f., etc.) brings out with graphic power the naturalness of "miracle" in the world where early Christians thought and lived.—Was the public for which the earliest Christian literature was intended exclusively Christian (p. 51, n. 1)? Or did it embrace an audience such as that contemplated by the author of 2 Macc (2²⁴⁻²⁸), numbering some who were merely interested, possibly sympathetic—like the father of Maitland of Lethington, "civil, albeit not persuaded in religion"? This legitimate question has been raised in several quarters recently: by J. Weiss (*Ueber d. Absicht d. Apgeschichte*, p. 56) *à propos* of Acts and Romans; by Zahn (*Einkl.* ii. pp. 359 f.), who conjectures that Theophilus was a pagan, first converted by reading the third gospel; and by Wernle, (*ZNW*, 1900, pp. 42-65), who brings out a distinct "apologetic" element in the composition of all the gospels. With the scanty data at our command, it is not easy to determine whether such an outside reference existed in any or all of these cases, and if so, to what extent. Early Christianity, as a whole, was neither the life of a sequestered ghetto nor a crusade appealing to the public mind.—P. 62: "Historical science does not in the least require that a rectilinear development should be made out.

It is of course the business of historical science to understand everything that happens; but a development is not unintelligible even if it runs far ahead of its own time, and afterwards falls back upon the footsteps it has already outrun, to retrace them anew, step by step. Were this otherwise, we should have to eliminate from history all its great and epoch-making men—Luther, for example, and, in the end, Jesus himself” (Schmiedel, *EBi*, ii. 1621).—P. 66, n. 1: Add Montefiore’s study on Paul and Jesus (*Jew. Quart. Rev.* 1901, 161–217), and Holtzmann, “Zum Thema—‘Jesus und Paulus’—” *PM* (1900), pp. 463–468, with Brückner’s article, “Christologie des Marcus-Evangeliums” (*ibid.*, 1900, pp. 415–438).—Pp. 67, 70: Even when tested by standards which seem unduly severe and sceptical, the evangelic tradition emerges with so large a measure of credibility (*EBi*, ii. 1872–1889), that we are sensible, especially when these results are revised in the light of a more reasonable though none the less thorough research, how far we have travelled in regard to the trustworthiness of the gospels since the days when Clough could write in sad and sincere fashion fifty years ago, that he did not see “how any one who will not tell lies to himself, can dare to affirm that the narrative of the four gospels is an essential integral part” of the great religious tradition. The substantial credibility of the historic element in the synoptic gospels, which is largely beyond dispute in most schools of criticism to-day, is not bound up, however, with a very early date for these gospels. Nor does it depend upon the absolute elimination from them of what is termed “inferior tradition,” “legend,” or “sensuous conceptions.” It would be simply unscientific to write as if the major contents of the gospels represented a mere precipitate, more or less subjective and imaginative, of what early Christianity hoped, believed, and achieved. But it is none the less accurate to hold that in their extant form the gospels are historical products of a religious life within the Christian communities, which in turn was the direct outcome and reflection of Christ’s personality; and also that while they convey the substance of the evangelic tradition, and exhibit the individuality and teaching of Jesus with an accuracy which for all practical purposes is as unimpeachable as it is final and impressive, the antecedents and circumstances of their origin have not been wholly without influence in the shaping of their form and contents. Loyalty to historical research, *e.g.*, makes it almost impossible either to ignore or to exaggerate the presence of inferior strata in a restricted extent throughout the gospels. This is admitted on all hands (cp. Bruce, *EBi*, ii. 2452–2453; Beyschlag, *NTTh*, ii. 474, 478; Jülicher, *Einh.* 292 f.; Bacon, *INT*, pp. 182, 198, 210; Harnack, *HD*, i. pp. 99 f., 106 n., etc.). But it is only when the historical strata of the gospels are thus recognised as occupying different planes, that the absolute fidelity and splendid certainty of their major contents can be satisfactorily established.—In the acute and useful article already referred to, Schmiedel, like Bacon (*INT*, ch. ix.), postulates a number of sources behind even the Ur-Marcus and the Logia—a genetic treatment which, though opposed as superfluous and airy by Jülicher, throws light upon some parts of the question, even while it seems to unduly complicate others. Like the majority of recent investigators, Schmiedel minimises party-tendency, and is upon the whole conservative with regard to the creation of narrative out of ideas, and prophetic beliefs (*EBi*, ii. 1844 f.). Needlessly suspicious, his treatment is a distinct advance upon that of Brandt. Soltan’s new monograph (*Unsere Evang. und ihr Quellenwert vom Standpunkt des Historikers aus betrachtet*, 1901) carries the problem still farther forward.—Upon one important factor in the relation of historical literature to its subject, in early Christianity, some light is incidentally thrown in an article on “Memory in Old Age” (*Spectator*, April, 1901, pp. 614–615), where the effects of time upon veracity are discussed, especially with regard to alterations, inaccuracies, and omissions compatible with entire good faith upon the part of the reporter, and due to the modifying and discolouring influence of imagination, as it plays round words and events in the dim past. Much depends on the individual temperament; much also on the topic; something too upon the nature of the intervening space. But in many cases “imagination, below the threshold of consciousness,” seems “compelled to supply the details of a situation of which a passive reflection” cannot, for some reason or other, be obtained. “The historian must therefore exercise much care in accepting as absolutely true a narrative which nevertheless its narrator had no intention of making anything but a photograph.” That is, even the absence of conscious tendency does not *ipso facto* guarantee the historicity of a report (cp. pp. 274, 412–419, etc.). Of this canon, however, we may repeat what Darwin once said of the law of universal struggle in the natural world: nothing is easier than to admit it in words, nothing harder than to bear it constantly in mind, as one is at work observing and comparing the phenomena.

HISTORICAL TABLES

Chronology enters into the important parts of history as one of the main conditions under which history itself is intelligible, or under which history makes other things intelligible for any profitable purpose. Chronology either combines with the facts of history, so as to create them into a new life, and to impress upon them a moral meaning, such as nakedly and separately those facts would not possess; or else forms a machinery for recalling and facilitating the memorial conquest of historical facts in their orderly succession.—**De Quincey.**

It is impossible to separate the religious phenomena from the other phenomena, in the same way that you can separate a vein of silver from the rock in which it is embedded. They are as much determined by the general characteristics of the race as the fauna and flora of a geographical area are determined by its soil, its climate, and its cultivation. They are separable from the whole mass of phenomena not in fact, but only in thought. We may concentrate our attention chiefly upon them, but they still remain part of the whole complex life of the time, and they cannot be understood except in relation to that life.—**Hatch.**

In Sprache und in Ausdrucksweise, in Cultur und Sitte, im Denken und Empfinden, weisen die Schriften über sich hinaus und verlangen zu ihrer vollen Würdigung und zu ihrem rechten Verständnis die Heranziehung und Vergleichung des Culturhodens, auf dem sie entstanden sind, der grossen geistigen Bewegung, die in der Periode nach dem Zusammenbruch von Alexanders grossen Plänen als die geistige Frucht seines Wirkens heranwuchs. Wer darum das neue Testament fördern will, darf an den Zeugen der geistigen Cultur jener Jahrhunderte nicht vorübergehen. Jedoch bedarf das Bild auch nach einer andern Seite hin noch der Vervollkommenung. Um einer historischen Grösse völlig gerecht zu werden, ist es notwendig, sie nicht nur in ihren Voraussetzungen zu studieren, sondern auch in ihren Folgen zu begreifen. So wird es notwendig sein, auch die Frage zu erwägen, was sich aus der folgenden Entwicklung der christlichen Zeit für ihre Anfänge lernen lässt.—**Preuschen.**

TABLE I.—180 B.C.—30 A.D.

Die Aufgabe der biblischen Theologie des Alten Testaments hat zu schildern, wie aus der Religion Israels in Folge der Predigt der Propheten und der eigentümlichen Geschichte dieses Volkes sich das Judentum bildet, und die Entwicklung dieses zum Auftreten Jesu klar zu legen. Ja soll die Darstellung einen Ruhepunkt finden, so wird als Abschluss der ganzen Entwicklung die Predigt Jesu in kurzen Umrissen zu geben sein. In dieser finden alle die Fragen ihre Beantwortung, mit denen sonst die Darstellung in unbefriedigendster Weise schliessen müsste. Wer das religiöse Leben des Judentums in der neutestamentlichen Zeit in erschöpfender Weise zeichnen will, hat so notwendig die Predigt Jesu in die Gesamtdarstellung einzuzichnen, wie derjenige, welcher die Predigt Jesu deutlich zeichnen will, jenes als des Hintergrundes bedarf. Für die theologische Betrachtung ist die Predigt Jesu so gut der Schlussstein der alttestamentlichen Entwicklung, wie der Ausgangspunkt für die biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments, für die Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte.—**Stade.**

There was in the world much of the noble heritage of past centuries and an infinite abundance of pomp and glory, but little spirit, still less taste, and least of all true delight in life. It was indeed an old world; and even the richly-gifted patriotism of Caesar could not make it young again. The dawn does not return till after the night has fully set in and run its course. But yet with him there came to the sorely harassed peoples on the Mediterranean a tolerable evening after the sultry noon.—**Mommsen.**

It is a mistake to think that ages of transition, like that immediately preceding the appearance of Christianity, are simply times of decay and disintegration, when all spiritual and religious life is completely moribund. . . . Where an old system decays we may be sure it is because the new truth which is to succeed it is already there; the old would not decay if the new had not arrived, be it but in germ, and been long labouring to undermine and eat away the existing structure.—**Baur.**

	Rome.	Judaea.
B.C. 180	Death of Hannibal, 183. Istrian war, 178-177. Romans at war in Greece, 170-146. Third Punic war, 149-145. Numantine war, 143-133. The Gracchi, 164-121. Sempronian laws, 133-123. Death of Scipio, 129. Transalpine wars.	Antiochus Epiphanes } 175-160. Desecration of the Temple, 168. The Maccabees } Judas Macc. recovers Jerusalem. Restoration of Temple-worship, 165. Judas Macc. alliance with Rome, 160 c. Jewish overtures to Rome. Judaea independent, 143. The Asmoneans, 135-63. John Hyrcanus, 135-105. Pharisees. Sadducees. League with Rome, 128. Subjugation of Idumaea and Samaria.
120	Marius, 155-86. Sulla, 138-78. Sumptuary laws, 115. Jugurthan war, 111-106. Numidia, Rom. prov. 106. Marius defeats Teutons and Cimbri, 102-101. Schools of oratory in Rome, 98. Social war, 90-88. Athens captured by Sulla, 86. Sertorius in Spain, 83-72. Spartacus and Mithridates conquered, 73-71. Pompey, 106-49. Cicero, 106-43. Pompey in the East. Catiline's conspiracy, 65-63. Clodius, 62-61. Oriental religions	Growth of Nabatean kingdom. Essenes. Revival of Hellenism. Aristobulus I., 105-104. Alex. Jannaeus, 104-79. Egyptian invasion of Palestine. Tyranny and defeat of Pharisees. Triumph of Jannaeus at Jerusalem, 82. Salome, 79-69. Pharisaic reaction, 78 f. Strife of parties. Birth of Hillel, 75. Birth of Herod the National education Great, 72. established, 70. Aristobulus II., 69-63. Nabatean invasion. Pompey in Jerusalem; siege and capture, 63.
60	and Jews in Rome. Caesar, 100-44. First triumvirate, 60. in Gaul, 58-51. Cyprus, Rom. prov. 57. in Britain, 55-54. Gaul, Rom. prov. 50. Caesar in Civil war. Reform of Calendar, 46. Cleopatra, 69-30. Parthian wars. Agrippa crosses Rhine, 37. Death of Cleopatra, 30. Octavian supreme. Augustus, 30 B.C.-19 A.D. (14 A.D. August) Gates of Janus closed, 29, 25. Augustus in Gaul and Syria, 27-24. Social reforms, c. 21. Augustus in East, 21-19. Secular games, 17. Tiberius exiled in Rhodes, 6 B.C.-2 A.D.	Hyrcanus II., 63-40. Insurrection. Revolts of Aristobulus, c. 56. Crassus plunders the Temple, 54. Antipater, procurator of Judaea, 47. Syria, 47. M. Antonius in Syria, 42. Antigonos, 40-37; with aid of Parthians. The Idumeans. Herod the Great, King of Judaea, 37-4; with aid of Romans. Hillel in Jerusalem, 36. Attack on Sanhedrin. Rise of Herodians, 28. Samaria rebuilt, 27 (?). Hellenizing of Judaea. Theatres built in Jerusalem. Famine and plague, 25-23. Caesarea built, 22-10 B.C. Enlargement of Herod's territory. Augustus to Syria, 20. Temple rebuilt, 20 f. Intrigues in Herodian family, 14 f. Birth of Jesus, 6 B.C. ±. Popular revolt under Rabbis Judas and Matthias, 4 B.C. Herod Antipas, tetrarch, 4-39 A.D. Anarchy. Syria: the census, 6-7. Judas the Galilean. Annas, h-priest, 6-15. Revolt of Zealots. Defeat } Calaphas, h-priest, 18-36. from Rome, 19. Mission of John the Baptizer, 25-20. procurator, 26-36. Insurrection. Tiberias built. Baptism of Jesus, 27 c. Death of John, 28. Crucifixion of Jesus, 29.
A.D.	Tiberius, 14-(16 March) 37. Musulamian war, 17-24. Sejanus, (fl. 23-31). Drusus poisoned, 23. Tiberius at Capreae, 26-37. Campaigns in Pannonia and Dalmatia, 6-9. Quirinius governor of Rebellion of Arminius, 9-19. Germanicus, 14-19. Jews banished Pontius Pilate, War in Thrace, 25-26.	

Jewish Literature.

Ur-Eccles. (Heb.), 180. Maccab. psalms.
 Enoch (cpp. 1-36), before 170.
 Prayer of Manasseh.
 Eupolemus (hist.)
 Aristobulus (phil.), 170-150. Book of Daniel, 165.
 Jason of Cyrene. Greek transl. Daniel, by 150.
 Sibyllines, bk. iii. (97-817), 140 c. "Esther," 150-130.
 Book of Judith, 130-105. Psalter complete, 141.
 Enoch (cpp. 83-90). Philo (epic poet)?
 Greek Seirach (Greek), 130 c.
 Cleodemus (Malchus). Theodotus (poet)?
 Greek additions to Daniel, before 90.

III. Esdras, 170-100. Ezekiel (dram.)?
 Artapanus (hist.), -100 (Πῆσι 'Ιουδαίων).
 Chronicles of Hyrcanus. Enoch (cpp. 91-104), between 134 and 95 B.C.
 Aristes (Πῆσι 'Ιουδαίων)? I. Maccab., ± 90.
 Letter of Jeremiah (?).
 Wisd. Solomon, 90, later.
 Letter of Aristes (96-63?).
 Enoch (Similitudes, cpp. 37-70), 95-65. Schimeon ben Schetach.
 II. Maccab. (between 150 and 50)? Activity of Scribes.
 Greek additions to Esther? Alexander Polyhistor, 80-40 (Πῆσι 'Ιουδαίων).

Tobit, before 25. Pseudo-Phocylides? ?
 Psalt. Solomon (part), 63-48.
 Book of Jannes and Jambres (?).
 Book of Noah (?).
 Apocalypse of Elijah (?).
 "Two Ways" Catechism (Did. i.-vi.)?
 Sibyll., bk. iii. (1-62), 40-30.
 Menachem.
 Hillel, 70 B.C.-6 A.D.

"Commentaries" of King Herod? Shammai.
 Book of Jubilees, 40-10. "Pirke Aboth," 70 B.C.-170 A.D.

Philo born, c. 20.

Targums, nucleus of, 1-200 A.D.
 Paul born?
 Assumptio Mosis.
 Test. XII. Patriarch. (groundwork?).

Ptolemy of Ascalon, "Life of Herod"?

Enoch (Slavonic), 1-50.

Greek and Latin Literature.

Diogenes, c. 200. Porcius Cato, 234-149.
 Apollonius of Rhodes, 181. Plautus, -184.
 Carneades (phil.), 213-129. Q. Ennius, 169.
 Polybius, 204-122. Caecil. Statius (comed.), d. 168.
 Nicander, c. 160. Terence, 184-159. "Phormio," "Eunuchus," 102.
 Aristarchus, fl. 150 (gramm.). L. Titinnius (com.).
 Moschus, 154 c. M. Brutus, "De jure civili."
 Hipparchus (astron.), 160-145 fl. Sempronius Asellio (hist.).
 Panaetius (phil.), 150-120 fl. M. Pacuvius, -129.
 Apollodorus of Athens: Χρυσία O. Lucilius, -102.
 Ptolem. Evergetes. Hostius, "De bello Istri-co," 125.
 L. Caelius Antipater (hist.).

Apollonius Molon, c. 120 (anti-Semite), Σωκράτης κατὰ 'Ιουδαίαν.
 Agatharcides (geog.). L. Afranius (comed.), c. 94.
 Clitomachus. Accius (traged.), -94.
 Theodosius (math.). Sextus Turpilius (comed.).
 Antipater of Sidon (epigr.). Q. Mucius Scaevola (lawyer).
 Hero (math.), c. 103? M. Aem. Scaurus (orat.).
 Posidonius (phil.), 110-60 fl. ("History"). O. Licinius Macer, -66.
 Scymnus (geogr.), c. 90. Q. Hortensius (orat.), 114-50.
 Parthenius (gramm.). Valerius Cato (poet), c. 80.
 Greek art and science in Rome, fl. 81.
 Diotimus the Stoic, 80 c. Claudius Quadrigarius (hist.), 100-78 fl.
 Collection of Sibyll. orac., c. 75. Sisenna (hist.).
 Meleager (eleg.), 70 c. Lucretius, 99-55, "De rerum nat.," publ. 56 c.
 Lysimachus (anti-Semite). Catullus, 87-54.
 Nigidius Figulus (phil.).

Artemidorus (geogr.). Quintus Cicero.
 Metrodorus. T. Pomponius Atticus, 109-32.
 Menippus. Philodemus. Dec. Laberius, 107-43.
 Castor ("Chronicle"). Oicero, 106-43.
 Alexandrinism. Caesar.
 Didymus of Alexandria. Sallust, 86-35.
 Tyrannion (elder), 115-25. Varro. Hirtius.
 Sosigenes (phil.), c. 46. O. Cornelius Gallus, 66-26.
 Antipater of Tyre. M. Junius Brutus.
 Timagenes (hist.). Cornelius Nepos, 99-24.
 Conon (mythographer). Dellius (hist.). P. Syrus.
 Nicolaus Damascenus (hist.), 64-. L. Varius Rufus, 74-14.
 Diodorus Siculus (hist.). Vergil, 73-19 ("Aeneid," 29-19).
 Hypsikrates (hist.). C. Asinius Pollio, 76-4 A.D.
 Dionysius Halicarn., "Roman Archaeology," 8 B.C. Tibullus, -19.
 Theodorus of Rhodes (rhet.), B.C. 6-A.D. 2 fl. Propertius.
 Lesbos. Horace, -8 ("Odes," i.-iii., 23 B.C.).
 Dionysius Periegetes. Aem. Macer.
 Strabo, 54 B.C.-24 A.D. (hist. geogr.). Vitruvius Pollio (archit.).
 Apollonius Sophista, c. 20. Livy, 59 B.C.-17 A.D.
 Apion, "Egyptian history." Messala, 64 B.C.-9 A.D.
 Hyginus.
 Juba.
 Troglus Pompeius.
 Ovid, "Art of Love," 2-1 B.C.; banishment, 9 A.D.
 "Monumentum Ancyranum."
 Manilius, "Astronomica."
 L. Fenestella (hist.).
 Antonius Musa (med.).
 Celsus (med.).
 Phaedrus.
 Valerius Maximus (hist.).

TABLE II.—30–100 A.D.

The struggle between the Christian principle and Jewish tradition was bound to arise. The new seed sown in that ancient soil could not germinate without rising in it and in places breaking up the rich hard crust. In the books of the NT that have preserved to us the picture of that first and powerful germination, side by side with the principle to which the future belongs, we necessarily find old things that are on the way to death.—**Sabatier.**

The world was then undergoing a moral improvement and an intellectual decline . . . Greece fortunately remained faithful to her genius. The prodigious splendour of Roman power had dazzled and stunned, but not annihilated it. But at this period Greece herself was passing through one of her intervals of lassitude. Genius was scarce, and original science inferior to what it had been in preceding ages, and to what it would be in the following. The space from the death of Augustus to the accession of Trajan must be classed as a period of temporary degradation for the human intellect. The ancient world had by no means uttered its last word, but the bitter trials through which it was passing took from it both voice and courage. When brighter days return, and genius shall be delivered from the terrible sway of the Caesars, she will take heart again.—**Renan.**

The history of the gospel contains two great transitions, both of which, however, fall within the first century: from Christ to the first generation of believers, including Paul, and from the first, Jewish Christian, generation of these believers to the Gentile Christians; in other words, from Christ to the brotherhood of believers in Christ, and from this to the incipient catholic church. No later transitions in the church can be compared with these in importance.—**Harnack.**

TABLE II.—

	Rome.	Judaea and the East.
A.D.		
30	Fall of Sejanus, 31. Financial crisis at Rome, 33. Caligula, 37-(Jan. 24) 41. in Gaul and Britain, 39-40. Claudius, 41-(Oct. 13) 54. Romans in Britain, 43. London founded by Aulus Plautius, 47. Secular games (6th), 47. Nero adopted, 50. Trajan born, 52. Nero, 54-(June 9) 68. Burrus and Seneca in power, 65. Birth of Tacitus, 55. Death of Britannicus, 55. Corbulo in Armenia, 57-59. Suetonius in Britain, 59-61. Boadicea defeated. Tigellinus, Poppaea, in power, 62 f.	Aretas IV. rules Nabataeans (9 B.C.-40 A.D.). Death of Stephen : Persecution of Christians in Judaea. Paul a Christian, 30 (31). Paul in Arabia, -34. Caiaphas deposed, 36. Herod Agrippa I., king, 37-44. in Alexandria, 38. Attempt to place Caligula's statue in Temple. Rome, 40. Revival of Pharisaism. Zealots in Judaea. Martyrdom of James the son of Zebedee. Revolt of Theudas. Famine, 44 c. Cumanus, procurator, 48-52. Revolts in Palestine. Agrippa II., 50-100. procurator, 52-(59). Increasing turbulence. Sicarii. Popular tumults. procurator, 59. Trouble in Caesarea. Martyrdom of James in Jerus., 62 (61). procurator, 61. Temple in Jerusalem completed, c. 64. Florus abandons Jerusalem. Massacres of Jews in Syria and Egypt. John of Gischala. Roman campaign : Vespasian in Galilee and Judaea, 67.
	Pilate recalled to Rome. Persecution of Jews Apion in Rome, 39. Herod Antipas deposed and banished, 39. Philo's embassy to Lucan in Rome, 40. Seneca in exile, 41-49. Lycia, Rom. prov. Expulsion of Jews from Rome, 48 (?). S. Britain, Rom. prov. Caractacus defeated, 51. Felix, Praetor, 51-62. Pallas, 52-55. Parthian and Armenian wars. Festus, Albinus, c. 63. Josephus in Rome, 63, 64 (-66). Paul in Rome.	Birth of Josephus, ± 37. Earthquakes in Antioch, 37 f. Paul in Syria and Asia Minor, 34-48. Judaism in Adiabene, c. 44. Birth of Plutarch (45-50). Paul's first tour. Council at Jerus., 49. Paul's second tour, 49-52. Simon Magus. Josephus among Essenes, 53-56. Paul's third tour, 52-56. Paul's arrest, 56. Josephus joins the Pharisees, ± 67. Earthquake in Lycus Valley. Paul's voyage to Rome, 59-60. Epiktetus born in Hierapolis (?).
05	Burning of Rome, 19th July } 64 Persecution of Christians } Plague in Rome, 65. Deaths of Lucan and Seneca } 65 Conspiracy of Piso. } Revolt of Vindex in Gaul. } Nero in Greece, 66-67. Plutarch in Alexandria, 65-70.	Florus, procurator, 64-66. Josephus, governor of Galilee. Romans driven from Jerusalem, 66. Roman campaign : Vespasian in Galilee and Judaea, 67.

[Continued on p. 86.]

30-100 A.D.

Jewish and Christian Literature.	Greek and Latin Literature.
<p style="text-align: center;">Philo.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Gamaliel I., 30-40 A.D.</p> <p>III Macc. ?? Philo "contra Flaccum."</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Caligula-apoc. ? (Apoc. 13) "Legatio ad Gaium."</p> <p>Letters of Heracleitus (?).</p> <p>IV Macc., 30-70.</p> <p>Eldad and Modad (?).</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Abba Chilkijja. Abba Scha'ul.</p> <p>Ascensio Isaiaes (21-312 52-14)?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Thess. epp.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Galat. Corinth. } epp. Rom. etc.</p> <p>Apoc. Baruch (27-30, 36-40, 53-74) (bef. 70)</p> <p>Development of Apocalyptic</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Coloss. Phlm. [Ephes.] } epp. Philipp. etc.</p>	<p>Decline of Greek literature.</p> <p>C. Velleius Paterculus (hist.). "Cyclopaedia" of Celsus, 35. Afer Domitius (orat.).</p> <p>Xenocrates (med.), c. 30.</p> <p>Seneca, { 7 B.C.-65 A.D. { "De Tranq.," "De Ira," "De Brevit." = 49- 54. "De Clem.," "De Benef." = 54-62.</p> <p>Persius, 34-62. On. Lentulus Gaetulicus (poet. hist.), d. 39.</p> <p>Babrius, "Fables," fl. 40? Lucan, 65. Scribonius Largus (med.). M. Valerius Probus.</p> <p>Nikomachus Gerasenus, c. 50. Q. Asconius Pedianus (fl.), 42. Comm. on Cicero's speeches, 55.</p> <p>Onosander (milit.), 50 c. Pomponius Mela (geogr.). Antipater of Thessalonika, 50 c. Q. Remmius Palaemon (gram.).</p> <p>Chaeremon (phil.). Columella (agricult.).</p> <p>'Αργυριαζή ιστορία. Calpurnius Siculus.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Probus of Berytus (gram.). Petronius (satir.), -66.</p> <p>Pamphilê.</p> <p>Dioskorides (med.). Erotianus.</p> <p>Andromachus of Crete Pliny (major), 22-79. (med.), 54-68.</p>
<p>Literature.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1 Peter (?)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Megillath Taanith ??</p>	<p>Leonidas of Alexandria.</p> <p>Dionysius of Alexandria. Cassius Longinus (jurist.), 50-80.</p> <p>Ammonius. Sextus Julius Gabinianus (orat.).</p> <p>"Periplus Maris Ery- Musonius Rufus (phil. thraei." Gk.).</p>

[Continued on p. 87.]

TABLE II.—

Rome.	Judaea and the East.
Death of Nero ; Civil war, 68.	Idumaeans massacre priests in Jerusalem, 68.
Galha, Otho, Vitellius, 69 ; Vespasian, 69-79.	Lull in war, June 68-April 70.
Burning of Capitoline Temple, 69.	Appearance of a false Nero in East, c. 69.
Stoics banished from Rome, 70.	Siege and sack of Jerusalem by Titus, 70.
Triumph of Titus } 71	Fall of Masada, 73.
Temple of Janus closed } 71	Extermination of Zealots.
Bernice at Rome, 75.	End of Sanhedrin.
Colosseum built, 70-80.	Rabbi Jochanan (<i>d.</i> 100).
Epiktetus in Rome.	Bethar, a Jewish centre.
Titus, 79-(18 Sept.) 81.	Rabbinic school at Jamnia.
Agricola in Britain, 78-85.	A false Nero on the Euphrates.
Great fire in Rome, 80.	Jewish settlements in Babylon, Parthia, and Armenia.
Josephus resident in Rome, 70-100.	Philip and his daughters in Hierapolis.
Domitian, 81-(18 Sept.) 96.	Gamaliel II. (80-117).
Domitian's triumph in Gaul, 83.	Rising of Jews, 85-86.
Severe policy to Jews.	Devotion to the "Law." Nazarenes (Ebionites)?
Severe policy to Christians.	Romans prohibit conversions to Judaism.
Defeat of Caledonians at Mons Grampius, 84.	The Pharisees paramount.
War against Daci, 86-90.	Desposyni in Palestine.
Revolt of Saturninus in Germany, 88.	A false Nero among Parthians, c. 88.
Tacitus, praetor, 88.	Synod of Jamnia, 90 : Settlement of OT canon.
Secular games, 88.	John in Ephesus.
Philosophers expelled from Rome, 94.	Eleazar ben Hyrcanos. Cerinthus.
Nerva, 96-(27 Jan.) 98.	Growing antipathy of Jews and Christians.
Trajan, 98-(Aug.) 117.	Polykarp in Smyrna.
Tacitus, consul, 97 (98).	John the Presbyter.
Free constitution.	Menander, disciple of Simon Magus.
Pliny's "Panegyric," 100.	Eleazar ben Azarja.
	Eleazar ben Zadok.

continued.

Jewish and Christian Literature.	Greek and Latin Literature.
<p>Apoc. 111-13 (?).</p> <p>Apoc. 12 (?).</p> <p>Josephus, 37-100. Gospel of Mark, 65-75.</p> <p>Ascensio Isaiæ (313-51), 50-80 A.D.</p> <p>Bk. of Baruch (11-38). Apoc. (17).</p> <p>Joseph. "Wars of Jews," 75 (after).</p> <p>Justus of Tiberias, fl. 65-100 ("Chronicle").</p> <p>Sibyll. bk. iii. (63-92), Gospel of Matthew, 75-90. 75-80.</p> <p>Sibyll. bk. iv. 80 c.; bk. v. (52-531) bef. 80 (?).</p> <p>"Hebrews" ep. c. 80.</p> <p>Apoc. Baruch, 1-26, 31-35, 41-52, 75-87 (pt. after 70).</p> <p>Bk. of Baruch (38-50) (?) Gospel of Luke, 80-90.</p> <p>Acts.</p> <p>IV Esdras.</p> <p>Joseph. "Antiquities of Jews," 93-94.</p> <p>Pseudo-Philo, Apocalypse of John. "de biblicis antiquitatibus."</p> <p>Hystaspes (Sibyll. orac.) ?? Clem. Rom. i. epist. c. 97.</p> <p>Josephus, "Against Apion" (?).</p> <p>Gospel of Hebrews (before 100).</p> <p>Fourth gospel, 95-115.</p> <p>Joseph. "Autobiography," 100 (after).</p>	<p>Cornutus (Stoic) ??</p> <p>Epaphroditus (gramm.).</p> <p>Quintus Curtius (hist.).</p> <p>Heraklides ("allegoriae Homericæ") ??</p> <p>"Commentaries" of Vespasian.</p> <p>Antonius Julianus (hist.).</p> <p>Aretæus (med.), c. 70.</p> <p>Silius Itali- "Punica," cus, fl. ± 90.</p> <p>Pliny, "Naturalis Historia," 77.</p> <p>Fabius Rusticus (hist.).</p> <p>Demetrius (cyn.)</p> <p>C. Valerius Flaccus, "Argonautica."</p> <p>Verginius Rufus.</p> <p>Dio Prusaëus.</p> <p>P. Papinius Sextus Julius Statius, Frontinus, 45-96. 70-106.</p> <p>Turnus (satir.).</p> <p>Martial. "Epigrammata," 83-101.</p> <p>Arruntius Stella.</p> <p>Niketas of Smyrna.</p> <p>Juvenal.</p> <p>Epiktetus, banished from Rome to Nikopolis, 89 A.D.</p> <p>Tacitus, 55. } "de Oratoribus," c. 80. } } "Agricola, 97-98. } } "Germania." }</p> <p>Plutarch, 48-120.</p> <p>Siculus Flaccus.</p> <p>Terentius Maurus (gramm.).</p> <p>Quintilian (born, 35 A.D.), Instit. Orat. 93 ±.</p> <p>Isæus (sophist).</p>

TABLE III.—100–190 A.D.

In the eyes of the Pagan historian, the period from the accession of Nerva, in 96 A.D., to the death of Marcus Aurelius, in 180 A.D., is memorable as a period of uniform good government, of rapidly advancing humanity, of great legislative reforms, and of a peace which was very rarely seriously broken. To the Christian historian it is still more remarkable, as one of the most critical periods in the history of his faith. The Church entered into it considerable indeed, as a sect, but not large enough to be reckoned an important power in the Empire. It emerged from it so increased in its numbers, and so extended in its ramifications, that it might fairly defy the most formidable assaults.—**Lecky.**

After the silver age which ended nobly with Tacitus and the younger Pliny, Latin pagan literature almost ceases to exist; and the falling off in the form is not more striking than in the value and quality of the contents. All superstitions revived and flourished apace in the ever-waning light of knowledge. A shudder of religious awe ran through the Roman world, and grew more sombre and searching with the progressive gloom and calamities of the time. A spirit wholly different from the light-hearted scepticism of the Augustan age and later Republic stirred men's hearts, and the strongest minds did not escape it.—**Cotter Morison.**

Parallel mit dem langsamen Einströmen des griechisch-philosophischen Elements gingen auf der ganzen Linie Versuche, die man kurzweg als "akute Hellenisierung" bezeichnen kann. Sie bieten uns das grossartigste geschichtliche Schauspiel; in jener Epoche selbst aber waren sie die furchtbarste Gefahr. Das zweite Jahrhundert ist das Jahrhundert der Religionsmischung, der Theokrasie, wie kein anderes vor ihm. In diese sollte das Christentum als ein Element neben anderen, wenn auch als das wichtigste, hineingezogen werden. Jener "Hellenismus," der das versuchte, hatte bereits alle Mysterien, die orientalische Kultweisheit, das Sublimste und das Absurdeste, an sich gezogen und es durch das nie versagende Mittel der philosophischen, d. h. der allegorischen Deutung in ein schimmerndes Gewebe versponnen. Nun stürzte er sich—man muss sich so ausdrücken—auf die christliche Verkündigung.—**Harnack.**

TABLE III.—

	Rome.	Judaea and the East:
A.D. 100	<p>First war with Daci- Hadrian, quaestor. ans, 101-102.</p> <p>Second war with Daci- Conquest of Nabataean ans, 105-106. kingdom, 106.</p> <p>Column of Trajan, 113.</p> <p>Roman Empire at its largest extent.</p> <p>War with Parthians, ± 115.</p> <p>Hadrian, 117- (10th July) 138. Travels of Hadrian, in Britain, 119.</p> <p>M. Aurelius born, 121. Rom. wall in Britain, 122.</p> <p>Hadrian in Athens, 123-126; his rescript to Minicius on the Christians, 124-125.</p> <p>War with Picts and Scots, 120-138.</p>	<p>Agrippa II. dies, 100 Jehoshua ben Chan- A.D. anja. Justin Martyr, born Flavia Nea- polis, 103 A.D. ?</p> <p>Pagan reaction at Ephesus.</p> <p>Martyrdom of Symeon, 107. Pompeius Falco, Elkesaites. gov. Judaea, 107f.</p> <p>Christians Hemerobapt- Schimeon ben c. 112. ists. Azzaj. ters of Philip. Rabbi Jose.</p> <p>Ebionites.</p> <p>of Ignatius, ± 115.</p> <p>Revolt of Jews in Egypt, Cyprus, Cyrene, etc. Massacre of Greeks.</p> <p>Hadrian in Egypt and Birth of Irenaeus, bef. Syria. 130.</p>
130	<p>Second tour of Hadrian, 129-134.</p> <p>Hadrian in Alexandria, 131.</p> <p>Arrian, governor of Cappadocia, 131-137.</p> <p>Apotheosis of Antin- ous, 133.</p> <p>H's rescript to Servian on the Christians, 134.</p> <p>Hyginus, bish. R. 136- 140.</p> <p>Antoninus Pius, 138- (7th March) 161. Lollius Urbicus' campaign in N. Britain, 139 f.</p> <p>Development of civil law.</p> <p>Pius, bish. R. 140-155.</p> <p>Wall of Antoninus—Forth to Clyde, begun 142.</p> <p>M. Aurelius converted to philosophy, 145.</p> <p>M. Aurelius co-regent, 147-161.</p> <p>Secular games, 147.</p> <p>Anicetus, bish. R. 155- Martyrdom of Poly- 166. karp, 23rd Feb. 155.</p> <p>Pestilence and famine in Rome, 161-166.</p>	<p>builds Jerusalem, 130 f. Death of Rabbi Joshua, c. 131. Rabbi Akiba.</p> <p>dacia, 131-137.</p> <p>Insurrection: Revolt and Defeat of Bar-Kokhba: 132-135. Sack of Bethar.</p> <p>Aelia Capitolina founded on site of Jerusalem, 136.</p> <p>Circumcision pro- hibited.</p> <p>Jewish relief.</p> <p>New Sanhedrin at Rim- mon.</p> <p>Severity of Romans. The martyrs of Lydda. Schimeon ben Jochaj. Mishna, 70-170. Rabbi Meir, at Usha.</p> <p>Disturbances in Asia Minor: Persecution of Christians.</p> <p>Aquila (?). Tertullian born, c. 150. Jehuda ben Ilaj. Theodotion (?). Clem. Alex. born, c. 155 (in Athens?). Jose ben Dosithaj, "Seder Olam" (?). Montanus in Phrygia: Maximilla and Priscilla.</p>

[Continued on p. 92.]

00-190 A.D.

Early Christian Literature.			Greek and Latin Literature.	
1 ep. John. Ascensio Isaiæ (61-111 1123-40).		Development of Gnostic systems.	Nikarchus (epigr. (103-106) "History" of Tacitus.	
2, 3 epp. John the presbyter.		Chiliasm.	Aelianus.	Pliny the younger's letters, 97-109.
2 Tim. } Titus. } 95-125. 1 Tim. }		Cerinthus.	Aristides Quint. (mus.).	Annaeus Florus (hist.).
Editing of gospels.	Rise of apologetic literature.	Naaseni.	Isaeus.	
Roman Symbol (?).		Simonians.	Dio Chrysost. (rhet.).	Pliny the younger (horo, 61 A.D.).
Ep. James.			Moschio, c. 110.	His letter to Trajan, 111-113.
Ignatian epp. (?)	110-125.	Ophites.		(115-117) "Annals" of Tacitus.
Ep. Polykarp (?)				Hyginus Gromaticus.
Proteuangel. James (?).	Ep. to Diognetus, c. 117.	Appeal to tradition.	Apollodorus Poliorketes.	Suetonius, "Lives of 12 Caesars," c. 120.
Didaché (pres. form), c. 120.		Study of NT literature.	Draco (gramm.).	
"Preaching of Peter," 100-130.			Theon of Smyrna (arithm.).	
Gospel of Egyptians, before 130.		Basileides (in Alexandria, 120-125): <i>ἐξηγητικά</i> .	Phlegon ("Chronica").	Terent. Scaurus (gramm.).
Ep. Judas, before 130. Sibyll. bk. v. (1-51)?	Quadratus in Athens, 125-126.		Antonius Polemon (rhet.)?	Jabolenus Priscus (lawyer).
			Renaissance of Greek literature.	
Epist. Barnabas, 130-131.	Agrippa Castor, <i>ἐλεγχος κατὰ βασιλείδου</i> .	<i>Παραδόσεις Ματθίου</i> .	Artemidorus, c. 130.	
Papias of Hierapolis, 70-150 (?). <i>ἐξήγησις λόγων κυρι-ακῶν</i> .		Saturnianus in Antioch.	Diogenianus. (Herennius) Philo.	
Oxyrhynchite Logia (bef. 140)?	Ep. to Diognetus (i.-x.) ± 135.	Karpokrates.	Byblius (<i>Ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίων</i>).	
		Gnostic literary activity, composition of gospels, acts, apoc., etc.	Zenobius.	Sextus Pomponius (lawyer).
Rest of Words of Baruch, c. 136 (Jewish?).		Cerdo in Rome.	Arrian (hist.).	Aulus Gellius, "Noctes Atticae."
"Apocalypse of Peter," bef. 150.			Moeris (gramm.), (?).	M. Cornelius Fronto (rhet.), 100-175; "Panegyric," -140.
"Shepherd" of Hermas, c. 140.	Aristides, 138 after: Marcion in Rome, c. 140.		Atticus Herodes (rhet.), 104-180.	
NT canon formed by Marcion.	"Apology," 138-147.		Appian (hist.).	
Aristo of Pella, c. 145.		Valentinus in Rome, 140-160; letters, psalms, homilies.	Marcellus Sidetes.	
"Dialogue" of Aristo, 130-170.		Epiphanes. Marcionians.	Apollonius Dyscolus (gramm.), 117-161.	Justinus, "Epitome" (?).
2 ep. Clem. (?)	Justin Martyr, 145-162 fl.; <i>σύνταγμα</i> , etc.; "Apology," c. 153; "Dialogue with Trypho."	Marcion, "antitheses"; <i>ἀποστολικόν</i> .	Aetius: Placita (pseudo-Plut.)?	Salvius Julianus (lawyer), c. 150.
2 ep. Peter, bef. 170.		Herakleon, comment. on 4th gospel, etc., 160.	Cl. Ptolemaeus (astron. geogr.), 130-160.	Granius Licinianus (annal.).
Gk. apoc. Baruch, after 140 (Jewish?)		Ptolemaeus, <i>ὑπομνήματα</i> .	Hephaestio (gramm.).	
Acts of John (?)		Tatian, -175.	Celsus, <i>λόγος ἀληθής</i> (177-180).	Junius Rusticus.
Ep. of Smyrna church, after 155.	Tatian, <i>Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας</i> , ± 160; <i>Προβλημάτων βιβλίον</i> , etc.		Polyaenus of Macedonia (milit.).	Lucius Appuleius (phil.).
Acts of Peter (?)				

[Continued on p. 93.]

Eleutherus, bish. R. 174-189.	Persecution of Christians: Lyons and Vienna, c. 177. Irenaeus in Lyons.	Revolt of Cassius in Syria, 175-176.	Coptic version (?).
Commodus, 180- (31st Dec.) 192.		Death of Maximilla, 179.	
	Martyrdom of Apollonius, 180-185.	Scillitan martyrs in N. Africa, 17th July 180.	Rabbi Jehudah Nasi. End of Tannaim.
Conspiracy of Lucilla, 183.			Symmachus (?), transl. OT, ἱστορήματα.
Successes in Britain, by Ulpus Marcellus.		Origen born in Alexandria, c. 186.	
Birth of Caracalla, 188.	Victor, bish. R. 189-198. Muratorian fragment	on canon, ± 190.	
	Theodotus (Monarchian) in Rome.		Serapion, bish. Antioch 190 f.

continued.

Early Christian Literature.	Greek and Latin Literature.
<p>Clementine Homilies, c. 160. Gospel of Peter, 150-170. Acts of Pilate (pt. 1)? Hegesippus, ὑπομνήματα. Tatian's "Diatessaron," c. 170. Dionysius of Corinth, epp. "Acts of Paul" (150-180).</p>	<p>Aelius Aristides, "Panegyric on Rome," 160. Lucian. "Institutes" of Gaius, 161. "De morte Peregrini," c. 167.</p>
<p>Isidor (son of Basilides), ἡθικά, etc. Spread of Montanism. (Leucius Charinus?). Julius Cassianus, περὶ ἐγκυρτείας, κτλ. Philip of Gortyna. Melito of Sardis, πρὸς Ἀντωνίνον, etc., etc.</p>	<p>Hermogenes (rhet.), 161-180. Herodianus (gramm.). Antoninus Liberalis.</p>
<p>Apollinaris of Hierapolis, c. 172. Musanus. Minutius Felix, "Octavius," a dialogue. Modestus. Rhodon. Theophilus of Antioch, Πρὸς Αὐτολύν, etc. Athenagoras of Athens, Πρὸς Βεῖα περὶ χριστιανῶν; Περὶ ἀναστάσεως; "Πρὸς Ἕλληνας" (pseudo-Justin), 180-240.</p>	<p>Pausanias. "Meditations" of M. Aurelius.</p>
<p>Letter from Lyons and Vienna to East, c. 180. Acts of Carpos, etc. (?). ("Acts of Paul and Thekla"), 160-190.</p>	<p>Oppianus (ἀλιευτικά) c. 180. Aelian. Pollux. Alciphron, c. 180.</p>
<p>Gnostic Coptic book (Cod. Bruc.), 170-200. Bardesanes, born at Edessa, 154; "Hymns." Proclus (Montanist). Elxai.</p>	<p>Galen, 130-200. Numerius (pbil.) of Apameia.</p>
<p>Pantaenus, in Alexandria. "Acts of Apollonius." Clement of Alex., 155-215. Victor (Latin). Caius (Rome). Tertullian, 150-220.</p>	<p>Boethus (Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Πλάτωνα ἀπορουμένων). Maximus of Tyre. Phrynichus (gramm.). Sextus Empiricus (phil.), c. 190. Dio Cassius (hist.), 155- .</p>

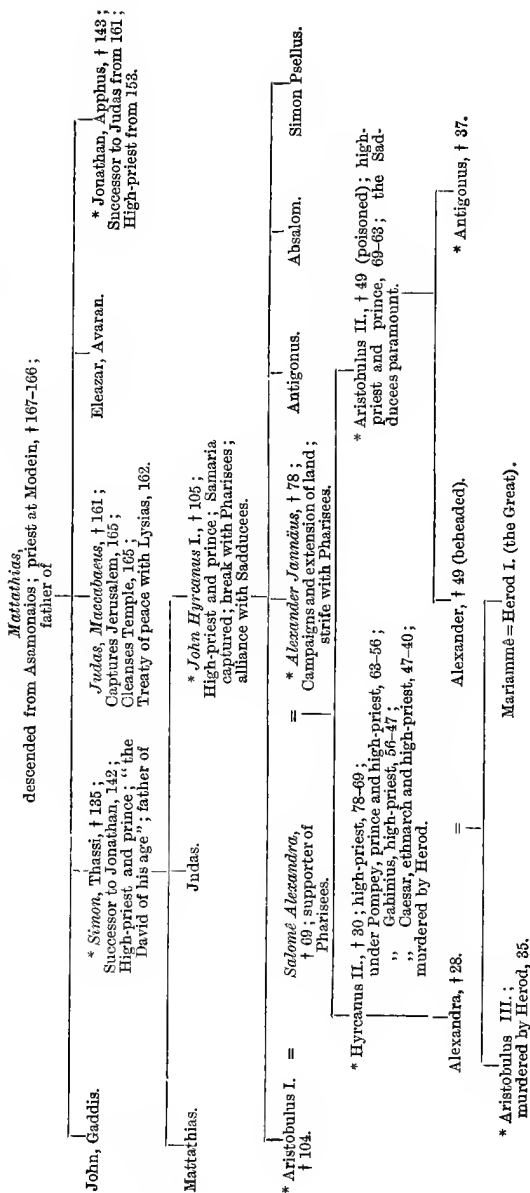
TABLE III_a.—Outline of the Asmonean and Herodian Dynasties.

The external splendour was much greater than the actual and true prosperity of Herod's era. . . The nation felt itself offended in its inmost sanctity by the reckless Hellenism which resulted in open breach of the law. Their mistrust and aversion to Herod were as tenacious and unyielding as their national faith, and the religious instinct of the nation broke through and severed all the delusive glitter which disguised the revolt from religion behind the profession of honour toward the national God which were made by the King, and even by the Emperor, his court and his statesmen. . . . The day of his death was, as he had foreseen, a Jewish festival: the kingdom came to an end, it was divided and shattered: his sons finally ate the bread of exile, his numerous family was extinct within a hundred years, and a curse lay upon the house of Herod.—**Keim**.

The guides of the people sought above all to inculcate the idea, that virtue consists in a fanatical attachment to fixed religious institutions. The persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes made this idea a passion, almost a frenzy. . . The reigns of the last Asmoneans, and that of Herod, saw the excitement grow still stronger. They were filled by an uninterrupted series of religious movements. Just as power became secularised, and passed into the hands of unbelievers, the Jewish people lived less and less for the earth, and became more and more absorbed by the strange fermentation which was working in their midst. The world, distracted by other spectacles, had little knowledge of what passed in this forgotten corner of the East.—**Renan**.

Während in der ganzen früheren Geschichte Israels der Grundsatz festgehalten wurde, dass die rechte Religiosität auch die äusseren, staatlichen Verhältnisse des Volkes am besten ordne, dringt jetzt das Bewusstsein davon durch, dass Beschäftigung mit dem Staatswesen der Frömmigkeit hinderlich sei. Diese Erkenntniss war die Frucht der Geschichte der hasmonäischen Fürsten. . . . Der Erfolg dieser ganzen Entwicklung ist nun für die Religionsgeschichte von hervorragender Bedeutung. Zunächst steigerte sich das religiöse Leben des Judentums unter dem Einflusse des Pharisaismus ganz gewaltig. Nicht nur das Rabbinentum der späteren Zeiten, auch Christentum und Essenismus haben ihre Pflanzstätte in diesem Boden. Weiterhin erkannte man die Unverträglichkeit des mosaischen Gesetzes mit den Anforderungen an einen lebenskräftigen Staat. Das müsste entweder zur religiösen Überwindung des Gesetzes oder zum Verzicht auf ein eigenes Staatleben führen. Der Gedanke einer Trennung von Religion und Staat wird hier also angebahnt.—**O. Holtzmann**.

TABLE IIIa.—Outline of the Asmonean and Herodian Dynasties.



* Marks the high-priests.

Antipater, governor of Idumæa, from 69; under Caesar, procurator of Judæa, from 47; poisoned, 43; father of

Phasaël, † 40.	<i>Herod I.</i> (the Great) [Mt. 2, Lk. 11, governor of Galilee, from 47; ally of Romans; King of Judæa (40), 37-4 = <i>Mariamme</i> (executed, 29).	Joseph, † 38.	Pheroras, † 5.	Salomé, † 10 A.D. c.
Phasaël = Salampso.				Berenicé ^a = Aristobulus.
Cypros = Agrippa I.			= <i>Mariamme</i> II.	= Cleopatra, etc.
Alexander, murdered by Herod, 7.	Aristobulus, murdered by Herod, 7. = <i>Berenicé</i> ^a .	Salampso = Phasaël.	Cypros.	Archelaus, ethnarch of Judæa and Samaria, 4 B.C.-6 A.D. [Mt. 22.]
Herod, king of Chalcis, 41-48 A.D. = <i>Berenicé</i> .	Agrippa I. = Cypros. [Ac. 12, "Herod the king,".] † 44 A.D.	Herodias = Philip Herod. [Mt. 14, Mk. 6, Lk. 319.] = Antipas	Philip Herod = Herodias. [Mt. 14:12, Mk. 6:17, Lk. 319.]	Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, 4 B.C.-38 A.D. [Mk. 6:14-27, Mt. 14:1-8, 6-9, Lk. 31-19, 83, 97, 9, 237-15, Ac. 4:27, 131.] = Herodias.
Agrippa II., King of Chalcis, 48-53, successor to Philip the tetrarch, 53 - 100. Last of dynasty. [Ac. 25, 26.]	Berenicé ^b , = Herod, King of Chalcis. [Ac. 25, 13, 23, 26 ³⁰ .] Paramour of Titus. = Polemon of Cilicia.	Drusilla = procurator Felix. [Ac. 24 ²⁴ .]		Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, etc., 4 B.C.-34 A.D. = Salomé ^b . [Lk. 31.]

NOTE.—Dark type marks the Asmonean line.

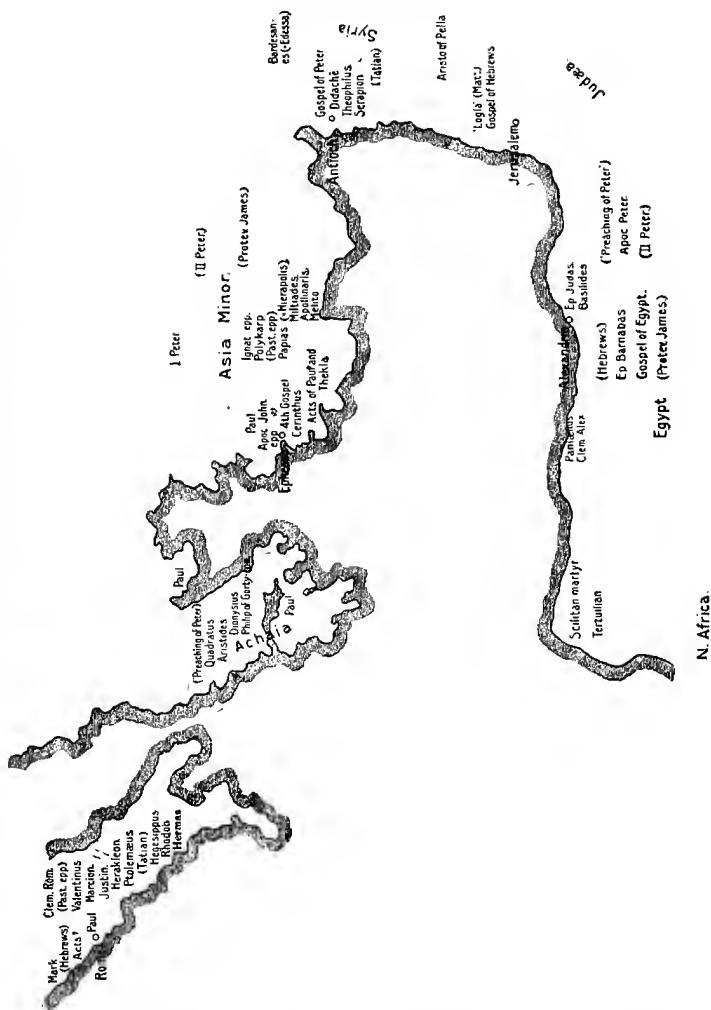
We possess a considerable number of writings and important fragments, and further important inferences here are rendered possible by the monuments of the following period, since the conditions of the first century were not changed in a moment, but were partly, at least, long preserved, especially in certain national churches and in remote communities. It is therefore important to note the locality in which a document originates, and the more so the earlier the document is. . . . In all probability Asia Minor, along with Rome, was the spiritual centre of Christendom from about 60-200 ; but we have but few means for describing how this centre was brought to bear on the circumference.—

Harnack.

Ist uns erst recht dunkel die Geographie der geistigen Geschichte. Es ist anzunehmen, dass die Entwicklung in Korinth und in Antiochia oder in Alexandria oder in der ägyptischen Landschaft bemerkenswerte Verschiedenheiten zeigte. Ebenso ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass bestimmte Anschauungen und Theologumena von einzelnen Punkten und Provinzen aus die übrige Kirche eroberten.—

Wrede.

TABLE IIIb.—A Historical Map of Early Christian Literature.



NOTE.—The *locus* of one or two documents is doubly given in brackets, where the evidence is indecisive, or where a two-fold locality is involved. The following authors and writings cannot be assigned to any definite topographical situation:—

Matthew,	Roman Symbol,	Agrippa Castor.
Luke,	Ep. Diognet.,	Athenagoras.
James,	2 Clem.,	Minntius Felix.

For the dates and ecclesiastical positions of the writings and writers in this rough outline, consult Table III.

Die Spuren schulmässiger Pflege des Gemeingutes, welche die neutestamentlichen Schriften aufwiesen, versetzen uns in eine Zeit des Werdens. Ihres Heilbesitzes froh, ihrer Kraft sicher, der Übereinstimmung in den Grundsätzen sich bewusst, uneingeschränkt durch äussere Autorität suchten die Bericht^{er} und Briefen nach einem adäquaten Ausdrucke für die Wahrheit, welche sie als das Licht der Welt bringen. Die Bedingungen für eine solche Literatur sind allein in den Anfängen einer epochmachenden religiösen Bewegung gegeben. Ihre Erzeugnisse stehen wie Stämme neben einander, welche aus demselben Boden wachsen und ihre Zweige miteinander verschlingen.—

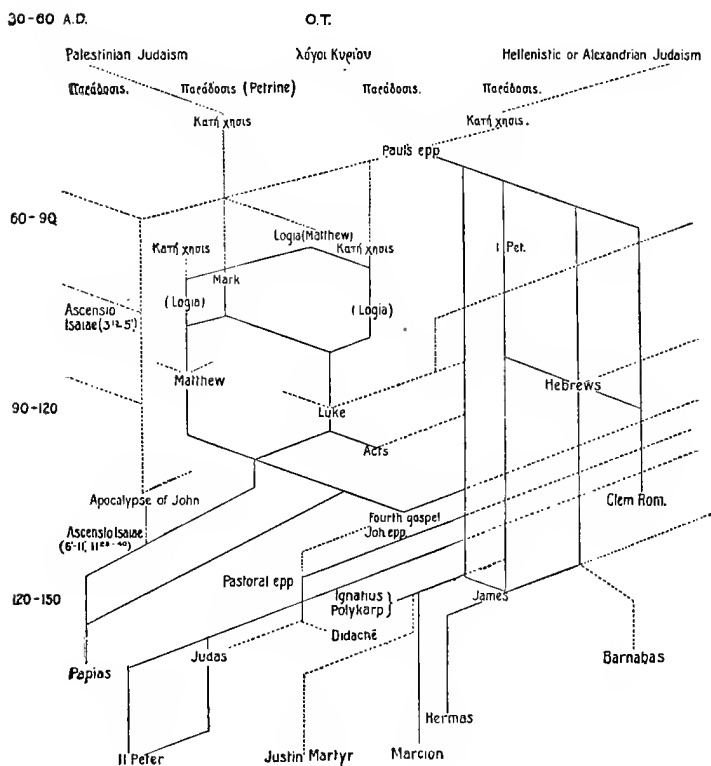
Heinrici.

Die erhabensten Gedanken werden uns in ihrer ganzen Grösse erst recht deutlich, wenn wir sie in ihrem geschichtlichen Zusammenhang mit weniger erhabenen vergleichen können, wenn wir sie von weniger grossen sich abheben sehen. So erst wird das wirkliche Verständniss für den Reichthum erworben, der in manchen Schriften des Neuen Testaments aufgespeichert ist, und somit auch für den oft gerühmten "Takt der Kirche" bei der Auswahl.—**Krüger.**

In order to perceive that the Pauline gospel is not identical with the original gospel, and much less with any later doctrine of faith, one requires such historical judgment and such honest determination not to be led astray in the investigation by the canon of the New Testament, that no change in the prevailing ideas can be expected for long years to come. What I refer to here is the imminent danger of explaining one writing by the standard of another, and so creating an artificial unity. . . . Strictly speaking, the opinion that the New Testament in its whole extent contains a unique literature is not tenable.—**Harnack.**

Die neutestamentlichen Schriften kommen nicht als kanonische, sondern einfach als urchristliche Schriften in Betracht. Dann verlangt offenbar das geschichtliche Interesse, alles das aus der Gesamtheit der urchristlichen Schriften zusammen zu betrachten, was geschichtlich zusammengehört. Die Grenze für den Stoff der Disziplin ist da zu setzen, wo ein wirklicher Einschnitt in der Litteratur bemerkbar wird. Der Gesichtspunkt des religiösen Wertes ist dafür aber natürlich nicht massgebend. Die Frage ist lediglich, welche Schriften den Anschauungen und Gedanken nach überwiegend verwandt sind, oder von wo an die Gedanken ein merklich neues Gepräge zeigen?—**Wrede.**

TABLE V.—A Diagram and Genealogy of Early Christian Literature.



Wir müssen zufrieden sein, wenn wir für jedes einzelne NTliche Buch ungefähr angeben können, wann und für wen es geschrieben ist, ob der Verfasser unter eigenem oder fremdem Namen schreibt, was sein Hauptinteresse war und wie es ihm gelungen ist, dies zum Ausdruck zu bringen, ob und inwieweit er andere Quellen, schriftliche Vorlagen benutzt hat, und ob seine Schrift unentstellt resp. unüberarbeitet auf uns gekommen ist. Das sind doch nur Materialien für eine Geschichte, des NT's, nicht wirklich eine Geschichte.—
Jülicher.

TABLE VI.—The Sources of the NT Literature.

A.D. 30-45	Fragments of Caligula-apocalypse, preserved in Apoc. John (espec. ch. 13 = 40 A.D. \pm). (?)	
45-60	The correspondence of Paul : Thess. epp. 1 (2?). Galat. ep. 1 Cor. ep. Intermediate letter. 2 Cor. ep. Rom. ep. Note to Titus (Tit 3 ¹² , 13). Note to Ephesus. Note to Tim. (2 Ti 4 ¹³⁻¹⁵ , 21-22a). Coloss. ep. Philemon. [Ephes.] ep. (?) Philipp. ep. Note to Tim. (2 Ti 1 ¹⁵⁻¹⁸ , 4 ⁶⁻¹² , 18, 19.)	lost letters of Paul (2 Th 3 ¹⁷). (?) from Thess. to Paul. (?) to Corinth (1 Co 5 ⁹). from Corinth to Paul (1 Co 7 ¹). Germes of evangelic composition. Notes of sayings and deeds of Jesus begin to be collected in Palestinian communities.
60-75	After 60, "We"—journal (fragments preserved in Acts). The epistle of 1 Peter (?). 2 Thess. 2 ¹⁻¹² (?). Apocalyptic fragments preserved in Apoc. John (chaps. 11, 12?). Small apocalypse, preserved in Mk 13, Mt 24, Lk 21. Interpolations: (?) 1 Th 2 ^{16b} , Ro 11 ⁹ , 10, etc. Gospel of Mark (1-16 ⁸). Apoc 17 (?). Gospel of Matthew (substantially). "Hebrews." Gospel of Luke (substantially).	to Laodicea (Co 4 ¹⁶). Jewish Christian sources (preserved in Luke). from Philippi to Paul (?) to Philippi (Phil 3 ¹). Written sources for history of primitive community exist (used in Ac 1-16). (??) Beginning of activity in collecting materials for, and in composition of, evangelic manuals. The "Logia" of Matthew, before 70. The Ur - Marcus, composed from Petrine narratives.
75-90		numerous lost gospels (Lk 1 ¹).
90-105	Acts of the Apostles. Apocalypse of John (in present form). Fourth gospel (before 115).	Gospel of Hebrews, before 100.

TABLE VI.—*Continued.*

A.D. 105-120	Appendix to fourth gospel (ch. 21). 1 epistle [of John].	
	2-3 epp. John the presbyter. 2 Tim. (in present form). Titus (in present form).	A note of John the presbyter (3 Jo 9).
	1 Tim. (substantially). An evangelic fragment (Mk 16 ⁹⁻²⁰).	Final editing of synoptic gospels (in Asia Minor?). Composition or incorporation of fragments or interpolations.
120-135	Epist. James.	
	Epist. Judas (before 130).	Incorporation of minor glosses and additions in epp. noted in Appendix (<i>q.v.</i>).
135-150		
	2 Peter (after 150).	Collection and editing of NT scriptures.

TABLE VII.

Four Catalogues : Marcion.

Murat. (Roman church).

Apost. Can. (Eastern ?).

Apost. Constit. (Eastern ?).

TABLE VII.

THE CANON OF MARCION, c. 150 A.D.	THE MURATORIAN CANON, before 200 A.D.	CATALOGUE IN APOST. CAN. LXXXV. (LXXXVI): (sixth cent.?)	CATALOGUE IN APOST. CONST. (ii. 57): (before the fourth century).
(Epiphani. <i>Haer.</i> xlii. 9: Tertull. <i>adv. Marc.</i> v.) Τὸ εὐαγγέλιον [? Luke]	Gospels: .. (Mark) Luke John	Gospels: Matt. Mark Luke John	Acts Pauline epp. Gospels ² : Matthew John
Τὰ ἀποστολικά Galat 1 Co 2 Co Rom 1 Thess 2 Thess Ephes [? = Laodic.] Col Philemon ¹ Philipp	Acts Pauline epp.: .. cum ipse beatus ap- ostolus Paulus, sequens prodecessoris sui Ioh- annis ordinem, non nisi nominatim 7 ecclesiis scribat ordine tali: .. pro affectu et dilec- tione. Catholic epp.: ? Wisdom of Solomon. Apocalypse of John: of Peter (quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt). Hermas.	Pauline epp. (14) Catholic epp.: 1 and 2 Peter 1, 2, 3 John James Jud Clement. epp. 1 and 2. <i>καὶ δι' Διακόνων</i> Acts. Τὰ ἄλλα δὲ, περὶ κανόνων διτεταγμένα ὑμῖν παρ' ἡμῶν, ὡς πιστεύετε.	Luke { ἀδιούρητοι Παύλου καταλόγοις Mark { κατέλαβον ὑμῖν L. καὶ M.

¹ Acc. to Tertullian; Philipp.
Philemon.² This order of gospels in Codex Bezae, the Gothic version (Corssen, *TU*, xv. i. p. 65), and some minuscules. Cp. also pseudo-August. "Speculum."

TABLE VIII.

Versions :

Peshitto.

„ (Karkaph.).

Egyptian (Memph.).

Armenian (an).

TABLE VIII.

THE SYRIAN CANON (PESHITO).	THE KARKAPHENSAN RECENSION OF THE PESHITO.	THE EGYPTIAN (MEMPHITE).	ARMENIAN : OLDEST VENET. MS. c. 1220 A.D.
<p>Gospels : Matt Mark Luke John Luke]</p> <p>[<i>Cur. Syr.</i> Matt Mark John Luke]</p> <p>Acts</p> <p>Catholic epp. : James 1 Peter 1 John</p> <p>Pauline epp. (14)</p> <p>Gospels : Matt Mark Luke John</p> <p>Pauline epp. (14)</p>	<p>{ Acts</p> <p>{ Catholic epp. : James 1 Peter 1 John</p> <p>Pauline epp. (14)</p> <p>Gospels : Matt Mark Luke John</p>	<p>Gospels 2 : Matt Mark Luke John</p> <p>Pauline epp. (14) : "Hebr." betw. 2 Thess and 1 Tim.</p> <p>Catholic epp.</p> <p>Acts</p>	<p>Gospels</p> <p>Acts</p> <p>Catholic epp.</p> <p>Apocalypse</p> <p>Pauline epp. (14) : ep. Corinth. to Paul.</p>

1 Junilius (Afric.) c. 550 A.D.

"1 Pet
1 Jo"

Or in another MS., Evv.

Epp. Paul

Acts

Epp. Cath.

² Jo, Mt, Mk, Lk, was also an Egyptian order of the gospels in Origen's time (Zahn, *GK*, ii. pp. 371 f., 1014 f.). It occurs in an Armenian document representing a curious canon of the eleventh century, which continues :

Acts

Cath. epp. : Jas
Pet 1, 2,
Jo 1-3.

Jud

Paul. epp. : Thess 1, 2,
Cor 1-3.

Paul. epp. : Rom

Heb

1 Tim, Tit

Gal

Philim

Col

2 Tim.

TABLE IX.

MSS Catalogues :	4th cent.	Codex Sinaiticus	α.	
	5th cent.	„ Alexand.	A.	Eastern Church.
	4th cent.	„ Vaticanus.	B.	
	6th cent.	„ Claromont.		West. Church.
	4th cent.	„ Can. Mommsen.	„ „	

TABLE IX.

Codex Sinaiticus.	Codex Alexandrinus.	Cod. Vatic. (as in Cod. Alex.)	Codex Claromontanus. (Stichometry intercalated betw. Philin and Heb)	Canon Mommsen. (indiculum novi testamenti) c. 360 A.D.
<p>Gospels: Matt Mark Luke John</p> <p>Pauline epp. (14): Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Eph Philipp Col 1 Th, 2 Th Heb 1 Tim, 2 Tim Titus Philemon</p> <p>Acts</p> <p>Catholic epp.: James Peter 1, 2 John 1-3 Jud</p> <p>Pauline epp. (14): Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Eph Philipp Col 1 Th, 2 Th Heb 1 Tim, 2 Tim Titus Philemon</p> <p>Apocalypse: Barnabas Hermas (pt.)</p>	<p>Gospels: Matt Mark Luke John</p> <p>Acts</p> <p>Catholic epp.: James Peter 1, 2 John 1-3 Jud</p> <p>Pauline epp. (14): Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Eph Philipp Col 1 Th, 2 Th Heb 1 Tim, 2 Tim Titus Philemon</p> <p>Apocalypse: Clem. epp. 1, 2 Psalt. Solom.</p>	<p>...</p> <p>...</p> <p>...</p> <p>...</p>	<p>Gospels: Matt John Mark Luke</p> <p>Pauline epp.: Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Eph 1 Tim, 2 Tim Tit</p> <p>Catholic epp.: 1 Pet, 2 Pet James John 1-3 Jud</p> <p>* Barnabas¹ Apocalypse Acts: Hermas¹ Acts of Paul¹ Apoc. of Peter¹</p> <p>¹ Added by a later hand (* = Hebrews?).</p>	<p>Gospels²: Matt Mark John Luke</p> <p>Pauline epp. (13)</p> <p>Acts</p> <p>Apocalypse</p> <p>Catholic epp. Jo 1-3 (? James) "una sola." Pet 1, 2 (? Jud) "una sola."</p>
			<p>² This order occurs also in the Arabian Masudi (Nestle).</p>	

TABLE X.

Eastern Church : Council of Laodicea :

Asia Min. :	Greg. Naz.
Syria :	Chrysost.
Palestine :	Euseb.
„	Cyril.
„	Epiph.
Alexandria :	Athanas.
Constant. :	Leont.
„	Niceph.

TABLE X.

CANON 59 : COUNCIL OF LAODICEA, c. 360 A.D.	GREG. NAZIANZ., 325-390 A.D.	CHRYSTOSTOM, † 407 A.D.	EUSEBIUS, † 340 A.D.	CYRILL, † 386 A.D.
		ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῆς καινῆς βιβλία.		
Gospels— Matt Mark Luke John	Gospels— Matt Mark Luke John (οὐρανοφοίτης)	Pauline epp. (14)	Gospels	Gospels
Acts	Acts (τῶν σοφῶν ἀποστ.)	Gospels— John Matt Luke Mark	Acts	Acts
Catholic epp.— James Peter 1, 2 John 1-3 Jud	Pauline epp. (14) Catholic epp. 1— James Peter 1, 2 John 1-3 Jud	Acts Catholic epp.— James 1 Peter 1 John	Pauline epp. (14) Catholic epp. 1— James Peter 1, 2 John 1-3 Jud	Catholic epp.— James Peter 1, 2 John 1-3 Jud
Pauline epp. (14)— Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Eph Philip Col Thess 1, 2 Heb Tim 1, 2 Tit Philemon — So Joan. Damas- cen. († 750 A.D.) adding at the close. Apost. Canon.	πάσας ἔχεις. εἰ τις δὲ τούτων ἐκτός οὐκ ἐν γνησίῳς.		(Apocalypse)	Pauline epp. (14) (ἐπισφράγισμα δὲ τῶν πάντων, καὶ μαθητῶν τὸ τίλ- ευταῖον.) Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάν- τα ἔξω κείσθαι ἐν δευτέρῳ.
	¹ Amphilochius (of Ikonium): καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν τινὲς μὲν ἑπτὰ φασίν, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς μόνας χρῆναι διέσεσθαι. Τὴν δ' Ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν Ἰωάννου πάλιν τινὲς μὲν ἐγκρίνουσιν, οἱ πλε- ῖους δὲ γε νόθον λέγουσιν.		¹ Among the ἀντιλεγόμενα, { James γινώριμα δὲ τοῖς { 2 Peter πολλοῖς. { 2-3 John Jud	

TABLE X.

EPIPHANIUS, † 403 A.D.	ATHANASIUS, † 373 A.D.	LEONTIUS, † 620 A.D.	NICEPHORUS : IN HIS STICHOMETRY, † 828 A.D.
	(Ταῦτα πηγαί τοῦ σατηρίου.)		
Gospels	Gospels	Gospels	Gospels
Pauline epp. (14)	Acts	Acts	Acts
Acts	Catholic epp. ---	Catholic epp. —	Pauline epp. (14)
Catholic epp. — James Peter 1, 2 John 1-3 Jud	James Peter 1, 2 John 1-3 Jud	James Peter 1, 2 John 1-3 Jud	Catholic epp.
Apocalypse	Pauline epp. (14)	Pauline epp. (14)	καὶ ὅσαι τῆς νέας ἁγίας. λέγονται.
Wisd. Solom. Ecclus. καὶ πάσαις ἀπλῶς γρα- φαῖς θείαις . . .	Apocalypse ἔστι καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέ- ρων ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον.	Apocalypse Ταῦτα ἐστὶ τὰ κανον- ιζόμενα βιβλία ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.	{ Apocalypse of John. Apoc. Pet. Barnabas. Gospel of He- brews.
Wisd. Solom. Ecclus. Esther, Judith, Tobit. Didachē. Hermas.	Wisd. Solom. Ecclus. Esther, Judith, Tobit. Didachē. Hermas.	So Anastasius Sinaita of Antioch († 599); but omitting Apocalypse.	{ περίοδος Πέτρου. „ Ἰωάννου. „ Θωμᾶ. Gospel of Thomas. Didachē. Clem. epp. 1-2. Ignat. Poly- karp. Hermas.

TABLE XI.—Catalogues of the Western Church.

COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE, 397 A.D.	AUGUSTINE, † 430 A.D.	JEROME, † 420 A.D.	INNOCENT'S RESCRIPT, 405 A.D.	GELASIUS: A DECREE, 492-496 A.D.	CASSIODORUS, † 565 A.D.
<p>Gospels: Matt Mark Luke John</p> <p>Acts</p> <p>Pauline epp. (13): one to the Hebrews. (eiusdem ad Hebræos Catholic epp.: [una] Peter 1, 2 John 1-3 Jud (Jas) Jas (Jud)</p> <p>Apocalypse (a patribus ista accepti- mus in ecclesia legenda).</p> <p>Libeat autem legi pas- siones martyrum cum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur.</p>	<p>Gospels</p> <p>Pauline epp. (14): Rom 1 Cor, 2 Cor Gal Ephes Philip 1 Thess, 2 Thess Col 1 Tim, 2 Tim Tit Philem (Hebrews)</p> <p>Catholic epp.: Peter 1, 2 Jo 1-3 Jud James</p> <p>Acts Apocalypse</p> <p>Acts Apocalypse ("Immer zeigt sich, dass Act und Cath inniger mit einander als mit Paulus zu- sammenhängen"— Jülicher).</p>	<p>Gospels (quadriga Domini et verum Cherubim)</p> <p>Pauline epp.: To seven churches (Hebrews) Tim 1-2 Tit Philem</p> <p>Acts Catholic epp. (tam mysticas quam succinctas et breves pariter et longas): James Peter 1, 2 Jo 1-3 Jud</p> <p>Apocalypse (tothabetsacra- menta quam verba).</p> <p>Similarly Rufinus of Aquil- eia († 410 A.D.)</p> <p>Gospels Acts Pauline epp. (14) Catholic epp.: Peter 1, 2 James Jud Jo 1-3</p> <p>Apocalypse</p>	<p>Gospels</p> <p>Pauline epp. (14)</p> <p>Catholic epp.: Jo 1-3 Peter 1, 2 Jud James</p> <p>Acts</p> <p>Apocalypse</p> <p>Cetera autem . . non solum repudianda ver- um etiam noveris esse damnanda.</p>	<p>(<i>Decretum de libris recipiendis et non re- cipiendis</i>) Gospels</p> <p>Acts</p> <p>Pauline epp. (14)</p> <p>Apocalypse</p> <p>Catholic epp.: James Peter 1, 2 Jo 1-3 Jud (Zelot)</p> <p>Item ordo Scripturar- um NT, quem Sancta Catholica Romana sus- cipit et veneratur ecclesia.</p>	<p>(<i>de Instit. Div. Lit. xiv.</i>) "secundum antiquam translationem": Gospels</p> <p>Acts</p> <p>Catholic epp.: Peter 1-2 James Jo 1 (ad Parthos)</p> <p>Pauline epp.: Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Philip Eph Col Heb 1 Thess, 2 Thess Tim 1, 2 Tit Philemon</p> <p>Apocalypse</p>

TABLE XII.—Some Later Catalogues.

ISIDORUS OF SPAIN, † 636 A.D.	ALFRED (ANGLO-SAXON), † 1006 A.D.	JOHN OF SALISBURY (TWELFTH CENTURY).	HUGO DE S. VICTORE (TWELFTH CENTURY).	COUNCIL OF TRENT, 1546 A.D.	LUTHER, † 1546.
<p>"Quicquid extra hos fuerit inter hæc sacra et divina nullatenus recipiendum."</p> <p>Gospels : Matt Mark Luke John</p> <p>Pauline epp. (14) : Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Eph Philip</p> <p>1 Thess, 2 Thess Col 1 Tim, 2 Tim Tit Philemon Hebrews</p> <p>Catholic epp. : James Pet 1, 2 Jo 1-3 Jud</p> <p>Acts Apocalypse</p>	<p>Gospels</p> <p>Catholic epp. : Peter 1, 2 James Jo 1-3 Jud</p> <p>Pauline epp. (15) : Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Eph Philip Col 1 Thess, 2 Thess Hebrews Tit Philemon Laodiceans</p> <p>Acts Apocalypse</p>	<p>"Celobris apud ecclesiam et indubitata traditio."</p> <p>Gospels</p> <p>Pauline epp. (15) including — Laodiceans (quintissima est illa quæ ecclesiæ Laodicensium scribitur, et licet, ut ait Hieronymus, ab omnibus explodatur, tamen ab apostolo scripta est).</p> <p>Catholic epp.</p> <p>Acts Apocalypse</p>	<p>Gospels</p> <p>Acts Pauline epp. : (14) Catholic epp.</p> <p>Apocalypse</p> <p>Si quis autem libros ipsos integros, cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non suscepit ; et traditiones prædictas sciens et prudens contempserit ; anathema sit.</p>	<p>Gospels</p> <p>Acts Pauline epp. : Rom 1 Co, 2 Co Gal Eph Philip Col 1 Thess, 2 Thess 1 Tim, 2 Tim Tit Philemon Peter 1, 2 Jo 1-3 (Heb James Jud Apoc)</p>	

TEXT AND NOTES

Εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς βιβλοῖς ἑτέραν ἔχουσι τάξιν, θαυμαστὸν οὐδεν· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ προφῆται οἱ δώδεκα οὐκ ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλοις ὄντες κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, ἀλλὰ πολλὸν διεστηκότες ἀλλήλων, ἐν τῇ τῶν βιβλίων τάξει ἐφεξῆς εἰσι κείμενοι. . . . ὅμως σνηημένοι πᾶσιν εἰσιν ἐκείνοις, ὧν τοσοῦτον τῷ χρόνῳ διεστήκασιν.

Μηδεὶς δὲ πάρεργον τοῦτον ἡγείσθω τὸν πόνον, μηδὲ περιεργίας περιττῆς τὴν τοιαύτην ἔρευναν· συντελεῖ γὰρ ἡμῖν πρὸς τὰ ζητούμενα οὐ μικρὸν ὁ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν χρόνος.—**Chrysostom.**

Multo autem dignior consideratu est ordo chronologicus. Eo constituto, et historia apostolica et ipsae epistolae mutnam sibi lucem afferunt: et congruentia noëmatum locutionumque in epistolis uno tempore super eodem rerum statu scriptis cernitur: et incrementum apostoli spirituale cognoscitur.—**Bengel.**

If each Letter look dim, and have little light, after all study;—yet let the Historical reader reflect, such light as it has cannot be disputed at all. . . . The Letter hangs there in the dark abysses of the Past: if like a star almost extinct, yet like a real star; fixed; about which there is no cavilling possible. That autograph Letter, it was once all luminous as a burning beacon, every word of it a live coal, in its time; it was once a piece of the general fire and light of Human Life, that Letter! Neither is it yet entirely extinct: well read, there is still in it light enough to exhibit its own *self*; nay, to diffuse a faint authentic twilight some distance round it. By degrees the combined small twilights may produce a kind of general feeble twilight, rendering the Past credible! Such is the effect of contemporary letters always.—**Carlyle.**

THE LETTERS OF PAUL

GENERAL NOTE

A YEAR or two after the death of Jesus, one of the brilliant leaders in the Jewish party of the Pharisees suddenly (*κατελήμφθη ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ*) became a Christian. Like John Knox, for the earlier part of his life Paul is largely a mystery, and even after his change into the Christian faith a serious gap occurs, unfilled by many incidents. But during the closing decade of his life he had a brilliant crowded career which has left copious and distinct traces of its effectiveness. The moral and spiritual change in Paul turned out to be a crisis for the Christian society as well as for himself.¹ To many minds and hearts in that age he proved a veritable priest of the wonder and bloom of the Christian faith. But even apart from the new sweep given to the Christian spirit by his thought and practical energies,² his preaching brought to a head the conflict which had been implied in previous discussions, especially in the matter of Stephen's attitude, between the universalism of the Christian principle and the time-honoured privileges of the *λαός*, the *νόμος*, and the *ἅγιος τόπος* (Ac 21²⁸). His activity represents the expansion of the new faith into its legitimate sphere and destined vocation. It implied from the outset the enterprise of reaching the Gentiles, an expansion which came to be shaped constructively in controversy, first with Judaic principles, then, at a later period, with Hellenic speculation. These phases, especially the former, come out in Paul's letters, and give them a large part of their historic significance. In the mosaics of the Arian baptistery at Ravenna Paul is represented beside the throne of Jesus carrying in his hand two rolls of parchment; and from the point of view of the NT literature this gives an exact symbol of his position. Others may have written, but if so their writings perished. Several of Paul's own letters have been also lost. But even with those nine or ten which are still extant, graphic, pregnant, and suggestive, he remains the chief literary witness to a remarkable side of that church life in which he played himself so notable a part. He threw himself upon his age with an energy of insight and practical service which—the evidence amply justifies us in believing—was not equalled, as it was hardly approached by any one of the original disciples or of their immediate successors. In relation to the Christian faith, he performed two signal services: reflection and expression.³ By means of his correspondence,

¹ "Here, if at any point in history, we may believe that the Spirit of the World, if the world has a spirit, was at work" (Goldwin Smith).

² Note an incidental proof of his immediate impressiveness and attraction (Ac 9²⁵, *οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ*), unless the title be a prolepsis.

³ "The upshot of his meditation was a body of doctrine which for subtlety, penetration, harmony, and completeness, is unsurpassed in the history of religious

it is feasible to construct not only an outline of his characteristic personality, but also a sketch of the general situation within many of the early Christian societies. Thanks to those missives which have survived, more materials exist for gaining some inner knowledge of the Christian history between 45 and 60, than for almost any other period within the first century. These years at least are vocal. To step after step within the whole of that period Paul is a contemporary witness in the same exact and historical sense as (say) Andokides to the crisis of 415-390 B.C. in Athens, Philo to the sufferings of the Jews under Sejanus and Caligula, or Procopius to the African campaigns of Belisarius. His letters indeed are transcripts of an individual mind. The "beautiful human Paul," whom Steck so strangely misses outside¹ the pages of "Acts," can be recognised most distinctly in his epistles. At the same time, the Pauline letters have an even wider and more representative value. In many a passage they reflect the common ideas and emotions that surged round himself and other members of the Christian communities in that age under the pressure exerted by its civil and religious environment. Paul stood in the mid-current of his time. He has gathered up in himself and expressed not merely the activity and far-reaching views which characterised the best Christianity among his contemporaries, but also its two features of supreme interest and significance—the transition of Judaism into or away from Christianity, and the earliest attempts of the new faith to define its attitude towards the responsibilities and destinies involved in a mature existence. It is this representative element that brings the Pauline letters irresistibly to the mind as we read the vaster correspondence of a man like Bernard in the twelfth century. Lying at opposite poles of conviction and interest, both mirror as they helped originally to move, in its personal and social aspects, a religious force which spread with flooding waves over contemporary life; both also are the revelation of a personal ascendancy quite unique in its range, and of a strangely isolated influence over these communities and individuals who were drawn within the circle of its passionate imperious devotion, to be swayed and served.

A scheme of Paul's life, with his work and works, lies outside the scope of these pages. At this point there is only need and room for an outline of the author's career that may serve as a setting for his writings.

To conceive of literary composition as anything like a predominating interest, and thus to underestimate the absorbing claims of his practical mission, would be as erroneous in a study of Paul as in an appreciation, for example, of Ezekiel's career among the Jews in Babylon. But there are two noticeable features upon the surface of his biography. (a) Paul's literary productions—those at least which have come down to us—were evidently occasional. Within the closing decade of his life they

speculation. It bears the same relation to dogmatic Christianity that Platonism does to Greek philosophy, being the source to which Christianity has had to return for refreshment and renewal at every crisis of her history. It proceeds on the assumption that if Christianity is to be fitted for universal acceptance, it must rely on something more than the mere testimony of eye-witnesses, or the demonstrations of fulfilled prophecy—or even of such visions as he himself had had" (J. B. Crozier, *Hist. Intell. Developm.*, pp. 340, 341). (Havet, "Je ne dirai pas: Voilà la théologie de Paul. Je dirai: Voilà la théologie!") Cp. also Wrede, *Ueber Aufgabe u. Methode d. sogen. NT Th.* (1897), p. 64f.

¹ On the contrast between the Paul of Acts and the Paul of the epistles, see Dr. Cone, *Paul the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher*, ch. vii., where most of the chief points are thrown into sharp relief.

spring up to meet the moment's need, although they presuppose wide thought and labour, and are the outcome of a lengthy deep experience,

A.D. c. 30 (31)	Conversion of Paul.	
31-34	Three years in Arabia : Damascus.	
34	Visit to Jerusalem (Gal 1 ¹⁸ =Ac 9 ^{26f.} ?).	
34-48	Fourteen years in Syria and Cilicia (Gal 1 ²¹ -2 ¹)—with Barnabas in Syrian Antioch—including also FIRST TOUR: with Barnabas through Cyprus and S.E. Asia Minor (Ac 13 ⁴ -14 ²⁶).	
49	Visit to Jerusalem : Apostolic Council (Gal 2 ¹ =Ac 14 ²⁷ -15 ³⁵).	
49-52	SECOND TOUR: with Silas through S.E. Asia Minor and Galatia—westward to Macedonia, Athens (two years), Corinth, T ^{1.2} (Ac 15 ³⁶ -18 ²²). Return to Syrian Antioch : Dispute with Peter (Gal 2 ¹¹⁻²¹).	T. 1.2=1 and 2 epp. to Thessalonika.
52-56	THIRD TOUR: through Galatia and Phrygian highlands—Ephesus, G C ¹ (two years at least), I—across to and through Macedonia, C ² , Tt ⁿ , Achaia (Illyricum)—Corinth, R e ⁿ (three months)—return through Macedonia—voyage by Troas and Miletus to Tyre (Ac 19 ¹ 21 ³).	G=ep. to Galatia. I=Intermed. Letter. C ^{1.2} =I. and II. epp. to Corinth. Tt ⁿ =note to Titus (Tit 3 ^{12. 13}). R=ep. to Rome. e ⁿ =note to Ephesus (in Ro 16). T ⁿ =note to Timotheus (2 Ti 4 ^{13-15. 21-22a}).
56-58	Last visit to Jerusalem: arrest and imprisonment for two years in Caesarea (Ac 21 ⁴ -26 ³²), T ⁿ .	
59-62	Voyage to Rome—imprisonment there for two years (Ac 27 ¹ -28 ³¹), C ¹ P ^m E Ph [T ⁿ].	C ¹ =ep. to Colosse. P ^m =note to Philemon. E=ep. [to Ephesus]. Ph=ep. to Philippi. T ⁿ =note to Timotheus (2 Ti 1 ¹⁶⁻¹⁸ 4 ^{6-12. 16-19}).

even in their most unpremeditated sallies. His writings were not the true events of his life, nor were they intended to present his ordinary teaching and average ideas. Like the rest of the apostles, he had a mission first and foremost to teach and preach among the early Christian communities. But—

“As mistakes arose or discords fell,
Or bold seducers taught them to rebel,

As charity grew cold or faction hot,
 Or long neglect their lessons had forgot,
 For all their wants they wisely did provide,
 And preaching by Epistles was supplied:
 So great physicians cannot all attend,
 But some they visit and to some they send.
 Yet all those letters were not writ to all,
 Nor first intended but occasional—
 Their absent sermons.”¹

(b) Further, he did not outlive himself as a writer. His last letter bears no evidence of slackened force or wavering insight. We shut up the story of his days with the impression of a mental and religious fulness which, so far from being on the point of degenerating, seems rather to combine the riper experience and grasp of age with something of a youth's vigour. Paul dies at his work, and he dies in the increasing momentum of his power. With all respect to its authors, the attempt to explain the style of Tim-Tit by discovering throughout these writings evidence of Paul the old man's looser, less sustained, less vigorous intellect,² must be pronounced little better than a myth of desperate and needless conservatism. It is not quite on a par with the similar attempt to explain the characteristics of 2 Peter from as imaginary a senility; but it scarcely seems to merit any more serious consideration. The difference between Galatians and Col-Philippians is the difference between the earlier and the later styles of a man for whom wider interests and maturer conceptions have arisen, necessitating fresh expressions. The difference, again, between Col-Philippians and the “pastorals” is almost the difference between one world and another; and the element of undoubted “Paulinism” in the latter (both in idea and phrase) only serves to emphasise their perfectly new setting and development. Besides, the interval in the latter case—three years at the outside—would not be adequate to account for so complete an alteration, especially in a style like that of Paul, which, for all its flexibility, had become well marked and characteristic. Neither the length nor the contents of the period 60–64 (64–67) are at all sufficient to meet the demands made by this hypothesis of senility. It is unnecessary and unworthy. The apostle disappears from the NT with a message of strenuous personal confidence (Ph 4¹⁹ 23) which contains implicitly a note of quiet triumph³: ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίρας οἰκίας. The words have a ring of satisfaction. His hope had been realised. His work had carried the church into the heart of the empire, and the consciousness that this aim had been successfully achieved brought him a strange new joy upon the very edge of death.

The critical scheme of his epistles involves two questions, relating to their order and their dates.

A. Their Order.

The consecutive arrangement of the letters, as printed in this edition, is one which commands the support of a consensus of excellent author-

¹ Dryden in *The Hind and the Panther*, part ii.

² Dr. Stalker's happy comparison of Paul's style (*Life of St. Paul*, p. 89) to that of Cromwell, in point of rugged effectiveness and a certain formless originality, applies pre-eminently to the Galatian, Corinthian, and Philippian letters. They were appeals struck out of crises, words for an emergency.

³ Cp. the close of his biography by the author of Acts, ch. 28³⁰ 31. The correct interpretation of ἐν ἡλῶ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ (Ph 1¹³) as the supreme court of judicial authorities is given by Mommsen, *SBBA* (1895), p. 498 f.

ities. A different order, however, has often been adopted both in the earlier and in the later letters, for which a case can be reasonably stated. When reduced to its simplest terms,¹ the whole question at issue turns upon the relative position of (I) "Galatians" in the earlier, and (II) "Philippians" in the later period.

I. The relative date of Galatians depends upon two questions—(a) Did the Galatians addressed belong to the territory of northern Galatia, a district inhabited by Kelts—especially to its chief cities, Ancyra, Pessinus (Juliopolis?) Germa, and Tavium—or to the Roman province of Galatia, which would include the southern cities, Derbe, Lystra, Ikonium, and Pisidian Antioch? The letter seems to imply two previous visits (4¹³, *εὐγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον*). As upon the northern Galatian theory, these occurred during the second (Ac 16⁶) and third (Ac 18²³) tours, the epistle—written shortly after the latter of these visits (Gal 1⁶)—was composed later than Paul's visit and epistles to Thessalonika. Upon the southern Galatian theory, as the two visits took place on the first (Ac 13-14) and second (Ac 16¹⁻⁶) tours, the epistle can be put much earlier than in the northern Galatian theory. It is then possible to place it either in the interval between the second and third tours, or in the latter part of the second tour itself; at any rate, it must be dated before, not after, Ac 18^{23b} (*διερχόμενος καθεξῆς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν*), which refers to a third visit of Paul.

Still, even these results do not close the question of the date. Upon the northern Galatian theory, Galatians must be subsequent to 1 and 2 Thessalonians: it may be either prior or subsequent to 1 and 2 Corinthians. Upon the southern Galatian theory, Galatians must be prior to 1 and 2 Corinthians: it may be either prior or subsequent to 1 and 2 Thessalonians. A fixed point is the composition of 1 and 2 Thessalonians at Corinth, a few months after Paul's visit thereupon his second tour. The southern Galatian theory puts Paul's second visit to Galatia in the earlier part of this tour; hence the epistle to the Christians of that province may have been written between that visit and Paul's arrival at Corinth. In this case it would be the earliest of his extant epistles.² But while this position is favoured by the southern Galatian theory,³ it is not necessarily involved in it. So far as the facts of the situation are concerned, Galatians may have been composed either at Corinth after

¹ The older theory (of Grotius, Ewald, Laurent, and—from his own standpoint—Baur) which put 2 Thess. previous to 1 Thess. may be regarded as extinguished.

² Thess. does not, it is true, refer (unless ii. 2¹=i. 4¹⁷; cp. ii. 2¹⁵) to 1 Thess., but this is because it goes further back in order to elaborate part of the oral teaching which preceded that epistle. The other grounds for the theory are even less conclusive, and in fact the reversed order is not only needless but beset with additional difficulties of its own creation. In the ordinary arrangement, from which there is no reason to depart, the first epistle lies close to the original founding of the Christian community at Thessalonika, while, if the second be genuine, it presupposes an interval during which matters had appreciably developed (cp. Johannes, *Comm. 1 Thessalon.* (1898), pp. 124-128).

³ So Hausrath, iii. pp. 188, 219 (dating Galatians in the autumn of 53, and 1 Thess. 54); Bartlet (*AA*, p. 113 f.); Weizsäcker (*AA*, i. 270-275), and Pfeiderer, *Urc.* pp. 57-78; Rendall, *Exp.* ix. 254 (from Corinth), and McGiffert, *AA*, 226-230 (from Antioch, between Ac 15³⁰ and 16¹). Also Bacon, *INT*, 56 f. (from Corinth). See p. 708, and O. Holtzmann, *NT Zeitgesch.* (1895), § 17.

⁴ For a concise statement of the theory and a list of authorities, cp. Ramsay's article on "Galatia," *DB*, vol. ii. pp. 89 f. Add, in favour of the position, Adeney, *BI*, pp. 372, 373. Mr. Askwith in his monograph (*The Ep. to the Galatians, its destination and date*, 1899) accepts the southern Galatian theory, but adheres to Lightfoot's order of the epistles, while Schmiedel (*EBi*, ii. 1596 f.) vigorously opposes Ramsay.

1 and 2 Thessalonians, or slightly later, during the interval between the second and third tours (Ac 18^{23a}, *ποιήσας χρόνον τινὰ*), which Paul spent at Antioch.¹ The conclusion that 1 and 2 Thessalonians preceded Galatians—an order which is imperative upon the northern Galatian, and probable upon the southern Galatian theory—is corroborated by the internal evidence of the respective epistles, which is fairly decisive in regard to the relative position of Galatians and the other three chief epistles as well.

(b) The affinities of Galatians, in spirit and expression, are with the Corinthian and Roman, not with the Thessalonian, epistles. The latter stand by themselves, their theology is simple,² their atmosphere unvexed by Judaistic agitation against the principles of the gospel, or the mission of the apostle. It is true that Paul's relations with Thessalonika were comparatively smooth and bright. The community there drew upon itself none of the incisive strokes which fell from him upon the vacillating Galatae. But even after a fair allowance has been made for this difference in the character of the two churches, it seems almost incredible that Galatians should have preceded 1 and 2 Thessalonians by one or two years, leaving hardly a trace of its hot arguments within these letters, and yet echoing subsequently in several of its moods through the Corinthian and Roman letters. Psychologically this order might be vindicated. But it would require clearer evidence than has yet been offered to make the theory acceptable, especially when arguments from other quarters tell decidedly against it.

With the exception of the hypothesis in regard to Galatians which we have discussed and put aside, there is a wide agreement among scholars that the similarities of the group Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, can be most satisfactorily explained if the four epistles are dated generally within one epoch—and that, the third tour of Paul. Between his arrival at Ephesus and his departure from Corinth (a period, roughly speaking, which embraced four years), the letters were composed. Within this group, 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians hang together. The former was written from Ephesus (1 Co 16⁸); the latter, at a later stage of the tour, from Macedonia (2 Co 7⁵). During this interval neither Galatians nor Romans can be placed. Further, Romans is on all hands allowed to have followed 2 Corinthians. In the former epistle he is on the point of conveying to Jerusalem (Ro 15²⁵) the proceeds of that collection made

¹ E.g. Renan (*S. Paul*, chaps. x.-xi.), Burton, *RLA*, Ramsay, *SPT*, pp. 189-192. 260 (with Schmiedel's review, *ThLz* (1897), 609-613, adverse to the southern Galatian theory), and *Exp.*⁵ June 1898, pp. 401 f., where, like Haupt (*SK*, 1900, pp. 137, 138), he unfavourably criticises the recent attempt of Zahn (*Einl.* i. pp. 117-145) to place Galatians early in Paul's first visit to Corinth (Ac 18¹). His whole application of the southern Galatian theory to *Galatians* (*Exp.*⁵ 1898, 1899, expanded and reprinted in *A Historical Comm. on Galatians*, 1899), is a most persuasive and vivid piece of historical writing. Volkmar, however (*Paulus von Damascus bis zum Galaterbrief*, p. 31 f.), dates Galatians from Antioch at the close of Paul's second missionary tour (Ac 18²²); while Bartlet (*Exp.* October 1899, pp. 263-280, "Some Points in Pauline History and Chronology"; *AA*, p. 83 f.), dating Paul's conversion, 30-33, puts Gal. 48 (49)-49 (50) A.D. written from Antioch, or as Paul was on his journey to Jerusalem to fight the battle of Christian freedom. See further, p. 137.

² Ménégos, *Le Péché et la Rédemption*, pp. 3-9; cp. Holsten, *Das Evangelium des Paulus*, viii. To Professor Bruce (*St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, pp. 15-25) the Thessalonian epistles represented the rudimentary teaching given by Paul to a young Christian community: they were, in fact, a kind of Christian primer. Certainly Paulinism, in the technical sense of the word, is as indistinct in the Thessalonian letters as the characteristic genius of Carlyle in his life of Schiller.

by the Greek churches which forms the subject of his appeals and praise in the earlier letters to Corinth (i. 16¹, ii. 8¹ 9⁴). The latter epistles were of course composed before he finally visited the city on the Isthmus. Romans then falls towards the time of his departure (Ac 20³) from Achaia, and this date is corroborated by the fact that Sosipater and Timothy (Ac 20⁴) were in his company then, and joined in his greetings (Ro 16²¹). The result is that Galatians must fall either (i) before 1 and 2 Corinthians; or (ii) between 2 Corinthians and Romans; or (iii) after Romans.¹

(i.) is the generally received order of the epistles: cp. Baur, *Paul* (Eng. Tr.), i. 260-267; Renan, *S. Paul*, passim; Weiss; Havet, *Origines*, iv. pp. 101 f.; Mackintosh, *Essays tow. N. Theol.* 299-308; J. S. Black, *EB*, art. "Gal."; Hilgenfeld, *Einkl.* pp. 249-327; also *ZWTh* (1883), pp. 303-343; Sabatier, *Paul* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 135-211; Holtzmann, *Einkl.* pp. 217-245; Siefert (-Meyer); Jülicher, *Einkl.* §§ 6-8; Holsten, *Das Evglm. des Paulus*; Lipsius, *HC*, ii. ii. pp. 11, 12; Ramsay, *SPT*, pp. 189-192; Sanday and Headlam, "Romans" (*ICC*, 1895), pp. xxxvi, xxxvii; Warfield (*Journ. Exeg. Soc.*, December 1884); Burton, *RLA*, pp. 212-216; Godet (*INT*), Reuss (pp. 76 f.), Ménégoz (*op. cit.*); Professor Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, pp. 53, 54, etc.; Bovon, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 73-120; Vollert, *Tabellen zur neuest. Zeitgesch.* (1897), pp. 20-22; Drummond, *Ep. to Galat.* (1892), pp. 17-22 (more vaguely, *IH*, ii. pp. 189 f.); Schäfer, *Einkl.* p. 87 f, etc.

The strength of this theory is chiefly to be felt by a detailed exposition of the separate writings in their connection and development, and can only be shown from such an examination. It is an order which, it may be argued, suits most accurately the controversial and dogmatic movements of Paul's mind, so far as it is possible to reconstruct those from the extant sources; but it is further corroborated by the evidence afforded when each writing is isolated and placed according to its characteristic references. Indeed, the latter line of argument is often more convincing than the former. The style and inner development of thought throughout the letters cannot be said to give anything like reliable data for determining precisely the dates and order; they merely converge in favour of an order which depends upon conclusions drawn from the historical data of each writing separately viewed and sifted. Certainly these forbid any long interval between the Christianisation of the Galatians and this epistle. No situation suits the unequivocal language of Gal 1⁶ so naturally as the composition of these words at a period earlier than that at which he wrote 1 Corinthians from Ephesus.

(ii.) has been held after Lightfoot (*Galatians*, pp. 36-56) by several critics, including Hort, Farrar, Salmon, and Findlay, *Galatians*, Expositor's Bible (1891): *CR* (1895), p. 362; cp. also Bleek, *Einkl.* p. 548 f., and, upon the whole, S. Davidson (*INT.* i. pp. 73-83), with Adeney, *BI*, pp. 374-375; Dr. Dods seems undecided (*DB*, ii. pp. 95, 96).

The really plausible² element in this theory is drawn from the

¹ The curious opinion, prevalent especially in the Eastern Church, that Gal. was composed during Paul's imprisonment (at Rome) was probably due to the canonical position of the epistle close to Ephesians. From this several ancient writers, from Eusebius of Emesa to Theodoret, naïvely concluded that it must have been written very late in Paul's life, finding also in 4²⁰ an allusion to confinement and suffering. Zahn quotes a modern rehabilitation of this fantasy upon slightly different but equally impossible lines (Halmel, *Ueber röm. Recht im Galat.* 1895).

² Hartmann (*ZwTh* (1899), pp. 187-194), partly following Clemen, argues that the reckonings of time in 2 Co 12² and Gal 2¹ imply that the passages were written in that order.

admitted resemblances in style and subject which accompany the distinctive features in the group of letters. Galatians, it is argued, takes up the closing tone of 2 Corinthians, while in its turn it anticipates and is amplified by the tone of Romans; consequently its place is not merely with, but between, those writings. But, apart from the special considerations involved, this line of argument is too logical to be entirely human. Romans, in some aspects (*e.g.* the ideas of the spirit and sonship, also of works and the law) stands unquestionably near to Galatians, but the Corinthian epistles need not therefore be dated before the others. The fact may be admitted, and the inference denied. In his letters to Corinth the apostle is largely preoccupied with local questions which inevitably colour and shape the treatment of his main ideas. In Galatians he is—to use the modern phrase—more objective, for all his versatile and urgent personality. These writings to Corinth are not a reliable clue to the exact and average nature of the ideas which possessed his mind. They represent him at a most eager, energetic point, it is true; but for the time being, turned aside. Hence the similarity of attitude in Galatians and Romans does not permit any safe inference as to the period of their composition.¹ Psychologically, it is quite reasonable to argue that Romans carries forward the conceptions of Galatians after a brief lapse of time, during which other and more pressing questions had kept these comparatively latent in the apostle's mind.² Besides, it may be disputed whether the coincidences and affinities between Galatians and Romans really form an important feature in either epistle. The divergencies are far more noticeable. Pre-eminently among the Pauline epistles Galatians has its special task and individual setting. Its contents are too isolated to admit of reliable inferences being drawn from them to determine its date through its connections and resemblances; and the absence (in 2 Corinthians) of doctrinal controversy with the Judaistic emissaries proves, not that his conflict with them was still in an inchoate stage compared to that reflected in Galatians, but simply that the particular conditions and local circumstances at Corinth demanded tactics of a personal rather than a doctrinal nature. The special exposure in 2 Corinthians is not inconsistent with a previous refutation of their principles such as is hurled out in Galatians.

(iii.) has been recently revived and ingeniously stated, not only for

¹ As Rendall aptly remarks: It is one thing to note in two letters familiar workings of the same mind, and another to identify their dates on the ground of that resemblance. The force of such a presumption depends largely on circumstances; a man may well repeat the same thoughts and the same expressions at considerable intervals, if the intervening tenor of his life and his environment continue constant (*Exp.*⁴ ix. p. 260). So too, I am glad to find, Mr. C. H. Turner (*DB*, i. p. 423): "Perhaps too much stress has been laid on such resemblances taken alone—as though St. Paul's history was so strictly uniform that a given topic can only have been handled at a given moment—and too little on the influence of external circumstances to revive old ideas or to call out new ones." (On this point at least, though apparently not upon the date of Philippians, he has broken away from the Lightfoot tradition). Similarly and emphatically Zahn, *Einl.* i. pp. 143, 144, 358 ("Paulus nicht der geistlose Schulmeister war, welcher zur Zeit und zur Unzeit seine Einförmigen Lehrsätze wiederholte").

² W. Brückner (*Chron.* pp. 174-192), from a widely different standpoint, comes to the same conclusion as Lightfoot upon the order of the epistles, dating them—Cor. Gal. Rom.—however, in the years 61-62, and suspecting the historicity even of Ac 24, 25. But, like Ménégos, he heartily agrees that if 1 Thess. is to be taken as a Pauline document it must be dated early in the apostle's life, previous to these four chief epistles (*ibid.* pp. 193-199).

his own purposes and reasons by Steck,¹ but also by Clemen (*Chron.* also, *SK* (1897), pp. 219-270, "Die Reihenfolge der paul. Hauptbriefe"). His scheme² involves a late date for the apostolic council, which is identified not with Ac 15 but with Ac 21, and therefore placed in 54 A.D. Previous to this come—

37. Saul's conversion (2 Co 12²), two years after crucifixion.

40-45. First mission tour, chiefly in Galatia.

45-50. (Spring), second tour, through Greece, etc., to Ephesus.

47-48. Stay in Corinth (1½ years) (*Thess. epp.*).

49-50. First (lost) epistle to Corinth (1 Co 5⁹), in early spring of 50.

50-52. Stay in Ephesus (2¼ years), including (1 Co, 2 Co 9) visit to Corinth (2 Co 10-13¹⁰).

52-54. Third mission tour (2 Co 1-8, 13^{11-end}), in summer of 52.

52-53. Winter in Nikopolis (*Tit* 3¹²⁻¹⁴).

53-54. Winter in Corinth (*Rom.*).

54. Apostolic council in Jerusalem (Ac 20-21²¹), dispute at Antioch (*Gal.*).

58. Paul's arrest in Jerusalem.

The stress of the argument lies on the supposed increase of controversy with the Judaisers in Galatians as compared with Romans, for which—on this hypothesis—the events at Antioch are required as the preliminary cause. But the greater probability is that the larger, milder exposition of Paul's teaching on the law followed the sharper dialectic of Galatians, and it may be held that passages like Ro 5²⁰ 7⁷ show quite as clear and decisive a standpoint in regard to the law as Gal 2¹⁹. Clemen's views mean development in the ideas of the law, righteousness, the person of Christ, etc., but neither these nor his somewhat arbitrary treatment of "Acts" have moved recent scholarship from adhering to the old verdict pronounced by Baur's insight upon Galatians (see prefixed note below). [So, most recently, Schmiedel, *EBz.* ii. 1623 f.]

There need be little hesitation, then, in accepting Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans, as the proper chronological order of the writings; it has found wide assent among scholars, and, upon the whole, may be considered as the hypothesis which is most successful in setting the facts and feelings of the author's life in a reasonable and natural sequence.

II. The crucial point in the problem of the prison-letters is the position of Philippians. Almost certainly, however, this letter is to be ranked as the latest. It has always impressed editors as the final expression of Paul's mind and heart, written by one who was conscious of standing near the last step. This tone does not appear in the

¹ *Der Galaterbrief* (1888), opposed in a special monograph by Gloël; *Die jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefes* (1890), and by R. J. Knowling, *Witness of the Epistles* (1892), ch. iii. Zahn also refers to his own convincing article in *ZKWL* (1889), pp. 462-466. Steck's order is Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, all composed between 120 and 140 A.D. [For Clemen's present view, see p. 708.]

² Cp. Kühn, *Neue kirchliche Zeitschr.* (1895), pp. 981-990, on the argument that the evidence of the epistle agrees with the tone of Paul during the Caesarean imprisonment, when he could not (4²⁰) get away to visit his friends, and had been maltreated (6¹⁷) by the Jews (Ac 21³³)! Clemen's theory has been adversely examined by Schmiedel, *LC* (1894), pp. 1129-1131, and especially F. Siefert in an essay (*ThSt.*, pp. 332-357), "Die Entwicklungslinie der paulinischen Gesetzeslehre, nach den vier Hauptbriefen des Apostels." Cp. also J. Weiss' review, *SK* (1895), pp. 252-296, "Paulinische Probleme; die Chronologie der Paulinischen Briefe," Zahn, *Einl.* i. pp. 142, 143 (especially on the incompatibility of Gal 2²⁰ with this theory), A. Robertson (*DB*, i. pp. 485, 486), and Gericke (*GGA* (1894), 577-599).

Colossian (1²⁹ 4³) or Ephesian (6¹⁹) letters, which in all probability preceded Philippians; they indicate a less disturbed situation, in which the writer's mind was free to deliberately expand. So Sabatier (p. 250 f.), Weiss (*INT*, i. §§ 24–26), Godet (*INT*, p. 427 f.), Reuss (p. 106 f.), Ramsay (*SPT*, pp. 357–359), Lipsius (*HC*, ii. 2, pp. 210, 211), von Soden (*ibid.* iii.; *EBi*, i. p. 816; and “Der Philipperbrief” (1889)), Klöpper (in his edition of *Philip.* 1893), McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 364–393), Zahn (*Einkl.* i. pp. 380–391), Bovon (*NTTh*, ii. 73–120), Vollert (*Tabellen*, pp. 32, 33), Adeney (*BI*, p. 401 f.), Bartlet (*AA*, p. 178 f.), Schäfer (*Einkl.* pp. 133–146), Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy (*Exp. Ti.* x. pp. 22–24), Bernard (*DB*, iii. 833), Gibb (*DB*, iii. 841), besides those who, with Holtzmann,¹ reject both Colossians and Ephesians. Still, neither the internal evidence, which may be drawn from the character and prospects of the epistle, nor the evidence sought in its relation to Col.-Ephes., is absolutely decisive; although, in the absence of reliable data, they serve to make this position inherently probable. In writing to the Philippians, Paul is no longer supported by the companions who had been with him when the earlier epistles were composed. Further, the letter gives the impression of having been written at a time when the author's position had become serious (1^{23–25} 2^{23. 24}), so acute, indeed, that the immediate future must end in a total change—death or liberation. This is scarcely compatible with the continued imprisonment which would be required, were Col.-Ephes. placed after Philippians.

Assuming, then, that Philippians and (as is highly probable) Colossians and Ephesians were all written from Rome, one may conclude that Philippians is subsequent to the others. The only argument on the other side of any weight is furnished by the admitted excess of dogmatic teaching in Col.-Ephes., and the apparent resemblance of Philippians to Romans. These are more or less obvious facts. But they do not necessarily imply chronological sequence, except upon the untenable hypothesis that Paul was concerned to show himself a careful and logical theologian. All three letters fall within less than a couple of years. The differences between them involve no great internal development of thought in Paul's mind. They simply arise from the different objects and interests roused in the apostle as he confronted the varying situations² in Asia Minor and Macedonia. Hence Philippians follows Romans just as Galatians precedes it; all these carry forward a certain and coherent train of argument, but immediately before as immediately after Romans, Paul finds himself suddenly brought face to face with crises and controversies which, like a living and versatile missionary, he turns aside to treat upon their own lives. Col.-Ephes. intervene after, as the Corinthian epistles before, Romans. They spring from a campaign, with its quick phases and unexpected transitions, in which the soldier has often to fight and

¹ Philippians “ist jedenfalls nach den 3 anderen geschrieben. . . . Es ist das Testament des Apostels, das wir vor uns haben” (*Einkl.* p. 267).

² Ramsay: “The tone of *Col.* and *Ephes.* is determined by the circumstances of the churches addressed. The great cities of Asia were on the highway of the world, which traversed the Lycos valley, and in them development took place with great rapidity. But the Macedonians were a simple-minded people in comparison with Ephesus and Laodiceia and Colossai, lying further away from the great movements of thought. It was not in Paul's way to send to Philippi an elaborate treatise against a subtle speculative heresy which had never affected that church.”

On the historical situation of Col.-Ephes. an adequate study is given in Renan's *L'Antéchrist*, ch. iv. Bacon (*INT*, 122 f.) also dates them previous to Philippians.

move abruptly. It is much safer to take each upon its own merits as a living product of Paul's mood and duty at the time being, than to view them as documents which, for reasons of style and matter, are to be plausibly but unnaturally classified in certain groups.

The main positive evidence for the later date of Philippians is drawn from the length of time required for the relations which the letter presupposes as existing between Paul and the Philippian church. They learn of Paul's arrival, send him funds by Epaphroditus, and hear of the latter's illness. Epaphroditus further is informed of their anxiety, which naturally implies that he had somehow received definite news from Philippi. All this requires a considerable time, and cannot be crushed into a few months. Further, the developed state of Christianity in the capital, with its propaganda and controversies, is an effect which is distinctly traced by Paul (1¹²⁻¹⁴) as in part due to the stimulus of his presence there, and cannot be wholly set down to the previous exertions of the local Christians. The importance and extension of the church, as these are represented in Philippians, demand a space of time dating from the hour of Paul's entrance into the city, and thus involve a considerable retrospect. On the more difficult evidence drawn from the letter with regard to the particular stage of the trial at which Paul wrote, see the recent examination by R. R. Smith, *The Epistle of St. Paul's First Trial* (1899), where the epistle is placed at a somewhat advanced point in the legal process, but previously to the verdict.

This place of Philippians in the series has been disputed by Light-foot¹ ("Philippians," pp. 30-46), Farrar (*St. Paul*, ch. xlv.), Hatch (article "Philippians," *EB*), and Hort ("Jud. Christianity," pp. 115-129; "Romans and Ephesians," p. 102). These, with some other critics (including Renan), put it earliest, partly on the ground of its coincidences with Romans, partly because the ideas of the church and of Christ's person in Col.-Ephes. are considered to mark a further stage of the theological development. The former of these arguments has no more weight here than in regard to the similar question of the relationship between Galatians and Romans, and the latter epistle has equal affinities with Col.-Ephes. The latter argument is inconclusive. In Col.-Ephes. a distinct advance in theology is patent. Philippians does not carry the theology to any higher expression, but this fact does not imply that the latter epistle must have preceded the former. It is *a priori* criticism to expect a graded development of thought in one epistle after another, instead of a mobile, versatile personality. The different tone of Philippians is perfectly credible when the change in Paul's situation is taken into account, along with the specially private relation to Philippi (2²⁵ 4¹⁸) which occupied his mind at the moment.

Colossians is certainly to be placed before Ephesians (when the last-named is taken as genuine), though priority here carries with it very little significance. Both letters were written about the same time, and reflect essentially the same temper of mind; but Ephesians, as the wider expanded and less particular treatment of the topics, is more naturally understood as a subsequent writing.² Upon any theory of its relation to Colossians, it presupposes that more concrete epistle.

¹ So still Burton (*RLA*, 1895), Spitta (*Urc*, i. p. 34), Trenkle (*Einl.* pp. 49, 50), and Dr. Lock (*DB*, i. pp. 718, 719, article "Ephesians").

² "On comprend qu'un catéchisme général puisse être tiré d'une lettre particulière, mais non qu'une lettre particulière puisse être tirée d'un catéchisme général" (Renan); Godet (*INT*, i. pp. 490-492) emphatically agrees.

The note to Philemon falls with the Colossian letter. Apart from this connection there is no evidence forthcoming for its date. Jülicher, hesitating upon Ephesians, puts Philemon close to Philippians, *i.e.* 62–64 A.D. Weizsäcker, on the other hand, persists in considering it, with Colossians, as an allegorical product of the second century (*AA*, ii. pp. 245, 383), and Steck (*JpTh* (1891), p. 571 f.) finds it is an imitation of Pliny's ninth epistle, written between 125 and 150 A.D. But this theory of Philemon has been finally superseded by the recent verdict in favour of Colossians, and cannot be regarded as seaworthy.

To the period of Paul's imprisonment under Felix at Caesarea, some of the Asiatic epistles have been occasionally assigned: Colossians + Philemon + Ephesians (by Meyer, Laurent, Hilgenfeld, Sabatier, pp. 225–249, Reuss, and Weiss¹), Colossians + Philippians (part) + Philemon by Clemen, *Chron.* p. 249 f.), Philippians (by O. Holtzmann, *ThLz* (1890), p. 177; *Neutestam. Zeitgeschichte* (1895), pp. 133–134; Spitta, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, p. 281; *Urc.* i. 34; and Macpherson, *Ephesians*, pp. 86–94). The difficulties of such hypotheses, however, have been rightly felt by the majority of scholars to be insuperable. The few indications which seem to refer to Caesarea are capable of being explained, without undue forcing, upon the usual Roman theory; and Rome gives a more satisfactory background² for the total phenomena of the letters. Negative and positive evidence alike point to the capital as the *locus* of the prison-letters. From Rome Paul wrote, in all likelihood, Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians, certainly Philippians. He may have taught in Rome, but he wrote for Asia Minor.

B. Their Dates.

Apart from the internal evidence, which is discussed in the respective editions and Introductions, the chronology of the epistles depends upon the chronology of the apostolic age, a matter which naturally did not specially interest that age itself, and is but obscurely reflected in the later sources. Here we have a question of considerable difficulty, involving the discussion of some half-dozen separate problems in Roman and Palestinian history which bear more or less upon the main issue, *i.e.* the rule of Aretas—the Nabataean monarch—in Damascus, the exact date of the famine in Claudius' reign, his interference with the Roman Jews, the period of Gallio's proconsulship in Achaia, the precise date of Felix's departure and Festus' arrival in Judaea; and finally the limits of the Neronian persecution. These events touch here and there the biography of Paul and the history of the early church. But while they might be expected to yield several fixed points in the chronology, the misfortune actually is that they themselves are not absolutely fixed. Even the most crucial point of all—the date of the change in the procuratorship—

¹ So recently Haupt (-Meyer). But all the probabilities favour the Roman origin of Philemon (cp. recently Bernard, *DB*, iii. p. 833). Paul was far more accessible to outsiders in Rome than in Caesarea, and runaway slaves naturally took refuge amid the crowds of the metropolis (Sallust, *Catil.* 37⁵; Tacit. *Annal.* 15⁴⁶). And Philemon is contemporary with the others. Surely, too, had Col.-Ephes. been written at Caesarea, some mention of Paul's friend Philip (Ac 21⁸⁻¹⁴) would have occurred among the list of his helpers and companions.

² Philippians must be decisively placed in the Roman captivity, when 1¹³ and 4²²—to say nothing of other passages—are fairly read. The past extent of his influence, his present situation, and his prospects, imperatively demand Rome as the place where this letter was written (*vide* Hort, "Rom. Ephes." p. 100 f.).

lies in dispute. On one reckoning, that of the "accepted" chronology, the recall of Felix falls into the period 59-61 A.D.; on the other, that of the "new" or "Eusebian" chronology, it is usually thrown back to 55¹ or 56. Broadly speaking, we may say that a range of four or five years is thus possible for any of the chief dates in the life of Paul which depend upon conclusions drawn from this event.

In the accompanying table the outstanding events of Paul's life are arranged according to the various schemes of several prominent authorities. Of these, the majority, it will be seen (in the main, apart from questions of detail), represent the "accepted chronology" upon the whole. Harnack and McGiffert, on the other hand, base their schemes on data taken from the "Eusebian" chronicle, which practically puts the arrival of Festus in the year Oct. 55-Oct. 56 A.D. This position has been advocated by (among others) O. Holtzmann (*Neutestam. Zeitgesch.* pp. 118-135), favoured by Blass (*Acta Apostolorum*, proleg. § 10, pp. 21-24), and criticised more or less adversely by Batiffol (*Revue biblique*, vi. pp. 423-432), Ramsay (*Exp.*⁵ v. p. 201 f.), Bacon (*ibid.* February 1898, Nov.-Dec. 1899), and Zahn (*Einkl.* ii. pp. 628-639).

The accepted chronology is stated² admirably by Schürer (*HJP.* i. ii. p. 182 f.; *ZwTh* (1898), pp. 21-42), Sabatier ("Paul" (Eng. tr.), pp. 13-21), Beet (*Corinthians*, Dissertation iii.), or Wendt (-Meyer³, *Acts*, § 10). Mr. Turner's study (*DB.* i. 415 f.) is by far the most lucid and trustworthy discussion of the whole question which has yet appeared, and to it the reader is referred for the detailed evidence and arguments; although exception might be taken—as I find has been done by Professor Bacon (*Exp.*⁶ ii. p. 9 f.)—to the inadequate importance assigned in that article to Jewish authorities and evidence, *e.g.* upon the calendar.

The results upon which the tentative chronology of this volume is based, as compared with those of the earlier or Eusebian chronology,³ start from the crucifixion of Jesus in 29 A.D. The conversion of Paul can be approximately dated a year or so later. The narrative of 1 Co 15^{3f} certainly implies no long period between the earlier and later appearances of Jesus in the series, while upon the other hand some interval must be allowed between the death of Christ and Paul's visit to Damascus in order to admit of a sufficient development of Christianity. Hence the date of his conversion may be put roughly as 30 (31) A.D. To date it in the same year as the crucifixion is as unsatisfactory as to place it four or five year afterwards. Later on, a fixed point is gained in the accession of Festus, *c.* 59 A.D., which helps to determine some of the preceding and subsequent dates in Pauline chronology. With the close of Paul's imprisonment for two years in Rome, the curtain falls upon his life. Any reconstruction of his further career depends largely

¹ *E.g.*, by Weber in his monograph, *Kritische Geschichte d. Exegese d. IX. Kap. d. Römerbriefs* (1889), p. 177 f. A good conspectus of the whole question is given by Votaw (*Bibl. World*, xi. pp. 112 f., 177 f.).

² In a recent and careful monograph, which exposes blunders in Eusebius—"Die Todestage der Apostel Paulus u. Petrus" (*TU*, neue Folge, vierter Band, Heft 1, 1899)—C. Erbes fixes the arrival of Festus in Palestine and the journey of Paul to Rome, 60-61 A.D.; the apostle lost his case, and died on the 22nd of Feb. 63 A.D. Peter suffered a year later. Cp. Zahn (*Einkl.* i. p. 435 f., ii. p. 16 f.) for a long defence of the traditional dates of Peter's and of Paul's martyrdom.

³ Besides one or two older scholars like Bengel, the adherents of this position include a Roman Catholic critic, Kellner, who is quoted in support of the Eusebian data (article "Felix" in Hergenröther's *Kirchenlexicon*, 2nd ed. iv. p. 1311 f.; *Katholik* (1887), p. 146 f.; *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theologie* (1888), p. 640 f.).

	L	J	R	H	McG	DB (i.)	DB (iii.)	N
Crucifixion of Jesus, Conversion of Paul, . First visit to Jerus., Second " (Ac 11 ²⁷ , 12 ²⁵) First mission tour, . Council at Jerus., Second mission tour, Third mission tour, . Arrival in Jerus., . Arrival in Rome, . Death of Peter, . Death of Paul, .	[30] 34 37 45 48 51 51 54 58 61 64 67	[30] 35 38 ... 52 52-53 55-56 59-60 61 ... (64)	30 33 (32) 35 45-46 47 49-50 50 53 57 60 [80] (66) 67	29 (30) 30 33 [44] 45 47 (46) 47 (46) 50 54 (53) 57 (56) 64 64	30 31-32 34-35 45 bef. 45 45 46 49 52 53 56 64 58	29 35-36 38 46 47 49 49 52 56 59 64-65 64-65	... 36 39 ... 46 49 49 53 57 60 ... 67	29 30 ... 44 44 (45) 47 47 51 55 57 67 67 Neteler (Untersuchung neutestament- licher Zeit- verhältnisse, 1894).

	OH	Z	EBi	Rn	S	RLA
Crucifixion of Jesus,	29	30	30-35	33	...	30
Conversion of Paul,	29	35	28-32	38	35	36 c.
First visit to Jerus.,	32	38	31-35	41	38	39
Second " "	...	44	...	...	...	45-46 (?)
(Ac 11 ^{27f.} 12 ²⁵)						
First mission tour,	...	50-51	...	bef. 51	50-51	46
Council at Jerus.,	46	52	45-49	51	52	51 c.
Second mission tour,	47	52	46-50 (?)	51	52-55	51
Third mission tour,	49	54	...	54	55	54
Arrest in Jerus.,	53	58	54-58	58	58-59	58
Arrival in Rome,	56	61	57-61	61	61-62	61
Death of Peter,	...	64	...	64	...	65
Death of Paul,	64	66-67	...	64	...	65
O. Holtzmann, <i>Neue testamentliche Zeitgeschichte</i> (1895), §§ 15-17. He places Paul's travels in Syria Cilicia between 32 and 46; his first stay at Corinth, 48-49; and his journey to Rome, 55-56.		Zahn, <i>Eind.</i> ii. pp. 628-639. Farrar (<i>Life and Work of St. Paul</i>) dates the conversion as late as 37; the first visit to Jerusalem, 39; second, 44; first tour, 45 f.; the Council, 51; the second tour, 53-56; the arrest, 58; the arrival in Rome, 60; and the death in 68. Chase (<i>DB</i> , iii. p. 777 f.) also accepts 64 as the year of Peter's martyrdom.	Von Soden, <i>EBi</i> , i. 799-819. In an impartial but scarcely lucid way, he leaves the details of the general chronology largely an open question, contenting himself with giving the alternative schemes. This makes it somewhat difficult to follow the arguments or to grasp the results of the article as a whole. After Schleiermacher, he identifies the two visits to Jerusalem (Ac 11 and Ac 15), but considers that the former passage places it with greater chronological accuracy.	Renan, <i>Les Apôtres, Saint Paul, L'Antéchrist</i> . Similarly Laurent, pp. 67-91: second visit to Jerusalem, 47; first mission tour, 47-50; second, 52-55; arrest, 59; arrival in Rome, 62.	Sabatier, <i>The Apostle Paul</i> (Eng. tr.), p. 13 f. The second visit to Jerusalem he also regards as apocryphal.	Professor E. D. Burton, <i>RLA</i> , pp. 201-207.

Wgn	W	Ws	G	B	W	D	Bl
33 c.	29 or 31	...	...	29	...	...	...
...	35	35	32	31-32	34	35	35 (32)
...	38	38	35	34-35	37	38	38 (35)
...	...	44	(44)	46	46	44	44-45 (45-46)
...	betw. 45 & 50	...	45-47	47	46-47	46	45 (46)
52	52	52	48	49	48	51	49
...	52	52	49-51	49	49	51-54	49-52
...	55	55	52-56	52	52	54-58	52-57
58	59	59	56	56	...	...	57
c. 60	62	62 ¹	59	59	...	...	60 (spring)
...
64	64	...	65 (66)-68	61-62	...	...	67
Weingarten, <i>Zeit- tafel und Überblicke zur Kir- chenges- chichte</i> (1891), p. 4 f.	Wend (Meyer), ⁸ <i>Acts</i> , pp. 53-60). He rejects the sec. visit to Jerusalem as an un- historical mistake.	Weiss, <i>INT</i> , i. p. 154 f. Work- man ¹ (<i>Exp.</i> <i>Ti.</i> xi. pp. 316- 319) argues from the Jewish calendar (<i>Ac</i> 27 ^e) that Paul's voyage could not have oc- curred in the years 55, 58, 61, but only in 56, or more pro- bably in 59. Even 60 he re- gards as beset with difficulties.	Prof. G. H. Gilbert, <i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i> (1898), p. 244 f.; <i>Life</i> <i>of Paul</i> , pp. 242- 259.	Vernon Bartlett, <i>AA</i> , pp. xiii, xiv, and pas- sim. He places the visit of Gal. 2:10 prior to 46, as a private visit previous even to the famine visit of that year, and passed over by <i>Acts</i> on account of its non- representative character.	Wandel: "zur Chron- ologie des Lebens Pauli" (<i>ZKWL</i> , 1887-1888).	Dr. J. Drummond, <i>Epistle to Galatians</i> (1892), p. 39.	Belser, "zur Chron- ologie des Pauli" (<i>TQ</i> , 1898, pp. 353- 379). The bracketed dates are less pro- bable, but, in Belser's judgment, not impos- sible. He puts the arrival of Festus, 58 (59).

upon conjecture and the vague inferences drawn from an inferior tradition.

As an expert does well to remind us, one of the greatest difficulties in ancient chronology is to be met in the question of Pauline chronology, namely, "the fact that in almost every case the reasoning which assigns an event to a special year would be almost, if not quite, equally well satisfied by the year next to it" (Ramsay, *Exp.*⁶ ii. pp. 88, 89). In consequence, the whole arrangement of this period is uncertain in details, and has been variously sketched. Fortunately, however, the divergence of these chronological results does not preclude an attempt to exhibit a general and relative chronology of the epistles.¹ These, to some degree, are independent of absolutely accurate conclusions upon several of the points above noted; hence it is possible to draw up a further table which will represent some recent and varying lines of criticism on the literature, and prove that the records can be approximately fixed in relation to each other, if not to definite points in the history.

¹ There is a monograph by Rovers ("De chronolog. volgorde der brieven van het NT") in the *Bibliotheek van Moderne Theol. en Letterkunde*, xi. p. 487 f., which I have not been able to see.

Clemen, McGiffert.		Substantially, Renan, Weiss, Holtzmann, Lightfoot, Sabatier, Lau- rent, Godet, etc.	Jülicher.	Harnack, Ramsay.	Zahn.
1 Thess .	} 47-48 48: McG.	52-55	53-54	48-49 51-52: R.	53 { I. = Spring II. = Summer
2 " .					
Galat .	54-55 46: McG.	56 55: Lips. Sieffert. ± 58: Lgft. Salmon.	55-57	50-53 51-52: Rendall.	63 (beg.)
1 Cor .	} 60-52	57-58	{ Spring 56 Autumn 57	53 55: R.	67
2 " .					
Rom .	53-54 52-53: McG	58 59: Laurent, Holtz- mann 68-59: Lips.	58	63-54 56-57: R.	68
Coloss .	} 58	58-61 59: Laurent. so von Soden (— Eph).	62-63	57-59 (—Eph.) Early in 61: R.	62
Philem					
Ephes .	56-58: McG.	61-63: Lgft.	51-63	Late in 61: R.	63
Philipp .	66-58: McG.	62-63 63-64: Lips.			

[In a series of monographs, especially *die Abfassung des Galaterbriefs vor dem Apostelkonzil* (1900), Prof. v. Weber dates Gal 49 A.D. (or 48 A.D. end) in the period of Ac 14²⁸, written from Antioch after Paul's second visit to Jerusalem (Gal 2¹⁻¹⁰ = Ac 11³⁰, 12²⁵). Like Ramsay, he holds that the dispute at Antioch took place before Paul's third visit (Ac 15) in 49-50 A.D., and that the Galatians belonged to the Roman province of that name. But independently he interprets *εταίροι* (Gal 2^{6a}) of the false brethren, not of the twelve. Cp. Schürer: *ThLz*, 1901, 76; and Ramsay: *Exp. T.* Jan. 1901, pp. 157-160.]

I. THESSALONIANS

There is nothing tame about these brief pages, nothing vague or indefinite ; on the contrary, they breath a spirit of strong faith and overflowing life, and above all, an ardour of hope destined before long to be extinguished. They give a first sketch of Paul's doctrine, corresponding with that primitive period when it possessed all its vigour without having as yet attained its fulness. . . . This early type of Paulinism is still closely allied in its general conceptions to the preaching of the other apostles, but bearing within it already the new and bold ideas to which it subsequently gave birth. It is admirably calculated to serve as a transition and means of organic connection between the apostolic preaching with which Paul set out and the independent conception of the gospel to which he afterwards attained.—**Sabatier.**

1¹ Greeting.

1²-3¹³ **Personal :** thanksgiving for their Christian life : its
1²-10 origin,
2¹-12 connection with himself and his ministry,
2¹³-16 endurance.
2¹⁷-3¹⁰ his anxiety for them : the mission and report of Timotheus.
3¹⁰-13 his prayer for them.

4¹-5²⁴ **Counsels on :** moral purity,
4⁹-12 brotherly love and sober diligence.
the second Arrival of the Lord : in relation to
4¹³-19 the dead.
5¹-11 the living—need of watchfulness.
5¹²-15 social duties.
5¹⁶-22 religious duties.
5²³-24 a prayer for them.

5²⁵-28 **Conclusion.**

I. THESSALONIANS

1 1 PAUL and Silvanus and Timotheus
to the Community of the Thessalonians in God the Father and the
Lord Jesus Christ :
grace to you and peace.

2 We always give thanks to God for you all when we make mention of
3 you in our prayers, as we remember without ceasing your active faith
and labouring love and patient hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, before
4 our God and Father. For, brothers beloved by God, we know that you
5 were chosen ; because our gospel came to you not in word only, but in
power as well, in the holy Spirit with much assurance (as you know the
6 kind of men we showed ourselves among you for your sake), and you
became imitators of us and of the Lord, and accepted the word amid
7 great distress with the joy of the holy Spirit, so that you became a
8 pattern to all the believers in Macedonia and in Achaia. For the word
of the Lord has sounded out from you—not only in Macedonia and
Achaia but in every place, your faith to God has gone abroad. We do
9 not need to speak of it at all. The people themselves acknowledge with
regard to us what kind of entrance we had to you, and how you turned
10 to God from idols, to serve a living and a real God, and to wait for his
Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, Jesus our rescuer from
the wrath to come.

2 1 Brothers, you know yourselves that our entrance to you has not proved
2 in vain. Although we had already suffered and been ill-treated (as you
know) at Philippi, yet confident in our God we spoke the gospel of God
3 to you amid great conflict. For our appeal does not proceed from fraud,
4 or from impurity, nor does it work by guile ; nay, as God has held us
fit to be intrusted with the gospel, so we speak, to please not men but
5 God, who tests our hearts. For never were we found using either words
of flattery (you know that) or—God is witness—a pretext for covetous-
6 ness, or seeking human credit, either from you or from others ; we could
7 have claimed authority as apostles of Christ, but we behaved among you
8 gently, as a nursing mother cherishes her children. Yearning thus over
you, we were ready and willing to impart to you not merely the gospel
9 of God but also our very souls, since you had won our love. You re-
member our labour and toil, brothers ; night and day we worked so as
not to be a burden to any of you, while we preached to you the gospel of
10 God. You are witnesses, and God is witness, how holy and upright and
11 blameless was our behaviour to you believers, how (as you know) we
treated each one of you as a father treats his children, comforting and
12 encouraging you, and charging you to walk in a manner worthy of the
God who calls you to his own reign and majesty.

13 And for this we also give thanks to God without ceasing, namely, that
in receiving from us the word of the divine message, you accepted it not
as men's word but as what it really is, God's word—which also is active

14 in you believers. For, brothers, you became imitators of the Communities of God which are in Judaea in Christ Jesus, since you suffered also at the hands of your fellow-countrymen in the very same way as they did at
 15 the hands of the Jews—who killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and harassed ourselves, who please not God, and are against all men,
 16 who forbid us to speak to the Gentiles for their salvation; and all, that they may *fill up* their *sins* evermore. [The Wrath has come upon them at last.]

17 But when we were bereft of you, brothers, for a short while—distant in person, not in affection—we endeavoured more and more eagerly to see
 18 you with great longing. (We did desire to come to you, I Paul once
 19 and again, yet Satan hindered us.) For who is our hope or joy or wreath
 20 to exult in—who if not you—before our Lord Jesus at his arrival? Yes,
 3 1 indeed, you are our credit and joy. Therefore, unable to bear it
 2 any longer, we preferred to be left behind at Athens by ourselves; sending
 3 Timotheus, our brother and God's minister in the gospel of Christ, to
 3 establish and encourage you for the furtherance of your faith, that no one
 4 should be shaken by these distresses. For you know yourselves that we
 4 are destined to this; indeed we told you beforehand, when we were with
 5 you, "We are to suffer distress." And so it befel, as you know. For my
 4 part then, unable to bear it any longer, I sent in order to learn your faith,
 5 in case after all the tempter had tempted you, and our labour proved in vain.
 6 But when Timotheus reached us a moment ago from you, bringing us
 7 the good news of your faith and love, and of how you always have a kindly
 7 remembrance of us, longing to see us as we long to see you, then amid
 8 all our trouble and distress we were cheered about you, brothers, by
 8 your faith. This is life to us now, if you stand firm in the Lord.
 9 Yes! how can we render thanks to God for you, for all the joy we have
 10 on your account before our God? Night and day we pray especially
 11 to see you and to supply the deficiencies of your faith. May our
 11 God and Father himself, and our Lord Jesus, direct our way to you!
 12 And may the Lord make you increase and excel in love to one another
 13 and to all men (as we also do to you), to establish your hearts blameless
 13 in holiness before our God and Father at the arrival of our Lord Jesus
 13 with all his saints!

4 1 Well, then, brothers, our prayer and appeal to you in the Lord Jesus
 13 is to excel more and more in walking, as you received word from us how
 13 you ought to walk, so as to please God—and as, indeed, you are walking.
 2, 3 You know the charges we gave you by the Lord Jesus. For it is God's
 4 will that you be holy, that you abstain from fornication, that each of
 5 you learn to possess his own wife in chastity and honour, not in the
 6 appetite of lust like *the Gentiles who know not God*, to prevent any man
 6 overreaching and taking advantage of his brother in this affair; since,
 7 as we told you before and testified to you, *God is the avenger* in all these
 7 matters. For God did not call us to be impure; his is a holy calling.
 8 Therefore he who contemns this, contemns not man so much as God *who*
 9 *gives you his holy Spirit*. But in regard to brotherly love you have no
 9 need of anyone to write to you. You are yourselves taught by God to
 10 love one another; indeed, you act thus to all the brothers in all
 11 Macedonia. Still we exhort you, brothers, to excel more and more in
 11 that; also to make it your ambition to live quietly, to mind your own
 12 affairs, and—as we charged you—to work with your hands, so as to
 12 behave yourselves with propriety to those outside and be dependent on
 12 no one.

13 In regard to those who sleep, we would not have you ignorant,
 14 brothers, that you may not grieve like the rest, who have no hope. If
 we believe that Jesus died and rose, so also will God bring with him
 15 through Jesus those who have fallen asleep. For by a word of the Lord
 we tell you this: "We, the living, who survive until the arrival of the
 16 Lord, shall not precede those who have fallen asleep. The Lord himself,
 with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and with the trumpet of
 God, shall descend from heaven, and first the dead" in Christ "shall
 17 rise: then we," the living, "who survive, shall be caught up in the
 clouds along with them to meet the Lord in the air. And thus we shall
 18 be ever with the Lord." So comfort one another with these words.

5 1 But in regard to the times and the seasons, brothers, you have no
 2 need of being written to; you know perfectly well that the day of the
 3 Lord comes like a thief in the night. When they are speaking of
 "peace" and "safety," then sudden upon them destruction comes, as birth-
 4 pangs on a woman with child; and they shall not escape. But you are
 not in darkness, brothers, for the Day to overtake you like thieves.¹

5 You are all sons of light and sons of the day.

We belong not to the night nor to the darkness:

6 Well, then, let us not sleep like the rest, but be wakeful and sober.

7 For sleepers sleep at night,

And drunkards are drunk at night:

8 But as for us who belong to the day, let us be sober,

Putting on faith and love as our coat of mail;

And, for a helmet, the hope of salvation;

9 since God appointed us not to wrath but to possess salvation through our
 10 Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us that whether we wake or sleep we
 11 should live along with him. Therefore exhort one another, and let each
 build up the other—as indeed you do.

12 Now, brothers, we pray you to respect those who labour among you
 13 and preside over you in the Lord and admonish you; for the sake of
 their work esteem them with especial love. Be at peace among your-
 14 selves. Also we appeal to you, brothers, to admonish the irregular,
 encourage the faint-hearted, support the weak, be long-suffering to all.
 15 See that no one renders evil for evil: always aim at what is good for
 16, 17 one another and for all men. Always rejoice, pray without ceas-
 18 ing, in everything give thanks: such is God's will in Christ Jesus for
 19, 20, 21 you. Quench not the Spirit, despise not prophecies: test everything,
 22 retain the good, *abstain from every kind of evil.*

23 May the God of peace himself sanctify you perfectly, and may
 your spirit, soul, and body be kept entire, blameless at the arrival of our
 24 Lord Jesus Christ! He who calls you is faithful: he will do it.

25, 26 Brothers, pray for us. Salute all the brothers with a saints' kiss.

27 I adjure you by the Lord to have this letter read to all the brothers.

28 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.

¹ Reading *κρίσεις*.

II. THESSALONIANS

THIS letter purports to have been written shortly (2¹⁵) after 1 Thessalonians, partly to give further encouragement to the Christians of that city under their depressing trials, but especially to steady them against a feverish outburst of excitement. Symptoms of unrest were visible generally throughout the Empire at the time. But the particular and immediate cause at Thessalonika was furnished by the idea of the second Advent, the near approach of which had been proclaimed by several teachers as a revelation from God. They had also appealed to some written words of Paul himself.¹ Against this delusion and its moral consequences the epistle is written. It supplements the first epistle, while at the same time it faces a novel development of the situation. Paul had thought his friends did not require special instruction on eschatology (1 Th 5²). He now finds they do, and proceeds to give the requisite explanation and information on the fundamental principles of the last things. This is done, as the subject necessitated, in characteristically Jewish form. The spirit is Christian and Pauline, but the writer has for the time being become to the Jews a Jew.

The reasons which have made many scholars unsure of its authenticity and disposed to look for a later date, vary in weight. Some are obviously minor. The style of 2 Thessalonians is, on the whole, genuinely Pauline (cp. besides Bornemann's copious discussion in Meyer, *ad loc.*, and Zahn, *Evl.* i. pp. 181-183; Jowett, *Epp. of Paul*,³ i. pp. 70-76), and no stress can be safely put on the linguistic arguments. The emphasis on Paul's authority ("die betreffenden Wendungen haben ein mehr offizielles Gepräge," Spitta) is not unnatural in the circumstances, and cannot be regarded with suspicion as exaggerated. The different motives for his labour (1 Th 2⁹, 2 Th 3⁷) are not contradictory but correlative. In fact the really crucial points which determine the question of the later date lie exclusively in the eschatological features of the writing. An estimate of these is decisive, and the other evidence must be used chiefly to corroborate the conclusion reached upon surer grounds.

i. The idea of the Antichrist has been frequently taken as implying the Montanist conceptions of the second century; the commoner interpretation, however, finds in it a reference to the legendary return of Nero after his death. This gives a good sense, but it is not a necessary inference from the text. Nero's reappearance is merely one of several

¹ Perhaps in 1 Thessalonians (5¹⁻¹¹ 2¹⁶), but not necessarily. Before the date of that epistle Paul may well have written others, and even some (two) to Thessalonika itself (as Professor Rendel Harris, *Exp.*⁵ viii. 161 f., 401 f., has recently suggested), which are no longer extant. At any rate, the reference to the admitted practice of forgery (2² 3¹⁷) is no valid argument against the Pauline authorship (cp. Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 10. 4); nor is there sufficient reason for supposing that the rumour was unfounded and Paul's fear mistaken. The difficulty of 2² is not eased by Dr. Field's ingenious conjecture, *ὡς δὲ ἡμῶν*, "as pretending to be ours" (cum irrisione quadam plerumque ponitur *ὡς δὲ*, Ast), *Otium Norvicense*, part III. (1899), p. 202.

facts that suit the conception of Antichrist in this writing. If any political significance had to be found for it here, then, as Grotius saw long ago, the irreligious procedure of the madcap Caligula (Hausrath, ii. pp. 31-74) with his claim to deity (2⁴) would furnish an even apter basis; and it is to be noted that the coincidences between the Apocalypse and this epistle mostly occur in passages of the Apocalypse (chaps. 13, 17), where on other grounds critics have suspected an original apocalyptic piece belonging to Caligula's reign.¹ But the conception of an enemy of God and his manifestation is really a dogmatic postulate² taken over from the OT (Schürer,³ *HJP*, II. ii. p. 164 f.). It required no one emperor to suggest it. The whole scheme was prompted rather by the inner glow of expectation for the future and indignation at the present, which possessed the loyal heirs of the OT prophecies. Resemblances with outer conditions might be traced, but the aptness of the prophecy's repetition never depended altogether on its exact and detailed applicability to such conditions. Here, as in the Apocalypse of John, a certain contentment with indefiniteness is one of the self-denying ordinances of good criticism. Nor again has the reference of 2 Th 2^{6, 7} to the restraining influence of the Roman Empire, which still seems the most satisfactory view,⁴ any necessary connection with the individual Caligula, much less with Vespasian. The tone agrees perfectly with subsequent Pauline passages like Ro 13¹⁻⁷. It is the emperor officially not individually, who is meant. Indeed, the disposition on the part of many critics to assume a frequent reference to political affairs in Paul's epistles is often little better than a modern conceit. Paul viewed the world largely *sub specie aeternitatis*. He had by birth and training his apocalyptic categories and possibly an apocalyptic tradition of Jesus (1 Th 4¹⁵) from the early church. These are quite sufficient of themselves to explain this and

¹ On his attempted insult to the Jews, cp. Tacit. *Hist.* v. 9, "Jussi a Caio Cesare effigiem eius in templo locare, arma potius sumpserunt: quem motum Caesaris mors diremit." There is quite a case for dating 3 Mac at this period as a book of consolation written for Alexandrian Jews (Philo, *Leg.* 30-43; Jos. *Wars*, ii. 10, *Ant.* xviii. 2, 9).

² In Ps Sol 17¹³⁻²⁰, Pompey, the first violator of the temple, is *ὁ ἀνομιος*, his people *οἱ ἀνομοι*. Cp. passages like Ps 88²³ and Dan 7²⁵ 11^{36, 37}, with their traditional interpretation in Judaism (Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 221 f.).

³ He will not accept the epistle as authentic (*EB*, article "Thessalonians"), but the reference to Nero is not one of his grounds for that decision. Bousset's researches into the Antichrist tradition (*Antichrist*, pp. 115 f., 129 f., 132 f.) throw some light upon its history. His aim is to prove the existence of a Jewish tradition going back to Herod's time or even to the later Maccabees, in which the ideas of a tyrant who is God's opponent and of a false Messiah were not strictly distinguished at all points. This originally unpolitical tradition (cp. his edition of *Apoc.* pp. 431 f.) would be reflected in the NT in 2 Th 2, the small apocalypse of the synoptic gospels, and Apoc 11³⁻¹³. Cp. also Assumpt. Mos. 8-10 and Didachê, c. 16.

⁴ Cp. Weiss, *NTTh*, i. pp. 305-311. In this event the obstinate malevolence of Judaism underlies the "mystery of iniquity." Warfield, however (*Exp.*³ iv. pp. 30-44), prefers to reverse the usual interpretation. He takes the man of sin as representing the imperial line and its rage for deification. The restraining power is the Jewish state, which "hid the tender infancy of the church within the canopy of a protecting sheath until it should grow strong enough to withstand all storms." As a modern reading of the history, this has some truth. The question is whether it would have occurred to Paul. It seems scarcely possible that he would have subtly combined in one letter a polemic against Jewish obstinacy and antagonism, and also a theory of their providential and unconscious service to the Christian communities. For the eschatological atmosphere and vista of the epistle, cp. Sabatier, pp. 117-123, and Denney, "Thessalonians" (*Expos. Bible*, 1891), pp. 303-337, besides the catena of details in Bornemann's or Schmiedel's excursus, and Klöpper's paragraphs in the monograph cited below.

many other passages in his writings, without the importation of outside allusions. Further, the general reference to the restraint of the Empire is borne out by the Jewish character of "the man of lawlessness," who plays in the main the rôle of a pseudo-Messiah¹ (4 Esdras 4¹) among the Jews. The Antichrist is religious, not political. The secret antagonism which the Christian faith had to encounter is in all likelihood the hostility of Judaism both in Palestine and in the provinces, and the conception of Rome as a bar to this antagonism could hardly have survived the seventh decade with its Neronic frenzy. If this interpretation be correct, it helps to explain the almost cryptic and oracular vagueness of Paul's reference to the removal of the restraining force. Allusions to an emperor's death had of necessity to be couched in very guarded language.

ii. Even were the alleged contradiction between the views of the two epistles upon the second Advent established, it would tell in favour of the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians rather than otherwise. The discrepancy would be easier of explanation as the variation of one man's mind, than as the work of a later Christian who ostensibly intended to reproduce Paul's ideas, and yet allows himself to openly dispute the apostle's written utterances. But between passages like 1 Th 5² and 2 Th 2³ there is little discrepancy—except on paper. To be instantaneous and to be heralded by a historical prelude, are not contradictory ideas (e.g. Mt 24²⁹⁻³⁹, Apoc 3³=6¹²). The second passage represents another aspect of the belief which Paul afterwards found it useful to press. Then, as ever, he was more concerned for the practical situation of his readers than careful to be strictly and verbally consistent with his past utterances.² Apostasy as a prelude to the second Advent is neither to be taken as an essential dogma of Paulinism up to the last, nor to be set aside as in itself an impossible conception for the apostle. At this time he cannot have had then any crystallised dogma—if he ever had—upon the contents of the interval between the present and the finalê. For practical purposes it was enough to insist now on the unexpectedness of the Advent, now on its possible delay, according to the trend of current notions upon the subject. In reality the future outlook in both epistles is substantially identical: the crisis is not localised in either, yet it is not far away.

Baur, who rejected both the Thessalonian epistles, dated the second after Paul's death, c. 68-70, the Antichrist being Nero, the apocalyptic

¹ This is corroborated if the scene of the beast's activity in Apoc 11 is interpreted to be Jerusalem. So Bousset (*Antichrist*, eb. i.), who accepts the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians, "without, however, laying too much weight on this assumption." He rightly quotes Jo 5⁴³ as a direct parallel to 2 Th 2⁹⁻¹². But one is less sure about his theory of the personal pseudo-Messiah. This figure he traces back to the dragon-opponent of God in the old myths, but without proving that such an incarnation of rebellion must necessarily have been viewed as a false Messiah by the Jews. At the same time, so far from being a political personality, he is "a purely eschatological figure in every sense of the word," neither Simon Magus nor Bar-Kokhba.

² "Dass P. immer viel über die Gründe des Verzuges der Par. nachgedacht hat, ist selbstverständlich, halb freute er sich desselben, halb war er darob betrübt; dass der Herr nahe sei, ist ihm nie zweifelhaft geworden, die Zuversicht wird aber auch durch 2 Th nicht angetastet. Eine religiöse Fundamentalfrage war es nicht, was vor der Par. sich noch abspielen müsse; die Katechumenen hat er darüber unterrichtet, an solche wendet er sich aber nicht in seinen späteren Briefen, braucht also auf den Gegenstand nicht einzugehen" (Jülicher); cp. Clemen, *Chron.* pp. 41-43, also—from an opposite standpoint—Holtzmann, *NTTh.* ii. 190-192, and Dr. O. Cone, *Paul the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher* (pp. 102, 103), *Gospel and its Interpretations*, pp. 348, 349.

"beast" (*Paul* (Eng. tr.), ii. 85-97, 314-340), and Schmiedel (*HC*, ii. i.) has recently supported this date with much candour. On the later form of this view, the epistle is an apocalypse¹ which desires to win Pauline sanction for its conceptions, founding itself upon 1 Thessalonians and the Corinthian epistles especially. If a later date than the usual one has to be taken, certainly the close of the seventh decade is infinitely more probable than one in Trajan's reign, when the background of the writing would consist of antinomian Gnostic controversies. The latter position is held, after Hilgenfeld, by Bahnsen ("Zum Verständniss von 2 Th 2," *JpTh.* (1880), pp. 681-705, the "restraint" being in this case the episcopate), Pfeleiderer (*Urc.* 77-78, 356-358), who considers it as a pendant to the Johannine Apocalypse, composed not earlier than Trajan's reign, and Brückner, *Chron.* pp. 253-256. Havet (*Origines*, iv. p. 373) thinks of Vespasian as the *κατέχων* (27), J. Weiss (*SK* (1892), pp. 253, 254) assigns both epistles to Silvanus ("Der nutzmassliche Schreiber oder Inspirator des ersten Petrusbriefes die Thessalonicherbriefe zum wenigstens mitgestaltet habe"), while C. Rauch again (*ZwTh.* (1895), pp. 457-465) regards 2 Thessalonians as composed fifty years after Paul's death, subsequent to the Apocalypse and previous to Barnabas, in order to exhibit Pauline eschatology under Jewish-Christian conceptions. On all these theories the letter is a revision of 1 Thessalonians. The writer has worked over and remodelled that writing, using Paul's style as far as he could, to convey later eschatological teaching through the medium of Pauline traditions.²

Holtzmann closes his discussion (*Einkl.* pp. 212-216), however, with the significant admission, "The question at the present time is, not whether the second epistle should be thrust down into the post-apostolic age, but whether, on the contrary, it does not reach back to the lifetime of the apostle, and is not therefore authentic and written shortly after 1 Thessalonians, i.e. about 54 A.D." Upon this position the above-noted lines of interpretation converge. Indeed, despite the inferiority of interest and vigour of which so much has been made, the impression of the letter's genuinely Pauline character has been spreading among critics.³ Even Spitta, who is unwilling to accept its authenticity (*Offenbarung Joh.* 497-590, *Urc.* i. pp. 111-153), feels bound to do justice to what are its undoubtedly Pauline elements. The contents, he supposes, with their somewhat formal and official strain, were not dictated to, but rather composed in the name of the others (2 Th 1¹) by Paul's companion Timotheus, whose acquaintance with Jewish fables and scriptures is inferred from the tradition embodied in the "Pastorals" (Ac 16¹). More thoroughly the Pauline authorship and the 52-54 A.D. date have been frankly accepted by Reuss (pp. 73-75); Grimm (*SK* (1850), pp. 753-816); Schenkel, *Das Christusbild d. Apostel*, pp. 68, 69; Renan, *Saint Paul*, pp. 248-255; Mangold (-Bleek, § 143); Sabatier; Weiss, *INT*, i. pp.

¹ The dreaded outbreak being of course the return of Nero redivivus, and the restraint the imperial power of Vespasian or Galba.

² Weizsäcker, *AA*, i. pp. 295-298; cp. von Soden, *SK* (1885), p. 263 f.; and S. Davidson, *INT*, i. pp. 250-265. The improbability of such a method after Paul's death is brought out very forcibly by Zahn (*Einkl.* i. p. 177 f.), especially in its connection with Nero redivivus.

³ Especially among those who, like Haupt (*Die eschatol. Aussagen Jesu* (1895), pp. 136, 137), and Zahn, *Einkl.* i. pp. 159, 160, are able to accept the synoptic eschatology, with its prediction of false prophets and apostasy, as a genuine deliverance of Jesus, c. 29 A.D., to which subsequent Christian teaching—as here and in the Apocalypse—owes its initiative and justification. See next page, *N.B.*

232-234, *AJT*, i. 338-344; Gloël, *Die jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefes*, pp. 40-42; Salmon, *INT*, pp. 365-369; Godet (*INT*, i. p. 164 f.); Jowett; Sanday and Headlam, "Romans" (*ICC*), p. xiv; G. G. Findlay ("Thessalonians," *Cambridge Bible*, 1891); Jülicher, *Einkl.* pp. 46-52; Clemen, *Chron.* pp. 240-246; McGiffert, *AA*, pp. 257-253; and Adeney, *BI*, pp. 357-360. The most wealthy exposition is that of Bornemann (-Meyer); there is a Dutch monograph by Westrik, "De echtheid van den tweeden brief aan de Thessal." (1899), especially useful on the question of style, and a skilful defence of the authenticity by A. Klöpper, *Theol. Stud. u. Skizzen aus Ostpreussen*, Heft 8, 1889. So too Monnet, "Les épîtres aux Thess." (*Thèse aux Montauban*, 1889); Schäfer, *Einkl.* pp. 81-84; and Zahn, *Einkl.* i. pp. 160-183; also Dr. Drummond (*IH*, ii. pp. 6-13), who decides that "the very passages which are relied upon as an evidence of forgery are more surprising from a forger than from Paul." It is a pity, however, to introduce the alien conception of forgery at all into the discussion of such problems in ancient literature [Jülicher: *Einkl.* 38 f.].

Of the three Pauline epistles which cannot be accepted without scrutiny and hesitation, 2 Thessalonians perhaps comes next to Colossians in point of genuine self-attestation. To a less degree than Ephesians it ultimately justifies the doubt raised by a first survey of its contents and allusions; and this estimate is true, even although the result of investigation is to leave it a problem as well as an authority for the study of early Christianity.¹

¹ As I rewrite this note, the disorder produced by eschatological superstition in Thessalonika (2 Th 3^{6 f.}) is curiously paralleled by a recent instance of similar disorganisation in Tripoli. Letters from that district (quoted in the *Westminster Gazette*, Nov. 1899) "report an amazing state of affairs consequent upon the report that the end of the world will come on November 13. The Israelites are sending their wives to pray in the synagogues, and most workmen have ceased work. Debtors refuse to pay their debts, so that trade is almost paralysed. On Monday last one of the cases before the Tunis native court was that of an Arab who sued a Jew for a small sum of money. The debtor acknowledged the debt, but asked for fifteen days' delay to pay it. The Arab refused to grant the delay on the ground that the world would be destroyed before it expired. The judge sent the debtor to prison."

N.B.—The partition-theories applied by several scholars (see below, p. 626) to this epistle, especially by Spitta, have been reviewed adversely by Prof. G. G. Findlay in *Exp.*⁶ (Oct. 1900) pp. 251-261; and its authenticity is further advocated by Bacon, *INT* (72-75), who points out that the apparent discrepancies in the eschatology of the two Thess. epistles are not more serious than those presented by Lk 21⁷⁻³³, which qualifies the warning of Lk 17²⁶⁻³⁰, 21³⁴⁻³⁶ (all these passages being taken by Bacon, as by Haupt and Zahn, as authentic elements of Christ's teaching).

Willrich (*Judaica*, 1900, pp. 40-130) fills up the years after 30 A.D. by assigning to them a disproportionate number of Alexandrian Jewish productions, chiefly pseudepigrapha; he puts Jasou of Cyrene not earlier than the reign of Claudius, and 2 Macc actually after 70 A.D. On Spitta's view (*Urc.* ii. 241-437), the "Shepherd" of Hermas, finally edited by a Christian c. 130 A.D., rests upon a Jewish prophetic writing which was also composed in the reign of Claudius.

Against Bornemann especially, H. T. Holtzmann (*ZNW*, 1901, 97-108) reiterates the conviction that the style and contents of 2 Th prove it to be sub-Pauline, written (like the parallel 2 Pet) to correct misunderstandings raised by the earlier literature, in view of such a tradition as that preserved in Mk 91.

[51-52 A.D. ±]

II. THESSALONIANS

The whole of the epistle is written under what may be termed "the feeling of persecution"; that is to say, the sense of resignation, on the one hand, to the present will of God; on the other hand, a sure and certain hope that "times of refreshment" were at hand. Such was the feeling of the apostle himself, and he implies the existence of a similar feeling in the church to which he was writing. Sadness and consolation, hope and fear, the array of glory and of terror, were present with them or passing before them. A life thus divided between this world and another was naturally liable to become a life of excitement and disorder. Times of persecution needed extraordinary religious supports; the withdrawal of those supports, the momentary clouding of the heaven above, would from time to time lead to reaction.—**Jowett.**

1¹⁻² **Greeting.**

1³⁻²⁷ **Thanksgiving and prayer** for faith under persecution :
courage in prospect of the Lord's
second Arrival.

2¹⁻¹² the time of the second Arrival—
Paul's apocalypse—"The man of
sin," "the mystery of law-
lessness."

2¹³⁻¹⁵ renewed thanksgiving
2¹⁶⁻¹⁷ and prayer for them.

3¹⁻¹⁶ **Personal :** prayer asked for himself :
his wish and hope for them.
Warning against the disorderly and the idle—
a prayer.

3¹⁷⁻¹⁸ **Conclusion.**

II. THESSALONIANS

- 1 1 PAUL and Silvanus and Timotheus
to the Community of the Thessalonians in God our Father and the
Lord Jesus Christ :
- 2 grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus
Christ.
- 3 We are bound to give thanks to God always for you, brothers, as is
fitting, because your faith is growing greatly, and the love of each one of
4 you all to one another is increasing, so that we ourselves exult about you
among the Communities of God for your patience and faith amid all your
5 persecutions and the distresses that you endure ; these clearly prove the
just judgment of God, namely, that you are to be held worthy of the
6 reign of God, on behalf of which you also suffer—seeing that God con-
7 siders it but just to render distress to those who distress you, and to you
who are distressed relief with us, at the revelation of the Lord Jesus from
8 heaven with the angels of his power *in flaming fire, when he inflicts
punishment on those who know not God, and on those who obey not the*
9 *gospel of our Lord Jesus, men who shall pay the penalty of eternal
destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the majesty of his*
10 *might, when he comes to be exalted in his saints, and to be wondered at*
11 *among all believers (because our witness did find belief with you) in that*
12 *day.* Wherefore we also pray for you always, that our God may hold
you worthy of your calling, and powerfully accomplish every desire of
12 goodness and work of faith, *so that the name of our Lord Jesus may be
exalted in you and you in him, through the grace of our God and of the
Lord Jesus Christ.*
- 2 1 Now, brothers, with regard to the arrival of our Lord Jesus Christ
2 and our gathering together to him, we pray you not to be hastily dis-
turbed from your sober mind, nor to be disquieted by a spirit, or by a
word, or by a letter (as if from us) to this effect, that the day of the Lord
3 is imminent. Let no one beguile you at all. For the apostasy must
come first, with the revelation of the man of lawlessness, the son of
perdition,
4 the adversary *who uplifts himself over all that is called divine or
that is an object of worship,*
and finally *sits down in the sanctuary of God, giving himself out to
be God.*
- 5 Do you not remember that I used to tell you this when I was still with
6 you? Well, you know now what restrains him from being revealed
before his proper season.
- 7 For the secret of lawlessness is at work already ;
Only, it cannot be revealed until he who at present restrains it is
removed.
- 8 Then shall *the lawless one* be revealed,

Whom the Lord Jesus *shall slay with the breath of his mouth*.
And put down by his appearing and arrival—

- 9 The lawless one, whose arrival is due to Satan's force,
With all the power and signs and wonders of falsehood,
10 And with all the deceit of iniquity for the perishing,
Because they did not accept the love of the truth for their salvation.
11 Therefore God sends them a force of error,
So that they believe the falsehood,
12 That all might be judged who believed not the truth
But delighted in iniquity.
13 But we are bound always to give God thanks for you, brothers,
beloved by the Lord, because God has chosen you from the beginning for
salvation through sanctification by the Spirit and belief in the truth :
14 for this he has called you through our gospel, even to possess the majesty
15 of our Lord Jesus Christ. So then, brothers, stand firm, and hold to the
16 traditions that you have been taught by word or by letter from us. May
our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God our Father who has loved us
17 and given us eternal comfort and good hope through his grace, encourage
your hearts and establish them in every good work and word !
3 1 Pray, then, for us, brothers,
that the Lord's word may speed on and be exalted,
even as it has been with you,
2 and that we may be rescued from those who are perverse and evil—
for the faith is not possessed by everyone.
3 But the Lord is faithful : he shall establish you and preserve you
4 from the evil one. We rely upon you in the Lord, confident
5 that¹ you are doing and will do as we charge. May the Lord direct
your hearts into the love of God and into the patience of Christ !
6 Now, brothers, we charge you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ
to avoid every brother whose walk is irregular and not after the
7 tradition received from us. You know yourselves how you ought to
8 imitate us. We did not lead an irregular life among you, nor did we
eat bread at any man's hand for nothing, but with labour and toil we
9 worked night and day, so as to be no burden to any of you. It was not
that we lacked the right ; it was simply to set ourselves as a pattern for
10 you to imitate. We gave you this charge even when we were with you :
11 "If any man will not work, neither let him eat." Whereas we hear of
some who are leading an irregular life among you, not busy, but busy-
12 bodies. Such people we charge and beseech in the Lord Jesus to work
13 quietly and eat their own bread. As for yourselves, brothers, never lose
14 heart in well-doing. But if anyone obeys not the word we send by this
letter, note him, keep no company² with him, that he may be shamed.
15 Yet do not consider him as if he were an enemy : admonish him as a
16 brother. And may the Lord of peace himself ever give you peace
in every way !
The Lord be with you all.
17 The salutation is by the hand of me, Paul—it is a token in every
letter ; such is my way of writing.
18 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.

¹ Omitting [[*καί*]].

² Reading *συναγαμίγνυθε*.

GALATIANS

This epistle places us in the midst of the great excitement of the critical struggle which had begun between Judaism and Christianity, in the decision of the momentous question whether there should be a Christianity free from Judaism and essentially different from it, or whether Christianity should only exist as a form of Judaism, that is to say, as nothing else than a modified and extended Judaism. . . . There can scarcely be any doubt with regard to these Judaising opponents, that from the way in which the apostle opposed them, the conflict was now being carried on for the first time. We see that this is the first time this subject has been handled; the apostle perceives that he is absolutely obliged to give an account of how he was summoned to his apostolic office, and he speaks of it in such a manner as he could not have done, if he had ever before come in contact with these opponents in the same way. He puts himself thoroughly in opposition to them; as thoroughly as can only be done when for the first time the full importance of a principle dawns upon a man, and when the maintenance of this principle against a vexatious opposition constitutes the task of his whole life.—**Baur.**

1¹⁻¹⁰ **Introduction.**

1¹¹⁻²² **Personal:** the independence of his gospel—
 from God not man :
 his early relations with the apostles, and especially Peter.

3-4 **Dogmatic:** the Law and the Spirit—
 the Law provisional: the problem of Abraham and his
 faith—
 the Law superseded: the allegory of Hagar—
 Christianity, final and free.

5¹⁻⁶¹⁰ **Ethical:** Christian freedom :
 Paul's gospel a gospel of liberty,
 but not of licence.
 The ethics of the Spirit.

6¹¹⁻¹⁸ **Epilogue:**

GALATIANS

- 1 **1** PAUL, an apostle not from men nor by a man, but by Jesus Christ and
 2 God the Father who raised him from the dead, with all the brothers who
 are beside me,
 to the Communities of Galatia :
 3 grace to you and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus
 4 Christ, who gave himself for our sins that he might deliver us from the
 5 present evil world according to the will of our God and Father, to whom
 be the honour for ever and ever, Amen.
 6 I wonder that you are going over so hastily from him who called you
 7 through the grace of Christ, going over to a different gospel.—It is not
 another gospel: only, there are certain persons who trouble you and
 want to pervert the gospel of Christ.
 8 But even though we or an angel from heaven were to preach ¹ a gospel
 contrary to that which we preached to you,
 let him be accursed.
 9 As we have said before, so now I say again :
 If anyone preaches to you a gospel contrary to that which you received,
 let him be accursed.
 10 Now is that “speaking to conciliate men,” or God ?
 Trying “to please men” !
 If I were still pleasing men, I should not be Christ’s slave.
 11 I tell you, brothers, about the gospel preached by me,
 It is not after the manner of man :
 12 I did not receive it from man, nor was I taught it ;
 Nay, I had it by a revelation of Jesus Christ.
 13 You have heard of my conduct at one time in Judaism, that I persecuted
 14 the Community of God and made havoc of it beyond measure, and that I
 advanced in Judaism beyond many of my contemporaries, zealot as I was
 15 more and more for the traditions of my fathers. But when it was the
 good pleasure of him ² who set me apart *from my mother’s womb* and
 16 *called* me through his grace, to reveal his Son for me, that I might preach
 him among the Gentiles, I did not immediately communicate with flesh and
 17 blood, or go up to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me. No, I
 18 went away to Arabia, and returned once more to Damascus. Then, after
 three years, I went up to Jerusalem to become acquainted with Kephas,
 19 and with him I stayed for fifteen days. I saw no one else of the apostles,
 20 except James the brother of the Lord. (Lo, before God, I swear I am
 21 not lying in what I write to you !) Then I came to the regions of Syria
 22 and Cilicia. And still I was personally unknown to the Communities of
 23 Judaea which were in Christ. They only heard reports that “he who
 24 once persecuted us, is preaching now the faith of which he once made
 2 **1** havoc”; and they magnified God on my account. Then after
 fourteen years I went up to Jerusalem once more, along with Barnabas ;

¹ Omitting [[ὁ μισῶ]].

² Omitting [[ὁ θεός]].

- 2 I also took Titus with me. Now I went up owing to a revelation. And I laid before them the gospel I preach among the Gentiles—it was in private, however, before those of repute—lest haply I might be running or might have run, in vain. (But, Greek as he was, even Titus my companion was not compelled to have himself circumcised. On account of the false brothers stealthily introduced, men who crept in by stealth to spy out that freedom which we possess in Christ, for the purpose of enslaving us, we did not yield in the way of submission for a single hour; in order that the truth of the gospel might remain with you.) But from those of some repute—whatever they were at one time makes no difference to me, God regards no man's person: to me certainly they communicated nothing. On the contrary, when they saw that I had been intrusted with the gospel for the Uncircumcision just as Peter had been for the Circumcision—for he who worked by Peter for a mission to the Circumcision, worked also by me for the Gentiles—and when they recognised the grace given to me, then James and Kephas and John, those who were of repute as pillars, gave the right hand of fellowship to myself and to Barnabas, on condition that we should be for the Gentiles, and they for the Circumcision. Only, we were to “be mindful of the poor”—the very thing I endeavoured to do. But when Kephas came to Antioch I opposed him to his face. The man stood self-condemned. For, before certain persons came from James, he ate with the Gentiles; but when they came, he began to draw back and separate himself, as he feared those who belonged to the Circumcision. And along with him the rest of the Jews also dissembled, so that even Barnabas was carried away by their dissembling. But when I saw that their course was not straightforward, in line with the truth of the gospel, I said to Kephas before them all, “If, Jew as thou art, thou livest like the Gentiles and not like the Jews, how is it thou art trying to compel the Gentiles to Judaize?” We are by nature Jews, and not “sinners of Gentiles”! Yet as we know that a man is not justified by deeds of law, but only through faith in Christ Jesus, we ourselves believed on Christ Jesus, that we might be justified by faith in Christ and not by deeds of law; for by deeds of law *no flesh shall be justified*. Now if we ourselves, as we sought to be justified in Christ, “were found also to be sinners,” is Christ then a minister of sin? God forbid! Rather I prove myself to be a transgressor, if I build up again that which I destroyed. For I through the law died to the law, that I might live for God. I have been crucified with Christ, and it is no longer I who live, Christ lives in me; the life I now live in the flesh I live in faith, faith in the Son of God who loved me and gave up himself for me. I do not frustrate the grace of God; for if uprightness is through the law, then Christ died without a cause.
- 8 1 O foolish Galatians, who bewitched you—you before whose eyes Jesus Christ was depicted on the cross? I would learn merely this from you: was it by deeds of law that you received the Spirit, or by the message of faith? Are you such fools? Did you begin in the Spirit only to stop now with the flesh? Had you all that experience in vain (if indeed it is really in vain)? Does he who supplies you with the Spirit and works miracles among you, do that by deeds of law (pray) or by the message of faith? It is just as with Abraham, who *believed God, and it was counted to him as uprightness*. Understand then that those who depend on faith are the sons of Abraham. Moreover the scripture, foreseeing that it is by faith God justifies the Gentiles, preached the gospel beforehand to Abraham: *In thee shall all the*

9 *nations be blessed.* So that those who depend on faith are blessed with
 10 Abraham the faithful. For all who depend on deeds of law are
 under the curse: for it is written, *Cursed is everyone who abides not*
 11 *by all the things written in the book of the law, to do them.* Further,
 that in the law no one is justified before God is clear, because it is
 12 *by faith that the upright shall live.* Now the law does not exist by
 13 faith; nay, *he who does them shall live thereby.* Christ ransomed us from
 the curse of the law by becoming accursed for us (For it is written,
Cursed is everyone who hangs upon a gibbet),

14 That the blessing of Abraham might reach the Gentiles in Christ
 Jesus,

That through faith we might receive the promised Spirit.

15 Brothers, when a man's will has been ratified—to use a merely human
 way of speaking—no one sets it aside or adds new conditions, though
 16 it be but the will of a man. Now it was to Abraham that the promises
 were spoken, *and to his offspring.* He does not say “and to offsprings”
 in the plural, but in the singular “*and to thy offspring*”—which is Christ.
 17 My point is this: the law which came four hundred and thirty years
 later does not cancel a will previously ratified by God, so as to annul
 18 the promise. If the inheritance is by law, it is no longer by promise.
 19 Now God has bestowed it on Abraham by promise. What of the law
 then? It was added to produce the transgressions, until the coming of
 the seed to whom the promise has been made; and it was given through
 20 the administration of angels by the agency of a mediator. (Now a
 21 mediator implies more than one; whereas God is one.) Is the law then
 opposed to the promises of God? God forbid! Had a law been given
 which was able to make alive, uprightness would have really been by
 22 law; but the scripture shut up all things under sin, in order that the
 promise which is by faith in Jesus Christ might be given to those who
 believe.
 23 Now before that faith came, we were guarded under control of law,
 24 shut up with a view to the faith which was to be revealed. So that the
 law proved our tutor till Christ came, in order that by faith we might
 25 be justified. But faith has come, and we are under a tutor no longer.
 26, 27 You are all God's sons through faith in Christ Jesus; for all of you who
 28 had yourselves baptized into Christ, put on Christ. There is no place for
 Jew or Greek, there is no place for slave or freeman, there is no place for
 29 male and female: all of you are one being in Christ Jesus. Now,
 if you are Christ's, why then, you are Abraham's offspring, heirs owing to the
 4 1 promise. As long as the heir is a child, I mean, he does not differ at all from
 2 a slave, though he is lord of all. He is under guardians and trustees until
 3 the term previously fixed by his father. So also with us: when we were
 4 children we were held in slavery under the elements of the world; but
 when the fulness of the time came, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman,
 5 born under law, that he might ransom those who are under law, that we
 6 might get our sonship. And because you are sons God sent forth the
 7 Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying “Abba! Father!” So thou art
 a slave no longer, but a son; and if a son, an heir also through God.
 8 But at that time, since you did not know God, you were in servitude
 9 to gods which by nature are no gods. Now that you have come to know
 God, however, or rather to be known by God, how is it you are turning
 back again to the weak and beggarly elements, desiring to be slaves to
 10 them once more? Observe days and months and festal seasons and
 11 years! You!—I am afraid, after all, I may have laboured on you in vain.

12 Turn to be like me, brothers, I entreat you ; I also have turned to be like
 13 you. You have done me no wrong. Rather, though (as you are aware)
 it was owing to bodily sickness that I preached the gospel to you on my
 14 former visit, and though my flesh was a trial to you, you did not despise
 nor spurn me. Nay, you received me as an angel of God, as Christ Jesus.
 15 You pronounced yourselves "happy." Then where is that happiness ? (I
 bear you witness, you would have plucked out your very eyes and given
 16 them to me, had it been possible.) So I have become your enemy by
 17 dealing honestly with you ? These men are not paying you court with
 any honourable zeal ! Nay, they would shut you out from others in order
 18 that you may have to pay court to themselves. It is a capital thing to be
 courted zealously in an honourable cause, and that at all times, not merely
 19 when one is with you, O my children—you with whom I am once more in
 20 travail, until Christ be formed in you ! Would that I could be with you
 just now, and alter my tone ! for I am perplexed about you.

21 Tell me, you who would fain be under law, do you not understand
 22 the law ? Surely it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by the
 23 bondmaid and one by the free woman ; but while the son of the bond-
 maid was born after the flesh, the son of the free woman was born through
 24 the promise. This is allegorical. These women are two covenants. One
 is from Mount Sinai and bears children for bondage ; that is Hagar
 25 (Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia). She corresponds to the present
 26 Jerusalem, for she is in bondage along with her children. But the
 27 Jerusalem on high is free ; and she is our mother. For it is written,

Rejoice, thou barren who bearest not :

Burst out with joyful cry, thou who travailest not ;

For many are the children of the desolate,

Many more than hers who is married.

28, 29 Now you are like Isaac, brothers, children of promise. But as at that
 time he who was born after the flesh persecuted him who was born
 30 after the Spirit, so is it now. Nevertheless, what saith the scripture ? *Cast*
out the bondmaid and her son, for the son of the bondmaid shall not be heir
 31 *along with the son of the free woman.* Therefore, brothers, we are children
 not of a bondmaid but of the free woman.

51 It was for freedom that Christ freed us. Stand firm then, and be not
 2 caught once more in a yoke of bondage.—Behold, I Paul tell you ; if you
 3 have yourselves circumcised, Christ will be no use to you. Again I
 protest to everyone who has himself circumcised, he is under obligation
 4 to obey the whole law. You who would fain be justified by law, you are
 5 done with Christ, you are fallen from grace. For by faith we wait in the
 6 Spirit for uprightness, our hope. Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision
 7 is of any avail in Christ Jesus, but only faith that works through love. You
 8 were running nobly. Who hindered you from obeying the truth ? The
 9 persuasion to that does not come from him who calls you. (A little
 10 leaven leavens the whole lump.) For myself, I am confident about you
 in the Lord that you will not go wrong. But as for him who is troubling
 11 you, he will have to bear the doom, whoever he may be. As for me,
 brothers, if I am "still preaching circumcision," why am I still persecuted ?
 12 In that case the hindrance of the cross is abolished ! O that those who
 are unsettling you would have themselves mutilated also !

13 You were called to be free, brothers. Only, do not turn your freedom
 into an opportunity for the flesh, but serve one another through love.
 14 For the whole law is fulfilled in one word, in the command : *Thou shalt love*
 15 *thy neighbour as thyself.* But if you "bite and devour one another," take

- 16 care that you do not consume one another. I tell you, walk by
 17 the Spirit : then you shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh lusts
 against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh (these are opposed
 to one another), in order that you may not do the things that you would.
 18, 19 And if you are led by the Spirit you are not under law. Now the
 works of the flesh are obvious : they consist of fornication, impurity,
 20 sensuality, idolatry, magic, enmities, quarrelling, jealousy, angry passions,
 21 factions, dissensions, parties, envies, bouts of drunkenness, of revelry, and
 such like. I tell you beforehand as I already told you beforehand, that those
 22 who practise such things shall not inherit the reign of God. But the fruit
 of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faith-
 23, 24 fulness, gentleness, self-control : against such things there is no law. And
 those who are of Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with its passions and
 25, 26 lusts. If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us walk. Let us
 61 have no empty pride, nettling one another, envying one another. Brothers,
 even though a man is detected in some trespass, do you as spiritual
 people restore such a one in the spirit of gentleness : look to thyself lest
 2 thou also be tempted. Bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of
 3 Christ. For if a man imagines himself to be something great when he is
 4 a mere nobody, he is cheating himself. Let each man test his own work,
 and then he shall have something to exult about in himself, and not
 5 in comparison with his neighbour. For each shall bear his own load.
 6 Let him who is instructed in the word share with his instructor,
 in all good things.
 7 Be not misled : God is not to be mocked,
 8 For whatever a man sows that shall he also reap.
 He who sows to his flesh shall from the flesh reap destruction,
 But he who sows to the Spirit shall from the Spirit reap life eternal.
 9 Let us not lose heart in doing good : for we shall reap in due season,
 10 if we faint not. So then while we have¹ time, let us work at what
 is good toward all men, but especially toward those who belong to the
 household of the faith.
 11 Look, with what large letters I write you, with my own hand.
 12 The men who are compelling you to be circumcised are those who
 would like to make a fine display in the flesh ; it is only to avoid being
 13 persecuted for the cross of Christ. Why, even those who get circumcised
 do not observe the law themselves ! Nay, they would have you circum-
 14 cised so as to exult in your flesh ! But never be it mine to exult save in
 the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which the world has been
 15 crucified to me and I to the world. For circumcision is nothing and
 16 uncircumcision is nothing, but a new creation is everything. And as for
 all who walk by this principle, *peace be on them and mercy, yea on the*
Israel of God.
 17 In future let no man molest me, for I bear on my body the brands of
 Jesus.
 18 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brothers :
 Amen.

¹ Reading ἐχομεν.

I. CORINTHIANS

The apostle, who had himself founded the Corinthian church, specially loved it, and nurtured it with uncommon care. His experiences among these converts were diversified, his difficulties peculiar; and the human side of his individuality is seen in what he writes to them more clearly than in any other epistle. His practical sagacity, spiritual insight, tact and delicacy, were called into exercise by the weighty problem to be solved—the planting of a new religion in Greek soil. . . . Nowhere is the manysidedness of the apostle's mind so evident—the breadth and largeness of view that touch topics of multifarious difficulty with masterly ability. All his powers were needed for the successful solution of the problem, which the first church reared on the classic ground of ancient Greece presented; nor did they fail to meet it successfully.—**S. Davidson.**

1¹⁻⁹ Greeting: introduction.

1¹⁰⁻⁴²¹ **Party-spirit and parties in the church:**

1¹⁰⁻³⁴ The genuine character of Christianity as evidenced in Paul—its “foolishness” and “wisdom.”

3⁵⁻⁴²¹ The genuine character of the ministry as evidenced in Paul—subordinate and co-operant.

5¹⁻¹³ **A case of incest.**

6^{1-9a} **Litigation in pagan courts.**

6¹⁰⁻²⁰ **Fornication.**

7-16⁴ **Answer to Corinthian letter on:**

MARRIAGE and its problems—the principle of celibacy.

8-11¹ FOOD offered to idols—the principles of forbearance and liberty.

11²⁻¹⁶ WORSHIP: (α) The rules for women.

11¹⁷⁻³⁴ (β) The rules for the Lord's supper.

12-14 (γ) Spiritual gifts: their nature, degree, and purpose.

13 The pre-eminence of love:

14 practical application.

15 THE RESURRECTION of the dead—of Christ, of mankind: its necessity and reasonableness.

16¹⁻⁴ THE COLLECTION.

16⁵⁻¹³ **Personal.**

16¹⁰⁻²⁴ **Farewell.**

I. CORINTHIANS

- 1 1 PAUL, called to be an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God,
and Sosthenes the brother,
2 to the Community of God which is in Corinth, to those who are
sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, along with all who in every
place call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, theirs as well as ours :
3 grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.
4 I always thank my God for you, for the grace of God granted you in
5 Christ Jesus, because in him you were enriched in everything, in all
6 speech and all knowledge, since the testimony borne to Christ was con-
7 firmed in you ; so that you do not suffer want in any privilege, while you
8 wait for the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ, who also will confirm you
9 to the end, to be irreproachable in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ. God
is faithful, by whom you were called into fellowship with his Son Jesus
Christ our Lord.
10 Now I appeal to you, brothers, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ,
to be all in unison and have no divisions among you, but be at harmony
11 together in the same mind and the same judgment. For I have news
of you, my brothers, from the household of Chloë to this effect, that there
12 are quarrels among you. What I mean is this : each of you is saying,
13 "I am of Paul," or "I of Apollos," or "I of Kephas," or "I of Christ." Is
Christ divided up ? Was it Paul who was crucified for you ? Or did
14 you get baptized into the name of Paul ? I am thankful I baptized none
15 of you except Krispus and Gaius, that no one may say you got baptized
16 into my name (well, I did baptize the household of Stephanas also ; for
17 the rest, I do not remember if I baptized anyone else). Christ did not
send me to baptize, but to preach the gospel—not in wisdom of word,
lest the cross of Christ should be rendered void.
18 For the word of the cross is foolishness to the perishing,
But God's power to us who are being saved.
19 For it is written,
*I will ruin the wisdom of the wise,
And the cleverness of the clever I will frustrate.*
20 *Where is the wise man ? Where is the scribe ? Where is the debater of this age ?*
Has not God made the wisdom of the world foolish ?
21 For since in the wisdom of God the world through its wisdom failed
to know God,
It pleased God to save those who believe, through the foolishness of
what is preached ;
22 Seeing that Jews demand signs and Greeks require wisdom,
23 While we preach Christ crucified,
To Jews a hindrance, to Gentiles foolishness,
24 But to those who are called (both Jews and Greeks), Christ God's
power and God's wisdom :
25 For the foolishness of God is wiser than men,
And the weakness of God is stronger than men.

- 26 Why, look at your calling, brothers :
 There are not many wise after the flesh, not many principal men, not many of high birth ;
- 27 Nay, God has chosen the foolish things of the world to put the wise men to shame,
 And God has chosen the weak things of the world to put the strong things to shame,
- 28 And God has chosen the low-born things of the world and the despised things—the things which are not, to put down the things which are,
- 29 That no flesh should exult before God.
- 30 From him you have your being in Christ Jesus,
 Whom God made our “wisdom,” that is, uprightness and sanctification and redemption ;
- 31 So that, even as it is written,
Let him who exults, exult in the Lord.
- 2 1 And so, brothers, when I came to you, I did not come proclaiming
 2 the testimony of God to you by way of elaborate speech or wisdom. I
 decided not to know anything among you except Jesus Christ—and him
 3 crucified. And when I was with you I was in weakness and fear and
 4 great trembling ; nor did my speech and preaching rest on persuasive
 words of wisdom, but on a “demonstration” of the Spirit and of power ;
 5 that your faith might not rest on men’s wisdom, but on God’s power.
- 6 Wisdom however we do speak among the mature,
 But not a wisdom which belongs to this age
 Or to the leaders of this age (who are being put down) ;
- 7 It is God’s wisdom as a secret that we speak,
 The hidden wisdom which God fore-appointed before the ages in our
 honour.
- 8 None of the leaders of this age knows it
 (For had they known it, they had not crucified the Lord of majesty) ;
- 9 Nay it means, as has been written,
*Things no eye has seen, no ear has heard,
 That have not entered the mind of man,
 Even all that God has prepared for those who love him.*
- 10 To us God has revealed them through the Spirit,
 For the Spirit searches all things, even the depths of God.
- 11 Among men, who knows the things of a man
 Save the spirit of the man that is within him :
 So is it also with the things of God,
 None has knowledge of them save the Spirit of God.
- 12 Now we received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is
 from God,
 That we might know the things bestowed on us by God ;
- 13 And these are what we speak in words taught by no human wisdom,
 but by the Spirit,
 Interpreting spiritual things to spiritual men.
- 14 The natural man rejects the things of the Spirit of God, to him they
 are foolishness :
 Indeed he cannot understand them, for they are estimated spirit-
 ually.
- 15 Whereas the spiritual man has an estimate for everything,
 Yet no man has an estimate for him.
- 16 For *who has known the Lord’s mind, so as to instruct him ?*
 No man : and our mind is the mind of Christ.

3 1 And so, brothers, I could not speak to you as spiritual men, but as
 2 creatures of flesh, as mere children in Christ. I fed you with milk, not
 with solid food ; you were not able for solid food. No, and you are not
 3 able yet. You are fleshly still. For in so far as jealousy and quarrelling
 exist among you, are you not fleshly ? are you not walking after the
 4 manner of men ? When one says, "I am of Paul," and another, "I am of
 Apollos," are you not merely human ?

5 What is Apollos, then ? What is Paul ?

Ministers through whom you believed—each indeed in the measure
 granted him by the Lord.

6 I planted, Apollos watered,
 But God made the growth.

7 So then neither planter nor waterer is anything,
 But God who makes the growth.

8 Planter and waterer alike are one,
 Yet each shall receive his individual reward according to his indi-
 vidual labour.

9 For we are God's fellow-workers ;
 You are God's field, God's building.

10 By virtue of God's grace granted me I laid the foundation like an expert
 master-builder ;

But another man is building on it.

Let each man take care how he builds on it.

11 (For no man can lay any other foundation than the foundation laid,
 namely, Jesus Christ.)

12 If any man is building on the foundation gold, silver, precious stones,
 wood, hay, stubble—

13 Each man's work shall be disclosed :

The Day will make it plain, for the Day is revealed with fire,
 And the fire itself will test each man's sort of work.

14 If the work built up by any man survives,
 He shall receive a reward :

15 If any man's work be burned up,
 He shall be a loser ;

He shall be saved himself, yet saved as through fire.

16 Do you not know that you are God's sanctuary, and that God's Spirit
 dwells in you ?

17 If any man is destroying God's sanctuary, him shall God destroy.
 For God's sanctuary is holy—and such are you.

18 Let no man beguile himself :

If anyone among you imagines he is wise in this age,

Let him become a fool to become wise—

19 For with God the wisdom of this world is foolishness.

For it is written,

He who seizes the wise in their craftiness,

20 and again

The Lord knows that the designs of the wise are futile.

21 So let no man exult in men ;

For all things are yours,

22 Be it Paul or Apollos or Kephas,

Or the world or life or death,

Or the present or the future,

23 All are yours, and you are Christ's, and Christ is God's.

4 1 Let a man look on us as servants of Christ and stewards of the secrets
 2 of God. Well, then, in this matter of stewardship, it is required that
 3 a man be found faithful. But with me it is a very small thing that
 I should be cross-questioned by you or by any human court. I do
 4 not even cross-question myself. For though I am conscious of nothing
 against myself, that does not clear me; he who cross-questions me is the
 5 Lord. So judge not at all before the time, until the Lord come, who will
 bring to light the hidden things of the darkness and also disclose the
 counsels of the hearts: then shall each man get his praise from God.

6 Now, brothers, I have transferred these things by a fiction to
 myself and Apollos for your sake, so that from our case you might learn the
 maxim: "Up to what is written, and no further," not to be puffed up one
 7 against another in favour of this one or the other. Who singles thee out?
 What hast thou that thou didst not receive? Why exult as if thou hadst
 8 not received, when thou didst receive? Have you been sated already?
 Grown rich already? Come to reign, apart from us? Ah, would that
 9 you had come indeed to reign, for us to share your reign as well! For
 God, I think, has exhibited us apostles last and lowest, as men doomed
 to death; we are made a spectacle to the world, both to angels and to men.
 10 We are fools for Christ's sake, you are sensible in Christ; we are weak,
 11 you are strong; you are illustrious, we unhonoured. Even to this hour
 12 we hunger and thirst, we are ill-clad, buffeted, waifs, and toilers, working
 with our own hands. Reviled, we bless: persecuted, we bear patiently:
 13 defamed, we strive to appease: to this hour we are made like offscourings
 14 of the world, the refuse of all things. I am not writing this
 15 to shame you, but to admonish you as my beloved children. For though
 you should have ten thousand tutors in Christ, yet you have not more
 16 than one father: in Christ Jesus through the gospel I begot you. I
 17 appeal to you then, become imitators of me. For this reason I have
 sent you Timotheus, my beloved and faithful child in the Lord; he will
 remind you of those methods in Christ Jesus, which I teach everywhere
 18 in every Community. Certain people have got puffed up, however, as
 19 though I were not coming to you? But I shall come to you soon, if the
 Lord will, and learn not what is the word of those who are puffed up,
 20 but what is their power; for God's reign is not a matter of words but of
 21 power. What is your choice? Must I come to you with a rod, or with
 love and the spirit of gentleness?

5 1 It is actually reported that there is fornication among you, and
 fornication such as does not even exist among the Gentiles, namely, that a
 2 man has his father's wife. And yet you are puffed up! You ought rather
 to have mourned, so that the perpetrator of this deed might be removed
 3 from your midst. For my part, absent in body but present in spirit,
 I have already—as though really present—passed judgment upon him
 4 who has practised this deed, in the name of our Lord Jesus (you being
 gathered together and my spirit also, with the power of our Lord Jesus),
 5 to have the man in question delivered to Satan for the destruction of the
 6 flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.¹ Your
 exulting is discreditable. Do you not know that a little leaven leavens the
 7 whole lump? Purge out the old leaven, that you may be a new lump; even
 as you are free from leaven, for indeed Christ, our *paschal lamb*, has been
 8 sacrificed. So then let us keep festival not with old leaven, nor with the
 leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity
 9 and integrity. I wrote you in my letter to keep no company

¹ Omitting [Ἰησοῦ].

10 with fornicators—not that I meant you absolutely to shun the fornicators
 of this world, or the covetous and extortionate, or idolaters, since in that
 11 case you would be obliged to withdraw from the world. What I did
 write to you was this: if anyone who bears the name of “brother” be a
 fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a reviler, or a drunkard, or
 extortionate, keep no company with him, with such a man do not even
 12 eat. As for those outside, what have I to do with judging them? Is it
 13 not those inside that you judge? Those outside are judged by God.
Banish the wicked one from your midst.

6 1 Dare any of you, with some dispute against another, go to law
 before the unjust instead of before the saints?

2 What! do you not know the saints shall rule the world?

And if the world is to be ruled by you, are you unfit to adjudicate
 upon mere trifles?

3 Do you not know we shall rule angels, let alone secular affairs?

4 So then, if you have to adjudicate on secular affairs, do you set up as
 judges people who in the Community are of no account whatever?

5 I say this to rouse your shame. Has it come to this, that there is
 not a single wise man forthcoming among you, who can decide a dispute

6 between his brothers? Must brother go to law with brother, and that
 7 before unbelievers? Nay, so far as that goes, it is altogether a defect in

you that you have law-suits with one another. Why not rather be
 8 wronged? Why not rather be defrauded? Instead of which you your-

selves inflict wrong and practice fraud, and that upon your brothers.
 9 What! do you not know that unjust men shall not inherit the reign of
 God? Be not misled: neither fornicators nor idolaters nor adulterers

10 nor voluptuaries nor sodomites nor thieves nor covetous people nor
 drunkards nor revilers nor extortioners shall inherit the reign of God.

11 And such creatures some of you were; but you washed yourselves, but
 you were sanctified, but you were justified in the name of the Lord
 Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God.

12 “All things are lawful for me”?

Yes, but not all things are profitable.

All things are lawful for me:

Yes, but I will not be brought under the power of anything.

13 “Foods for the belly, and the belly for foods”:

Yet God shall do away with it and them alike.

But the body is not for fornication, it is for the Lord and the Lord for
 the body:

14 God raised up the Lord, and by his power he will also raise up us.

15 Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ?

Am I to take Christ's members then, and make them members of a
 harlot? God forbid!

16 What! do you not know that he who joins himself to a harlot

Is one body with her

(For *the two*, it is said, *shall become one flesh*)?

17 But he who joins himself to the Lord

Is one spirit with him.

18 Flee from fornication:

Every sin a man does is outside the body,

But the fornicator sins against his own body.

19 What! do you not know that your body is a sanctuary of the holy Spirit
 which is in you,

Which you have from God?

- 20 And you are not your own, you were bought with a price ;
 Then honour God in your body.
- 7 1 Now in regard to the matters of which you wrote to me.
- 2 It is an excellent thing for a man not to touch a woman. Still, on account of fornications, let each man have his own wife, and let each woman have her own husband.
- 3 Let the husband render to the wife her due,
 And likewise the wife to the husband.
- 4 The wife has not authority over her own body, but the husband :
 And likewise the husband also has not authority over his own body, but the wife.
- 5 Defraud not one another, unless for a time perhaps by agreement, that you may have leisure for prayer, and then come together again—so
- 6 that Satan tempt you not on account of your incontinence. But I say
- 7 this by way of permission, not by way of command. On the contrary, I would that all men were what I am. Yet each is endowed by God in his own way, one for this and another for that.
- 8 To unmarried men and to widows I say : it is an excellent thing for
- 9 them if they remain as I am. Still, if they have no self-control, let
- 10 them marry. Better marry than be afire with lust! Married
- 11 people I charge (not I, but the Lord) that the wife should not be separated from her husband—should anyone have actually separated, let her remain unmarried or else be reconciled to her husband—also, that
- 12 the husband should not dismiss his wife. To the rest I say (I, not the Lord) :—
- If any brother has an unbelieving wife, and she consents to dwell with him,
 Let him not dismiss her.
- 13 And if a woman has an unbelieving husband, and he consents to dwell with her,
 Let her not dismiss her husband.
- 14 For the unbelieving husband is sanctified in the wife,
 And the unbelieving wife in the brother.
 Else, of course, your children are unclean ;
 While as it is they are holy.
- 15 (However, if the unbeliever is bent on separating, separation let it be : in such cases the brother or the sister is under no constraint.)
 It is for a life of peace that God has called us.¹
- 16 Why, how dost thou know, O wife, whether thou shalt not save thy husband ?
 Or how dost thou know, O husband, whether thou shalt not save thy wife ?
- 17 Only, let each walk as the Lord has assigned him his lot,
 As God has called him.
 (And such are my instructions in all the Communities.)
- 18 Was any man called after being circumcised ?
 Let him not become uncircumcised.
 Has any man been called in uncircumcision ?
 Let him not be circumcised.
- 19 Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing,
 But to keep the commandments of God is everything.
- 20 Every man in the condition in which he was called,
 There let him remain.

¹ Reading *ἡμᾶς*.

- 21 Thou wast called a slave? Never mind. (At the same time, if thou art able to get free, avail thyself of it rather than not.)
- 22 For the slave called in the Lord is a freedman of the Lord ;
Likewise the free man who was called is a slave of Christ.
- 23 (You were bought with a price, do not turn slaves of men.)
- 24 Brothers, wherein every man was called,
Therein let him remain with God.
- 25 In regard to maidens I have no command of the Lord, but I give my opinion as one who is trustworthy owing to the mercy he has obtained
- 26 from the Lord. I think then that, considering the present trouble, this is an excellent plan : namely, for a man to be just as he is.
- 27 Art thou bound to a wife? Seek not release.
Art thou loosed from a wife? Seek not a wife.
- 28 Still, even if thou shalt marry, there is no sin in that ;
And if a maiden marry, there is no sin in that.
(At the same time such persons shall be distressed in the flesh, and I
- 29 would spare you that.) What I mean is this, brothers :—
The time is shortened.
Let those then who have wives be as though they had none,
- 30 The weeping as though they wept not,
The joyful as though they rejoiced not,
The buyers as though they grasped not their possessions,
- 31 Those who use this world as not using it to the full,
for the fashion of this world is passing.
- 32 I would have you free from anxiety.
The unmarried man is anxious about the affairs of the Lord,
how he may please the Lord :
- 33 The married man is anxious about the affairs of the world,
how he may please his wife—and his attention is divided.
- 34 So also with the wife and the maiden.
The unmarried woman is anxious about the affairs of the Lord,
that she may be holy both in body and in spirit :
The married woman is anxious about the affairs of the world,
how she may please her husband.
- 35 I say this for your own advantage. It is not that I may restrict your liberty, but to promote propriety and undistracted attendance upon the
- 36 Lord. But if anyone considers that he is not treating his unmarried daughter properly, then, should she be past her bloom and should it require to be thus, let him do what he pleases, there is no sin in it—let her
- 37 be married. But the man of firm purpose who has made up his mind, who instead of being under any compulsion possesses power to carry out his own wish, and has determined in his own heart to keep his daughter unmarried, he shall do well.
- 38 So then he who gives his unmarried daughter in marriage does well ;
He who refuses to give her shall do better.
- 39 A wife is bound during the lifetime of her husband ; but if he be fallen asleep, she is free to be married to anyone whom she pleases—
- 40 only, in the Lord. She is happier, however, if she remains as she is ; that is my opinion, and I think that I also possess the Spirit of God.
- 8 1 In regard to food offered to idols, we are aware that “we all have knowledge.” Knowledge puffs up, love builds up.
- 2 Whoever imagines that he knows something,
Does not yet know as he ought to know :

- 3 But whoever loves God,
The same is known by him.
- 4 —In regard to eating food offered to idols, then, we are quite aware that “an idol in the world is a mere nothing,” and that “there is no God but one.”
- 5 For though there be so-called gods, in heaven or on earth,—as gods there
- 6 are in plenty and lords in plenty!—yet for us
there is one God, who is the Father
from whom all things exist
(and we exist for him),
and one Lord, Jesus Christ,
through whom all things exist
(and we exist through him).
- 7 Yet knowledge is not in all men. Some, hitherto accustomed to an idol, eat the food as food offered to an idol; and as their conscience is
- 8 weak, it is defiled. Now, food will not present us to God.
If we do not eat, we are not inferior:
And if we do eat, we are not superior.
- 9 But take care lest haply this right of yours prove a stumbling-block
- 10 to the weak. For if anyone should see thee, a man with knowledge,
reclining at meat in an idol’s temple, will not his conscience (as he is a
- 11 weak man) be emboldened to eat food offered to idols? Then certainly
he who is weak perishes through thy knowledge, the brother for whose
- 12 sake Christ died. In sinning thus against the brothers, and wounding
- 13 their weak conscience, you sin against Christ. Wherefore, if food be a
hindrance to my brother, eat flesh I never will, never!—that I may not
be a hindrance to my brother.
- 9 1 Am I not free? Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our
- 2 Lord? Are you not my work in the Lord? If to others I am no apostle,
yet to you at least I am, for you are the seal of my apostleship in the
- 3, 4 Lord. My defence to my inquisitors is this. Have we no right to eat and
- 5 drink? Have we no right to take about a sister as a wife, like the rest
- 6 of the apostles and the brothers of the Lord and Kephaz? What! Do we
alone, I and Barnabas, lack the right to abstain from working at a trade?
- 7 Who ever serves in war at his own expense?
Who plants a vineyard without eating of its fruit?
Or who shepherds a flock without drinking of the milk of the flock?
- 8 Is this to speak from a merely human standpoint? Does not the
- 9 scripture say the very same? Why, it is written in the law of Moses:
Thou shalt not muzzle an ox when he is treading out corn. Is God’s concern
for the oxen?
- 10 Or does he say it altogether for our sakes?
Assuredly for our sakes it was written.
For the ploughman needs to plough in hope,
And the thresher to thresh in the hope of partaking.
- 11 If we sowed you spiritual good,
Is it a great matter if we reap your material good?
- 12 If others partake in this right over you, why not we still more? But,
you say, we did not avail ourselves of this right. No, we bear anything
so as to avoid putting any obstacle in the way of the gospel of Christ.
- 13 Do you not know
that those who perform sacred rites
get their food from the sacred place,
that those who attend on the altar
have their portion along with the altar?

- 14 So too the Lord's instructions are
 that those who proclaim the gospel
 should "live by the gospel."
- 15 But I have not availed myself of these provisions at all, nor am I
 writing thus that it may come to this in my case. Better for me to die
 than that anyone should render my exultation void? For if I preach
 the gospel I have nothing to exult about; necessity is laid on me. Woe
 to me if I preach not the gospel! For if I act thus from my own choice,
 I have a reward; but if it is not from my choice, then I am intrusted
 with a stewardship. What then is my reward? This, that in preaching
 the gospel I make the gospel free of charge, so as not to entirely avail
 myself of my right in the gospel.
- 19 Why, free as I was from all, I made myself slave to all,
 To win over the greater number.
- 20 To the Jews I made myself like a Jew,
 To win over Jews:
 To those under the law like one under the law—
 I who was not under the law myself—
 To win over those under the law:
- 21 To those outside the law like one outside the law—
 I who was not outside the law to God, but under law to Christ—
 To win over those outside the law:
- 22 To the weak I made myself weak,
 To win over the weak.
- To all men I have made myself all things,
 To save some in any and in every way.
- 23 I do all for the sake of the gospel,
 That I also may have my share in it.
- 24 [Do you not know that while the runners on a race-course all run, only
 one receives the prize? So run that you may attain it. Every athlete
 practises complete self-control. They do it, however, to receive a perish-
 ing wreath, while we do it for an imperishable. For my part, then, I
 run with no unsteady aim; I plant no blows upon the air. Nay, I bruise
 my body and master it, lest haply after having preached to others I should
 myself become a reprobate.]
- 10 1 For I would not have you ignorant, brothers, that
 Our fathers all lived under the cloud and all passed through
 the sea,
 and all got baptised into Moses in the cloud and in the sea,
 and all ate the same spiritual food,
 and all drank the same spiritual drink
 (For they drank of a spiritual Rock which followed them—
 and the Rock was the Christ);
- 5 But in most of them God took no delight,
 for *they were laid low in the wilderness.*
- 6 Now these things took place as warnings for us,
 That we should not *lust* after evil, even as they *lusted*.
- 7 Nor be idolaters like some of them;
 As it is written, *The people sat down to eat and drink,*
 and they rose up to sport.
- 8 Nor let us commit fornication even as some of them did,
 And in a single day three and twenty thousand fell.
- 9 Nor let us make trial of the Lord as some of them did,
 And perished by the serpents.

- 10 Nor murmur in the way that some of them murmured,
And perished by the destroyer.
- 11 Now these things happened to them typically,
But they were written to admonish us upon whom the ends of
the ages have come.
- 12 So then let him who considers he is standing firm take care lest he
13 fall. No temptation has seized you except what is common to man ; and
God is faithful, he will not allow you to be tempted beyond your
strength, but along with the temptation he will provide the escape, that
you may have strength to bear it.
- 14, 15 Wherefore, my beloved, flee from idolatry. I am speaking as I speak
to sensible people ; judge for yourselves what I say.
- 16 The cup of blessing which we bless,
Is that not participating in the blood of Christ ?
The bread we break,
Is that not participating in the body of Christ ?
- 17 Because the bread is one,
We the many are one body,
For we all partake of the one bread.
- 18 Look at Israel after the flesh. Do not those who eat the sacrifices par-
19 ticipate in the altar ? What do I mean ? that food offered to idols
20 is anything, or that an idol is anything ? No, but that what people¹
sacrifice, *they sacrifice to daemons and not to God* ; and I would not have
you participate in daemons.
- 21 You cannot drink the Lord's cup and also the daemons' cup :
You cannot partake of *the Lord's table*, and also of the daemons'
table.
- 22 *What ! dare we stir up the Lord to jealousy ?* Are we stronger than he ?
- 23 " All things are lawful " :
Yes, but not all things are profitable.
" All things are lawful " :
Yes, but all things do not build up.
- 24 Let no one seek his own interest, but that of his neighbour.
- 25 Eat whatever is sold in the meat-market, without making any in-
26 quiries on the score of conscience ; *the earth and its contents belong to the*
27 *Lord*. If an unbeliever invites you to a feast and you consent to go, eat
whatever is put before you without making any inquiries on the score of
28 conscience. But if anyone says to you, " This has been sacrificial meat,"
do not eat it, out of regard to him who informed you, and on the score of
29 conscience—his conscience, I mean, not thine. For why should my
30 freedom come to be judged by another man's conscience ? If I partake
with thankfulness, why am I to be maligned over a thing for which I
31 give thanks ? Whether then you eat or drink or whatever you
32 do, do all with a view to God's honour. Give no offence either to Jews
33 or to Greeks or to the Community of God ; even as I also please all men
in all matters, seeking not my own advantage, but the advantage of the
11 1 majority, namely, their salvation. Become imitators of me, as I also am
of Christ.
- 2 Now I praise you for remembering me in everything, and for holding
fast the traditions even as I handed them on to you.
- 3 But I would have you know that the head of every man is Christ,
4 and the head of woman is man, and the head of Christ is God. Every
man who prays or prophesies with his head veiled, dishonours his head.

¹ Omitting [[*τὸ ἐξ ἑσθῆς*]].

5 But every woman who prays or prophesies with her head unveiled, dis-
 6 honours her head : she is no better than a shaven woman. If a woman is
 not veiled, then let her be shorn too ; but if it is disgraceful for a woman
 7 to be shorn or shaven, then let her be veiled. For while man does not
 need to have his head veiled, since he represents *the image* and supremacy
 8 of God, woman again represents the supremacy of man. Man is not
 9 formed from woman, but woman from man. Nor was man created
 10 for woman, but woman for man. For this reason woman needs to wear
 a sign of his authority upon her head, namely, on account of the angels.
 11 (At any rate, in the Lord, woman does not exist apart from man, any more
 12 than man apart from woman ; for as woman is taken from man, so man
 13 also exists through woman, while all things are from God.) Judge for your-
 14 selves : is it becoming for a woman to pray to God, unveiled ? Does not
 even nature herself teach you that for man to have long hair is a dis-
 15 honour ; while on the other hand for a woman to have long hair is an
 16 honour, since her head of hair is given her as a cloak. If
 anyone presumes to be contentious, let him know that we have no such
 custom, nor have the Communities of God.

17 But in giving you this charge I cannot praise you, seeing that you
 18 assemble not for better but for worse. First of all, when you assemble
 in the congregation, I hear that divisions exist among you. And I partly
 19 believe it ; for there must even be parties among you, if those who are of
 20 genuine character among you are to be known. When you assemble,
 21 then, it is impossible for you to eat the Lord's supper. As you eat, each
 one hastily seizes his own supper ; and so, while one is hungry, another
 22 is drunk. What ! have you not houses to eat and drink in ? Or do
 you despise the Community of God and put the poor to shame ? What
 shall I say to you ? Shall I praise you ? I cannot praise you in this.
 23 For I received from the Lord that which also I handed on to you, that
 24 "the Lord Jesus in the night on which he was betrayed took bread, gave
 thanks, and broke it, saying, 'This is my body which is for you : do this in
 25 memory of me.' In the same way the cup also after supper, saying, 'This
 cup is the new covenant in my blood : do this, as often as you drink it, in
 26 memory of me.'" For as often as you eat this bread and drink the
 27 cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes. So, then, whoever
 eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty
 28 of sin against the body and the blood of the Lord. But let a man test
 29 himself, and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup. For he
 who eats and drinks, eats and drinks judgment to himself, if he does not
 30 distinguish the body. For this reason many among you are weak and
 31 sick, and a number are asleep. Now if we judged ourselves aright, we
 32 should not be judged. Yet, when we are judged by the Lord, we are
 33 chastened, that we may not be condemned along with the world. So
 34 then, my brothers, when you assemble to eat, wait for one another : if
 any one is hungry, let him eat at home—that you may not assemble
 to incur judgment. As for the rest I will issue instructions whenever
 I come.

121 In regard to the spiritual gifts, brothers, I would not have you
 2 ignorant. You know that at one time¹ you were heathens urged on by
 3 impulse and led away to the dumb idols ; wherefore I tell you,

No man who speaks in the Spirit of God says "Jesus is accursed" :
 And no man is able to say "Jesus is Lord," except in the holy
 Spirit.

¹ Reading *πρότε*.

- 4 Now there are varieties of talents,
but the same Spirit :
- 5 And there are varieties of ministries,
yet the same Lord :
- 6 And there are varieties of effects,
but the same God who produces all effects in all men.
- 7 Each has the disclosure of the Spirit given him with a view to profit :
- 8 to one through the Spirit is given speech of wisdom,
and to another speech of knowledge from the same Spirit,
- 9 to another in the same Spirit faith,
and to another in the one Spirit talents to heal,
- 10 to another the effecting of miraculous powers,
to another prophecy,
to another discerning of spirits,
to another various kinds of tongues,
and to another the interpretation of tongues.
- 11 But one and the same Spirit produces all these effects,
dividing as he wills to each individually.
- 12 For in the same way as the body is one and has many members, yet all
the members of the body, many as they are, compose one body : so too is
- 13 Christ. For in one spirit also we all had ourselves baptised into one
body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether slaves or free men, and we were
- 14 all imbued with one Spirit. Why, even the body is not composed of one
member but of many.
- 15 Were the foot to say, "Because I am not the hand, I am no part of
the body,"
That does not make it no part of the body :
- 16 And were the ear to say, "Because I am not the eye, I am no part
of the body,"
That does not make it no part of the body.
- 17 Were the whole body an eye, where would the hearing be ?
Were the whole body hearing, where would the smelling be ?
- 18 As it is, God has set the members within the body, each one of them
even as it pleased him.
- 19 Were they all one member, where would the body be ?
- 20 As it is, there are many members and one body.
- 21 The eye cannot say to the hand, "I have no need of thee" :
Nor again the head to the feet, "I have no need of you."
- 22 Quite the contrary. It is rather those members of the body which
23 seem to be feeble that are necessary ; and the parts of the body which we
consider less honourable are the very parts we invest with ampler honour.
- 24 Our uncomely parts get ampler comeliness, while our comely parts do not
need it.
Yes, God has tempered the body together,
giving ampler honour to the inferior part,
25 that there should be no division in the body,
but that the members should have the same concern for one another.
- 26 So if one member suffers,
all the members suffer with it :
if one is exalted,
all the members rejoice with it.
- 27, 28 Now you are Christ's body, and members each in his part. That is to
say, God has set people in the Community first to be apostles, secondly
prophets, thirdly teachers, then for miraculous powers, then for talents to

heal, for works of succour, works of government, various kinds of tongues.
 29 Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers? have all miraculous
 30 powers? have all talents to heal? do all speak with tongues? do all
 31 interpret? Covet the greater talents.—And yet I will further
 show you a higher way than all.

13 1 Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels

Yet have no love,

I am echoing brass or a clanging cymbal.

2 And though I have prophecy and know all secrets and all knowledge,
 And though I have all faith, enough to remove mountains,

Yet have no love,

I count for nothing.

3 And though I dole out all my substance in food,
 And though I give my body to be burned,

Yet have no love,

I am no gainer.

4 Love is longsuffering, kind,

Love is not jealous,¹ no boaster, not puffed up :

5 She acts not unseemly, seeks not her own ends,

She is not irritated, *imputes no evil*,

6 Rejoices not at iniquity, but rejoices with the truth,

7 Bears all, believes all,

Hopes for all, endures all.

8 Love never fails :

But as for prophecies, they shall be done away,

As for tongues, they shall cease,

As for knowledge, it shall be done away.

9 For in part we know and in part we prophesy :

10 But when that which is perfect arrives,

That which is in part shall be done away.

11 When I was a child,

Like a child I talked,

Like a child I felt,

Like a child I reasoned :

Now that I have become a man,

I am done with childish things.

12 For at present we look through a mirror, dimly,

But then it will be face to face :

At present I know in part,

But then I shall fully know, as also I am fully known.

13 So now these three remain, faith, hope, and love :

But the greatest of these is love.

14 1 Be love your aim ! Covet the spiritual gifts—preferring that of
 2 prophecy. For he who speaks in a tongue speaks not to men, but to God.
 3 No one understands ; the man is uttering secrets in the Spirit. On the
 4 other hand, he who prophesies speaks to men for upbuilding and encour-
 5 agement and consolation. He who speaks in a tongue builds up himself,
 6 but he who prophesies builds up the Community. Now I would have
 you all speak with tongues, but I would prefer you to prophesy. He
 who prophesies is greater than he who speaks with tongues ; unless indeed
 6 the latter interprets, so that the Community may be built up. What use
 now shall I be to you, brothers, if I come to you speaking with tongues,
 unless I speak to you either in the form of revelation or of knowledge

¹ Omitting [[*ἡ ἀγαπή*]].

7 or of prophecy or of teaching? If things inanimate, like the flute or the harp, have no intervals occurring in their music, how can one catch the air that is being played on flute or harp, for all the sound they make? And if the trumpet gives an indistinct sound, who will make himself ready for battle? So too with yourselves; unless your tongue utters speech that is readily understood, how are people to know what you say? You will be speaking into the air. There are, for example, many kinds of languages in the world, and nothing lacks a language. Well, unless I understand the meaning of the language, I shall be a foreigner to the man who is speaking; and to my mind the man who is speaking will be a foreigner. So too with yourselves; since you are bent upon having spirits, seek to excel with a view to build up the Community. Therefore let him who speaks with a tongue pray that he may interpret. For if I pray with a tongue, my spirit prays but my understanding produces no fruit. Very well then, I will pray with the spirit, and I will also pray with the understanding; I will sing praise with the spirit, and I will also sing praise with the understanding. Otherwise, suppose thou art saying a blessing with the spirit, how is he who occupies the position of the uneducated to say the "amen" to thy thanksgiving? The man does not know what thou art saying! Thy thanksgiving is all very well; but then, the other man is not built up.

18, 19 I thank God that more than any of you I speak with tongues¹; yet in the congregation I would rather speak five words with my understanding, so as to instruct others as well, than ten thousand words in a tongue.

20 Brothers, be not children in mind. Be infants in malice, but in mind be full-grown. In the law it is written, "*By men of alien tongues and by the lips of aliens will I speak to this people; yet not even thus will they listen to me,*" saith the Lord. So then tongues are meant for a sign not to the believing, but to the unbelieving; prophesying again is meant for a sign not to the unbelieving, but to the believing. If the whole Community then assemble together and all speak with tongues, and if uneducated or unbelieving men come in, will they not say you are mad? Whereas if all are prophesying, and an unbelieving or uneducated person come in, he is convicted by all, he is judged by all, the secrets of his heart are disclosed; and so, falling on his face, *he will worship God, declaring "God is really among you."*

26 Very well, then, brothers: when you assemble, each one has a psalm, a lesson, a revelation, a tongue, an interpretation; let all be done for upbuilding. If any man speaks in a tongue, let only two or at most three speak at one meeting, and that in turn; also let someone interpret. But if there is no interpreter, let the man keep silence in the congregation, and speak to himself and to God. Let the prophets also speak, two or three of them, and let the others use their judgment. But if a revelation is made to another prophet who is sitting by, let the first speaker be silent. For you can all prophesy one by one, so that all may learn, and all be encouraged. And the spirits of the prophets are subject

33, 34 to the prophets, for God is a God not of disorder but of harmony. [As in all the Communities of the saints, let women keep silence in the congregations. They are not permitted to speak. Let them be in subjection, as also the law enjoins. If they wish to learn anything, let them ask their own husbands at home; it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in the congregation.] What? Was it from you that the word of God started? Are you the only people it has reached? If anyone considers

¹ Reading γλώσσαις.

himself a prophet or spiritual, let him understand that what I write to
38 you is a commandment of the Lord. But if anyone disregards it—well,
let him disregard¹ it.

39 So then, my brothers, covet prophecy, and forbid not speech with
40 tongues. But let all be done with propriety and in order.

15 1 Now I make known to you, brothers, the gospel that I preached to
2 you, which also you received, in which also you stand, by which also
you are being saved, if you are holding fast the word that I preached to
3 you—unless indeed you believed in vain. For I handed on to you first
of all that which I also received: namely, that Christ died for our sins
4 according to the scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he rose on
5 the third day according to the scriptures, and that he was seen by
6 Kephas, then by the twelve; after that, he was seen by upwards of five
hundred brothers all at once, of whom the greater number survive to this
7 day, but some have fallen asleep; after that he was seen by James, then
8 by all the apostles, and last of all, by one misborn (as it were), he was seen
9 also by me. For I am the least of the apostles, I who am not fit to be
10 called “apostle,” because I persecuted the Community of God. But by the
grace of God I am what I am; and the grace he showed to me did not
prove in vain. No, I laboured far beyond them all—yet not so much I, as
11 the grace of God along with me. Be it I then or they, so we preach, and
so you believed.

12 Now if the preaching of Christ is that he rose from the dead, how is
it that some people among you say “there is no such thing as a resurrection
13 of the dead”? If “there is no such thing as a resurrection of the dead,”
14 Christ did not rise either; and if Christ did not rise, then² vain is our
15 preaching after all, vain also your faith. Yes, and we are found to be
false witnesses of God, because we witnessed against God in saying that
“he raised Christ”—whom he did not raise, if dead men after all do not
16, 17 rise. For if dead men do not rise, Christ did not rise either; and if
Christ did not rise, your faith is futile, you are still in your sins.
18, 19 Besides, those who fell asleep in Christ perished after all. If in this life
we have nothing but a mere hope in Christ, we are of all men to be
20 pitied most. But, as it is, Christ did rise from the dead, the
firstfruits of those who are asleep.

21 For since through man came death,

Through man came also resurrection of the dead:

22 As all die in Adam,

So also shall all be made alive in Christ.

23 But each in his own rank: Christ the firstfruits, after that, all who
24 are Christ's at his arrival; then comes the end, when he delivers up the
royal power to the God and Father, when he shall have put down all
25 rule and all authority and power. For he must reign until *he has put*
26 *all his enemies under his feet*. Last enemy of all, death shall be put
27 down. For *he has made all things subject under his feet*. Now, when it
says “all things are made subject,” clearly that excludes the One who
28 made all things subject to him. But when all things are made subject
to him, then the Son himself shall also be made subject to the One who
made all things subject to him, that God may be all in all.

29 Otherwise, what can be the meaning of those who get baptized on behalf of
the dead? If dead men do not rise at all, why do they get baptised on
30, 31 their behalf? And why are we ourselves in danger every hour? (Daily
I die—I swear it by my exulting in you, brothers, in Christ Jesus our

¹ Reading ἀγνοῖται.

² Omitting [[καί]].

32 Lord.) If, humanly speaking, I "fought with beasts" at Ephesus, what
 use is that to me? If dead men rise not, *let us eat and drink, for to-*
 33 *morrow we die!* Be not misled: "bad companionships are the ruin of
 34 honest morals." Awake to uprightness, and sin not! For some are in
 ignorance of God. I am speaking to rouse your shame.

35 But, one will say, "How do the dead rise? With what kind of body
 36 do they come?" Senseless man! what thou sowest is not made alive
 37 unless it dies. And in sowing, what thou sowest is not the body that is to
 be, but a mere grain of wheat, for example, or of some other kind of seed;
 38 yet God gives it a body even as he wills, namely, to each kind of seed a
 39 body of its own. All flesh is not the same flesh. There is one flesh of
 men, and another flesh of beasts, one flesh of birds, and another of fishes.
 40 There are heavenly bodies and also earthly bodies; but the splendour of
 the heavenly is one thing, and the splendour of the earthly is another.
 41 There is one splendour of the sun, and another splendour of the moon,
 42 and another splendour of the stars; for star excels star in splendour. So
 it is also with the resurrection of the dead.

It is sown in the perishing,
 it is raised in the imperishable:

43 It is sown in dishonour,
 it is raised in splendour:

It is sown in weakness,
 it is raised in power:

44 It is sown a natural body,
 it is raised a spiritual body.

If there is a natural,
 there is also a spiritual body.

45 So also it is written:

"The first man Adam became a living soul:

The last Adam, a life-making spirit."

46 But the spiritual is not first, it is the natural:
 After that the spiritual.

47 The first man is from the earth, material:

The second man is from heaven.

48 As is the material, so are those who are material:

And as is the heavenly, so are those who are heavenly.

49 And as we have worn the image of the material,
 We are also to wear¹ the image of the heavenly.

50 What I say is this, brothers.

Flesh and blood cannot inherit the reign of God,
 Nor does the perishing inherit the imperishable.

51 Lo, I tell you a secret!

Not all of us shall fall asleep,
 But all of us shall be changed—

52 In an instant, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet.
 For the trumpet shall sound,

And the dead shall be raised imperishable,
 And we shall be changed.

53 For this perishing thing must put on the imperishable,
 And this mortal thing must put on immortality;

54 But when this perishing thing shall have put on the imperishable,
 And this mortal thing shall have put on immortality,

Then shall come to pass the word which is written:

¹ Reading φορέσομεν.

Death is swallowed up in victory.

55 *Death, where is thy victory?*

Death, where is thy sting?

56 [The sting of death is sin, and the power of sin is the law.]

57 Thanks be to God who gives the victory to us through our Lord

58 Jesus Christ. So then, my beloved brothers, be firm, immovable, abounding at all times in the work of the Lord; since you know that your labour is not vain in the Lord.

16 1 Now in regard to the collection for the saints, do you also follow the 2 instructions that I gave to the Communities of Galatia. On the first day of the week let each of you be laying by him in store whatever gain he may have made; so that collections may not have to be made when I 3 come. When I arrive I will despatch with letters whatever persons you 4 think fit, to convey your bounty to Jerusalem; and if it be worth while 5 for me also to make the journey, they shall accompany me.

I will visit you when I have passed through Macedonia. Through Macedonia I am to pass, but possibly I shall remain awhile with you, or even pass the winter; that you may speed me on whatever journey I may undertake. I do not wish to see you at this moment merely in passing by; 8 my hope is to stay for some time with you, if the Lord permit. But I 9 will stay on at Ephesus till Pentecost; for a great door of activity is open 10 to me, and adversaries are numerous.

If Timotheus comes, see that he need have no fear with you; for he works at the Lord's work like 11 myself. Let no one despise him then. Speed him on his journey in peace, that he may come to me; for I expect him along with the brothers. 12 In regard to Apollos the brother—I made an urgent appeal to him to visit you with the others, but he was not quite inclined to visit you just now. However, he will come whenever he finds time.

13 Watch, stand fast in the faith, quit yourselves like men, be strong. 14 Let all that you do be done in love.

15 I appeal to you, brothers—you know that the household of Stephanas is the firstfruits of Achaia, and that they have laid themselves out for 16 ministering to the saints. Be you also in subjection to such, and to 17 everyone who shares their work and labour. I am glad that Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus have arrived, for they have made up for 18 the lack of you. They have refreshed my spirit and yours. Pay regard to such men therefore.

19 The Communities of Asia salute you. Aquila and Prisca heartily salute you in the Lord, with the Community which is in their house.

20 All the brothers salute you. Salute one another with a saints' kiss.

21, 22 The salutation is by the hand of me, Paul. If anyone loves not the Lord, let him be accursed. Maran atha.

23 The grace of the Lord Jesus be with you.

24 My love be with you all in Christ Jesus.

THE INTERMEDIATE LETTER TO CORINTH

WHEN Paul despatched 1 Co from Ephesus, he evidently contemplated a visit to Corinth which for all its salutary consequences might prove painful to his friends and to himself (1 Co 4¹⁹⁻²¹, *ἐλεύσομαι δὲ ταχέως πρὸς ὑμᾶς . . . ἐν ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω*; cp. 11³⁴ 16⁷). That this visit actually took place is a fair inference from passages in the later epistle (2 Co 2¹ 12¹⁴, *ἰδοὺ τρίτον τοῦτο ἐτοιμῶς ἔχω ἐλθεῖν*, 13¹, *τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι*). These imply two previous visits—at least that is a legitimate and highly natural, if not a necessary, conclusion from their language. Now, as Paul had only visited Corinth once before the composition of 1 Co, the second visit must have taken place between 1 Co and 2 Co.¹ From this visit Paul returned to Ephesus, saddened and baffled (2 Co 2⁵ 4). His journey had been fruitless and unpleasant. But what he had been unable to effect by a personal visit (10¹⁰ 12²¹) he tried to carry out by means of a letter (2⁴ 7⁸) written ἐκ πολλῆς θλίψεως καὶ συνοχῆς καρδίας διὰ πολλῶν δακρύων with passionate threats and appeals; it was so sarcastic and severe,² indeed, that the recollection of his language afterwards caused the apostle some qualms of conscience. This letter of disturbed feelings has been partially preserved in 2 Co 10-13¹⁰. These chapters are written out of the tension felt by one who is not yet sure of his ultimate success. They vibrate with anger and anxiety. Paul's authority and actions had been called in question, while his converts in Corinth were exposed to licentious errors. Yet both attacks sprang from the same overbearing, unscrupulous party who had gained a footing (11²⁰) within the church, possibly headed by some ringleader (ο τοιοῦτος, τις, 2 Co 2⁵ 7¹²) who had been able to inflict severe and public humiliation upon the apostle by charging him with unscrupulous dealing, overbearing conduct, unfounded pretensions to the ministry of Christ, and so on. Since the attack on his character involved his gospel, Paul

¹ Those who (like Schmiedel, Zahn, and recently G. G. Findlay, *ExGT*, ii. pp. 736-738) deny this, are forced to the expedient of placing this visit previous to 1 Co, a device which contradicts the silence both of Acts and 1 Co. Paul's first visit to Corinth was on the occasion of his founding the church, and when writing 1 Co he refers to no other than this diffident and successful visit of his ministry (1 Co 2²). He had no cause for λύπη then, and betrays in 1 Co no sense of any.

² To make this in any sense an adequate or apt description of 1 Co as a whole, is an idea which scarcely merits serious discussion. That epistle naturally contains words of blame, but blame is not its argument and object; it contained nothing to make Paul uneasy. If the above theory is discarded, the letter in question must be regarded as lost. On the other hand, 1 Co is probably alluded to in 2 Co 10¹ 10⁶, possibly 2 Co 10-13 in the later epistle 2 Co 3¹³ (πάλιν), and 13² 10 in 12²⁸ 21. At any rate chaps. 10-13¹⁰ form the only extant passage in Paul's Corinthian correspondence which answers to the twofold description of a letter composed in personal distress and with a severe intention. It is a deceptive method to start the discussion upon the two Corinthian epistles with their superficial resemblances, as these exist in the extant and canonical form.

found a method¹ of defence ready to hand against slander and censure.² He proceeded to exhibit his own titles to credit and honour as an apostle. Self-exultation is the keynote: *καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ*. "In great religious movements the leaders are often compelled to assert themselves pretty peremptorily, in order that their work may not be wrecked by conceited and incapable upstarts" (Drummond). These pages thus form the apostle's *apologia pro vita sua*. But like Newman's it rises above the narrow controversies and personal issues of the struggle. Instead of merely expostulating and demanding reparation from the Corinthians for insults and outrages, he was concerned to expose the futility and shamelessness of all such attacks upon himself, thereby hoping to effectively discredit the influence of such opponents upon his friends. "I wrote," he told them afterwards (2 Co 2⁹), *ἵνα γνώῃ τὴν δοκιμὴν ὑμῶν, εἰ εἰς πάντα ὑπήκούετε*. His appeal was a test of their obedience,³ carried by Titus (2 Co 2¹³ 7⁶. 13-14). It was addressed to the Community as a whole, and intended to counteract the tyrannising and plausible influences of the Judaising party. Possibly only a fragment of it is preserved in 2 Co 10-13¹⁰, but even if it is complete we need not be surprised that Paul leaves the offender (2⁶ 7¹²) alone. His attention is concentrated on the broader issue of which that man's case formed merely one expression. The case had now fallen to the Corinthians to deal with, and Paul strove rather to raise in them a proper conscience for such a process of discipline.

From a subsequent epistle (2 Co 1-9), written from Macedonia shortly after he had left⁴ Ephesus to meet Titus on his return journey from Corinth, it is plain that the Corinthians had regained their loyalty and vindicated Paul at the expense of his opponents (2 Co 2¹³ 7¹³). Their reception of

¹ I do not understand how these chapters can be described as "wholly taken up with what the apostle means to do, when he comes to Corinth for the third time" (Denney). References to a further visit are to be expected under the circumstances, but they are mostly incidental allusions (10² 12¹⁴ 13¹), and not at all the continuous or absorbing theme of the epistle. Nor does 1²³ imply (as Sanday thinks, *EBi*, i. p. 906) that the painful letter was in lieu of a personal visit. As 2¹ shows, the painful visit had already been made. Paul simply says he preferred not to inflict on them again such an unpleasant experience, and therefore wrote a letter instead, until such time as he could pay a visit with comfort. The resemblance of style and expression (Holtzmann) between chaps. 10-13 and chaps. 1-9 are patent, but they have no bearing on the question of the date and order of these pieces. Both were written close together by the same man. Finally, the two passages 8¹⁷⁻²⁴ and 12¹⁸ do not refer to the same event (Jülicher). The latter touches a visit already paid. The former refers to another mission of Titus and his companion, for which Paul seeks to pave the way. Belser (*TQ* (1894), pp. 15-47) makes Paul visit Corinth four times, in 53, in 57 (summer), in 58-59 (winter), and finally in 65-66 after his release.

² Paul seems to have found in some of the Corinthians the same "indecent freedom" which Thomas Boston met with among the Ettrick people; who also, "generally speaking, were naturally smart, and of an uncommon assurance; self-conceited and censorious to a pitch, contempters of me and of my ministry, who often kept not within the bounds of common civility." Indeed, it is remarkable that Boston actually compares them twice over in his *Memoirs* to the church of Corinth, "burnt up with the fire of division, and drenched in fleshly abominations . . . seeing we so much resemble that church in her three grand evils, self-conceit, a divisive temper, and sins of uncleanness." See Dr. Kennedy, (as below) pp. 98-110.

³ The omission of this whole period and intercourse in Acts proves either that the author was ignorant of the affair, or more probably that he chose to pass over so unedifying and discreditable a passage in the life of the early church.

⁴ The storm of affliction (2 Co 1-2) in which Paul was tossing at this crisis was due partly to recent experiences, partly to anticipations. He had been driven from his anchorage in Ephesus, and as yet was uncertain whether Corinth, his old harbour, would have a welcome for him. The relief felt by Paul is indicated by the recurring idea of *παράκλησις* (which occurs eleven times in this epistle).

Titus and compliance with Paul's appeal fairly banished depression and disappointment from his heart. Hence the delight and relief that breathe through the epistle. It is irenical, intended to re-establish mutual confidence and obliterate the memories of the past bitter controversy. To forgive and to forget is its keynote. The original conclusion of this final letter (like the original first epistle to Corinth) has been lost; unless, as is highly probable, it is preserved¹ in 13¹¹⁻¹⁸. At some later period, when the two short letters were put together, the earlier (10-13¹⁰) was stripped² of its opening (which under the circumstances would be brief) and added to the later and longer one, both together making up a single writing similar in size to 1 Co. The correct order of the extant Corinthian letters would then be (a) 1 Co, (b) 2 Co 10-13¹⁰, (c) 2 Co 1-9, 13¹¹⁻¹⁸. Besides the earliest (lost) letter of 1 Co 5⁹ (cp. 2 Co 6¹⁴⁻⁷¹, 1 Co 16¹), there may have been another between (a) and (c) announcing that Paul had had to alter his original plan (2 Co 1¹⁵⁻²³) of visiting Corinth *viâ* Macedonia; unless he allowed that plan to silently drop when circumstances arose to prevent its execution.

A case can be made out for the substantial integrity of the epistle, partly on the ground that the closing four chapters represent not a fresh standpoint or situation, but an emotional and argumentative climax, the last charge of Paul's dialectic carefully held in reserve till it could break out and complete a victory already gained in measure (1¹⁴), partly also on the score of the epistle's internal characteristics. The former argument has been already answered by implication.³ The latter is more plausible. 2 Co is a writing of moods, not composed at a single sitting nor in face of a single phase of life. Hence, on psychological grounds, the broken character of the problem might be taken as an explanation of the lack of unity in its

¹ Note the characteristic play on words (*χαρις, χαίρει*, 9¹⁵ 13¹¹), and the fitness of the sentiment (13¹¹⁻¹²) as a final *à la* to the advice and counsel in ch. 9, where as ever the collection is treated as a bond of union and opportunity of brotherly kindness. The personal question at issue between Paul and the Corinthians is rounded off in ch. 7. Kennedy (see below) explains the welding of the two letters by the fact that a copyist confused the visit promised (in ch. 9) with that mentioned in ch. 10. "It is indeed a visit of a very different kind. There is an apparent resemblance concealing a deep-seated difference; but this is precisely the complexion of things which would be likely to mislead a copyist." As the autographs were probably written on leaves, transposition of this kind would be materially facilitated.

² It is not necessary to suppose that a (lost) previous section of the intermediate epistle was composed by Timotheus or some other (Ephesian) companion of the apostle. The *αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ* (2 Co 10¹) is a natural plunge into vehement reproach and personalities. Nor is it probable that Timotheus himself was the *ἐδικοηθεὶς* (Beyschlag, Pfeiderer, and G. G. Findlay). A favourite theory of the traditional school is that Paul had received fresh news from Corinth at this point; but in that case it is extraordinary how he does not refer to such bad tidings at all, and how he goes on without any allusion to the altered circumstances. The absence of directions (in 10-13) about the case of the guilty person is not a crucial objection, as Dr. Drummond admits; "this part might have been omitted" from the final recension "as of temporary interest," particularly as the matter ended satisfactorily.

³ The indulgent consideration of 2 Co 5⁶⁻¹¹ blending policy with generosity, refers to a situation which did not exist when 1 Co was written. Such leniency is almost incredible in the case of a shameless breach of morals like that so scathingly treated in 1 Co 5. But it suits a case of personal insult. Paul *ὁ ἐδικηθεὶς* could well afford to overlook an affront to himself or to one of his friends, when the aggressor had frankly given up his arms and the church had taken the apostle's part. See a lucid presentment of the whole case by Weizsäcker (*AA*, i. pp. 341-353), who further conjectures that a court was held during the second visit to adjudicate upon Paul's apostolic claims, and that in the course of the discussion the church allowed Paul to be grossly insulted by a prominent individual among the intriguers.

treatment. "Probably there is no literary work in which the cross-currents of feeling are so violent and so frequent. Again and again they sweep the apostle far away from his intended course of thought and grammar. He struggles back again, only to be once more hurried away in yet another direction. Or, to change the metaphor, we see a thought bubbling up from the ground of the argument, fresh and vigorous. But at once it passes beneath the sudden rising-ground of some new idea; at length it appears again tinged with the soil through which it has flowed."¹ Still, there are limits to versatility. In this case interruptions and mobility of temperament will not bear the weight put upon them by the traditional hypothesis. The difference of tone between the first nine and the last four chapters is so marked, that it may very reasonably be held to indicate a serious difference of situation; and upon the whole the references and outlook of chaps. 10-13 ("Eine durch Stimmung u. Sprache zusammengehaltene Gruppe," J. Weiss, *ThLz*, 1894) are most naturally explained when they are allowed to lie within the earlier period of strained relations and bitter animosity between 1 Co and 2 Co 1-9. The hypothetical character which appears to beset this solution is in reality due to the whole question of Paul's relations with the Corinthian church, which are intricate and subtle to the last degree. Any theory of their nature is based partly on conjecture, and the choice lies simply between historical reconstructions of less and more probability. Whatever scheme be adopted, the investigator has to be content with a series of situations in which the details are only to be harmonised in part.

The discovery that 2 Co is no unity is not recent. As far back as 1776, Semler conjectured that three letters were included in the canonical epistle, namely, (i.) 1-8, 13¹¹⁻¹⁸, a letter sent with Titus on his second visit to Corinth; (ii.) 9, a letter to the Christians of Achaia; (iii.) 10¹-13¹⁰, a further letter to Corinth. The credit of detecting the intermediate letter in chaps. 10-13 must be given to Hausrath² (iv. p. 55f.), and among the chief adherents of this position (besides others quoted by Schmiedel) are S. Davidson (*INT*, i. pp. 57f., 63f.), Pfeleiderer (*Urc.* pp. 105-110), Clemen (*Chron.* p. 226f.), Brückner (*Chron.* p. 198f., "an oratio pro domo"), J. H. Kennedy (*Exp.*³ 1897; pp. 231f., 285f., 1899, pp. 182f.), König (*ZwTh* (1897), pp. 482-554, full and clear), McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 313-315), and Adeney (*BI*, p. 368f.).³ Schmiedel's subtle and elaborate exposition has

¹ Chase, *Class. Rev.* (1890), p. 151; cp. Deissmann, *Bibel-Studien* (1895), pp. 239, 240. But the variations and terms in 2 Co are too great to be explained even upon the supposition that the writer stopped now and then to pause and reflect, or hurried from one subject to another. This is an adequate view of 1 Co, but not of 2 Co—least of all, of 10¹-13¹⁰. Nor is there any reason to suppose that between 9¹⁵ and 10¹ Paul had received fresh and unsatisfactory news of his converts at Corinth. In that case Titus (2 Co 7⁶) had been grossly misled.

² Especially in his monograph (1870, *Der Vier-Capitel Brief des Paulus an die Corinthen*). 2 Co is much more weakly attested in the later literature than 1 Co, and in any case the extant canonical letters of Paul to Corinth are only the fragmentary relics of a larger correspondence.

³ Cp. Lipsius (*JpTh* (1876), p. 531) and Dr. O. Cone, *Paul the Man, the Teacher, and the Missionary*, pp. 47, 125. By several critics, chaps. 10-13 are separated from chaps. 1-9, but placed subsequent to them: so most recently upon varying constructions of the history, Krenkel (*Beiträge zur Aufhellung der Geschichte u. der Briefe des Paulus* (1890), p. 308 f.), and Dreschler (*SK* (1897), pp. 43-111); vide *Theol. Jahrb.* xvii. 153. On the other side, cp. Hilgenfeld, *ZwTh* (1899), pp. 1-19. Völter's dissection is given in *Theol. Tijds.* (1889), pp. 296 f., and Dr. J. H. Kennedy has just written a volume upon the subject (*The Second and Third Letters of Paul to Corinth*, 1900). Even Sabatier (p. 170), in rejecting Hausrath's

given quite a fresh rank and impressiveness to the theory (*HC*, ii. pp. 74-80) and set many points in it practically beyond dispute. Lisco's acute monograph (*Die Entstehung des zweiten Korintherbriefes*; Berlin, 1896) again reduces the whole epistle to a perfect mosaic of tiny Pauline notes: A=10-13¹⁰ with 6¹⁴-7¹ between 12¹⁰ and 12²⁰, B=1¹-6¹³ with 12¹¹⁻¹⁹ 7²⁻¹³ 9 13¹¹⁻¹³, C=7⁴-8²⁴. Upon this view, expanded in his *Judaismus triumphatus*: "Ein Beitrag zur Auslegung der vier letzten Kapitel des zweiten Korintherbriefs" (1896), A is the sharp letter presupposed in B, while C forms the letter intrusted to Titus (cp. *Theol. Jahresber.* (1897), pp. 143, 144).¹ The best defences of the traditional position are given by Klöpffer and Heinrici among the editors, and by Zahn (i. pp. 220-226) and Jülicher (pp. 75-79) in their Introductions; in English by Weiss (*AJT*, i. 355-363), Dr. Robertson (*DB*, i. article "Corinthians," pp. 496, 497), and N. J. D. White (replying to Kennedy, *Exp.*⁵ vii. pp. 113f.), the second of whom candidly allows that "it would be going too far to say that" the *Vier-Capitel* hypothesis "is absolutely disproved." Dr. Drummond (*IH*, ii. pp. 48-54) also inclines upon the whole to the integrity of the canonical epistle.²

hypothesis, admits that "the vehement, the ironical and impassioned tone of these last pages represents very fairly, I believe, that of the lost letter." If so, why did Paul resuscitate the old quarrel, after the church had made reparation and won his generous pardon? But for this argument, and indeed for an exhaustive presentment of the whole subject, one is glad now to be able to refer the reader to Dr. Kennedy's convenient and masterly volume, which is in several respects an advance even upon Schmiedel, particularly in the discussion upon "The Character of the Minority" (pp. 98-110), and in an account of the mechanical and material factors by which ancient manuscripts were rendered liable to such treatment as is implied in this hypothesis of 2 Co 10-13.

¹ His new volume (*Vincula Sanctorum*, "Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung der Gefangenschaftsbriege des ap. Paulus," 1900) furnishes a diverting example of reconstruction in this department of NT research. For reasons as precarious in exegesis as they are ill-supported in tradition, he ingeniously places the prison-epistles of Paul in an Ephesian crisis and captivity; after 2 Co A (as above) Titus and Col-Ephes come, previous to the trial; thereafter, 2 Tim and Philippians, followed by BC (with 1 Co 15), written after his release. A subtle but unconvincing rearrangement of the documents, worked out *acutius quam verius*.

² Bacon (*INT*, 93-95) emphatically decides that 2 Co 10¹-13¹⁰ was written from Ephesus, when Paul had received a report from Titus at Corinth upon the disloyalty and recalcitrant attitude of the local church; while 2 Co. 6¹⁴-7¹ is an isolated fragment—possibly part of Paul's earlier correspondence with Coriuth, as it might be misinterpreted in the sense of 1 Co 5⁹⁻¹³ (cp. 6¹⁴=1 Co 7¹⁻¹⁷, 6¹⁶=1 Co 3^{16f}).

[54—55 A.D.]

THE INTERMEDIATE LETTER TO CORINTH

His authority had apparently been defied, and his credit and influence decidedly lowered ; and he had even had to endure personal insult. It was under these circumstances that he wrote another letter to the Corinthians immediately upon his return to Ephesus, defending himself against the attacks of his enemies, and calling the Corinthians sharply to account for their disloyalty to him, and for allowing themselves to be influenced by his opponents and detractors. The general tone of chapters x.—xiii. is exactly what Paul's references to that epistle would lead us to expect. Those chapters were evidently written out of much sorrow and anguish of heart, and there was good reason to doubt whether the Corinthians would receive them kindly. They were calculated, if they did not move them to repentance, to make them angry, and to widen the breach already existing. . . . This sharp and passionate epistle, which was carried by Titus to Corinth, produced the effect for which it was intended. Paul had feared for the result, but his fears proved groundless. The Corinthians realised their error, and took their stand unequivocally on his side.—**McGiffert,**

[2 Co 10 ¹ —13 ¹⁰	The invective : Vindication of his mission and himself against opponents—
11 ¹⁻⁶	his sincerity,
11 ⁷⁻¹³	„ maintenance,
11 ¹⁶ —12 ¹⁰	„ exultation.
12 ¹¹⁻¹⁸	Closing appeals.
12 ¹⁹ —13 ¹⁰]	A warning and a remonstrance, in view of an approaching visit.

THE INTERMEDIATE LETTER TO CORINTH

(2 Co 10¹–13¹⁰)

- 10 1 . . . Now personally I Paul appeal to you by the gentleness and forbearance of Christ, I who “am humble in presence” among you “but
2 make a brave front to you in my absence.” I do entreat you that when I am present I may not have to “make a brave front,” with the confidence with which I am determined to deal boldly with certain persons who look
3 upon us as if we “walked according to the flesh.” No, we walk in the
4 flesh, but we do not make war according to the flesh—for the weapons of our warfare are not of the flesh, but divinely powerful to throw down
5 strongholds—we throw down reasonings and every rampart that erects itself against the knowledge of God, we bring every scheme captive to
6 obey Christ, and we are in readiness to punish all disobedience, when once your obedience is complete.
- 7 Look at what lies before your very face. If any man is self-confident that he “is Christ’s,” let him once more reflect to himself that just as he
8 “is Christ’s,” so too are we. For though I were to exult further over our authority, which the Lord has given to upbuild you, not to throw you
9 down, I shall not be put to shame. But I refrain, in case it might
10 appear as if I wanted to frighten you merely by my letters. For “his letters,” says one, “are of weight and forcible: but when he is here in
11 person, he is weak, and his speech despicable.” Let him who says so take this into consideration: what we are in word by letters when we are absent, that we shall prove ourselves to be in deed when we are
12 present. We do not venture forsooth to include ourselves among, or to compare ourselves with, some of those who commend themselves! Nay, as we measure ourselves by ourselves and compare ourselves with ourselves,¹ ours will be no immoderate exultation; it will be exultation according to the measure of the sphere which God has assigned to us—a
14 measure by which we reach as far as you. For we are not stretching beyond our limits, as though our reach did not include you; we came as far as you before anyone else came with the gospel of Christ.
15 Ours is no immoderate exulting on the ground of other men’s labours; our hope rather is that, as your faith grows, we shall be magnified yet
16 more and more in you according to our sphere, our object being to preach the gospel even to the regions that lie beyond you, not to exult in another
17 man’s sphere over work that lies already done. *Let him who exults exult in the Lord.* For the man of genuine character is not he who commends himself, it is he whom the Lord commends.
- 11 1 Would that you could bear with a little “senselessness” from me!
2 Yes indeed, do bear with me! With a divine jealousy I am jealous over you; for I have betrothed you, to present you as a chaste maiden to

¹ Omitting *ὃ συνίστην*: *ἡμῖς δὲ*.

3 one husband, to Christ. But I am afraid lest haply, as *the serpent beguiled*
 Eve with his craftiness, your minds be corrupted from that singleness of
 4 heart¹ which is for Christ. For indeed if the new-comer preaches
 another Jesus, whom we did not preach, or if you get a different spirit, a
 spirit which you did not get, or a different gospel, which you did not
 5 accept—you put up with them well enough! Why not with me? I
 6 reckon myself not a whit inferior to those superlative apostles! Even if
 in speech I am uneducated, in knowledge I am not. No, we have made
 7 that perfectly clear to you in every way. What! did I commit
 a sin when I humbled myself that you might be raised, preaching the
 8 gospel of God to you for nothing? Other Communities I robbed by
 9 taking pay from them that I might minister to you; and when I was
 with you and fell into want, I did not become an encumbrance to any
 one. My want was supplied by the brothers who came from Macedonia;
 and so in every way I kept (and will keep) myself from proving a burden
 10 to you. As the truth of Christ is in me, I will not be stopped from exult-
 11 ing thus in the regions of Achaia. Why? Because I do not love you?
 12 God knows I do. But I will continue to do what I am doing, that those
 who would fain have the opportunity may be deprived of it, that in the
 13 matter of exulting it may be found they are just like ourselves. Such
 men are false apostles, deceitful workers, masquerading as “apostles of
 14 Christ.” And no wonder! Satan himself masquerades as an angel of
 15 light. It is in no wise remarkable then if his ministers also masquerade
 as “ministers of uprightness.” As their works are, so shall be their fate.
 16 Once more I say, let no one think me “senseless.” Even if they do,
 put up with me, were it only as with a “senseless” man, that I too may
 17 have some little exulting. (In what I now say, I speak not after the
 18 Lord, but as in “senselessness,” from this standpoint of exulting. Since
 19 many exult after the flesh, I too will exult.) For you, who are sensible
 20 people, are glad to bear with the senseless! You bear with a man if he
 enslaves you, if he devours you, if he catches you, if he uplifts himself,
 21 if he upbraids you to your face!—I say this to my discredit, implying
 that we at all events were “weak.” But in whatever point any-
 one makes bold (I am speaking in “senselessness”), I make bold as well.
 22 Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they
 23 the offspring of Abraham? So am I. Are they ministers of Christ?
 (I am speaking like one out of his senses.) I still more: far beyond
 them in labours, far beyond them in imprisonments, in stripes above
 24 measure, in deaths many a time. Five times have I received from the
 25 Jews forty stripes save one. Three times have I been beaten with rods,
 once I was pelted with stones, three times I have suffered shipwreck, for
 26 twenty-four hours I was in the ocean. Many a time have I been on
 journeys, in dangers amid rivers, in dangers amid robbers, in dangers
 from my own race, in dangers from the Gentiles, in dangers in the city,
 in dangers in the desert, in dangers in the sea, in dangers among false
 27 brothers, in labour and toil, in vigils many a time, in hunger and thirst,
 28 in fastings many a time, in cold and nakedness. Apart from all the
 rest, there is my daily oversight, my anxious care for all the Com-
 29 munities. Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is hindered, and I
 30 am not on fire? If exult I must, then I will exult about my weakness.
 31 The God and Father of the Lord Jesus, he who is blessed for ever,
 32 knows that I lie not. [In Damascus the ethnarch of Aretas the king
 33 was guarding the city of the Damascenes, in order to arrest me. But

¹ Omitting [[καὶ τῆς ἀγνότητος]].

through a window I was lowered in a hamper over the wall, and so
 12 1 escaped his hands.] Exult I must, though advantage there is
 none. But I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord.

2 I know a man in Christ who fourteen years ago—
 whether in the body I know not, or out of the body I know not :
 God knows—
 was caught up as far as the third heaven.

3 And I know the man in question—
 whether in the body or apart from the body I know not : God
 knows—

4 he was caught up into paradise
 and heard utterances ineffable, which it is not for man to utter.

5 I will exult on his behalf
 But on my own I will not exult—unless in the matter of my
 weaknesses.

6 (Did I wish to exult I would not be “senseless,” for I should be
 speaking the truth ; but I abstain, in case anyone should esteem me
 beyond what he finds me to be or what he hears from me.)

7 That¹ I might not be uplifted overhighly by the pre-eminence of the
 revelations, a thorn in the flesh was given me,
 An angel of Satan to buffet me, that I might not be uplifted over-
 highly.

8 Three times over this I appealed to the Lord, that it might leave me ;
 9 yet he has said to me, “My grace is enough for thee : for in weakness
 my power is perfected.” Right gladly then will I rather exult in my
 10 weaknesses, that the power of Christ may settle upon me. Wherefore
 on behalf of Christ I take delight in weaknesses, in insults, in
 troubles, in persecutions and calamities. For when I am weak, then am
 I strong.

11 I have become “senseless” ? It was you who compelled me to it. For
 I ought to have been commended by you. “Nothing” though I am, in no
 12 whit have I been inferior to those superlative apostles ! The signs of an
 apostle were indeed effected among you in all endurance, by signs and
 13 wonders and miraculous powers. For in what way were you rendered
 inferior to the rest of the Communities, except in the fact that personally
 14 I was no encumbrance to you ? Forgive me this terrible wrong !

Look, for the third time now I am ready to visit you. Nor will I be any
 encumbrance to you. I seek not your goods but yourselves : children
 15 ought not to lay up for parents, but parents for children. And right
 gladly will I spend and be spent entirely for your souls. If I love you
 16 more and more, am I to be loved the less ? But “that is granted” : I,
 you admit—I did not come upon you as a burden. No, but I was
 17 “crafty,” you say, “and caught you by guile” ? Did I take advantage
 18 of you by any of the men whom I despatched to you ? I appealed to
 Titus, and despatched the brother along with him. Did Titus take any
 advantage of you ? Did he and I not proceed in the same spirit ? in the
 same steps ?

19 Do you imagine all this time that we are “defending ourselves to
 you” ? It is before God that we speak, in Christ ; and all is for your
 20 upbuilding, beloved. For I am afraid that perhaps I may come and
 find you are not what I would like to find, and that you may find
 me not what you would like to find ; afraid there may perhaps be
 quarrelling, jealousy, angry passions, factions, accusations, secret slanders,

¹ Omitting *διὰ*.

21 lofty ways, disorders ; afraid that my God will humiliate me before you when I return, and that I shall mourn for many of those who were previously in sin, yet have not repented of the impurity and fornication and sensuality which they practised.

- 13 1 For the third time now I am coming to you : *on the statements of two*
 2 *witnesses or three every case shall be decided.* I have said and I now say
 3 beforehand (as when I was present for the second time, so now when I
 4 am absent) to those who were previously in sin, and to all the rest : if
 5 I come again, I will be unsparing—since you require a proof of the
 6 Christ who speaks in me. Nor is he weak among you, he shows himself
 7 powerful in you ; for he was indeed crucified in virtue of weakness, yet
 8 he lives in virtue of the power of God. And truly we are weak in him,
 9 but we shall live with him, in virtue of the power of God among you. Try
 10 yourselves, to see if you are in the faith. Put yourselves to the test. Do
 you not understand yourselves, that Jesus Christ is within you ?—unless
 indeed you are reprobates. (As for ourselves, I hope you will find we
 are no reprobates.) We pray to God that you may do no evil ; not that
 we may appear as men of genuine character, but that you may do what
 is good, though we may look like reprobates. For we have no power
 against the truth, but for the truth. Yes, we rejoice when we are weak
 and you are strong ; it is your development that we pray for. I am
 writing thus in absence, so that when I am present I may not have to
 deal severely, in virtue of the authority which the Lord has given me to
 upbuild, not to throw you down. . . .

II. CORINTHIANS

In the first place, it shows pre-eminently how completely the apostle was master of his mood. The letter is, from beginning to end, one of mood ; but the mood, far from being identical, varies constantly. . . . And yet there is neither vacillation nor contradiction. As each is roused and warranted by circumstances, so he remains master of all. He throws his whole being into every emotion, and he is always the same. . . . The second feature disclosed pre-eminently by this letter is the interchange of the particular and the universal, the mingling of the discussion of the subject in hand with instruction in the highest matters. The letter, which at a first glance is entirely concerned with the questions and interests of the day, yet contains, in the midst of these, passages which belong to the most important sources for the doctrine of the apostle as a whole. . . . It may be said that not even the slightest point is discussed without a universal application, without a reference to that which is ultimate and supreme. The look that has just been fixed upon the nearly lying scene passes immediately to the distant prospects.—**Weizsäcker.**

1¹⁻¹¹ **Epistolary introduction.**1¹²⁻⁷16 **Paul as an apostle :**

Personal explanations and vindication—

2¹²⁻⁴6 an apostle's ministry,

4⁷⁻⁵10 „ „ sufferings,

5¹¹⁻⁶10 „ „ life.

6¹¹⁻⁷16 Epilogue : final appeal to the Corinthians.

8-9 **The collection :**

Christian liberality :

Its examples { the Macedonians.
Jesus Christ.

Its principle and issues.

13¹¹⁻¹⁴ **Farewell.**

II. CORINTHIANS

- 1 1 PAUL, an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God, and
 Timotheus the brother,
 to the Community of God which is in Corinth, along with all the
 saints who are in the whole of Achaia :
- 2 grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus
 Christ.
- 3 Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father
 4 of tender mercies and God of all comfort, who comforts us in all our
 distress, that we may be able to comfort those who are in any distress
 by means of the comfort with which we are comforted ourselves by
 5 God ; for just as the sufferings of Christ abound for us, so our comfort
 6 also abounds through Christ. Are we in distress ? it is for your comfort
 and salvation ; are we comforted ? it is for your comfort—a comfort whose
 effect is the patient endurance of the same sufferings as we also suffer.
- 7 And our hope for you is firm, since we know that as you share in the
 8 sufferings, so you share also in the comfort. For we would not
 have you ignorant, brothers, with regard to the distress which befell us
 in Asia. Beyond measure, past our strength, we were weighed down, so
 9 that we despaired even of life. Yes, for ourselves we decided the end
 must be death—it was to make us rely not on ourselves but on God,
 10 who raises the dead, who rescued us out of so terrible a death and
 rescues now,¹ on whom our hope is set that he will also rescue us still ;
 11 while you also co-operate on our behalf by prayer, in order that on the
 part of many persons thanks may be given on our behalf for the boon
 bestowed upon us.
- 12 For the cause of our exulting lies in the evidence of our conscience,
 that it was in holiness and godly sincerity, not with fleshly cunning
 but with God's grace, that we conducted ourselves in the world, and
 13 especially towards you. We are not writing you anything else than what
 you read, or in point of fact acknowledge. And to the end, I hope, you
 14 will acknowledge—as also you have partly acknowledged us—that we
 are your reason for exulting, as also you are ours, in the day of our
 15 Lord Jesus. And it was with this confidence that I meant to
 16 come to you before, that you might have a second benefit : intending to
 pass through you to Macedonia, and from Macedonia to come to you
 17 again, and be sped by you on my journey to Judaea. With this in view,
 then, did I display fickleness ? Or do I make my proposals according
 to the flesh, so as to be one who practically means “yes” as well as
 18 “no” ? As God is faithful, our word to you was not “yes and no.”
 19 For the Son of God, Christ Jesus, who was proclaimed among you by
 us (by myself and Silvanus and Timotheus) was not “yes and no” ;
 20 in him “yes” has come to be. For in him is the “yes” to all God's
 promises ; therefore through him also comes the “amen,” to the honour

¹ Reading *ῥυέται*.

21 of God through us. Now he who confirms us with you in Christ and
22 anointed us, is God: who also sealed us as his own and set the pledge
and instalment of the Spirit in our hearts.

23 I call God to witness against my soul, it was to spare you that I
24 forbore to revisit Corinth. (Not that we exercise lordship over your
faith. Nay, we work together for your joy. For by your faith you
2 1, 2 stand.) I decided that I would not visit you again in sorrow. For if I
make you sorrowful, then who is to make me glad? who but he who is
3 made sorrowful by me? and I wrote just for this reason, in case upon
my arrival I might have sorrow from those who ought to furnish me
with joy; confident as I am in you all, that my joy is the joy of you
4 all. For it was out of much distress and misery of heart that I wrote
you, with many tears; not to make you sorrowful, but to make you
5 realise the love which I have for you especially. If anyone has
caused sorrow, he has not caused sorrow to me, but to you all; at least—
6 not to be too severe—to a section of you. This punishment from the
7 majority is enough for the individual in question, so that on the
contrary you should rather forgive him and comfort him, lest haply the
8 man be swallowed up by excessive sorrow. Wherefore I appeal to you
9 to ratify your love to him. For it was with this object that I also
10 wrote, to find out the proof of your obedience in every point. The
man whom you forgive for anything, I forgive also. And truly what-
ever I have forgiven, my forgiveness has been for your sakes in the
11 presence of Christ—to prevent Satan from taking any advantage of us;
12 for well do we know his schemes. Now on arriving at Troas to
preach the gospel of Christ, even although a door stood open for me in the
13 Lord, I got no relief for my spirit, since I did not find Titus my brother;
14 so I took leave of them and departed to Macedonia. Thanks be to God
who ever makes our life a pageant of triumph in Christ, and dis-
15 closes through us in every place the odour of his knowledge! For to
God we are a fragrance of Christ, in the saved and in the perishing:
16 to these an odour of¹ death to death, to those an odour of¹ life to life.
17 (And who is qualified for this?) For we are not like the majority who
adulterate the word of God; nay, out of sincerity, from God, thus it is
we speak in Christ before God.

3 1 Are we beginning once more “to commend ourselves”? or do
we require, like some people, letters of commendation to you or
2 from you? You are yourselves our letter, written within our hearts,
3 recognised and read by all men. It is plain, to look at you, that
you are a letter of Christ, executed by our ministry, *written* not
with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God, not on *tablets of*
4 *stone*, but on *tablets that are hearts of flesh*.—Such is the confidence
5 we have through Christ towards God. It is not that we are personally
qualified to form any judgment by our unaided selves; our qualifica-
6 tion is from God, who has also qualified us to be ministers of a new
covenant, not of written law but of spirit. For the written law
7 puts to death, but the spirit makes alive. Now if the ministry of
death, engraved in letters of stone, was accompanied with such
splendour that the sons of Israel could not gaze on the face of *Moses*
8 for the splendour of his face—a splendour that was waning—surely the
9 ministry of the Spirit shall be of still greater splendour? For if
splendour belongs to the ministry of condemnation, far far more does
10 the ministry of uprightness excel in splendour. Indeed in this respect

¹ Omitting *ix*.

what has been made splendid possesses no splendour, in view of the splendour that is surpassing. For if the appearance of what was waning was splendid, then splendid far far more is what remains.

12, 13 Since then we have such a hope, we use great openness, and are not like *Moses*, who *used to put a veil upon his face*, to prevent the sons of Israel gazing on the end of what was waning. Moreover their minds have been hardened. For to this very day, upon the reading of the old covenant, the same veil remains. Veiled to them the fact that it has waned in Christ! Yes, down to this day, whensoever *Moses* is read, a veil lies on their heart. *But whensoever they turn to the Lord, the veil is taken away.* The Lord is the Spirit: where the Spirit of the Lord is, there freedom is. And while we all, with face unveiled, behold as in a mirror *the splendour of the Lord*, we are transformed into that very image from splendour to splendour, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.

4 1 Therefore, after the mercy we have obtained, we do not lose heart in this, our ministry. The practices which very shame conceals, we have disowned; we do not proceed by craft or falsify the word of God, but by the disclosure of the truth we commend ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. And even if our gospel is veiled, it is veiled for the perishing; in their case the god of this age has blinded the minds of the unbelieving so that no ray should reach them from the radiance of the gospel of the splendour of Christ, who is the image of God. For it is not ourselves that we preach, it is Christ Jesus as Lord and ourselves as your slaves for the sake of Jesus. For the God who said, "Out of darkness light shall shine," is he who shone within our hearts to irradiate the knowledge of God's splendour in the face of Christ.

7 But this treasure we hold in earthen vessels,

That the pre-eminence of the power may be God's, not due to us—

8 In everything distressed yet not straitened,

perplexed yet not despairing,

9 persecuted yet not forsaken,

prostrate yet not destroyed,

10 Bearing about ever in the body the dying of Jesus,

That the life of Jesus also may be disclosed in our body:

11 For we who live are always being delivered to death for Jesus' sake,

That the life of Jesus also may be disclosed in our mortal flesh.

12, 13 In us then death is active, in you life. Yet having the same spirit of faith as that whereof it is written, *I believed: therefore I spoke*—we too believe, and therefore speak; since we know that he who raised up the Lord Jesus shall also raise us up with Jesus and present us with you. All is for your sakes, that grace multiplied may cause thanksgiving to abound through the greater number to the honour of God.

16 Wherefore we lose not heart:

Although our outer man decays,

Day after day our inner man is renewed.

17 For the moment's¹ light distress results for us in an eternal weight of majesty:

18 While we look not at the seen, but at the unseen,

For the seen is for a time,

But the unseen is eternal.

¹ Omitting *ἡμῶν*

- 5 1 For we know that if our earthly house of the tabernacle be taken down,
We have a building from God, a house that no hands made, eternal
in the heavens.
- 2 And truly this is why we groan,
As we yearn to be clothed upon with our habitation from heaven ;
- 3 Seeing that once it is put on, we shall not indeed be found naked.
- 4 And truly we who are in this tabernacle do groan under the burden,
Since our desire is not to be unclothed, but clothed upon,
To have mortality swallowed up by life.
- 5 For this very end has he formed us,
Even the God who gave us the pledge and instalment of the Spirit.
- 6 So then we are ever confident, knowing that for us to be at home in
7 the body is to be abroad from the Lord (for the sphere of our walk is
8 faith, not appearances)—we are confident, I say, and would far sooner be
9 abroad from the body and at home with the Lord. Wherefore we also
make it our ambition, whether at home or abroad, to be well-pleasing to
10 him. For we must all be exposed before the tribunal of Christ, that
each may be paid back for what he has done with the body, according to
his deeds, be they good or ill.
- 11 Knowing the fear of the Lord, then, we “try to win over men.” But
what we are is plain to God ; plain also, as I hope, within your consciences.
- 12 We are not “commending ourselves to you” again, but giving you an
opportunity to exult on our behalf, that you may have some answer for
13 those who exult in appearance and not in heart. We have “gone out of
our mind”? that is God’s concern. We are “in our senses”? that is in
14 your interest. For it is the love of Christ that urges us : because our con-
15 viction is that one died on behalf of all—so then all died—and died on
behalf of all, in order that the living might live no longer for themselves
16 but for him who died and rose again on their behalf. So, as for
us, from henceforth we know no man after the flesh. Even though we
have known Christ after the flesh, yet now we know him thus no more.
- 17 Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation : the old things
18 have passed away, behold, they have become new ! And it is all of God,
who reconciled us to himself through Christ and gave us the ministry of
19 reconciliation, whose purport is : God was reconciling the world to him-
self in Christ, not reckoning to them their trespasses ; and he has placed
20 with us the word of reconciliation. On Christ’s behalf then we
are envoys, as though by us God made appeal. We entreat you on behalf
21 of Christ, accept reconciliation to God. Him who knew no sin he made
6 1 to be sin for us, that we might become God’s uprightness in him. As his
fellow-workers we appeal to you also not to receive the grace of God in
2 vain—for he saith,
*At an acceptable time I hearkened to thee,
And in a day of salvation I helped thee.*
Lo now is the highly acceptable time !
Lo now is the day of salvation—
- 3 and we give no occasion for stumbling at any point, that our ministry
4 may not be impugned. No, as ministers of God we commend ourselves
in every point, in much endurance, amid distresses, amid troubles, amid
5 calamities, amid stripes, amid imprisonments, amid tumults, amid labours,
6 amid vigils, amid fastings, in purity, in knowledge, in long-suffering, in
7 kindness, in the holy Spirit, in love unfeigned, in the word of truth, in
the power of God : by the weapons of uprightness in the right hand and
8 in the left, by credit and dishonour, by evil report and good report, as

- 9 "impostors" yet truthful, as "unknown" yet well known, as *dying* yet
 10 lo! *we live*, as *chastised yet not put to death*, as sorrowful but ever rejoicing,
 as poor but enriching many, as having nothing yet possessed of everything.
 11 We keep nothing back from you, Corinthians; our *heart is wide open*.
 12, 13 Your constraint lies not in us, it lies in your own hearts. Now one good
 turn deserves another (I am speaking as to my children), be you wide
 14 open too. Share no incongruous yoke with unbelievers.

For what partnership can exist between uprightness and wickedness?
 Or what has light in common with darkness?

- 15 What harmony has Christ with Beliar?
 Or what part has a believer with an unbeliever?

- 16 What compact has God's sanctuary with idols?
 For we are the sanctuary of the living God: even as God said,
"I will dwell in them and walk in them,
And I will be their God and they shall be my people.

- 17 Therefore, *come out from the midst of them and be separate," saith the*
Lord.

- "And touch nothing unclean, and I will welcome you with favour:*
 18 *So will I be to you a father, and to me you shall be sons and*
daughters,"
Saith the Lord Almighty.

- 7 1 As we possess these promises, then, beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all
 defilement of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.
 2 Take us into your hearts. We have wronged no one, we have ruined
 3 no one, we have taken advantage of no one. I am not speaking to
 condemn you; I have said before that you are in our hearts to die
 4 together and to live together. Great is my frank confidence in regard to
 you, greatly do I exult on your behalf amid all our distress. I am full
 5 of cheer, brimming over with delight. For even when we came
 to Macedonia our flesh got no relief, we were in utter distress—it was
 6 wrangles without, fears within. But the God who cheers the depressed
 7 cheered us by the arrival of Titus; and it was not merely by his arrival,
 but also by the cheer with which he had been encouraged over you, as he
 reported to us your longing, your mourning, your zeal for me, so that I
 8 rejoiced more and more. For though I caused you sorrow with my letter,
 I do not regret it. I had regrets, it is true, when I discovered ¹ that that
 9 letter had caused you sorrow (though it was only for a time); but, as
 matters stand, I rejoice—not because you had sorrow, but because you
 had sorrow to repentance. For you had sorrow in God's way, that you
 10 might suffer no loss through us; for sorrow in God's way results in repent-
 ance to salvation—a repentance not to be regretted—but the sorrow of
 11 the world results in death. Look at this very fact, that you were caused
 sorrow in God's way! what earnest care was its result in you, yes and
 clearing of yourselves, yes and indignation, yes and fear, yes and longing,
 yes and zeal, yes and punishment! You gave every proof that you were
 12 innocent in the business. So then, although I wrote to you, it was not
 for the sake of him who did the wrong, nor for the sake of him who was
 wronged, but in order to make clear to yourselves in the sight of God
 13 how earnestly you care for us. Hence our cheer. But over
 and above our own cheer we rejoiced more abundantly than ever at the
 14 joy of Titus, because you had all refreshed his spirit. For I was not
 put to shame over any exultation that I had made to him upon your
 behalf; but as all that we said to you was true, so our exulting on your

¹ Reading *βλέπων*: omitting [[*τὰς*]].

15 behalf before Titus proved also to be truth. And his affection for you is all the greater as he recalls the obedience of you all, and how you received him with fear and trembling. I rejoice that in everything you give me confidence.

8 1 Now we would inform you, brothers, about the grace of God which 2 has been given to the Communities of Macedonia. Amid a severe ordeal of distress, their abundant joy and their deep poverty have had an abundant issue in rich generosity upon their part; up to their means (I bear witness) and beyond their means, they of their own free will besought us with urgent entreaty for the favour of participating in the ministry to the saints. And they surpassed our expectations. They actually gave themselves—first to the Lord, to begin with, and to us by the will of God. 6 So much so that we appealed to Titus to get this bounty completed among 7 you also, since it was he who had previously made a beginning. Come, as you excel in everything, in faith and speech and knowledge and all earnestness and in your love to us, excel also in this bounty.

8 I do not speak by way of command, but through the earnestness of others 9 I would put the genuineness of your love also to the proof. (For you know the bounteous grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; how for your sakes, rich though he was, he became poor, that through his poverty you might 10 grow rich.) Still, on this subject I give my opinion (it is for your own advantage, you who a year ago were the first not only in deed but also in 11 desire to make a beginning); complete the deed now as well as the desire, so that after your readiness in desiring you may likewise complete the 12 doing, in proportion to what you possess. For if the readiness is there, it is right welcome—according to what a man has, not according to what he 13 has not. This does not mean ease for other people and hardship for you: 14 it is a matter of equality. On the present occasion your abundance serves to supply their lack, in order that their abundance also may come to supply your lack; so that there may be equality, even as it is written:

15 *He whose gathering was large had nothing over,
And he whose gathering was small had not too little.*

16 Now thanks be to God for putting into the heart of Titus the same 17 earnest care of you. For, while he accepted our appeal, he has gone off to 18 you of his own free will, so earnest is he. And we have sent along with him the brother whose praise in the gospel is known throughout all the 19 Communities: further, he was also appointed by the Communities as our fellow-traveller in the matter of this bounty which we are administering 20 for the honour of the Lord and with encouragement to ourselves. (We are taking precautions to prevent anyone from impugning us in reference to 21 this munificence which we are administering; for *our concern is for what is honourable not only in the sight of the Lord but also in the sight of men.*) 22 Along with them we have also sent our brother, of whose earnestness we have had proof many a time and in many a matter, but yet stronger proof 23 now in the great confidence which he has with regard to you. As for Titus, he is my comrade and fellow-worker in your interest. As for our brothers, 24 they are messengers from the Communities, a credit to Christ. Afford¹ them the proof of your love, then, our warrant for exulting on your 9 1 account before the Communities. For it is superfluous for me 2 to be writing you on the ministry to the saints. I know your readiness and exult over it on your account to the Macedonians; "Achaia," I tell them, "has been prepared for a year back." And your zeal has been a 3 stimulus to the most of them. But I have sent the brothers lest our exulta-

¹ Reading *ἰσχυροῦς*.

tion on your account be rendered void in this particular, that you may
 4 be (as I have been telling them you would be) "prepared"; lest haply,
 should any Macedonians accompany me and find you unprepared, we (not
 5 to say, you) might be put to shame over this confidence. I have therefore
 considered it needful to appeal to the brothers to go on to you and make
 up beforehand your long-promised liberality, so that it might be ready as
 6 a matter of liberality and not of grudging avarice. Mark this!

He who sows sparingly, sparingly shall he also reap:

And he who sows liberally, liberally shall he also reap.

7 Let each one give as he has determined in his heart, without any
 8 regret or compulsion. For it is a *cheerful giver* that God loves. And God
 has the power of making all grace abound to you, that on all sides, at all
 times, in all ways, you may have sufficient, and have ample for every good
 9 work: even as it is written,

He scatters abroad, he gives to the poor;

His charity lasts for ever.

10 Now he who supplies *the sower with seed and with bread for food*, shall
 supply and multiply your seed, and make *the fruits of your charity* grow—
 11 as on all sides you become enriched to all generosity, generosity that
 12 results in thanksgiving being offered through us to God. For the minister-
 ing of this service not merely supplies the wants of the saints, but also
 13 abounds through many a thanksgiving to God. Through the proof
 afforded by this ministry you cause God to be magnified for your sub-
 mission in confessing the gospel of Christ and for the generosity of your
 14 contribution to them and to all, while they too pray for you and long for
 15 you on account of the surpassing grace of God that is with you. Thanks
 be to God for his unspeakable gift!

13 11 Farewell, then, brothers: be at harmony, be encouraged, be of the
 same mind, be at peace. So shall the God of love and peace be with you.

12 Salute one another with a saints' kiss.

All the saints salute you.

13 The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the com-
 munion of the holy Spirit be with you all.

ROMANS.

The epistle to the Romans marks the exact point at which controversy resolves itself naturally into dogma. The apostle's doctrine, disentangled from external incidents, is raised to a higher level and attains a freer and fuller development. Escaping from the violent antithesis by which it was hitherto dominated, it tends towards a general and culminating synthesis. Paul at last brings Judaism and Paganism within the scope of his contemplation. He is not content to contrast them with his gospel, and to condemn them purely and simply; he endeavours to understand them in their historical function and actual value, to assign them their due place as transitional but essential stages in the Divine plan of redemption. In this manner the new circle of Pauline thought is enlarged and completed. Having taken possession of the sphere of the conscience, it conquers the domain of history. The epistle to the Romans is the first attempt at what we should call, in modern phrase, a philosophy of the religious history of mankind.—**Sabatier.**

1¹⁻¹⁷ **Introduction.**

1¹⁸⁻⁵²¹ **Dogmatic:** Uprightness, missed by Paganism and Judaism,
attainable by faith in Christ. Evidence
for this in

3³¹⁻⁴²⁵ the OT and the Law—the
problem of Abraham
and his faith,

5¹⁻¹¹ the Christian experience,
5¹²⁻²¹ the history of humanity—
Adam and Jesus.

6-8 Obligations of this Christian freedom:
the problem of sin,
the problem of the moral law.

9-11 The career of life in the Christian spirit.
The problem of Israel: rejection of Israel in relation
to God's purpose and justice—
its cause and significance.

12-14¹¹ **Ethical:** A cycle of Christian duties and relationships—
12³⁻¹⁶ to one another.

12¹⁷⁻¹³¹⁰ to the world.

Toleration and consideration.

15¹⁴⁻³³ **Personal:** Object of epistle: coming visit to Rome.

16²¹⁻²³ Greetings.

[16²⁶⁻²⁷] Doxology.

ROMANS

1 **PAUL**, a slave of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the
 2 gospel of God—which he formerly promised by his prophets in holy
 3 scriptures—concerning his Son, who was born of David's offspring
 4 according to the flesh, and installed as Son of God with power according
 5 to the spirit of holiness by the resurrection of the dead; even Jesus Christ
 6 our Lord, through whom we received the favour of being commissioned
 7 to secure obedience to the faith for his name's sake among all the nations,
 8 among whom you yourselves are also, called to be Jesus Christ's :
 9 to all who are in Rome, God's beloved ones, called to be saints ;
 10 grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus
 11 Christ.

12 At the very outset, I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all,
 13 because your faith is proclaimed through the whole world. For God,
 14 whom I serve with my spirit in the gospel of his Son, is my witness, that
 15 without ceasing I always make mention of you in my prayers, entreating
 16 that some day at last I may be sped upon my way to you by the will of
 17 God. For I am yearning to see you that I may impart to you some
 18 spiritual privilege, so that you may be established ; that is, so that I also
 19 may be comforted among you, I by your faith as you by mine. I
 20 would not have you ignorant, brothers, that I often purposed to come to
 21 you (yet up till now I have been prevented) to possess some fruit among
 22 you as well as among the rest of the nations. To Greeks and to bar-
 23 barians, to wise and to foolish, I am debtor. Hence my eagerness to
 24 preach the gospel to you in Rome as well. For I am not ashamed of the
 25 gospel ; it is God's power for salvation to every one who believes, to the
 26 Jew first and also to the Greek. For in it God's uprightness is revealed
 from faith to faith, as it is written : *Now by faith shall the upright live.*
 18 For God's wrath is revealed from heaven against all the impiety and
 19 iniquity of men who impede the truth by iniquity ; inasmuch as what is
 20 to be known of God is disclosed to them. God himself disclosed it to
 21 them ; for from the creation of the world his invisible things, his ever-
 22 lasting power and divinity, are clearly seen, understood through the
 23 things of his workmanship. So they are without excuse, inasmuch as
 24 they knew God yet neither honoured him as God nor gave him thanks.
 25 They were befooled as they reasoned, and their ignorant heart was dark-
 26 ened ; pretending to be wise, they became fools and *exchanged the majesty*
of the imperishable God for the likeness of an image of perishing man, of
 27 birds, of things fourfooted and creeping. Wherefore God gave
 them up in the desires of their hearts to impurity, to dishonour their
 28 bodies among themselves—men who had exchanged the truth of God for
 29 what is false, worshipping and serving the created rather than the Creator,
 30 who is blessed for ever : Amen. Therefore God gave them up to vile
 passions : their women exchanged the sexual use that is natural for the

27 unnatural; and so too the men, abandoning the natural use of the woman, flamed up in their lust for one another, men perpetrating unseemliness with men and receiving within themselves the due recompense of their error. And as they disdained to keep God in their knowledge, God gave them up to a reprobate mind, to do what is unbecom-
 28 ing, filled with all iniquity, wickedness, covetousness, and malice, full of envy, murder, quarrelling, deceit, and malignity, slanderers, 30 defamers, loathed by God, outrageous, haughty, braggarts, devisers of evil, disobedient to their parents, ignorant, untrue to their word, without 32 natural affection, unmerciful—men aware of God's ordinance, that those who practise such things deserve death, yet not only themselves doing the very things, but also applauding those who practise them.

2 1 Wherefore thou art without excuse, O man, whoever thou art that judgest; in judging the other man thou art condemning thyself, for thou 2 that judgest art practising the very things. We know that the doom of God falls justly upon those who practise such things.

3 And dost thou imagine, O man, who judgest those who practise such things and doest the same thyself,
 That thou shalt escape the doom of God?

4 Or art thou despising the riches of his kindness and forbearance and long-suffering,

Not knowing that the kindness of God points thee to repentance?
 5 With thy stubbornness and impenitent heart thou art laying up wrath for thyself

At the day of wrath, when the just doom of God is revealed:

6 *Who will render to every man according to his works,*

7 To those who patiently in good work seek praise and honour and the imperishable,
 eternal life;

8 But to those who factiously disobey the truth and moreover obey iniquity,
 anger and wrath—

9 Distress and calamity fall upon every human soul that perpetrates evil,
 Upon the Jew first and also upon the Greek:

10 But praise and honour and peace are for everyone who does what is good,

For the Jew first and also for the Greek.

11 For with God there is no respect of persons.

12 All who have sinned apart from law,

Apart from law shall they also perish:

And all who have sinned under law,

By law shall they be condemned.

13 For those who hear law are not upright before God,

14 It is those that obey law who shall be justified [For when Gentiles who have no law obey by nature the requirement of the law, they are a
 15 law to themselves, although they have no law—men who show written in their hearts the work required by the law; while their conscience also bears witness to it, indeed their thoughts accuse or it may be defend them,
 16 one with another] in the day when God judges the secrets of men, according to my gospel, by Jesus Christ.

17 But if thou bearest the name of "Jew," relying on the law, exulting
 18 in God, knowing his will, prizing the things that transcend, getting in-
 19 struction from the law, and confident that thou art thyself a guide to the
 20 blind, a light to those in darkness, a corrector of the stupid, a teacher of

children, since in the law thou hast the embodiment of knowledge and
 21 truth—well then, thou teacher of another person, teachest thou not
 22 thyself? thou preacher against stealing, dost thou steal? thou forbidd-
 of adultery, dost thou commit adultery? thou detester of idols, dost thou
 23 rob temples? thou who art exulting in the law, art thou transgressing the
 24 law and dishonouring God? Why, it is

owing to you that God's name is maligned among the Gentiles,
 even as it is written;

25 Circumcision is indeed of use, if thou art observing the law:

But if thou art transgressing the law, thy circumcision is turned to
 uncircumcision.

26 If then the Uncircumcision keep the ordinance of the law,
 shall not its uncircumcision be reckoned as circumcision?

27 And shall not the Uncircumcision which by nature fulfils the law
 judge thee who with written law and circumcision art a trans-
 gressor of the law?

28 He is no Jew who is one outwardly,
 nor is circumcision something outward in the flesh:

29 He is a Jew who is one inwardly,
 and circumcision is of the heart, wrought by the spirit not by the
 written law,

whose praise is of God, not of men.

3 1 What is the Jew's advantage, then? or, what is the use of circum-
 2 cision? Much in every way. This at the outset: that the oracles of God
 3 were intrusted to them. What though some were unfaithful? is their
 4 faithlessness to annul the faithfulness of God? God forbid! let God be
 truthful, but *every man perfidious*; even as it is written,

That thou mightest be vindicated in what thou sayest,
And win when thou art on trial.

5 But if our iniquity establishes God's justice, what shall we say? Is
 God unjust because he inflicts wrath? (I use a merely human way of
 6, 7 speaking.) God forbid! otherwise how is he to judge the world? If
 through my perfidy the truth of God redounded to his honour, says one,
 8 why am I too still judged then to be a sinner? why not (as we are
 slanderously reported—and as some people declare we say) "let us do
 evil that good may come"? Such conduct is justly condemned.

9 What then? are we better off? Not at all. For against Jews as well
 as Greeks we have already brought the charge that all are under sin;
 10 even as it is written,

There is none upright, not one;

11 *There is none to understand, none to seek after God;*

12 *All have swerved, have turned bad together,*

There is none to show kindness, not so much as one.

13 *An open sepulchre is their throat,*

With their tongues have they deceived,

Venom of asps is under their lips—

14 *Whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness,*

15 *Swift are their feet to shed blood,*

16 *Destruction and calamity are in their ways,*

17 *And the way of peace they have not known;*

18 *There is no fear of God before their eyes.*

19 Now we know in all that the law says, it speaks to those who are
 under the law, that every mouth may be stopped and all the world
 20 brought under the judgment of God; inasmuch as *in his sight no flesh*

shall be justified by deeds of law. For through law is the knowledge of sin.

- 21 But, as it is, the divine uprightness has been disclosed apart from
 22 law, though the law and the prophets witness to it; that is, the divine
 uprightness which through faith in Jesus Christ is for all who believe.
 23 There is no difference; all have sinned and fall short of the majesty of
 24 God, being freely justified by his grace through the redemption which
 25 is in Christ Jesus, whom God designed to be through faith a sacrifice of
 propitiation by his blood, in proof of his uprightness, seeing that the
 26 former sins had been let pass through the forbearance of God—in proof
 of his uprightness at the present time, that he might be just himself and
 27 might justify the man of faith in Jesus. Then where is the
 exulting? Shut out. By what kind of law? a law of deeds? No, by a
 28 law of faith. For we reckon that a man is justified by faith apart from
 29 deeds of law. What! is God only the God of Jews? Is he not the God of
 30 Gentiles also? Assuredly, of Gentiles also, seeing that it is one God who
 shall justify the Circumcision in consequence of faith and the Uncircum-
 31 cision through the same faith. Then “through faith” do “we annul the
 law”? God forbid! we uphold the law.
- 4 1 What then shall we say was gained by Abraham our forefather after
 2 the flesh? If “Abraham was justified by deeds,” he has something to
 3 exult about. But not to exult before God. For what saith the scripture?
 4 *Abraham believed God and it was counted to him as uprightness.* Now a
 5 worker has his wages counted as a due, not as a favour; whereas one who
 is no worker but a believer on him who justifies the impious, has his faith
 6 counted as uprightness. Just as David also pronounces that man to be
 “happy,” to whom God counts uprightness apart from deeds;
- 7 *Happy they whose iniquities are forgiven and whose sins are covered!*
 8 *Happy the man to whom the Lord will not count sin!*
- 9 Is this happiness then pronounced for the Circumcision, or for the
 Uncircumcision as well? We say, *Abraham's faith was counted to him as*
 10 *uprightness.* Then how was it counted? When he was in circumcision
 11 or in uncircumcision? In uncircumcision, not circumcision. And he
 received the *sign of circumcision* as a seal of the uprightness which belonged
 to the faith he had when he was *in uncircumcision*, so that he might
 be the father of all who believe amid uncircumcision, that uprightness
 12 might be counted to them, and the father of circumcision to those who not
 only belong to the Circumcision but also walk in the steps of the faith which
 13 our father Abraham had when he was in uncircumcision. For
 the promise made to Abraham or to his offspring, that he should be heir
 of the world, came not through the law but through the uprightness of
 14 faith. For if those who are of the law are heirs, then faith is void, the
 15 promise vain. (For the law results in wrath; but where there is no law,
 16 there is no transgression either.) Therefore heirship is of faith, so as to
 be a matter of grace, in order that the promise may be confirmed to all
 the offspring, not merely to the offspring which is of the law, but also to
 17 the seed which is of Abraham's faith (who is father of us all; as it is
 written: *father of many nations have I made thee*) by the judgment of the
 God whom he believed, who makes the dead live and calls into being the
 18 things which are not—Abraham, who against hope believed in hope; that
 he should be *father of many nations*, according to the saying, *so shall thy*
 19 *offspring be*—without becoming weak in faith, he marked his own body,
 which was now as good as dead (he was already about a hundred years
 20 old), also the deadness of Sara's womb, yet hesitated not in unbelief over

21 God's promise, but grew strong in faith, doing honour to God and being
 22 fully convinced that he was able to do what he had promised. Therefore
 23 it was¹ *counted to him as uprightness*. Now the word "*it was*
 24 *counted to him*" was not written for his sake alone but also for the sake
 of us, to whom it is to be counted, as we believe on him who raised from
 25 the dead Jesus our Lord, who *was delivered up for our trespasses* and raised
 for our justification.

5 1 Justified then by faith, we have² peace with God through our Lord
 2 Jesus Christ, through whom also we have obtained³ our access into this
 grace in which we stand. And we exult in hope of the majesty of God.
 3 Not only so, but we exult also in our distresses, knowing that distress
 4 results in patient endurance, patient endurance in tried character,
 5 tried character in hope; and *hope does not disappoint*, because the love
 of God has been poured out in our hearts through the holy Spirit given
 6 to us. For Christ, while we were still weak, died at the appointed time
 7 for impious men (even for an upright man one will hardly die: though
 perhaps for what is good, one might, if need be, bring himself to die);
 8 God proves his own love to us in this, that Christ died for us while we
 9 were still sinners. Much more then, as we are now justified by his blood,
 10 we shall be saved through him from the Wrath. For if, when we were
 enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son; much
 11 more, after being reconciled, shall we be saved by his life. Not
 only so, but we exult also in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through
 whom we have now received the reconciliation.

12 Therefore, as through one man sin came into the world, and through
 13 sin death; and so death spread to all men, seeing that all sinned:—for
 sin was in the world already before law; but in the absence of law, sin
 14 is not charged. Nevertheless, from Adam to Moses death reigned, even
 over those who did not sin after the likeness of Adam's transgression,
 who is a type of him who is to come.

15 But very different is the free gift from the trespass.

For since the many died by the one man's trespass,

Much more did the grace of God and that free gift

Which is by the grace of the man Jesus Christ abound to the many.

16 And the free gift is not occasioned as by one who sinned.

For while the judgment passed from one into condemnation,

The free gift passed from many trespasses into justification.

17 For since by the one man's trespass death reigned through the one,

Much more shall those who receive the abundant grace and free

Reign in life through the One, Jesus Christ. [gift of uprightness

18 Well then, as through one man's trespass the issue was condemnation
 for all,

So also through the upright act of One the issue for all is justifica-
 tion to life.

19 For just as through the one man's disobedience the many were consti-
 tuted sinners,

So also through the obedience of the One shall the many be con-
 stituted upright.

20 Now the law came in between to increase the trespass:

But where sin increased, grace abounded to overflowing;

21 So that as sin reigned in death,

Grace might also reign through uprightness to life eternal, through
 Jesus Christ our Lord.

¹ Omitting [[*καὶ*]].

² Reading *ἔχομεν*.

³ Omitting [[*τῇ πίστει*]].

- 6 1 What then shall we say? Are we to "continue in sin that grace may
2 increase"? God forbid! We who died to sin, how shall we live in it
3 any longer? What! are you ignorant that all we who were baptized
4 into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried with
him, then, through our baptism into that death of his, in order that as
Christ was raised from the dead through the majesty of the Father, so we
might also walk in newness of life.
- 5 For if we have become united with the likeness of his death,
We shall be united also with that of his resurrection;
- 6 As we know that our old man was crucified with him,
In order to do away with the body of sin,
That we should be slaves to sin no more.
(For one who has died is absolved from sin.)
- 7 Now if we died with Christ,
We believe we shall also live with him;
- 8 For we know that as Christ was raised from the dead, he dies no more,
Death is lord over him no more;
- 9 In dying he died once for all to sin,
But in living he lives for God.
- 10 So also do you reckon yourselves as dead to sin,
But alive for God in Christ Jesus.
- 11 Let not sin then reign in your mortal body, getting its desires obeyed,
12 Nor go on presenting your members to sin as implements for vice;
13 But present yourselves to God as men alive from the dead,
And your members to God as implements for uprightness.
- 14 Sin is not to be lord over you;
For you are not under any law, but under grace.
- 15 What then? are we to "sin, because we are not under the law but
16 under grace"? God forbid! Do you not know that you are the slaves
of him whom you obey, to whom you present yourselves as obedient slaves,
17 be it of sin for death or of obedience for uprightness? But, thank God,
though you were slaves of sin you became cordially obedient to that type
18 of teaching to which you were handed over. Freed from sin you became
19 slaves to uprightness. (I am speaking from a human standpoint, owing
to the weakness of your flesh.)
- As you presented your members to the service of impurity and
wickedness for wickedness,
So now present your members to the service of uprightness for
sanctification.
- 20 For when you were slaves to sin, you were free so far as uprightness
is concerned.
- 21 What fruit then had you at that time? simply fruit of which
you are now ashamed,
actions whose outcome is death.
- 22 But now, freed from sin, and enslaved to God,
You have your fruit in sanctification,
and—as the outcome—life eternal.
- 23 For the pay of sin is death,
But God's free gift is life eternal in Christ our Lord.
- 7 1 What! are you ignorant, brothers—I am speaking to men who know
2 what law is—that the law is lord over a man during his lifetime? The
married woman is by law bound to her husband while he is alive; but
3 if the husband dies, she has done with the law of "the husband." Well
then, while the husband is alive, she shall be styled "adulteress" if she

becomes another man's ; but if the husband dies, she is free from the law, so that she is no adulteress when she becomes another man's. So is it with you also, my brothers. You were made dead to the law through the body of Christ, so as to become Another's, to belong to him who was raised from the dead—that we might bear fruit to God. For, when we were in the flesh, our sinful passions which were due to the law wrought in our members to bear fruit to death. But now we have done with the law, we died to what held us ; so that we serve in newness of spirit, and not in oldness of written law.

What then shall we say ? That "the law is sin" ? God forbid ! Yet, had it not been for the law, I would not have come to know sin. For indeed I would not have understood what it is to covet, unless the law had said, *Thou shalt not covet*. But sin seized its opportunity and through the commandment its result in me was covetousness of every kind ; for apart from law, sin is lifeless. At one time I was living apart from law ; but when the commandment came, sin sprang to life and I died. Yea, the commandment which is for life, proved in my experience death. For sin seized its opportunity, beguiled me through the commandment, and through the commandment killed me. So the law at least is holy, and the commandment holy, just, and of value.—Then did what is of value become death to me ? God forbid ! It was sin, sin resulting in death for me through what is good, that it might be exhibited as sin, that through the commandment sin might become sinful beyond measure. For we know the law is spiritual ; but I am a creature of flesh, sold under sin ; I know not what I am executing. I do not act according to my will ; I am doing what I hate. Now if I am acting against my will, I concur in the excellence of the law. Yet as things are, it is no longer I who execute, but sin which dwells within me. For in me, that is in my flesh, I know that no good dwells. To will I find is attainable, but not to execute what is good. For I am not, according to my will, doing good ; I am acting against my will, for evil. Now if I am doing what is exactly against my will, it is no longer I who execute, it is sin which dwells in me. As for the law then, this is my experience : when my will is to do good, evil (I find) is alone attainable. For with the inner man I gladly approve God's law ; but in my members I discover another law, warring against the law of my mind and bringing me captive under the law of sin, which is in my members. Wretched man that I am ! who shall rescue me from this body of death ? Thanks be to God, through Jesus Christ our Lord ! Well then, left to myself, I serve God's law with the mind, but sin's law with the flesh.

Now, therefore, there is no condemnation for those in Christ Jesus ; the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has brought freedom¹ from the law of sin and death. For God effected what the law found impossible, as there the flesh made it weak :—by sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and as a sin-offering, he condemned sin in the flesh, so that the ordinance of the law might be fulfilled in us, as we walk not after the flesh but after the spirit.

For those who are after the flesh mind the affairs of the flesh,

But those who are after the spirit, the affairs of the spirit.

The mind of the flesh is death—

But the mind of the spirit is life and peace—

Inasmuch as the mind of the flesh is enmity against God ;

For to God's law it does not, indeed it cannot, subject itself.

Those who are in the flesh cannot please God :

¹ Omitting *et*.

- 9 But you are not in the flesh, you are in the spirit,
Seeing that the Spirit of God dwells in you.
If anyone has not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his ;
- 10 But if Christ is in you,
While the body is dead because of sin, the Spirit is life because
of uprightness.
- 11 And if the Spirit of him who raised up Jesus from the dead dwells
in you,
He who raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall also make
your mortal bodies live through his Spirit dwelling in you.
- 12 Well then, brothers, we are debtors—not to the flesh, to live after the
flesh ;
- 13 If you live after the flesh,
death awaits you :
But if by the Spirit you put the doings of the body to death,
life shall be yours.
- 14 For all who are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God.
15 You did not receive a spirit of bondage, to fall back into fear :
You received a spirit of sonship, whereby we cry “Abba ! Father !”
- 16 The Spirit itself bears witness with our spirit that we are children
of God.
- 17 And if children, then heirs,
Heirs of God and heirs along with Christ,
Seeing that we suffer with him, that with him also we may be exalted.
- 18 For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to
19 be compared with the majesty which is to be revealed in us. For in
eager anticipation the creation waits for the sons of God to be revealed.
- 20 For the creation was made subject to frailty, not from its own choice but
21 by the will of him who subjected it, the hope being that the creation
itself also was to be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the
22 freedom of the majesty of God's children. Indeed we know that all the
creation groans and travails in pain, together with them, up to the present
23 time. And not only so, but even we with the firstfruits of the Spirit, we
also groan within ourselves as we wait for our sonship, even for the release
24 of our body. Yea for hope were we saved. Now a seen hope is no hope.
- 25 Who hopes for what he sees? ¹ Whereas if we are hoping for what we
do not see, we wait for it with patience.
- 26 Likewise the Spirit also helps our weakness ;
For we know not what to pray for, according to our need,
But the Spirit itself pleads on our behalf with groans unutterable.
- 27 And the Searcher of hearts knows what is the mind of the Spirit,
Knows that it is pleading for the saints according to God's will.
- 28 Now we know that God makes all things work together for good to those
who love him, to those who are called in virtue of his purpose.
- 29 For those whom he fore-knew, he also fore-appointed,
To be made like the image of his Son,
That he might be the first-born among many brothers.
- 30 And whom he fore-appointed, these he also called :
And whom he called, these he also justified :
And whom he justified, these he also exalted.
- 31 What then shall we say to this? If God is for us, who is against us?
32 He who spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how
shall he not also bestow on us all things with him ?

¹ Reading δ γὰρ βλέπει τίς ἐλπίζει.

- 33 Who shall bring a charge against God's chosen ?
 It is God *who justifies*.
- 34 *Who is it that condemns ?*
 It is Christ¹ who died—yes, and who was raised,
 Who is at God's right hand,
 Who also pleads for us.
- 35 Who shall separate us from the love of Christ ?
 Distress or calamity or persecution or famine or nakedness or
 36 peril or sword (even as it is written :
For thy sake are we killed the whole day long,
We are reckoned as sheep for the slaughter) ?
- 37 Nay in all this we are more than conquerors through him who loved us.
 38 For I am persuaded that neither death nor life nor angels nor princi-
 39 palities nor the present nor the future nor powers nor height nor depth
 nor aught else created shall be able to separate us from the love of God
 which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.
- 9 I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not—my conscience bears me witness
 2 in the holy Spirit—that I suffer great sorrow and unceasing pain in my
 3 heart. For I could wish myself accursed and banished from Christ for
 4 the sake of my brothers, my kinsmen according to the flesh, men who
 are Israelites, whose are the sonship and the Glory and the covenants
 and the giving of the law and the services of worship and the promises,
 5 whose are the fathers, and from whom is Christ (so far as regards the
 6 flesh). He who is over all is God, blessed for ever : Amen. Not, however,
 that the word of God has failed ! Far from it.
 For not all those who belong to Israel are Israel ;
- 7 Nay, and all are not children because they are Abraham's offspring :
Thy offspring shall be reckoned through Isaac.
- 8 That is, the children of the flesh are not children of God, it is the
 9 children of the promise who are counted as offspring. For this is the
 word of promise :
About this time I will come and Sara shall have a son.
- 10 And further, when Rebekah also conceived by one man, by our father
 11 Isaac—though the children were not yet born and had done nothing,
 either good or bad (that the Divine purpose which works by choice might
 12 stand, independent of deeds, ~~entirely~~ a matter of his calling)—she was
 13 told, *The elder shall serve the younger ;* even as it is written,
Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated.
- 14 What then shall we say ? Is there injustice with God ? God forbid !
 15 He saith to Moses,
I will have mercy on whom I have mercy,
And I will have compassion on whom I have compassion.
- 16 So then it is not a question of him who wills, nor of him who runs, but
 17 of God who has mercy. For the scripture saith to Pharaoh,
For this very end have I raised thee up,
that I might show my power in thee,
and that my name might be published abroad in all the earth.
- 18 So then, he has mercy on whom he wills,
 And whom he wills *he renders stubborn.*
- 19 Thou wilt say to me then, "Why does he still find fault ? who can
 20 oppose his purpose ?" Nay, but who art thou, O man, to answer back to
 God ? *Shall the thing formed say to him who formed it, "Why didst thou*
 21 *make me thus ?"* What ! has not the potter a right over the clay to make

¹ Omitting [ΓΙΟΥΔΕΩΣ].

out of the same lump one part a vessel for honour and another for dishonour? And what if God, though wishing to show his wrath and display his power, *tolerated* with much longsuffering *vessels of wrath* fashioned for *destruction*, that¹ he might display the riches of his majesty upon vessels of mercy which he had previously prepared for majesty, even upon us whom he called not only from the Jews but also from the Gentiles? As he saith also in Hosea :

Those who were not my people I will call "my people,"

And her who was not beloved, "beloved";

And it shall be that in the place where they were told, "You are not my people,"

There shall they be called "Sons of the living God."

And Isaiah cries regarding Israel: *Though the number of the sons of Israel be like the sand of the sea, it is the remnant that shall be saved; for the Lord will accomplish his word upon the earth with completeness and despatch.*

And even as Isaiah has foretold :

Had not the Lord of Sabaoth left us a residue,

We had become like Sodom, we had been made like Gomorra.

What then shall we say? That Gentiles who did not press on after uprightness overtook uprightness, aye and the uprightness which is from faith; while Israel, who did press on after the law of uprightness, failed to attain the law. And why? Because they pressed on, not by faith but as by deeds. They stumbled over *the stone of stumbling*: even as it is written,

Lo I lay in Zion a stone of stumbling and a rock of hindrance,

Yet he who believes on him shall not be disappointed.

Brothers, my heart's wish and my prayer to God is for their salvation. I bear them witness: they have zeal for God, but not according to knowledge. For, as they were ignorant of God's uprightness and sought to set up their own, they did not submit themselves to the uprightness of God. For Christ is the end of the law, that everyone who believes may have uprightness.

Moses writes of the uprightness which is from the law :

The man who does it shall live by it.

But the uprightness which is from faith speaks in this way :

"Say not in thy heart,

Who shall ascend into heaven?"

(That is, to bring Christ down)

or, *"Who shall descend into the abyss?"*

(That is, to bring Christ up from the dead).

Nay, what does it say?

The word is near thee,

In thy mouth and in thy heart

(That is, the word of faith which we preach).

For if thou shalt confess *with thy mouth*, "Jesus is Lord,"

And believe *in thy heart* that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved :

With the heart man believes and is upright,

With the mouth he makes confession and is saved.

For, saith the scripture,

No one who believes on him shall be disappointed.

There is no difference between Jew and Greek,

The same One is Lord of all, rich to all who call upon him :

For everyone who calls on the Lord's name shall be saved.

¹ Omitting [[*καὶ*]].

- 14 How then are they to call on One on whom they have not believed?
And how are they to believe in One of whom they have not heard?
And how are they to hear without a preacher?
- 15 And how are people to preach, unless they are sent?
Even as it is written,
How beautiful are the feet of those who bring glad tidings of good!
- 16 But they did not all obey the glad tidings. For Isaiah says, *Lord,*
17 *who has had faith in our message?* So then, faith comes from the message,
18 and the message through the word about Christ. But, I ask, "Have they
not heard?" Yes indeed:
*Their sound went out into all the earth,
And their words to the ends of the world*
- 19 But, I ask, "Has Israel not known?" First Moses says:
*I will stir you to jealousy by what is no nation,
By an ignorant nation I will enrage you.*
- 20 And Isaiah makes bold to say:
*I have been found by those who were not seeking me,
I am disclosed to those who inquired not after me.*
- 21 But of Israel he says, *The whole day long have I stretched out my hands to a*
11 *people disobedient and refractory.* I ask then, "*Has God thrust*
aside his people?" God forbid! For I too am an Israelite myself, of
2 Abraham's offspring, of the tribe of Benjamin. *God has not thrust aside*
his people whom he foreknew. What! do you not know what the scrip-
ture saith in the place "Elijah"? How he pleads with God against
3 Israel, *Lord, they have killed thy prophets, they have destroyed thy altars;*
4 *and I alone am left, and they seek my life.* But what saith the oracle to
him? *I have left myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee*
5 *to Baal.* So also at the present time, then, there is a remnant due to the
6 selection of grace. But if it is by grace, it is no longer a matter of
7 deeds; otherwise grace would cease to be grace. What then is the result?
that Israel has not obtained what it craves, while the chosen have
8 obtained it. And the rest have been hardened; just as it is written,
*God gave them a spirit of torpor,
Eyes not to see, ears not to hear, down to this very day.*
- 9 [And David says,
*Let their feast be made a snare and a trap,
Yea a pitfall and a requital to them;*
- 10 *Darkened be their eyes that they see not,
And make thou their back bend continually.]*
- 11 I ask then, "Did they stumble that they should fall?" God forbid!
Nay rather, it is by their slip that salvation has come to the Gentiles, so as
12 *to stir themselves up to jealousy.* Now if their slip proves the riches of the
world, and their defect the riches of the Gentiles, how much more their
13 fulness! I am speaking to you, Gentiles. So far as I at least am
14 an apostle to the Gentiles I exalt my ministry, to see if I can somehow
15 stir those who are my flesh to jealousy, and so save some of them. For
if their rejection proves the world's reconciliation, what shall their
reception be? What but life from the dead?
- 16 Now if the firstfruit is holy, so is the lump:
And if the root is holy, so are the branches.
- 17 If some of the branches were broken off, while thou, a wild olive, wast
grafted in among them and didst come to share with them in the root of
18 the olive's fatness, exult not at the expense of the branches. And if thou
art exulting, bethink thyself: thou bearest not the root, the root bears

19 thee. Thou wilt argue then, "Branches were broken off, that I might
20 be grafted in"? True, they were broken off by their unbelief, and thou
21 standest by thy faith. Be not highminded, but fear. For if God did not
22 spare the natural branches, neither will he spare thee. Look then at
God's kindness and severity. Severity to those who fell, but God's kind-
ness to thee—if thou continue in his kindness. Otherwise thou too shalt
23 be cut out. Yea, and if they continue not in their unbelief, they too
24 shall be grafted in. God is able to graft them in again. For if thou
wast cut out of what was by nature a wild olive and grafted, contrary to
nature, into a garden olive, how much more shall these natural branches
be grafted into their own olive?

25 For I would not have you ignorant of this secret, brothers, that you
may not be wise in your own conceits : Israel has been but hardened in
26 part until the full number of the Gentiles should come in ; and thus
all Israel shall be saved. Even as it is written,

From Zion shall come the rescuer,

He shall banish impieties from Jacob :

27 *Yea this is my covenant for them,*

When I take their sins away.

28 As regards the gospel they are indeed enemies for your sake,
But as regards the selection they are beloved for the sake of the
fathers :

29 For God never takes back his free gifts and his calling.

30 As you were once disobedient to God

But have now obtained mercy through their disobedience :

31 So too these are now disobedient,

That they¹ may become objects of the same mercy which was
shown to you.

32 For God has shut up all under disobedience,

That upon all he may have mercy.

33 O the depth of God's riches and wisdom and knowledge !

How inscrutable his judgments !

How unsearchable his ways !

34 *Yea who has known the Lord's mind ?*

Or who has been his counsellor ?

35 *Or who has first given to him,*

And is to be repaid ?

36 Since from him and by him and for him all things exist—

To him be the majesty for ever : Amen.

12 1 I appeal to you then, brothers, by the tender mercies of God, present
your bodies as a sacrifice, living, holy, well-pleasing, to God : that
2 is the rational worship for you. And be not fashioned according to
this age, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind so as to
prove what is the will of God, namely, what is good and well-pleasing
and perfect.

3 For, through the grace granted to me, I tell every man who is among
you, not to think over highly of himself, beyond what he should think ;
but to think soberly, in view of the measure of faith which God has
4 assigned to each. For in the same way as we have many members in one
5 body, and all the members have not the same function, so, many as we
are, we are one body in Christ and separately members of each another.
6 And as we have talents which differ with the grace granted us—be it
7 prophecy, let us employ it in proportion to our faith : be it ministry, let

¹ Omitting *vñ*.

- 8 us employ it in ministering: the teacher in his teaching: he who exhorts, in his exhortation: he who contributes, with generosity: the president, 9 with earnest care: he who shows pity, with cheerfulness. Let love be un- 10 feigned. Abhor what is evil: cling to what is good. Be affectionate 11 to one another, in brotherly love; outdo one another in giving honour. Be not backward in earnestness, be fervent in spirit, serve the Lord, 12, 13 rejoice in hope, be patient in distress, give yourselves to prayer, con- 14 tribute to the needs of the saints, aim at being hospitable. Bless those 15 who persecute you, bless them and curse not. Rejoice with the joyful, 16 weep with the weeping. Be of the same mind to one another; mind not what is high, but give yourselves up to what is lowly. *Be not wise in 17 your own conceits.* Render no man evil for evil. *Be concerned for what is 18 honourable in the sight of all men.* If possible, as far as it rests with 19 you, be at peace with all men. Beloved, avenge not yourselves, but let the Wrath have way: for it is written, *Vengeance is mine, I will repay,* saith the Lord.
- 20 *Nay, if thine enemy hungers, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink: For by doing this thou shalt heap burning coals upon his head.*
- 21 Be not conquered by evil; but conquer evil by good.
- 13 1 Let every soul be subject to the higher authorities, for there is no authority which is not from God, and the existing authorities are instituted by 2 God. So that he who resists authority opposes what God has instituted; 3 and those who oppose shall be sentenced themselves. For rulers are not a terror to good conduct, but to evil. Wouldst thou have no terror of 4 authority? Then do good, and thou shalt get praise from it; for it is God's servant to thee for good. But if thou doest evil, be in terror; for not in vain does it wear the sword: it is God's servant, an avenger 5 for punishing him who practises evil. Wherefore subject you must be, out of regard not merely for the punishment, but also for conscience. 6 This also is the reason why you pay tribute; for magistrates are servants 7 of God, as they give themselves to this very business. Render to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, customs to whom customs, 8 respect to whom respect, honour to whom honour. Owe no man anything, except to love one another—for he who loves another has 9 fulfilled the law. *Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not murder, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not covet,* these with any other commandment are gathered up in this word, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as 10 thyself.* Love does no evil to its neighbour: to love, then, is to fulfil 11 the law. And do this, as you know the time; now is the hour for us¹ to wake from sleep, for salvation is nearer us to-day than 12 when we first believed. The night is advanced, and the day is near. Then let us put away the deeds of the darkness, and put on the armour 13 of the light. Let us behave ourselves with propriety, as in the day: with no bouts of revelry and drunkenness, with no lewd and sensual acts, 14 with no quarrelling and jealousy. Nay, put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to satisfy its desires.
- 14 1 Receive one who is weak in faith, but not to pass judgment upon 2 scruples. While one man has confidence to eat anything, he who is weak eats nothing but vegetables.
- 3 Let not him who eats despise him who refrains; Nor let him who refrains judge him who eats, For God has received him.

¹ Reading ἡμεῖς.

- 4 Who art thou to judge Another's servant ?
 To his own Lord he stands or falls :
 And he shall be made to stand,
 For the Lord has power to make him stand.
- 5 This man ¹ rates one day above another,
 That man rates every day alike.
 Let each be fully convinced in his own mind :
- 6 He who values the day, values it to the Lord.
 Also, he who eats, eats to the Lord,
 For he gives thanks to God :
 And he who refrains from eating, to the Lord he refrains,
 And he gives thanks to God.
- 7 For none of us lives to himself,
 And none of us dies to himself :
- 8 If we live, it is for the Lord we live,
 And if we die, it is for the Lord we die.
 Whether we live then or die,
 We are the Lord's.
- 9 For this was why Christ died and came to life,
 That he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living.
- 10 But thou, why dost thou judge thy brother ?
 Or thou again, why dost thou despise thy brother ?
 Why, we are to stand, all of us, before the tribunal of God ;
- 11 For it is written,
*As I live, saith the Lord, to me shall every knee bow,
 And every tongue shall offer praise to God.*
- 12 Each one of us then is to give account of himself to God.
- 13 No more then let us judge one another ;
 Rather let this be your judgment, not to put ² any hindrance in a
 brother's way.
- 14 I know and am persuaded in the Lord Jesus that nothing in itself
 is unclean :
 Only, anything is unclean to the man who reckons it unclean.
- 15 If thy brother is being injured for a matter of mere food,
 Thou art no longer walking by love ;
 Destroy not with thy food him for whom Christ died,
 Your fair fame is not to be maligned.
- 16 For the reign of God is not eating and drinking,
 But uprightness and peace and joy in the holy Spirit :
- 17 He who serves Christ therein
 Is well-pleasing to God and approved of by men.
- 18 Well then, our aim ³ is what makes for peace and the upbuilding
 of one another :
- 19 Do not overthrow the work of God for the sake of mere food.
 Anything indeed is clean :
- 20 Still, it is evil for a man by his eating to make another stumble.
 It is an excellent plan to abstain from flesh and wine or anything
 at which thy brother stumbles.
- 21 The faith thou hast, keep it to thyself before God.
 Happy the man who condemns not himself in what he approves of :
- 22 But he who feels any hesitation is condemned if he eats, because
 he does not eat from faith—
 For whatever does not proceed from faith is sin.

¹ Omitting [[γὰρ]].

² Omitting πρόσκομμα . . . ἥ.

³ Reading διώκομεν.

15 1 Now we who are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak,
 2 instead of pleasing ourselves. Let each of us please his neighbour, to do
 3 him good, to upbuild him. For Christ also did not please himself; nay,
 as it is written, *The reproaches of those who denounced thee fell upon me.*
 4 For whatever things were written beforehand were written for our
 instruction, that through the patience and the comfort of the scriptures
 5 we may possess hope. May the God of patience and comfort grant you
 6 the same mind one toward another according to Christ Jesus, so that you
 may unite with one mouth in magnifying the God and Father of our
 7 Lord Jesus Christ! Therefore receive one another, as Christ also
 8 received us,¹ so as to honour God. For Christ, I affirm, became a minister
 of the Circumcision that he might make good the promises given to
 9 the fathers, and thus show the honesty of God; also that the Gentiles
 might magnify God for his mercy: even as it is written,

*Therefore will I offer praise to thee among the Gentiles
 And sing to thy name.*

10 And again it is said,

Rejoice, O Gentiles, with his people.

11 And again,

*Extol the Lord, all ye Gentiles,
 And let all the people praise him.*

12 And again Isaiah says,

*There shall be the scion of Jesse,
 And he who rises to rule over the Gentiles:
 On him shall the Gentiles set their hope.*

13 May the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that
 you may abound in hope, by the power of the holy Spirit!

14 Personally I also am persuaded about you, my brothers, that you are
 yourselves full of goodness, filled with all knowledge, able also to ad-
 15 monish one another. Still, by way of refreshing your memory I write
 you with somewhat greater boldness owing to the grace granted me from
 16 God, that I should be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles in the
 sacred service of the gospel of God, so that the Gentiles may prove an
 17 acceptable offering, consecrated by the holy Spirit. My exultation then
 18 is in Christ Jesus, so far as God is concerned. For I will not dare to speak
 of anything except what Christ has effected through me in furthering the
 19 obedience of the Gentiles, by word and deed, by the power of signs and
 wonders, by the power of the holy Spirit; so that from Jerusalem and
 the surrounding country as far as to Illyricum I have fully preached the
 20 gospel of Christ—making this my ambition, however, not to preach the
 gospel where Christ's name was known (that I might not build on
 21 another man's foundation), but even as it is written,

*Those who had no news of him shall see:
 And those who have not learned shall understand.*

22 Therefore it is that I have been hindered (these many times) from
 23 coming to you. And just now, as I have no longer any chance in these
 24 regions, and as I have had for many years a longing to visit you whenever
 I go to Spain—for I hope to see you on my journey and to be sped by you
 25 after being somewhat satisfied with your companionship—now, I say, I go
 26 to Jerusalem on a ministry to the saints. For out of their own goodwill,
 Macedonia and Achaia have made a contribution for the poor among the
 27 saints at Jerusalem. Certainly it is done from goodwill on their part,

¹ Reading *ἐμᾶς*.

yet it is also a debt. For if the Gentiles have come to share in their spiritual good, they owe them a debt of service in material good. When I have finished this, then, and have securely delivered this fruit to them, I will depart for Spain by way of you. And I know that when I come to you, I shall come with the fulness of the blessing of Christ.

Now by our Lord Jesus Christ and by the love of the Spirit I appeal to you, brothers, strive together with me in your prayers to God for me, that I may be rescued from the disobedient in Judea, and that my ministry of aid for Jerusalem may prove acceptable to the saints, so that through the will of God I may come to you in joy and be refreshed along with you.

The God of peace be with you all : Amen.

16 21 Timotheus my fellow-worker salutes you ; so do Lucius and Jason and Sosipatros, my kinsmen.

22 I Tertius, who write the letter, salute you in the Lord.

23 Gaius, my host and the host of the Community at large, salutes you. Erastus, the treasurer of the city, salutes you ; so does brother Quartus.

25 [Now to him who is able to establish you according to my gospel and preaching of Jesus Christ, in virtue of the revelation of the secret which has been kept silent throughout times eternal but is now disclosed and, by the prophetic scriptures in virtue of the command of the eternal God, displayed to all the nations to secure obedience to the faith—to the only wise God through Jesus Christ, to him be the honour for ever : Amen.]

A NOTE TO EPHESUS

THAT a note addressed to Ephesus (Schulz) lies embedded in the 16th chapter of Romans, is a hypothesis which is practically accepted upon all sides.¹ "In almost every verse there are such overwhelming reasons . . . that I cannot quite understand how anyone can adhere to the traditional view" (Weiss). The points really in question are its exact contents and date. Most probably the letter begins with ver. 1 (not ver. 3; Ritschl, Ewald, Schürer, Laurent, Renan, Pfeiderer, and Mangold). Weizsäcker and McGiffert go on to ver. 23, but most (Renan, Reuss, Weiss, Lipsius, Jülicher, etc.) prefer to break off at ver. 20, and indeed Hausrath (like Pfeiderer) stops at ver. 16. In this case vers. 21, 22 are (in spite of Holsten) to be taken as the original ending of the Roman letter (cp. Clemen, *Einheit*, pp. 95-99).² In writing to an unknown church, Paul evidently sent greetings from such friends as were at his side; Colossians 4¹⁰⁻¹⁷ is another example of this practice.³

Although the letter is not expressly addressed to Ephesus, the internal evidence points unmistakably to that city as its destination. When all is said, it remains inconceivable that Paul could have intimately known so many individuals and been acquainted with their local circumstances and histories, in a church like Rome, to which he was personally a stranger. The whole tone of Romans forbids such a hypothesis. Hitherto Paul has been writing as a stranger to strangers without betraying—even at points where such a reference would have been telling and appropriate⁴—any trace of personal friendship with the members or knowledge of their peculiar and local circumstances. The wealth of

¹ Though it is only fair to add that several critics, including Harnack, Zahn, Denney, and Dr. Drummond, are still unconvinced.

² This note to Ephesus, it has been often argued (recently by J. Weiss, *ThLz* (1893), p. 395, *ThSt.* pp. 182-184), made up, along with some other fragments, a larger Ephesian letter. See below, Appendix, *ad loc.* As the greater part of chap. 15 is probably genuine, the real Roman letter appropriately ends as it began (18-19) with the apostle's hope and project of reaching the capital on his missionary travels. There is nothing decisive to show that this Ephesian note originally was a part of a larger epistle. It is self-contained and intelligible by itself.

³ On the other hand, "comme il y avait peu de relations entre Corinth et la Macédoine, d'une part, Ephèse, de l'autre, l'apôtre ne parle pas aux Éphésiens du monde qui l'entoure" (Renan, *S. Paul*, p. 481). The value of Ro 16¹⁻²⁰ as a witness to the history and character of the Ephesian church is thoroughly appreciated by Renan (*S. Paul*, pp. 421-437), and Weizsäcker (*AA*, i. pp. 379-401, a masterpiece of delicate reconstruction, which no subsequent researches have seriously disturbed).

⁴ Occasionally, it is true (*e.g.* chaps. 14, 15) Paul seems to possess some acquaintance with the general course of things in the Roman community, but such knowledge is never more than what would percolate to him through the ordinary channels of report and hearsay. It is rather illogical to conclude, as Zahn insists, that Paul must therefore have had friends who gave him exact information about the church. Did Paul's acquaintance with a church's needs involve the presence of some of his friends in that church? The case of Colossê rather contradicts this idea. And Rome was far more widely known than Colossê.

individual detail and colour in 16¹⁻²⁰ presupposes, on the contrary, a sphere where Paul had for long resided and worked. As he wrote from Corinth, the only other city which answers this description is Ephesus. There Paul's experience had been prolonged and varied, and indeed several of the names here are directly linked to Asia Minor (Epænetus, ver. 5, ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀσίας, especially, and Prisca and Aquila, ver. 3, who were at Ephesus immediately before "Romans" was written,—Ac 18^{18, 26}, 1 Co 16¹⁹,—and apparently were there not long afterwards, 2 Ti 4¹⁹). Also, if genuine, the keen warning against schismatics and errorists (17-20) suits Rome¹ less well than Ephesus (1 Co 16^{8, 9}, ἀντικείμενοι πολλοί, Ac 20^{29f}, Apoc 2^{2f}). Most inapplicable of all to a church like Rome is the tone of Paul's remark in ver. 19 ("your obedience," "I will," etc.). The distant tone even of a passage like 15^{20f} shows that he was not on close enough terms with the Roman Christians to speak thus pointedly, although as addressed to Ephesus the words would be perfectly legitimate; and "it cannot be" proved "that many of those with whom in the course of his twenty years ministry he had established such relations as are referred to here, had for one cause or another found their way to the great city." Paul had been a prisoner (16⁷) long before his confinement at Caesarea or Rome (2 Co 1⁸ 11²³), perhaps even at Ephesus, so that this letter need not have been written necessarily from the later imprisonment (Col 4¹⁰, Philem 23). It was composed in all likelihood at the same time and place as Romans. But while Paul could send only general counsels to the Western church, his connection with the Eastern enabled him to write a very different note full of concrete and affectionate detail.²

This is corroborated by the further fact that Ro 16¹⁻²⁰ forms a

¹ No evidence, least of all any from the epistle to the Romans itself, has been forthcoming to prove the existence of διχοστασίας and σκάνδαλα among the Roman Christians of that age. The only defence of 17-20 as Pauline, is to refer it to some community elsewhere. Dr. Drummond prefers to think of Greek adventurers rather than of Jewish Christian antagonists. At any rate, controversy against false teachers is conspicuously lacking in Romans; and it is hard to see how such an outburst can be reconciled with the general phenomena of the preceding chapters. When the Ephesian destination is accepted, the words are luminous and apt. When the Roman destination is advocated, interpreters are reduced to the strait of conjecturing that Paul was here vaguely warning the Romans against teachers who existed in other churches and might at some future date trouble themselves! This implies a most unPauline airiness. Besides, the whole sense of vers. 17-20 is lost unless the readers know the facts and persons to whom the writer alluded. How else could they mark and turn away from them? The remark that Paul "definitely states that he is only warning them that they may be wise if occasion arise" (ICC, "Romans," p. xciv) is quite misleading and emasculates the apostle's language. Had he feared the advent of Judaizing emissaries to Rome, he could and would have made this clear to his readers. Instances of similar warning, such as Gal 1⁹ 5³, Ph 3^{1f},—(adduced by Zahn)—are not genuine prophylactic counsels. In the former of these the mischief had already begun, which, as even Zahn admits, was not the case in Rome when the apostle wrote; while the remarkably intimate relations between Paul and Philippi differentiate Philippians entirely from an epistle like Romans.

² An attempt is sometimes made to evade the force of these arguments by urging, (a) that these people mentioned here may well have come to Rome through their migratory (Ja 4¹³) habits, especially as there was constant communication between Rome and the provinces. But the point is that when Paul wrote Romans, such a migration had not occurred. Whatever evidence we possess tells against it. How incredible that an exodus of Paul's friends and their relatives should have taken place to the capital at that time! What turned twenty-four and more of them suddenly into nomads? Afterwards, it is quite possible that such a migration gradually followed

letter of commendation given to Phoebe (ἐπιστολὴ συστατικὴ): so Semler, Renan, Hausrath (iii. 260), Farrar (*St. Paul*, chap. xxxvii.), Holtzmann (*Einf.* pp. 242-46), Weiss, Weizsäcker, McGiffert, and Adeney (*BI*, pp. 379, 380).¹ Paul would naturally introduce a person to a circle with which he already possessed some influence. The value of the commendation would mainly consist in the writer's title to respect and obedience from those to whom he spoke, with whom he was on intimate terms.

How this note became incorporated in Romans, it is only possible to conjecture. It may have been because copies of both, as well as the originals, were written at the same time and from the same place, that the later editors of the Pauline literature added them together. Perhaps Phoebe, its bearer, ultimately arrived with it (the original or a copy) in Rome. In any case the only way of preserving a note so unimportant in itself was to put it in the wake of a larger letter, particularly as the note lacked any formal address. Romans was apparently edited—to judge from its textual condition—before ever it reached the Canon; and in the two closing chapters especially it is possible to detect different textual strata, even although the process by which they were deposited is now largely obscure. The note may have been put in its present place at the end of Romans, since in the Muratorian Canon that epistle occupied the last place among the Pauline epistles to the churches, as afterwards in Tertullian's and Cyprian's lists (Zahn, *GK*, ii. p. 344). Probably, too, in a later age the note was appended to Romans because it contained the names of several Christians (like Ampliatus) who had become prominent figures in the Roman church subsequently to the original period of the letter. Their traditional connection with Rome and the obscurity of this note's original destination—which was natural in an epistle of commendation—combined to further its incorporation with the large Roman epistle.

in the footsteps of the apostle. Asiatics constantly betook themselves to the capital, and it is therefore far from remarkable that (b) the names mentioned here have almost all been found in the Roman *Corpus Inscriptionum*. Most of them are quite common throughout the Roman world, and half are found in the Greek *Corpus Inscriptionum* for Asia Minor. So far as any weight can be attached to the importance of names like Prisca, Amplias, Nereus, and Apelles, in the subsequent history of early Christianity in Rome, it is really irrelevant to the present question. These persons may have, and probably did, come to Rome at some later stage; but it is far from a valid inference that because they afterwards lived in the capital, they must have been there when Paul wrote "Romans." Finally, it may be asked how these hypothetical Christians resident at Rome had disappeared when their beloved friend Paul, some years later, wrote his prison-epistles from the capital? He mentions none of them. Had their nomadic habits again seized and scattered them? It is scarcely necessary to do more than mention Zahn's idea that Paul did not actually know all these Christians; some he was acquainted with, and from them he got information about the rest! Nor is it logical to argue that because Paul was a wanderer, his fellow-workers were likely to be wanderers also.

¹ Also, O. Holtzmann (*NT Zeitgesch.*, p. 132); von Soden (*EBi*, i. p. 812); Dr. Cone, *Paul the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher*, p. 12 ff.; Haupt (*SK*, 1900, pp. 147, 148, in his review of Zahn); and at an earlier date, Laurent (pp. 32-38). The Ephesian destination of Rom 16 is further accepted by Deissmann and Bacon (*INT*, pp. 101-103).

[55-56 A.D.]

A NOTE TO EPHESUS

This letter, written by Paul as an introduction for Phœbê, is not to be compared of course with the great epistles to the Galatian and Corinthian churches. It gives neither instructions nor exhortations, as they do. Nor does it to the same extent, therefore, reveal conditions and events in the inner life of the church; even the short address appended to it does not supply us with any information in this direction. But in the very names, and in their grouping, as well as in the short notes of a personal and historical nature, it still furnishes us with very valuable knowledge. . . . To the introductory recommendation of Phœbê is appended, in the form of greetings, the list of those persons to whom she was to be introduced, and the note is thus of the nature of an attestation, which she could lay before the individuals, because it was expressly addressed to them. For the rest, a short exhortation is added, which was probably appended to the letter. It contains, indeed, several features, both in thought and language, that are unusual with Paul. Yet this is hardly more marked here than in the short additions that elsewhere close the Pauline letters, written in the apostle's own hand, and all distinguished by concise thoughts and figures, abrupt sentences, and peculiar words.—**Weizsäcker.**

[Ro 16¹⁻²⁰

- | | |
|--------|----------------------------------|
| 1-2 | Introduction for Phœbê. |
| 3-16 | Greetings to Asiatic Christians. |
| 17-20] | Warning and farewell. |

- 1 I COMMEND to you our sister Phœbê who ministers to the Com-
 2 munity at Kenchrae : receive her in the Lord in a manner worthy of
 saints, and give her whatever help she may require at your hands ; truly
 she has proved herself a helper to many, as well as to myself.
- 3 Salute Prisca and Aquila my fellow-workers in Christ Jesus,
 4 they laid down their own necks for my life ;
 to whom not only I but also all the Communities of the Gentiles
 give thanks :
- 5 also the community at their house.
 Salute Epaenetus my beloved,
 he is the firstfruits of Asia for Christ.
- 6 Salute Mary,
 she laboured actively for you.
- 7 Salute Andronikus and Junias my kinsmen and fellow-prisoners ;
 they are men of note among the apostles,
 also they were in Christ before me.
- 8 Salute Ampliatus, my beloved in the Lord.
- 9 Salute Urbanus, our fellow-worker in Christ, and Stachys my
 beloved.
- 10 Salute Apelles, that genuine character in Christ.
 Salute those who belong to the household of Aristobólus.
- 11 Salute Herôdion my kinsman.
 Salute those of Narcissus' household who are in the Lord.
- 12 Salute Tryphaena and Tryphosa who labour in the Lord.
 Salute Persis the beloved,
 she laboured actively in the Lord.
- 13 Salute Rufus, that choice character in Christ,
 also her who is his mother and mine.
- 14 Salute Asynkritis, Phlegon, Hermes, Patrobas, Hermas,
 also the brothers who are with them.
- 15 Salute Philologus and Julia, Nereus and his sister, and Olympas,
 also the saints who are with them.
- 16 Salute one another with a saints' kiss.
 All the Communities of Christ salute you.
- 17 Now I appeal to you, brothers, look to those who are creating the dissen-
 sions and the hindrances among you, contrary to the doctrine which you
 18 have learned ; turn away from them. Such people serve not our Lord
 Jesus Christ but their own belly, and by fair and flattering speech they
 19 beguile the hearts of the unsuspecting. Your obedience has
 reached the ears of all. I rejoice then over you ; but I would have
 20 you expert in what is good, and guileless in what is evil. Soon shall the
 God of peace trample Satan beneath your feet.
 The grace of our Lord Jesus be with you.

COLOSSIANS

THE Colossian church was Pauline only (1⁴. 8 2¹) in an indirect sense, but Paul's authority to address these Christians seems to have been unquestioned, and the epistle contains evidence (4²⁻¹⁸) of a warm, mutual interest. The danger which he sought to combat lay in the pretensions (2⁴) made by several members, under Jewish influences, to a higher Christian life. These involved ritual and ascetic practices, which in turn derived their motives and justification from certain speculative and theosophic principles, *e.g.* the mediation and mission of angels, and a cosmical dualism. To reach the practical question Paul strikes at the theory, exposing the uselessness and danger of such habits by a proof that Christ is absolutely sufficient as a redeeming power. The Christology¹ is an advance in some respects upon the previous epistles (*cp.* Ro 11³⁶ and Col 1¹⁶). But the advance is conditioned by the special circumstances of the Colossian church, and is not cut off from the genuinely Pauline basis. Paul adopts and adapts certain ideas and phrases² to reiterate the absolute adequacy and efficacy of Christ in his organic relation to the church and the world alike. Faith in him requires no outside philosophy or esoteric cult to perfect itself. Through union with Christ and Christ alone the Christian life rises to the height and fulness of its moral destiny, and no so-called "Higher Life" is to be dreamt of. Any external or additional aid (2¹⁹) is gratuitous and harmful. This thesis is urged upon lines which Paul in part had already traversed (in 1 Co and Ro), in part found opening up now freshly to his mind. The style and inner evidence of the writing, combined with a fair view of the errors attacked and the doctrine adduced, serve—in the absence of many historical traits—to indicate that the letter is a genuine product of the apostle.³ It is intended to stamp as authentic and exhibit as final the gospel which the Colossians had learned from his pupil, Epaphras.

¹ Dr. Fairbairn (*Christ in Mod. Theol.* pp. 318-320) puts this with characteristic terseness: "Christ occupies not simply a historical, but a cosmical place. . . . At the touch of evil the cosmology becomes a soteriology; for when sin enters the world, the Creator, who is good, has no choice but to become the Saviour. . . . The categories of time and history have thus ceased to be here applicable; sin is no longer an affair of man or earth, but of the universe. The conflict against it is extra-temporal; its field is the whole realm of mental being, the protagonists God and the devil." *Cp.* Knowling, *Witness of Epistles*, pp. 256-290.

² He may have become acquainted with the current terminology of the Greek mysteries in Rome, even if he had not some previous knowledge of them. *Cp.* the essay in Lightfoot's edition, pp. 71-111, on "The Colossian heresy." The exact features of the theosophy at Colossæ are difficult to make out, and have been variously interpreted. It is clear that they were not "Gnostic," in the later and technical sense of the term; possibly they were syncretistic, a local blend of polytheism, mysticism, and theosophy.

³ For the reality and limits of the advance in Paulinism which marks off the letters after "Romans," *cp.* Weiss, *NTTh.* ii. pp. 75-124, and Zahu, *Evnl.* i. p. 347 f., particularly the latter, who harmonises the conceptions of the earlier and later Paulinism without straining exegesis unduly.

Up to a comparatively recent period, the epistle was upon the whole assigned to the second century (110-130 A.D.) by most critics, from Mayerhoff downwards, partly owing to the supposed development of the Christology, but mainly on account of its references to what were considered fairly mature forms of Gnosticism. Baur especially (*Paul*, ii. 1-44), followed by the majority of his school,¹ found the atmosphere of the writing not earlier than this period, and Weizsäcker (*AA*, ii. pp. 240-245) still holds a similar view; he regards "Colossians" as a product, along with the fourth gospel, of the Ephesian school which developed Paulinism to counteract the contemporary tendencies of encratic thought. So Brückner, *Chron.* pp. 41-56, 257-276. Yet this rigorous verdict has to be modified. It must be admitted that there are no definite traces of any great Gnostic system in this writing, nor can there be any reason for denying that Paulinism in Paul's hands could have embraced certain semi-metaphysical ideas which are called Alexandrian, or that the conceptions in Colossians were necessarily foreign to his mind simply because they had not as yet come to such full expression. The possibility of such a speculative advance in the writer's mind becomes of course considerably greater when Philippians—with its bold development of Christology—is accepted as genuinely Pauline.

The undoubted basis of Pauline ideas, however, suggested to Holtzmann his ingenious and complicated interpolation theory (*Kritik der Ephes. u. Kolosserbriefe* (1872); *Einl.* pp. 251-267), by which, after Ewald and in part Hitzig, he endeavoured to distinguish an original and genuine epistle to the Colossians directed against their legal and ascetic errors. This was first used by the *autor ad Ephesios* against a Jewish-Christian theosophy; afterwards he turned back and interpolated his earlier source into our extant "Colossians." Such filigree-criticism has not proved convincing,² and has only been accepted with considerable modifications. It is to be noted that most critics incline to the simpler conclusion of accepting at least "Colossians" as a genuine and substantially Pauline document, a position which is fast becoming axiomatic.³

This recognition of the authenticity and unity of Colossians had been already advocated by Schenkel (*Christusbild d. Apostel*, pp. 83-86), Weiss (*INT*, i. pp. 323-338, *AJT*, i. 371-377), Reuss (pp. 110-119), J. Koster (*De Echtheid van de brieven aan de Kolossers en de Ephesiërs*, 1877), Renan (*S. Paul*, pp. ix-xii), Lightfoot, Beyschlag, Godet, Salmon, and Hort⁴ (*Jud. Christianity*, p. 116 f.), besides the brilliant studies

¹ Cp. especially Pfeiderer, *Paulinism*, ii. pp. 95-119; *Urc.* p. 670 f., who admits, however, the possibility of a Pauline nucleus in the letter; also, from a slightly different standpoint, Schmiedel, *EWK*, ii. 38, article "Kolosser u. Epheser" (1886), p. 138 f., who takes the heresy to be a form of Ebionitism with Gnostic tendencies; and Cone, *Gospel and its Interpretations*, pp. 249-260.

² Cp. von Soden's examination: *JpTh* (1885), pp. 320-368. The parallels are reprinted by Haupt (-Meyer), *Einl.* pp. 27, 28, 69-71.

³ Possibly the stylistic difficulties might be eased, were it a feasible conjecture here, as in the case of 2 Thess., that Timothy's share in the epistle was something more than merely nominal. Cp. Reuan, *L'Antéchrist*, chap. iv.

⁴ Hort and McGiffert, however, reject the ordinary hypothesis of Essene influence. A connection with some popular Greek ethical philosophy the former regards as undeniably possible; but he considers the Colossian heresy to be essentially a Judaic development and extension to which a specious quasi-Hellenic varnish of "philosophy" was given in order to disarm Western prejudice. More simply and satisfactorily, McGiffert, like Schenkel, von Soden, and Erbes (*Offenbar. Joh.* p. 135 f.), prefers to believe that the errorists were under the influence of Alexandrian rather than Palestinian Judaism. The term *φιλοσοφία* was applied by Philo and Josephus to Jewish

of Sabatier (*Paul*, pp. 229-234) and Klöpper (*Der Brief an die Kolosser*, 1882). Recently the support has become even more extensive. Among others, the Pauline authorship is accepted by L. Schultze (*Handbuch der theol. Wissenschaften*, Band. i. Abth. 2, pp. 91-95), Schäfer (*Einkl.* pp. 132-136), Oltramare (*Commentaire sur les épîtres de S. Paul aux Col. Ephes.* (1891), vol. i. pp. 66-91), Clemen, Harnack, Jülicher (*Einkl.* § 11; *EBi*, i. 860f.), Blass (*Acta Apost. prolegomena*, p. 1), M'Giffert (*AA*, pp. 366-374), E. H. Hall (*Papias* (1899), pp. 283-286), Bartlet (*AA*, p. 186f.), T. K. Abbott (*ICC*, pp. l-lix) Adeney, *BI*, pp. 389-391, Zahn (*Einkl.* i. pp. 347-368), and with exceptional ability by Haupt (-Meyer)¹ and von Soden (*JpTh* (1885), pp. 320 f., 497 f., 672 f.; *HC*, iii. 1, pp. 1-18). Also Bacon, *INT*, p. 111 f.

The determining factor in this recognition of Colossians as an authentic work of Paul² has been the recognition of Gnosticism in its pre-Christian sources, Persian, Phrygian, and Philonic. Investigation into theosophic ideas early in the first century has revealed symptoms and developments of what is called at a later period "Gnosticism" (cp. Krüger, *RTK*, vi. pp. 728-734). The Essenes, especially, represent aptitudes which can be taken as precursors of the tendencies³ combated in Colossians; in fact, the widely diffused and popular forms of theosophy among Jewish (Ac 19¹³) communities give a religious climate for the seventh decade of the century, amply sufficient to explain the ideas and language⁴ of this epistle. Gnosticism was the word originally for an atmosphere rather than for a theory. It stood for a syncretism, a mental temper whose incipient and elementary forms can be detected in various quarters during the earlier half of the first-century.⁵ Indeed, at

theology. It would connote any transcendental theory of God and the world, especially among Jewish Christians. With the appeal to human traditions and the significance attached to questions of food (Col 2=Ro 14), Paul was already familiar.

¹ Haupt is dissatisfied with both the Essene and the Alexandrian theories of the Colossian heresy. He prefers to regard it as a phase of contemporary Judaism, which in the Phrygian atmosphere of theosophy and mystic cults attempted to erect a religious system by means of angel-worship and asceticism, with the aid of oral teaching imparted to the initiated. Jülicher again is unable to detect any specifically Jewish element of prominence in the Colossian heresy.

² Evidently Epaphras and the other teachers at Colossê were unable to cope with the ramifications of the local theosophy. The predominance of abstract teaching in Paul's letter over personal references is natural when it is remembered (i.) that the readers were not directly converts of Paul, and (ii.) that the letter was to be supplemented by Tychicus' (47) oral information upon the writer's situation and prospects.

³ Grammatical usage and the inherent probabilities of the case are, upon the whole, against the suggestion that the term *μυστικός* (2¹⁸ etc.) and the use of the singular denote a person—some teacher of marked influence and authority as in the case of the Galatians (Gal 3¹ 57⁹). The reference seems purposely vague and general. Had Paul heard of some particular individual, his treatment would in all likelihood have been of a different character.

⁴ On the novelties of style and vocabulary, cp. especially Haupt's serviceable analysis (-Meyer, pp. 27-32). As he points out, most of the peculiarities—the occurrence of strange expressions, and the absence of distinctively Pauline terms—are to be found in the first half of the epistle. Both Haupt and von Soden agree that "Colossians" is an example of the truth that the style is not always the man; it is frequently to be explained by his mode and circumstances at the time of writing. Paul's "theology as a whole never became fully rounded and complete in such a sense as to exclude fresh points of views or new expressions" (Jülicher).

⁵ Cp. besides the candid and final discussion in Klöpper, *op. cit.* pp. 58-119, Sanday, *Smith's Dict. B.* (1893), i. pp. 624-631, and Zahn, *Einkl.* i. pp. 310-368. After making allowance for some exaggerations (with Schürer, *ThLz* (1899), 167 f.),

any time after 40 A.D., early Christianity was upon the edge of those tendencies which came afterwards to be named "Gnosticism." A discussion such as that presented in "Colossians" is unprecedented, so far as regards Paulinism,¹ but it is a long way from being historically a prolepsis.

one must also admit that Friedländer has proved the existence of an incipient pre-Christian Gnosticism in some form or other within Judaism (*Der vorchristliche Jüdische Gnosticismus*, 1898). Holtzmann is in agreement with the main points of this theory (*NTTh*, i. pp. 476-486, "Die Gnosis im NT"), but he still adheres substantially to the rather mechanical hypothesis already noted (*ibid.* ii. pp. 225-258), which has recently been favoured in a tentative way by J. Weiss (*ThLz*, 1900, pp. 553-556). The latter critic rejects Ephesians *in toto*, but accepts Colossians as an interpolated production of the apostle; e.g. passages like 1²³ (ὃς ἡκολούτα . . . οὐρανόν), 2¹ (καὶ ἰσοί . . . σαρκί), 2² (αὐτῶν), etc., are insertions made by an editor who wrote at the time when the Pauline epistles were being collected and used for catholic ends. It must be admitted that such changes in the text of a letter like this were not improbable in the second century, especially as scribes had always the temptation of conforming Colossians to Ephesians. But I do not think it likely that any glosses which may be detected in Colossians were due to the author of Ephesians (when that writing is taken as sub-Pauline), or that they affect the Pauline authorship and primitive Gnosticism of the former epistle, whose coefficients of age and situation are best supplied by the seventh-decade date and the impact of Asiatic theosophy upon the apostle's mind.

¹ In addition to what has been said (pp. 58 f.), and remains to be said (p. 230 n.) upon the influence exerted by Paulinism on the subsequent literature and religious trend of early Christianity, it may be pointed out that while doctrines such as that of justification by faith were not taken up and reproduced in any genuine succession, there were certain elements in Paul's system, and particularly some of those developed in his later epistles (Col-Phil), which turned out to be more akin to the popular Christianity of the sub-Pauline era. For example, conceptions such as that of Christ the Wisdom of God (1 Cor 1-3) were in many ways congenial to the later and wider religious standpoint of the Roman world; so that, if Col and Eph (or indeed either) be accepted as Pauline, the transition from Paulinism to the common Catholicism of the next age does not seem quite so difficult as otherwise and on a superficial glance it might appear. One hardly cares to go as far as Weinel (*ZNW*, 1901, pp. 32 f.), who displaces justification from its position as the premier topic of Paulinism, and argues that Paul's chief ideas revolved round *γνῶσις* and *σοφία*, *ζωή* and *ἀφθαρσία*. But, as Romans and Corinthians prove, these conceptions had a rôle in Paulinism, a rôle, too, which did not lessen as the years passed (to judge even from his extant correspondence). Often, as at Corinth, they had to be practically ignored in his average preaching. But this cannot have been more than a temporary and compulsory expedient; for 1 Co 2^s is an implied reproach almost as much as Heb 5¹¹⁻⁶¹². "Wisdom we do speak among the mature." Paul hints that he too has his high and cosmic speculations, his Christian philosophy; and not impossibly it hulked more largely in his average teaching than the exigencies of his extant letters permit us to observe. If such was the case, one can see how it was through the less technical, or (if we choose to say so) the less distinctly Pauline, qualities, such as are partially exhibited in the later epistles, that the later phases of popular belief could reproduce the influence and teaching of the great apostle, even when his subtle and profound theses failed to win their sympathies. Kattenbusch points out this filiation in the case of the Roman Symbol. But it applies to the synoptic gospels and to Acts especially; and no piece of evidence can be safely ignored which may throw some light upon the vexed and obscure question of the relation between these documents and the earlier epistles of the premier apostle.

COLOSSIANS

Historically, the epistle to the Colossians is of great interest. It shows how during his imprisonment Paul was actually regarded as an authority in wide circles, even in circles to which he was not personally related; and how for his own part he had no hesitation in considering that the sphere of his mission embraced offshoots of those churches which he had planted himself. It shows how varied were the forms in which the ideals of Jewish Christianity embodied themselves; how in Paul's case the divergences of practical religion led to the development of dogmatic conceptions; and how, with that in view, the apostle turned the Jewish doctrine of the Messiah to account, presupposing along with it the Jewish cosmology. Finally the epistle gives us the first sketch of Christian ethics as applied to the various elementary forms of social life.—**von Soden.**

1¹⁻² Greeting :**1¹⁻¹² Thanksgiving and Prayer**

for the progress
and advance of Colossians in God's knowledge
and service, through

1¹³⁻³⁴ Dogmatic :

Christ the redeemer.

1¹⁵⁻¹⁷

Christ the head of the creation,

1¹⁸⁻²³

the Church—the experience of
the Colossians.

1²³⁻²⁵

Paul the apostle of this gospel—his anxiety
for them.

need of adherence to Christ and the faith in spite of a new
and false philosophy :

2¹¹⁻¹⁵

a statement of the life after Christ : spiritual and supreme.

2¹⁶⁻³⁴

„ „ „ the στοιχεῖα : ritual observances
and angel-worship.

the free and risen life in communion with
Christ.

3⁵⁻⁴⁶ Ethical :

individual ethics—negative : against pagan vices.

positive : call to the morality of Christ.

social ethics—wives and husbands,
children and fathers,
slaves and masters.

general.

4⁷⁻¹⁷ Personal : the coming of Tychicus and Onesimus.
greetings.

4¹⁸ Farewell,

COLOSSIANS

- 1 **1** PAUL, an apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God, and Timotheus the brother,
- 2 to the saints and faithful brothers in Christ, who are at Colossae :
 grace to you and peace from God our Father.
- 3 We always give thanks to God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ
 4 for you in our prayers, since we heard of your faith in Christ Jesus and
 5 of the love that you have for all the saints, owing to the hope which is
 6 laid up for you in the heavens—of which you have already heard in the
 7 word of the truth of the gospel, which has reached you even as it covers
 8 all the world, with fruit and growth ; so is it also among yourselves
 9 from the day that you learned and fully knew the grace of God in truth,
 10 even as you were taught it by Epaphras, our beloved fellow-slave, who
 11 is a faithful minister of Christ for you,¹ who has also given us the news
 12 of your love in the Spirit. For this reason, from the day that we heard of
 13 it, we also have not ceased to pray for you and ask that you may be filled
 14 with the full knowledge of his will in all spiritual wisdom and intelli-
 15 gence, to walk in a manner worthy of the Lord, so as to please him in every
 16 way, by bearing fruit and growing in all good conduct through the full
 17 knowledge of God ; as you are strengthened with all power, through the
 18 might of his majesty, for all endurance and longsuffering, giving thanks
 19 with joy to the Father who has qualified you to have part in the lot of
 20 the saints in light, who has rescued us from the power of darkness and
 21 removed us into the realm of the Son of his love—in whom we have
 22 the redemption, the remission of sins ; who is the image of the invisible
 23 God, the firstborn of all creation,
- Since in him all things were created in the heavens and on the earth
 Things visible and things invisible,
 Be it thrones or lordships or principalities or powers :
 All things have been created through him and for him,
- Before all things he is, in him all things cohere.
- He is also the head of the body, of the Community, in that he is the
 beginning, the firstborn from the dead ; that he might come to hold the
 first place among all. For it was the good pleasure of the Fulness to
 dwell in him, and through him to reconcile all things to himself by
 making peace through the blood of his cross—² be it the things on the
 earth or the things in the heavens. And as for you, aliens as once you
 were and of hostile intent amid your evil deeds, yet he has reconciled
 you now in the body of his flesh by means of his death, to present you holy
 and faultless and irreproachable before him—that is, if you continue in
 the faith, founded and firm and unmoved from the hope of the gospel
 which you have heard, which has been preached in all creation under the
 sky, of which I Paul was made a minister.

¹ Reading ὑμῶν.

² Omitting [[δι' αὐτοῦ]].

24 Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake. Yea, so far as Christian
distresses in my flesh are incomplete, I would on my part supply the
25 deficiency for the sake of his body, that is, the Community; of which I
was made a minister according to the stewardship of God given to me for
26 you, that I should fully preach the word of God, the secret which has
been hidden from the ages and from the generations—but now it has
27 been disclosed to his saints, to whom God willed to display what are the
riches of the majesty of this secret among the Gentiles; it is “Christ
28 among you! the hope of majesty!” Him we proclaim, admonishing
every man and teaching every man with all wisdom, that we may
29 present every man perfect in Christ; an end for which also I labour
and wrestle keenly in virtue of his force which is powerfully at work
in me.

2 1 For I would have you know how keen is my concern on your behalf
and on behalf of those in Laodicea and all who have not seen my face in
2 the flesh, that their hearts may be encouraged, as they themselves are
knit in love together and brought to all riches of intelligent assur-
3 ance, to the full knowledge of that secret of the God of Christ, in which
4 exist all *the treasures of wisdom* and knowledge hidden. I say this to
5 prevent anyone from deluding you by specious persuasion. For although
absent in the flesh, yet I am with you in the spirit, rejoicing to behold
your orderly array and the solid front of your faith in Christ.

6 As therefore you received the Christ, even Jesus the Lord, walk in
7 him: be fixed, be built up in him, be confirmed in the faith even
8 as you were taught it, abound¹ in thanksgiving. See that there is no
one who makes you his prey by means of his theosophy, which is
a vain deceit after the tradition of men, after the elements of the world
9 and not after Christ. For it is in him that all the fulness of the Deity
10 dwells bodily, and in him you are made full, who is the head of every
11 principality and power; in whom also you were circumcised with a
circumcision which no hands made, as you stripped off your fleshly body
12 in the circumcision of Christ, when you were buried with him in that
baptism in which you were also raised with him, through your faith in
13 the force of God who raised him from the dead. And as for you, dead as
you were with the trespasses and the uncircumcision of your flesh, he
14 made you live together with him by forgiving us all our trespasses, can-
celling the contract consisting of statutes, which stood against us²—he
15 put that away, when he hung it as a trophy on the cross, when he stripped
the principalities and powers and exposed them openly, triumphing there-
16 in over them.

Let no one take you to task, then, for eating
17 or drinking, or in the matter of festival or new-moon or Sabbath. These
are merely the shadow of what is to be, whereas the substance belongs to
18 Christ. Let no one disparage you with his devotion to so-called humility
and to angel-worship, speculating in airy nothings,³ puffed up in vain by
19 the mind of his flesh, and discarding the Head from whom all the body
through its joints and ligaments is supplied and knit together and grows
with growth divine.

20 If you died with Christ from the elements of the world, why be
21 subject to statutes as though you still were living in the world, (“Handle
22 not, touch not, taste not!”—things that are all destined to perish by
23 use!) after *human precepts and doctrines*?—Such like things have indeed
a reputation for wisdom, with their self-imposed worship and so-called

¹ Omitting [[ἐν αὐτῇ]].

² Omitting ὃ ἦν ὑπεραντίον ἡμῶν.

³ Reading ἰώρεα (αἰώρεα) νενεμεβατεύων.

humility and severe treatment of the body; but they are not of the slightest value in checking fleshly indulgence.

3 1 If then you were raised with Christ, seek what is above,
Where Christ is, *seated at the right hand of God*:

2 Set your mind upon what is above, not upon what is on the earth;

3 For you died, and your life lies hidden with Christ in God.

4 When Christ—who is your ¹ life—is disclosed,

Then shall you also be disclosed with him in majesty.

5 Put then to death the members that are on the earth: fornication,
6 impurity, appetite, evil desire, and covetousness—which is idolatry. It
7 is for these things that the wrath of God comes. In them at one time
8 you also walked, when you lived in them. But now do you also put
9 them all away: anger, passion, malice, slander, foul talk from your mouth;
10 lie not to one another—seeing that you stripped off the old man with
11 knowledge *after the image of his creator*; where there is no place for
12 Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian,
13 slave, freeman, but Christ is all and in all. Put on therefore, as God's
14 chosen, holy and beloved, a disposition of tender mercy, kindness, humil-
15 ity, gentleness, longsuffering. Bear with one another and forgive each
16 other, if any person has a complaint against any one else; even as the
17 Lord also forgave you, so too do you forgive. Over and above all this
18 put on love, for love is the bond that makes perfection. And let the
19 peace of Christ rule undisputed in your hearts; for to this you were also
20 called in one body. And show thankfulness. Let the word of Christ
21 dwell richly in your midst: teaching and admonishing each other with
22 all wisdom in spiritual psalms and hymns and songs, singing with grace
23 in your hearts to God. And whatsoever you do, in word or deed, do all
24 in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks through him to God the
25 Father.

18 Wives, be subject to your husbands, as is your duty in the Lord.

19, 20 Husbands, love your wives and be not harsh to them. Children,
obey your parents in every point, for this is well-pleasing in the Lord.

21 Fathers, avoid irritating your children, that they may not be
22 dispirited. Slaves, obey those who are your masters after the flesh

23 in every point; not with eyeservice, like those who court human favour, but
24 with singleness of heart in the fear of the Lord. Whatever you do, work
25 at it right heartily, as for the Lord and not for men; since you know you
shall receive from the Lord in full return the inheritance that is your due.

25 Serve Christ the master; for the wicked shall be paid back for his wicked-
4 1 ness, and there is no respect of persons. Masters, provide your

slaves with what is just and fair, since you know you also have a master in
2 heaven. Give yourselves to prayer, be diligent therein with thanks-

3 giving. At the same time pray too for us, that God may open us a door
4 for the word, so that we can declare the secret of the Christ (for which
5 also I am in bonds)—that I may disclose it as I should declare it.

6 Walk wisely with regard to those outside, making the very most of your
7 time. Let your speech always be profitable, seasoned with wholesome-
8 ness; know how you should answer each person.

9 You will be informed of all by Tychicus, the beloved brother and
8 faithful minister and fellow-slave in the Lord. I am sending him to you
for this very purpose, that you may know how we are, and that he may
9 encourage your hearts. He is accompanied by Onesimus, the faithful

¹ Reading *ἐμὸν*.

and beloved brother, who is one of yourselves. They shall inform you of all that goes on here.

10 Aristarchus, my fellow-prisoner, salutes you: so does Mark, the
 11 cousin of Barnabas, about whom you received injunctions (if he comes to
 12 you, welcome him), so does Jesus, who is called Justus—men who
 13 belonged to the Circumcision. These are my sole fellow-workers for the
 14 reign of God, men who have proved a comfort to me. Epaphras, one of
 15 yourselves, salutes you; a slave of Christ Jesus, he is always wrestling
 16 keenly for you in his prayers, that you may stand perfect and fully
 17 convinced in all the will of God. I bear him witness, he toils hard for
 18 you and for those in Laodicea and for those in Hierapolis. Luke, the
 19 beloved physician, salutes you, so does Demas. Salute the brothers in
 20 Laodicea, also Nymphas¹ and the Community at her² house. Further,
 21 when the letter has been read among you, see that it is read in the Com-
 22 munity of the Laodiceans as well, and that you also read the letter from
 23 Laodicea. Also, tell Archippus: "Attend to the ministry thou hast
 24 received in the Lord; see and fulfil it."

18 The salutation is by the hand of me, Paul. Remember my imprison-
 19 ment.

Grace be with you.

¹ Reading *Νύμφαν*.

² Reading *αὐτῆς*.

[61 A.D. \pm]

PAUL TO PHILEMON

The letter only contains a few friendly lines ; but they are so full of grace and wit, of earnest, trustful affection, that this short epistle shines among the rich treasures of the NT as a pearl of exquisite fineness. Never has there been a better fulfilment of the precept given by Paul himself at the close of his letter to the Colossians: *ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν χάριτι, ἁλατι ἡρτυμένος, εἰδέναι πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ἀποκρίνεσθαι* (chap. iv. 6). This epistle is not merely a revelation of the apostle's heart; it becomes further, through its moral significance, an invaluable document of the Pauline ethics.—**Sabatier.**

¹⁻³ Greeting.

⁴⁻⁷ Gratitude for Philemon's character and service.

⁸⁻²¹ Request and appeal on behalf of the slave Onesimus.

²²⁻²⁵ Personal.

Farewell.

PAUL TO PHILEMON

- 1 PAUL, a prisoner of Christ Jesus, and Timotheus the brother,
to Philemon our beloved and our fellow-worker, and to Apphia the
2 sister, and to Archippus our fellow-soldier, and to the Community
at thy house :
3 grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus
Christ.
- 4 I always give thanks to my God when I make mention of thee in my
5 prayers—as I hear of thy love and of the faith that thou hast to the Lord
6 Jesus and for all the saints—praying that to participate in thy faith may
result for them in a full knowledge of all the goodness we possess, Christ-
7 ward. I had great joy and comfort over thy love, because the hearts of the
8 saints have been refreshed through thee, brother. Therefore, while
9 in Christ I would have great confidence in ordering thee to do what is thy
duty, yet I prefer to appeal to thee for love's sake. Being of this mind then,
10 I Paul, an old man, aye and a prisoner of Christ Jesus now—I appeal to thee
for my child whom I have begotten in my imprisonment, for Onesimus ;
11 at one time he was of no service to thee, but he is serviceable now to thee
12, 13 and to myself. I send him back to thee (he is my very heart): I would
have liked to keep him beside me, to minister on thy behalf to me as I lie
14 imprisoned for the gospel ; but I was unwilling to do anything without
thy consent, in order that thy kindness might not be given by way of
15 compulsion but from thine own free will. For perhaps it was on this
account that he was parted from thee for a time, that thou shouldest have
16 him back for ever—no longer as a slave but as something more than a
slave, as a brother, beloved by me most of all, but how much more by
17 thee, in the flesh also as well as in the Lord. If thou considerest me then
18 to be a comrade of thine, take him home as if it were myself. And if he has
wronged thee at all or owes thee anything, put that down to my account.
19 I write it, I Paul, with my own hand : “I will repay it”—not to remind
20 thee, that thou owest me thy very self besides. Yes, brother ! let me
have some return from thee in the Lord ! Refresh my heart in Christ.
- 21 I write thee in the confidence that thou wilt obey, knowing that thou
22 wilt do even more than what I say. At the same time, get ready a lodging
for me also ; for I am hoping that through your prayers I shall be restored
to you.
- 23, 24 Epaphras my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus salutes thee ; so do
Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, my fellow-workers.
- 25 The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit.

EPHESIANS

UPON the dubious hypothesis that this encyclical letter is genuine, its period is easily fixed. The undoubted connection of its thought with that of the Colossian epistle argues a contemporary origin during the latter period of Paul's imprisonment (3¹ 4¹) at Rome (Phil 4²²). While the question of the relative priority is not of much moment, it is better, with a majority of critics (especially after Hönig's proof: *ZwTh*, 1872, p. 63 f.), to place the Colossian epistle at a slightly earlier date, finding in the Ephesian letter traces of development upon several lines of thought (*e.g.* the Spirit and the church). Practically—upon arguments, forcible if few—the epistle is reckoned contemporaneous with and if anything subsequent to Colossians: so Weiss (*INT*, i. pp. 339–358; *AJT*, i. pp. 377–384), Sabatier (*op. cit.* p. 225 f., a very convincing discussion), Reuss (pp. 110–119), Godet (*INT*, pp. 475–490), Salmon (*INT*, p. 388 f.), and Prof. G. G. Findlay (*Expositor's Bible*, "Ephesians," pp. 3–13). Similarly Schäfer, E. H. Hall, L. Schultze, Hort ("Romans and Ephesians," 1895), T. K. Abbott (*ICC*, pp. ix–xxii), Adeney (*BI*, pp. 395–398), McGiffert (pp. 378–385), Macpherson (*Comm. Ephesians*, 1892), and Bartlet (*AA*, 189 f.).

Up till recently the best criticism had placed the epistle in the second century, as a polemic against Montanism (Schwegler) or Gnosticism, to be dated either *c.* 140 A.D. as a remodelled and expanded version of Colossians (Hilgenfeld and Hausrath), or towards the beginning of the second century as the original work of a Pauline scholar (Holtzmann and Mangold). The latter theory suggests a comparison between the so-called "Ephesian" epistle and the seventh book of the Nikomachean Ethics; neither is original, but both are so permeated by the Master's spirit and ideas as to be practically authentic for the purposes of interpretation. This date, towards the close of the first or in the opening of the second century, is held by many excellent scholars who find the leading evidence for a non-Pauline period in the apparently maturer phase (Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, ii. pp. 162–193; Weizsäcker, *AA*, ii. pp. 240–245) of the theology, which approximates in many striking respects to that of the fourth gospel, and with it may be said to form the summit of NT theology. This line of argument from the epistle's place in the development of thought and life (cp. passages like 3⁵ 4¹¹ 2²⁰) is really crucial (Holtzmann, *Kritik*, p. 200 f.). The epistle itself gives few hints of its historical setting or even of local colouring, and alongside of what seem absolute novelties in thought and language lie specifically Pauline elements. Consequently, while the extreme period (120–150 A.D.) has been practically abandoned, save by a few critics like Hausrath, S. Davidson (*INT*, ii. pp. 261–300), Rovers (*Nieuw-test. Letterkunde*, 1888, pp. 65 f.: Col., Philem., Ephes. in beginning of Hadrian's reign), Brückner (*Chron.* pp. 257–276), and Pfleiderer (*Urc.* p. 684 f.), a date ranging from 80 to 100 is adopted by many (*e.g.* Holtzmann, Hatch, Schmiedel, and Mangold). This is confirmed by the resemblances between Ephes. and

the Apocalypse and Clem. Rom. (cp. on these, Hort, *RE*, p. 112; von Soden, *HC*, III. i. p. 80). The characteristics of the epistle on this view can be approached along one or other of two hypotheses:—

(a) The secretary-theory, Renan's suggestion,¹ that the letter was written by one of Paul's scholars during his lifetime, and under his supervision, is at least possible. Extend this beyond his lifetime to the case of a follower reproducing Paul's ideas in view of later interests within the church, and one secures a very reasonable ground for dating the epistle towards the end of the century, and at the same time preserving and doing justice to the distinctively Pauline elements upon which stress has been recently and rightly laid (cp. von Soden, *JpTh*, 1887, pp. 103–135, 432–498; *HC*, III. i. p. 79–104). In this case the letter would be composed of reminiscences and traits gathered by a disciple of Paul's, and fused into a more advanced exposition. Thus Klöpfer (*Der Brief an die Epheser*) attributes the writing to a disciple of the Pauline school who wrote two or three decades after his master's death. Certainly it presents some very striking affinities with the literature of 75–105 A.D., e.g. the development of hymnody (5¹⁴. 19 3²⁰, cp. Lk 1–2), the emphasis on the "catholicity" of the church for Jew and pagan, the stress laid on detailed moral obligations, also the remarkable coincidences of thought with the fourth gospel, and of style with Lk-Acts. Such a position explains, as aptly as the earlier date, the use of Romans and the dependence upon Colossians, while it does ample justice to the Johannine features which otherwise appear c. 60 A.D., as—to say the least—very notable anticipations. In this event, the epistle is pseudonymous. It was composed² in view of current libertinism, church divisions, and theoretical errors of Alexandrian colour, in order to counteract such tendencies by a restatement of the true Pauline faith. Possibly, too, the errors were actually due (as in James and 1 John) to abuses or misconceptions of some original Pauline doctrines.

Even if one refuses the highly probable conjecture that *ἀγίου* is a gloss, the crucial difficulty raised by the apparently objective and collective references to "apostles" (2²⁰ 3⁵)—assuming the text to be uncorrupted—is partly eased by passages like 1 Co 9⁵ 12²⁸, and Ro 16⁷. For all that can be said in defence of the various soteriological and cosmical "novelties," cp. Zahn, *Einl.* i. p. 355 f., and Haupt's satisfying commentary *ad loc.* That these form a natural development of Paulinism is undeniable. The only question is whether they are "natural" within

¹ "Que Paul ait écrit ou dicté cette lettre, il est à peu près impossible de l'admettre; mais qu'on l'ait composée de son vivant, sous ses yeux, en son nom, c'est ce qu'on ne saurait déclarer improbable" (*S. Paul*, p. xx). He follows Schleiermacher's suggestion of Tycheus.

² "Die Interessen des Briefs haben zwei Pole, die völlige Verschmelzung von geborenen Juden und Heiden in der Christenheit zu einer geschlossenen Gemeinschaft und die Erfassung des grossen kosmischen Ziels des Christenthums. In der mitte steht beide verbindend der Begriff der *ἐκκλησία*" (von Soden). The really vital problem in regard to "Ephesians" is the question whether this theology is compatible with what we know of Pauline ideas from the other epistles. An affirmative answer has been made easier but not inevitable by the admission that Colossians is authentic. Upon the other hand, the later date and the pseudonymity which it involves are brought into clearer relief than ever when attention is directed (as by von Soden) to the affinities of the writing with the Apocalypse—its use of the bridal metaphor, its stress on the apostolic foundation and *ἀποκάλυψις* (1¹⁷ 3³ 5), and the subsequent treatment of church-questions (Pastorals, Hermas) in epistolary form (Apoc 2–3). Besides, the Gentile is the predominant partner in the church to an extent unprecedented in the earlier literature. Cp. Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 254–267, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 254–258.

the limits of the apostle's lifetime. Hesitation upon this point does not at all imply that Paul lacked constructive and broad ideas of the Christian brotherhood, nor does it involve any theory that binds the apostle to "one limited and carefully catalogued repertory of ideas." He may well have been a fresh and advancing thinker, and yet incapable of having written this epistle, which is so strangely silent upon, *e.g.*, the cardinal Pauline ideas of Christ's death, second coming, and relation to the individual Christian, while it approximates remarkably to the Christology of "Hebrews" and the fourth gospel (Christ = the unifying principle for the universe, and for the contradictions of Jew and Gentile, the Johannine use of *ἀγάπη* in Ephesians, the antithesis of *φῶς* and *σκότος*, etc.), in the 17th chapter of which "almost every verse offers a parallel to this epistle" (Lock).

(b) Otherwise, and on the same line, there is the more artificial structure-hypothesis—either in Holtzmann's or in a modified presentment—which explains the Pauline characteristics here, as in the pastoral epistles, chiefly by the theory of interpolation or compilation.¹ Originally taken in part from the Colossian epistle, these genuine fragments may have formed the nucleus of, or have been worked up into, an extant epistle (*vide* Mangold-Bleek, p. 602). But this is needless in view of (a), and inherently stiff (*cp.* especially Oltramare's ed. p. 113f.).

The recent admission of Colossians as authentic has however helped to make a seventh decade date in the first century intrinsically more probable. That both epistles were written together has often been made a commonplace of criticism, though perhaps this is too hastily assumed. Still a similarity of situation is obvious, and the estimate of one certainly touches the estimate of the other (*vide* Sabatier, *op. cit.* pp. 229-234). "They were in all probability," says Weizsäcker, "written not in succession but together; . . . they were meant to supplement each other, and were composed with that object on one complete plan. Both therefore start from the same ideas, the same doctrine" (*AA*, ii. p. 245). The result is that if the "Gnosticism" which explains Colossians is to be discovered in the middle of the first century throughout Asia Minor, it would require more serious and detailed proof than has yet been led to bring the twin-epistle—in spite of its independent elements and characteristic standpoint—down to the second or even to the close of the first century. This theory of simultaneous origin, however, does not necessarily follow from the similarities of the epistles, as Ephesians² might well be a later restatement of the earlier writing. Still it seems to be widely felt as a possible hypothesis, *e.g.* by Oltramare (ii. pp. 5-104, a copious statement), Trenkle (*Einl.* 69-72), Jülicher, and Harnack; neither of the latter will dogmatise against or for the authenticity of "Ephesians," although the vast majority of modern scholars agree in making it sub-Pauline. Most recently Zahn³ (*Einl.* i. pp. 347-362) has accepted the epistle as literally genuine, the copy of a circular letter to the Asiatic churches. Dr. A. Robertson (*Smith's Dict. B.*² i. pp. 947-964) has an excellent discussion

¹ Cp. besides von Soden, Schmiedel, *EWK*, ii. 38, pp. 138-144.

² One of the most difficult passages (Eph 5¹⁴) has been made the subject of a special study by M. W. Jacobus (*ThSt.* pp. 9-29). If his elaborate arguments are correct, the citation is perfectly Pauline in method and object: it is a free spiritualisation of Jonah I⁶, as a reproof of evil (יָרֵם = יָרֵם לַעֲשׂוֹת עָוֹן).

³ Who is much more successful in exposing the weak points of the later date, than in presenting a positive statement of the earlier.

and defence of the letter: and the Pauline authorship is upheld by Lock, *DB*, i. pp. 714-718.

The crucial point lies in the evident advance of Ephesians upon the theology of Colossians, especially in the conceptions of the church and the person of Christ: it is a fair question whether this advance (which, however, is rather a matter of emphasis than a speculative reality) is more natural as the work of Paul himself than as the reproduction and application of his ideas in a somewhat expanded form by some Jewish-Christian Paulinist towards the end of the first century. In the former case, the simplest explanation would be that the one epistle—as even Coleridge detected, though he reversed the true relationship—is “the overflowing, as it were, of St. Paul’s mind upon the same subject.” Written after the cognate epistle to the Colossians, Ephesians contains expressions¹ and conceptions which have either percolated into the writer’s mind during the interval, or remained over from the previous writing. These are now reproduced, in combination with others which have been already developed. Hence the resemblances and the differences of the two letters. The former² are upon the whole undesigned; the latter³ are not much more than what might have been expected from an author who was engaged in composing a letter spontaneously for a fresh circle of readers, and felt himself free from mechanical anxiety about avoiding the repetition of anything he had just written to the church at Colossæ (Hort, *Rom. Eph.*, p. 162 f.; Oltramare, i. pp. 30-37, ii. pp. 113-154).

In this event, the situation of Paul at Rome would explain the emphasis upon the unity and brotherhood of Jew and pagan within the church (note the numerous compounds with *συν-*), while his “intellectualism” or preoccupation with the more speculative and mystical aspects of Christology would be intelligible in connection with the features of the Asiatic Christianity as revealed, *e.g.* in Colossians (see a popular statement of this in Gore’s *Ephesians*, pp. 20-34; after Hort, *op. cit.* p. 126 f.). “Les idées du fondateur de la théologie chrétienne y sont arrivées au plus haut degré d’épuration. On sent ce dernier travail de spiritualisation que les grandes âmes près de s’éteindre font subir à leur pensée et au delà duquel il n’y a plus que la mort” (Renan).

¹ The exceptional difficulties raised by the style and language of the epistle cannot be ignored. But even after full allowance has been made for them, the verdict must be that they neither prove nor disprove the Pauline authorship—that is to say, when Colossians is accepted as authentic. Zahn’s analysis of the linguistic phenomena (*Eint.* i. pp. 363-368) is beyond all praise, but its result is merely to leave the problem upon this point open. Especially in the earlier chapters the style is oracular to the verge of unwieldiness, and massive to the point of cumbrousness, in a manner hitherto unexampled in the Pauline letters. Yet glimpses of the characteristic Pauline style break through every now and then.

² These appear in an exaggerated form when the epistles are printed, as in a modern collection they must be, in juxtaposition, and are apt to produce the impression of a tasteless and slavish repetition, rather lacking in originality. But it has to be remembered (*a*) that the readers of the one letter were never intended to see the other, and (*b*) that Paul did not write in view of literary criticism and its standards. His predominant interest in the practical work to be achieved by his letters, together with the psychological situation above-noted, are conceivably sufficient to explain Col-Eph.

³ Such as the preoccupation in Ephesians with the fresh ideas of the Spirit, baptism, the relation of Christ to the church rather than to the universe, the continuity and unity of the church—implying a retrospect of considerable width,—the absence of personal and controversial details. Yet see one or two points in Méritan’s exposition, *Revue Biblique* (1898), pp. 343-369, of “l’ecclésiologie de l’épître aux Éphésiens”; Oltramare throughout is fair and thorough, as usual.

Upon the whole, however, the question may be not unfairly said to remain open in the present state of criticism. Conclusions meanwhile, in favour of its authenticity, can hardly fail to be tentative on the score either of the literary connections, or of the style, or of the speculative developments¹ in the theology of the writing. No argument, I confess, seems totally decisive, and it is with less confidence and less agreement of scholars than in the case of almost any other NT document, that Ephesians has been reluctantly left in this edition between 60 and 65 A.D. All that can be safely said is that this date is rendered somewhat more credible when the letter can be placed between Colossians and Philippians in a group of fairly cognate writings; more credible still, if 1 Peter can be subsequently dated in the seventh decade as well. Unfortunately the last-named argument is circular, for 1 Peter in its turn has a certain dependence in conception and diction upon Ephesians. Indeed, to determine the relationship and priority of writings such as these, forms the differential calculus of NT criticism.²

The meagreness (4²¹ 3²) of the personal references—apart altogether from the bad attestation, both in tradition and MSS (*WH*, ii. pp. 123, 124) of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (1¹)—forbids the theory that the writing was destined exclusively³ for Ephesus. No letter written with that church in view could have lacked intimate and affectionate allusions to some of the Ephesian Christians.⁴ Unless the writing, therefore, is post-Pauline, the most plausible alternative is to suppose that it was composed for the Christian communities of the Lycus valley, with whom Paul was in communication through Tychicus and Epaphras. Ephesus, as the chief city of the province, and subsequently a leading seat of Christianity, either received the letter first of all (like 1 Cor. 1 Co 1²), or else became its final depository. Either supposition would explain the fact of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ occurring in one or two MSS. Probably in the original draft a blank was left,⁵ in order

¹ The culmination of Paul's previous teaching (Chrysostom, ἡ γὰρ μεθ' αὐτοῦ σχ' δὲν ἐστὶ γένητο, ταῦτα ἐν ταύτῃ φήσιν) might possibly be explained by the fact that Paul here unfolds the σοφία (1 Co. 2⁶), either as the result of his own growth and experience, or because he considered the readers of the letter were sufficiently mature (τελείοι) to be made depositaries of this higher wisdom (so most recently Hort, *Ecclesia*, pp. 138, 139). On the apocalyptic element, see *HC*, III. i. 99, 102f., and Bacon, *INT*, 119-121.

² A similar problem, involving equally delicate questions of literary criticism, is the relation between 4th Esdras and Apoc. Baruch.

³ Haupt recently disbelieves it was meant for Ephesus at all, as Paul would never have let an epistle go to that city without some warmer greeting. He conjectures that the epistle was written for some churches unknown to Paul, but that, as Tychicus its bearer belonged to Asia (Ac 20⁴), he naturally passed through Ephesus on his way, and left there a copy of the letter. This copy became the source of most of the MSS., owing to the central position and influence of Ephesus, in whose archives it was preserved. Zahn regards Ephesians as addressed to the collective churches of Asia Minor, who were personally unknown to Paul (excluding Ephesus and Troas), identifying it, like Lightfoot and Adeney, with the Laodicean epistle (Col 4¹⁶). So Bacon, *INT*, 109-121.

⁴ The absence of greetings corroborates this, for though they are also lacking in Thessalonians and Galatians, these epistles contain—as Ephesians does not—personal allusions in the body of their contents. The old theory of Marciou, that our Ephesians was the Laodicean epistle (Col 4¹⁶), was probably a guess thrown out to solve a riddle which had already, like several other literary questions, become mysterious to the post-apostolic age. It is just another indication of how early tradition lost hold of the facts, and how unreliable even the best second-century information about the early Christian literature may often be.

⁵ After τοῖς ἁγίοις (1¹) the name of a place must be understood. All other interpretations are forced and exaggerated (Oltremare, ii. p. 57f.).

that the name of the church might be filled in. Had the name of any of the churches originally addressed been inserted by Paul, it is impossible to see how some trace of it would not have been preserved in one or other of the MSS. Further, the likelihood that Paul would have adopted this general method of instruction is increased by the traces (Ro 1¹⁴, 2 Co 11²⁸) of what may be called, in an honest sense of the word, his "catholic" interest in the churches, particularly when these happened to belong to his favourite sphere in Asia Minor.

At the same time this theory cannot be described as perfectly convincing. At best it is to be taken as a provisional hypothesis, which, in the absence of a better gives a coherent explanation of the critical and literary phenomena in question, when these have to be related to Paul and to his age.¹

¹ The prison-epistles indicate not obliquely the widespread need for some evangelic compositions which should definitely express the catechetical tradition of the historical Jesus, in view of tendencies and abuses inside and outside the churches over Asia Minor and even Palestine itself. By the seventh decade of the century this was felt so strongly, that inchoate attempts had been made to supply the defect, although their existence can only be inferred from their successors, the synoptic gospels. For, as is elsewhere hinted (pp. 32, 42, 64, 260), a new order of things was rising, and to satisfy popular beliefs and interests gospels alone could suffice. Already tinged with current conceptions, and destined to be coloured still further as it wrought itself out in the varied forms of the synoptic narratives, the historical tradition of Jesus came now to be the distinctive and healthy outlet for the church's life amid contemporary speculations and the pressure of semi-Oriental fantasy. It was no imaginary danger which the rise of evangelic stories averted from the Christian consciousness, towards and after 60 A.D. In the flush and rush of spiritual phenomena within certain quarters of the church itself, to say nothing of outside perils, there was generally an ecstatic enthusiasm which, as Paul himself lived to realise (Col 2⁶, 3¹⁷, Eph 4²¹), tended ultimately to swamp the historical tradition of Jesus. "That the church surmounted this peril is one of the great deeds of the providence of God. And what saved the church? Not spiritual speculation like that of Paul, which could not offer any guarantee that it would keep by the track of the gospel as given in history. It was simply owing to the infinite impression made by the historical Jesus that the historical character of Christianity did not suffer loss. In this respect, the memory of Jesus paralysed the spiritual phenomena of the apostolic age, and survived them for more than a thousand years" (Gunkel: *Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes, nach der populären Anschauung der apost. Zeit und der Lehre des Apostels Paulus*², p. 56). That is to say, the next epoch belonged to the Christ-party. Christ known according to the flesh (not indeed as the extremists at Corinth had taught, but interpreted through something of the faith-mysticism promoted by none more than by Paul), was to rule the tides of Christianity during the coming half-century. Doubtless cosmological ideas reappeared in a sublime and sublimated form upon the very field of the evangelic tradition as the century drew to its close; but by the time the fourth gospel originated, the synoptic tradition had firmly steadied the churches in a definite relation to the historical Jesus which could stand any exposure to Hellenic mysticism or semi-gnostical theosophy, Jewish and Oriental. The vitality of the Christian faith during the years 60-100 evidently depended in no small degree on the expansion and expression of this historic sense—this tradition of Jesus, the son of man and of God, as he had actually lived and taught. Rich, accurate, and popular, it now found voice in literature.

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Time and place are indeed by no means unimportant in determining what is to be written, but they are mere in the distance than before. Now for the first time St. Paul is free, as it were, to pour forth his own thoughts in a positive form, instead of carrying on an argument, and therefore being hampered by its necessary limitations: and this great change could not but greatly affect his style. . . . The lofty calm which undeniably does pervade it may in part be due to the mellowing effect of years, but doubtless much more to the sense of dangers surmounted, aspirations satisfied, and a vantage-ground gained for the world-wide harmonious action of the Christian community under the government of God. But, though the vehement words of the earlier contests have subsided, many parts of the epistle glow with a steady white heat. . . . This idea of the unity of Christians as forming a single society with Christ for its invisible Head, which in its different forms dominates the whole epistle, was the natural outflow of the apostle's mind at this time, as determined by the course of outward and inward history on the basis of his primary faith. It needed to be set forth for the completion of his gospel. On the other hand, it was equally needed for the instruction of the no longer infant churches of Western Asia Minor, in whom the Greek spirit of separateness and independence was doubtless working with dangerous vigour.—**Hort.**

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- 1¹⁻² Greeting.
 1³⁻¹⁴ Thanksgiving for the blessing of God's choice (6^a, *eis* *ἐπαινον δόξης τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ*) and purpose in Jesus Christ (12^a, *eis* *ἐπαινον δόξης αὐτοῦ*), already experienced through the Spirit (14^c, *eis* *ἐπαινον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ*).
- 1¹⁵⁻³² **Dogmatic:** prayer for knowledge of God's power as exhibited in
 1¹⁸⁻²³ Christ—his exaltation and authority:
 2¹⁻¹⁰ the individual experience—of forgiveness and renewal:
 2¹¹⁻²² humanity—the common Peace produced through Christ
 Jesus for Gentile and Jew.
 3¹⁻¹³ Paul, the apostle of this gospel—
 3¹⁴⁻²¹ his prayer for his readers—the fulness of God's life.
- 4¹⁻⁶²⁰ **Ethical:** a call to Christian unity in the common life of Christ:
 4¹⁷⁻²⁴ a call to the new life as contrasted with the old:
 4²⁵⁻⁵²¹ maxims and motives:
 5²²⁻⁶⁹ a code of household ethics: husband and wife,
 child and parent,
 slave and master.
 6¹⁰⁻²⁰ obstacles and aids to Christian virtue.
 6²¹⁻²² Personal.
 6²³⁻²⁴ Farewell.

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1 1 PAUL, an apostle of Christ Jesus, through the will of God,
to the saints who are ¹ . . . to the faithful in Christ Jesus :
2 grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus
Christ.

3 Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has
blessed us with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly regions in Christ,
4 since he has chosen us in him before the foundation of the world that we
5 should be holy and faultless before him, by fore-appointing us in love to
6 his sonship through Jesus Christ, in virtue of the pleasure of his will, to
the praise of the majesty of his grace, with which he has highly favoured
7 us in the beloved : in whom we have the redemption through his blood
8 —the remission of trespasses—thanks to the riches of his grace which he
9 has bestowed amply on us in all wisdom and thoughtfulness, by displaying to us the secret of his will, in virtue of his design, with which he
10 was pleased to carry out in him a dispensation in the fulness of the times
for the gathering up of all things under one head in the Christ, the
11 things in the heavens and the things on the earth : in him, in whom
also we have had an inheritance allotted us as those who have been fore-
appointed according to the purpose of him who works everything accord-
12 ing to the counsel of his will, that we should be to the praise of his
13 majesty, we who had hoped beforehand in the Christ ; in whom you also,
upon learning the word of the truth, the gospel of your salvation—in
whom you also believed and were sealed with the promised spirit of holi-
14 ness, which is the pledge and instalment of our inheritance, for the
redemption that gives actual possession, to the praise of his majesty.

15 For this reason, on hearing of your faith in the Lord Jesus and your
16 love for all the saints, I also have not ceased to give thanks for you,
17 as I make mention of you in my prayers, praying that the God of our Lord
Jesus Christ—the Father of majesty—may give you a spirit of wisdom
18 and revelation in the full knowledge of him : with light for the eyes of
your heart, that you may know what is the hope of his calling, what
19 is the riches of the majesty of his *inheritance in the saints*, and what is the
surpassing greatness of his power for us who believe, in virtue of the
20 force of the might of his strength which he has wrought in the Christ by
raising him from the dead and *seating him at his right hand* in the
21 heavenly regions, high above all rule and authority and power and lord-
ship and every name named not only in this age but also in that which is
22 to come—and *he has made all things subject under his feet*, and given him
23 to the Community as head over all, to the Community which is his
2 1 body, the fulness of him who is filling all in all. And as for you, you
2 were dead with your trespasses and sins, in which at one time you walked
according to the course of the present age, according to the ruler of the

¹ Omitting [[*ἐν Ἐφῆσοις*]].

- power of the air, of the spirit that is now active among the sons of disobedience (among whom also at one time we all conducted ourselves in the lusts of our flesh, following the inclinations of flesh and thoughts, and were by nature children of wrath like the rest also)—but God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love with which he loved us, dead even as we were with our trespasses, made us live together with the Christ (it is by grace that you are saved), and raised us with him and seated us with him in the heavenly regions in Christ Jesus, that in the future ages he might show the surpassing riches of his grace in kindness towards us in Christ Jesus. For it is by grace that you are saved through faith—and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God: not a matter of deeds, lest any one should exult. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good deeds, which God has made ready beforehand for us to walk therein.
- Wherefore remember that at one time you Gentiles in the flesh—called “Uncircumcision” by the so-called “Circumcision,” which is a mere thing in the flesh—
- remember that you were at that time apart from Christ, aliens to the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenants of promise, with no hope and with no God in the world.
- But now in Christ Jesus you who were at one time *far away* have been brought *near* by the blood of the Christ.
- For he is our *peace*,
He who made both parties one by breaking down the barrier of the wall between,
- Who abolished in his flesh the enmity (that is, the law of commandments which consisted of statutes),
That he might make peace by creating in himself out of the two one new man,
- And that he might reconcile them both in one body to God through the cross,
By slaying the enmity in himself¹;
- And he came and *preached the gospel of peace* to you *who were far off*, and *peace* to those *who were near*,
- For through him we both have our access in one Spirit to the Father.
- Well then, you are no longer strangers and sojourners;
You are fellow-citizens with the saints, you are members of God’s household,
- Built up on the foundation of the apostles and prophets with Christ Jesus himself as *the chief corner stone*,
- In whom all the building is closely framed together and grows to be a holy sanctuary in the Lord,
- In whom you also are being built together for a dwelling of God in the Spirit.
- On this account I Paul, the prisoner of the Christ² for you Gentiles—seeing that you have indeed heard of the stewardship of the grace of God granted me for you, namely, that the secret has been made known to me by revelation; even as I have written already in a few words, on reading which you can understand my intelligence in the secret of Christ (which in other generations was not displayed to the sons of men as it has now been revealed to his [holy] apostles and prophets in the Spirit), namely,

¹ Reading *αὐτοῦ*.² Omitting *Ἰησοῦ*.

that the Gentiles are heirs together and in the same body together and partakers together of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel, of which I was made a minister by the free gift of God's grace which he granted me in virtue of the force of his power. To me, the least of all saints, was this favour granted, that I should preach to the Gentiles the gospel of the unsearchable riches of the Christ, and enlighten them on what is the dispensation of the secret which has been hidden from the ages in God who created all, in order that the most manifold wisdom of God might now be displayed through the Community to the principalities and powers in the heavenly regions, according to the purpose of the ages which he executed in Christ Jesus our Lord, in whom we have our confidence and access with perfect trust through faith in him. Therefore I ask you not to lose heart over the distresses that I suffer on your behalf —for these redound to your credit.

On this account I bow my knees to the Father from whom every family in heaven and on earth is named, that through the riches of his majesty he may grant you to be made strong with power through his Spirit in the inner man, that the Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith, so that fixed and founded in love you may be well able to comprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth, and to know the love of Christ which surpasses knowledge, so that you may be filled up to all the fulness of God.

Now to him who is able to do far beyond all that we ask or understand, in virtue of the power which is at work in us, to him be the honour in the Community and in Christ Jesus to all generations for evermore: Amen.

I appeal to you then, I the prisoner in the Lord, walk worthily of the calling with which you were called, with all humility and gentleness, with longsuffering, bearing with one another in love, endeavouring eagerly to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

One body and one Spirit

(as also you were called in one hope of your calling);

one Lord, one faith, one baptism;

one God and Father of all, who is over all and through all and in all.

Now to each one of us grace was granted according to the measure of the free gift of the Christ. Therefore it is said,

After going up on high, he led captives captive:

He¹ gave gifts to men.

Now what does the word *he went up* mean, except this: that he also descended into the lower regions of the earth? He who descended is the same as he who *went up* high above all the heavens, that he might fill all things. And he gave some as apostles, others as prophets, others as evangelists, others as shepherds and teachers, with the object of fitting the saints for the work of ministering, that is, for building the body of the Christ, until we all attain to the unity of the faith and of the full knowledge of the Son of God, to full-grown manhood, to the ripe maturity of the fulness of the Christ: that we may no longer be children, tossed and swept about with every wind of doctrine by the sleight of men, by craftiness which works by error's artifice—but that, holding to the truth, we may by love grow up in all points into him who is the head, even Christ, from whom all the body, closely bound and knit together through every joint with which it is supplied, according to the proportion and exercise of each separate part, carries on its growth as a body to upbuild itself by love.

I say this then and charge you in the Lord, no longer walk even

¹ Omitting [[*æ*]].

- 18 as the Gentiles also walk with their mind befooled, darkened in their understanding, aliens to the life of God, owing to the ignorance that is in
 19 them on account of the hardening of their heart—men who in callous indifference have given themselves up to sensuality, to traffic covetously in
 20, 21 all impurity. But you, you have not thus studied the Christ—since you have indeed been taught him and have been instructed in him (even as
 22 he truly ¹ is in Jesus) to put away, as regards your former conduct, the
 23 old man whom the lusts of deceit destroy: to revive yourselves in the
 24 spirit of your mind, and to put on the new man created after God's like-
 25 ness in uprightness and holiness of truth. Wherefore put away falsehood and *speaking the truth each of you with his neighbour*; for we
 26 are members one of another. *Be angry, yet sin not*: let not the sun set
 27, 28 upon your rage, and give the devil no chance. Let the thief no longer steal; rather let him labour with his ² hands at honest work, that he may
 29 have something to give to the needy. Let no foul speech issue from your mouth, but only such as is good for improving the occasion, that it may
 30 bring profit to the hearers. And grieve not the holy Spirit of God, with
 31 whom you were sealed for the day of redemption. Let all bitterness and passion and anger and clamour and slander be put away from you, with
 32 all malice. And show yourselves kind to one another, compassionate,
 5 1 forgiving each other even as God also in Christ forgave you. Be, then, 2 imitators of God, as beloved children; and walk in love, even as Christ also loved us and gave himself up for us as an *offering and sacrifice* to God
 3 for an odour of fragrance. But as for fornication and all impurity or covetousness, never let them be so much as named among you (even
 4 as is becoming for saints), no, nor indecency and silly talk or ribaldry
 5 (which are discreditable), but rather thanksgiving. For know and understand that no one who is a fornicator or impure or covetous—that is, an idolater—has any inheritance in the reign of the Christ and God.
 6 Let no man deceive you with vain words: it is for these things that the wrath of God comes upon the sons of disobedience. Be not therefore of
 7, 8 their company; for while once you were darkness, now you are light in
 9 the Lord. Walk as children of light—for the fruit of the light consists in
 10 all goodness and uprightness and integrity—testing what is well-pleasing
 11 to the Lord; and have no part in the unfruitful deeds of the darkness, on the contrary expose them. For it is disgraceful even to mention the
 12, 13 things they do in secret, but when all these are exposed by the light they
 14 are disclosed, for everything that discloses is light. Therefore it is said,
 “Sleeper, awake
 And rise from the dead,
 And the Christ shall shine upon thee!”
 15 Be careful then how you walk, not like unwise people but like wise:
 16, 17 making the very most of your time, because the days are evil. So do not
 18 be senseless, but understand what is the will of the Lord. And do not get drunk with wine—that means profligacy—but be filled with the
 19 Spirit, speaking to each other in spiritual psalms and hymns and songs,
 20 singing and praising the Lord in your heart, giving thanks at all times for all things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to the God and Father.
 21, 22 Be subject to one another in the fear of Christ. Wives, be sub-
 23 ject to your own husbands as to the Lord; because the husband is head of the wife, even as the Christ also is head of the Community—he is the
 24 saviour of the Body. Yes, as the Community is subject to the Christ, so
 25 also let wives be to their husbands in everything. Husbands,

¹ Reading ἀληθινός.² Omitting [[ιδίαις]].

love your wives, even as the Christ also loved the Community and gave
 26 himself up for her, to sanctify her by the word—cleansing her with the
 27 bath of water—to present the Community in splendour to himself with
 never a spot or wrinkle or any such flaw, but that she might be holy and
 28 faultless. So ought husbands¹ to love their own wives as being their own
 29 bodies. He who loves his own wife loves himself. For no one ever hated
 his own flesh: nay, it is nourished and cherished by him, even as is the Com-
 30, 31 munity also by the Christ—for we are members of his body. *Instead, a
 man shall leave his father and his mother and join himself fast to his wife,
 32 and the two shall become one flesh.* This symbol is great: but I interpret it
 33 of Christ and the Community. At any rate with you, let each individual
 love his own wife as being himself; and as for the wife—let her see

6 1 that she reverence her husband. Children, obey your parents in
 2 the Lord, for this is right. *Honour thy father and mother* (it is the chief
 3 commandment with a promise) *that it may be well with thee; and thou
 4 shalt live long on the earth.* And, fathers, do not enrage your
 children, but nurture them in the discipline and admonition of the Lord

5 Slaves, be obedient to those who are your masters after the
 flesh with fear and trembling, with singleness in your heart, as to the
 6 Christ: not by way of eyeservice like those who court human favour, but
 7 as slaves of Christ obeying the will of God right heartily, rendering
 8 service with goodwill as to the Lord and not to men; since you know
 that each shall be paid back from the Lord for whatever good he does,
 9 whether he be slave or free man.

And you masters, act in the same
 way to them and refrain from threats; since you know that their Master
 and yours is in heaven, and with him there is no respect of persons.

10 In future, be strong in the Lord and in the might of his strength.
 11 Put on the full armour of God so that you may be able to stand against
 12 the artifices of the devil. For ours is no wrestling against blood and
 flesh! It is against the principalities, against the powers, against the
 world-princes of this present darkness, against the spiritual forces of evil
 13 in the heavenly regions. Therefore take to yourselves the full armour of
 God, that on the evil day you may be able to withstand, and, after all
 14 has been accomplished, to stand. Stand then, *girt with truth upon your
 15 loins, and clad with uprightness as your coat of mail, and your feet shod with
 16 the firm footing of the gospel of peace*, in all things taking to yourselves the
 shield of faith, wherewith you shall be able to quench the fiery darts of
 17 the evil one; take also the *helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit*
 18 (that is, *God's word*), praying at every season with all prayer and entreaty
 in the Spirit, and attending to that with all constancy and entreaty for all
 19 the saints—and on my behalf, that I may have speech given me as often
 as I open my mouth to make known with confidence the secret of the
 20 gospel for which I am an envoy in chains, that therein I may have con-
 fidence to declare it as I should.

21 Now, that you also may know my affairs and how I am, Tychicus the
 beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord shall give you all
 22 information; I am sending him to you for this very purpose, that you
 may know how we are and that he may encourage your hearts.

23 Peace be to the brothers, and love with faith, from God the Father
 24 and the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with all whose love to our Lord Jesus
 Christ is love imperishable.

¹ Omitting [[*zai*]].

PHILIPPIANS

The epistle to the Philippians has been aptly called "the love-letter" of the Pauline epistles. The love of the Philippians for their apostle shows itself practically in the gift for which Paul sends his thanks in this epistle, and the epistle itself breathes from first to last the warmest love for this congregation, which of all the congregations he had founded lay nearest to his heart. Written from the heart, the letter bears no didactic character. Even the few theological excursions, which are introduced here and there, upon the person of Christ and justification, serve practical ends. At the same time we get painted for us the outward situation of the apostle during his last days, imprisoned, forsaken, distressed; and we are enabled to learn the moods and feelings which moved him as he came close to death. The soft, charitable tone of the apostle's judgment even upon his Judaistic opponents is to be easily explained by his mood at the moment; and at such a crisis in his life the invitation to rejoice, which again and again he issues to his Philippians, comes with a specially affecting power. As an expression of the apostle's final counsels and warnings, his final wishes and prayers, his final hopes and fears, the letter may be described as the testament which he left to his best-loved congregation.—**Lipsius.**

1¹⁻² **Greeting.**

1³⁻¹¹ **Thanksgiving and prayer:**

for present attainments and
future advance in the Christian faith
and life.

1¹²⁻²⁶ **Personal:** The situation of Paul in Rome: prospects of the gospel there.
His confidence and desire.

1²⁷⁻²⁸ **Appeal and counsel:** For unity through humility:
The example and imitation of Christ—
Paul's aid and anxiety.

2¹⁹⁻³¹ **Personal:** His own movements.
The mission of Timotheus in the future.
The mission of Epaphroditus in the past.

3²⁻⁴¹ **A Warning:** against errorists of Judaism:
his own experience and example:
a résumé.

4²⁻⁹ **Appeal and counsel:** to unity,
joy,
moral effort.

4¹⁰⁻²⁰ **Thanksgiving:** for gift from Philippi.

4²¹⁻²³ **Farewell.**

PHILIPPIANS

1 1 PAUL and Timotheus, slaves of Christ Jesus,
to all the saints in Christ Jesus who are in Philippi, with the
overseers and ministers :

2 grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus
Christ.

3, 4 I thank my God whenever I remember you—as in every prayer of
5 mine I always offer prayer for you all with joy—for your fellowship as
6 regards the gospel from the first day up to the present, confident as I
am of this very thing, that he who began a good work in you will finish
7 it, up to the day of Jesus Christ. It is right for me to have these
thoughts on behalf of you all, because I carry you in my heart—you who
are all partakers of my grace, both in my imprisonment and in the
8 defence and confirmation of the gospel. For God is my witness, how I
9 long for you all with the affection of Christ Jesus. And my prayer is
this, that your love may excel more and more in full knowledge and all
10 moral perception, that you may prize the things that transcend, so as to
11 be sincere and void of offence in view of the day of Christ, filled with the
fruit of uprightness which is through Jesus Christ to the honour and
praise of God.

12 Now, brothers, I would have you understand, that my affairs have
13 really tended to the progress of the gospel ; the result being that through-
out the whole Court of Appeal and everywhere else, my imprisonment
14 has been recognised to be the imprisonment of a Christian ; and further,
my imprisonment has given confidence to the greater number of the
brothers in the Lord, who wax more and more bold in speaking the word
15 of God fearlessly. Some indeed are preaching Christ even out of envy
16 and quarrelsomeness, and some also out of good will. The latter pro-
claim Christ from love, as they know that I am destined to defend the
17 gospel ; the former from factiousness, from no pure motive, thinking to
18 cause me distress as well as imprisonment. What does it matter ? at
all events, in every way, be it in pretext or in honesty, Christ is being
19 proclaimed ; and in this I rejoice. Yes, and I shall rejoice ; for I know
that all *this will result in my deliverance* through your prayer and the
20 supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ, as I eagerly anticipate and hope
that I shall be put to shame in nothing, but that with all confidence
now as ever Christ will be magnified in my body, either by life or
21, 22 by death. For to me life is Christ and death is gain. Yet if life in the
flesh—if that means fruitful work for me, then I cannot tell which to
23 prefer. I am in a dilemma between two courses : I have the desire
24 to depart and be with Christ, for that is far far better ; however, to stay
25 on in the flesh is more needful on your account. So, persuaded of this, I
know that I shall remain and live on with you all for your progress and
26 joy in the faith ; that through me you may have abundant reason for
27 exulting in Christ Jesus, over my return to you. Only, conduct

- yourselves in a manner worthy of the gospel of Christ, so that whether I
 come and see you or am absent, I may hear of your affairs, that you are
 standing firm in one spirit, striving together with one soul for the faith of
 28 the gospel, and not scared in anything by your adversaries: such fearlessness
 is a proof to them of perdition, but to you of salvation, and salvation too
 29 from God; because you have had this grace given you on behalf of Christ,
 30 not only to believe on him but also to suffer on his behalf—while you
 wage the very contest that, as once you saw and now you hear, I wage.
- 21 I pray you then, by every exhortation in Christ, by every incentive of
 love, by any participation in the Spirit, by all affection and tender mercies,
 2 complete my joy and be of the same mind, with the same love, with one
 3 soul and one mind: do nothing by way of faction or empty pride, but
 4 in humility let each consider the other better than himself, consulting
 not your own interests, but also those of each other.
- 5 Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus—
 6 Who though existing in the form of God, considered not equality with
 God a prize to be seized,
 7 But emptied himself by taking the form of a slave :
 8 Born in the likeness of men, and found in fashion like a man
 He humbled himself in obedience as far as death, even the death of
 the cross.
- 9 Therefore God also lifted him on high
 And bestowed on him a name above every name,
 10 That at the name of Jesus *every knee should bow*
 In heaven and on earth and under the earth,
 11 *And every tongue confess* that "Jesus is Lord"—to the honour of God the
 Father.
- 12 So then, my beloved, even as you have always been obedient, not as when
 I am present merely, but much more now when I am absent, work out
 13 with fear and trembling your own salvation; for it is God who renders
 14 both will and deed effective in you, for his own good pleasure. Do
 15 all without murmurs and disputes; that you may be blameless and
 guileless, *the children of God, faultless* in the midst of a *generation crooked*
and perverse, among whom you appear like luminaries in the world :
 16 holding fast the word of life, that I may have reason to exult in the day
 17 of Christ that I did not run in vain or *labour in vain*. Yes, although I
 have my blood poured out on the sacrifice and sacred service of your
 18 faith, I rejoice for myself and rejoice with you all; even so do you
 rejoice and rejoice with me.
- 19 But I hope in the Lord Jesus soon to send you Timotheus, that I also
 20 may be of good courage when I learn of your affairs. For I have no man
 with a soul like his, who will have a genuine concern for your affairs;
 21 one and all are seeking their own interests, not the interests of Jesus
 22 Christ. But you know his tried character, how he served with me in the
 23 gospel, like a child with his father. I hope then to send him directly, so
 24 soon as I see how my own affairs turn out; but I am confident in the
 25 Lord that before long I shall also come myself. And I consider it needful
 to send you Epaphroditus, who is my brother and fellow-worker and fellow-
 26 soldier, as well as your messenger and minister to my need; for he was
 longing for you all and sorely troubled because you had heard that he
 27 was ill—and ill he was indeed, nearly to death; but God had pity on
 him, and not merely on him, but also on me, lest I should have sorrow
 28 upon sorrow. I send him then all the more eagerly, that you may rejoice
 29 once more at seeing him, and that I may be the less sorrowful. Receive

- 30 him in the Lord then with all joy, and value men like him ; because for the work of Christ he came near to death, hazarding his life to make up for the lack of your ministry towards me.
- 3 1 Well then, my brothers, rejoice in the Lord. To write you the same 2 things is not irksome to me, and it is prudent for you.—Beware of 3 the dogs ! Beware of the wicked workers ! Beware of the Incision. For we are the Circumcision, we who worship with the Spirit of God and exult 4 in Christ Jesus, and put no reliance on the flesh. Though I myself also possess ground for relying on the flesh. If any one else presumes to put 5 reliance on the flesh, far more can I !—circumcised on the eighth day, belonging to the race of Israel, to the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born 6 of Hebrews, as regards the law a Pharisee, as regards zeal a persecutor of the Community, as regards the uprightness of the law proved blameless.
- 7, 8 But what was gain to me, this I have for Christ considered loss. Yes indeed, and I consider everything to be loss for the sake of the surpassing knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord. For him I forfeited everything, and 9 consider it as mere refuse, that I may gain Christ and be found in him (possessing not the uprightness which is from the law as my uprightness, but that which comes through faith in Christ, the uprightness which 10 faith has from God), so as to know him—know the power of his resurrection and what it is to participate in his sufferings, being conformed to 11 his death, if so be that I may attain to the resurrection from the dead. 12 Not that I have obtained it already, or that already I am perfected ; nay I press on to try and overtake it, seeing that I myself have been overtaken by Christ Jesus. Brothers, I do not¹ reckon myself to have overtaken it. But one thing I do : forgetting what lies behind and stretching 14 forward to what lies before, I press on to the goal for the prize of the 15 high calling of God in Christ Jesus. Let all of us therefore who are perfect be of this mind ; and if you differ in mind upon any matter, God 16 shall reveal that also to you. At any rate, so far as we have attained, let 17 us walk in the same steps. Brothers, unite in imitating me, and 18 mark those who walk even as you have us for a pattern. For many are walking—of whom I often used to tell you and tell you now with tears, 19 that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ : perdition is their fate, the belly their god, in their shame they glory, men whose mind is set on earthly 20 things. It is in heaven our commonwealth exists ; and from heaven we 21 wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall fashion the body that belongs to our humiliation till it is like the body that belongs to his majesty, in virtue of the force with which he is also able to subject everything to himself.
- 4 1 So then, my brothers, beloved and longed for, my joy and wreath, 2 stand thus firm in the Lord, beloved. I appeal to Euodia and I 3 appeal to Syntyche to be of the same mind in the Lord. Also I pray thee, true Synzygus, assist these women ; for they strove by my side in the service of the gospel, together with Clement and the rest of my 4 fellow-workers, whose names are in *the book of life*. Rejoice in the Lord 5 always. Again I will say it, rejoice. Let your forbearance be known to 6 all men. The Lord is near. Be anxious about nothing, but in everything by prayer and entreaty together with thanksgiving let your requests be 7 made known before God ; so shall the peace of God which surpasses all conception guard your hearts and your minds in Christ Jesus.
- 8 Well then, brothers, whatever is true, whatever is serious, whatever is just, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is courteous, all

¹ Reading *ob*.

- 9 excellence, all merit, keep these in mind ! Practise what you have also learned and received and heard and seen in me ; so shall the God of peace be with you.
- 10 It was a great joy to me in the Lord that you at last blossomed out in thoughtfulness on my behalf ; though what you did lack indeed was not
- 11 thoughtfulness but opportunity. Not that I speak on the score of want ; For I have learnt to be content with my position.
- 12 I know how to live in straits,
I know also how to live in wealth ;
In each and every case I hold the secret
of fulness and of hunger,
of wealth and of want.
- 13 I am able for anything, in him who strengthens me.
- 14 Nevertheless, you have done well to make common cause with me in my hardship. You yourselves are aware, Philippians, that in the beginning of the gospel when I left Macedonia no Community had dealings with me in
- 16 the matter of debit and credit, none except yourselves ; for even when I
- 17 was in Thessalonika you sent once and again to relieve my need. Not that
- 18 I crave the gift ; I crave the accumulation of interest to your account. I have got everything, and I abound ; I am fully supplied, after receiving from Epaphroditus what you sent, *an odour of fragrance*, an acceptable sacrifice
- 19 well-pleasing to God. And my God shall fully supply every need of yours through his riches in majesty in Christ Jesus.
- 20 Now to our God and Father be the honour for ever and ever : Amen.
- 21 Salute every saint in Christ Jesus.
The brothers who are with me salute you.
- 22 All the saints salute you, especially those who belong to Caesar's household.
- 23 The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER

Two tides of fire swept through the Christian world of the first century: the outburst of Nero's malevolence and the persecution under Domitian. Up to the time of the former, the capital enemy of Christianity had been the Jew, not Caesar; but the punishment of the Christians (64 A.D.) as scapegoats for the Emperor first introduced persecution to the Christian horizon, which had hitherto (Phil 1¹² = Ac 28³¹) been comparatively unclouded. The agitation and shock produced by this forms the background of 1 Peter. Evidently sporadic and spasmodic persecution (ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, 5⁹) was going on in the provinces upon the charge of the Name.¹ The Christians *quâ* Christian were liable to be sought out and punished. Ripples had passed out from the capital,² where Peter wrote, to the Asiatic provinces, and recently affected the position of Christians in those localities. Consequently the purport of this message to Northern Asia is practically the same as the instruction and encouragement given nearly twenty years earlier, perhaps, by Paul and Barnabas to Southern Asia: *ὅτι διὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ* (Ac 14²²). Only, the situation is graver. Possibly it was aggravated by the local restlessness and turbulence, *e.g.* in the province of Bithynia during its senatorial administration between 27 B.C. and the despatch of Pliny in 112 A.D. to execute necessary reforms. In these years disorganisation and riot were a common feature of the province, so that references such as those made in 1 Peter to social interference are historically credible by the seventh decade of the first century. There is not, indeed, any reason "why Asia Minor should not have had persecutions of its own, independent of any known persecution bearing an Emperor's name, and perhaps even a little earlier than Nero's persecution" (Hort). At the

¹ This is a weighty and disputed point. On the view taken above, persecution and punishment for the "name" of Christian commenced as early as the seventh decade of the first century. Even under Nero it became criminal to be a Christian. This is practically Mommsen's position, supported by Mr. E. G. Hardy (*Christianity and the Roman Empire*, 1894, pp. 70 f., 80 f., 125 f.), Prof. Sanday (*Exp.*⁴ vii. p. 405 f.), and those editors who accept the seventh-decade date and authenticity of the writing. A casual remark like that in Phil 1¹³ shows that the distinctiveness of Christianity was not unrecognised in Rome even as early as the opening of the seventh decade. This is put with much force by Chase (*DB*, iii. p. 784 f.), whose article on the epistle is the finest piece of work upon it in any language. He adopts the pre-64 date.

² The figurative sense of "Babylon" suits excellently the situation and the semi-apocalyptic tinge of the writing (314-22 47¹, 12-19 58¹). It is widely accepted in modern criticism: cp. Renan, *l'Antéchrist*, chap. v.; Seufert, *ZwTh* (1885), pp. 146-156; Salmon, *INT*, p. 440 f.; Lightfoot, *Clement*, ii. p. 491 f.; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.* (1885), p. 97; Hort, *Jud. Christ.* p. 155; von Soden, *HC*, *ad loc.*; Jülicher, *Einl.* p. 166; Ramsay, *CRE*, pp. 286, 287; Sanday and Headlam, "Romans," *ICC*, p. xxix.; McGiffert, *AA*, p. 598; Chase, *DB*, i. pp. 213, 214; and Zahn (*Einl.* ii. pp. 19-21), with many others.

On the *flagitia* of Christians, cp. the English summaries and discussions in *Church Quart. Review* (Oct. 1895), pp. 26-47; F. C. Conybeare, *Monuments of Early Christianity*² (1896), pp. 282-288; and Lecky, *Hist. Europ. Morals*, chap. iii.

same time it is from Nero's persecution that the writer at any rate drew the intensity of his counsels. The writing certainly looks back to a period of keen terror and distress (1⁶ 3¹⁶ 4¹⁹ 5⁹), which had not long begun (cp. the almost contemporary evidence of Mk 13⁹⁻¹¹, and the allusions to the past in Heb 10^{32, 33}).

After the crisis and controversy at Antioch, Peter's career is only to be traced with dim and approximate accuracy. Like John, he had left Jerusalem by the time of Paul's last visit (Ac 21¹⁸). General activity (1 Co 9⁵) is visible in Syria and possibly in those parts of Asia Minor where, as he travelled and preached, he would not traverse the Pauline mission-field (1 P 1¹). But several items in the later tradition (e.g. Clem. Rom. and Ignatius) point with comparative certainty to a final residence in Rome; which is only possible after Paul had either left the city or died. That both apostles were there together is simply unprovable. External circumstances, then, imply, or at least favour, a connection and familiarity on Peter's part with Paul's teaching, and an acquaintance with Paul's surviving followers. Whether this involves an approximation in doctrine is another question. In the dispute at Antioch, Peter's fault was not a difference of principle (Harman, *Journ. Bibl. Lit.* xvi. pp. 31-39). He and Paul shared¹ the same general conception of the gospel and its obligations. But he failed in practical consistency, and in loyalty to the principles upon which he had already agreed. His error was a false opportunism. If in subsequent years, after this temporary aberration had passed, Peter came under the impressiveness of the Pauline teaching, especially during his residence in Rome, that influence would half unconsciously and vaguely colour his thoughts² and words when he set himself to write a letter of encouragement to the tried Christians of Northern Asia Minor (figuratively addressed as God's people and chosen ones 1¹),³ with whom, however, there is no trace either inside

¹ Cp. Hort, *Jud. Christianity*, pp. 77-79. The evidence of 1 Corinthians (e.g. 15¹¹) corroborates the supposition that there was no vital antagonism of principle between Paul and Peter. A *rapprochement* was not out of the question, when Peter's "gospel" and Paul's were not contradictory views, but in the main complementary delimitations (Gal 2⁹; cp. Sabatier, pp. 28-31, and Lipsius *ad loc.*). Of the two men, Peter—so far as we can judge from our sources—was distinctly the more receptive and less original. Renan, in his discussion of the epistle (*l'Antéchrist*, chap. v.), demurs to the conception of Peter as an exponent of modified Paulinism. He prefers to explain the relation of the two men by Peter's scanty gift for literature and even for speculation: "happily for himself, Peter appears to have remained all through his life a theologian of very moderate ability." The epistle, however, is no compilation or echo, for all its dependence upon other and earlier writings; and Renan is on safer lines when, in an earlier chapter of the same volume, he calls attention to two considerations which are essential for a grasp of the apostolic age. One is that "deep differences of opinion (deeper indeed than any that, in the subsequent history of the church, gave rise to schism) divided the founders of Christianity," leading to a bitterness of polemic which was partly due to the fire and susceptibility of the Jewish character. The other is, that "a higher conception united these brother-opponents, even during their lifetime"—anticipating the later and official reconciliation made by the sub-apostolic church. Wernle (*Die Synoptische Frage*, p. 199f.) very similarly lays stress on Peter's untheological temperament as the key to his character.

² The soteriology, no less than the Christology, "is in the spontaneous rather than the articulated stage" (Fairbairn, *Christ. Mod. Theol.* p. 330). The author "has no philosophy as to the vocation or institutions of Israel; he has only the most vivid intuition, born of personal experience, into the significance of Christ."

³ On 1¹ 2¹¹ see the beautiful saying in *Ep. Diognetus*: *πᾶσα ξὺν πατρὶς ἔστιν αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσα πατρὶς ξὺν.* For the colloquial use of *πληθυνθεῖς* and *διάσπορα*, compare the three letters of R. Gamaliel of Jerusalem (Derenbourg, *Histoire et géogr. de la Palestine*, pp. 241-244), where the greeting *εὐρὴν ὑμῖν πληθυνθεῖς* is taken from the

or outside the epistle that he had any direct acquaintance. Paul had died, not Paulinism. *Eripitur persona, manet res.* Yet it was a modified Paulinism, combined with other ideas, and reproduced on more general lines, that spoke through this circular epistle addressed by the Jewish Christian leader to the North Asiatic communities.

The problem of the sources from which the epistle draws its references to Jesus is still unsolved. Either they are due to the evangelic tradition from which the synoptic gospels presently sprang, or simply to the Messianic interpretation of OT passages (like Is 53), which in the early church afforded colours for the picture of Christ's patience, suffering, and redemption. Even if a later date is chosen for the epistle, it is unlikely that it, any more than even Hebrews, draws upon the synoptic gospels in their present form. It is more valid to trace resemblances between the general conception of the epistle and some of the Petrine speeches in Acts, which (as even Holsten, Overbeck, and Schmiedel allow) reflect a nucleus of primitive Christian theology; and there is a convincing statement of the epistle's priority to the Apocalypse, with which it has several features in common, by Usteri, *Wissenschaftlicher u. praktischer Commentar u. den ersten Petrusbrief* (1887), pp. 309-312.

In addition to the dogmatic question (on which cp. besides Reuss, *Hist. Christ. Theol.* ii. p. 262 f., and Paul Ewald, *Hauptproblem*, pp. 68-75, Ritschl's *Entstehung*,² pp. 116, 285), three points are material in a discussion upon the period of this writing's composition: the authorship, the literary connections, and the relations which are implied between the Roman government and Christianity. All these points, it must be confessed at the outset, are unhesitatingly used by the best editors and critics to determine a position for the document which brings it down later than the lifetime of its reputed author. But if the Petrine authorship be provisionally admitted, the date is plainly within the seventh decade of the first century; the letter falls either before 64 A.D., the possible date of Peter's martyrdom upon the newer chronology, or before 67, the commonly adopted year. Two periods then are tenable. That before 64 has been held by Hofmann, Bleek (\pm 62 A.D.), Bartlet (44, p. 297 f., c. 63 A.D.), and Renan (63-64 A.D.), while Zahn puts it in the spring of 64 (*Einkl.* ii. pp. 17-27). Salmon dates it not earlier than 64 A.D. Usually, however, a somewhat later period in the apostle's life is assigned as the date of the epistle's composition, with the consequences of the Neronian persecution in the background (Tacitus, *Annales*, xv. 44, quos per flagitia in visos vulgus Christianos appellabat = 4¹⁴. 15). The years 64-67 in this case form the general *locus* of the letter. So the older critics after Ewald and Neander, Mayerhoff, de Wette, Meyer, Sieffert (*Real-Encycl.* xi. (1883), p. 534 f.), and Huther; in this country and more recently, Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, pp. 67-85; Plumptre, *Bible Studies*, p. 450, "Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude," Cambridge, 1887; Schäfer, *Einkl.* pp. 319-329; also Bovon, *NTTh.* ii. pp. 440-444; Sanday and Headlam, "Romans," *ICC*, pp. lxxiv-lxxvi; Stevens, *NTTh.*, pp. 293-311; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 154, 155, also in his posthumous *First Epistle of Peter* (1898); and, with his usual candour, Adeney, *BI*, pp. 440-447. Weiss is practically alone, except for Kühl (Meyer), in putting the epistle prior to Rom.-Ephes. (*Petrinische Lehrbegriff*, 1858, and in *INT*, ii. pp. 143, 144); the admitted coincidences of language (especially with Ro xii-xiii) and sentiment certainly imply LXX (Dan 3⁹⁸ 6²⁵ [Theod.]). The Gentile origin of the readers must, particularly since the arguments of von Soden and Zahn, be accepted as an axiom.

its subsequent position (cp. especially at this point, Usteri, *op. cit.* pp. 250-256, 280 f., and Zahn, *Einkl.* ii. pp. 36-38) and its literary dependence. The latter point is valid, though it has been frequently over-estimated, cp. Dr. Patrick's article, *Theological Review*, ii. pp. 177-193; and Scharfe, *SK* (1889), iv. pp. 633-670, "Die schriftstellerische Originalität des ersten Petrusbriefs." The *terminus a quo*, then, for the date is the period in which Romans, if not Ephesians, was composed and circulated. The *terminus ad quem* is the more doubtful date of Peter's death, on the assumption that the writing is authentic.

Professor Ramsay, on the other hand, finds himself compelled by not very obvious historical considerations to regard the imperial procedure found in the second century as initiated not by Nero, nor—as Neumann holds—by Domitian, but by Vespasian; in consequence of this, he dates ¹ 1 Peter in the second part of Vespasian's reign (between 75 and 80 A.D.), *CRE*, chaps. xi-xiii; *SPT*, p. 22; *Exp.*⁴ viii. pp. 8 f., 110 f., 282 f. This period, he holds, is the only one which adequately corresponds to the policy of the Empire and the consequent attitude of Christianity, as these are reflected in this epistle. For the necessary abandonment of 67 as the traditional *terminus ad quem* of Peter's life, he quotes an *obiter dictum* of Dr. Hort. But there is no need, and hardly any evidence, for the hypothesis that a change took place in the imperial policy under the Flavians. As a rule, the features of that recently started persecution (⁴¹²) and hostile pressure upon the Christians, which forms part of the historical situation for this writing, can be interpreted as characteristically Neronic ² (Beyschlag, *NTTh*, i. pp. 377-382; Allard, *Histoire des Perséc.* i. p. 61 f.). "The words of Tacitus [Annal. xv. 44] in regard to the Christians under Nero exactly suit the circumstances to which this epistle refers" (Hatch, *EB*, article "Peter"). While Christianity is evidently within an anxious and agitated situation, besieged by suspicion and prejudice, the compulsory worship of the Emperor, which distinguished the later persecution of Domitian, is conspicuously absent. The unpopularity of Christians might be due partly to their connection with Judaism, partly to the secrecy of their rites and beliefs, partly to social disturbances. The organisation and general shape of the communities, too, are primitive, and there is an absence of definiteness in the official traits, even where it might have been expected. All this points to a date between the Pauline letters and the Apocalypse (or Hebrews). The difficulties of such a position must be admitted. But they are not insuperable. They rise from our limited knowledge of the period in question, rather than from any inherent discrepancies which can be

¹ Similarly Swete (*Mark*, p. xvii. f.) and F. J. Briggs (*CR*, 1897, pp. 449-454). The latter also gives up the traditional martyrdom of Peter under Nero, and thinks that not until 70-75 A.D. could the Roman attitude of hostilities to Christians have spread from the capital to the provinces. Zahn (*Einkl.* ii. 39-42) endeavours to explain the features of the writing from the pre-Neronic period, i.e. apart from the existence of any authoritative persecution, and agrees that the term ἀπολογία (³¹⁵) should be taken in a non-technical sense (Col 4⁵). Jacoby (*NT Ethik*, pp. 220-222) fully accepts the traditional date and authorship, like Charles, *EB*, ii. 1379.

² L. Schultze, *Handbuch der theol. Wissenschaften*, Band I, Abth. 2, pp. 106-109. In the Domitianic Apocalypse (6¹⁰) and Lk 18²⁻⁸, exactly as in 4 Esdras 4³⁵, the cry is, "How long?" The apparent delay of retribution is the question, not (as in 1 P 4¹²) the approach of trial. The reference in Clem. Rom. to Jewish "jealousy" as the cause of Peter's death might also lead us to infer that the apostle had become an object of suspicion to the Jews during his later life. Would this implied "apostasy" tally with that approximation to the liberal views of Pauline Christianity, which must be assumed upon the traditional view of 1 Peter?

reasonably found between the writing and its contemporary background (Haupt, *SK*, 1895, pp. 390-393).¹ The main points which would make such a position tenable, could they be established, are, (a) that Peter survived Paul, and wrote this letter after 64²; (b) that his Roman residence is historical; (c) that as the survivor of the company (Gal 2), he wrote out of his Christian authority to the Gentile Christians³ of Northern Asia, just as Paul had previously written to the collective churches in the Ephesus district; (d) that Peter not only had read and absorbed Romans,—which under the circumstances was highly probable,—but had also access to one of the copies which had been made of Ephesians. That the latter writing (*i.e.* a copy of it) came back to Rome some years after its circulation in Asia, is far from improbable, in view of the close communication between Rome and the Asiatic provinces. At the same time it must be admitted that no case for the authenticity of the writing amounts to much more than a combination of slender probabilities, and in face of the evidence and adherents of the pseudonymous theory, no one can hold even provisionally to the seventh decade date without reluctance and uneasiness.

Giving up the Petrine authorship, the older school (Schwegler, Hilgenfeld, Mangold, etc.) fixed the date (cp. Schmiedel, *EWK*, ii. p. 34, 1883, article "Catholic Epistle") in Trajan's reign, c. 112 A.D., or slightly later, 113-115, when persecution for the Name was prominent. This favourite position is still held by Holtzmann (*Einkl.* pp. 310-320), Weizsäcker (*AA*, ii. p. 160), S. Davidson (*INT*, i. pp. 529-563), and W. Brückner (*Chron.* pp. 67-80). Similarly Pfeiderer (*Urc.* pp. 654-660), whose arguments, as well as those of Holtzmann, are put aside with

¹ The really difficult points of the seventh decade date are (a) the relation of the writing to Rom.-Ephes., and (b) the existence of so developed a Christianity north of the Taurus by that time, as Pliny's evidence only carries us back to c. 90 A.D. The latter point is not decisive, for the evangelisation of Asia Minor, even during the period of Paul's activity, lies partly in shadow, except for the possible activity of Aquila and Priscilla. The literary connection of 1 Peter with the later Pauline epistle is indubitable, and can hardly be explained apart from the hypothesis of an amanuensis who was familiar with these writings. Peter must in that case have been himself acquainted with the leading Pauline ideas—impregnated in fact with certain phrases and thoughts of his fellow-apostle. (Even Klöpper, though unable to admit that either is genuine, recognises the use of Ephesians in 1 Peter.) He reproduces these freely and in a modified form (cp. his treatment of Christ's sufferings and of man's faith), writing as he does with a practical object in view. Still the epistle requires a historical situation sufficient to admit of "the marriage of true minds" involved in such an attitude to Paulinism, and this is furnished if we suppose that Peter reached Rome early in the seventh decade, a fact which it is becoming more and more difficult to ignore, even under the mass of subsequent traditions. One of the advantages of the "newer chronology" is that it leaves room for this residence of Peter in Rome after the death of Paul.

² It is not a crucial objection to this date that the epistle contains none of the definite and poignant allusions which we should expect to the recent Neronian persecution. The references to contemporary hostility are explicit enough for practical purpose—and for safety.

³ To them the OT predicates of worship and privilege are consistently transferred. Zahn (*Einkl.* ii. pp. 7, 8) ingeniously turns the difficulty of Peter writing to Gentiles, by the remark that they would feel inspired and confirmed in the faith by receiving such care and advice from the prominent leader of the circumcision (Gal 2?). Like several others of Zahn's acute explanations, this smacks of Hofmann. Nor is there any basis for Chase's ingenious hypothesis that Peter was summoned by Paul to Rome to show their unity, and that Silvanus started from Rome to Asia as the messenger of Paul, but also carrying a supplementary letter from Peter.

considerable force by Usteri (*op. cit.* pp. 240-247) and Ramsay (*CRE*, p. 187 ff.). Jülicher, like Cone (*Gospel and its Interpret.* p. 260 f.), considers we cannot go far wrong with the general date 100 c.,¹ and Bousset places 1 Peter with Apoc. 2-3 at the beginning of the second century (in Meyer's *Comm.* "Apoc." p. 284); while von Soden—arguing mainly (after Neumann) from the references to persecution—prefers to come back definitely to Domitian's reign (*JpTh*, 1883, pp. 461-508; *HC*, III. ii. p. 109 f.), like J. Réville (*Les orig. de l'Épiscopat*, i. p. 358 f.), Scholten, and Harnack (in its original form, 83-93 A.D., or possibly even earlier, "Die Möglichkeit ist nicht ausgeschlossen, das es schon geraume Zeit vorher verfasst ist"), with Wrede (*ZNW*, 1900, pp. 75-85) and McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 482 f., 593 f.). The last-named supposes that the writing was composed by a Paulinist during Domitian's reign, anonymously; it is hardly possible to take seriously his further suggestion that Peter's name was added, not to give it apostolic authority (as Harnack suggests), but simply as "the chance act of an individual scribe," though it is a really ingenious conjecture that Barnabas was the author. More plausible, though with as little basis in actual evidence, is Harnack's subtle hypothesis that the writing, an anonymous and earlier homily, received between 150 and 175—*i.e.* before the age of Clement Alex., Tertullian, and Irenaeus, who evidently knew the letter as Petrine—the addition of its present address and conclusion; these were the work of the author of 2 Peter, modelling his style on Ac 15 and Heb 13.²

The question of the date is thus dependent upon the question of authorship to a large degree (Reuss, pp. 262-275). Certainly a prolific literature grew up in the second century under the name of Peter; but so far from discrediting, this fact seems rather to increase the probable genuineness of at least the present writing, which

¹ Besides the fact that the readers are not addressed as members of a second generation, but as people who had been brought to Christianity not long ago, although they had no personal intercourse with Christ, another cardinal objection to the second-century date ought probably to be admitted in the literary relation (Usteri, pp. 320-324) between Clem. Rom. and this epistle, cp. Pet. 1¹ 1¹⁹ 2¹ 2²⁹ 2¹⁷ 2²¹ 3¹⁰ 3³ CR. 1¹ 7⁴ 36² 59 2⁴ 51⁷ 22¹ 33⁷, apart from the use of words like ἀγαποποιία and ἀπροσωπολήπτως. Some of these may be due to Clem. Rom.'s acquaintance with Ephes.-Heb.; but even so, that analogy tells for the previous date of 1 Peter. A similar conclusion is to be drawn from the resemblances between it and the Apocalypse. (Each handles the question of the Christian's conduct in suffering.)

² This theory, which would add 1¹⁻² 5¹²⁻¹⁴ to the writing, as a title and conclusion composed after the middle of the second century, has really not much more support here than the similar hypothesis in the case of James. The fact that the MSS. supply no evidence, makes it difficult for us to suppose that all extant MSS. are descended from an ancestor which was thus altered before the end of the second century. Also it is hard to see why a similar process was not applied to 1 John (*TU*, II. 2, pp. 106-109; *Chron.* pp. 455-465). The allusion in 1 P 5¹ does not, of course, necessarily imply an eyewitness, for μάργς can quite well be taken in the sense of passages like 1 Co 15¹⁵, and "the sufferings of the Christ" mean probably (as in 1 P 4¹³) Christian trials. Indeed, had Peter written the epistle, it is hard to see why he would not have used a word like αὐτάπτως, or some definite and clear expression. On the other hand, it is a good point to notice that, so far as we can judge, only three men could have stood in the relations indicated by 1 P 5¹¹⁻¹⁴ to Mark and Silvanus. These three were Paul, Barnabas, and Peter. Between them the authorship (real or intended) probably lies. F. W. Lewis (*Exp.* x. pp. 319, 320) argues that the epistle was written after Paul's death, since the absence of any mention of Paul (1 P 5¹²⁻¹³) indicates that Mark and Silvanus had been deprived by death of their former master.

stands quite by itself among the Petrine literature ("Er steht für sich ohne innere Verbindung mit den anderen petrinischen Schriften, und auch seine Geschichte ist mit der der anderen unvermengt," Harnack), and supports 2 Peter (3¹, ταύτην ἤδη δευτέραν ὑμῖν γράφω ἐπιστολήν). Such later productions must have had some previous literary basis to build upon, besides the mere tradition of the apostle's authority. In this case the existence of one authentic writing (Euseb. *HE.* iii. 3) is almost a necessary postulate for the composition of allied pseudonymous documents.

Recent criticism has eased—it is too much to say, solved—some of the main obstacles in the way of the seventh decade date. (a) Historically, the Trajanic date has been found unnecessary and even indefensible. (b) Theologically, all idea of a direct dogmatic tendency or of a mediating and conciliatory unionism, has been abandoned (*e.g.* Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 331, 332). These two points really include a large amount of the evidence which would incline one to favour a later period of composition. To them also must be added (c) the possibility of an amanuensis. The seventh-decade date, with its implicate of authenticity, is not seriously affected by the further question, which has been recently discussed, whether the style of the epistle does not require its actual authorship to be assigned to some interpreter of Peter (ἐρμηνεύς) who had been in touch with Paul at some previous time. This may well have been Silvanus, who wrote (1 P 5^{10, 12} = Ac 15³²) the letter under his master's supervision (as by tradition Mark wrote his gospel), or after his death. Usteri¹ adopts the latter view; while von Soden, following Ewald, Grimm (*SK*, 1872, p. 688 f.), and Spitta (*Der 2 Pet. und Jud.*, 1885, p. 531), similarly gives the authorship to Silvanus, who, in his opinion, wrote some twenty-five years after Peter's death.² But if it cannot be admitted that Peter wrote the Greek of this epistle, or indeed any of the speeches attributed to him in Acts,—and, despite all that has been urged in defence of Galilean culture and education, this is a most reasonable conclusion,—then the secretary-hypothesis is valid and accessible. In this case Peter dictated the letter, and the phrase διὰ Σιλουανοῦ (5¹²) ἔγραψα would be equivalent³ to expressions like

¹ "Bald nach des Petrus Tod war allerdings für [Silvanus] ein rein gemüthlicher, aber psychologisch sehr begreiflicher und völlig zureichender Beweggrund vorhanden, pietätsvoll im Namen desjenigen Apostels, mit welchem er zuletzt, noch verbunden gewesen, sein Sendschreiben abzufassen" (*op. cit.* pp. 345, 346). The authorship of Silvanus (himself an ἀπόστολος (1 Th 26) and prophet (Ac 15³²)) turns the scale in favour of a date somewhat earlier than Domitian's reign, as there is no evidence that he lived so long, and as the use of Peter's name would be more effective in the years immediately succeeding his death. Zahn agrees (*Einl.* ii. pp. 9-11) in laying stress upon Silvanus' share in the epistle, which, however, he takes as Petrine through and through. Reuss (pp. 144-148) evidently was undecided, though some of Chase's objections seem conclusive (*DB.* iii. pp. 789, 790). The latter, *à propos* of the style, speaks of the writer's "delicacy and accuracy of perception in regard to the rhythmical arrangement of words," the range of his vocabulary, and his use of synonyms, tenses, and the like. But he seems to find little difficulty in attributing these to Simon Peter. Bacon (*INT*, 150-158) follows Zahn.

² Cp. Seufert's articles (*ZwTh*, 1881, pp. 178-197, 332-379) on the relation of Ephes. to 1 Peter. Both of these he regards as written in Trajan's reign by the same irenic author, Silvanus (also *ZwTh*, 1885, pp. 350-371). The main resemblances between the two writings are in

Eph. 13	1 ¹⁸⁻²⁰	35.10	2 ¹⁸⁻²²	218	48f.	1 ²⁰⁻²²
Pet. 13	13-5	1 ¹⁰⁻¹²	24-6	318f.	322	

³ Cp. Zahn (*Einl.* ii. 16). Dionysius (apud Eus. *HE.* iv. 23. 11) refers to the epistle of Clem. Rom. as τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφείσαν.

Ac 15²²⁻²³, Ro 16²²; Ignat. *ad Rom.* x¹ etc. (cp. Link, *SK*, 1896, pp. 405-436, "Die Dolmetscher des Petrus, zur Beantwortung der Frage nach den griechischen Sprachkenntnissen des Apostels").¹ The absence of motive and evidence has led many critics to bluntly reject the idea of pseudonymity; and if his own theory should turn out to be incorrect, Harnack, *e.g.*, would "consider the improbable to be possible," and attribute the letter to Peter rather than believe in the authorship of a pseudo-Peter. If these are the alternatives, there can be small doubt ultimately which will be adopted. The scales then turn in favour of the seventh-decade date. And it seems as though the hypothesis of a secretary, who in this case translated Peter's thoughts into a Greek style² which the apostle could hardly have managed himself, would help to solve the undoubted difficulties besetting a position which is otherwise inherently probable. In face of Col 4¹⁵⁻¹⁷ and 2 Co 1¹, the spread and organisation of Christianity in Asia Minor are perfectly credible. The readers are comparatively new converts (2²⁻²⁵ 4³); their Christian life has no long retrospect, and no fixed consolidation. They have been overtaken by trials, which are a novelty to them (4¹²). These are to be borne with patience, and the hope is held out that by this blameless endurance on their part and a better understanding on the part of their opponents, some fresh advance may be secured for the gospel. Heresy is unknown. The situation is marked (as Resch and Beyschlag argue correctly) by none of the traces of decline and controversy that appear, *e.g.*, in Hebrews or James. Here the charismatic gifts are in exercise (4¹⁰), and the end of the age (4¹⁴) is awaited as the prelude to the Messianic realm. The favourite words of the letter are ἀποκάλυψις and ἀναστροφή. Rudimentary and vexed and guileless, these Christians in the provinces of the Empire (2¹⁴) merely needed—as they received—a letter of kindly, wise counsel to steady hope and consistent conduct, which is as suitable to the situation as it is wholly worthy of its reputed author³ ("vielleicht das liebenswürdigste Buch des neuen Testaments," A. Meyer). In *Ascensio Isaiae*, 3¹³⁻⁵¹, for example,—a fragment to be dated⁴ not later

¹ One can go heartily with Usteri and Harnack in their dissatisfaction with the pseudonym hypothesis, as that is sometimes applied to this writing. It is certainly difficult to see how, twenty or thirty years after the death of Peter (as *e.g.* von Soden argues), a writing could have been composed in his name, which contains such a minimum of personal references; a writing, too, which is neither apocalyptic nor ecclesiastical nor evangelic. The lack of individual allusions is remarkable, whether the writing be taken as authentic or pseudonymous. But it is certainly not better explained upon the latter theory. Besides, we have really no data for supplying us with a standard of how a personal disciple of Jesus ought to have written; and perhaps it is rather a modern and unfair demand to insist that Peter would and should have filled his letter with references to the great Master who had been his companion and leader. Are we sure the personal impression (as opposed to the general) must have taken this form of expression? This assumption—in all schools of criticism—is not borne out by 1 John, if that be apostolic; and otherwise it is destitute of evidence and probability alike.

² The use of the book of Wisdom and of the LXX is most noticeable.

³ "Der unter den katholischen Briefen, noch am ehesten den Eindruck des naiv und primitiv Christlichen machen könnte" (Jülicher). On the value of the tradition which connects Peter and Rome, cp. Harnack, *Chron.* pp. 703-707, and Charles, *Ascension of Isaiah* (1900).

⁴ The passage (1 Pt 4¹⁴) on reproach for the name of Christ ought to be no longer seriously advanced as an argument for some later date, when the name of Christian had become a familiar term in the Empire. In Mark (9³⁸⁻⁴¹), a document almost contemporary with 1 Peter, the same phrase (?) is employed as a familiar description, unless that passage be a later insertion.

than 80 A.D.,—the tone is at once more definite and inferior.¹ Strife on the second advent, quarrelling and love of money, corruption of elders and shepherds, the reign and defeat of Berial, the Neronian persecution, these are all well marked, and stand out in great contrast to the less developed situation reflected in this epistle.

The strong case afforded by tradition in favour of the epistle as a Petrine fragment deserves to be mentioned as a subsidiary argument, when the question of the authorship is involved. "The only natural interpretation of the facts—the early and wide influence of the epistle on the one hand; on the other, the consistent and unwavering attribution of it to St. Peter on the part of all writers, from Irenaeus' time onward—is that from the first it was regarded as the work of the apostle" (Chase). Also, one of the most serious drawbacks to the ordinary "pseudonymous" theory, which otherwise is so attractive, is the absence of definiteness and authority assigned to Peter. This feature is not in keeping with the reputation and growing prestige of the apostle in the later church, as evinced even in Matthew, Acts, and Clem. Rom., and one cannot help feeling that a later Christian, composing in Peter's name, would have laid more stress on the apostle's position than is contained in the meagre and modest reference (1¹ 5¹). Neither in connection with the author nor *à propos* of the community (5⁵?) is there a trace of the incipient hierarchical tendencies prevailing at the close of the century (*e.g.* Clem. Rom. xl-xli). Surely any writer, producing a work under Peter's name towards the end of the ninth or tenth decades, would have naturally coloured the personality of the apostle to suit not merely the tradition but the contemporary status of his office. It may also be noted that there is no hint of Gnosticism, and that the "Paulinism" of this epistle is corroborated by the "Paulinism" of the tradition preserved in Acts (cp. 15⁹⁻¹¹). Unless the latter is simply due to the editor, it is rooted in the sources of the Petrine history.

In another aspect the letter possesses some significance. Taken thus, with its title and date, it forms practically the nearest written evidence we have for the activities of the primitive apostles. In regard to their careers and fortunes the utmost that can be safely gathered from tradition is an impression of extensive movement,² scattered preaching, and occasional settlements in various localities. No literary expression survives. Any records which may have existed were soon lost: probably, at the best, they were scanty. If tradition is to be credited, any such attention to literature was out of the

¹ It is doing an injustice to 1 Peter to group it with the rest of the so-called "catholic" epistles. The category of "catholic" is merely a late ecclesiastical device, and is significant mainly for the history of the canon. NT criticism has to take each writing ultimately upon its individual merits; and whatever be the affinities of the other "catholic" epistles, 1 Peter at least demands to be recognised and judged by itself. [So Monnier, a recent (1900) French editor, dating it in the 7th decade.]

The unique passage in chap. 3 on Christ's descent to the under-world is simply, like Mt 27⁵²⁻⁵³, a naïve attempt of the early Christian consciousness to express, in terms of apocalyptic imagery, the significance of Christ's death, and its influence even on the dead. It does not necessarily throw suspicion on the writing, nor is there any obvious reason for regarding it (with A. Meyer: *Die moderne Forschung über d. NT*, pp. 41-43) as an insertion.

² On the dissemination of early Christianity, cp. Hausrath, ii. 195-216. From the tone of a passage like 1 P 1¹², it does not seem likely that the readers owed their initial faith to the direct mission of the author, nor (4³⁻⁵) can they have been Jewish Christians.

question, precluded not only by natural inaptitude, but by the more pressing concerns (ἐξυπηρετούμενοι ἄτε μείζονι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον διακονία, Eus. *HE*, iii. 24) of practical organisation and propaganda.¹ The αὐτόπται became, in virtue of their position, ὑπηρεταὶ τοῦ λόγου (Lk 11⁴); authorship was reserved for a subsequent generation. No motives existed among the first disciples for preserving a chronicle of their own lives or a register of their reminiscences.

¹ For an interesting parallel compare some sentences written by John Knox upon himself, in view of the absorbing necessities of the church in his day: "Considering myself rather cold of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowfull, confirme the weake, and rebuke the proud, by tong and livelye voyce in these most corrupt dayes, than to compose booke for the age to come . . . I decreed to containe myselfe within the bondes of that vocation, wherunto I founde myselfe especiallye cald. I dare not denie but that God hath revealed unto me secretes unknowne to the worlde; and also that he hath made my tong a trumpet, to forwarne realmes and nations, yea, certaine great personages. . . . These revelations and assurances notwithstanding, I did ever absteyne to commit auye thing to writ, contented onely to have obeyed the charge of him who commanded me to cry" (*Works*, vi. 229, 230). An interesting study of Peter's character from the critical standpoint is given by Rapp (*PM*, 1898, pp. 323-337); more elaborately by Chase (*DB*, iii. pp. 756-779). But it is unsafe to argue directly from the tone of a purely practical and occasional letter (or homily) like 1 Peter, either to the character of its author or to the theological standpoint of the writing in question. Because these pages are dominated by the superlative temper of hope (1¹⁸), it does not necessarily follow that Peter (or the author of the prosopopoeia) was particularly characterised by that virtue, or that in the development of this idea the writing represents a divergence from orthodox Paulinism (Holtzmann, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 308-311). The epistle has a practical bent. It was composed for a special emergency. The author discoursed of hope, simply because hope was what his readers needed. The line of argument must have been congenial to him, of course, for it is applied with great insight and sagacity; but because it is thus used at this epoch, it must not be inferred to have been normal to the writer. Its emphasis is due to the urgent situation of the moment rather than to any general idiosyncrasy upon his part, or to some dogmatic movement of his consciousness. Many other Christians might have written in much the same fashion under the circumstances; and, as Wrede (*Ueber Aufgabe*, etc., pp. 18, 19) correctly argues, the author of 1 Peter might easily have written another letter in another situation, which would have lacked any such preoccupation with hope.

[In the recently discovered (Gr.) fragment of the *Ascen. Isaïae*, the death of Peter is closely connected with the Neronian persecution. As restored by Grenfell and Hunt, the passage runs: ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος τὴν φυτίαν ἣν φυτεύουσιν οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ δάδωκε, καὶ τῶν δώδεκα εἰς ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ παραδοθήσεται (*Amherst Papyri*, pt. i. 1900).

Weinel (*Wirkungen des Geistes u. der Geister*, 1899, pp. 49-50), with Wrede (below, p. 623, n. 3), considers that 1 Peter, like the other catholic epistles, is pseudonymous, despite its simple and impersonal tone. On the other hand, it appears "fully Petrine" to Charles (*EBi*, ii. 1379); and Bacon, like Coffin in part (*AST*, 1901, 114), is driven to regard it as the adoptive work of Peter, written by Silvanus (75-85 A.D.), but bearing the imprimatur of the fisherman apostle. "A disposition to speak of persecution in Asia Minor in terms not yet strictly appropriate by one who writes from Rome under the immediate impression of the horrible foretaste of official persecution experienced in the last years of Nero, is less incredible than absolute pseudonymity at so early a date."

"Affectionate, loving, lowly, humble," are the adjectives aptly chosen by Izaak Walton for the epistles of Peter, James, and John; they apply to none better than to this Petrine homily, even although its immediate author may not have been the apostle himself. For, as Deissmann (I think) points out, in the catholic epistles, with the exception of 2 and 3 John, it is a great cause which comes forward to voice itself, the spirit of a movement rather than (as in Paul's letters) a distinct personality. In 1 Peter, at any rate, the style is pious rather than distinctively Petrine. "En tout cas, la langue de l'épître ne peut guère être la sienne. . . . Le style n'a rien de personnel ni de spontané. Il est à la fois aisé et appliqué. On ne voit guère l'ardent Galiléen équilibrant ses phrases, s'appliquant à enchaîner exactement ses propositions" (Monnier, 315 f., attributing the literary composition of the homily to Silvanus).]

[65-75 A.D.]

I. PETER

Epistles were in fashion ; from simple correspondence the epistle had become a literary form, an imaginary framework, which served as a setting for little religious treatises. . . . The epistle of Peter, in spite of its bad style, which resembles that of Paul rather than that of James or of Judas, is a touching fragment, in which the condition of the Christian consciousness towards the end of Nero's reign is admirably reflected. A sweet melancholy, a resigned confidence, fills it. The last times are approaching. . . . If, as we readily believe, this epistle really belongs to Peter, it does great credit to his good sense, to his uprightness, to his simplicity. It is probable that, little versed in composition, and not hiding from himself his literary sterility, he did not hesitate to appropriate the pious phrases constantly repeated around him, which, although derived from different systems, did not contradict one another. It is useless to seek in his work for the rigour of a logical system.—**Renan.**

1¹⁻¹² **Introduction** : thanksgiving for the readers' Christian hope.

1¹³⁻²¹⁰ **Moral Obligations of this hope** : duties of
holiness towards God,
love towards one another,
as God's people.

2¹¹⁻³⁷ **A table of duties** : for Christians, in the outside world — towards
authorities,
in the household—as

2¹⁸⁻²⁵ slaves : patience under suffer-
ing, the suffering of Christ.

3¹⁻⁶ wives,
3⁷ husbands.

3⁸⁻⁴¹⁰ **Common duties and their motives** : patience and meekness under
suffering,
4¹⁻⁶ moral purity,
4⁷⁻¹¹ mutual service.

4¹²⁻¹⁹ **Persecution** : need of a good conscience under trial.

5¹⁻¹¹ **Duties in the church** : the elders,
need of humility,
watchfulness.

5¹²⁻¹⁴ **Conclusion.**

I. PETER

- 1 1 PETER, an apostle of Jesus Christ,
to the exiles of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Kappadocia, Asia,
2 and Bithynia, who are chosen according to the foreknowledge of God the
Father, through sanctification by the Spirit, to obey and to be sprinkled
by the blood of Jesus Christ :
grace to you and peace be multiplied.
- 3 Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who out of
his great mercy has begotten us anew to a living hope through the resur-
4 rection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance imperishable and
5 undefiled and unfading, kept in heaven for you who by God's power are
being guarded through faith for the salvation which is ready to be revealed
6 in the last time. Whereat you rejoice; although for a little while at
7 present (if need be) you are grieved by manifold trials, that your tested
faith (a thing far more precious than gold which perishes and yet is tested
in fire) may turn out to your praise and honour and glory at the revela-
8 tion of Jesus Christ—whom you love without having seen him, on whom
you believe, though at present you see him not, rejoicing with ineffable
9 and glorious joy, as you obtain the outcome of your faith, that is, the
10 salvation of your souls. A salvation in regard to which the prophets who
prophesied of the grace which was meant for you, sought and searched out
11 eagerly, searching for the time or the nature of the time to which the
Spirit of Christ within them pointed, when it predicted beforehand the
sufferings destined for Christ and the majestic glories that were to follow
12—to them it was revealed that not for themselves but for you were they
ministering the things which are now disclosed to you through those who
preached the gospel to you, by the holy Spirit sent from heaven; things
into which angels desire to gaze.
- 13 Therefore gird up the loins of your mind, be sober, have perfect hope
in the grace which is to be brought you at the revelation of Jesus Christ.
- 14 As obedient children, not fashioning yourselves after the former desires
15 of your ignorance, but like the holy One who called you, be you also holy
16 in every way of conduct; since it is written, *Holy shall you be, for I am*
17 *holy*. And if you call on him as *Father* who without respect of persons
judges according to each man's work, conduct yourselves with fear during
18 the time of your sojourn. For you know it was *not* with perishable things,
with silver or gold, that you were redeemed from the futile way of conduct
19 which your fathers handed down to you. Nay, it was with precious
20 blood as of a faultless and unstained lamb—even of Christ, who was
indeed fore-known before the foundation of the world, but was disclosed
21 at the end of the times for the sake of you who through him believe upon
God, who raised him from the dead and gave him majesty; so that your
22 faith and hope are directed to God. As you have purified your souls, in
obedience to the truth, for unfeigned brotherly love, love one another
23 cordially, with the intensity of those who are born anew, not from perish-

able seed but from imperishable, through *the living and lasting* word of
24 God. Since

*All flesh is like grass,
And all its glory like the flower of grass :
Withered is the grass,
And fallen the flower,*

25 *But the Lord's word lasts for ever.*

2 1 And this is *the word which was preached as gospel* to you. Put away then
all malice and all guile and hypocrisy ¹ and envies and all defamations ;
2 as infants newly born, long for the rational unadulterated milk, that by
3 it you may grow to salvation, since *you have tasted that the Lord is kind.*
4 Drawing near to him as to a living stone, *rejected* by men but *choice, valued*
5 with God, you also as living stones are built up into a spiritual house, to be
a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through
6 Jesus Christ. Since it is contained in scripture—

*Lo, I lay in Zion a chief cornerstone, choice, valued ;
And he who believes on him shall never be disappointed.*

7 The value is for you then, who believe ;
But for the unbelieving

*The stone which the builders rejected,
This is made head of the corner*

8 *And a stone of stumbling and a rock of hindrance.*

Disobedient to the word *they stumble :*

And to this they were also appointed.

9 But you are *a chosen race, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a people*
for possession,

*That you may show forth the virtues of him who called you out of
darkness into his marvellous light,*

10 Once *no people* but now *God's people,*

Who once had not obtained mercy, but have obtained mercy now.

11 Beloved, I appeal to you as *sojourners and exiles* to abstain from the
12 fleshly desires which wage war against the soul. Maintain your good
conduct among the Gentiles ; so that while they defame you as wrongdoers,
they may, by viewing your good deeds, magnify God *on the day of*
visitation.

13 Be subject to every institution of man for the Lord's sake, either to
14 the king as pre-eminent, or to governors as those who are sent by him for
the punishment of wrongdoers and for praise to those who do what is
15 right (because the will of God is this : that you silence the ignorance of
16 those who are senseless, by doing good) ; as free men, yet not employing
17 freedom to veil wickedness, but as God's slaves. Do honour to all, love
the brotherhood, *fear God, honour the king.*

18 Servants, be subject to your masters with all respectfulness, not only
to the kindly and equitable but also to the surly.

19 For it is a merit,

*If thanks to the thought of God a man bears distresses though he
suffer unjustly.*

20 What sort of credit is it,

If you endure when you are buffeted for having sinned ?

Nay, if you endure when you suffer for doing what is right,

That is a merit with God.

21 You were called to this : for Christ also suffered for you,
Leaving an example for you to follow in his footsteps.

¹ Reading ὑποκρισιν.

- 22 *He committed no sin nor was guile found in his mouth :*
 23 When reviled, he reviled not in retort ;
 Suffering, he did not threaten,
 But delivered up his cause to him who judges uprightly.
- 24 Our *sins he bore himself* in his body on the gibbet,
 That we might break with sin and live for uprightness ;
 And *by his bleeding wound you were cured.*
- 25 For you were *like sheep astray,*
 But now you are turned back to the shepherd and overseer of your
 souls.
- 3 1 In like manner, you wives, be subject to your own husbands ; so
 that even if any of them obey not the word, they may be won over
 2 without a word through the conduct of their wives, by viewing your
 3 chaste and respectful conduct. Let your ornament be no outward orna-
 4 ment—braiding hair and wearing gold or putting on dresses ; let it be the
 hidden man of the heart, with the imperishable nature of that gentle and
 5 quiet spirit which is in God's sight most precious. For thus it was once
 that the holy women who hoped in God also adorned themselves, being
 6 submissive to their own husbands (as Sarah obeyed Abraham, *calling him*
"lord" ; and you are her children), doing what is right and *not frightened*
 7 *by any terror.* Husbands, in like manner, dwell considerately with the
 female, as with the weaker vessel ; show honour to them as to those who
 along with you are heirs of the grace of life, so that your prayers be
 not hindered.
- 8 Now finally be all harmonious,
 With sympathy, brotherly love, compassion, humility,
 9 Not rendering evil for evil or reviling for reviling,
 But on the contrary blessing ;
 Since you were called to this,
 That you might inherit a blessing.
- 10 For *he who would love life*
And see fair days,
Let him refrain his tongue from evil,
And his lips from speaking guile :
- 11 *Let him turn aside from wrong and do right,*
Let him seek peace and aim thereat.
- 12 *For the Lord's eyes are upon the upright*
And his ears open to their prayer,
But the Lord's face is against the doers of wrong.
- 13 And who is it that will ill-use you, if you are bent upon what is
 14 right ? But even though you should suffer for the sake of uprightness,
 15 happy are you. *Have no fear of them nor be troubled, but hallow Christ in*
your hearts as Lord. Always be ready with a defence for everyone who
 demands of you a reason for the hope within you ; but let it be with
 16 gentleness and respectfulness. Keep a good conscience, in order that,
 defamed as you are, those who libel your good conduct in Christ may
 17 be put to shame. For it is better to suffer for doing what is right,
 18 should the will of God so be, than for doing what is wrong. Since
 Christ also died once for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring
 us near to God : put to death in the flesh but made alive in the spirit—
 19, 20 in which also he went and preached to the spirits in prison, who had
 been disobedient at one time, while the long-suffering of God lingered on
 in the days of Noah during the construction of the ark, into which a few,
 21 that is, eight souls were safely brought through water. You also are

now saved by the counterpart of that, by baptism (not because you put away the filth of the flesh, but because you seek earnestly a good conscience toward God), through the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who is at God's right hand; for he went into heaven, with angels and authorities and powers made subject to him.

As Christ then suffered in the flesh, equip yourselves also with the same conviction (namely, that he who has suffered in the flesh is quit of sin), so as to live for the rest of your time in the flesh no longer for the lusts of men but for the will of God. For it is quite sufficient in the time gone by to have executed what the Gentiles aim at, when you walked in ways of sensuality, lust, carousing, revelry, dissipation, and illicit idolatry; so that they are surprised you do not rush with them into the same flood of profligacy, and they abuse you—they shall render account to him who stands ready to judge living and dead (for this was why the gospel was preached to the dead as well, that while judged as men are judged in the flesh, they might live as God lives, in the spirit).

Now the end of all things is near.

Be of sound mind then, be sober and pray.

Above all, be intense in your love for one another:

For love hides a multitude of sins.

Be hospitable to one another without murmuring.

As each has received a talent, serve one another with it,

As able stewards of God's manifold grace.

If anyone speaks,

let it be as the oracles of God:

If anyone serves,

let it be out of the strength which God supplies;

That in all things God may be honoured through Jesus Christ,

Whose is the majesty and dominion for ever and ever: Amen.

Beloved, be not surprised at the burning trial which occurs among

you to test you, as though something strange were happening to you; nay

be glad as you share in the sufferings of Christ, that you may also be glad

and rejoice at the revelation of his majesty. Happy are you if you are

denounced because of Christ; for the spirit of majesty and of God rests on

you. Let none of you suffer as a murderer or thief or wrongdoer, or as a

pryer into other people's business. But if a man suffers as a Christian,

let him not be ashamed; nay, let him magnify God because of this.

For it is time¹ for the judgment to begin with the household of God.

Now if it begin with us,

What shall be the fate of those who disobey God's gospel?

And if the upright is scarcely saved,

Where shall the impious and sinner appear?

So then let those who suffer in accordance with the will of God continue to do right, and trust their souls to the faithful Creator.

I appeal to the elders among you—I, who am a fellow-elder of yours,

a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and a sharer also in the majesty to be

revealed—be shepherds to the flock of God among you,

not from compulsion but voluntarily,²

nor for base gain but with hearty will,

nor in the way of lording it over your charges, but showing yourselves patterns to the flock.

¹ Omitting [[i]].

² Omitting [[*κατὰ θεόν*]].

- 4 Then when the chief shepherd is disclosed, you shall obtain the unfading wreath of honour.
- 5 In like manner, you younger men, be subject to the elders ; and put on, all of you, the apron of humility : for
*The haughty God resists,
But to the humble he grants grace.*
- 6 Humble yourselves then under God's mighty hand,
That he may raise you in due season,
- 7 *Casting your anxiety* all upon him,
Because he cares for you.
- 8 Be sober, be watchful. Your opponent the devil, like a roaring lion, walks about seeking some one to swallow up. Resist him, firm in faith, knowing that the very same sufferings are being dispensed to your brotherhood throughout the world. And after you have suffered a little, the God of all grace, who called you to his eternal majesty in Christ, shall himself equip, establish, strengthen you. To him be the dominion for ever and ever : Amen.
- 12 Through Silvanus the faithful brother (as I consider him), I have written a few words to you, exhorting and testifying that this is the true grace of God. Stand in it.
- 13 She who is in Babylon, the Community chosen along with you, salutes you ; and so does my son Mark. Salute one another with a kiss of love.
- Peace to you all who are in Christ.

THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS¹

THREE periods can be roughly distinguished (Jülicher) in the process of gospel-composition: (a) the oral (30–60 A.D.), during which the necessity for written narratives had not yet emerged fully or widely, (b) the evangelic (60–100 A.D.), in which our synoptic gospels substantially came to their present shape, and (c) the apocryphal (after 100 A.D.), when a crop of fabricated narratives sprang up, which lie round the evangelic histories in the early church, cold and vanquished, like the snakes about the cradle of Herakles. The presuppositions of the synoptic gospels are to be found in the requirements and tendencies which prevailed in the period (a), especially among the circles of Christianity in Jerusalem-Judaea. It is not over-praise to speak of the splendid service² rendered to Christianity by their maintenance of the historic tradition, and by the tenacity with which they cherished and reproduced, in the more or less stereotyped forms of oral reminiscence, words and acts of Jesus. During the years 30–60 this stream carried in solution memories and historic traits which were afterwards consolidated into the inestimable deposit of the gospels. In form the tradition was fluid and free. Its primary shape and scope, the stages of its passage from a previously condensed and oral form into the comparative fixity of written memoirs—these are unresolved problems. The point is that up to the seventh decade the propaganda of Jesus must have been mainly oral. Parallel with Paul's preaching and writing lay this work of the primitive church, as it clung to the historical base of the faith in the human life of Jesus; yet apparently it was not till after 60 that written records of any size began to show themselves. Composition of this kind was much slower to waken than epistolary writing. Historical records³ possibly would have had a certain flavour of mechanical authority and fixity. Book-religion, even historically considered, is legal

¹ Although in chronological order Hebrews intervenes between Matthew and Luke, I have incorporated here the note upon the latter gospel, for the sake of practical convenience.

² Weizsäcker, *AA*, ii. p. 34 f., Pfeid. *Urc.* p. 758 f.; cp. Holsten, *Die Synopt. Evgl.* (1886) p. 160 f., and the interesting but somewhat arbitrary statement in Blass' *PG*, pp. 21–28, on the occasion and need for written evangelic narratives. The fall of the Jewish state in 70 A.D. brought consequences which seriously affected early Christian literature, as well as the external circumstances of the church. But we must not argue from it too rigidly for the production of gospels either prior or subsequent to the crisis. To deduce the development of early Christianity in doctrine and organisation from the period 66–70 in Judaea would be as legitimate as to explain the English Reformation solely from the matrimonial crises of Henry the Eighth.

³ Unless the speeches in Acts are an exception. If they are not free compositions by the author (or authors of the sources), they must have been partly based on tradition or reminiscence, partly compiled from notes or journals made by contemporaries during the years 40–60 A.D. Clemen has a full note with references (*Chron.* pp. 88–90). Also Bacon, *INT*, pp. 228 f.

religion; its associations are with technicality.¹ Until the fixing of the tradition in literature became a religious necessity to the church, belief came from hearing,² and hearing from a spoken message about Christ.³ Indeed, the fact that Christ's life was narrated at all was due ultimately to the need felt by the early Christians for some knowledge of his laws. They looked forward to appearing before his tribunal, where he was to be their judge; their fate depended on their obedience to his precepts. Hence it was essential to know these, in order that life might be regulated by them exactly and conscientiously. The words of the Lord thus assumed a place of authority side by side with the OT scriptures, under whose moral code the majority of the first generation of Christians had been trained. But for these laws and words the only available source lay in the Master's life. What he practised, what he commanded, was the supreme concern of all; and to meet this, among other needs, the gospels were compiled. For he who was to judge his followers had been once among them in human person, and the future judgment would be determined by the precision with which his example had been followed and his commands obeyed.

Whatever narratives accompanied or preceded the extant gospels have passed out of existence, like the Ionian chroniclers (λογόγραφοι, συγγραφεῖς) superseded by Herodotus. This fact lends an appearance of some abruptness to their genesis. Their origin seems to resemble that of the great Hebrew prophecies in the eighth century B.C., which start up on the horizon with an appearance of great suddenness, probably because the antecedent conditions are obscure, partly because the preceding literature is no longer extant. Still, in the case of the synoptic gospels, the conditions of their origin are neither quite indistinct nor lacking in significance.

¹ Deissmann, *Bibel-studien* (1895), s.v. γράφω, pp. 108-111; καθὼς λέγεται is used in the inscriptions and Egyptian papyri as a juristic phrase. Dryden rather happily remarks of Jesus (*The Hind and the Panther*, part ii.),

"He could have writ himself, but well foresaw
The event would belike that of Moses' law;
No written laws can be so plain, so pure,
But wit may gloss, and malice may obscure."

² But it is exegetically needless to accept the ingenious conjecture (*God and the Bible*, ch. vi.) that a survival of the oral Johannine tradition is awkwardly but consistently preserved by the editor of the fourth gospel in the recurring οὕτως (4th 13th 21st), which might be rendered, says M. Arnold, by the phrases, "as I have been saying," or "as I am telling," or "as I am going to tell" you.

³ There is a familiar parallel in the cold reception given by the early Greeks to the art of writing, and traces of the way in which they disparaged treatises and literature appear even in Plato (*Phaedrus*, 275D, 276A, λόγον ζῶντα καὶ ἐμψυχον οὗ ὁ γεγραμμένος εἰδωλον ἂν τι λέγοιτο δικαίως). This shy suspicion was due to the Hellenic instinct for flexibility: through politics, morality, religion, they felt a certain horror of whatever tended to petrify and fix ideas. As Prof. Butcher has pointed out (*Aspects of Greek Genius*, "on the written and spoken word," pp. 166-199), it was the very "sense that the laws represented a personal intelligence" that "probably caused a disinclination to reduce them to written and stereotyped commands." Consequently "long after writing was well known in Greece, the laws remained unwritten." For all its semi-artistic shape, this feeling is in some respects akin to that of the early Christians with regard to the authority of Jesus. When one adds to it the contemporary distaste of the Jews to commit anything to writing, and the displacement of authorship by rhetoric in Asia Minor (Mommson, *Provinces R.E.*, i. 363), the comparatively late rise of the gospels becomes less surprising. An example of retentiveness on the part of a pupil is given incidentally by Irenaeus in his description of Polykarp's lessons (*Ens. H.E.*, v. 20). Ταῦτα καὶ τότε διὰ τὸ ἔλαος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γεγονὸς σπουδαίως ἤκουον, ὑπομνηματίζόμενος αὐτὰ οὐκ ἐν χάρτι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ καρδίᾳ. καὶ αἰεὶ διὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ γνησίως αὐτὰ ἀναμνησκόμενοι. [*EB*, ii. 1869 c; *JTS*, ii. p. 22.]

For one thing, the extension of Christianity across the confines of Palestine, which had already proved an incentive towards oral tradition, now became a capital stimulus towards the shaping of more permanent records. The development of the faith required a method of instruction fuller and less occasional than apostolic letters (1 Th 5²⁷, Col 4¹⁰), or peripatetic teaching; and as this lack came to be felt very widely (Lk 1¹), it was natural that efforts should be made to supply it. Sketches of Christ's acts and words were put into circulation. The supreme aim¹ was to preserve a uniform, sufficient standard for faith and morals, which rested on a continuous tradition; for only in this way could the most distant churches be made independent of any weakness or irregularity in instruction, and at the same time furnished with some clue to the meaning of Jesus and his reign. Thus the written gospels were at once a result of the church's progress and a necessity for that progress. The local severance brought about by the fall of Jerusalem only rendered this exigency more imperative than ever. So far as the NT is concerned, the activity of the next period is devoted to conserving a historical past, the outward association with which had been snapped, the connection with which had become increasingly vital, and the abuse of which was no longer to be seriously feared. Not only the fourth gospel but also the three earlier narratives represent the intense and manifold interest roused by the historical Jesus in the "theological" consciousness of the church, as well as the practical needs which turned the whole church, in a special sense, into a "Christ-party" during the latter half of the first century. To know Jesus was their requirement. But that knowledge meant no dry historical light upon the Master's life. It could be satisfied by no mere annalist. To love him, to hope in him, to rule one's life by his precepts and for his sake—this was the craving of the church,² and it was instruction upon these lines that the gospels were intended to contain and to convey. Among even the Greeks, as Dr. Gardner points out, much more among the early Christians, history was nearly always strongly *motivé* or didactic.

When the circumstances of the age are taken into account, then, the composition of gospels after the seventh decade becomes a timely and natural phenomenon. A first-class criterion for their position amid the varying phases of early Christianity is the expectation by which it was dominated, that Christ would speedily return and reign. Such a hope formed its primitive and distinctive tenet, together with the idea of

¹ Holtzmann (*NTTh*, i. p. 404 f.) distinguishes three dominant motives which he considers to have operated during the composition of our extant gospels: (a) the dogmatic, which strove to portray Jesus in relation to the Messianic ideal and the work of redemption, (b) the aesthetic, drawn from the OT speeches and songs, and devoted to the presentation of Jesus in his wisdom and activities, (c) the Oriental, arising from the current speculations and prepossessions of Oriental mysticism, such as, e.g., the idea of pre-existence. The moral basis of the mythopoeic spirit, with its bearing upon the historical expression of early Christianity, is discussed by Dr. Percy Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, pp. 94-117, 144 f., 300 f., 312 f., and incidentally in M. Paschoud's article in *Revue de Théol. et de Philosophie* (1900), pp. 59-82, "Le Mythe et la Légende." Cf. also Gunkel: *die Sagen der Genesis* (1901), pp. 2-6.

² On this dominant sense of Christ's personality and spirit in early Christianity, see the fine statement in Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, vol. ii. ch. viii. § xlv. But, as the epistles and gospels prove, this common ground of interest was able to support varied and distinctive theories upon the significance of Jesus. The tradition itself was not rigid, much less the ensuing interpretation. "Kann von einer in der ganzen apostolischen Christenheit verbreiteten stereotypen Überlieferung auch nur in bezug auf die wichtigsten Tatsachen der ev. Geschichte nicht die Rede sein" (Zahn).

the resurrection, and must have had strong support in the teaching of Jesus himself, as the congenial Messianic beliefs of contemporary Judaism would hardly have been sufficient to start the opinion unless it had had some base in the authority of Christ. The history of early Christianity, as that is mirrored in the gospels, is in large measure the emancipation and transformation of this cardinal belief. Three forces were at work : (a) the natural process of disappointment, fostered by the lapse of time ; (b) the logic of events, including the fall of Jerusalem and the gradual dethronement of Jewish particularism and materialism from the evangelic consciousness ; (c) the influences of Hellenistic Judaism and the broader thoughts of the age, which in Paul and the fourth evangelist were able to spiritualise the primitive conception. These forces and factors are not independent of one another, and all go back to an element in the consciousness of Jesus which was only appreciated and developed several decades after his death. However, they are historical entities which orientate most effectively the period of the gospels' composition, and explain their birth. For "events," as Vinet has somewhere remarked, "are the real judges of events, and—purely moral questions excepted—history only gets itself written under their dictation."

In this connection it may be also observed that, while the phrase "Jesus above the head of his reporters" indicates a real truth of history, affording a correct standpoint from which to value the extant sources, it is apt, nevertheless, to convey a wrong impression. Jesus had no reporters. So far as his words have reached us, their existence is due to the keen and loving memory of his adherents. It is to attach a modern and quite a misleading idea to his life when we allow ourselves to think of him as surrounded like a philosophic lecturer by those who treasured up his words in view of future developments, to be authoritative for a community, or to furnish by anticipation some guidance for a strange prospect ahead. Nothing was further from the thoughts of the primitive disciples, and it may be questioned how far even Jesus occupied such a standpoint of prevision. At any rate, anything like an immediate and tangible preservation of his sayings or deeds is historically incredible. Simple and informal, they rose from the wayside of his experience. Simply and informally they were remembered and repeated by his adherents. Their passage to us has all the charm and impressiveness of this natural process, and there is no need to crush it into mechanical supernatural methods which rob it of reality, in the vain attempt to increase its reliability. "Do not degrade the life and dialogues of Christ out of this charm, by insulation and peculiarity. Let them lie as they befell, alive and warm, part of human life, and of the landscape, and of the cheerful day." That is a true protest, truer than Emerson meant ; for it applies to the subsequent transmission no less than to the original setting of the life of Jesus in the gospels.

Broadly speaking, we may say that two streams coloured the evangelic narratives. One contained the volume of practical interests and requirements germane to the growing church.¹ The variety of the gospels proves

¹ So far as regards Jesus, the historical interest of the early Christians was determined by the demands of faith, which centred upon three subjects : (a) the sufferings and death, (b) the notable actions and events of his life, (c) his teaching. The human birth and childhood forms only a secondary stage of interest (Matt-Lk), which is again transcended by the later growth of reflection (Jn 1¹⁻¹⁸) upon the pre-existence of the Christ. Of the three former topics, the passion probably formed the leading object of attention—to judge from the space assigned it in the synoptists, and the references in 1 Pet. and Hebrews. See further, Addenda.

that these were not altogether homogeneous; but they must have possessed common features which went far towards determining the conception of Christ preserved in the records. To the fact of these general practical requirements, of which our gospels are partly the precipitate, must be added the primary fact of the early Christian consciousness, namely, the sense that in the historical Jesus Messianic hopes and promises were fulfilled. To some degree this significance of Jesus is recognised in Paul, though it is not prominent. His knowledge of, and interest in, the career and human character of Jesus represent quite an appreciable quantity, although they have been depreciated and exaggerated by various schools of criticism. Still there can be no doubt that other interests were unsatisfied. There was always the lingering tradition of the historical Jesus, and the parallel movement of Judaism back to OT prophecy probably intensified the passion—partly intuitive, partly born of the exigencies of controversy—for finding in him, from the evidence of his own words and deeds (Ac 22²), an actual and detailed fulfilment of the Messiah sketched in the OT. Among such vigorous convictions and creative tendencies the synoptic gospels were shaped (cp. Prof. Rendel Harris in *Contemp. Review*, August, 1895). The most objective writings¹ in the NT literature, they were not born in vacant space. Their antecedents are as obvious as their definite origin in the needs and ideas of the time with which they are in correspondence, and it is hardly possible to miss in each its birth-marks or heredity.

It is like trying to drink out a sea, said Goethe once, to enter into an historical and critical examination of the gospels. Eighty years of research have not sensibly abated this impression of complexity and intricacy in dealing with the synoptic problem. While enquiry has exhausted one or two lines of treatment, it has at the same time thrown open others which are still unsurveyed. Still it is possible out of the chaos of synoptic criticism to secure the following postulates, which not only are sufficient for the purposes of the present edition, but also command very wide recognition among competent and independent scholars. Taking the gospels in their present form, we note their

(A) *Succession*. (i.) The priority of Mark to the others is generally accepted: cp. Ritschl (*Gesammelte Aufsätze*, pp. 1-57, *Entstehung*, pp. 28, 34), Reuss, Renan, B. Weiss in his long series of critical monographs, Holtzmann (*Einkl.* pp. 340-390, *HC*, i. *Einleitung*), Wendt ("Die Lehre Jesu" (1886), pp. 1-44), Havet (*Origines*, iv. pp. 225-296), Jacobsen (*Untersuch. über die syn. Evv.* 1883), E. A. Abbott (*E.B.*, art. "Gospels," and in *The Common Tradition*, p. vi), Volkmar (*Jesus Nazar.* pp. 18-19, his date is exactly 73 A.D.), Carpenter (*The First Three Gospels*), Westcott (*Introduction to Study of Gospels*), Sanday (*Smith's Dict. B²*, (1893), pp. 1222-1242), Massebieau (*Examen des citations de l'ancien Testament dans l'évangile selon S. Matthieu*), and Harnack (*Chron.*). There is a pretty fair agreement among scholars working along different lines, that "the common tradition upon which all the three synoptics were based is substantially our St. Mark, so far as matter, general form, and order are concerned" (F. H. Woods, *Studia Biblica*, vol. ii. p. 94). Compare Salmon, *INT* (lect. ix.); Jülicher, *Einkl.* pp. 274 f.; Pfleiderer's *Urc.* p. 360; Resch, *TU*, x. 1, ch. 5; Bruce, *ExGT*, i. (1897); E. Roehrich, *la Composition des Évangiles*

¹ The objectivity varies: its maximum lies in Mark, the presentation of Matt. and Luke has been more influenced by other interests, while in the fourth gospel we have the minimum. Compare Westcott's remarks (Gospel of John, *Introd.* pp. liv-lv), on subjectivity in relation to the truthfulness of a narrator.

(1898), pp. 1-28; Briggs, *Messiah of Gospels*, pp. 70-256; Du Buisson ("The origin and characteristics of Mark," 1896); Brandt, "die Evangelische Geschichte und der Ursprung des Christenthums" (1893), pp. 536 f.; A. J. Jolley, *The Synoptic Problem for English Readers*; Rev. Sir J. C. Hawkins, Bart., in "Horae Synopticae" (1899); Dr. Cone, "Gospel Criticism" (1891), pp. 150-160; V. H. Stanton, *DB*, ii. article "Gospels"; Wernle, *d. Synopt. Frage* (1899); Soltan, *Eine Lücke d. Synopt. Forschung* (1899); Adeney, *BI*, pp. 324 f.; Salmond, *DB*, iii. 258-260; and Dr. Cary, *IH*, i. pp. xix-xxxiii, with Bacon (*INT*, 188 f.) and Schmiedel, *EBi*, ii. 1847 f.

This judgment upon the priority of Mark is based chiefly upon the impression afforded by its contents. Editorial solicitude is less conspicuous here than in Matthew or Luke (cp. Mk 3², omitted in Mt-Lk; 3⁵ *μετ' ὀργῆς*, etc. etc.), as though the narrative of Christ's life still lay near to the life itself, and had not yet passed very deeply into the sphere of subsequent reflection, where religious interests and reverence itself naturally exercised an increasing control over editors and their materials. Less connected and complete, Mark's naïve, fresh, and (compared with Mt and Lk) unconventional portrait of Jesus in all likelihood preceded the more conscious and polished attempts of the others to present Christianity as well as Christ. This is corroborated by his treatment of the chronology and his general disposition of the life, which is silently presupposed in the later synoptists. Mark's order, if placed between Matthew and Luke, shows at once that they had it before them, and freely amplified or rearranged its scheme to suit their own ideas. Their variations and divergences become intelligible when once its tradition is accepted as a common, prior outline of the biography. Apart from other indications,—e.g., the simpler, abrupt, unpremeditated form¹ of several sayings (3²⁹ 8³⁸ 9^{22b-24}), and the treatment of the disciples (6^{51b-52} 8¹⁷⁻¹⁸ 10³⁵),—the priority of Mark is most decisively urged by the amount of material common to itself and to Mt-Lk. The distinctive contents of Mark are comparatively insignificant beside the matter shared by it with the later gospels, and of this feature only one explanation is feasible. That the realistic, graphic narrative of Mark was a later compilation, an abridgment or extracted essence of the others, formed in a slavish and piecemeal fashion, is so pointless and improbable a view, that it has been almost unanimously dropped from serious criticism. The alternative is that it was from Mark the others borrowed, and that round the nucleus which each took from this primitive gospel, they gathered the larger and wider materials which have lent distinctiveness and weight to their own records. One interesting result of this is that the central current of evangelic tradition flows from a Petrine source; for there is a growing tendency upon all sides of criticism to credit and even emphasise the Papias-tradition which links Mark to Peter.²

Besides, the closest scrutiny of Mark fails to discover much cogent

¹ On the realism of Mark, the prophetic picture of Matthew, and Luke's idealised sketch, cf. Bruce, *With Open Face*, chs. i.-iii.; on the frontal position of Mark, Blass, *PG*, 206-210; on its relation to the later scheme of Matthew, W. C. Allen, *ExpTi*, xi. pp. 279-284, Wernle, *Synopt. Frage*, pp. 127 f., and Roehrich, *la Composition des Évangiles*, pp. 58 f., 208 f. On Halévy's article in the *Revue Sémitique* (April, 1900, pp. 115-149), "Notes sur l'évang. de S. Marc:" see below, Addenda.

² J. F. Blair (*The Apostolic Gospel*, 1896) prefers to regard Mark as a primitive harmony. The apostolic source already existed in various versions, he conjectures, which have been combined in our second gospel. Similarly the fourth gospel is an elaborated commentary upon this source. He rejects the Papias-tradition of Mark's Petrine origin, but on insufficient grounds. See further, Abbott: *EBi*, ii. 1811-1812.

evidence to prove the use of written sources, with the exception of the "small apocalypse" which has been incorporated in ch. xiii. The existence of an Ur-Marcus is unreasonably disputed; but that document, after all the ingenuity and hypothetical reconstructions which have gathered round it, remains a shadowy x in the synoptic problem. Despite argument from textual critics and literary analysts, our extant Mark is substantially a unity, in a sense that Matthew and Luke are not. They are composite works, dependent not merely upon Mark itself and the Logia, but also upon other sources which no longer exist. Mark is written from the best reminiscences of an eye-witness, probably with little or nothing except oral tradition between it and the original facts. Whatever written sources have been used in our second gospel are of quite a subordinate character compared to the original mass of narrative; and any alterations made in it as a final recension of Mark's Petrine notes, do not form a substantial feature in the book. [*EBi*, ii. 1850-1852, somewhat otherwise.]

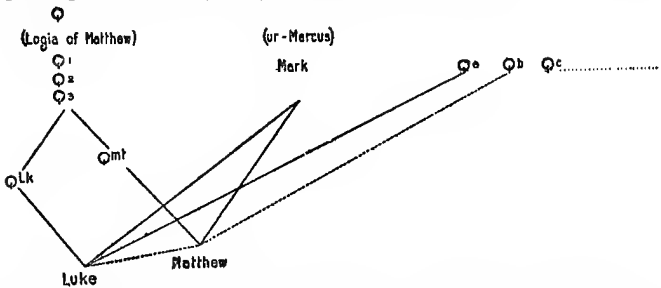
The conclusion, then, is that this gospel precedes the others, standing most nearly to the original tradition; and this estimate throws a clear light across almost all the phenomena of the writing. Its value and validity can be tested and justified only by a detailed comparison of the three documents with one another. Taken as a whole, Mark does not present traces of adaptation to church interests and feelings to nearly the same extent as these appear throughout Matthew and Luke. It is less of a compilation. It shares with Matthew and Luke the atmosphere of the second generation, charged with reflections and requirements, but one can feel the presence of a circle for which, perhaps also of an author for whom, these did not yet possess a very dominating importance in relation to the memoirs and conception of Jesus. At the same time it is to be freely admitted by the upholders of Mark's priority, that in several passages Matthew and Luke stand actually closer than Mark to the original tradition. The fact of Mark's priority in order of composition does not imply that the gospel contained an absolutely exact reproduction of the primitive narrative and sayings. On the contrary, it is possible, and indeed almost certain, that some earlier portions of the tradition did not pass into writing (or at least into the extant writings) until subsequently to the publication of Mark. But this existence of secondary elements does not affect the priority of Mark,¹ as a literary unity, to Matthew and Luke (J. Weiss, *ThLz*, 1897, 511-513; see his papers in *SK*, 1890-1892).

The relative priority of Mark depends especially upon the adoption of the 'Two-Sources' theory. At present this hypothesis has the wind in its sails, and may be said almost to have passed out of the rank and number

¹ Two recent theories stand sadly apart from the main body of criticism. Zahn (*Eint.* ii. pp. 199-233), following Grotius, arranges the gospels thus: Matthew (Aramaic), Mark, Luke, Matthew (Greek). Mark has used Mt (Aram.), and has in turn been used by Mt (Gk.). The repeated difficulties in which so retrograde a theory involves its author will not yield even to the application of his dexterity and learning. Its three weakest points are, (a) that Matthew is a translation, (b) that Matthew could have been practically written by 62, and (c) that Mark is nothing but a mosaic-work of older traditions, an abbreviation and summary of the first gospel. Godet, again (*INT*, ii. p. 208 f.), puts the composition of Matthew actually in the years 60-66. Both of these attempts betray reactionary movements to the old position (Matt., Mark, Luke), of which Hilgenfeld remains the chief upholder (see his "Marcosia Novissima," *ZwTh*, 1899, pp. 481-507). Prof. Gilbert (*Student's Life of Jesus*, 1898, pp. 1-47), like Réville, holds that all three synoptists are independent of each other, though they used written sources; and Belser, writing from the Roman Catholic standpoint, gives two exhaustive essays (*TQ*, 1893, pp. 355-407; 1898, pp. 177-238), leaning of course to the conservative and traditional position.

of mere hypotheses. Upon this very convincing view, the basis of the synoptic gospels consists of two documents¹ in the main, for both of which we have witness in the traditions of Papias. One (*a*) is a narrative of the life of Jesus, compiled by Mark from the reminiscences of Peter. The exact relation between this collection of anecdotes and sayings (as reported by Papias)² and our extant gospel of Mark is not yet clear. The two are identified by some critics. Others believe themselves able to discern in Mark the outline of an Ur-Marcus, in which case the canonical gospel is a later expanded edition of the earlier materials. If this be rejected, it must be allowed that the gospel has been slightly altered since its use by the other synoptists. However, the main point is that for our knowledge of the events in the life of Jesus we are almost absolutely dependent upon a Petrine tradition. Along with this, but probably composed before it, lay (*b*) a collection of λόγια³ (chiefly, though not entirely, sayings of the Lord), originally edited in Aramaic by Matthew (see Appendix, below). This, in the form of a Greek translation, was known to Matthew and Luke, but there seems to be some reason for conjecturing that these evangelists did not have it before them in the same shape. Probably it had already passed through several recensions. It does not seem to be a necessary or even a probable conclusion—in spite of Jülicher's (*Einl.* pp. 287–289) and Titius' arguments (*ThSt.* pp. 284–331), following in the wake of Weiss and Resch—that Mark made any extensive use of the Logia, although he may possibly have known them.

The genealogical relations between subsidiary sources and the extant gospels, upon this theory, may be exhibited thus :



Amid all the minor diversities and niceties of opinion in regard to the number, character, and use of the various sources,—questions which lie outside our present purpose,—the priority of Mark to the other two

¹ Compare the Jewish distinction between the Halacha (tradition of law and custom) and the Haggada (tradition of history). Also, an obvious but inadequate parallel exists in the case of Thucydides, who employed two sorts of material for his history, facts of speech (λόγοι), and facts of action (ἔργα). The Double-Source theory is substantially based on the ideas of Schleiermacher, and a clear account of the criticism up to 1886 is given by Mangold (-Bleek, pp. 236–259). Add Schmiedel, *EBi*, ii, 1845 f.

² It has been seriously questioned, however, whether this reference of Papias is trustworthy, whether it refers merely to the absence of a historical framework such as is supplied in Luke and John, or whether it really applies to the present gospel of Mark. The latter is not the outcome of discourses, although its general tenor resembles a passage like Ac 10³⁸ (Peter's description of Jesus); nor can much fault be found with its arrangement. Schmiedel's scepticism is quite unwarranted (*ib.*, 1890 f.)

³ Exhaustively discussed by Wendt (*op. cit.* pp. 44–191), Weiss (*Das Matthäus-Evglm.* 1876), and Weizsäcker (*Untersuchungen*,² Erster Theil; Zweiter Abschnitt), more briefly by Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 362–367, and Wernle (*op. cit.* pp. 80–91, 178–

synoptic gospels is advocated with practical unanimity. It is still hotly disputed, however, whether Luke knew Matthew or made independent use of the narrative-source (α) = Mark, whether Matthew had access to any sources¹ besides Q and Mark, and finally, whether Mark was acquainted with the Logia. These controversies hardly affect the respective dates or order of the gospels. The cardinal point for their criticism is the fact that Matthew and Luke go back to the two written (Gk.) sources, that both have used for their own purposes the order and content of Mark's narrative, combining with it selections from Q and additions of their own, that Matthew especially has preserved particularistic sayings of Jesus from the Jewish-Christian Logia Q^{mt} (5¹⁷⁻²⁰ 10⁶⁻⁶ 10²³ 23³), though his own standpoint is universalistic ("Son ouvrage est un de forme et divers de fond": Réville), that Luke has exercised greater freedom in dealing with the narrative than with the sayings of his sources, and that—especially in the polemic of Jesus against the Pharisees—there are traces that Matthew lies closer than Luke to the original tradition.

Upon this last point, however, there is division of opinion. While the priority of Mark to the other gospels is put beyond dispute by the Two-Sources theory, (ii.), it is another matter when the relative priority of Matthew and Luke is in debate. Here the majority of the above-named critics are in favour of Matthew's priority, but the arguments are no longer of the same weight and decisiveness. The priority of Matthew is defended (α) by those who find traces of its use in Luke. This dependence is ably maintained by E. Simons (*Hat der dritte Evangelist den kanonischen Matthäus benutzt?* 1880), whose main results are tabulated in ZSchz (1884), 144-145, Scholten (*das paulinische Evangelium*, 1881), Jacobsen (*Untersuchungen über die synoptischen Evglrien*, 1883, and—especially against Pfleiderer—*ZwTh*, 1890, pp. 180-185), Mangold (-Bleek), Holtzmann (*Einl.* pp. 356-357), besides Wendt (*LJ*, i. pp. 206 f.), Weizsäcker, P. Ewald, and Wittichen (*JpTh*, 1881, pp. 366 f., 713 f., 1891, pp. 481 f.). Cp., however, Schläger (*SK*, 1896, pp. 83-93) and von Soden (*ThA*, 114-115). The divergences of Luke from Matthew are on this hypothesis explained by the supposition that his use of Matthew was not systematic or extensive. In fact the latter was merely a subsidiary source: Luke neglected or forgot it frequently. The strength of the theory, on the other hand, lies in the series of places where Matthew and Luke agree as against Mark. Unless these represent the use of an Ur-Marcus—i.e. unless they preserve fragments of a primitive source which is not altogether extant in our Second Gospel—it is difficult to account for them except on the hypothesis of a literary connection between Matthew and Luke.

This theory, however, is not without its difficulties (cp. W. Brückner, *PM*, 1899, pp. 109-110), and has met with serious opposition. It is therefore to be noted that the priority of Matthew to Luke is not absolutely dependent upon the hypothesis that the latter used the former. Both (β) may be held to be independent gospels (e.g. Roehrich, *op. cit.* pp. 179-

188, 224-233). Wilkinson (*Four Lectures on the Early History of the Gospels*, 1898) defines it as a "naïve, simple narrative thrown together in a curiously unliterary way, and recounting, now in the person of one apostle, now in that of another, the history and, more particularly, the inspired utterances of our Lord Jesus Christ."

¹ Whatever historical element may lie in the narratives of the infancy and resurrection—to say nothing of Luke's Peraean section, and several other passages in Matthew and Luke of a divergent or isolated nature—can be defended only on the hypothesis of separate sources. For evidently these could not have existed in Mark or in the Logia, which these later gospels used. For a recent English application of the historical method to these narratives, cp. Dr. G. L. Cary's notes in *IH*, i. pp. 1-44.

184), resting upon Mark and the Logia as their common sources, and yet using these in different ways. In this case, the priority of Matthew has to be proved from a comparison of its contents with those of Luke, and of the relation in which both stand to the *Grundschrift*. Along this line of reasoning (so Jülicher, Abbott, and Bacon) the arguments are purely internal, but—as it seems to the present editor—they are upon the whole in favour of the theory that Matthew's temper and spirit reflect a slightly earlier stage of the evangelic tradition¹ and church-development than is portrayed in the ampler pages of Luke. In favour of this conclusion—though upon very different critical bases—may be adduced scholars like Holsten, Keim (i. pp. 67-115), and Hilgenfeld (*ZwTh*, 1897, pp. 411-432), who date Matthew prior not merely to Luke but to Mark.

At the same time it must be allowed that Matthew contains elements which may reasonably be held to imply a more mature stage for the whole writing than that indicated in Luke; and these elements are regarded as decisive by many good critics, including Westcott (*Introd. Gospels*, pp. 209-210), Volkmar (*Jesus Nazareus*, 1882), Pfleiderer (*Urc.* p. 416 f.), Carpenter (*op. cit.* pp. 332-335, 377-379), J. Weiss (*-Meyer's Luke*, 1892, pp. 275-277), McGiffert (*AA*, p. 577), Soltan (*op. cit.*), von Soden and Wernle (*op. cit.* p. 40 f. and *passim*). This tendency, in ancient as well as in modern times, has been partly due to the fact that scholars wished to save the one gospel from the derogatory position of being criticised and superseded by the other, particularly when the former was regarded as the composition of an apostle. But Matthew was certainly not written by the disciple of that name; and even if it had been, no special sanctity was attached to the early evangelic narrative at first. Nor does the prior date of Matthew necessarily imply even Luke's use of it. Upon the whole, it seems truer to the complete impression of Matthew to regard those elements which are secondary (as compared to Luke) pretty much as we regard the secondary features in Mark. Instead of being reckoned adverse to the earlier origin of the gospel in question, they should be taken as indications that the problem is more complex and combines more numerous and delicate threads than might be supposed at a superficial glance. At most they leave the question of priority open.

As for the divergences and distinctive characteristics of the gospels, it may be pointed out that estimates of a character vary with the observer's power and opportunities of appreciation; all the more so, as nothing in the world is so complex and many-sided as a great human soul. But this is not the main reason for the variations of the synoptic gospels. They are not independent or direct biographies of Jesus. They depend, if not on one another, at least upon a common basis of tradition, and their varieties of interpretation are chiefly due to those manifold interests in the Christian consciousness which had to be justified and satisfied in the historical Jesus.² It was not the original function of the gospels to

¹ Especially in eschatology. "The precautions are unmistakable which he [Luke] takes to remove the Parousia of Christ further than Matthew, to separate it from the judicial punishment of Jerusalem, and to make it commence only a considerable time after that event," Zeller-Overbeck, ii. pp. 271-272.

² The fact that all three presuppose an audience and a certain familiarity with the evangelic tradition is incidentally proved by passages, e.g., like Mark 15²¹, where Alexander and Rufus (as in 1¹⁶, Simon) are evidently mentioned without comment as well known to the circle for which the gospel was written. Compare the first mention also of Judas (Mk 3¹⁹, Mt 10⁴) and Mary (Jn 11²), who are referred to in connection with incidents which are only narrated at a later stage. Such anticipations point to acquaintance with an oral or written tradition.

tacitly supersede or to implicitly supplement one another. They were written each to portray in a definite and self-consistent fashion the Lord Jesus Christ as a religious authority and a devotional source.

The tradition preserved by Irenaeus (Eus. *HE*, v. 8. 3), and entitled to some historical credit, places the composition of Mark's gospel after the death of Peter, from whose reminiscences (*τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα*) it was largely composed. This gives 64-67 A.D. as a *terminus a quo*. At any time after this the book may have been written. The references in Mark's form and setting of the "small apocalypse" do not absolutely involve, although they strongly point to (e.g. 13²⁰), a retrospect of the horrors attending the fall of Jerusalem.¹ Otherwise there is no distinct clue, and the sole *terminus ad quem* is to be found in the dates of Matthew and Luke. Not earlier than 65, and not much, if at all, later than 75, one may conjecture that the gospel was composed.² It is remarkable that the very feeling which had in earlier days rendered Christian literature superfluous—i.e. the expectation of Christ's immediate advent—should have actually come to be a chief motive in the composition of the primitive gospels. Yet such is the fact. Mark presupposes doubts in regard to Christ's return, which were to be implicitly answered by a proof that death formed a necessary stage in the process of his living Spirit. What argument (Hebrews) and vision (Apocalypse) afterwards undertook, Mark strove to accomplish by means of the evangelic history. He laboured to quicken the hope of the advent, which under the lapse of time and through the seeming contrariety of events had partially wavered. "Enthusiastic hope was" rekindled rather than "replaced by historic reverence" (Martineau, *Essays and Addresses*, iii. 39). At least, in the synoptic tradition from the first, an attempt was made in this direction. For it was an object of these early historians to state the reasonableness of the anticipation and to indicate its truth, against the stubborn facts of Jesus' death and the increasing lapse of time.

In other circles where the long delay of the *parousia* had been felt with equal severity (Mt 24⁴⁸ 25⁵), the prophetic mission of the Messiah required to be exhibited as culminating in the relation of Jesus to the Christian community (cp. Burton, *Biblical World*, 1898, pp. 37-44, 91-101). Now that the external state of Judaism had gone (Mt 22⁷), its legitimate successor was the reign of heaven, which in Matthew's gospel is heir to the prerogatives of the older revelation (e.g. 12²). To Matthew the OT is the anticipation, not of contemporary Judaism, but of the Christianity which that Judaism banned and scorned. The author of

¹ Note the omission of Mark's characteristic *σὺ θῶς* in 13²⁴ (retained in Mt 24²⁹).

² It goes without saying that a large mass of Christ's teaching has been preserved in a form whose origin is evidently earlier than that of the synoptic gospels themselves, or even of their sources. Certain phrases and conceptions of Jesus laid too strong a hold of the primitive disciples to permit of their being affected (to any serious degree) by later modes of thought and feeling; and all literary criticism of the gospels as products of the apostolic church must allow for the creative originality of Jesus as a teacher, and his dominating personality. At the same time this does not exhaust the evidence of the gospels. For if these preserve features of a much earlier age which either lost their vogue or resisted alteration between 30 and 70 A.D., they as certainly reproduce some feelings and ideas which mainly sprang into life during the course of that interval. A distinctly retrospective element exists, even in Mark. The picture is partly a review. It looks back not merely to the actual life of Christ within the limit of his birth and death, but also to the effect and course of his Spirit in subsequent years among the Christian communities. The record is now and then permeated by interpretations, modifications, and applications which would have been anachronistic at the moment when the words were originally spoken.

this gospel is in fact the theologian¹ of the evangelists. He is familiar with OT prophecies, arranges his history so as to bring out with great aptness for his age the dogmatic principle of Christ's Messianic state, as that was foretold by the Scriptures, rejected by the Jews, and accepted by the Christians. Slight but significant in this connection are the frequent phrases occurring like a refrain, ἵνα (ὅπως) πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν (ὑπὸ Κυρίου) διὰ τοῦ προφητοῦ, "the Son of David," ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, and the like.² Besides this interest, there lie upon the surface the pressing interests of the age in questions³ of church-order and discipline (Mt 18¹⁵⁻¹⁸ 16^{17, 18}); it is not illegitimate to discover some significance in the quotation of parables (13^{24f. 38f.}) which imply the heterogenous nature of the visible church, and it is more than singular that ἐκκλησία occurs in this gospel alone. The so-called "sermon on the mount" is plainly intended to be the Magna Charta of the new reign of God, visible and authoritative. Its place and contents point to its function as a statement of the new law for the new communities. Here and elsewhere throughout Matthew, the idea of the church, as Prof. Carpenter observes, "is in some sense present in the background much oftener than the term itself appears." Traces of it probably appear in the regulations for discipline (c. 18) and baptism (c. 28), for which the sanction and authority of Jesus are duly claimed, and in which he is represented as the head of a settled organisation. That Jesus from the outset contemplated a visible church as the embodiment of his gospel, is hardly tenable, from the historical standpoint; but both Matthew and Ac 1-5 concur in representing the early Christians as rapidly organising themselves into a community. This is a most significant fact, alike in its bearing on the temper and attitude of the people, and in its import as a presupposition for the growth of subsequent records of the Master; and the evidence of Paul corroborates the indirect allusions of Matthew to the organised body or bodies of primitive Christianity, as well as to the place which these occupied in the development of the evangelic tradition (1 Co 15¹⁻⁹). The salient features of this life are finely sketched by Harnack in *Das Wesen des Christentums* (1900), pp. 96-109 (E.Tr., pp. 152 f.).

¹ Not in the sense that he is dominated by pro-Jewish tendencies. As Dr. Cone correctly points out, the kind of record preserved in Matthew is "a natural and necessary result of the historical connection of Christianity with Judaism."

² Vide the use of Ἰουδαίαι (28¹⁵) in the antagonistic sense of the term which is so frequent in the fourth gospel. Otherwise, the aim of the gospel represents simply a more developed form of that which dominates the gospel καθ' Ἑβραίους, "to exhibit Jesus as the Messiah sent from God, not as the Son of God conceived of the Holy Ghost in a special sense, but as the long-expected Messiah of David's race, in whom prophecy finds its fulfilment" (Handmann, *TU*, v. 3, p. 125). This is the primitive stage which Matthew and Luke transcend, but which lingered in some circles of belief.

³ Compare in the later literature, also, the "liturgical" element in Lk 1, 2, Apoc, Pastorals (Eph. ?), and the basis found for Christian worship (Jn 4³³), institutions, and ministry (20^{19c}, Ac 1, 2), with the first prayer for the Roman Emperor (Clem. Rom. 61), etc. Wernle (*ZNW*, 1900, p. 63), following a hint of Sohm, argues that even in the fourth gospel the absence of the word ἐκκλησία is purely a superficial feature. "The Christocentric apology of the gospel is the apology of the church. Whenever the author speaks of Christ, faith, Spirit, truth, the word is spoken by the church. More churchly passages than 3⁵ or 14⁶ do not exist in any NT writing; Ac 4¹² alone has similar traits." Upon the impulse towards organisation afforded by the crisis of 70 A.D., see Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, pp. 539 f. As morality depends largely on institutions, and as the new religion found these lying to hand in Judaism and Hellenism alike, the question really is,—how soon did Christianity discover its independent need of such aids, and how far did it transform them for its own ends? For Paul's share and interest in this matter, see a fair statement in Weinle's *Paulus als Kirchlicher Organisator*, 1899.

The *terminus a quo* for dating Matthew is given partly by tradition, partly by the internal evidence of its dependence upon Mark. The notice of Papias (Euseb. *HE*, iii. 39. 16) that Matthew composed the Logia in Hebrew, leaves the date of this apostolic collection an open question; but if Irenaeus (*ibid.* v. 8. 2)¹ is to be trusted, it was written in the first half of the seventh decade. Weiss, incorrectly interpreting the Eusebian story that an oracle was granted to the primitive Jerusalem church, as an allusion to this Logia collection, instead of to the "small apocalypse," dates it 67 A.D. This is rather late, however; and besides, the Logia were probably in existence some time before Mark wrote his gospel. A general *terminus a quo* for Matthew, therefore, is the seventh decade, when this collection which formed one of its bases was composed (c. 62 A.D. is the date suggested by Dr. G. L. Cary, *IH*, i. p. xxiii). The internal evidence carries us past the year 70; passages like 24⁴⁸ 22⁷ 16²⁸ are decisive upon this, besides the use of Mark's gospel as one of its sources.² The *terminus ad quem* is not to be fixed more definitely than the date of the fourth gospel, which rests upon the three synoptists. Unfortunately it is uncertain whether Matthew is used by Luke, but in any case it must have been written before the end of the first century.³ Upon the whole, it may be regarded as nearer than Luke to Mark and the Logia, although occasionally greater exactness in reproducing the early tradition does not absolutely prove priority in order of composition. A fair range for its composition would be the period 75-90 A.D. That the gospel has come down to us with the traditional name of Matthew is due to the fact that in the early tradition Matthew appeared as the author of those Logia which were afterwards incorporated in the present gospel, gave it an important and distinctive feature, and were finally superseded by it. When the two came to be confused, the gospel being taken as a translation of the Logia, it was natural that Matthew's name should be retained for the larger work by an age which had already lost all direct knowledge of the gospel's literary history.

The indisputable fact that Luke presupposes the fall of Jerusalem (19⁴³. 44 21²¹⁻²⁴) is confirmed by the use made of Mark in his pages. From the prologue it is evident that the book followed a rich growth of evangelic narratives, which apparently did not satisfy Luke's standard of research and investigation. This points to a pretty advanced date,

¹ Ματθαῖος . . . γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. For wholly inconclusive reasons Resch dates the composition of Matthew's Logia shortly after the crucifixion (*Die Logia Jesu*, Nach dem griechischen und hebräischen Text wiederhergestellt, 1898). It is of course impossible to attach any weight to the statements found in some minuscule manuscripts that Mark was composed 10, Luke 15, and John 30 or 32 years after the ascension.

² Cp. Wernle's remarks on the treatment of the miracles in Matthew and Mark respectively (*op. cit.* p. 158). To Matthew, as he points out, they are materials for proving the Messiahship of Jesus. To Mark they are also that, but very much more. He sees in them "not the embodiment of a principle, but a personality with the warmth of life, who bends to men as one of themselves in mercy and love, sorrow and anger. For Matthew the miracles are mere cyphers, which added together make up a great number. For Mark they have individual worth." The conclusion is, "Das Individuelle ist stets früher da, als die Verallgemeinerung; die Freude am Geschehnis ist älter als der theologische Beweis. Gerade die zwei [731-37 822-26] von Mt übergangenen Wunder sind diejenigen, mit denen theologische Reflexion am wenigsten anfangen kann." See also Beyschlag, *NTTh*, ii. 478.

³ If any weight could be attached to an interesting Syrian tradition quoted by Nestle (*ZwTh*, 1894, pp. 435-438), the question of the Star in the Greek text of Matthew (ch. 2) was being discussed widely by 120 A.D. Cp., however, Hilgenfeld (*ibid.* 1895, pp. 447 f.), and Schmiedel, *EBi*, ii. 1892-3, with Bacon, *INT*, 39.

whether Matthew is included in these narratives or not. Also there are the use of $\epsilon \kappa \rho \iota \sigma$ for Christ, the incipient hymnology and legalism, the development of the resurrection-tradition, etc. Here, too ($6^{22} 12^{11} 21^{12}$), as in Matthew, traces exist of civil persecution, which would be quite apt in Domitian's reign (*i.e.* any time after 90). But beyond such general limits, it is impossible to fix any period for the book's composition. The relations between it and Mark (possibly Matthew as well), apart from the advanced character of its theology (cp. the characteristic feeling of delay in Christ's advent, $18^7 8 20^9$) and conceptions, forbid us placing it before 80. On the other side, it was certainly composed before Acts and the fourth gospel, some time during the last quarter of the first century,¹ when Gentile Christianity ($\kappa \alpha \iota \rho \circ \iota \epsilon \theta \nu \omega \nu$, 21^{24}) was being steadily diffused throughout the Roman Empire. Between the author and the life of Jesus lie not only the first witnesses ($\alpha \upsilon \tau \omega \tau \tau \alpha \iota \kappa \alpha \iota \iota \nu \eta \gamma \epsilon \rho \alpha \iota$), but also a numerous circle of writers who preceded him in the attempt to compose a narrative of the Christian facts. The author of the third gospel, then, belongs to the *epigoni*. He is of the second or third generation, living in an age when the chief materials for a life of Jesus consisted of written sources.² Apart from these, he was dependent upon oral reminiscence and hearsay; it scarcely required second-century tradition to point out his distance from the historical origin of the faith (Murat. Can. "Dominum nec ipse vidit in carne").

In the third gospel (as in the book of Acts) there is an exceptional care to trace the development³ of the new religion in its disentanglement from Judaism (Lk 21^{24} , $\kappa \alpha \iota \rho \circ \iota \epsilon \theta \nu \omega \nu$)⁴ and expansion into the Roman Empire. This gospel is even more distinctively featured than the others. The

¹ The literary relationship between Luke, Acts, and Josephus (especially in the *Antiquities*, composed 93-94 A.D.) is a vexed question (see below, on Acts). If the resemblances involve the dependence of one writer on the other, it is more probable that Luke used Josephus than *vice versa*, though it is quite reasonable to conjecture that both may have used the same sources, or even to deny that the resemblances are anything more than coincidences. The bearing of the question is greater upon Acts than upon the third gospel; while the dependence of the latter on Josephus' *Antiquities* cannot be securely proved, the former might be with more reason conjectured to have a fairly direct relationship (Wendt admits it especially in 536^f .) with the *Jewish History*. Yet the discrepancy *e.g.*, between their accounts of Herod Agrippa's death, seems an insuperable difficulty, and the use of common ideas and idioms goes far to explain most of the coincidences (see particularly the careful proof by Belser, *TQ*, 1895, pp. 634-662, 1896, pp. 1-78). Apart from the older criticism of Overbeck, Hausrath, Keim, and Renan, the dependence of Luke on Josephus has been urged especially by Holtzmann (*ZwTh* (1877), p. 535 f., *ibid.* (1880), p. 121 f., and Krenkel (*Jos. u. Lucas*, 1894); cp. also an article in *Fortnightly Review* (1877), pp. 485-509; Jüngst (*quellen d. Apgeschichte*, p. 201 f.)); Schmiedel (*ZSchz*, 1898, p. 46, *EBi*, i. 49), and Clemen. Against the theory, Schürer (*ZwTh*, 1876, pp. 574 f.), Nösgen (*SK*, 1879, p. 221), Bousset (*ThLz*, 1895, p. 391), Headlam (*DB*, i. art. "Acts"), Bebb (*DB*, iii. 168), besides Schanz (*Comm. Luc.* p. 16), Gloël (*die jüngste Kritik d. Galat.* p. 64 f.), Adeney, (*BI*, pp. 343, 344), Zahn (*Einkl.* ii. 394-418), and of course—by implication—writers like Harnack, McGiffert, Ramsay, (cp. Overbeck-Zeller, ii. 310), Vogel and Heinrici (*ThLz*, 1900, 679).

² For a note on these, cp. Appendix: on Lk 1-2, also Schmiedel: *EBi*, ii. 1855 f.

³ Cp. Weiss, *NTTh*, ii. pp. 291-296. The development is somewhat protracted. It must embrace an interval during which the erroneous identification of Christ's coming with the fall of Jerusalem had to be reluctantly abandoned.

⁴ The Luke of the NT (Col 4^{14}) is a Gentile Christian. The genealogy of the third gospel reaching back to Adam, not to Abraham (as Matt.), witnesses to the "Catholic" tendency, which in this case is identified with the aim at a "complete" (12) account of Jesus. Adam is the human, as opposed to Abraham the national, ancestor; but he is also the actual root of the subsequent pedigree. On Luke and the Roman world, cp. Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* (1898) pp. 49-72.

characteristics, *e.g.* commonly known as its "Paulinism" and "Ebionitism," represent quite definite traits, but how far these rather eclectic elements are to be referred to the conscious individuality of the author, and how far to the circle of feelings and ideas in which he moved and for which he wrote, is another problem.¹ One motive, however, is fairly plain. The work of his contemporary, Josephus, was devoted to removing as far as possible the anti-Semite prejudice which had been accentuated in many Roman circles by the outbreak of 66-70 A.D. The two volumes from a Christian pen which we now know as the third gospel and Acts, had a similar object. They strove to allay the unfavourable impression produced in the same circles, not merely by the unpopularity and troublesomeness of Christians throughout the empire, but also by the malice of their co-religionists, the Jews. That some such idea was in the mind of the author cannot reasonably be doubted.

As to the remarkable coincidences between Lk 1¹⁻⁴ and the medical writings of Dioskorides (of Anazarbus), cp. Lagarde (*Psalt. juxta Hebr. Hieronymi*, p. 165 f., *Mittheilungen*, 3, p. 55 f.), J. Weiss (-Meyer's *Luke*, *ad loc.*), and Zahn (*Eintl.* ii. p. 384), of whom the last named lays greater stress upon Luke's use of Hippokrates.

(B) *Date of composition.*—The wide differences of opinion which still exist in regard to this point of the synoptic problem can be most easily exhibited in a table. The *terminus a quo* for the composition of the three gospels may be taken as c. 70 A.D. The opposite limit falls c. 100 A.D., or even later. It is brave rather than accurate to declare that the prevalent view upon the whole is that "our gospels as we have them were written within the decade 71-80 A.D." (Sanday, *Exp.*⁴ iii. 345, following Wright). For Matthew, *e.g.*, Hausrath, W. Brückner, and Renan will not come down earlier than the Flavian régime; ² Volkmar and Pfeiderer³ put it

¹ Another slightly different aspect of the question is offered by the theory which is disposed to discover these variations chiefly in the Jewish-Christian sources which already lay before Luke, modelled as they were by previous tradition (so Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Uebertlieferung d. Lukas*, 1891; and similarly J. Weiss in Meyer⁸). This would reduce Luke's initiative and make his variations due less to contemporary reflections or personal bias than to the reproduction of primitive tendencies. Jüngst, again (*SK*, 1896, pp. 215-244), is quite unable to find distinctively Pauline or theological prepossessions in the third gospel. Its author is "ein ziemlich farbloser Bearbeiter seiner (wesentlich judenchristlichen) Quellen," and Resch is even more extravagant (*Ausserkanonische Paralleltexte*, TU, x. 3, p. 847): "Lukas ist der tendenzlose, lediglich und trenlich auf seine Quellen sich stützende Historiograph der NT." Ramsay's parallel estimate (*SPT*, pp. 14 f.) does not seem to be justified even by his own interpretation of those portions of Acts (and they are the strongest) which he selects for discussion; apart altogether from the fact that any such estimate ought in all fairness to start from a work like the third gospel, where we have the opportunity of comparing Luke with other writers of the same class who used to some extent the same materials. At any rate, Luke's historical rank is nearer that of Livy than of Thucydides, and nothing operates so mischievously in literary research as an exaggerated estimate of some individual author. It simply provokes a depreciation which falls into the same pit of injustice. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, pp. 480-492, rightly pronounces quite an encomium upon Luke's style, in comparison with that of the other synoptists. Cp. also above, p. 32.

² Réville, i. pp. 282-360, dates the gospels between 98 and 117 A.D., the editing of the Logia before 70, the Proto-Mark 70-75, and the fourth gospel 130-140. Similarly Paul (*die Abfassungszeit d. Synopt. Evgl.*, 1887), arguing from the evidence of Justin Martyr, dates the final redaction of all four gospels between 130 and 150 A.D.

³ Pfeiderer's latest results are: Mark, possibly before the fall of Jerusalem, and at any rate not long after the death of Paul (*Urc.* 414-416); Luke, written in Trajan's reign, about the opening of the second century (*ibid.* 542-543); Matthew, about the second or third decade of the second century.

much later, while Usener (*Religionsgeschichte Untersuchungen*, i. pp. 97, 173) dates its final form 130 A.D., its oldest, 69 A.D.¹ Jülicher's period for the gospel is 81-96 A.D., with which Wernle practically agrees. As for Luke, quite a weighty league of scholars cannot find evidence for it earlier than the end of the first century or the beginning of the second; so Hilgenfeld, Holsten, Holtzmann, Krenkel, Weizsäcker, Jülicher, Wernle, etc. Extravagant as some of the arguments for these positions may be, the total proof is sufficient to show the lack of any definite agreement upon the date of either Matthew or Luke, and also the generally late period to which upon any fair statement of the case they must be assigned. Equally extravagant in the opposite direction are the

	KEIM.	HOLSTEN. ¹	CARPENTER.	A. WRIGHT.	JÜLICHER.	HARNACK. ³	ZAHN.
Mark	A.D. 100 or later. [S. Davidson, 120; Usener, 120-130.]	A.D. 80 f. So Hilgenfeld. [Renan, 76.] Schmiedel.	A.D. 70 ² [Before the summer of 70; Swete, Salmond.]	A.D. 70. [69, Weiss, Schanz; 67-66, Schäfer.]	A.D. 70 after. So Beyschlag, McGiffert, and Wernle. [73, Volkmar.] So Bacon.	A.D. 65-70. So W. Brückner, Stanton, Abbott, Adeney, Wendt.	A.D. (64) 67 c. So Bartlet
Matt	68 ± [So Abbott, Adeney, and Bartlet.]	70 f. So Holtzmann (-110) and Hilgenfeld. [After 75, Reuss.]	100 f. [S. Davidson, c. 105; (Volkmar & Soltan, 110); Pfeiderer, before 140; Schmiedel, -130 c.]	70-80. So Weiss.	100 ± [End of century, Wernle.] McGiffert and Bacon = 81-96.	70-75. [Except some later additions.] So Bruce.	85 c. [In Greek.]
Luke	98 c. [Renan, Soltan, and Wernle, 90-100.]	100 c. So Scholten and Pfeiderer; Schmiedel, 100-110.	80 ² or later. [So Abbott.]	80 before. [So Weiss, Adeney, and Bartlet.]	80-120. [After 100, Holtzmann, Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, Zeller, S. Davidson, Weizsäcker.]	73-93. McGiffert, [Bruce?] and J. Weiss with Bacon.	75 c. So Plummer.

¹ Rovers (*Nieuw-test. Letterkunde*, 1838) also dates Mk ± 90, Matt ± 80, and Luke at the beginning of the second century. Baljon (*Comm. op het Ev. van Mattheus*, 1900) puts Mt shortly after 70 A.D.

² "Both very probable dates" (Sanday, *Exp⁴*, iii. 20, vii. 412; *Bampton Lect.* p. 277 f. Luke = 75-80); so V. H. Stanton (*ut supra*), and Bebb (*DB*, iii. 162-164).

³ *Chron.* pp. 650-656. So substantially Dr. O. Cone, *Gospel Criticism and Historical Christianity*, 1891.

reactionary attempts to put Luke previous to the destruction of Jerusalem: so, after Godet, Prof. Marshall (*Exp.⁴* ii. 72, 58-60 A.D.), Schanz (between 65-70), Schäfer (67-70), Hahn, and most recently Blass (*PG*, pp. 33-52, *Evglm. secundum Luc.* 1897, pp. ix, x), who dates it fifteen years previous to that event. This period had been occasionally assigned to

: Zahn (*Einkl.* ii. pp. 158-333), like Schäfer (*Einkl.* p. 195 f.), dates Matthew's Aramaic work (composed in Palestine) c. 62, and its final Greek form more than twenty years later; just as Hilgenfeld had already put the former 50-60, and the latter 70-80 A.D. Holsten put the Matthean Logia as far back as c. 55. Stanton (*DB*, ii. pp. 247, 248), after dismissing Mt 24²⁹ as an argument for the pre-70 date, remarks, "Nor do there seem to be other indications in the gospel which enable us to assign it with confidence to a time either before or after that or any other date." This is quite a wanton pessimism: it is caution glorified at the expense of intelligence.

Mark or even Matthew (Abbott places both before 70 A.D.), but Halcombe conjectures that the whole of the gospels were in existence and circulation before the Acts (*Historic Relation of the Gospels*, 1889, pp. 234-250), i.e. previous to 63±, and even twelve years earlier, before the Epistles, John being the earliest of the four, Luke the latest, and Mark following Matthew.

The following synchronisms help to orientate these dates :—

Juvenal's satires on Roman politics, manners, and religion kept appearing about this period, the earliest of them perhaps contemporaneous with the first gospels, the latest in the beginning of Trajan's reign, when the fourth gospel was composed in Asia Minor. Also, just as Luke, Acts, and the Apocalypse were coming into circulation among Christian readers, the Roman public were being delighted with Martial's disreputably piquant etchings of Italian society. But the circumstances of Epiktetus' career are even more apposite. His *διατριβαί* were being delivered in Rome and afterwards in Nikopolis during the last quarter of the first century A.D. They were reproduced thirty or forty years later by one of his hearers, the historian Arrian, who had taken notes of them for his own sake. The curious thing is that these private notes came to be published without the consent or knowledge of Arrian himself, although he probably gave them a subsequent revision. Cp. Tables II.—III.

The inner forces of the environment form too complex a subject to be outlined here. But in addition to what has been already said upon the practical aim which dominated the evangelists, it must be remembered that the medium through which they and their readers viewed the life of Jesus was not insulated from the contemporary spirit which pervaded the East. As Dr. Gardner shows, after drawing attention to the limited extent to which the Eastern parts of the Roman world were Hellenised in the first century, "the mass of the people were prepared to accept historical accounts not by the strict rules of evidence, but according as they satisfied certain inner needs or agreed with existing feelings." Some principle like this is needed as a canon for gospel-criticism. Otherwise many problems will remain insoluble to those who forget that to be realistic, ethically appropriate, circumstantial, edifying, is not equivalent to being "historical" in the strict and modern sense of the term. Roughly speaking, the priority of Mark, and approximately its date: the composition of Matthew within the first century, and its general period :—these are the points upon which most lines of modern criticism converge. That Luke is subsequent to Matthew, and that it was composed during Domitian's reign, are less certain positions; but they have excellent support, and may be adopted with a good conscience. On these points as on the criticism of the sources, it is certainly possible to speak with less dubiety than hitherto. If the province of the synoptic question has not yet been fully surveyed, the researches of the past half-century¹ have at least opened several main tracks along which all future workers must proceed, and from which it is reasonable to expect that, unless fresh documents are discovered, no serious deviation will be found necessary.

¹ The hope with which Ritschl closed his survey of the synoptic question (*Gesammelte Aufsätze*, pp. 1-57) in 1851, has been largely justified: "Wie weit uns die innere Kritik der Evangelien in der Untersuchung ihres Ursprungs führen wird, wissen wir nicht, bisher hat sie nur zu Hader und Zank geführt, darum können wir aber die Hoffnung nicht aufgeben, dass auf diesem Wege das Geheimniss wenigstens theilweise enthüllt werde, welches die Ursprünge des evangelischen Schriftthums umgibt, und welches durch die Traditionen der Kirchenväter nur vermehrt, aber nicht vermindert wird." On the external evidence for the gospels in the second century, see Dr. Abbott's elaborate study, the most recent and, in some aspects, not the least reliable discussion of this vital and weariful subject (*EBi*, ii. 1809-1840).

[65—75 A.D.]

M A R K

With this gospel we proceed to describe the historical literature of early Christianity. Undoubtedly it is the earliest of the gospels, and became the groundwork for all that followed. The arrangement of the narratives, which is simple and thoroughly clear, represents the guiding principle followed in the main by Luke and Matthew. . . . The stories and speeches in Mark are presented throughout in a manner that bears the stamp of originality, with a clearness and precision that are self-evident, as well as with a completeness that is at once well rounded, coherent, and continuous. It is the first extant attempt to exhibit in narrative form, as a history of Jesus' life and sufferings, that gospel of Jesus as the Christ which Paul had preached as a theological doctrine. Materials from the earliest tradition are certainly utilised in this narrative; but in its conception of details it betrays as plainly the determining influence of that great teacher Paul, who probably had as one of his scholars the author of this first gospel.—**Pfleiderer.**

11-13 **The Preparation** the ministry of John ;
the baptism of Jesus ;
the temptation of Jesus.

1¹⁴-9⁵⁰ **The Galilean ministry :** { forgiveness of sins,
intercourse with tax-
gatherers and sinners,
fasting,
Sabbath (eating and heal-
ing on).
East Galilee : early success : contro-
versy and conflict on
renewed activity and opposition :
a cycle of parables :
a cycle of miracles :
rejection at Nazareth : commission of apostles.
a cycle of miracles : opposition of the Pharisees.
North Galilee : a cycle of miracles : controversy with Pharisees.
at Caesarea Philippi—the confession of Peter : the
transfiguration.
sayings on humility—on hindrances—on obstacles
to faith.

10-13 **The Judæan ministry :** the teaching of Jesus on marriage, child-
hood, wealth, self-sacrifice.
10³²-52 incidents of the journey—the miracle at
Jericho.
11¹-27 the triumphal entry into Jerusalem : the
purging of the temple, etc.
11²⁷-12⁴⁴ controversy in temple with priests, Phari-
sees, Herodians, Sadducees, etc.
13 the apocalypse of Jesus—

14-15 **The Passion of Jesus :** at Bethany : in the upper room—the last
supper.
in the garden—the agony, the betrayal.
in the house of Kaiaphas—the trial,
Peter's denial.
before Pilate—
the crucifixion, death, and burial.

16¹⁻⁸ **After death :** appearance of an angel to the women.

MARK

1 1 [THE beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ.]

2 Even as it is written in the prophet Isaiah,

Lo, I send my messenger before thy face,

Who shall prepare thy way!

3 *The voice of one crying in the wilderness:*

"Make ready the way of the Lord,

Make level his paths!"

4 John the baptizer appeared in the wilderness¹ preaching a baptism of
5 repentance for the remission of sins. And all the country of Judaea

began to go out to him, with all the people of Jerusalem; and they were
6 baptized by him in the river Jordan, as they confessed their sins. And

John was clothed with camel's hair, and with a leather girdle round his
7 loins, and he ate locusts and wild honey. And he preached saying,

"After me comes he who is mightier than I,

The thong of whose sandals I am not fit to stoop down and untie.

8 I have baptized you with water,

But he shall baptize you with the holy Spirit."

9 And it came to pass in those days that Jesus came from Nazareth of

10 Galilee, and had himself baptized in the Jordan by John. And immediately on rising up from the water he saw the skies part asunder and

11 the Spirit like a dove come down upon him: and a voice out of the skies said,

"Thou art my Son, the beloved,

In thee I delight."

12 Then immediately the Spirit thrusts him out into the wilderness;

13 and he was in the wilderness for forty days, tempted by Satan.

And he was with the wild beasts. And the angels ministered to him.

14 Now after John had been delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee
15 preaching the glad tidings of God, and saying, "The time is fulfilled, and

God's reign is near. Repent and believe in the glad tidings."

16 And in passing along beside the sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew

17 the brother of Simon casting a net into the sea; for they were fishers. And

Jesus said to them, "Come after me and I will make you fishers of

18, 19 men." Then immediately they left the nets and followed him. And

going a little further on he saw James the son of Zebedee with his

20 brother John, who were also in their boat mending nets. And immediately he called them; and they left their father Zebedee with the hired

servants in the boat, and went away after him.

21 And they go into Kapharnahum. And immediately on the sabbath-

22 day he went into the synagogue and began to teach. And they were

astonished at his teaching, for he taught them as one who exerted

23 authority, and not like the scribes. And immediately there was in their

¹ Omitting [[*xxi*]].

- 24 synagogue a man with an unclean spirit ; and it shrieked, "What have we
to do with thee, Jesus of Nazaret? Hast thou come to destroy us? I
25 know who thou art, the holy One of God." And Jesus rebuked it,
26 "Silence! leave him!" So after convulsing him and crying with a
27 loud voice, the unclean spirit left him. And in amazement they all
discussed it one with another, and said, "What is this?" "New teaching,
with authority!" "He commands even the unclean spirits!" "Yes,
28 and they obey him!" And the report of him went out immediately in
29 all directions into the whole of the surrounding country of Galilee. And
immediately on leaving the synagogue, they went into the house of
30 Simon and Andrew, with James and John. Now the mother of Simon's
31 wife was lying in a fever, and immediately they tell him about her. And
he came near, and taking her hand raised her ; and the fever left her, and
32 she ministered to them. Now in the evening, when the sun had
set, they brought him all who were ill and those who were possessed by
33, 34 daemons. And the whole city was gathered at the door. And he healed
many who were ill with manifold diseases, and cast out many daemons ;
35 nor would he let the daemons speak, because they knew him. And
very early, long before day, he rose, went away out to a desert place, and
36, 37 there began to pray. And Simon with his companions pursued him and
38 found him ; and they say to him, "Everyone is seeking thee!" But he
says to them, "Let us go elsewhere, to the adjoining country-towns, that
39 I may preach there also ; for that is why I came out." Then he went and
preached in their synagogues through the whole of Galilee, and cast out
the daemons.
- 40 And a leper comes to him, beseeching him and kneeling down, saying
41 to him, "If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean." And in compassion
he stretched out his hand and touched him ; and he says to him, "I will :
42 be clean. Then immediately the leprosy left him, and he became clean.
- 43, 44 And he sternly charged him and immediately sent him off, saying to
him, "See thou tell no one anything ; but go, *show thyself to the priest*,
and offer for thy cleansing what Moses commanded—as a proof to men."
- 45 But he went away and began to proclaim it widely and to spread the
affair abroad. The result was that Jesus could no longer enter a city
openly. He stayed outside in desert places ; and people came to him
from every quarter.
- 2 1 And when he entered Kapharnahum again after some days, it was
2 reported that he was at home. And many gathered together, so that
there was no longer any room for them even at the door ; and he spoke
3 the word to them. Then people came bringing to him a paralytic man,
4 carried by four men. And as they were unable to bring him to Jesus
on account of the crowd, they uncovered the roof where he was, and after
tearing it up they lower the pallet on which the paralytic man lay.
5 And on seeing their faith, Jesus says to the paralytic man, "My son,
6 thy sins are forgiven." Now some of the scribes sat there and
7 argued in their hearts, "Why does this fellow speak thus? He is
8 blaspheming. Who can forgive sins except God alone?" And as Jesus
immediately perceived in his spirit that they were thus arguing to them-
9 selves, he says to them, "Why argue thus in your hearts? Which is
easier, to say to the paralytic man, 'Thy sins are forgiven,' or to say,
10 'Rise and take up thy pallet and walk'? But, to let you know that the
Son of man has authority on earth to forgive sins"—he says to the
11 paralytic man—"I say to thee, 'Rise, take up thy pallet and go home.'"
12 Then he rose, took up the pallet immediately, and went out in presence

of them all. So all were amazed, and magnified God saying, "We have never seen anything like this!"

- 13 And he went out again by the seaside; and all the crowd came to
14 him, and he taught them. And as he passed along he saw Levi the son
of Alphaeus sitting at the tax-office; and he says to him, "Follow me."
15 And he rose and followed him. And it came to pass that he was reclin-
ing at meat in his house, and many tax-gatherers and sinners were
16 reclining along with Jesus and his disciples (for there were many of them,
and they followed him). And on seeing that he ate with the sinners and
tax-gatherers, the scribes of the Pharisees said to his disciples, "Does he
17 eat¹ with the tax-gatherers and sinners?" And when Jesus heard it he
says to them,

"The strong need not a physician, but those who are ill:
I came not to call upright men but sinners."

- 18 And the disciples of John and the Pharisees were observing a fast.
And people come and say to him, "Why is it that the disciples of John
and the disciples of the Pharisees fast, while thy disciples fast not?"
19 And Jesus said to them,

"Can the sons of the bride-chamber fast while the bridegroom is
with them?

- 20 So long as they have the bridegroom with them, they cannot fast.
But days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away
from them:

And then will they fast on that day.

- 21 No man stitches a piece of undressed cloth on an old cloak:
Otherwise, the patch parts from it, the new from the old,
And a worse tear is made.

- 22 And no man pours fresh wine into old wine-skins:
Otherwise, the wine will burst the wine-skins,

And they are lost, wine and wine-skins together."²

- 23 And it came to pass that he was making his way upon the sabbath-
day through the cornfields; and as his disciples journeyed, they began to
24 pluck the ears of corn. And the Pharisees said to him, "Look! why
25 are they doing what is wrong upon the sabbath-day?" And he says to
them, "Have you never read what David did when he was in need, and
26 he and his companions were hungry? How he went into the house of
God, when Abiathar was high-priest, and ate *the show-bread*, which no one
except the priests has any right to eat; and gave it also to his com-
27 panions?" And he said to them,

"The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath:

- 28 So the Son of man is lord even of the sabbath."

- 3 1 And he again entered a synagogue; and a man was there with his
2 hand withered. And they were watching him narrowly to see if he
3 would heal him on the sabbath-day, in order to accuse him. And he says
4 to the man who had the withered hand, "Rise and come forward." And
he says to them, "Is it right to help or to harm on the sabbath-day?
5 to save life or to kill it?" But they kept silence. Then after looking
round on them with anger, grieved at the hardening of their heart, he
says to the man, "Stretch out the hand." And as he stretched it out, his
6 hand was restored. And the Pharisees went out and immediately proceeded
to consult³ with the Herodians against him, how to destroy him.

- 7 And Jesus retired to the sea with his disciples. And a great multi-

¹ Omitting [[καὶ πίνει]].

² Omitting [[ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσχοῦς καινοῦς]].

³ Reading ἐδίδουν.

8 tude followed from Galilee, and from Judaea and from Jerusalem and
 and from Idumaea and from across the Jordan and the neighbourhood of
 Tyre and Sidon—a great multitude, on hearing all that he was doing,
 9 came to him. And owing to the crowd he told his disciples to have a
 10 small boat in attendance upon him, that he might not be crushed; for
 he had healed many, and the result was that all who had plagues were
 11 pressing on him to touch him. And whenever the unclean spirits saw
 him, they fell down before him and shouted, "Thou art the Son of God!"
 12 But he repeatedly charged them not to make him known.
 13 Then he goes up the mountain, and summons those whom he would;
 14 and they went away to him. And he appointed twelve,¹ whom he also
 named "apostles"; that they might be with him, and that he might send
 15 them out to preach and to possess authority for casting out the daemons.
 16 So he appointed the twelve: Simon (he surnamed him also "Peter"),
 17 with James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of James (he sur-
 18 named them also "Boanerges," that is, "sons of thunder"), and Andrew
 and Philip and Bartholomew and Matthew and Thomas, and James the
 19 son of Alphaeus, and Thaddaeus and Simon ("the zealot"), and Judas of
 Kerioth (he who betrayed him).

20 Then he comes home; and again the crowd gathers, so that they could
 21 not so much as get their food. And when his relatives heard it, they
 went out to seize him; for they said, "He is out of his mind."

22 And the scribes who had come down from Jerusalem said, "He has
 23 of the daemons." So summoning them he said to them in parables,

"How can Satan cast out Satan?

24 And if a realm be divided against itself,

That realm cannot stand:

25 And if a household be divided against itself,

That house will not be able to stand:

26 And if Satan has risen against himself and is divided,

He cannot stand; it is all over with him.

27 Nay; no one can enter the house of the mighty man and plunder his
 goods unless first of all he binds the mighty man; then indeed he will
 28 plunder his house. I tell you truly,

All sins shall be forgiven the sons of men,

And all the blasphemies wherewith ever they blaspheme:

29 But whoever blasphemeth against the holy Spirit

Never has forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin."

30, 31 (This was because they said, "He has an unclean spirit.") And
 his mother and his brothers come, and standing outside they sent to him
 32 and called him. And a crowd was seated round him; and they say to him,
 "Here are thy mother and thy brothers and thy sisters, seeking thee
 33 outside!" And he says to them in reply, "Who are my mother and my
 34 brothers?" Then looking round on them who sat in a circle about him,
 he says, "Here are my mother and my brothers!

35 Whoever obeys the will of God,

That is my brother and sister and mother."

41 And again he started to teach by the seaside. Then a very large
 crowd gathers to him, so that he entered a boat and sat there on the sea,
 2 while all the crowd stayed at the edge of the sea upon the land. And he
 taught them many things in parables; and in the course of his teaching
 he said to them:

¹ Adding οὗς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὀνόμασεν.

- 3 "Listen ! behold, a sower went out to sow.
 4 And as he sowed it came to pass that
 Some seed fell along the path,
 And the birds came and ate it up.
 5 And some other seed fell upon the rocky ground, where it had not
 much earth,
 And shot up immediately because it had no depth of earth ;
 6 But when the sun rose it was scorched,
 And because it had no root, it withered away.
 7 And some other seed fell among the thorns,
 And the thorns came up and choked it ; so it produced no crop.
 8 And some other seeds fell into the good soil,
 And as they came up and grew they produced a crop,
 Yea, they bore thirty, sixty, and a hundred fold."
- 9, 10 And he said, "He who has ears to hear, let him hear." And
 when he was alone, his associates and the twelve questioned him about the
 11 parables. Then said he to them,
 "To you is the secret of God's reign given,
 But to those outside everything is imparted by way of parables :
 12 That *they may see and see, yet not perceive,*
 And hear and hear, yet not understand,
 Lest haply they should turn again and be forgiven."
- 13 And he says to them, "Do you not understand this parable ? Then
 14 how are you to understand all the parables ? The sower is sowing the
 15 word. The following are the people who are 'along the path,' where
 the word is sown—when they have heard, immediately Satan comes and
 16 takes away the word sown among them. And in the same way the follow-
 ing are those who are 'sown upon the rocky places'—people who, when
 17 they have heard the word, accept it immediately with joy ; yet have no
 root in themselves, they last merely for a time ; then, at the rise of dis-
 18 tress or persecution for the word, they are immediately repelled. And
 others are those who are 'sown among the thorns' : they are people
 19 who have heard the word, yet the anxieties of the world and the deceit
 of riches and all the rest of the desires enter in to choke the word ; and it
 20 becomes unfruitful. And these are those who were 'sown upon the good
 soil'—people who hear the word and admit it, and bear fruit, thirty, sixty,
 and a hundred fold."
- 21 And he said to them,
 "Is the lamp brought to be put under the bushel or under the bed ?
 Is it not to be put on the lampstand ?
 22 For nothing is hidden except to be disclosed,
 And nothing has been concealed save that it should come to view.
 23, 24 If anyone has ears to hear, let him hear." And he said to them,
 "Take heed what you hear.
 With what measure you measure,
 it shall be measured to you, and added to you besides.
 25 For he who has,
 to him shall be given
 And he who has not,
 from him shall be taken even what he has."
- 26 And he said, "So is the reign of God as though a man should cast his seed
 27 upon the earth, and sleep and rise by night and by day, while the seed
 28 sprouts and springs up—he knows not how. The earth produces crops by
 29 herself, first the blade, then the ear, then the grain full in the ear. But

when the crop admits of it, *he has the sickle put in immediately, because the harvest has arrived.*" He said also,

"How are we to get comparisons for the reign of God?

Or in what parable shall we set it?

31 It is like a grain of mustard-seed: when sown upon the earth it is
32 smaller than any seed upon the earth, and yet when sown it comes
up to be greater than all the vegetables, throwing out great branches,
33 so that *the birds of the air can rest under its shadow.*" And with
many parables like these he spoke the word to them, as they were able to
34 understand it; except in parable he did not speak to them. In private,
however, he explained everything to his own disciples.

35 And on that day at evening he says to them, "Let us cross to the
36 opposite side." So leaving the crowd they take him with them in the
37 boat, just as he was, accompanied by other boats. And a great squall of
wind rises; and the waves began to beat into the boat, so that the boat
38 was already filling. And he was in the stern, asleep on the cushion. So
they wake him and say to him, "Teacher, carest thou not that we are
39 perishing?" Then awakening he rebuked the wind and said to the sea,
"Peace! silence!" And the wind dropped, and there was a great calm.
40 Then he said to them, "Why are you timid? have you no faith yet?"
41 And they feared greatly, and said to one another, "Who then is this, that
even the wind and the sea obey him?"

5 1 And they reached the opposite side of the sea, the country of the
2 Gerasenes. And when he stepped out of the boat he was immediately
3 met by a man from the tombs with an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling
in the tombs. And no man could bind him any longer, not even
4 with a chain, for he had often been bound with fetters and chains, and
the chains had been torn asunder by him and the fetters broken to pieces;
5 and no man had strength to tame him. And all the time, night and
day, among the tombs and among the mountains he kept shouting and
6 gashing himself with stones. And on seeing Jesus from afar he ran
7 and did him reverence, shouting with a loud voice, "What have I to do
with thee, Jesus, Son of the most High God? I adjure thee by God,
8 torment me not!" (For Jesus was saying to him, "Evil spirit, leave
9 the man.") Then he questioned him, "What is thy name?" And
10 he says to him, "'Legion' is my name, for we are many." And they
11 repeatedly besought him not to send them away from the country. Now
12 a large drove of swine was there, grazing on the mountain side; so
they besought him, "Send us into the swine, that we may enter them."
13 And he gave them permission. And the unclean spirits went out and
entered the swine; and the drove, about two thousand in number, rushed
14 down the steep slope into the sea, and were drowned in the sea. And
the herdsmen fled and brought word of it to the city and the hamlets.
15 And the people came to see what had happened. And they come to
Jesus and see the man who had been possessed by daemons sitting, clothed
16 and sane, the man who had had the "legion." And they were afraid. And
those who had seen it described to them what had happened to the man who
17 had been possessed by daemons and all about the swine. And they started
18 to appeal to him to depart from their territory. And as he was entering
the boat, the man who had been possessed by daemons besought him that he
19 might accompany him. But he would not allow him. "Go home to thy
people," says he to him, "and relate to them all that the Lord has done for
20 thee, and all his pity for thee." So he departed and began to proclaim in
the Dekapolis region all that Jesus had done for him. And all marvelled.

- 21 And when Jesus again crossed over in the boat to the opposite side a large crowd had gathered to meet him ; so he remained beside the sea.
22 Then there comes one of the presidents of the synagogue, Jaeiros by
23 name ; and on seeing him he falls at his feet repeatedly, beseeching him with the words, " My little daughter is at the point of death. O come
24 and lay thy hands on her, that she may be restored to life ! " Then he went away with him. And a large crowd followed him, and people were
25 pressing round him. And there was a woman who had had an issue
26 of blood for twelve years ; she had suffered much under many physicians, and had spent all her means, yet was none the better, but had rather
27 grown worse. She had heard about Jesus, and coming behind him in the
28 crowd she touched his cloak (for she kept saying, " If I touch but his
29 garments, I shall be restored "). Then the flow of her blood was immediately dried up, and she felt in her body that she was cured of her plague.
30 And Jesus, conscious immediately that power had gone out from him, turned round in the crowd and said, " Who touched my garments ? "
31 And his disciples said to him, " Thou seest the crowd is pressing round
32 thee, yet thou sayest, ' Who touched me ? ' ! " But he kept looking round
33 about to see her who had done this. So the woman, aware of what had happened to her, came in fear and trembling, fell down before him, and
34 told him all the truth. And he said to her, " Daughter, thy faith has restored thee. Go in peace and be healed from thy plague." While
35 he was still speaking, people came from the house of the president of the synagogue saying, " Thy daughter is dead. Why trouble the teacher any
36 further ? " But paying no heed to what they were saying, Jesus says to
37 the president of the synagogue, " Fear not, only believe." And he would not let anyone accompany him, except Peter and James and John the
38 brother of James. And they go to the house of the president of the synagogue. And observing a tumult of people wailing with many tears
39 and shrill cries, he went in and says to them, " Why wail and weep ? the
40 child is not dead but asleep." And they laughed him to scorn. But after putting them all out he takes aside the father of the child and her
41 mother and his companions, and goes in to where the child lay. And taking the child's hand he says to her, " Talitha koum " (which when
42 translated means, " Little girl, I say to thee, rise "). And immediately the girl rose up and began to walk (for she was twelve years old). Then
43 they were immediately thrown into great amazement. But he enjoined them earnestly that no one was to know of this, and told them to give her something to eat.
- 6 1 And he departed thence, and enters his own native place, followed by
2 his disciples. And when the sabbath came, he began to teach in the synagogue ; and most people, as they heard him, were astonished and
said, " Where has he got this ? " and " What is the wisdom he has had given him ? " and " What mean such miracles as these worked by his
3 hands ? " " Is he not the carpenter, the son of Mary and the brother of James and Joses and Judas and Simon ? And are not his sisters here
4 with us ? " So they were repelled by him. And Jesus said to them, " A prophet is not unhonoured except in his own native place and among his
5 own kinsfolk and in his own household." And he could not work any miracle there, beyond laying his hands upon a few sick people and healing them. And he marvelled at their unbelief.
- 6, 7 And he made a tour through the villages, teaching. Also, calling the twelve to him, he started to send them out two by two, giving them
8 authority over the unclean spirits ; and he charged them to take nothing

for their journey except a staff, no bread, no wallet, no money in their
 9 girdles, but to go shod with sandals, "and" (he said) "put not on two
 10 tunics." And he said to them, "Wherever you enter a house, stay
 11 there till you leave the place. And whatever place will not receive you,
 and the people refuse to listen to you, when you are leaving there, shake
 12 off the dust that is under your feet, for a witness to them." And they
 13 went out and preached that men were to repent. And they cast out
 many daemons, and anointed many sick people with oil and healed them.
 14 And king Herod heard of it—for his name had become known,
 and people said,¹ "John the baptizer is risen from the dead, and that is
 15 why miraculous powers are active in him." Others said, "It is Elijah,"
 16 others again, "It is a prophet, like one of the prophets." But when
 Herod heard of it, he said, "John whom I beheaded, he has risen."

17 For he, Herod, had sent and seized John and bound him in prison
 for the sake of Herodias the wife of his brother Philip (because he
 18 had married her). For John had repeated to Herod, "Thou hast no
 19 right to have thy brother's wife." Now Herodias cherished a grudge
 20 against him and wanted to kill him; but she could not. For
 Herod stood in awe of John, as he knew him to be an upright and
 holy man; so he kept him safe. And when he listened to him he
 21 was greatly perturbed; yet he was glad to listen to him. Then a
 convenient day arrived. Herod on his birthday made a feast for
 his magnates and for the generals and the leading men of Galilee,
 22 and the daughter of Herodias went in and danced, to the delight of
 Herod and the other guests. And the king said to the girl, "Ask
 23 me whatever thou wilt and I will give it thee." And he swore to
 her, "Whatever thou shalt ask² I will give thee—were it the half
 24 of my realm!" So she went out and said to her mother, "What
 25 am I to ask?" She said, "The head of John the baptizer." Then
 immediately she went in with haste to the king and asked, saying,
 "I want thee to give me directly on a dish the head of John the
 26 baptizer." And the king was very sorry. Still, for the sake of his
 27 oaths and of his guests he was unwilling to disappoint her. So the
 king immediately sent out a soldier of the guard with orders to
 28 bring his head; and he went, beheaded him in the prison, brought
 his head on a dish, and gave it to the girl; and the girl gave it to
 29 her mother. And on hearing of it, his disciples came and carried
 away his corpse and laid it in a tomb.

30 And the apostles gather to Jesus, and they reported to him all that
 31 they had done and all that they had taught. And he says to them,
 "Come by yourselves into a desert place in private, and rest a little."
 (For there were many people coming and going, and they had no time
 32 even to eat.) And they went off in the boat to a desert place in private
 33 Yet many people saw and recognised them as they went, and gathering
 34 hurriedly on foot from all the cities they got there before them. So on
 disembarking he saw a large crowd, and moved with compassion for
 them, because they were *like sheep without a shepherd*, he began to teach
 35 them many things. And as the day was now far advanced, his disciples
 came to him and said, "It is a desert place, and the day is now far
 36 advanced; dismiss them, that they may go into the surrounding hamlets
 37 and villages and buy themselves something to eat." He answered and
 said to them, "Give them something to eat, yourselves." And they say
 to him, "Are we to go and spend two hundred shillings upon bread, and

¹ Reading *ἐλεγον*.² Omitting *μὲν*.

38 give them to eat?" And he says to them, "How many loaves have you? Go and see." And when they had ascertained it, they say, "Five; and 39 two fish." Then he ordered them all to recline in parties on the green 40, 41 grass. So they lay down in groups, by hundreds and by fifties. Then he took the five loaves and the two fish, looked up to heaven, and after the blessing broke the loaves in pieces; and he went on giving them to the disciples to set before them, and divided the two fish among them all. 42, 43 And they all ate and were satisfied. Also, they took up twelve baskets 44 full of fragments of the bread and also of the fish. (And those who ate 45 the loaves numbered five thousand men.) Then he immediately made his disciples embark in the boat and go before him to the 46 opposite side, to Bethsaida, until he dismissed the crowd. And after 47 taking leave of them he went away up the mountain to pray. And when evening came the boat was in mid-sea, while he was on the 48 land alone. And when he saw them harassed as they rowed (for the wind was contrary to them), he comes to them about the fourth watch of the night walking on the sea. And he would have passed them, 49 but when they saw him walking on the sea they imagined it was an 50 apparition and shrieked; for they all saw him and were troubled. But he immediately talked to them; "Be of good cheer," he says to them, 51 "it is I, be not afraid." And he got up beside them in the boat, and the wind dropped. And they were greatly¹ amazed within themselves; 52 for they did not understand about the loaves, but their heart was 53 hardened. And on crossing over to the land they came to 54 Gennesaret and moored to the shore. And when they had disembarked from the boat, the people immediately recognised him, and went hurrying round the whole of that district, and started to carry about on their pallets those who were ill, wherever they heard he 56 was. And wherever he entered villages or cities or hamlets, they would lay the sick in the market-places beseeching him to let them touch were it only the tassel of his cloak: and all who touched it were restored.

7 1 And there gather to him the Pharisees and some of the scribes, who 2 had come down from Jerusalem. They had observed that some of his 3 disciples ate their food with unclean (that is, unwashed) hands.—For the Pharisees and all the Jews refuse to eat without vigorously washing their 4 hands; as they hold to the tradition of the elders. Also, they refuse to eat after coming from the market-place, until they sprinkle themselves.² And there are many other matters which they have received and hold to, 5 washings of cups and pots and brazen vessels.—Then the Pharisees and the scribes question him, "Why do not thy disciples walk after the tradition of the elders, instead of eating their bread with unclean 6 hands?" And he said to them,

"Finely did Isaiah prophesy about you hypocrites, as it is written:

This people honours me with their lips,

While their heart is far away from me;

7 *Yet in vain do they worship me,*

Teaching doctrines which are mere human precepts.

8 You omit God's commandment
And hold to man's tradition."

9 And he said to them,

"A fine thing it is for you to set aside God's commandment
That you may keep your own tradition!

¹ Omitting [*ἐκ πίστεως*].

² Reading *βαπτίζονται*.

10 For Moses said :

*Honour thy father and thy mother, and
He who speaks evil of father or mother, let him surely die.*

11 But you say :

If a man says to his father or his mother, 'What I might have used to aid thee is Korban' (that is to say, 'given to God'),

12 You allow him no longer to do anything for his father or his mother.

13 You cancel God's word by your tradition which you have handed on.

14 And you do many a thing like that." Then calling the crowd to him again he said to them, "Listen to me, all of you, and understand.

15 Nothing can make a man unclean by entering him from outside ;
Nay, what makes a man unclean is that which issues from a man."

17 And when he went away from the crowd into the house, his disciples
18 plied him with questions about the parable. And he says to them, "So
you are ignorant also ? Do you not understand that whatever is on the

19 outside and enters a man cannot make him unclean ? It enters his belly,
not his heart, and passes out into the drain" (He thus pronounced all
20 foods clean). And he said, "What issues from a man is what makes a
21 man unclean. For out of the heart of men within, issue the wicked
22 designs, fornications, thefts, murders, adulteries, coveting, malice, deceit,
23 sensuality, enviousness, slander, haughtiness, recklessness : all these
wicked things issue from within and make a man unclean."

24 Now he rose and went away from there into the territory of Tyre.¹
And going into a house he wished no one to know of it. Yet he
25 could not escape notice ; immediately a woman, whose little daughter
had an unclean spirit, came when she heard of him and fell down at his
26 feet. (The woman was a Gentile, a Syrophoenician by race.) And she
27 begged him to cast the daemon out of her daughter. But he kept say-
ing to her, "Let the children be satisfied first. It is not fair to take the
28 children's bread and throw it to the dogs." And she answered and says to
him, "True, sir. Yet the dogs eat the children's crumbs below the table!"
29 And he said to her, "For this saying go thy way ; the daemon has left
30 thy daughter." And she went away home and found the child lying on
31 the bed with the daemon gone from her.

Then once more he left the
territory of Tyre and went through Sidon to the sea of Galilee through the
32 middle of the district of Dekapolis. And they bring him a man who was
33 deaf and stammering, beseeching him to lay his hand upon him. So he
took him aside privately from the crowd and put his fingers into his ears ;
34 and after spitting he touched his tongue. And looking up to heaven he
groaned ; then he says to him, "Ephphatha" (that is, "be opened").
35 And his ears were opened, and the bond of his tongue was loosened and
36 he began to speak correctly. And he enjoined them to tell no one ; but
37 the more he charged them, the more widely they proclaimed it. And
they were astonished beyond measure, saying, "He has done everything
well : he makes even the deaf hear and the dumb speak."

8 1 In those days again there was a great crowd and they had nothing to
2 eat. And he called his disciples to him and says to them, "I have
compassion on the crowd, because for three days now they have stayed
3 by me, and they have nothing to eat. Besides, if I send them away home
fasting, they will faint on the road. And some of them have come a long
4 distance." And his disciples answered him, "Where can one get bread
5 to satisfy these men, here in a desert ?" And he asked them, "How

¹ Omitting [[και ἰδού]],

6 many loaves have you?" And they said, "Seven." Then he charges the crowd to lie down on the ground. And he took the seven loaves, gave thanks, broke them and went on giving to his disciples to set before 7 the crowd; and they set the food before them. And they had a few small fish, and after blessing them he told them to set these before them 8 as well. So they ate and were satisfied. And they took up seven large 9 baskets of fragments that were left over (the people numbered about four 10 thousand). Then he dismissed them, and immediately entered the boat 11 with his disciples and went into the districts of Dalmanutha. And the Pharisees came out and started to dispute with him, requiring from 12 him a sign from the sky, to make trial of him. And he sighed heavily in his spirit and says,

"Why does this generation require a sign?"

I tell you truly, no sign shall be given this generation."

13 And he left them, entered the boat again, and departed to the opposite side.

14 And they had forgotten to take bread, and had not with them 15 in the boat more than a single loaf. And he enjoined them, saying, "See 16 and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod!" And 17 they argued with one another, "It is because we have no bread." But on perceiving it he says to them, "Why argue because you have no bread? Do you not yet understand, do you not yet make it out? Is your heart 18 hardened? *You have eyes, do you not see? you have ears, do you not hear?* 19 and do you not remember how many baskets full of fragments you took up when I broke the five loaves among the five thousand?" They say to 20 him "Twelve." "And how many large baskets of fragments did you take up when I broke the seven among the four thousand?" And they say 21 to him "Seven." Then he said to them, "Do you not yet understand?"

22 And they came to Bethsaida. And people bring him a blind man's 23 and beseech him to touch him. And he took hold of the blind man's hand and brought him outside the village. And after spitting upon his eyes and laying his hands on him, he asked him, "Beholdest thou any- 24 thing?" And he looked up and said, "I behold people: I see them 25 walking, like trees." Then he laid his hands once more upon his eyes; and the man stared straight before him, and was quite restored, and 26 began to distinguish everything clearly. And he sent him away home, saying, "Do not even enter the village."

27 And Jesus went away with his disciples to the village of Caesarea Philippi. And on the road he questioned his disciples, saying to them, 28 "Who do people say that I am?" And they told him, "'John the baptizer.' Yet others say, 'Elijah'; and others, 'One of the prophets.'" 29 And he questioned them, "But you—who do you say that I am?" Peter 30 answering says to him, "Thou art the Christ." And he charged them 31 to tell no one about him.

And he began to teach them that the Son of man must suffer much, and be rejected by the elders and the high priests and the scribes, and be killed, and after three days rise again. 32, 33 Indeed he uttered the saying openly. Then Peter took him and started to rebuke him; but he turned, and on seeing his disciples he rebuked Peter saying, "Get behind me, thou Satan! Thy mind is not on the 34 affairs of God, but on the affairs of men." And he called the crowd to him with his disciples and said to them,

"If any man would come after me,

Let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me.

35 For whoever would save his life

Shall lose it:

And whoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's,
Shall save it.

36 What use is it for a man to gain the whole world and forfeit his life?

37 What could a man give in exchange for his life?

38 For whoever is ashamed of me and of my words

In this adulterous and sinful generation,

The Son of man shall also be ashamed of him,

When he comes in his Father's majesty with the holy angels."

9 1 And he said to them, "I tell you truly, there are some of those standing here who shall not taste death, until they see the coming of God's reign with power."

2 And after six days Jesus takes Peter and James and John aside, and brings them up a high mountain privately,

3 alone. And he was transformed before them; and his garments glistened with a vivid whiteness such as no fuller on earth can produce.

4 And Elijah together with Moses appeared to them; and they were talking with Jesus. Then Peter breaking in says to Jesus, "Rabbi,

5 it is fine for us to be here. Now, let us make three booths, one for thee and one for Moses and one for Elijah." (He did not know

6 what to say, for they were frightened.) And a cloud came overshadowing them, and a voice came out of the cloud, "This is my Son, the beloved: listen to him."

7 And suddenly on looking round they no longer saw anyone except Jesus alone with themselves. And as they were

8 descending from the mountain he enjoined them not to describe to anyone what they had seen, until after the Son of man should have arisen

9 from the dead. And they kept hold of the saying, discussing among themselves what the "arising from the dead meant." And they plied

10 him with the question, "How is it that the scribes say, Elijah must come first?" And he said to them, "Elijah comes first indeed, and he

11 restores all. (And yet, how is it written regarding the Son of man? that he is to suffer much and be despised.) But I tell you: Elijah has actually

12 come, and they have done to him whatever they pleased, even as it is written of him."

13 And when they came to the disciples they saw a large crowd round them, and the scribes in a discussion with them. And on seeing him all

14 the crowd were immediately astounded, and running to him they saluted him. And he questioned them, "What are you discussing with them?"

15 And a man out of the crowd answered him, "Teacher, I brought thee my son. He has a dumb spirit; and whenever it seizes him it hurls him

16 down; and he foams and grinds his teeth. And he is pining away. So I told thy disciples to cast it out; but they had no power." He says to

17 them in answer, "O incredulous generation, how long am I to be with you? how long am I to bear with you? Bring him to me." And they

18 brought him to him. But on seeing him the spirit immediately convulsed him terribly, and falling on the ground he rolled about foaming.

19 And he asked his father, "How long is it since this befell him?" And he said, "From childhood. And many a time it has thrown him now

20 into fire, now into water, to destroy him. But if thou canst do anything, have compassion upon us and help us." Jesus said to him, "'If thou

21 canst!—Anything can be done for the man who believes." Immediately the father of the child shouted and said, "I do believe. Help my un-

22 belief!" Now as Jesus saw that a crowd was hurrying together, he rebuked the unclean spirit, saying to it, "Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I

23 command thee, leave him and never enter him again." Then after crying and wildly convulsing him it came out, and the child turned like a

27 corpse ; so that most of the people said, "He is dead." But Jesus took
 28 him by the hand and raised him, and he arose. And when he went
 into the house his disciples plied him in private with the question,
 29 "How is it that we could not cast it out?" And he said to them,
 "Nothing can make this kind come out, except prayer."

30 Then they departed thence upon their journey through Galilee. Yet
 31 he wished no one to know it ; for he was teaching his disciples and
 telling them, "The Son of man will be delivered up into the hands of
 men, and they shall kill him ; and when he is killed, he shall rise again
 32 after three days." But they did not understand the saying, and they
 were afraid to question him.

33 And they came to Kapharnahum. And when he was in the house he
 34 questioned them, "What were you arguing about on the road?" And
 they kept silence, for they had been disputing with one another on the
 35 road about who was the greatest. So he sat down, called the twelve, and
 says to them, "If any one would be first, he shall be last of all and servant
 36 of all." Then he took and set a little child in their midst, and putting his
 arms round it he said to them,

37 "Whoever shall receive a little child like this in my name, receives me :
 And whoever receives me, receives not me so much as him who
 sent me."

38 [John said to him, "Teacher, we saw a man casting out daemons in thy
 39 name ;¹ and we tried to prevent him, because he did not follow us." But
 Jesus said, "Prevent him not.

No one shall work a miracle in my name and then decry me
 presently :

40 He who is not against us is for us.]

41 For whoever shall give you were it only a cup of water to drink,
 because you are Christ's,

I tell you truly, he shall not lose his reward :

42 And whoever shall be a hindrance to one of these little ones who
 believe,

Better for him were a great mill-stone fastened round his neck,
 and were he thrown into the sea !

43 And should thy hand hinder thee, cut it away :

Better for thee to enter life maimed,

Than with thy two hands to depart into Gehenna, into the fire
 unquenchable !

45 And should thy foot hinder thee, cut it away :

Better for thee to enter life lame,

Than with thy two feet to be thrown into Gehenna !

47 And should thine eye hinder thee, pull it out :

Better for thee to enter God's reign with one eye,

Than with two eyes to be thrown into Gehenna,

48 Where *their worm dies not and the fire is not quenched !*

49 For with fire shall everyone be salted.

50 Salt is a capital thing :

But if salt has become saltless, wherewith will you season it ?

Have salt among yourselves :

Yea, be at peace with one another."

10 1 And rising up he goes from there into the territory of Judaea and across
 the Jordan. And crowds again gather to him ; and again he taught them as
 2 was his custom. And Pharisees approached him and—to make

¹ Omitting [[ὅς οὐκ ἀκολούθει ἡμῖν]].

- trial of him—questioned him, “Is it right for a man to divorce his wife?”
- 3 And he answered and said to them, “What did Moses command you?”
- 4 “Moses,” they said, “gave permission to write a bill of repudiation and so
- 5 divorce her.” But Jesus said to them, “It was out of regard for your
- 6 stubbornness of heart that he wrote you this commandment. But from the
- 7 beginning of the creation *male and female he made them. For this cause a*
- 8 *man shall leave his father and mother; and the two shall become one flesh.*
- 9, 10 What God has joined, then, let not man separate.” And in the house the
- 11 disciples questioned him again upon this subject. And he says to them,
- “Whoever shall divorce his wife and marry another, commits
- adultery against her.
- 12 And if she shall divorce her husband and marry another, she
- commits adultery.”
- 13 And people were bringing him little children that he might touch
- 14 them; but the disciples rebuked them. When Jesus saw it, however, he
- was indignant and said to them,
- “Let the little children come to me, forbid them not;
- 15 For of such is the reign of God.
- I tell you truly, whoever shall not receive the reign of God like a little child,
- Shall not enter it.”
- 16 Then he put his arms round them, and invoked blessings upon them
- as he laid his hands on them.
- 17 And as he came out upon the road, a man ran to him, knelt before
- him and questioned him, “Good teacher, what am I to do, to inherit
- 18 life eternal?” Jesus said to him, “Why call me ‘good’? No one is
- 19 good, except God alone. Thou knowest the commandments: *do not*
- 20 *murder, do not commit adultery, do not steal, do not bear false witness, do not*
- 21 *defraud, honour thy father and mother.*” He said to him, “Teacher, all
- these have I observed from my youth.” Jesus looked at him and loved
- him; then he said to him, “One thing thou lackest. Go, sell whatever
- thou hast and give it to the poor; so shalt thou have treasure in heaven.
- 22 Then come, follow me.” But his face clouded over at the saying, and
- 23 he went away sorrowful; for he was one who had great possessions.
- Then Jesus looked round him and says to his disciples, “With what
- 24 difficulty shall the wealthy enter God’s reign!” And the disciples were
- amazed at what he said. But once more Jesus addresses them, saying,
- “Children, how difficult it is to enter God’s reign!
- 25 It is easier for a camel to pass through a needle’s eye,
- Than for a rich man to enter God’s reign.”
- 26 And they were exceedingly astonished, and said to themselves, “Then
- 27 who can be saved?” Jesus looked at them and says,
- “With men it is impossible, but not with God:
- for *anything is possible with God.*”
- 28 Peter began to say to him, “Lo, we have left all and followed thee.”
- 29 Jesus said, “I tell you truly; there is no man who leaves house or
- brothers or sisters or mother or father or children or lands for my sake
- 30 and for the gospel’s sake, without receiving a hundredfold now in this
- time, houses and brothers and sisters and mothers and children and lands,
- 31 with persecutions; and in the age to come, life eternal. But many who
- are first shall be last, and the last first.”
- 32 Now they were on the road going up to Jerusalem, and Jesus went in
- front of them. And they were in dismay, while some who followed were
- in fear. And he took the twelve once more aside and began to tell them
- 33 what was to happen to him, saying, “Lo, we are going up to Jerusalem;

and the Son of man shall be delivered to the high priests and the scribes. They shall sentence him to death and deliver him to the Gentiles ; they shall mock him and spit on him and scourge him and kill him. Yet after three days he shall rise again."

35 And James and John, the sons of Zebedee, approach him. "Teacher," they say to him, "we want thee to do for us whatever we shall ask thee." 36 He said to them, "What do you want me to do for you?" They said to 37 him, "Grant that we may sit, one on thy right hand and one on thy left 38 hand, in thy majesty." But Jesus said to them, "You know not what you are asking. Are you able to drink the cup that I drink? or to be baptized 39 with the baptism that I am baptized with?" And they said to him, "We are able." And Jesus said to them,

"The cup that I drink, you shall drink :

And the baptism that I am baptized with, shall you be baptized with.

40 But to sit on my right hand or on my left hand is not mine to grant ; It is for those for whom it has been made ready."

41 And on hearing of it, the ten began to be indignant at James and John 42 but Jesus called them to him and says to them,

"You know that those who are looked up to as rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them,

And their great men wield authority over them :

43 Not so among you.

Nay, whoever would become great among you,

Must be your servant,

44 And whoever would be first among you,

Must be the slave of all.

45 For even the Son of man came not to be served but to serve,

And to give his life a ransom for many."

46 Then they come to Jericho. And as he was leaving Jericho with his disciples and a considerable crowd, a blind beggar Bar-Timaeus (the son 47 of Timaeus) sat by the roadside. And on hearing it was Jesus of Nazaret, he started shouting and saying, "Son of David, Jesus, have pity on me!"

48 And many people admonished him to keep silence, but he cried out all 49 the more, "Son of David, have pity on me!" Then Jesus stood still and said, "Call him." So they call the blind man, saying to him, "Be of

50 good cheer, rise, he is calling thee." Throwing away his garment, he 51 started up and came to Jesus. And Jesus addressed him, saying, "What wilt thou have me do to thee?" The blind man said to him,

52 "Rabbuni, let me regain my sight." Jesus said to him, "Go thy way, thy faith has restored thee." And immediately he regained his sight, and began to follow him on the road.

11 1 And when they draw nigh to Jerusalem, to Bethphagê and Bethany 2 at the hill of Olives, he despatches two of his disciples and says to them :

"Go into the village opposite you, and on entering it you shall at once find a colt tied, on which no one has ever yet sat. Untie it and bring it.

3 And if anyone says to you, 'Why are you doing this?' say, 'The Lord 4 needs it, and he will send it here again, at once.'" Then off they went

and found a colt tied at the door outside in the open street ; and they

5 untie it. And some of the bystanders said to them, "What do you mean 6 by untying the colt?" But they spoke to them as Jesus had told them ;

7 and they allowed them to go. And they bring the colt to Jesus and throw 8 their garments on it. Then he sat upon it. And many spread their

garments on the road, and others leafy boughs which they had cut from 9 the fields. And those who went in front and those who followed shouted

"Hosanna!

Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!

10 Blessed is the Reign to come, our father David's reign!

Hosanna in the highest!"

11 And he went into Jerusalem, into the temple. But after looking round on everything he went out with the twelve to Bethany, as it was now late in the day.

12, 13 And on the morrow, after they left Bethany, he grew hungry. And noticing far off a fig-tree in leaf, he went to see if he could find something on it; but when he came to it he found nothing but leaves, for it was

14 not the season for figs. Then he addressed it, saying, "Never man eat fruit from thee, after this!" And his disciples were listening.

15 And they come to Jerusalem. Then he entered the temple and started to drive out the sellers and the buyers in the temple; and he threw down the tables of the money-changers and the seats of those who sold the doves,

16, 17 nor would he let any one carry a vessel through the temple. And he taught and told them,

"Is it not written, My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations?

But you have made it a den of robbers!"

18 And the high priests and the scribes heard it, and tried how they could destroy him (they were in fear of him, for all the crowd was astonished at his teaching). And when evening came, they

20 went outside the city. And as they passed in the morning

21 they saw the fig-tree withered from its roots. Then Peter recollected;

"Rabbi, look!" says he to him, "the fig-tree thou didst curse is withered!" Then in answer Jesus says to them, "Have faith in God.

23 I tell you truly:

"Whoever says to this mountain, 'Be lifted and thrown into the sea,' And hesitates not in his heart but believes that what he says shall be done,

He shall have it.

24 Therefore I tell you:

In all your prayers and asking

Believe that you have received,

So shall you have it.

25 Also, whenever you stand praying, if you have anything against any one, forgive it:

That your Father who is in the heavens may also forgive you your trespasses."

27 And they come once more to Jerusalem. And as he was walking in the temple the high priests and the scribes and the elders came to him.

28 "By what sort of authority," said they to him, "art thou acting thus?"

29 or who gave thee this authority to act thus?" Jesus said to them, "I

will put a single question to you; and do you answer me. Then I will

30 tell you by what sort of authority I am acting thus. "Was the baptism

31 of John from heaven or from men? Answer me." And they argued

among themselves, "If we say, 'From heaven,' he will say, 'Why then

32 did you not believe him?' But shall we say, 'From men'?"—they were

afraid of the people, for all held that John had really been a prophet.

33 So in reply to Jesus they say, "We do not know." Then says Jesus to them, "Neither do I tell you by what sort of authority I am acting thus."

12 1 And he started to speak to them in parables: A man planted a vineyard and put a fence round it and dug a trough for the wine-press and

built a tower; then after leasing it to vinedressers he went abroad.
 2 And at the season he despatched a slave to the vinedressers, that he
 might collect from the vinedressers part of the fruits of the vineyard.
 3, 4 But they took and flogged him and sent him off empty-handed. Then
 once more he despatched another slave to them, and this one they
 5 wounded on the head and insulted. Then he despatched another,
 and this one they killed; and so they did with many others, flogging
 6 some and killing some. He had still one left, a beloved son; he
 despatched him last of all to them, saying, "They will reverence my
 7 son." But those vinedressers said to themselves, "This is the heir; come,
 8 let us kill him, and the inheritance shall be ours." So they took him
 9 and killed him and threw him outside the vineyard. What will the
 owner of the vineyard do? he will come and destroy the vinedressers
 10 and give the vineyard to others. Have you not even read this scripture?

The stone which the builders rejected,

This is made head of the corner:

11 *This is the doing of the Lord,*

And in our eyes it is marvellous."

12 Then they tried to seize him (yet feared the crowd), for they knew
 it was against them that he had told the parable; but leaving him they
 went away.

13 And they despatch some of the Pharisees and Herodians to him, in
 14 order to snare him in his talk. And they came saying to him,
 "Teacher, we know thou art truthful, caring not for any one (for thou
 regardest not the person of men), but teaching the way of God with truth.
 15 Is it right to pay taxes to Caesar, or not? Must we pay, or must we not
 pay?" But aware of their pretence he said to them, "Why make trial
 16 of me? bring me a denarius that I may see it." So they brought one.
 And he says to them, "Whose likeness and inscription is this?" They
 17 said to him, "Caesar's." Jesus said to them, "Render to Caesar the
 things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." And
 they were lost in wonder at him.

18 And Sadducees come to him (men who say there is no resurrection),
 19 and they questioned him, saying, "Teacher, Moses wrote for us that, *If a
 man's brother die and leave a wife and leave no child, his brother is to take
 20 his widow and raise up offspring for his brother.* There were seven
 21 brothers. So the first took a wife and dying left no offspring; then the
 second took her, and died leaving no offspring; and the third likewise;
 22, 23 and the seven left no offspring. Last of all the woman died also. At the
 resurrection whose wife will she be, for the seven had her as wife?"
 24 Jesus said to them, "Is not this what leads you astray, that you are
 25 ignorant of the scriptures and of God's power? For when people rise
 from the dead, they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are
 26 like angels in heaven. And as regards the raising of the dead, have you
 not read in the book of Moses, at the place of 'the Bush,' that God spoke
 to him, saying, *I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God
 27 of Jacob?* He is not God of the dead, but of the living. You are far astray."

28 And one of the scribes approached, after hearing their discussion.
 Knowing that he had given them an able answer, he put a question
 29 to him, "What commandment is chief over all?" Jesus answered,
 "The chief is, *Hear, O Israel! The Lord is our God, the Lord is one;*
 30 *and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, with thy*
 31 *whole soul, with thy whole mind, with thy whole strength.* The second
 is this, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.* There is no other

32 commandment greater than these." And the scribe said to him, "True, teacher! thou hast rightly said that *he is one and besides him there is no*
 33 *other. Also, to love him with the whole heart and with the whole under-*
standing and with the whole strength, and to love one's neighbour as oneself—
 34 *that is far above all holocausts and sacrifices."* Then, seeing that he answered intelligently, Jesus said to him, "Thou art not far from the reign
 35 of God." And after that no one dared question him.

Jesus taught in the temple he would ask, "How is it that the scribes
 36 say the Christ is David's son? David said himself, in the holy Spirit,

*The Lord said to my Lord, 'Sit at my right hand,
 Till I make thine enemies a footstool for thy feet.'*

37 David himself calls him 'Lord.' Then how is he his son?" And
 38 the common folk listened to him gladly. And in his teaching he said,

"Beware of the scribes, who are fond of walking in long robes, and of
 39 getting salutations in the market-places and chief seats in the synagogues
 40 and chief places at the suppers—men who devour widows' properties, and
 make long prayers for a pretext. These men shall be the more heavily
 41 sentenced." Then sitting down opposite the treasury he watched how
 the crowd put money into the treasury. Many rich people put in large
 42 sums, and a poor widow also came and put in two farthings (which make
 43 one halfpenny). Then calling his disciples to him, he said to them,
 "I tell you truly, this poor widow has put in more than all those who
 44 put into the treasury. For they have all put in a contribution out of
 their wealth; but out of her want, she has put in all she possessed, the
 whole of her livelihood."

13 1 And as he was going out of the temple one of his disciples says to
 2 him, "Teacher, look! what splendid stones and buildings!" And Jesus
 said to him, "Seest thou these great buildings? Not one stone shall be
 3 left¹ upon another, that shall not be thrown down." And as he was
 sitting on the hill of Olives opposite the temple, Peter and James and
 4 John and Andrew plied him with questions privately. "Tell us, when
 shall this be? Also, what is the sign when this is all to be completed?"

5 So Jesus began to say to them,

"Take care that no one leads you astray:

6 Many shall come relying on my name, saying, 'I am he,' and shall
 lead many astray.

7 And when you hear of wars and rumours of wars, be not disquieted;

These things must come to pass, but the end is not yet.

8 For nation shall rise against nation, and realm against realm,

There shall be earthquakes in place after place, there shall be famines:

These are but the beginning of birth-pangs.

9 Now look to yourselves.

They shall deliver you up to councils,

And in synagogues you shall be flogged,

And before governors and kings you shall stand for my sake,

For a witness to them:

10 Yea the glad tidings must first be preached to all the nations.

11 And when they bring you to trial and deliver you up,

Devise not beforehand what to say:

But whatever is given you in that hour, say that,

For it is not so much you who speak as the holy Spirit.

12 Brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child:

Children shall rise up against parents and have them put to death.

¹ Omitting [[2d.]].

- 13 And you shall be hated by all men for my name's sake,
But he who endures to the end, he shall be saved.
- 14 Now when you see *the desolating abomination* standing where he ought
not (let the reader ponder),
Then let those who are in Judaea flee to the hills.
- 15 Let not him who is on the housetop
Go down or enter in to get anything out of his house,
- 16 Nor let him who is in the field
Turn back to get his cloak.
- 17 But woe to women with child and to women who give suck in those
days!
- 18 And pray that it happen not in winter.
- 19 For those days shall be *a distress*,
The like of which has not been, from the beginning of the creation
which God created, until now,
And never shall be.
- 20 Yea, unless the Lord had curtailed the days, no flesh would have been
saved:
But for the sake of the chosen whom he chose, he did curtail the days.
- 21 And should anyone say to you then,
'Look, here is the Christ!' 'Look, there!'
Believe it not.
- 22 For many false Christs and *false prophets* shall arise,
And they shall *exhibit signs and wonders*
To lead astray, if possible, the chosen.
- 23 Now do you beware:
Lo, I have told you everything beforehand!
- 24 In those days after that distress
The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light,
25 *And the stars shall be falling from the sky,*
And the powers in the heavens shall be shaken:
- 26 Then shall they see *the Son of man coming in clouds with great*
power and majesty;
- 27 And then shall he send forth the angels and gather the ¹ chosen
together from the four winds, from the bounds of the earth to
the bounds of the sky.
- 28 Now from the fig-tree learn her parable.
When her branch is already tender and is putting out its leaves,
You know that summer is near:
- 29 So also when you see this come to pass,
You know that He is near, at the doors.
- 30 I tell you truly,
This generation shall not pass away
Until these all come to pass;
- 31 Sky and earth shall pass away,
But never shall my words pass away.
- 32 Yet of that day or hour none knows,
Not even the angels in heaven, not even the Son, only the Father.
- 33, 34 Beware, be wakeful: for you know not when the time is. It is as
when a man going abroad has left his house, after giving authority to
his slaves, to each his work, and has commanded the doorkeeper to watch.

¹ Omitting [[*αὐτοῦ*]].

35 Watch then—for you know not when the owner of the house is coming,
36 at evening or at midnight or at cock-crow or in the morning—lest
37 he come suddenly and find you sleeping. And what I say to you I say
to all, watch."

14 1 Now after two days it was the passover and the festival of unleavened
bread. And the high priests and the scribes were trying how they could
2 seize him by craft and kill him ; for they said, "Not during the festival,
in case of a possible tumult among the people."

3 And when he was in Bethany, in the house of Simon the leper, as he
reclined at meat, a woman came with an alabaster flask of pure nard
perfume, most precious ; and breaking the flask she proceeded to pour
4 it over his head. Now some people were inwardly indignant : "Why,"
5 said they, "has the perfume been wasted thus ? This perfume might
have been sold for more than three hundred shillings and given to the
6 poor." And they went on scolding her. But Jesus said, "Let her alone.
7 Why molest her ? She has done a noble deed for me. For you have the
poor always beside you, and whenever you like you can do them
8 good : but you have not always me. She has done what she could : she
9 has anointed my body in anticipation of the burial. And I tell you
truly, wherever the glad tidings shall be preached through the whole
10 world, this woman's deed shall be also told, in memory of her."

Then Judas of Kerioth, who was one of the twelve, went off to the high
11 priests to betray him to them. Delighted to hear it, they promised to
pay him money. And he kept trying how he could betray him at an
opportune moment.

12 And on the first day of unleavened bread (when people sacrificed the
paschal lamb) his disciples say to him, "Where wilt thou have us go and
13 make ready for thee to eat the paschal lamb ?" Then he despatches two of
his disciples, saying to them, "Go your way into the city ; and a man shall
14 meet you carrying a pitcher of water. Follow him ; and wherever he
shall enter, say to the master of the house, 'The teacher says, "Where is
my guest chamber, where I may eat the paschal lamb with my disciples?'"
15 And he will himself show you a large upper room all ready, spread with
16 couches. Make ready there for us." So the disciples left and went
into the city, and found it was exactly as he had said to them ; and they
17 made ready the passover. And when it was evening he comes with
18 the twelve. And as they reclined at table and ate, Jesus said, "I tell you
19 truly, one of you—one who is eating with me—shall betray me." They
began to be sorrowful and to say to him one by one, "Can it be I?"
20 And he said to them, "It is one of the twelve, one who is dipping in the
dish with me.

21 For the Son of man goes on his way, even as it is written of him ;
But woe to that man through whom the Son of man is betrayed !

22 Better for that man had he never been born !"

And as they were eating he took bread, and after the blessing broke
23 and gave it to them, saying, "Take it, this is my body." Also he took
a cup, gave thanks and gave it to them, and they all drank of it ; and
24 he said to them, "This is my *covenant-blood* which is poured out for
25 many. I tell you truly, never again shall I drink of the produce of the
vine, till that day when in God's reign I drink it new."

26, 27 Then after a song of praise they went out to the hill of Olives. And
Jesus says to them, "All of you shall be repelled : since it is written,
28 *I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered abroad.* But after I

29 rise, I will go before you into Galilee." Peter said to him, "Though all
 30 shall be repelled, yet I will not." Then Jesus says to him, "I tell thee
 truly : to-day, this very night, ere ever the cock crows twice, three times
 31 thou shalt deny me." But he repeated the more vehemently, "Though I
 have to die with thee, I will not deny thee." And so said all of them as
 32 well. And they come to a piece of ground named Gethsemanê.
 33 And he says to his disciples, "Sit here until I pray." And with him he
 takes Peter and James and John. And he began to feel appalled and sorely
 34 troubled. And he says to them, "*My soul is very sorrowful*, even to
 35 death : stay here and watch." Then he went forward a little, falling on
 the ground and praying that if it were possible, the hour might pass
 36 away from him. His words were, "Abba ! Father ! anything is possible
 to thee ; remove this cup from me. Yet not what I will, but what
 37 thou wilt." Then he comes and finds them sleeping ; and he says to Peter,
 "Sleeping, Simon ? Hadst thou not strength to watch a single hour ?
 38 Watch and pray, lest you enter into temptation : the spirit is eager, but
 39 the flesh is weak." Then once more he went away and prayed, uttering
 40 the same words. And once more he came and found them sleeping, for
 their eyes were very heavy ; and they did not know how to answer
 41 him. Then coming for the third time, he says to them, "So you sleep and
 rest ? It is enough. The hour has come ; behold, the Son of man is
 42 betrayed into the hands of sinners ! Rise, let us be going. Behold, my
 43 betrayer is near !" And immediately, when he was still speaking,
 Judas¹ (one of the twelve) comes up accompanied by a horde with swords
 44 and clubs, from the high priests and the scribes and the elders. Now his
 betrayer had given them a signal, saying, "Whomsoever I kiss, that is the
 45 man : seize him and get him safely away." So on arriving he immedi-
 46 ately approached him, saying "Rabbi," and kissed him fondly. And
 47 they laid hands on him and seized him. But one of the bystanders drew
 his sword and struck the slave of the high priest, cutting off his ear.
 48 And Jesus answered and said to them, "Did you come out as against a
 49 robber, with swords and clubs to arrest me ? Day by day I was with
 you in the temple teaching, and you did not seize me.—However, it is
 50 in fulfilment of the scriptures." Then they all left him alone and fled.
 51 Yet one young man accompanied him, with a linen cloth thrown round
 52 him over his naked body. They seize him also, but he left the linen cloth
 behind him and fled naked.
 53 And they led Jesus away to the high priest, and all the high
 54 priests and the elders and the scribes accompany him. And Peter
 followed him from afar till he was inside the palace of the high
 priest ; then he sat along with the officers and warmed himself at the
 55 lighted fire. Now the high priests and in fact the whole Sanhedrin
 sought for witness against Jesus to get him put to death, but they found
 56 none. For while many bore false witness against him, their evidence
 57 did not agree. And some persons stood up and bore false witness against
 58 him ; they said, "We heard him say, 'I will break down this sanctuary
 made by hands, and after three days I will build another made by no
 59, 60 hands.'" Yet not even thus did their evidence agree. And the high
 priest stood up in the midst and questioned Jesus, saying, "Hast thou no
 61 answer ? Of what do these men bear evidence against thee ?" He kept
 silence and made no answer. Again the high priest questioned him, say-
 62 ing to him, "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed ?" And Jesus
 said, "I am : and *you shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of*

¹ Omitting [δ] . . . [[δ 'Ισὺς πρίωτης]].

63 *the Power and coming with the clouds of the sky."* So the high priest rent
64 his vestments, saying, "What further witnesses do we need? You heard
the blasphemy; what is your opinion?" And they all condemned him to
65 the doom of death. And some started to spit on him, also to blindfold
him and buffet him, and then say to him, "Prophecy!" Even the officers
66 received him with blows.

And while Peter was down below in
67 the courtyard, one of the maidservants of the high priest comes; and on
seeing Peter warming himself, she looked at him and says, "Thou also
68 wast with the man of Nazaret, Jesus." But he denied it, saying, "I
know not—I do not understand what thou meanest." Then he went out
69 into the fore-court.¹ And seeing him the maidservant began once more to
70 say to the bystanders, "This man is one of them." But he again per-
sisted in denying it. Then after a little while the bystanders again said
to Peter, "To be sure, thou art one of them. Why, thou art a Galilaean!"
71 But he began to curse and swear, "I know not this man whom you
72 mean." And immediately the cock crowed for the second time. Then
Peter recollected the word that Jesus had spoken to him, "Before the cock
crows twice, three times thou shalt deny me." And as he thought of it
he wept.

15 1 And in the morning the high priests along with the elders and scribes
and the whole Sanhedrin immediately held a consultation, bound Jesus,
2 carried him away, and delivered him up to Pilate. And Pilate ques-
tioned him, "Art thou the king of the Jews?" And in reply to him he
3 says, "Certainly." Then the high priests brought many accusations
4 against him. And again Pilate questioned him,² "Hast thou no reply?
5 Look at what grave accusations they bring against thee!" But to Pilate's
6 wonder, Jesus made no further reply. Now at festival time he used to
7 release for them one prisoner, whom they begged from him. And there
was a man called Bar-Abbas imprisoned along with the rioters, men who
8 had committed murder in the riot. So the multitude went up and began
9 to ask him for his customary boon. Pilate answered them, "Do you
10 wish me to release for you the king of the Jews?" (for he saw it was
11 for envy that the high priests had delivered him up). But the high
priests stirred up the crowd to make him release Bar-Abbas for them
12 instead. And in reply Pilate again said to them, "Then³ what am I to
13 do with him whom you call 'the king of the Jews'?" And again they
14 shouted, "Crucify him." Said Pilate to them, "Why, what evil has he
15 done?" But they shouted vehemently, "Crucify him." So, as Pilate
wanted to satisfy the crowd, he released for them Bar-Abbas; and after
scourging Jesus he delivered him up to be crucified.

16 Now the soldiers led him away inside the palace (that is, the
17 praetorium). Then calling the whole cohort together, they clothe him in
18 purple, and after plaiting a wreath of thorns they put it on him; and
19 they began to salute him, "Hail, king of the Jews!" And they smote
his head with a reed, and they spat on him, and they did homage
20 to him on bended knee. Then after their mockery of him, they
stripped off the purple and put his own garments upon him. And
21 they lead him out to crucify him, and force a passer-by to carry his cross,
namely Simon a Cyrenian who was on his way from the country (the
22 father of Alexander and Rufus). So they bring him to the place
23 Golgotha (which when translated means, "The place of a skull"). Then
24 they offered him wine flavoured with myrrh, but he would not take it.
And they crucify him, and *distribute his garments among them by casting*

¹ Omitting καὶ ἀλείπτω ἐρώνησεν.

² Omitting [[ἐλγόν]].

³ Omitting [[θέλετε]].

25 *lots over them* for each man's share. (It was the third hour, when they
 26 crucified him.) And the title of his crime was inscribed, THE KING
 27 OF THE JEWS. Also they crucify along with him two robbers, one on
 29 his right hand and one on his left. And the passers-by heaped abuse
 on him, *wagging their heads* and saying, "Ha! thou who wouldst break
 30 down the sanctuary and build it in three days, save thyself and come
 31 down from the cross!" Similarly, the high priests also mocked him
 among themselves with the scribes, saying, "Others he saved, himself
 32 he cannot save! Let 'the Christ,' 'the king of Israel,' come down now
 from the cross, that we may see and believe!" Those also who were
 crucified with him kept denouncing him.

33 And when the sixth hour came, a darkness covered the whole land till
 34 the ninth hour. And at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice,
 "Eloi, eloi, lama sabachthanei?" (which when translated means, "*My God,*
 35 *my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*") And on hearing it some of the
 36 bystanders said, "Look, he is calling Elijah!" Then one man ran,
 filled a sponge full of *vinegar*, put it on a reed, and *offered* him it
 37, 38 down." But Jesus uttered a loud cry and expired. And the veil of the
 39 sanctuary was torn in two, from top to bottom. Now when the centurion,
 who had been standing by opposite him, saw that he thus expired, he said,
 40 "This man was certainly a son of God." Now there were also women
 looking on from a distance. Among them were Mary of Magdala, Mary
 41 the mother of James the younger and of Joses, and also Salomê (women
 who used to follow him when he was in Galilee and minister to him),
 as well as many other women who had come up with him to Jerusalem.

42 And now that it was evening, since it was the Preparation (that is,
 43 the day before the sabbath), Joseph of Arimathaea—a councillor of good
 position, who was also waiting himself for the reign of God—took courage
 44 and went in to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. Pilate was
 astonished that he was dead already, and summoning the centurion
 45 he inquired of him if he had been dead for any time. And on ascer-
 46 taining it from the centurion, he granted the corpse to Joseph. And he
 brought a linen cloth, took him down, wrapt him in the linen cloth,
 and laid him in a tomb which had been hewn out of a rock. Then he
 47 rolled a stone against the entrance to the tomb. (Now Mary of Magdala
 and Mary the mother of Joses were looking to see where he was laid.)

16 1 And when the sabbath had elapsed, Mary of Magdala and Mary the
 2 mother of James and Salomê bought spices, to go and anoint him.
 And very early on the first day of the week, they go to the tomb when
 3 the sun was up. And they were saying to themselves, "Who will roll
 4 away the stone for us from the entrance to the tomb?" But on looking
 up they observe that the stone had been rolled back (rolled, for it was
 5 very large). And when they entered the tomb they saw a young man
 6 sitting on the right, clothed in a white robe; and they were appalled.
 But he says to them, "Be not appalled! you are seeking Jesus the man
 of Nazaret, the crucified; he has risen, he is not here. Look! here is the
 7 place where they laid him. But go your way, tell his disciples and
 Peter, 'He goes before you into Galilee; you shall see him there, as he
 8 told you.'" Then they went out and fled from the tomb, for trembling
 and amazement possessed them. And they said nothing to anyone,
 for they were afraid. . .

[75—90 A.D.]

MATTHEW

The author is no Pharisaic Jewish Christian. His desire is to represent the advanced and universal form of Jewish Christianity, to guard it, to give it a firmer consciousness of its rights, and at the same time to oppose Judaism. With this point of view, his work maintains throughout a character that lies above all party-extremes. "Catholic": that is the final impression which this writing over and again presents most unmistakably, whether we look at its teaching on the church, its idea of Peter's primacy, its Christology and Trinity (pointing already in the direction of later dogma), or lastly its ethics.

Many features that at first strike one as due to Jewish and OT thought, may quite well be explained by the requirements of the church, which was accustomed from the outset to seek its own early history in the OT. Our first gospel is properly a book upon the OT possessions and inheritance of the new religion. In fact, not merely does the whole life of Jesus appear to be determined by the prophecies of the OT—that is the general rule, more or less, throughout the synoptic representation—but, in addition to this, the materials common to the synoptists have been expanded in a variety of ways, after the style of the OT historical writings; candidly, they have undergone alterations for the purpose of stirring OT reminiscences in still larger numbers. Whatever stands debited to the Messiah in the OT, must be discovered to his credit in the evangelic history, and OT vouchers must be adduced for all the deeds and fortunes of the Messiah that are fixed in the church's faith.—**Holtzmann.**

- 1-4¹¹ **The preparation of Jesus:** his birth—homage and persecution,
baptism by John,
temptation.
- 4¹²-9³⁴ **The Galilean ministry:**
- 4¹²-25 introductory, call of first disciples,
5-7 a cycle of sayings—the “sermon on the mount.”
καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν κτλ (7²⁸).
- 8-9³⁴ a cycle of incidents—chiefly (ten) miracles: in
Kapharnahum and neighbourhood.
- 9³⁵-38 introductory,
10-13⁵⁸ commission to the twelve apostles. *καὶ ἐγένετο
κτλ (11¹).*
- 11 Jesus and John—unbelief of age.
- 12 conflict with Pharisees on { Sabbath:
expulsion of devils:
demand for signs.
- 13 a cycle of seven parables. *καὶ ἐγένετο κτλ (13⁵³).*
- 14¹-18³⁵ murder of John—miracles of Jesus: visit and con-
troversy of scribes and Pharisees.
at Caesarea Philippi—the transfiguration—miracles.
a cycle of sayings. *καὶ ἐγένετο κτλ (19^{1a}).*
- 19¹-25⁴⁶ **The Judæan ministry:** a cycle of sayings — at Jericho: the
triumphal entry into Jerusalem.
- 21¹²-22⁴⁶ purging of temple—controversy with priests, with
Herodians, Sadducees, Pharisees.
- 23-24 a cycle of seven Woes against scribes and Pharisees.
the apocalypse of Jesus.
- 25 the parables of the virgins and the talents—the last
judgment. *καὶ ἐγένετο κτλ (26^{1a}).*
- 26-27 **The passion of Jesus:** { at Bethany: in the upper room—the last
supper.
in the garden—the agony and the be-
trayal.
in the house of Kaiaphas—the trial,
Peter’s denial.
before Pilate—the suicide of Judas—
Jesus and Bar-Abbas.
the crucifixion, death and burial.
- 28 **After death:** appearance of angel, of Jesus, to women:
“ “ Jesus to the eleven apostles: his final
charge.

MATTHEW

- 1 THE birth-roll of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham :
- 2 Abraham begat Isaac, and Isaac begat Jacob, and Jacob begat Judah
 3 and his brothers, and Judah begat Perez and Zerah by Tamar, and Perez
 4 begat Hezron, and Hezron begat Ram, and Ram begat Aminadab, and
 5 Aminadab begat Nahshon, and Nahshon begat Salmon, and Salmon begat
 6 Boaz by Rahab, and Boaz begat Obed by Ruth, and Obed begat Jesse, and
 Jesse begat David the king. And David begat Solomon by
 7 Uriah's wife, and Solomon begat Rehoboam, and Rehoboam begat Abijah,
 8 and Abijah begat Asa, and Asa begat Jehoshaphat, and Jehoshaphat begat
 9 Joram, and Joram begat Uzziah, and Uzziah begat Jotham, and Jotham
 10 begat Ahaz, and Ahaz begat Hezekiah, and Hezekiah begat Manasseh,
 11 and Manasseh begat Amon, and Amon begat Josiah, and Josiah begat
 Jechoniah and his brothers at the time of the transportation to Babylon.
- 12 And after the transportation to Babylon, Jechoniah begat
 13 Shealtiel, and Shealtiel begat Zerubbabel, and Zerubbabel begat Abiud,
 14 and Abiud begat Eliakim, and Eliakim begat Azor, and Azor begat
 15 Zadok, and Zadok begat Achim, and Achim begat Eliud, and Eliud
 16 begat Eleazar, and Eleazar begat Matthan, and Matthan begat Jacob, and
 Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary of whom Jesus, who is called
 "Christ," was born.
- 17 So all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen genera-
 tions, and from David to the transportation to Babylon fourteen genera-
 tions, and from the transportation to Babylon to the Christ fourteen
 generations.
- 18 Now the birth of Jesus Christ was in this way. When Mary his
 mother had been betrothed to Joseph, she was found to be with child by
 19 the holy Spirit before they came together. As Joseph her husband was
 an upright man and yet unwilling to expose her publicly, he meant to
 20 divorce her secretly. But after he had planned this, lo, an angel of the
 Lord appeared to him in a dream, saying,
 "Joseph, son of David, fear not to take Mary thy wife,
 21 For what is begotten in her is by the holy Spirit :
 And she shall bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus,
 For he shall save his people from their sins."
- 22 The whole of this came to pass in order that what was spoken by the
 Lord through the prophet might be fulfilled ; when he said,
 23 *Lo ! the maiden shall be with child and bear a son,
 And they shall call his name Immanuel*
- 24 (which when translated means, "*God with us*"). And on awakening
 from sleep Joseph did as the angel of the Lord commanded him ; he
 25 took his wife, and did not know her until she had borne a son, and he
 called his name Jesus.

2 1 Now after the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem of Judaea during the days
 of Herod the king, lo, magicians from the East arrived at Jerusalem,
 2 saying, "Where is the newly-born king of the Jews? for we saw his star
 3 in the East and we have come to do him reverence." And on hearing it
 4 Herod the king was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. And he
 gathered all the high priests and scribes of the people together, and
 began to make inquiries of them as to where the Christ was to be born.
 5 And they said to him, "In Bethlehem of Judaea: for thus it is written
 through the prophet,

6 *And thou Bethlehem, land of Judah,
 Art by no means least among the rulers of Judah;
 For out of thee shall come a ruler,
 One who shall shepherd my people Israel."*

7 Then Herod secretly called the magicians and ascertained from them
 8 the time of the star's appearing. And he sent them to Bethlehem and
 said, "Go and make accurate inquiries about the child; and after you
 have found him, bring me word, that I also may go and do him
 9 reverence." Now when they heard the king they went on their way. And
 lo, the star which they had seen in the East went before them, until it
 10 came and stood still over the place where the child was. And on seeing
 11 the star, they rejoiced with very great joy. And on entering the house they
 saw the child with Mary his mother, and they fell down and did him
 reverence, and opened their caskets and offered him gifts of gold and
 12 frankincense and myrrh. And on being divinely instructed in a dream
 not to return to Herod, they retired to their own country by another road.

13 Now after they had retired, lo, an angel of the Lord appears in a
 dream to Joseph, saying, "Rise up, take the child and his mother and
 flee to Egypt; and stay there till I tell thee. For Herod is about to
 14 seek the child, to destroy him." And he rose up, took the child and his
 15 mother by night and retired to Egypt, where he stayed until the death
 of Herod; that what was spoken by the Lord through the prophet might be
 16 fulfilled, when he said, *Out of Egypt I called my son.* Then Herod

saw that the magicians had trifled with him; and he was mightily enraged,
 and sent out and slew all the male children in Bethlehem and all its
 neighbourhood, from two years of age and under, according to the time
 17 which he had ascertained from the magicians. Then what was spoken
 through the prophet Jeremiah was fulfilled, when he said,

18 *A voice was heard in Ramah,
 Weeping and great mourning—
 Rachel weeping for her children;
 And she refused to be consoled, for they live no more.*

19 But when Herod died, lo, an angel of the Lord appears in a dream to
 20 Joseph in Egypt, saying, "Rise up, take the child and his mother and go
 into the land of Israel, for those who sought the child's life are dead."
 21 And he rose up, took the child and his mother and entered the land of
 22 Israel. But when he heard that Archelaus was reigning over Judaea in
 succession to his father Herod, he was afraid to go there; and on being
 divinely instructed in a dream, he retired into the districts of Galilee.
 23 So he came and dwelt in a city called Nazaret; that what was spoken
 through the prophets might be fulfilled, "He shall be called a Nazarene."

3 1 Now in those days John the baptizer arrives, preaching in the wilder-
 2, 3 ness of Judaea, "Repent, for the reign of heaven is near." (For this
 is he who was spoken of through the prophet Isaiah in the words:

The voice of one crying in the wilderness :

*" Make ready the way of the Lord,
Make level his paths ! ")*

4 Now he, John, had his clothing made of camel's hair, with a leather girdle round his loins, and his food consisted of locusts and wild honey.
5 Then Jerusalem and all Judaea and all the country surrounding the
6 Jordan began to go out to him ; and they were baptized by him in
7 the river Jordan, as they confessed their sins. But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming for baptism, he said to them,

" You offspring of vipers, who has directed you to flee from the wrath to come ?

8 Bear fruit, then, befitting your repentance :

9 And presume not to say to yourselves, ' We have Abraham as our father,'

For I tell you, God can raise up children for Abraham from these stones !

10 Even already is the axe laid at the root of the trees :

So shall each tree be hewn and thrown into the fire, unless it bear sound fruit.

11 With water I baptize you for repentance ;

But he who comes after me is mightier than I,

Whose sandals I am not fit to carry :

He shall baptize you with the holy Spirit and fire—

12 Whose winnowing fan is in his hand, and he will cleanse out his threshing-floor,

He will gather his corn into the granary,

But the straw he will burn up with fire unquenchable."

13 Then Jesus arrives from Galilee to John at the Jordan, to get baptized

14 by him. But John tried to prevent him, saying, " I need to get baptized

15 by thee, yet thou comest to me ! " But Jesus answered and said, " Let it be so, for the present ; thus it behoves us to do whatsoever is right."

16 Then he gave in to him. And when Jesus had been baptized, he immediately rose up from the water ; and lo, the skies opened, and he saw

17 God's Spirit descend as it were a dove and come upon him ; and lo, a voice spoke out of the skies,

" This is my Son, the beloved,

In whom I delight."

4 1 Then Jesus was led up by the Spirit into the wilderness to be
2 tempted by the devil. And after fasting for forty days and forty nights

3 he at last hungered. And the tempter came and said to him, " If thou

4 art God's Son, give orders that these stones become bread." But in answer he said, " It is written :

Not on bread alone is man to live,

But on every word that issues from the mouth of God."

5 Then the devil takes him to the holy city ; and setting him on the

6 pinnacle of the temple, he says to him, " If thou art God's Son, throw thyself down ; for it is written,

He shall charge his angels concerning thee :

Yea on their hands they shall bear thee,

Lest ever thou strike thy foot against a stone."

7 Jesus said to him, " Again it is written : *Thou shalt not make trial of the*

8 *Lord thy God."* Once more, the devil takes him to a very high mountain,

9 and shows him all the realms of the world and their grandeur ; and he

said to him, "All these I will give thee, if thou wilt fall down and do me reverence." Then Jesus says to him, "Satan, begone! for it is written: *Thou shalt do reverence to the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou worship.*" Then the devil leaves him; and lo, angels came and ministered to him.

Now when he heard that John had been delivered up, he retired to Galilee. And on leaving Nazaret he came and dwelt in Kapharnahum which lies beside the sea in the territory of Zebulun and Naphtali; that what was spoken through Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled, when he said,

*The land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali,
Towards the sea, across the Jordan,
Galilee of the Gentiles:*

*The people who sat in darkness
Saw a great light;
And to those who sat in the region and the shadow of death,
To them light rose.*

From that time Jesus began to preach and say, "Repent, for the reign of heaven is near."

Now as he walked beside the sea of Galilee, he saw two brothers, Simon (who is called Peter) and Andrew his brother, casting a fishing-net into the sea; for they were fishers. And he says to them, "Come after me and I will make you fishers of men." So they immediately left the nets and followed him. And going on from there he saw two other brothers, James the son of Zebedee, with his brother John, in the boat with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and he called them. So they immediately left the boat and their father, and followed him. Then he made a tour through the whole of Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, preaching the glad tidings of the Reign, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of infirmity among the people. And the report of him went out into the whole of Syria. And they brought him all who were ill, possessed with various diseases and tormenting pains, or possessed by daemons, or epileptic and paralytic; and he healed them. And great crowds followed him from Galilee and Dekapolis and Jerusalem and Judaea and from across the Jordan. Now on seeing the crowds he went up the mountain; and when he sat down, his disciples approached him. Then opening his mouth he taught them, saying:

"Happy the poor in spirit!
For theirs is the reign of heaven.

Happy the mourners!
For they shall be comforted.

Happy the gentle!
For they shall inherit the earth.

Happy they who hunger and thirst for uprightness!
For they shall be satisfied.

Happy the merciful!
For they shall obtain mercy.

Happy the pure in heart!
For they shall see God.

Happy the peacemakers!
For they shall be called sons of God.

- 10 Happy they who have been persecuted on account of uprightness !
For theirs is the reign of heaven.
- 11 Happy are you when men shall denounce you and persecute you
and say all manner of mischief against you for my sake :
- 12 Joy and rejoice ! for great is your reward in the heavens.
For thus did they persecute the prophets who were before you.
- 13 You are the salt of the earth.
But if salt has lost its savour,
Wherewith shall it be salted ?
It is no longer fit for anything,
Save to be thrown out and trampled under men's feet.
- 14 You are the light of the world (a city built on a mountain cannot be hidden).
- 15 And men do not light a lamp to put it under the bushel, but on the lampstand,
And it shines for all who are in the house :
- 16 So let your light shine before men,
That they may see your good deeds, and magnify your Father who is in the heavens.
- 17 Think not that I came to break down the law and the prophets :
I came not to break down but to fulfil.
- 18 [For I tell you truly, till sky and earth pass away,
Not an iota, not one upstroke of a letter shall pass away from the law, till all come to pass.
- 19 Whoever then shall break one of these least commandments and teach men so,
In the reign of heaven he shall be reckoned least :
But whoever shall obey and teach them,
In the reign of heaven he shall be reckoned greatest.]
- 20 For I tell you, unless your uprightness shall excel that of the scribes and Pharisees,
You shall not enter the reign of heaven.
- 21 You have heard that it was said to the men of old,
'*Thou shalt not murder* : and whoever murders shall be liable to the judges.'
- 22 But I tell you,
Everyone who is angry with his brother shall be liable to the judges,
And whoever says to his brother, 'Empty fellow !' shall be liable to the Sanhedrin,
And whoever says to his brother, 'Idiot !' shall be liable to the Gehenna of fire.
- 23 So if thou art offering thy gift at the altar,
And rememberest there that thy brother has anything against thee,
- 24 Leave thy gift there before the altar,
And go, be reconciled to thy brother first,
Then come and offer thy gift.
- 25 (Come quickly to terms with thine opponent, so long as thou art with him on the road ;
Lest the opponent deliver thee up to the judge, and the judge to the officer, and thou be thrown into prison :
- 26 I tell thee truly, thou shalt not leave that place, till thou hast paid the last halfpenny.)

- 27 You have heard that it was said,
 '*Thou shalt not commit adultery.*'
- 28 But I tell you,
 Everyone who looks at a woman for lust¹ has committed adultery
 with her already in his heart.
- 29 If thy right eye hinder thee,
 Pluck it out and throw it from thee :
 For it is good for thee that one of thy members perish,
 Instead of thy whole body being thrown into Gehenna.
- 30 And if thy right hand hinder thee,
 Cut it off and throw it from thee :
 For it is good for thee that one of thy members perish,
 Instead of thy whole body going into Gehenna.
- 31 It was said also,
 '*Whoever shall divorce his wife, let him give her a writing of
 repudiation.*'
- 32 But I tell you,
 Everyone who divorces his wife, except on account of fornication,
 makes her an adulteress :
 And whoever marries her after she is divorced, commits adultery.
- 33 Once more, you have heard that it was said to the men of old,
 '*Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt discharge thy vows to the Lord.*'
- 34 But I tell you,
 Swear not at all :
 Neither by *heaven*, because it is *God's throne*,
 Nor by *earth*, because it is *the footstool of his feet*,
 Nor by *Jerusalem*, because it is *the city of the great King*,
 Nor shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not
 make one hair white or black.
- 37 Let what you say be simply 'yes' or 'no' :
 Whatever exceeds that is from the evil one.
- 38 You have heard that it was said,
 '*An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.*'
- 39 But I tell you,
 Resist not the evil man ;
 Nay, whoever smites thee on the² right cheek,
 Turn the other to him also.
- 40 And if anyone wishes to sue thee for possession of thy tunic,
 Let him have thy cloak also.
- 41 And whoever shall force thee to go one mile,
 Go two with him.
- 42 Give to him who asks thee,
 And turn not away from him who would borrow from thee.
- 43 You have heard that it was said,
 '*Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy.*'
- 44 But I tell you,
 Love your enemies, and pray for those who persecute you,
 That you may become sons of your Father who is in the heavens :
 For he makes his sun rise upon niggardly and generous,
 And sends rain upon just and unjust.

¹ Omitting [[*αὐτῆς*]].² Omitting [[*εὐ*]].

- 46 For if you love those who love you, what reward have you ?
Do not even the tax-gatherers do that ?
- 47 And if you salute merely your brothers, what are you doing beyond others ?
Do not even the heathen do that ?
- 48 *You are to be perfect* then,
As your heavenly Father is perfect.
- 1 Take care not to practise your charity before men, to be seen by them ;
Otherwise you have no reward with your Father who is in the heavens.
- 2 So when thou givest alms,
Make no flourish of trumpets, as do the hypocrites
In the synagogues and in the thoroughfares, that they may be magnified by men :
I tell you truly, they get their reward.
- 3 But when thou givest alms,
Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand is doing,
- 4 That thine alms may be in secret ;
And thy Father who sees in secret shall recompense thee.
- 5 And when you pray,
You shall not be like the hypocrites ;
For they like to pray standing in the synagogues and at the street corners, to appear before men :
I tell you truly, they get their reward.
- 6 But thou, when thou prayest,
Go into thine inner chamber, shut thy door,
And pray to thy Father who is in secret ;
And thy Father who sees in secret shall recompense thee.
- 7 In praying do not babble by rote as the heathen do,
For they imagine they shall be heard for their store of words :
- 8 Now be not like them ;
For your Father knows what you need, before you ask him.
- 9 Pray you in this way, then :
‘ Our Father who art in the heavens,
Thy name be hallowed,
Thy reign come,
Thy will be done,
As in heaven so upon earth !
Our bread for the morrow give us to-day.
And forgive us our debts
As we also have forgiven our debtors ;
And lead us not into temptation,
But rescue us from the evil one.’
- 14 For if you forgive men their trespasses,
Your heavenly Father will forgive you also :
- 15 But if you forgive not men,¹
Neither will your heavenly Father forgive your trespasses.
- 16 Now when you fast,
Put on no dejected looks, like the hypocrites,

¹ Omitting [[τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν]].

- For they disfigure their faces to appear fasting before men :
 I tell you truly, they get their reward.
- 17 But thou, when thou fastest,
 Anoint thy head and wash thy face,
 18 That thou mayest not appear to men as one fasting, but to thy Father
 who is in secret ;
 And thy Father who sees in secret shall recompense thee.
- 19 Store up no treasure for yourselves on earth,
 Where moth and rust consume,
 And where thieves break in and steal :
 20 But store up treasure for yourselves in heaven,
 Where neither moth nor rust consumes,
 And where thieves do not break in or steal.
- 21 For where thy treasure is,
 There shall thine heart be also.
 22 The lamp of the body is the eye :
 If thine eye then be liberal,
 Thy whole body shall be lit up ;
 23 But if thine eye be niggardly,
 Thy whole body shall be darkened.
 If the light in thee is darkness,
 Then—what a darkness !
- 24 No one can serve two masters :
 For either he will hate the one and love the other,
 Or else he will hold to one and despise the other.
 You cannot serve God and Mammon.
- 25 Therefore I tell you,
 Be not anxious for your life, about what you are to eat,¹
 Nor yet for your body, about what you are to wear :
 Is not life more than food,
 And the body than raiment ?
- 26 Look at the birds of the air :
 They sow not, reap not, gather into no granaries,
 Yet your heavenly Father feeds them.
 Are you not worth more than they ?
- 27 Which of you can add one ell to his stature by anxiety ?
 28 Why then be anxious about raiment ?
 Mark well how the field-lilies grow ! they toil not, neither do they
 spin :
 29 Yet I tell you, even Solomon in all his grandeur was not robed
 like one of these.
- 30 Now if God thus arrays the grass of the field, which lives to-day and
 is thrown to-morrow into the oven,
 O men of little faith, shall he not much more array you ?
- 31 Be not anxious then and say,
 ‘What are we to eat ?’ or ‘What are we to drink ?’ or ‘How are
 we to be clothed ?’
- 32 (For all these things the Gentiles crave)
 For your heavenly Father knows that you require all these.
- 33 But seek his reign and his uprightness first,
 And you shall have all these added besides.
- 34 Be not anxious for the morrow, then ;

¹ Omitting [[τὸ τι τρώγει]].

The morrow will be anxious for itself.
Sufficient for the day is the day's own trouble.

- 7 1 Judge not,
That you may not be judged ;
2 For with what judgment you judge,
You shall be judged,
And with what measure you measure,
It shall be measured to you.
3 Why look at the splinter in thy brother's eye,
And mark not the beam in thine own eye ?
4 What ! how art thou to say to thy brother, 'Come, let me pull the
splinter out of thine eye,'
When lo, the beam is in thine own eye ?
5 Hypocrite ! pull the beam out of thine own eye first,
Then indeed shalt thou see clearly to pull the splinter out of thy
brother's eye.
6 Give not what is holy to the dogs,
And throw not your pearls before swine ;
Lest they trample them under their feet,
And turn to tear you in pieces.
7 Ask and it shall be given you,
Seek and you shall find,
Knock and it shall be opened to you :
8 For every one who asks receives,
And he who seeks finds,
And to him who knocks it shall be opened.
9 Why, what man of you will hand his son a stone, if he asks him for a
loaf ?
10 Or will hand him a serpent, if he asks him for a fish ?
If you then, niggardly as you are, know how to give good gifts to
your children,
How much more shall your Father who is in the heavens give good
things to those who ask him ?
12 All then that you would have men do to you,
Do also to them, yourselves :
For this is the law and the prophets.
13 Enter by the narrow gate :
For wide¹ and spacious is the way that leads to destruction,
And those who are entering by it are many ;
14 For narrow is the gate and strait the way that leads to life,
And those who are finding it are few.
15 Beware of false prophets, men who come to you in sheep's clothing,
But are inwardly ravenous wolves.
16 From their fruits you shall recognise them :
Do men gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles ?
17 So every good tree brings forth sound fruits,
But the rotten tree brings forth bad fruits.
18 A good tree cannot bring forth bad fruits,
Nor can a rotten tree bring forth sound fruits.

¹ Omitting [[~~ὁ~~ ~~εὐρύς~~]].

19 (Each tree shall be hewn and thrown into the fire,
Unless it bear sound fruit)

20 So from their fruits then you shall recognise them.

21 Not everyone who says to me, 'Lord, Lord!' shall enter the reign of
heaven ;

But he who obeys the will of my Father who is in the heavens.

22 Many will say to me on that day, 'Lord, Lord !

Did we not *prophesy by thy name?*

And cast out daemons by thy name?

And work many miracles by thy name?'

23 And then will I declare to them, 'I never knew you :

Depart from me, ye workers of evil.'

24 Everyone then who hears these words of mine,
and obeys them,

Shall be compared to a shrewd man,
who built his house upon the rock :

25 And the rain fell,

The streams rose,

The winds blew and beat upon that house ;

Yet it fell not,

For it was founded upon the rock.

26 And everyone who hears these words of mine,

And obeys them not,

Shall be compared to a thoughtless man,

Who built his house upon the sand ;

27 And the rain fell,

The streams rose,

The winds blew and struck upon that house,

And it fell ;

And great was its downfall."

28 And it came to pass when Jesus finished these words, the crowds were

29 astonished at his teaching ; for he taught them as one who exerted
authority, and not like their own scribes.

8 1 Now when he came down from the mountain, great crowds followed

2 him. And there was a leper who approached and began to do him
reverence, saying, "Sir, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean."

3 And stretching out his hand he touched him, saying, "I will :

4 be clean." And immediately his leprosy was made clean. And

Jesus says to him, "See thou tell no one ; but go, *show thyself to the*
priest and offer the gift that Moses commanded—as a proof to men."

5 Now when he entered Kapharnahum, a centurion came to him

6 and besought him saying, "Sir, my servant is lying ill at home with

7 paralysis, in dreadful torture." He says to him, "I will come and heal

8 him." But the centurion answered and said, "Sir, I am not fit to have

thee come under my roof. Only say the word, and my servant shall

9 be cured. For indeed I am myself a man under authority, with soldiers

under me : I say to this man, 'Go,' and he goes ; to another,

10 'Come,' and he comes ; to my slave, 'Do this,' and he does it." Now

when Jesus heard it, he marvelled ; and he said to his followers, "I

tell you truly, I have not found such faith as this with anyone in Israel.

11 I tell you,

Many shall come *from east and west*

And recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the heavenly realm :

12 But the sons of the realm shall be thrown out into the outer darkness ;
There shall the weeping be, and the gnashing of teeth."

13 And Jesus said to the centurion, "Go ; be it done for thee, as thou hast
14 believed." And in that hour the servant was cured. And on

entering the house of Peter, Jesus saw his wife's mother lying in bed with
15 fever. And he touched her hand, and the fever left her ; and she rose and
16 ministered to him. Now in the evening they brought him many who
were possessed by daemons, and he cast out the spirits with a word, and
17 healed all who were ill—that what was spoken through the prophet
Isaiah might be fulfilled, *He took our illnesses himself, and our diseases bore.*

18 Now when Jesus saw great crowds around him, he gave orders to
19 depart to the opposite side. And one man, a scribe, came up and said to
20 him, "Teacher, I will follow thee wherever thou goest." Then Jesus says
to him,

"The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have shelters,
But the Son of man has no place to lay his head."

21 Another of the disciples said to him, "Lord, let me go and bury my
22 father first." But Jesus says to him, "Follow me, and let the dead bury
23 their own dead." And he embarked in a boat, followed by his

24 disciples. And lo, a great storm rose on the sea, so that the boat was
25 being covered with the waves. But he was asleep. And they went to him
26 and woke him, saying, "Save, Lord ! we are perishing !" And he says
to them, "Why are you timid, O men of little faith ?" Then he rose and
27 rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm. And the
men marvelled and said, "What a man this is ! even the winds and the sea
28 obey him !"

And when he reached the opposite side, the
country of the Gadarenes, two men possessed by daemons met him, who came
from the tombs, men of such violence that no one could pass along that
29 road. And behold, they shouted, "What have we to do with thee, Son
30 of God ? Hast thou come here to torment us before the time ?" Now

31 far away from them a drove of many swine was grazing. And the
daemons besought him, "If thou cast us out, send us away into the
32 drove of swine." And he said to them, "Begone." So they came out
and went off into the swine, and lo ! all the drove rushed down the

33 steep slope into the sea and perished in the waters. Then the herds-
men fled and went away into the city bringing word of everything,
34 and of those who had been possessed by daemons. And behold, all the
city came out to meet Jesus ; and when they saw him, they besought

9 1 him to remove from their neighbourhood. And he embarked

2 in a boat and crossed over, and came to his own city. And behold, they
brought him a paralytic man lying on a bed. And when Jesus saw
their faith, he said to the paralytic man, "Be of good cheer, my son :
3 thy sins are forgiven." And behold, some of the scribes said to them-
selves, "This fellow is blaspheming." And when Jesus saw what they
4 were thinking he said, "Why think evil in your hearts ? For which
is easier, to say, 'Thy sins are forgiven,' or to say, 'Rise and walk' ?

6 But, to let you know that the Son of man has authority on earth to
forgive sins"—then he says to the paralytic man—"Rise, take up thy bed,
7, 8 and go home." And he rose and went away home. Now when the crowd
saw it they were awed, and they magnified God who had given such

9 authority to men. And as Jesus passed along from there, he saw
 a man sitting at the tax-office, called Matthew ; and he says to him,
 10 "Follow me." And he rose and followed him. And it came to pass as
 he reclined at table in the house, there were many tax-gatherers and
 11 sinners who came and reclined along with Jesus and his disciples. And
 when the Pharisees saw it, they said to his disciples, "Why does your
 12 teacher eat with the tax-gatherers and sinners?" But when he heard
 it he said,

"The strong need not a physician, but those who are ill.

13 Go and learn what this means : *It is mercy I care for, not sacrifice.*
 For I came not to call upright men but sinners."

14 Then the disciples of John approach him, saying, "Why is it that we
 15 and the Pharisees fast, while thy disciples fast not?" And Jesus said to
 them,

"Can the sons of the bride-chamber mourn

As long as the bridegroom is with them?

But days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away
 from them :

And then will they fast.

16 No man sews a piece of undressed cloth on an old cloak ;

For the patch parts from it,

And a worse tear is made.

17 Nor do men pour fresh wine into old wine-skins :

Otherwise the wine-skins burst,

The wine is spilt, and the wine-skins are lost.

No, they pour fresh wine into new wine-skins,

And both are preserved."

18 As he was speaking thus to them, behold, a president came and began to
 do him reverence, saying, "My daughter has this moment died. But

19 come and lay thy hand on her, and she shall live." Then Jesus rose and

20 followed him, along with his disciples. And behold, a woman who had

had a hemorrhage for twelve years, came behind him and touched the tassel

21 of his cloak ; for she kept saying to herself, "If only I touch his cloak,

22 I shall be restored." When Jesus turned and saw her, he said, "Be of

good cheer, daughter ; thy faith has restored thee." And the woman was

23 restored from that hour. And when Jesus came to the house of the

24 president, and saw the flute-players and the crowd making a noise, he

said, "Retire ; the girl is not dead, but asleep." And they laughed him

25 to scorn. But when the crowd had been put out, he went in and took

26 her hand, and the girl rose. And the report of this went out into the

27 whole of that land.. And as Jesus passed along from there, two

blind men followed him, shouting and saying, "Have pity on us, Son of

28 David !" But when he had gone into the house, the blind men came up

to him ; and Jesus says to them, "Do you believe I am able to do

29 this?" They say to him, "Yes, Lord." Then he touched their eyes,

30 saying, "According to your faith be it done for you." And their eyes

were opened. And Jesus sternly charged them, saying, "See that no

31 one knows of it." They went out, however, and spread his fame through

32 the whole of that land. Now as they were going out, there were

33 people who brought him a dumb man possessed by a daemon. And when

the daemon had been cast out, the dumb man spoke. And the crowd

34 marvelled, saying, "Never was such a sight seen in Israel !" But the

Pharisees said, "He is casting out the daemons with the help of the ruler
 of the daemons."

35 And Jesus made a tour through all the cities and the villages,
 teaching in their synagogues, preaching the glad tidings of the Reign,
 36 and healing all manner of disease and all manner of infirmity. And
 when he saw the crowds he was moved with compassion for them,
 because they were harassed and prostrate, *like sheep without a shepherd.*
 37 Then he says to his disciples,

“The harvest is ample, but the labourers are few :

38 Entreat then the owner of the harvest to thrust out labourers into
 his harvest.”

10 1 And calling his twelve disciples to him, he gave them authority over
 unclean spirits to cast them out, and to heal all manner of disease and
 2 all manner of infirmity. Now these are the names of the twelve
 apostles. First Simon (who is called Peter), with Andrew his brother,
 3 and James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, Philip and
 Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew the tax-gatherer, James (the son of
 4 Alphaeus) and Thaddaens, Simon (“the zealot”) and Jndas Iskariot (who
 5 also betrayed him). These twelve men Jesus sent out, after charging
 them in these words :

“Take no road to the Gentiles,

And enter no city of the Samaritans ;

6 Rather go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

7 And as you go, preach, saying, ‘The reign of heaven is near.’

8 Heal the sick, raise the dead,

Make lepers clean, cast out daemons :

You received without fee,

Give without fee.

9, 10 Provide yourselves with no gold or silver or brass in your girdles, with
 no wallet for your journey, nor with two tunics, nor with sandals, nor
 11 with staff ; for the labourer is worthy of his food. And whatever city or
 village you enter, ascertain who is worthy in it, and stay there till you
 12 leave. As you enter the household, salute it.

13 Then if the household be worthy,

Let your peace come upon it :

But if it be not worthy,

Let your peace return to you.

14 And whoever shall not receive you or listen to your words,

As you go outside that house or that city, shake off the dust of your
 feet ;

15 I tell you truly, the land of Sodom and Gomorra shall find it more
 bearable on the day of judgment than that city.

16 Lo, I despatch you like sheep amid wolves ;

Be shrewd then like serpents, and guileless like doves.

17 Beware of men :

For they will deliver you up to councils,

And scourge you in their synagogues.

18 Moreover before governors and kings shall you be brought for my sake,

For a witness to them and to the Gentiles.

19 Now when they deliver you up,

Be not anxious how to speak or what to say ;

What you are to say shall be given you in that hour.

20 For it is not so much you who speak,

As the Spirit of your Father which speaks in you.

21 Brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his child :

Children shall rise up against parents and have them put to death.

- 22 And you shall be hated by all men for my name's sake ;
 But he who endures to the end, he shall be saved.
- 23 When they persecute you in this city, flee to the next :
 For I tell you truly, you shall not have got to the end of the cities of
 Israel, before the Son of man comes.
- 24 A pupil is not above his teacher,
 Nor a slave above his owner :
- 25 It is enough for the pupil to be like his teacher,
 And the slave like his owner.
 If they surnamed the master of the house ' Beel-zebul,'
 How much more those of his household ?
- 26 So fear them not : for nothing is veiled that shall not be disclosed,
 Or hidden that shall not be known.
- 27 What I tell you in the darkness, speak in the light :
 And what is taught you in a whisper, proclaim on the
 housetops.
- 28 And fear not those who kill the body but are not able to kill the soul :
 Rather fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in
 Gehenna.
- 29 Are not two sparrows sold for a penny ?
 Yet not one of them shall fall to the ground without your Father.
- 30 Yes, and as for you, the hairs of your head have been all numbered.
- 31 Fear not, then : you are worth more than many sparrows.
- 32 Everyone therefore who shall confess me before men,
 I also will confess him before my Father who is in the heavens :
- 33 But whoever shall disown me before men,
 I also will disown him before my Father who is in the heavens.
- 34 Think not that I came to bring peace on the earth,
 I came not to bring peace but a sword.
- 35 For I came to set a man at variance *against his father,*
And the daughter against her mother,
And the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law ;
- 36 *Yea a man's enemies shall be the people of his own household.*
- 37 He who loves father or mother more than me,
 Is not worthy of me :
 And he who loves son or daughter more than me,
 Is not worthy of me :
- 38 And he who does not take his cross and follow after me,
 Is not worthy of me.
- 39 He who has found his life,
 Shall lose it :
 And he who for my sake has lost his life,
 Shall find it.
- 40 He who receives you receives me,
 And he who receives me receives him who sent me.
- 41 He who receives a prophet because he is a prophet,
 Shall receive a prophet's reward :
 And he who receives an upright man because he is an upright man,
 Shall receive an upright man's reward :
- 42 And whosoever shall give one of these little ones, were it only a cup of
 cold water, because he is a disciple,
 I tell you truly, he shall not lose his reward."
- 11 1 And it came to pass when Jesus finished giving instructions to his twelve
 disciples, he removed from there to teach and preach in their cities.

2 Now when John in the prison-house heard of the deeds of the Christ,
3 he sent a message to him by his disciples, "Art thou he 'who is to come' ?
4 or are we to expect someone else ?" And in answer Jesus said to them,
"Go and report to John what you hear and see :

5 *The blind regain their sight, and the lame walk,
The lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear,
The dead also are raised, and the poor have glad tidings preached
to them.*

6 And happy is he who is repelled by nothing in me."

7 Now as these men went on their way, Jesus began to speak about John
to the crowds :

"What did you go out into the wilderness to view ? A reed being
shaken by the wind ?

8 Nay, what did you go out to see ? A man clothed in soft robes ?
Lo, those who wear soft robes are in kings' houses !

9 Nay, why did you go out ? to see a prophet ?
Yes, I tell you, and far more than a prophet.

10 This is he of whom it is written,
*Lo, I send my messenger before thy face,
Who shall prepare thy way before thee.*

11 I tell you truly, no one has arisen among those born of women, greater
than John the baptizer :

Yet he who is least in the heavenly realm is greater than he.

12 (And from the days of John the baptizer until now, the heavenly realm
is carried by storm, and the violent seize on it.)

13 For all the prophets and the law prophesied till John :

14 Yea, if you would receive it, this is Elijah who is to come.

15 He who has ears, let him hear.

16 To what shall I compare this generation ?

It is like children sitting in the market-places, who address their play-
mates and say,

'We piped to you, and you did not dance :
We lamented, and you beat not your breasts.'

18 For John came neither eating nor drinking,
And men say, 'He has a daemon'.

19 The Son of man came eating and drinking,
And men say, 'Here is a man of gluttony and wine, a friend of
tax-gatherers and sinners.'

(Yet wisdom is vindicated by her deeds.)"

20 Then he began to reproach the cities in which most of his miracles
had been wrought, because they did not repent.

21 "Woe to thee, Khorazin ! Woe to thee, Bethsaida !

For had the miracles wrought in you been wrought in Tyre and Sidon,
They had repented long ago in sackcloth and in ashes.

22 Yet I tell you, Tyre and Sidon shall find it more bearable on the day
of judgment than you.

23 And thou, Kapharnahum, shalt thou be raised to the sky ? thou shalt go
down to Hades !

For had the miracles wrought in thee been wrought in Sodom,
It would have lasted until this day.

24 Yet I tell you, the land of Sodom shall find it more bearable on the
day of judgment than thou."

25 At that season Jesus spoke and said,

"I praise thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth,

That thou didst hide these things from wise and clever men, revealing them to babes.

26 Even so, Father !—

That thus it pleased thee.

27 All things have been delivered to me by my Father,

And no one understands the Son but the Father.

Nor does anyone understand the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son may choose to reveal him.

28 Come to me, all ye who are weary and burdened,

And I will give you rest.

29 Take my yoke on you and learn from me,

For I am gentle and humble in heart,

And you shall find rest for your souls :

30 For my yoke is easy and my burden light."

12 1 At that season Jesus went on the sabbath-day through the cornfields ; and as his disciples hungered, they began to pluck ears of corn and eat.
2 Now the Pharisees saw it and said to him, "Lo ! thy disciples are
3 doing what it is wrong to do upon a sabbath." But he said to them, "Have you not read what David did, when he and his companions
4 were hungry ? How he went into the house of God, and they ate *the show-bread*, which neither he nor his companions had any right to eat,
5 but only the priests ? Or have you not read in the law that on the sabbath-day the priests in the temple desecrate the sabbath and are guilt-
6, 7 less ? And I tell you, a greater than the temple is here. But had you known what this means, *It is mercy I care for, not sacrifice*, you would
8 not have condemned the guiltless. For the Son of man is lord of the
9, 10 sabbath." And removing thence he entered their synagogue. And there was a man with a withered hand ; and they asked him, "Is it right
11 to heal on the sabbath-day ?"—in order to accuse him. He said to them, "What man of you shall there be who has one sheep, and, if this falls into
12 a ditch on the sabbath-day, will not lay hold of it and lift it out ? How much more then is a man worth than a sheep ? So that it is right to
13 do good on the sabbath-day." Then he says to the man, "Stretch out thy hand." And as he stretched out, it was restored sound
14 like the other one. Now the Pharisees went out and took counsel against him, how to destroy him. But Jesus perceived it and retired
15 thence ; and many followed him, and he healed them all, charging
16 them not to make him known—that what was spoken through the prophet Isaiah might be fulfilled, when he said,

18 *Behold, my servant whom I have chosen,*

My beloved, in whom my soul delights !

I will put my spirit upon him,

And he shall proclaim justice to the Gentiles.

19 *He shall not wrangle nor clamour,*

Nor shall his voice be heard in the streets.

20 *A bruised reed he shall not break,*

And smouldering flax he shall not quench,

Till he bring out justice triumphant :

21 *And in his name shall the Gentiles hope.*

22 Then one possessed by a daemon, blind and dumb, was brought him ;
23 and he healed him, so that the dumb man spoke and saw. And all the crowds were amazed and said, "Can this be the son of David ?"

24 But when the Pharisees heard it, they said, "This fellow is casting out

- 25 the daemons with the help of Beelzebub the ruler of the daemons." And aware of their thoughts, he said to them,
 "Any realm divided against itself comes to ruin,
 And any city or household divided against itself shall not stand ;
 26 And if Satan casts out Satan, he is divided against himself :
 How then shall his realm stand ?
 27 And if I am casting out the daemons with the help of Beelzebub, with whose help do your sons cast them out ?
 Therefore shall they be your judges.
 28 But if I am casting out the daemons with the help of God's Spirit, Then God's reign has already reached you.
 29 Why, how can one enter the house of the mighty man and spoil his goods, unless one first of all binds the mighty man ? Then indeed he will plunder his house.
 30 Whoever is not with me is against me ;
 And whoever gathers not with me, is scattering.
 31 Therefore I tell you,
 Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven men,
 But the blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven.
 32 And whoever speaks a word against the Son of man, shall be forgiven :
 But whoever speaks against the holy Spirit, shall not be forgiven, neither in this age nor in that which is to come.
 33 Either make the tree sound and its fruit sound,
 Or make the tree rotten and its fruit rotten :
 For by the fruit the tree is known.
 34 Offspring of vipers ! how can you speak what is good, when you are bad ?
 For from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks.
 35 The good man from his good storehouse produces good,
 And the bad man from his bad storehouse produces bad.
 36 I tell you, for every useless word that men shall speak,
 They shall render account on the day of judgment :
 37 For by thy words shalt thou be justified,
 And by thy words shalt thou be condemned."
 38 Then some of the scribes and Pharisees answered him, "Teacher,
 39 we would see a sign from thee ?" But he answered and said,
 "It is an evil and adulterous generation that craves a sign :
 Yet no sign shall be given it, save the sign of Jonah the prophet :
 40 For as *Jonah was in the sea-monster's belly for three days and three nights,*
 So shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth for three days and three nights.
 41 The men of Nineveh shall stand up at the judgment along with this generation and condemn it ;
 For they repented at the preaching of Jonah—
 And lo, a greater than Jonah is here !
 42 The queen of the South shall rise up at the judgment along with this generation and condemn it ;
 For she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon—
 And lo, a greater than Solomon is here !
 43 When the unclean spirit leaves a man,

It passes through waterless places in search of rest, yet finds not any.

44 Then it says, 'I will return to my house, that I left';

And on coming finds it vacant,¹ swept clean and in order:

45 Then it goes and fetches along with it seven other spirits more hurtful than itself,

And entering there they dwell—and that man's last state becomes worse than his first.

So shall it be also with this evil generation."

46 While he was still speaking to the crowds, behold, his mother and his 48 brothers stood outside, trying to speak to him.² But in reply he said

to him who told him, "Who is my mother? and who are my brothers?"

49 Then stretching his hand out towards his disciples he said, "Here are my mother and my brothers!

50 For whoever shall obey the will of my Father who is in the heavens, He is my brother and sister and mother."

13 1, 2 On that day, after leaving the house, Jesus sat by the seaside. And great crowds gathered to him, so that Jesus entered a boat and sat 3 down, while all the crowd stood upon the beach. And he spoke of many things to them in parables, saying:

"Behold, a sower went out to sow!

4 And as he sowed

Some seeds fell along the path,

And the birds came and ate them up.

5 And other seeds fell upon the rocky places, where they had not much earth,

And shot up immediately because they had no depth of earth;

6 But after sunrise they were scorched,

And because they had no root, they withered away.

7 And other seeds fell upon the thorns,

And the thorns came up and completely choked them.

8 And other seeds fell upon the good soil,

And began to produce a crop,

Some a hundred, some sixty, and some thirty fold.

9 He who has ears, let him hear."

10 And the disciples came and said to him, "Why speak to them in 11 parables?" He answered and said,

"To you it is given to know the secrets of the reign of heaven,

But to them it is not given:

12 For whoever has,

To him shall be given, and amply given;

But whoever has not,

From him shall be taken even that which he has.

13 This is why I speak to them in parables, because for all their sight they see not, and for all their hearing they hear not, nor do they under- 14 stand. And with them the prophecy of Isaiah is being fulfilled, which says:

'You shall hear and hear, yet never understand,

You shall see and see, yet never perceive.'

15 For dulled is the heart of this people,

Their ears are heavy of hearing,

¹ Omitting [[και]].

² Omitting [[εἶπεν δὲ τις αὐτῷ· Ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ἰσθῆνασιν ζητοῦντες σοι λαλῆσαι]].

*Their eyes have they shut,
Lest haply they should see with their eyes
And hear with their ears
And understand with their heart and turn again,
For me to cure them.*

16 But happy are your eyes, for they see !

And your ears, for they hear !

17 For I tell you truly, many prophets and just men were fain to see what
you see, yet they saw not ;

And to hear what you hear, yet they heard not.

18, 19 Listen you then to the parable of the sower. When anyone hears the
word of the Reign and understands it not, the evil one comes and
snatches away what has been sown in his heart. This is he who was
20 'sown along the path.' And he who was 'sown upon the rocky places'—
21 this is he who hears the word and accepts it immediately with joy ; but
he has no root in himself, he lasts merely for a time ; then at the rise
of distress or persecution for the word, he is immediately repelled.
22 And he who was 'sown among the thorns'—this is he who hears the
word ; yet the anxiety of this world and the deceit of riches choke
23 the word, and it becomes unfruitful. But he who was 'sown upon
the good soil'—this is he who hears the word and understands it, who
indeed bears fruit and brings forth, now a hundred, now sixty, now
thirty fold."

24 Another parable he set before them. "The reign of heaven," he said,
25 "is compared to a man who sowed good seed in his field ; but while men
were asleep, his enemy came and sowed darnel also among the corn, and
26 went away. Now when the corn sprouted and came to fruit, then the
27 darnel appeared as well. And the slaves of the master of the house came
and said to him, 'Sir, didst thou not sow good seed in thy field ? How
28 does it contain darnel, then ?' And he said to them, 'An enemy has done
this.' The slaves say to him, 'Wilt thou have us go and gather it, then ?'
29 'No,' he says ; 'while you are gathering the darnel, you might root up the
30 corn along with it. Let both of them grow together until the harvest ;
then at the harvest time I will tell the reapers, Gather the darnel first and
bind it in bundles for burning ; but collect the corn into my granary.'"

31 Another parable he set before them. "The reign of heaven,"
he said, "is like a grain of mustard-seed, which a man took and sowed in
32 his field. Though smaller than any seed, yet when it grows it is greater
than the vegetables, and it becomes a tree for *the birds of the air* to come
33 and rest in its branches." Another parable he spoke to them : "The
reign of heaven is like leaven which a woman took and concealed in three
34 pecks of wheaten flour, till the whole was leavened." All these
things Jesus spoke to the crowds in parables, and except in parable he did
35 not speak to them—that what was spoken through the prophet might be
fulfilled, when he said,

I will open my mouth in parables,

I will speak out what has been hidden from the world's foundation.

36 Then he left the crowds and went into the house. And his disciples
approached him and said, "Explain to us the parable of the darnel in the
37 field." And he answered and said, "He who sows the good seed is the
38 Son of man, the field is the world, as for the good seed—that is the
39 sons of the Realm, the darnel is the sons of the evil one, the enemy who
sowed them is the devil, the harvest is the close of the age, and the
reapers are angels.

- 40 Just as the darnel then is gathered and burned with fire,
So shall it be at the close of the age.
- 41 The Son of man shall send forth his angels and they shall gather out
of his realm all *hindrances and those who do evil*,
- 42 And they shall throw them into the furnace of fire ;
There shall the weeping be, and the gnashing of teeth.
- 43 Then *shall the upright shine out* like the sun, in the reign of their Father.
He who has ears, let him hear.
- 44 The reign of heaven is like treasure hidden in the field, which a man
found and hid ; then in his joy over it he goes and sells all that he has, and
45 buys that field. Once more, the reign of heaven is like a merchant
46 who was seeking fine pearls ; on finding one very precious pearl, he went
47 off and at once sold all that he had, and bought it. Once more, the
reign of heaven is like a seine cast into the sea and collecting fish of every
48 kind ; when it was filled, they drew it up on the beach, sat down, and
gathered what was good into vessels, throwing away the bad.
- 49 So shall it be at the close of the age.
The angels shall come forth and separate the evil from among the
upright,
- 50 And they shall throw them into the furnace of fire ;
There shall the weeping be, and the gnashing of teeth.
- 51, 52 Have you understood all this ?" They tell him, "Yes." And he said
to them, "Therefore is every scribe who has become a disciple of the reign
of heaven, like a man who is master of a household, who produces from
his storehouse new things and old."
- 53 And it came to pass, when Jesus finished these parables he set out
54 from there. And on entering his own native place he taught them in
their synagogue, so that they were astonished and said, "Where has this
55 man got this wisdom and these miracles ? Is not this the carpenter's
son ? Is not his mother called Mary ? and his brothers, James and
56 Joseph and Simon and Judas ? And are not his sisters all with us ?
57 Where then has this man got all this ?" So they were repelled by him.
But Jesus said to them, "A prophet is not unhonoured except in his own
58 native place and in his own household." And he did not work many
miracles there, on account of their unbelief.
- 141, 2 At that season Herod the tetrarch heard the report about Jesus, and
he said to his servants, "This is John the baptizer ; he has risen from
the dead, and that is why miraculous powers are active in him."
- 3 For Herod had seized John and bound him and put him in
prison for the sake of Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip.
- 4 For John had repeated to him, "Thou hast no right to have her."
- 5 Yet, although he wanted to put him to death, he feared the crowd ;
6 for they held John to be a prophet. Now when Herod's birthday
arrived, the daughter of Herodias danced in public, to the delight of
7 Herod. Whereupon he promised with an oath to give her whatever
8 she should ask. Instigated by her mother, she says, "Give me
9 here on a dish the head of John the baptizer." And although the
king was sorry, yet for the sake of his oaths and of his guests he
10 commanded it to be given her ; so he sent and had John beheaded in
11 the prison. And his head was brought on a dish and given to the
12 girl, and she brought it to her mother. And his disciples came and
carried away the corpse and buried him ; then they went and told
Jesus.

13 Now when Jesus heard it, he retired from there in a boat to a desert place in private. And when the crowds heard of it, they followed him on foot from the cities. So on disembarking he saw a large crowd, and moved with compassion for them he healed their sick folk. And when it was evening, the disciples came to him saying, "It is a desert place, and it is far on in the day. Dismiss the crowds, that they may go into the villages and buy themselves food." Jesus said to them, "They need not go away; give them something to eat, yourselves." They say to him, "We have only five loaves here and two fish." He said, "Bring them here to me." Then he commanded the crowds to recline on the grass, took the five loaves and the two fish, looked up to heaven, and after the blessing broke the loaves and gave them to the disciples, and the disciples to the crowds. And they all ate and were satisfied. Also, they took up the fragments that were left over, twelve baskets full. (Those who ate numbered about five thousand men, besides women and children.)

22 Then ¹ he made the disciples embark in the boat and go before him to the opposite side, till he could dismiss the crowds. And after dismissing the crowds, he went up the mountain to pray in private. Now when evening came he was there alone; while the boat was by this time in the middle of the sea, harassed by the waves (for the wind was contrary). At the fourth watch of the night he came to them, walking over the sea. And when the disciples saw him walking over the sea, they were troubled. "It is an apparition!" they said, and shouted for fear. But he ² immediately spoke to them. "Be of good cheer!" says he, "it is I, be not afraid." Peter answered him and said, "Lord, if it be thou, command me to come to thee over the waters!" He said, "Come." Then Peter got down from the boat and walked over the waters and came to Jesus. But he looked at the wind and got afraid; and as he began to sink he shouted, "Lord, save me!" Immediately Jesus stretched out his hand and caught hold of him, saying to him, "O man of little faith, why didst thou doubt?" And when they got up into the boat, the wind dropped. And those who were in the boat did reverence to him, saying, "Certainly thou art God's Son!" And on crossing over they came to land at Gennesaret. And when the men of that place recognised him, they sent to the whole of the surrounding country and brought him all who were ill, beseeching him to let them touch only the tassel of his cloak; and all who touched were quite restored.

15 1 Then Pharisees and scribes from Jerusalem come to Jesus, saying, 2 "Why are thy disciples transgressing the tradition of the elders? For 3 they wash not their hands when they take a meal." And he answered and said to them, "And why do you transgress God's commandment for the sake of your tradition?"

4 For God said:

*Honour thy father and thy mother, and
He who speaks evil of father or mother, let him surely die.*

5 But you say:

Whoever says to his father or his mother, 'What I might have used to aid thee is a gift for God,'

6 He need not support his father.

So for the sake of your tradition you have cancelled God's word.

7 Hypocrites! finely did Isaiah prophesy about you, when he said,

8 *This people honours me with their lips,
While their heart is far away from me;*

¹ Omitting [[εὐθελεως]].

² Omitting [[ὁ ἰησοῦς]].

9 *Yet in vain do they worship me,*

Teaching doctrines which are mere human precepts."

10 And calling the crowd to him he said to them, "Listen and understand.

11 What goes into the mouth does not make a man unclean ;

But what issues from the mouth, that makes a man unclean."

12 Then the disciples came and said to him, "Knowest thou that the

13 Pharisees took offence at the word which they heard?" But he answered

and said, "Every plant which my heavenly Father has not planted shall be

14 rooted up. Leave them alone ; they are blind guides.¹ And if a blind man

15 guides a blind man, both of them shall fall into a ditch." And

16 Peter answered and said to him, "Expound the parable to us." And

17 he said, "Are you also ignorant, even yet? Do you not understand

that whatever enters the mouth passes into the belly and is thrown out

into the drain?

18 Whereas the things that issue from the mouth come out of the heart,

And it is they that make the man unclean.

19 For out of the heart come wicked designs, murders, adulteries, forni-

cations, thefts, false witness, slanders :

20 These are what make the man unclean.

But to eat with unwashed hands does not make the man unclean."

21 And Jesus went out from there and retired into the districts of Tyre

22 and Sidon. And behold, a woman of Canaan came out from this territory,

crying aloud, "Have pity on me, Lord, Son of David ! My daughter is

23 cruelly possessed by a daemon." But he answered her not a word. And

his disciples came and begged him, saying, "Send her away. She is

24 crying out after us." But he answered and said, "I was only sent to the

25 lost sheep of the house of Israel." Then she came and kept doing

26 reverence to him, saying, "Help me, sir." He answered and said, "It is

27 not fair to take the children's bread and throw it to the dogs." And she

said, "True, sir ; for the dogs just eat the crumbs that fall from their

28 master's table!" Then Jesus answered and said to her, "O woman,

great is thy faith ! Be it done for thee as thou wilt." And her daughter

was cured from that hour.

29 Then removing from there Jesus went along to the sea of Galilee ; and

30 going up the mountain he sat there. And large crowds came to him,

having with them lame, blind, dumb, maimed people, and many others,

31 whom they placed at his feet. And he healed them ; so that the crowd

marvelled as they saw the dumb speaking, the maimed sound, the lame

walking, and also the blind seeing ; and they magnified the God of Israel.

32 Now Jesus called his disciples to him and said, "I have compassion

on the crowd, because for three days now they have stayed by me, and they

have nothing to eat. Nor would I send them away fasting, lest they

33 faint on the road." And the disciples say to him, "Where are we to get

34 bread in a desert to satisfy such a crowd?" And Jesus says to them,

"How many loaves have you?" "Seven," they said, "and a few small

35, 36 fish." Then he charged the crowd to lie down on the ground. And he

took the seven loaves and the fish, and giving thanks he broke them and

37 went on giving to the disciples, and the disciples to the crowds. So they

all ate and were satisfied. And they took up seven large baskets full of the

38 fragments that were left over. (Those who ate numbered four thousand

39 men, besides women and children.) Then after dismissing the crowd, he

entered the boat and went to the territory of Magadan.

16 1 And the Pharisees and Sadducees approached and—to make trial of

¹ Omitting [[*τρυφᾶν*]].

2 him—requested him to display for them a sign from the sky. But he answered and said to them,

“[[When evening comes you say, ‘It will be fine,
For the sky is red’ :

3 And in the morning, ‘It will be stormy to-day,
For the sky is red and clouded.’

You know how to distinguish the appearance of the sky,
But you cannot distinguish the signs of the times.]]

4 It is an evil and adulterous generation that craves a sign :

Yet no sign shall be given it, save the sign of Jonah the prophet.”

5 And he left them and went away. And the disciples had gone

6 to the opposite side, forgetting to take bread. Jesus said to them,

7 “See and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees.” And
they began to argue among themselves, saying, “We did not take any
8 bread.” But on perceiving it Jesus said,

“Why argue among yourselves, O men of little faith, because you
have no bread ?

9 Do you not yet understand ?

Do you not yet remember the five loaves of the five thousand
and how many baskets you got ?

10 Or the seven loaves of the four thousand, and how many large
baskets you got ?

11 How is it you do not understand ?

I did not speak to you about bread.

Nay, beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees.”

12 Then they realised that he told them to beware, not of the leaven of bread,
but of the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

13 Now Jesus had come into the districts of Caesarea Philippi; and he began
to ask his disciples saying, “Who do people say that the Son of man is ?”

14 They said, “Some John the baptizer, some Elijah, others Jeremiah or one
15 of the prophets.” He says to them, “But you—who do you say that I

16 am ?” So Simon Peter answered, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the
17 living God.” Jesus answered,

“Happy art thou, Simon Bar-Jona!

For flesh and blood did not reveal that to thee,

It was my Father who is in the heavens.

18 And I tell thee,

Thou art Peter; and on this rock I will build my Community,

And the gates of Hades shall not succeed against it.

19 I will give thee the keys of the heavenly realm :

And whatever thou shalt prohibit on earth shall be prohibited in
the heavens,

And whatever thou shalt permit on earth shall be permitted in
the heavens.”

20 Then he enjoined the disciples to tell no one that he was the Christ.

21 From that time Jesus began to show his disciples that he must go
away to Jerusalem and suffer much from the elders and high priests and

22 scribes, and be killed, and on the third day rise. Then Peter took him
and started to rebuke him, saying, “Good gracious, Lord! this never shall

23 befall thee!” But he turned and said to Peter,

“Get behind me, thou Satan! Thou art a hindrance to me!

Thy mind is not on the affairs of God but on the affairs of men.”

24 Then said Jesus to his disciples,

- "If any man would come after me,
 Let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me.
 25 For whoever would save his life
 Shall lose it :
 And whoever loses his life for my sake
 Shall find it.
 26 What use will it be for a man, if he gain the whole world and forfeit
 his life ?
 Or what shall a man give in exchange for his life ?
 27 For the Son of man is to come in the majesty of his Father with his
 angels,
 And then *shall he render to everyone according to what he has done.*
 28 I tell you truly, there are some of those who stand here, who shall
 not taste death, until they see the Son of man coming with his royal
 power."
 17 1 And after six days Jesus takes Peter and James and John his brother
 2 aside and brings them up a high mountain privately. And he was trans-
 3 formed before them, and his face shone like the sun, while his garments
 4 became white as light. And behold, Moses and Elijah appeared to them,
 5 talking with him. Then Peter broke in ; "Lord," said he to Jesus, "it
 is fine for us to be here. Pray, let me make three booths here, one
 5 for thee and one for Moses and one for Elijah." While he was still
 speaking, behold, a cloud full of light overshadowed them ; and behold, a
 voice out of the cloud said,
 "This is my Son, the beloved,
 In whom I delight : hear him."
 6 And on hearing it the disciples fell on their face and were terribly
 7 afraid. So Jesus came near and touched them, saying, "Rise, and be not
 8 afraid." Then lifting up their eyes they saw no one except Jesus alone.
 9 And as they were descending from the mountain, Jesus charged them,
 saying, "Tell the vision to no one until the Son of man rise from the
 10 dead." And the disciples asked him, "How is it then that the scribes
 11 say, 'Elijah must come first' ?" And he answered and said,
 "*Elijah indeed is coming*
 and he shall restore all ;
 12 But I tell you, Elijah has already come,
 and they have not recognised him, but have done whatever they
 pleased to him.
 So shall the Son of man also suffer from them."
 13 Then the disciples realised that he spoke to them of John the baptizer.
 14 And when they came to the crowd, a man approached him, kneeling
 15 to him and saying, "Lord, have pity on my son, because he is epileptic
 and suffers cruelly ; often he falls into the fire, and often into the water.
 16 And I brought him to thy disciples ; but they could not cure him."
 17 Jesus answered and said, "O incredulous and perverse generation, how
 long am I to be with you ? how long am I to bear with you ? Bring him
 18 here to me." And Jesus rebuked the daemon, and it came out of him ;
 19 and the boy was healed from that hour. Then the disciples came to
 20 Jesus in private saying, "Why could we not cast it out ?" "On account
 of your little faith," he says to them ; "For I tell you truly,
 If you have faith like a grain of mustard-seed,
 You shall say to this mountain, 'Remove from this place to that,'
 and remove it shall.
 Nor shall anything be impossible to you."

22 Now while they were travelling about in Galilee, Jesus said to them,
 23 "The Son of man is to be delivered up into the hands of men, and they shall kill him, and on the third day he shall rise." And they were exceedingly sorry.

24 When they came to Kapharnahum, those who collected the temple-tax came to Peter and said, "Does your teacher not pay the temple-tax?"
 25 "Yes," he says. And when he came into the house Jesus anticipated him by saying, "What thinkest thou, Simon? From whom do the kings of the earth collect customs or taxes? From their own sons, or from
 26 strangers?" And when he said, "From strangers," Jesus said to him,
 27 "So then the sons are free. However, to give them no offence, go to the sea, throw a hook in and take the first fish that comes up. Open its mouth and thou shalt find a stater; take that and pay it over to them for me and for thyself."

18 1 At that time the disciples came to Jesus saying, "Pray, who is the
 2 greatest in the reign of heaven?" Then calling a little child to him, he
 3 set it in their midst and said:

"I tell you truly,

Unless you turn and become like the little children,
 You shall not enter the reign of heaven.

4 Whoso then shall humble himself like this little child,
 He is the greatest in the reign of heaven.

5 Whosoever also shall receive one such little child in my name, receives me:

6 But whosoever shall be a hindrance to one of these little ones, who believe on me,

It were good for him were a great millstone hung round his neck,
 and were he sunk in the deep sea.

7 Woe to the world for hindrances!

For it must needs be that hindrances come,

But woe to the man through whom the hindrance comes!

8 If thy hand or thy foot hinder thee, cut it off and throw it from thee:
 Better for thee to enter life maimed or lame,

Than with two hands or two feet to be thrown into the fire eternal!

9 And if thine eye hinder thee, tear it out and throw it from thee:

Better for thee to enter life with one eye,

Than with two eyes to be thrown into the Gehenna of fire!

10 See and despise not one of these little ones;

For I tell you that their angels in the heavens look ever on the face
 of my Father who is in the heavens.

12 What do you think? If any man has a hundred sheep and one of them strays, will he not leave the ninety-nine on the mountains and go in
 13 search of the one that is straying? And if so be that he find it, I tell you truly he rejoices more over it than over the ninety-nine which
 14 have not strayed. So it is not the will of your Father who is in the heavens that one of these little ones should perish.

15 Now if thy brother sin, go and reprove him between thee and him alone:

If he listens to thee, thou hast won over thy brother.

16 But if he does not listen, take one or two others along with thee,

So that on the statements of two or three witnesses every case may be decided.

17 But if he will not heed them, tell the Community:

And if he will not heed even the Community, treat him as a heathen or a tax-gatherer.

18 I tell you truly, whatever you shall prohibit on earth shall be prohibited in heaven,

And whatever you shall permit on earth shall be permitted in heaven.

19 Once more,¹ I tell you, if two of you shall agree on earth in regard to any matter that they ask,

It shall be done for them by my Father who is in the heavens.

20 For where two or three are gathered together in my name, There am I in the midst of them."

21 Then Peter came up and said to him, "Lord, how often is my brother
22 to sin against me, and I to forgive him? Up to seven times?" Jesus
says to him, "I say not to thee, 'Up to seven times,' but, 'Up to seventy
23 times seven.' For this reason the reign of heaven is compared to a king
24 who resolved to settle his accounts with his slaves. Now when he had
begun to settle them, one man was brought him who owed him two
25 million, four hundred thousand pounds. As he was unable to pay, the
lord commanded him to be sold, along with his wife and children and all
26 that he had, and payment to be made. The slave then fell down and
began to do him reverence, saying, 'Have patience with me, and I will
27 pay thee everything.' And as the lord of that slave was moved with com-
28 passion, he released him and forgave him the debt. Now on going out,
that slave fell in with one of his fellow-slaves who was owing him twenty
pounds; and he seized him and took him by the throat, saying, 'Pay
29 what thou owest.' His fellow-slave then fell down and kept beseeching
30 him, saying, 'Have patience with me, and I will pay thee.' But he
would not. He went away and had him thrown into prison, till he
31 should pay what was due. So when his fellow-slaves saw what had taken
place, they were exceedingly sorry; and they went and explained to their
32 lord all that had taken place. Then the lord summoned him and said,
'Thou wicked slave! I forgave thee all that debt, seeing that thou didst
33 beseech me. Oughtest thou not also to have had pity on thy fellow-slave,
34 just as I also had pity on thee?' And in anger the lord delivered him up to
35 the gaolers, until he should pay all that was due. So also shall my heavenly
Father do to you, unless you cordially forgive, everyone his brother."

19 1 And it came to pass when Jesus finished these words he set out from
2 Galilee and went into the territory of Judaea across the Jordan. And
large crowds followed him, and he healed them there.

3 And some Pharisees approached him, to make trial of him. "Is it
4 right," they said, "to divorce one's wife for any and every cause?" And
he answered and said, "Have you not read that he who made them from
5 the beginning *made them male and female*, and said, *For this cause a man
shall leave his father and mother and join himself to his wife, and the two
6 shall become one flesh?* So that they are no longer two, but one flesh.
7 What God has joined, then, let not man separate." "Why then," they
say to him, "did Moses command men to give a bill of repudiation and so
8 divorce her?" He says to them, "As your heart was stubborn, Moses
permitted you to divorce your wives; but it has not been so from the
9 beginning. I tell you, Whoever shall divorce his wife—except for
10 fornication—and marry another, commits adultery." The disciples say
to him, "If this is the position of a man with his wife, there is no good
11 in marrying." But he said to them,

¹ Omitting [[ἀμὲν]].

"All men cannot receive this saying, but those only to whom it is given.

12 For there are eunuchs who were born thus from their mother's womb,

And there are eunuchs who were made eunuchs by men,

And there are eunuchs who made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the reign of heaven.

He who is able to receive it, let him receive it."

13 Then little children were brought to him that he might lay his hands on them and pray. The disciples rebuked them, but Jesus said, "Let the

14 little children come to me, and forbid them not; for of such is the heavenly realm." And after laying his hands on them, he went away from there.

16 And behold, a man came up to him and said, "Teacher, what good

17 thing am I to do that I may have eternal life?" He said to him, "Why ask me about what is good? One alone is good. But, if thy desire is to

18 enter life, keep the commandments." He says to him, "Which commandments?" And Jesus said, "These: *thou shalt not murder, thou shalt*

19 *not commit adultery, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, honour father and mother, and, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*"

20 The young man says to him, "I have observed all these. What is lacking still?" Jesus said to him, "If thy desire is to be perfect, go, sell thy

21 goods and give them to ¹poor people; so shalt thou have treasure in heaven. Then come, follow me." But when the young man heard what was

22 said, he went away sorrowful; for he was one who had great possessions.

23 Then Jesus said to his disciples, "I tell you truly, It is difficult for a rich man to enter the reign of heaven. Once more I tell you,

24 It is easier for a camel to enter through a needle's eye, Than for a rich man to enter God's reign."

25 Now on hearing it the disciples were greatly astonished. "Who then can be saved?" they said. Jesus looked at them and said to them,

"With men this is impossible, But *with God anything is possible.*"

27 Then Peter answered and said to him, "Lo, we have left all and followed thee! What then are we to get?" Jesus said to them, "I tell you truly,

28 At the Restoration, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his majesty,

You, my followers, shall also sit on twelve thrones, governing the twelve tribes of Israel.

29 And every one who leaves houses or brothers or sisters or father or mother or children or lands for my name's sake, shall receive manifold

30 more, and inherit life eternal. But many who are first shall be last, and 20 1 the last first. For the reign of heaven is like the master of a house who

2 went out early in the morning to hire labourers for his vineyard. And after agreeing with the labourers for a shilling a day, he sent them into

3 his vineyard. And on going out about the third hour, he saw other men 4 standing in the marketplace idle; and he said to them, 'Go you also

5 into the vineyard, and I will pay you whatever is right.' And they 6 went. Again ² he went out about the sixth and the ninth hour, and

7 acted in the same way. And on going out about the eleventh hour, he found other men standing; and he says to them, 'Why stand the whole

8 day idle here?' They say to him, 'Because no one has hired us.' He 9 says to them, 'Go you also into the vineyard.' Now when evening came, the owner of the vineyard says to his manager, 'Call the labourers and

¹ Omitting [[*τοῖς*]].

² Omitting [[*ἑ*]].

9 pay their wages, beginning from the last up to the first.' And when those who had been hired about the eleventh hour came, they got a 10 shilling each. And when the first men came, they supposed they would 11 get more; yet they too got a shilling each. So on getting it they began 12 to murmur against the master of the house, saying, 'These last men worked for a single hour; yet thou hast made them equal to us, to men 13 who bore the burden of the day and the scorching wind!' But he answered and said to one of them, 'Friend, I am not injuring thee. 14 Didst thou not agree with me for a shilling? Take what is thine and go. 15 I choose to pay this last man what I pay thee. Have I not the right to do as I choose with what is my own? What! dost thou look with envy 16 because I am generous?' So shall the last be first, and the first last."

17 And as Jesus was going up to Jerusalem, he took the twelve¹ aside 18 privately and said to them on the road, "Lo, we are going up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be delivered to the high priests and 19 scribes. They shall sentence him to death and deliver him to the Gentiles to mock and scourge and crucify. Yet on the third day he shall rise."

20 Then the mother of the sons of Zebedee came up to him with her 21 sons, doing reverence to him and asking a favour from him. He said to her, "What is thy wish?" She says to him, "Say that these my sons shall sit, one on thy right hand and one on thy left hand, in thy reign."

22 But Jesus answered and said,

"You know not what you are asking. Are you able to drink the cup that I am to drink?"

23 They say to him, "We are able." He says to them,

"My cup indeed you shall drink,

But to sit on my right hand and on my left hand is not mine to grant; That is for those for whom it has been made ready by my Father."

24, 25 And on hearing of it, the ten were indignant at the two brothers. So Jesus called them to him and said,

"You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, And their great men wield authority over them:

26 It shall not be so among you.

Nay, whosoever would become great among you,

Must be your servant,

27 And whoever would be first among you,

Must be your slave:

28 Even as the Son of man came not to be served but to serve,

And to give his life a ransom for many."

29 And as they were leaving Jericho, a large crowd followed him.

30 And behold, two blind men sitting by the roadside heard that Jesus was passing by; and they shouted, "Lord, have pity on us! Son of

31 David!" And the crowd admonished them to keep silence, but they shouted more than ever, "Lord, have pity on us! Son of David!"

32 Then Jesus stood still and called them, saying, "What will you have me

33, 34 do to you?" They say to him, "Lord, let our eyes be opened." Moved with compassion, Jesus touched their eyes; and they immediately regained their sight, and followed him.

21 1 And when they drew nigh to Jerusalem and came to Bethphagê, to the 2 hill of Olives, then Jesus despatched two disciples, saying to them, "Make your way into the village opposite you, and you shall at once find an ass tied, and a colt along with her. Untie them and bring them to

¹ Omitting [[μαθητὰς]].

3 me. And if anyone says anything to you, you shall say, 'The Lord needs
4 them'; then he will send them at once." Now this came to pass that
what was spoken through the prophet might be fulfilled, when he said,

5 *Tell the daughter of Zion,
"Lo, thy king is coming to thee,
Gentle, and riding on an ass
And on a colt, the foal of a beast of burden."*

6, 7 So the disciples went and did as Jesus had instructed them. They
brought the ass and the colt and put their garments on them; then he
8 sat upon them. And the greater part of the crowd spread their garments
on the road, and others kept cutting branches from the trees and spread
9 them on the road. And the crowds, those who went in front of him and
those who followed, shouted,

*"Hosanna to the Son of David!
Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord!
Hosanna in the highest!"*

10 And when he entered Jerusalem, all the city was in a ferment with
11 the words, "Who is this?" And the crowds said, "This is the prophet
Jesus, who comes from Nazaret of Galilee."

12 Then Jesus entered the temple of God and drove out all the sellers
and buyers in the temple, and threw down the tables of the money-
13 changers, and the seats of those who sold the doves; and he says to them,

*"My house shall be called a house of prayer;
But you make it a den of robbers!"*

14 And blind and lame people came to him in the temple, and he healed
15 them. Now, when the high priests and the scribes saw the wonders that
he did, and the children who were crying out in the temple and saying,
16 *"Hosanna to the Son of David!"* they were indignant, and said to him,
"Dost thou hear what they are saying?" And Jesus says to them, "Yes.
Have you never read, *From the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast*
17 *fashioned praise?"* And leaving them he went outside the city to Bethany,
and passed the night there.

18 Now in the morning as he came back to the city, he grew hungry.
19 And noticing a single fig-tree on the roadside, he went to it, but found
nothing on it except mere leaves; and he says to it, "Never shall there
20 be fruit from thee, after this!" Instantly the fig-tree withered. And on
seeing it the disciples marvelled. "How was it," they said, "that the fig-
21 tree instantly withered?" Jesus answered and said to them,

*"I tell you truly,
If you have faith and do not hesitate,
You shall not only do what has been done to this fig-tree,
But even if you say to this mountain, 'Be lifted and thrown into
the sea,'
It shall be done."*

22 *Yea, in all your asking and praying,
Believe and you shall receive."*

23 And when he entered the temple, the high priests and the elders of the
people approached him as he taught, and said, "By what sort of authority
art thou acting thus? And who is it that gave thee this authority?"
24 Jesus answered and said to them, "I will ask you one question myself;
and if you tell me it, then I will tell you by what sort of authority I am
25 acting thus. The baptism of John—whence was it? From heaven or
from men?" And they argued to themselves, "If we say, 'From
heaven,' he will say to us, 'Why then did you not believe him?'"

26 But if we say, 'From men,' we fear the crowd; for all hold John to be a
 27 prophet." So in reply to Jesus they said, "We do not know." Then he
 said to them, "Neither do I tell you by what sort of authority I am acting
 28 thus. What do you think? a man had two sons. He went to the first
 29 and said, 'Son, go and work in the vineyard to-day.' But he answered and
 said, 'I will not'; afterwards, however, he changed his mind and went.
 30 And he went to the second and spoke in the same way. And he answered
 31 and said, 'I will, sir'; but he did not go. Which of the two did the will
 of his father?" They say, "The first." Jesus says to them, "I tell you
 truly,

The tax-gatherers and the harlots go in front of you into the reign
 of God.

32 For John came on the way of uprightness, yet you did not
 believe him,

But the tax-gatherers and the harlots believed him;

And though you saw it, you did not even change your mind
 afterwards and believe him.

33 "Listen to another parable. There was a master of a house who
planted a vineyard and put a fence round it and dug a wine-vat in it and
 34 *built a tower*; then after leasing it to vinedressers he went abroad. Now
 when the season for fruit approached, he despatched his slaves to the
 35 vinedressers to collect his fruit. And the vinedressers took and flogged
 36 one of his slaves, killed another, and stoned another. Once more he sent
 other slaves more numerous than the first; yet they treated them in the
 37 same way. Afterwards he sent his son to them, saying, 'They will
 38 reverence my son.' But when the vinedressers saw the son, they said to
 themselves, 'This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and seize his
 39 inheritance.' So they took him and threw him outside the vineyard,
 40 and killed him. When the owner of the vineyard comes, then, what will
 41 he do to those vinedressers?" They say to him, "Wretches! he will
 wretchedly destroy them, and lease the vineyard to other vinedressers,
 42 who shall render him the fruits in their seasons." Jesus says to them,

"Have you never read in the scriptures?—

The stone which the builders rejected,

This is made head of the corner:

This is the doing of the Lord,

And in our eyes it is marvellous.

43 Therefore I tell you, God's reign shall be taken from you

And given to a nation that brings forth the fruits of the reign.

44 [[And he who falls upon this stone shall he shattered,

But it shall crush to pieces whomsoever it falls upon.]]"

45 Now on hearing his parables, the high priests and the Pharisees knew he
 46 was speaking about them. Yet, while they tried to seize him, they feared
 22 1 the crowds; since they held him for a prophet. And Jesus started
 2 to speak once more in parables. "The reign of heaven," he said to them,
 3 "is compared to a king who gave a marriage-feast for his son. And he
 despatched his slaves to summon those who had been invited to the
 4 marriage-feast; but they would not come. Again he despatched other
 slaves, saying, 'Tell those who have been invited, "Here have I got ready
 my dinner: my oxen and my fatted beasts are killed, and everything is
 5 ready. Come to the marriage-feast."' But they paid no heed, and went
 6 off, one to his farm, another to his business; while the rest seized his
 7 slaves, ill-treated them and killed them. So in anger the king sent his
 8 troops and destroyed those murderers and burned their city. Then

he says to his slaves, 'The marriage is ready, but those who were invited were not worthy. Go to the crossroads then, and invite as many people as you find to the marriage-feast.' And those slaves went out to the roads and proceeded to gather all they could find, both bad and good. So the wedding was supplied with guests. Now when the king entered to view the guests, he saw a man there who had no marriage-robe on; and he says to him, 'Friend, how didst thou come in here without a marriage-robe?' And he was speechless. Then the king said to the servants, 'Bind him hand and foot, and throw him out into the outer darkness; there shall the weeping be, and the gnashing of teeth.' For many are called, but few chosen."

Then the Pharisees went and took counsel, in order to trap him in his talk. And they despatch their disciples to him, along with the Herodians, saying, "Teacher, we know thou art truthful, teaching the way of God in truth and caring not for anyone; for thou regardest not the person of men. Tell us then: what dost thou think? Is it right to pay taxes to Caesar, or not?" But Jesus perceived their malice and said, "Why make trial of me, you hypocrites? Show me the coin for the taxes." So they handed him a denarius. And he says to them, "Whose likeness and inscription is this?" "Caesar's," they say. Then he says to them, "Well, render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." And when they heard it they marvelled; and leaving him they went away.

On that day the Sadducees approached him—they say there is no resurrection—and they questioned him. "Teacher," they said, "Moses said, *if a man dies without children, his brother shall become a husband to his widow and raise up offspring for his brother*. Now among us there were seven brothers. The first married and died, and as he had no offspring he left his wife to his brother; the same thing took place with the second also, and with the third, even to the seventh. And after them all the woman died. At the resurrection, then, whose wife will she be of the seven? For they all had her." Jesus answered and said to them, "You are led astray by your ignorance of the scriptures and of God's power. For at the resurrection people neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like angels in heaven. And as regards the resurrection of the dead, have you not read what was spoken to you by God, when he said, *I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*? He is not¹ God of the dead, but of the living." And when the crowds heard it, they were astonished at his teaching.

Now when the Pharisees heard that he had silenced the Sadducees, they mustered together; and one of them, a lawyer, put a question to him to make trial of him: "Teacher, what is the greatest commandment in the law?" And he said to him, "*Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, with thy whole soul, with thy whole mind*. This is the great and chief commandment. A second is like it: *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*. On these two commandments hang the whole law and the prophets."

Now as the Pharisees had gathered together, Jesus questioned them, saying, "What do you think about the Christ? Whose son is he?" They say to him, "David's." He says to them, "How is it then that David in the Spirit calls him 'Lord'? saying,

*The Lord said to my Lord, 'Sit at my right hand,
Till I put thine enemies below thy feet.'*

If David then calls him by the name of 'Lord,' how is he his son?"

¹ Omitting [the].

46 And no one could answer him a word ; nor from that day did anyone dare to question him any further.

23 1, 2 Then Jesus spoke to the crowds and to his disciples, saying,
 "The scribes and the Pharisees sit on the seat of Moses ;

3 Obey and observe then all that ever they bid you.

But act not as they act,

For they talk and practise not.

4 They bind up heavy burdens and lay them on the shoulders of men,

But they themselves will not move them with their finger.

5 They do all their deeds to be seen by men ;

For they make their phylacteries broad and enlarge their tassels,

6 And they like the chief place at the suppers and the chief seats in the synagogues,

7 And the salutations in the marketplaces, and to be called ' Rabbi ' by men.

8 Now for your part—be not called ' Rabbi ' ;

For One is your teacher, and you are all brothers.

9 And call no one your ' father ' upon earth ;

For One is your father, the heavenly Father.

10 Nor be called ' leaders ' ;

For One is your leader, the Christ.

11 He who is greatest among you, must be your servant ;

12 Whoever shall raise himself shall be humbled,

And whoever shall humble himself shall be raised.

13 But woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, irreligious !

For you shut the heavenly realm in men's faces ;

You enter not yourselves, and you will not let those enter who are entering.

15 Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, irreligious !

For you scour sea and dry land to make a single proselyte ;

And when he is won, you make him a son of Gehenna twice as much as yourselves.

16 Woe to you, blind guides, who say :

' Whoever shall swear by the sanctuary, it is a mere nothing ;

But whoever shall swear by the gold of the sanctuary, he is bound by his oath.'

17 Thoughtless and blind ! Which is greater, the gold or the sanctuary that consecrated the gold ?

18 Also, ' Whoever shall swear by the altar, it is a mere nothing ;

But whoever shall swear by the gift that is on it, he is bound by his oath.'

19 Blind men ! which is greater, the gift or the altar that consecrates the gift ?

20 He who swears, then, by the altar,

Swears by it and by all that is on it.

21 And he who swears by the sanctuary,

Swears by it and by him who dwells in it.

22 And he who swears by heaven,

Swears by the throne of God and by him who sits upon it.

23 Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, irreligious !

For you tithe mint and dill and cummin,

And you have omitted the weightier matters of the law, justice and mercy and faithfulness.

Now these you ought to have done—without omitting the former.

24 Blind guides, filtering a gnat away, yet swallowing a camel !

25 Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, irreligious !

For you cleanse the outside of the cup and plate,
But inside they are filled with plunder and indulgence.

26 Blind Pharisee ! first cleanse the inside of the cup,¹

That the outside of it also may become clean.

27 Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, irreligious !

For you resemble white-washed sepulchres,

Which outwardly appear beautiful,

But inwardly are filled with dead men's bones and all impurity.

28 So also do you outwardly appear to men upright,

But inwardly you are full of hypocrisy and wickedness.

29 Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, irreligious !

For you build the sepulchres of the prophets and adorn the tombs
of the just,

30 And you say, 'Had we been living in the days of our fathers,

We had not shared with them in the blood of the prophets.'

31 So you witness against yourselves that you are sons of those who
murdered the prophets !

32 Fill up then for yourselves the measure of your fathers.

33 Serpents ! offspring of vipers ! how can you escape being sentenced to
Gehenna ?

34 Therefore, behold I send to you prophets and wise men and
scribes :

Some of them you shall kill and crucify,

And some of them you shall scourge in your synagogues and pursue
from city to city—

35 That upon you may come all the innocent blood shed on the earth,

From the blood of Abel the upright down to the blood of Zachariah
the son of Barachiah, whom you murdered between the sanc-
tuary and the altar.

36 I tell you truly, these things shall all come upon this generation.

37 Jerusalem, Jerusalem ! slayer of the prophets and stoner of those sent
to her !

How often would I have gathered thy children together,

Even as a fowl gathers her brood beneath her wings—and you
would not !

38 Lo, *your House is abandoned to yourselves, deserted !*

39 For I tell you, after this you shall not see me until you say,

'*Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.*'"

24 1 And Jesus went out of the temple and proceeded on his way ; and his
2 disciples came to point out to him the buildings of the temple. He
answered and said to them, "You see all these ? I tell you truly, not
one stone shall be left upon another here, that shall not be thrown down."

3 Now, as he was sitting on the hill of Olives, the disciples
came to him privately, saying, "Tell us, when shall these things be ?
also, what shall be the sign of thy arrival and of the close of the age ?"

4 And Jesus answered and said to them :

"Take care that no one leads you astray :

5 For many shall come relying on my name, saying, 'I am the Christ'
and they shall lead many astray.

¹ Omitting [[καὶ τῶς παροψίδος]].

- 6 You shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see and be not disquieted ;
 For these must come to pass, but the end is not yet.
- 7 For nation shall rise against nation, and realm against realm,
 And there shall be famines and earthquakes in place after place:
- 8 Yet all these are but the beginning of birth-pangs.
- 9 Then shall they deliver you up to distress, and kill you,
 And you shall be hated by all the nations for my name's sake.
- 10 Yea then shall many be repelled and deliver up one another and hate
 one another ;
- 11 And many false prophets shall rise and lead many astray.
- 12 And as wickedness shall be multiplied, the love of the majority shall
 grow cold ;
- 13 But he who endures to the end, he shall be saved.
- 14 And these glad tidings of the Reign shall be preached in the whole
 world for a witness to the nations,
 And then shall come the end.
- 15 So when you see the desolating abomination, which was spoken of through
 Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place (let the reader ponder),
- 16 Then let those who are in Judaea flee to the hills.
- 17 Let not him who is on the housetop
 Go down to get what is in his house,
- 18 Nor let him who is in the field
 Turn back to get his cloak.
- 19 But woe to women with child and to women who give suck in those days !
- 20 And pray that your flight happen not in winter nor on a sabbath ;
- 21 For then there shall be great distress,
*The like of which has not been, from the beginning of the world until
 now, no and never shall be.*
- 22 Yea, unless those days had been curtailed, no flesh would have been saved:
 But for the sake of the chosen, those days shall be curtailed.
- 23 Then, should anyone say to you, 'Lo, here is the Christ !' or 'there !'
 believe it not.
- 24 For false Christs and false prophets shall arise, and shall exhibit great
 signs and wonders,
- 25 So as to lead, if possible, even the chosen astray. Lo, I have told
 you beforehand !
- 26 If they say to you then, 'Lo, he is in the wilderness !' go not out :
 'Lo, he is in the inner chambers !' believe it not.
- 27 For as the lightning shoots from the east and flashes across to the west,
 So shall be the arrival of the Son of man.
- 28 Wherever the dead body lies,
 The vultures will be gathered there.
- 29 Immediately after the distress of those days
*The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light,
 And the stars shall fall from the sky,
 And the powers of the heavens shall be shaken :*
- 30 And then shall the sign of the Son of man appear in the sky.
 Then shall all the tribes of the earth wail,
 And they shall see the Son of man coming on the clouds of the sky with
 power and great majesty.
- 31 And he shall send forth his angels with a loud trumpet,
 And they shall gather his chosen together from the four winds, from the
 sky's one bound to the other.
- 32 Now from the fig-tree learn her parable.

When her branch is already tender and is putting out its leaves.
You know that summer is near :

33 So also, when you see all this,
You know that He is near, at the doors.

34 I tell you truly, this generation shall not pass away
Till all these come to pass ;

35 Sky and earth shall pass away,
But never shall my words pass away.

36 Yet of that day and hour none knows,
Not even the angels of the heavens, not even the Son, but the Father alone.

37 For as were the days of Noah,
So shall be the arrival of the Son of man :

38 For as in the ¹ days before the deluge they were feeding and drinking,
marrying and giving in marriage,

Up to the day that *Noah entered the ark*,
39 And knew nothing until the deluge came and swept them all away,
So shall be the arrival of the Son of man.

40 Then shall two men be in the field,
One is to be taken, one is to be left :

41 Two women shall be grinding with the mill-stone,
One is to be taken, one is to be left.

42 Watch then, for you know not on what day your Lord is coming.

43 Be sure of this ; had the master of the house known the watch in
which the thief was coming,
He would have been on the alert, and would not have allowed his
house to be broken into.

44 Then be you also ready,
For in an unexpected hour the Son of man is coming.

45 Who then is the faithful and shrewd slave whom his owner
has appointed over his household to give them their food in due season ?

46 Happy that slave whom his owner shall find so doing, when he comes !

47, 48 I tell you truly, he will appoint him over all he has. But if that evil
49 slave says in his heart, 'My owner is delaying,' and shall start to beat
50 his fellow-slaves, and to eat and drink with drunkards, the owner of that
slave shall come in a day when he does not look for him, and in an hour
51 when he does not know, and shall cut him in two and assign his part
among the irreligious : there shall the weeping be, and the gnashing of
25 1 teeth.

Then shall the reign of heaven be like ten maidens who
2 took their lamps and went out to meet the bridegroom. Five of them were
3 thoughtless, and five were shrewd. The thoughtless took their lamps
4 but took no oil with them ; while the shrewd took oil in their vessels
5 with their lamps. Now while the bridegroom delayed, they all grew
6 drowsy and fell asleep. And at midnight a cry was raised, 'Here is the
7 bridegroom ! Come out to meet him !' Then all those maidens rose
8 and trimmed their lamps. And the thoughtless said to the shrewd,
9 'Give us some of your oil, because our lamps are going out.' But the
shrewd answered, 'Possibly there may not be enough for us and for you.
10 Better go to those who sell it and buy for yourselves.' Now while
they went away to buy, the bridegroom came ; then those who were
ready went with him into the marriage-feast, and the door was shut.

11 Afterwards the other maidens also came, saying, 'Lord, lord, open to us' ;
12, 13 but he answered and said, 'I tell you truly, I do not know you.' Watch
14 then, for you know not the day nor the hour. For it is like a man

¹ Omitting [[ἐκείνους]].

going abroad, who called his own slaves and handed over his property to
 15 them. And he gave twelve hundred pounds to one, four hundred and
 eighty to another, two hundred and forty to another, to each man accord-
 16 ing to his individual ability. Then he went abroad. Immediately, he
 who had got the twelve hundred went and traded with them and gained
 17 twelve hundred more. In the same way, he who had got the four hundred
 18 and eighty gained four hundred and eighty more. But he who had got
 the two hundred and forty went away and dug a hole in the ground
 19 and hid his owner's money. Now after a long time the owner of those
 20 slaves comes and settles his accounts with them. Then he who had got
 the twelve hundred came forward and brought twelve hundred more,
 saying, 'Sir, thou didst hand over twelve hundred pounds to me. Here
 21 I have gained twelve hundred more.' His owner said to him, 'Well
 done, good and faithful slave! Thou hast been faithful over a few
 things, I will appoint thee over many things. Enter thine owner's feast.'
 22 He who had got the four hundred and eighty also came forward and said,
 'Sir, thou didst hand over four hundred and eighty pounds to me. Here
 23 I have gained four hundred and eighty more.' His owner said to him,
 'Well done, good and faithful slave! Thou hast been faithful over a few
 things, I will appoint thee over many things. Enter thine owner's feast.'
 24 Then he who had got the two hundred and forty also came forward and said,
 'Sir, I knew thou wast a hard man, reaping where thou hast not sown,
 25 and gathering where thou hast not winnowed. So in fear I went away
 and hid thy two hundred and forty pounds in the ground. Here, thou
 26 hast what is thine.' His owner answered and said to him, 'O wicked
 and backward slave! Thou knowest that I reap where I have not sown,
 27 and gather where I have not winnowed! Then thou oughtest to have
 placed my money with the bankers, and I would have gone and got my
 28 own back with interest. Take away the two hundred and forty pounds
 from him, then, and give them to him who has the twelve hundred.'

29 For to everyone who has,
 Shall be given, and amply given;
 But from him who has not,
 Even what he has shall be taken.
 30 And throw out the useless slave into the outer darkness :
 There shall the weeping be, and the gnashing of teeth.
 31 When the Son of man *comes* in his majesty and *all the angels with him*,
 32 Then shall he sit on the throne of his majesty, and before him all
 the nations shall be gathered,
 And he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd
 separates the sheep from the goats,
 33 And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on his left.
 34 Then shall the king say to those on his right hand :
 'Come, you who are blessed by my Father,
 Inherit the realm prepared for you from the foundation of the world.
 35 For I hungered and you gave me to eat,
 I thirsted and you gave me drink,
 I was a stranger and you entertained me,
 36 Unclad and you clothed me,
 I was ill and you visited me,
 I was in prison and you came to me.'
 37 Then shall the upright answer him, saying :
 'Lord, when did we see thee hungry and feed thee? or thirsty and
 give thee drink?

- 38 And when did we see thee a stranger and entertain thee? or unclad
and clothe thee?
- 39 And when did we see thee ill or in prison and come to thee?’
- 40 And the king shall answer and say to them: ‘I tell you truly,
In so far as you did it to one of these my brothers, even to the least,
You did it to me.’
- 41 Then shall he say also to those on the left hand:
‘Depart from me, accursed,
Into the fire eternal prepared for the devil and his angels.
- 42 For I hungered and you gave me not to eat,
I thirsted and you gave me no drink,
- 43 I was a stranger and you entertained me not,
Unclad and you clothed me not,
Ill and in prison and you visited me not.’
- 44 Then shall they also answer, saying:
‘Lord, when did we see thee hungry or thirsty or a stranger or
unclad or ill or in prison
And not minister to thee?’
- 45 Then shall he answer them, saying: ‘I tell you truly,
In so far as you did it not to one of these least,
You did it not to me.’
- 46 And *these shall go away into punishment eternal,
But the upright into life eternal.*”

- 26 1 And it came to pass when Jesus finished all these words, he said to
2 his disciples, “You know the passover is to be held after two days, and
3 the Son of man is to be delivered up for crucifixion.” Then the
high priests and the elders of the people met in the palace of the high
4 priest, who was called Kaiaphas; and they took counsel together to seize
5 Jesus by craft and kill him. But they said, “Not during the festival,
lest a tumult arise among the people.”
- 6 Now when Jesus was in Bethany, in the house of Simon the leper,
7 a woman came to him with an alabaster flask of expensive perfume; and
8 she proceeded to pour it on his head as he reclined at table. But when
the disciples saw it they were indignant, saying, “What is this waste
9 for? This perfume might have been sold for a large sum, and given
10 to poor people.” But when Jesus understood, he said to them, “Why
11 molest the woman? She has done a noble deed for me. For you have
12 the poor always beside you, but you have not always me. In pouring
13 this perfume on my body she acted in view of my burial. I tell you
truly, Wherever these glad tidings shall be preached in the whole world,
this woman’s deed shall be also told in memory of her.”
- 14 Then one of the twelve, who was called “Judas Iskariot,” went to the
15 high priests and said, “What are you willing to pay me, and I will
betray him to you.” So they weighed out for him *thirty silver pieces*.
- 16 And from that time he sought an opportune moment for betraying him.
- 17 Now on the first day of unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus,
saying, “Where wilt thou have us make ready for thee to eat the
18 paschal lamb?” Then he said, “Go your way into the city to such and
such a man and say to him, ‘The teacher says, “My time is near; I will
19 keep the passover with my disciples at thy house.”’” So the disciples did
20 as Jesus instructed them, and made ready the passover. Now when it
21 was evening, he was reclining at table with the twelve disciples; and as they
were eating, he said, “I tell you truly, one of you shall betray me.”

22 Then in exceeding sorrow each one began to say to him, "Can it be
23 I, Lord?" He answered and said, "He who dipped his hand with me in
the dish, he shall betray me.

24 The Son of man goes on his way, even as it is written of him.

But woe to that man through whom the Son of man is betrayed!

Better for that man had he never been born!"

25 Judas, his betrayer, answered and said, "Can it be I, Rabbi?" He says to
26 him, "It is as thou sayest."

Now as they were eating, Jesus took
bread; and after the blessing, he broke and gave it to the disciples, saying,
27 "Take, eat; this is my body." Also he took a cup, and after giving
28 thanks he gave it to them, saying, "Drink of it, all of you; for this is my
covenant-blood which is poured out for many, for the remission of sins.
29 I tell you, never shall I drink in future of this produce of the vine, till
that day when in my Father's reign I drink it with you new."

30 Thereupon after a song of praise they went out to the hill of Olives.

31 Then Jesus says to them, "You shall be all repelled through me, this
night; for it is written, *I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the*

32 *flock shall be scattered abroad.* Yet after I rise, I will go before you into

33 Galilee." Peter answered and said to him, "Should all be repelled

34 through thee, never will I be repelled." Jesus said to him, "I tell thee
truly, this night, before the cock crows, three times thou shalt deny me."

35 "Even if I have to die with thee," says Peter to him, "I will not deny
36 thee." And all the disciples said the same.

Then Jesus comes
with them to a piece of ground called Gethsemanê. And he says to his

37 disciples, "Sit there, until I depart yonder and pray." And he took with

him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful

38 and sorely troubled. Then he says to them, "*My soul is very sorrowful,*

39 *even to death: stay here and watch with me.*" So he went forward

a little and fell on his face in prayer, saying, "My Father! if it be
possible, let this cup pass away from me. Nevertheless, not as I will,

40 but as thou wilt." Then coming to the disciples he finds them sleeping,

and says to Peter, "So you had not strength to watch with me a single

41 hour? Watch and pray, lest you enter into temptation: the spirit is

42 eager, but the flesh is weak." Again he went away for a second time and

prayed, saying, "My Father! if this cannot pass away unless I drink it,

43 thy will be done." And on coming again he found them sleeping, for their

44 eyes were heavy. And leaving them he again went away and prayed for

45 a third time, repeating the same words. Then coming to the disciples

he says to them, "So you sleep and rest? Behold, the hour is near,

46 when the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners! Rise, let us

47 be going. Behold, my betrayer is near!"

And when he was still

speaking, behold Judas (one of the twelve) came, accompanied by a large

horde with swords and clubs, from the high priests and elders of the

48 people. Now his betrayer had given them a sign, saying, "Whomsoever

49 I kiss, that is the man; seize him." So he immediately approached

50 Jesus, saying, "Hail, Rabbi!" and kissed him fondly. Jesus said to

him, "Friend, do thine errand." Then they approached and laid hands

51 on Jesus and seized him. And behold, one of the companions of Jesus

stretched out his hand, drew his sword, smote the slave of the high priest

52 and cut off his ear. Then Jesus says to him, "Put back thy sword into

53 its place; for all who take the sword shall perish by the sword. What!

dost thou think that I cannot appeal to my Father, and he will provide me

54 at this moment with more than twelve legions of angels? But how then

55 should the scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must come to pass?" At

that hour Jesus said to the hordes, "Did you come out as against a robber, with swords and clubs to arrest me? Day by day I sat in the temple teaching, and you did not seize me. But the whole of this has come to pass, that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled." Then the disciples all left him alone and fled.

Now those who had seized Jesus led him away to Kaiaphas the high priest, where the scribes and the elders had gathered. Peter followed him from afar, up to the palace of the high priest; then he went inside and sat with the officers to see the end. Now the high priests and in fact the whole Sanhedrin sought for false witness against Jesus that they might get him put to death; but they found none, although many false witnesses came forward. However two men came forward at last, and said, "This man said, 'I am able to break down the sanctuary of God, and to build it after three days.'" And the high priest stood up and said to him, "Hast thou no answer? Of what do these men bear evidence against thee?" Jesus kept silence. And the high priest said to him, "I adjure thee by the living God! Tell us if thou art the Christ, the Son of God?" Jesus says to him, "It is as thou sayest. Yet I tell you, in future you shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of the Power, and coming on the clouds of the sky." Then the high priest rent his vestments, saying, "He has blasphemed! What further witnesses do we need? Look now, you heard the blasphemy; what do you think?" They said in reply, "He is doomed to die." Then they spat on his face and buffeted him, and some dealt him blows, saying, "Prophecy to us, Christ! Who was it that struck thee?"

Now Peter was sitting outside in the courtyard; and a maidservant came to him, saying, "Thou also wast with Jesus the Galilean." But he denied it before them all, saying, "I know not what thou meanest." And when he went out into the porch, another maidservant saw him; and she says to those who were there, "This man was with Jesus the Nazarene." And again he denied with an oath, "I know not the man." After a little while the bystanders came up and said to Peter, "To be sure, thou art one of them too; for indeed thy speech betrays thee." Thereupon he began to loudly curse and swear, "I know not the man." And immediately the cock crowed. Then Peter remembered the word that Jesus had said, "Before the cock crows, three times shalt thou deny me." And he went out, and bitterly he wept.

Now when morning came, all the high priests and the elders of the people took counsel against Jesus, in order to get him put to death; and after binding him they led him away and delivered him up to Pilate the procurator. Then seeing that he was condemned, Judas his betrayer repented; and he returned the thirty silver pieces to the high priests and elders, saying, "I have sinned by betraying innocent blood." "What is that to us?" they said; "that is thy concern!" Then throwing down the silver pieces in the sanctuary he retired, and went away and hanged himself. Now when the high priests took the silver pieces, they said, "It is not right to put them into the sacred treasury, since they are 'the price of blood.'" So after taking counsel they bought with them the potter's field as a burying-place for strangers. Therefore that field has been called to this day, "Field of blood." Then what was spoken through the prophet Jeremiah was fulfilled, when he said: *And they took the thirty silver pieces, the price of him who had been appraised, whom some of the sons of Israel appraised, and they gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord instructed me.*

11 Now Jesus stood before the procurator, and the procurator questioned him, "Art thou the king of the Jews?" Jesus said to him, 12 "Certainly." But while he was being accused by the high priests and 13 elders, he made no answer. Then Pilate says to him, "Hearest thou not 14 how grave their evidence is against thee?" Yet to the procurator's 15 great wonder he made no reply to him, not even a single word. Now 16 at festival time the procurator was accustomed to release for the crowd 17 any one prisoner whom they chose. At that time they had a notorious 18 prisoner called Bar-Abbas; so when they had met, Pilate said to them, 19 "Whom do you wish me to release for you? Bar-Abbas, or Jesus who is 20 called 'Christ'?" (For he knew it was for envy that they had delivered 21 him up. Also, when he was sitting on the tribunal, his wife had sent to 22 say to him, "Have nothing to do with that innocent man; for I have 23 suffered much to-day in a dream, on his account.") But the high priests 24 and the elders persuaded the crowd to ask for Bar-Abbas and have Jesus 25 destroyed. The procurator answered and said to them, "Which of the 26 two will you have me release for you?" They said, "Bar-Abbas." 27 Pilate says to them, "Then what am I to do with Jesus who is called 28 'Christ'?" They all say, "Let him be crucified." And he said, 29 "Why, what evil has he done?" But they kept vehemently shouting, 30 "Let him be crucified." So when Pilate saw he was doing no good, but 31 on the contrary that a tumult was rising, he took water and washed his 32 hands before the crowd; "I am innocent of this blood," he said; "it 33 is your concern!" And all the people answered and said, "His blood 34 be upon us and upon our children!" Then he released for them Bar- 35 Abbas; but after scourging Jesus, he delivered him up to be crucified. 36 Then the soldiers of the procurator took Jesus into the praetorium 37 and gathered the whole cohort to him. And after stripping him, they put 38 a scarlet mantle round him. And plaiting a wreath out of some thorns, 39 they put it on his head, with a reed in his right hand; and kneeling 40 down before him they mocked him, saying, "Hail, king of the Jews!" 41 And they spat on him, and taking the reed they kept striking him 42 on the head. Then after their mockery of him, they stripped the 43 mantle off him and put his own garments upon him; and they led him 44 away to be crucified. Now as they were going out, they came 45 upon a Cyrenian named Simon; this man they forced to carry his cross. 46 Then coming to a place called Golgotha (which means, "The place of a 47 skull") they offered him wine to drink with a bitter mixture; but after 48 tasting it, he would not drink it. Now when they had crucified him, 49 they distributed his garments among them by casting lots, and sitting down 50 they kept watch there over him. And over his head they put the charge 51 against him in writing, THIS IS JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS. 52 Then along with him two robbers are crucified, one on the right hand 53 and one on the left. And the passers-by heaped abuse on him, wagging 54 their heads and saying, "Thou who wouldst break down the sanctuary 55 and build it in three days, save thyself! If thou art God's son, come down 56 from the cross!" Similarly, the high priests also mocked him, with the 57 scribes and the elders, saying, "Others he saved, himself he cannot save! 58 He is 'the king of Israel'! Let him come down now from the cross, and 59 we will believe upon him! He puts his trust in God: let God rescue him 60 now, if he cares for him. For he said, 'I am God's son.'" And even the 61 robbers who were crucified along with him, denounced him in the 62 same fashion.

45 Now from the sixth hour a darkness covered all the land till

46 the ninth hour. And about the ninth hour Jesus cried out with a loud voice, saying, "*Elei, elei, lema sabachthanei?*" (that is, "*O my God, O my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*") And on hearing it some of the 48 bystanders there said, "He is calling Elijah." Then immediately one of them ran, took and filled a sponge with *vinegar*, put it on a reed, 49 and offered him it to drink. The rest said, "Hold, let us see if Elijah does come to save him." [[But another took a lance and pierced his side, and 50 out came water and blood.]]¹ Then once more Jesus cried out with a loud 51 voice and yielded up his spirit. And behold! the veil of the sanctuary was torn in two from top to bottom, the earth shook, the rocks were torn 52 apart, the tombs were opened, and many bodies of the saints who had 53 fallen asleep rose—and coming out of the tombs after his resurrection, 54 they entered the holy city and appeared to many people. Now when the centurion and his companions who were watching Jesus saw the earthquake and what took place, they were exceedingly afraid, and said, 55 "This man was certainly a son of God!" And many women were there looking on from a distance—women who had followed Jesus from Galilee, 56 ministering to him. Among them was Mary of Magdala, Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee.

57 Now when it was evening, a rich man from Arimathaea named Joseph 58 came, who also was himself a disciple of Christ. This man went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. Then Pilate ordered it to be given up. 59, 60 And Joseph took the body, and wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb which he had hewn out in the rock; then, after rolling a large stone to the entrance of the tomb, he went away. 61 Now Mary of Magdala was there with the other Mary, sitting opposite the 62 sepulchre. On the next day (that is, the day after the Preparation) the high priests and the Pharisees gathered to Pilate and said, "Sir, 63 we have remembered that when this impostor was still alive, he said, 64 'After three days I rise.' Give orders then to have the sepulchre secured until the third day; in case the disciples come and steal him away, and say to the people, 'He rose from the dead.' And so the last fraud will 65 be worse than the first?" Pilate said to them, "Take a guard and 66 begone! Secure it yourselves, as you know how." So they went in company with the guard, and secured the sepulchre by sealing the stone.

28 1 Now at the close of the sabbath-day, as it was just dawning to the first day of the week, Mary of Magdala went with the other Mary to see 2 the sepulchre. And behold, a great earthquake took place; for an angel of the Lord came down from heaven and went and rolled away the stone 3 and sat on it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white 4 like snow; and for fear of him the watchers shook and became like dead 5 men. But the angel addressed the women, saying, "Be not you afraid! 6 I know you are seeking Jesus, the crucified. He is not here, for he 7 has risen, as he said. Come, see the place where he lay. Then go quickly and tell his disciples, he has risen from the dead; and lo, he goes before you into Galilee; you shall see him there. Lo, I have told 8 you." Then they went away quickly from the tomb with fear and great 9 joy, and ran to bring word to his disciples. [And behold, Jesus met them, saying, "Hail!" and they went to him, caught hold of his feet, and 10 did him reverence. Then Jesus says to them, "Be not afraid. Go your way; bring word to my brothers to go away into Galilee, and they shall 11 see me there."]

¹ Adding [[*ἄλλος δὲ λαβὼν λόγχην ἐνυξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευράν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα*]].

guard went into the city and brought word to the high priests of all
12 that had taken place. And after meeting with the elders and taking
13 counsel, they gave a considerable sum of money to the soldiers, telling
them, "Say 'his disciples came at night and stole him when we were
14 asleep.' And should this matter come before the procurator, we will
15 satisfy him and clear you of any trouble." So they took the money
and did as they were instructed. And this story has been disseminated
among the Jews, down to the present day.

16 Now the eleven disciples went into Galilee, to the mountain where
17 Jesus had appointed them. And on seeing him they did him reverence ;
18 but some doubted. And Jesus came and talked to them, saying,

"All authority has been given to me in heaven and upon earth ;

19 Go then and make disciples of all the nations,
Baptize them into the name of the Father and the Son and the
holy Spirit,

20 Teach them to observe all that ever I commanded you.

And lo, I myself am with you all the days until the close of the age!"

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

LIKE its successor Acts, Hebrews is an implicit apology for Christianity. Only, there is this difference between them. The apologetic element in the former is principally¹ concerned with the outward relationship of the Christian faith (cp. Holtzmann, *Das NT u. der Römische Staat*, 1892, p. 13f.) to the Roman Empire. Hebrews is directly a word of encouragement (13²²) for those inside the church; it forms an attempt to emphasise the sufficiency and finality of Christianity for those who accept Christ, not a demonstration of its political innocence. Both books were written primarily to instruct and edify their age. But while the method of Acts is historical and retrospective, Hebrews is speculative and theological. Luke and Acts establish the certainty of the faith by exhibiting its growth in Jesus and its development into the expanded sphere of the Empire. The author of Hebrews proves Christianity to be the ultimate religion, by means of a long series of comparisons drawn between it and the religion from which it sprang. His training leads him to use the religious authority common to himself and his readers—the OT—and to interpret this on Alexandrian principles of symbolism and typology. Hence the impression of remoteness in his treatment of the religious situation of Christendom within the Empire as compared with Acts, and especially with the Apocalypse. This author does not deal with the Temple and the Jews as they lived. His view is directed to the ideal tabernacle and the Levitical services as these exist in the LXX. He and his readers are citizens of Jerusalem, but it is the Jerusalem in heaven. He and they await the crisis and end of the age; but it is no outcome of a Roman campaign, it is the act of God in fulfilment of older prophecy (Jer 31^{31 f.}), when the new covenant is introduced. The book reflects a situation of trial, especially in the Roman church, but the attitude to Domitian is more akin to that of Clem. Rom. than to that of the Apocalypse; for the character of the author and the object of the writing alike prevent the political situation from becoming an absorbing feature of thought. Before transcendentalism, political and social colours pale. Even the later "First Epistle of John" is as silent upon the outer relations of the churches under Trajan, as the *Religio Medici* upon the Star Chamber and the fortunes of the Huguenots.

The very breath of Hebrews is antagonism to a retrograde movement within the circle of Roman Christians to which it was probably addressed. Behind the letter we can feel a tendency on the part of timid and disheartened members to abandon the Christian faith under stress of

¹ Though in Acts also there is an implicit apology directed to contemporary Judaism. The author strove to demonstrate that Christianity was the legitimate heir to the Jewish law and its promises. He had before him a Jewish propaganda (Ac 15²¹) which attempted to jealously dispute that claim, and in view of this he aimed at showing how Gentile Christianity had come from the heart and centre of Judaism by a natural and unforced development.

contemporary trial. This is aggravated by the length of time which has elapsed since the conversion of the readers—a period which has dimmed the first brightness of their faith without producing a mature and intelligent experience. Mental seriousness¹ and moral stability are two qualities in which these people are found sadly deficient. Coupled also with the external trial and internal sluggishness, there is an element of strain existing between the readers and their church authorities. It is these considerations rather than any mere outward features, which characterise the writing.

The *terminus ad quem* for the date of Hebrews is fixed by the epistle of Clemens Rom. in which it is certainly and copiously used (Enseb. *HE*, 3. 38, τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους πολλὰ νοήματα παραθείς, ἥδη δὲ καὶ αὐτολεξεῖ ῥητοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς χρησάμενος). As this epistle was composed c. 97 A.D., Hebrews cannot be much later than 94–95; and probably it was in existence considerably before that time. The exact *terminus a quo*, however, is much more difficult to fix. It is certain that the writing presupposes an acquaintance with the Pauline epistles²; its indebtedness to Galatians, 1 Corinthians, and (especially) Romans lies on the surface, and as close—in spite of divergent aims and standpoints—is its connection with Ephesians³ in conceptions and phraseology. A similar series of affinities exists between 1 Peter⁴ and Hebrews; but here, as in the case of Ephesians, the explanation of these is uncertain. If Ephesians is authentic, it was used by the author of Hebrews. If 1 Peter is authentic, on the other hand, its use in Hebrews is possible, its similarity of atmosphere indubitable. The latter may be due to the fact that both writings are coloured by an independent use of Ephesians. The net result of these lines of criticism, however, is merely to establish the post-Pauline date of Hebrews, and at the same time to exhibit its affinities with two writings which upon other grounds are often relegated to a much later date. The latter hint is corroborated by the distinct connection of Hebrews with the group Luke-Acts (cp. the excellent table in Simcox: *Writers of NT*, Appendix 1. Table 2; also *Exp.*³ viii. pp. 184–190), which has even suggested the Lucan authorship of the epistle (Delitzsch). The similarities are to be most reasonably explained by the hypothesis that all three writings are neighbours in spirit and practically contemporaries in age. Other coincidences, between Hebrews and later works like the Apocalypse, the Pastorals, and James, are too infrequent and subordinate to be decisive on the question of the date.

¹ cf. 21.³ 511–63 121.^{5.25} 13²². “Is there a Christ? Is He the Heir of all things? Was He made flesh? Did He offer the all-perfect sacrifice? Did He supersede the old order of priests? Is He the mediator of a new and better Covenant? What are the terms of that Covenant? There are no questions like these. . . . I am astonished at the imperative tone of this Epistle, and the element of holy scorn against those who refuse to go into these great questions carefully” (James Smetham’s *Letters*, p. 170).

² Evidence stated in Holtzmann, *Einl.* pp. 298, 299; Brückner, *Chron.* pp. 236–241. The whole cast and temper of the writer’s thought, along with an incidental allusion like that in 13²³, indicates a connection with the Pauline circle.

³ Heb. 13 31 64 718 81 911–12 1010 123 1312 1014.²⁹
Eph. 120 118^c 13 213 120 17 526 120 526 526 : besides words and phrases like
αἶμα καὶ σὰρξ, ἀγρυπνεῖν, πρᾶσις, ὑπεράνω, εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν, αἶον μέλλων, προσφορά καὶ θυσία, βουλὴ (of God), παρρησία, etc.

⁴ The relative priority of Hebrews, which is largely held, is not certain upon the grounds of mere literary criticism (cp. Usteri’s ed. of 1 Peter, pp. 298–300, and von Soden, *HC*, III. 2, pp. 3, 4). The probable priority of 1 Peter to James also tells strongly against it.

The Domitianic date, suggested by the literary connections of the epistle, is corroborated by its internal evidence. The author appears to have followed the history of the church from its beginning with affectionate and intelligent interest. He appeals to a storm of affliction which broke on them after their awakening to Christianity (10³²⁻³⁴), and which may be most naturally referred to the Neronic outburst, especially if the epistle is considered as addressed to the Roman church. Such suffering, however, is a matter of retrospect. At the time of writing, a further peril is being experienced (12^{3, 4})—evidently the rise of the Domitianic persecution, which is not yet at its full height. Imprisonment (13²³) and banishment (13¹⁹), however, have befallen some of the Christian leaders, and the church as a whole is being tried by the severity of the situation. The writer alludes to these trials indefinitely.¹ He was writing not a history but a word of encouragement, treating the situation with a practical aim on its religious side. But through the appeals (12^{4, 11-13}) we can detect that the comparatively smooth existence of the church (Allard, *Hist. Persécut.* i. pp. 81-133) during the earlier Flavian régime has been rudely broken up. Persecution, unknown in recent years, is upon the readers. And persecution has its attendant perils of relapse and moral failure. Hence they are summoned to remember the past line of heroes stretching from the patriarchs to the Maccabees, and also to recall their own good record as a church. Further, they are reminded that they—unlike some of their predecessors—have not yet had to face (12⁴) the worst. With all its discomforts their career hitherto has been exempt from that supreme trial which is never quite away from the horizon of a genuine faith.²

That the epistle was written at a late³ period (5¹²), when the first generation had long passed from the scene (cp. 2³ with Luke 1¹⁻⁴), is self-evident. The original founders and rulers (13⁷) had been succeeded by others whose authority was apparently apt to be somewhat ignored. The severity of the situation, coupled with the length of time that had elapsed since the primitive flush and freshness of the gospel, tended to produce a dissatisfaction with Christianity; and the temptation of the "Hebrews" was to abandon its membership,⁴ as if it were an exhausted

¹ The absence of exact references in Hebrews to the Imperial policy and régime need excite as little surprise as the silence of the *De Imitatione Christi* upon Joan of Arc and the wars and court of Louis XI., or of the *Pilgrim's Progress* upon the brilliant immorality of Charles the Second and the dash of van Ruyter up the Thames. The author's idealistic and speculative bent does not lead him to be nearly as explicit as Clem. Rom., but the references of the latter quite bear out the implicit hints of the situation conveyed by Hebrews. It is a less probable conjecture that the slight allusions in Hebrews to political matters are purposely vague and covert, from the prudential fear of compromising author or readers.

² This, in spite of Zahn (*Einl.* ii. 126), seems the true sense of the words.

³ The reference to Timotheus (13²³) unfortunately yields no evidence for the date, as we have no data for ascertaining the length of his lifetime. I cannot see any covert historical allusion in the use which the author makes of the period forty years (8¹⁷), although several editors regard this as an unequivocal proof that the church had a Christian career of forty years behind it when the author wrote. This would, of course, bring the date down past 70 A.D., but it must be pronounced rather a prosaic and unnecessary reading of the words in question.

⁴ Same danger in Clem. Rom. 46³ (γίνονται γὰρ πολλὰς τοῖς ἁγίοις, ὅτι οἱ πολλῶμενοι αὐτοῖς ἀγιασθήσονται), Did. 16², Ignat. *ad Ephes.* 13, Barnab. 4¹⁰. Associations and societies, however congenial to the spirit of the Roman Empire in the first and second centuries (Foucart, *Associat. religieuses chez les Grecs*), involved a certain strain and sacrifice for some Christians. Evidently association required to be enforced as a

philosophic school (10²⁵), or to slacken their ties with it as though they had received from it all possible benefit. Besides, after 70 A.D. Christianity found itself now in a twofold peril. It was an object of suspicion to the political authorities, an object of jealousy to Judaism, its rival. The former danger was the simpler, involving mainly the straightforward attack of persecution. The latter was more complex. The propaganda of Judaism affected Christians in at least three ways: by using against them its influence with the Roman authorities (cp. the reiterated mention of "jealousy" in Clem. Rom. v.-vi., *à propos* of the Christian hardships under Nero); by insidiously representing itself as the ancient and sufficient faith, of which this upstart heresy of the Nazarenes was but a meagre offshoot; and on the ground of history and scripture, by directly challenging with bitterness and dialectic skill their historical right and claims. It is for a situation affected chiefly by the second of these phases that Hebrews is intended. The gospel of Matthew is the chief witness to the third, as Acts is to the first.

This Domitianic date,¹ *i.e.* previous to 96 A.D., is advocated by Schenkel (*Das Christusbild der Apostel*, etc., 1879, pp. 123, 130 f.), Mangold (*Römerbrief*, 1884, p. 258 f.), Holtzmann (*ZwTh*, 1884, pp. 1-10; *Einl.* pp. 292-309), Weizsäcker (*AA*, ii. pp. 155-160), von Soden (*JpTh*, 1884, pp. 435-493, 627-656; *HC*, iii. 2, pp. 14-19), Lipsius (*HC*, ii. 2, p. 83), Jülicher (*Einl.* pp. 123-125), and McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 463-470), while Zahn practically agrees by dating the epistle *c.* 80 A.D. (*Einl.* ii. pp. 142-158; *ETK*, vii. pp. 492-506). So Cone (*The Gospel and its Interpretations*, p. 232 f.); also Rovers (*Nieuw-test. Letterkunde*, 1888, p. 80 f.), Bousset (*TR*, 1897, pp. 9, 10), J. Réville (*Les origines de l'Épiscopat*, pp. 363-366), Krüger (*Altchristliche Litteratur*,² 1898, p. 11), Häring (*SK*, 1891, pp. 589-598), and Brückner (*Chron.* pp. 224-249). The last-named, however, goes a little too far down, while Pfeiderer (*Urc.* pp. 627, 628) seems to lean rather to the Trajanic than to the Domitianic date.

Unfortunately there is no decisive evidence for the place of Hebrews within its group. It cannot be placed before 80 A.D.; but if the third gospel and Acts were composed by the beginning of the last decade of the century, Hebrews may be dated slightly earlier, if not as practically contemporary. [*EBi*, ii. 1998 f., and Bacon, *INT*, pp. 140-149.]

The alternative date for Hebrews is between 60 and 70 A.D. This largely supported view takes the epistle as implying the contemporary existence of the Jewish temple and ritual, and as written in view of the religious dissolution which (8¹³) culminated in A.D. 70.² The arguments in favour of this date have been in part already met by implication, and in part they depend upon a view of the development of early Christianity,

duty, before it became a fixed and natural habit. "Aggregation does not appear to have invariably followed belief." It was possible to be a Christian in some quarters, and yet, for different reasons, to stand aloof from or to abandon outward adhesion to the community (Hatch, *Organisation of the Early Christian Churches*, pp. 29, 30).

¹ For a date indefinitely later than 70 A.D., cp. also Professor W. Robertson Smith (*EB*, article "Hebrews"), Dr. A. B. Davidson (*Hebrews*, pp. 15-17), Wendt (*ZwTh*, 1895, pp. 157-160), and Reuss (?) (pp. 148-153). Harnack (*Chron.* pp. 475-479) also dates the writing subsequent to 1 Peter under Domitian, though he thinks it might be somewhat earlier.

² On the seventh decade date and the implied shock with which the crisis threatened the religious feelings of the Hebrews, Dr. Davidson rightly remarks, "Such a despair ought to have seized all Hebrews alike, whether Christians or not; but there is no historical evidence of such a thing."

which would require many pages to exhibit. The finest statements of the case are given by Professor Bruce (*Exp.*³ vii. p. 162 f.; *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1899; and in *DB*, ii. article "Hebrews"), Weiss (-Meyer, and *INT*, ii. p. 30 f.), and Westcott (*Epistle to the Hebrews*). Rendall (*Theology of Hebrew Christians*, pp. 70-76), Professor Mackintosh (*Essays tow. a New Theology*, 1889, pp. 291-297), and Adeney, *BI*, p. 429 (c. 68 A.D.), prefer to place the writing as near as possible to the crisis of 70 A.D., while a more or less earlier date (65-70) is chosen by Bleek, Beyschlag (*NTTh*, ii. pp. 286-288), Renan (*l'Antéchrist*, chap. ix.), Hilgenfeld (*Einl.* pp. 377-383), Clemen (*Chron.* pp. 277-279), Burton (*RLA*), Farrar (*CGT*, "Hebrews"), Roberts (*Greek the Language of Christ and his Apostles*, 1897, chap. viii.), Salmon (*INT*, pp. 430, 431), S. Davidson (*INT*, i. pp. 183-250), Bovon (*NTTh*, ii. pp. 387-389), Ménégos,¹ (*La Théologie de l'épître aux Hébreux*, 1895), Professor G. G. Findlay (*Epistles of Paul*, p. 263 f.), Stevens (*NTTh*, p. 485 f.), Schäfer (*Einl.* pp. 149-157), Trenkle (*Einl.* pp. 88-91), and G. Milligan (*Theol. of Epistle to Hebrews*, 1899). With many others, these critics keenly defend the Jewish Christian character of the writing ("Le monument le plus éloigné du judaïsme," Havet) and its date in the seventh decade of the first century.² As a phase of this theory, it may be noted that Ramsay, retracting his former adhesion to the 64-66 date (*CRE*, p. 307), now regards the writing as addressed to the Jewish party of the Jerusalem church by Philip the Deacon, who wrote from Caesarea (59 A.D.) after discussions with Paul (*Exp.*⁵ ix. pp. 407-422); while W. M. Lewis (*Thinker*, Oct.-Nov. 1893; *Biblical World*, Aug. 1898, April 1899) had already conjectured on similar lines that the epistle was a joint production of Paul and Luke, written from the Caesarean imprisonment (Ac 23³⁵). Such attempts possess the merit of novelty.³ But even upon the ordinary theory, as argued by the critics already named, it seems impossible to demonstrate that Hebrews was composed before the fall of the temple in A.D. 70, in the sense in which one can determine, for example, that a book like Tobit was written previously to its building in B.C. 25. Ultimately, the question of the date rests upon the question of the destination—the character and situation of the readers.

Of the localities to which the epistle is conjectured to have been addressed—Palestine (Jerusalem or Syria⁴), Alexandria, Rome (Italy)—

¹ "Nous devons nous résigner à ignorer le lieu où se trouvaient les destinataires. Tout ce qu'il nous est permis de conjecturer, c'est qu'ils vivaient dans une ville où dans une contrée où l'influence des Juifs—cultivés plutôt qu'incultes, ritualistes plutôt que légalistes—constituait un danger pour la prospérité de la communauté chrétienne." Cp. also Dr. J. B. Crozier, *Intell. Development* (1897), i. pp. 333-337.

² The (a) seventh decade date is usually held with (b) the Jewish-Christian hypothesis, and the (α) Domitianic date with (β) the Gentile-Christian. But some, e.g. Dr. A. B. Davidson and Zahn, accept (b) and come down later than 70, while others, like Pfleiderer, accept (β) with a second century date (*Urc.* pp. 620-640; so Hausrath), or—like Häring—admit (α) with a modified form of (b).

³ Cp. a critique by G. Milligan, *Exp.*⁵ x. pp. 154-160; Bartlet (*AA*, pp. 210 f., 281 f.) also dates it c. 62 A.D. as addressed to Caesarea.

⁴ Kübel (*Kurzgefasster Comment. NT.* 4, pp. 151-153) thinks the epistle was written by Barnabas between 67 and 68 A.D. to the Syrian Jewish-Christians. Rendall (*Theology of Hebrew Christians*, pp. 67-69) also inclines to a Syrian audience, possibly Antioch itself. Mr. Ayles (*Destination, Date, and Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1899) makes Barnabas the author, and dates the book c. 64 A.D.; but, like e.g. Professor Ramsay, he unfortunately decides for Jerusalem as the destination. Passages like 2³ 5¹¹ 12⁴—to mention no others—absolutely prohibit this idea of Jerusalem as the circle of "Hebrews."

the last-named is upon the whole to be preferred (cp. Heb 13¹⁰⁻¹⁶, Ro 14), although the destination¹ of the letter is almost as dim as its authorship. Rome suits the internal evidence of the letter,² its connection with Clem. Rom., and especially the reference in 13^{23, 24}, where of ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας (read in the light of Mt 15¹, Ac 21²⁷ 24¹⁸) surely means Italian residents abroad. Possibly it was written from Alexandria.³ At any rate its direct audience were the members of the particular church (13²⁴)—the rank and file, not the leaders, still less a group of evangelists (Heinrici, *ThLz*, 1895, p. 289). Probably enough it was some special community of older Christians at Rome, who are not to be identified with the whole church (cp. the expressions in 5¹² 10²⁵ 13²⁴), but may have formed a household church by themselves (Zahn, *Einkl.* ii. pp. 146–148; Harnack, *ZNW*, 1900, pp. 19–23, the latter, oddly enough, attributing the authorship of the writing to Prisca and Aquila, chiefly Prisca). Jülicher (*Einkl.* pp. 130–132), however, rejects this utterly.

It looks almost a paradox to assert that the epistle to the Hebrews* was addressed to a church (in Rome or Italy) whose body and complexion were predominantly Gentile. Yet the evidence of the writing seems to leave no alternative (so Schürer, Harnack, von Soden, Pfeiderer, Wendt, Weizsäcker, Jülicher, and McGiffert among others). The copious and elaborate reasoning that fills page after page, the verbal illustrations and arguments from the LXX, the interest implied among the readers in the OT and their acquaintance with its contents and scope, these and many other characteristics spring, not from the fact that this circle of Christians was specially rooted in Judaism, but from the whole groundwork of OT and Jewish associations, traditions, and presuppositions, which underlay early Christianity. The epistle of Clem. Rom., e.g., is simply woven through and through with OT quotations and references. Yet it was addressed to a predominantly Gentile church, which was evidently expected to understand and be profited by such a treatment of the subject. So, too, in Paul's letters to Rome (4^{13, 16}) and Galatia (3²⁹)⁴.

¹ Taking the title πρὸς Ἑβραίους with the other Alexandrian titles of the gospel καθ' Ἑβραίους and the gospel κατ' Αἰγυπτίους, Harnack (*Chron.* p. 479 n.) conjectures that Εβρ. might mean the Hellenistic Jewish-Christians in Egypt, in which case the epistle would be taken as addressed to Egypt at a time when the churches contained Jewish-Christians, not Egyptian Gentile Christians (Αἰγυπτίαι). On our ignorance, however, of Jewish-Christianity in early Egypt, cp. the caveat of Zahn, *Einkl.* ii. p. 153.

² Cp. the discussions in Dr. A. B. Davidson's edition (pp. 13–18; he dates the epistle from Rome to some community of the Dispersion in the East) and Holtzmann (*Einkl.* pp. 303–308). Neither Rome nor Alexandria completely satisfies the evidence of the epistle, but perhaps there are fewer difficulties on the Roman hypothesis than upon any other (Zahn, *Einkl.* ii. pp. 142–158). On the συναγωγή Αἰβρίων (*CIG*, 40, 9909), cp. *Exp. Ti.* x. p. 422.

³ For an estimate of Alexandria and its significance in early Christianity, cp. J. S. Riggs, *AJT* (1897), pp. 927–949; also, from another standpoint, Friedländer, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Christenthums, ein Excurs von den Septuaginta zum Evangelium* (1894), espec. pp. 143–172.

⁴ The title πρὸς Ἑβραίους was, of course, added by later tradition. The superficial appearance of the letter and its contents made it a very natural guess, but it has no more weight or value than that of the Pauline authorship ("hardly more than a reflection of the impression produced on an early copyist," W. R. Smith). Both rose out of an age which had already lost all direct knowledge of the writing's origin and standpoint (cp. Zahn's decisive remarks, *Einkl.* ii. pp. 111–113, 118–120, a recapitulation of his researches upon the canonical tradition). Klostermann (*Zur Theorie d. bibl. Weissagung u. zur Char. d. Hebr.* p. 55 f.) conjectures πρὸς Βερουσίους = Βερσαίους as the original form of the title, in which case the epistle was written by Apollos to the Jewish-Christian community of Beroea (Ac 17¹⁰).

There, Jewish Christians formed certainly the minority of his audience; yet Abraham is termed "our forefather according to the flesh" (Ro 4¹, cp. also 2 Co 6¹⁶), and Gentile Christians are over and again assumed to be the people of God. Besides, such a use of the OT for didactic purposes was quite a conventional method of instruction, as may be seen in Philo (quis rer. divin. her., i. 511; de Monarch, ii. 222; ἑρμηνεῖς γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ προφῆται, θεοῦ καταχρωμένου τοῖς ἐκείνων ὀργάνοις πρὸς δῆλωσιν ὧν ἂν ἐθελήσῃ), far too general to be confined merely to Jewish Christians. The OT had been familiar to many members of the church, even before they became Christians. Their first acquaintance with Jewish history and hopes did not date from their reception of Christ. It was originated by the propaganda, especially of Hellenistic Judaism. And even after their entrance into the Christian faith, the OT rather grew in significance. It was their religious codex, authoritative on worship and theology; any writer could with confidence appeal to it and argue from it, as in the nature of the case it was certain that his readers and he would be thus occupying common ground.

Positive arguments which tend to support this conclusion are drawn (Jacoby, *NT Ethik*, p. 202 f.) from allusions such as those in 6^{1f} 13⁴ 13¹². The principles mentioned in 6^{1f} are not such as would naturally be required for Jewish Christians (Schürer, *SK*, 1876, p. 776 f.); they distinctly point, like 13⁴, to the first steps not of Jewish but of pagan converts, and the lapse feared in 13¹² is a fall not into Judaism but away to idols and pagan faith.

The church addressed, then, is Christian. Gentiles form the major part of it, but the readers are viewed under no distinctions of race. At the same time one or two passages (6⁶ 13⁹⁻¹⁶ etc.; cp. Hort, *Jud. Christianity*, p. 156 f.; Haupt, *SK*, 1895, pp. 388-390) certainly seem to suggest that the situation of the church included temptations of a specifically Jewish character, which might appeal with especial force to Jewish Christians,¹ and an attempt has been made to explain these as the efforts of a speculative Judaism which beset Gentile Christians during the second decade after the fall of Jerusalem (Häring, *SK*, 1891, pp. 589-598). At any rate, during the closing quarter of the century Jewish propaganda flourished throughout the Empire. The genuine morality and monotheism preached by the Hellenistic Jews especially must have proved not merely a rival to Christianity in the eyes of the outside pagans, but a dangerously attractive movement for those weaker and less intelligent members of the Christian church who lay open, through birth or circumstances, to such Jewish influences.² *Vivere more judaico* was a specious watch-word. It represented, as we find from Cerinthus afterwards, a distinct and subtle danger, prompting Gentile Christians—especially proselytes—to revert to their old life.³ "Better," urges the

¹ It is scarcely necessary to add that the occasional use of the present tense (78. 20 83-5 96-9. 13 13¹⁰) in the epistle is no argument for the contemporary existence of the temple and its services. The writer is using a literary method, in common with Jewish (Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 6-12) and Christian writers (Clem. Rom. 40⁴-41³; Diognet. 3, etc.; Fourth gospel, 5²), who had occasion to refer to the Jewish cultus and customs after 70 A.D. (cp. Schürer, *HJP*, i. ii. p. 268 f.; Zahn, *Eint.* ii. pp. 141, 142).

² On the exposure of provincial Christianity in the East to such Jewish apostasy, cp. Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, iii. p. 196 f., and Harnack, *TU*, i. 3, p. 73 f. Rabbinical tendencies naturally revived in the period following A.D. 70.

³ Although Judaism may be reckoned—in spite of Bar-kokhba's revolt—as a lost cause after 70, it was far from being a forsaken belief. It became, in spirit and

keen dogmatist some thirty years later—"better listen to Christianity from a circumcised man than to Judaism from one uncircumcised" (Ignat. *ad Philad.* 6; also, *ad Philad.* 8, Jo 5³⁹ f., for this heresy).

In Hebrews some unknown Alexandrian¹ scholar uses the OT in a characteristic fashion to state the superiority and finality of the Christian religion. This feature is distinctive. Yet the application of Philonic methods and phrases should not, by their very strangeness in the NT, blind us to the dominating Christian spirit which is master of these characteristics. Philonist and student of the wisdom literature as he was, the author of Hebrews was supremely and essentially a Christian. No more than his successor, the author of the fourth gospel, does he suffer himself to be carried far away by the terminology and conceptions which press upon him out of his early training. Their use is strictly modified. They are at best subordinate to his leading principles and beliefs. Consequently in Hebrews, as in the fourth gospel, the fact that philosophic terms are employed in a sense occasionally different to their original setting is a proof, not that these Christian authors stood wholly remote from such speculative influences, but that they assimilated them and used them freely as accessories to their own purposes. The able thinker² who composed Hebrews used his contemplative philosophy and command of rhetoric for genuinely religious ends.³

situation, a rival of Christianity. This explains the differences of attitude to the Jews, in Paul and in the fourth gospel (or Apocalypse), and the later keenness of tone in the references to them made by Barnabas and Justin Martyr.

¹ Besides the well-known exposition of Pfeiderer, *op. cit.* for the Alexandrian culture of the author of Hebrews, Wendt, *ZwTh* (1895), pp. 157-160; with Holtzmann, *NTTh*, ii. 281-295. The Philonic parallels are amply stated by Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des AT*, p. 321 f., and reproduced by Ménégoz, *op. cit.* p. 197 f., and Pfeiderer, *Urc.* p. 629 f.

² He was "the finest and most cultured genins of the primitive church. . . . The fact that a writer of such rare power and grace should have left us only a single monument of his genius, and that a mere letter, written for a definite practical purpose, and that his name should have been entirely forgotten within less than a century after his death, serves to remind us in a very forcible way of the limitations of our knowledge respecting the early days of Christianity" (McGiffert). Ménégoz has his bright antithesis: "l'auteur de l'Épître aux Hébreux est un évolutionniste; saint Paul est un révolutionnaire, en prenant ce terme en son sens exclusivement moral et religieux. . . . si l'on a pu comparer saint Paul à Luther, nous comparerions volontiers l'auteur de l'Épître aux H. à Mélanchthon." Excellently put by Jülicher (pp. 134-136).

³ The remarkable use of the OT in Hebrews may throw some light on a similar phenomenon in the gospels. W. C. Allen (*ExpTi*, xii. 187 f., 281 f.) explains the OT citations in Mt and Mk as the result of assimilation to the LXX by the final editors of the gospels, except the quotations in Mt, which are partly derived from an independent Greek document employed by the evangelist. It is probable, however, that these, like the similar ones in Hebrews, are taken directly from some such manuals as those referred to on page 617, n. 1. This habit of using compilations was not uncommon in antiquity, many of Josephus' citations being, for example, drawn from intermediate channels. Dr. Abbott (*EBi*, ii. 1825) agrees that collections of Messianic texts, manuals of Christ's teaching (including Mt 5-7 as a separate brochure?), and accounts of the Passion, were circulated among the Christian communities; which would account for apparent quotations from the canonical gospels in 1 Pet., Heb., the Didachê, James, and Barnabas.

[80—90 A.D.]

HEBREWS

It is obvious that our Hebrews were familiar with the law, and had a high regard for the ordinances of temple worship. In particular it appears that they had not fully understood how the mediatorial functions of the OT were superseded by the mediatorship of Christ. But their ritualism seems to have been rather theoretical than practical. . . . The most natural view of the apostle's argument, as it comes to a point in such passages as viii. 13, ix. 9, is that the disappearance of the obsolete ritual of the old covenant is no blow to Christian faith, because in Christ ascended into glory the church possesses in heavenly verity all that the old ritual presented in mere earthly symbol. It was the ruin of the Jewish state and worship which compelled Christianity to find what is offered in our epistle—a theory of the disappearance of the old dispensation in the new.—**W. Robertson Smith.**

Dogmatic : JESUS BETTER THAN

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1 ¹ –2 ¹⁸ | (a) ANGELS—as son of God : his humanity and career. |
| 3 ¹ –4 ¹³ | (b) MOSES—as son over God's house : { warning against unbelief,
the opportunity of rest. |
| 4 ¹⁴ –10 ¹⁸ | (c) THE HIGH-PRIEST—as perfect in his |
| 4 ¹⁴ –5 ¹⁰ | <i>Sympathy</i> : its grounds and character, |
| 5 ¹¹ –6 ²⁰ | a remonstrance and a warning. |
| 7 | <i>Priesthood</i> , “after the order of Melchizedek.” |
| 8 ¹ –13 | (i.) superiority of new to old covenant, |
| 9 ¹ –14 | (ii.) superiority of new to old Levitical ministry, |
| 9 ¹⁵ –10 ¹⁸ | (iii.) finality of new covenant and new ministry. |

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| 10 ¹⁹ –13 ¹⁷ | Appeal and counsel : need of | { confidence,
steadfastness,
faith— |
| | | a historical panegyric upon faith— |
| | | { constancy, especially in trial,
mutual care : |
| 13 ¹ –17 | | a résumé of the old and the new economies :
a table of duties. |

13¹⁸–25 **Epistolary conclusion.**

HEBREWS

1 **1** AFTER speaking to the fathers long ago by fragments and forms manifold
 2 in the prophets, God spoke to us at the end of these days in a Son, whom
 he appointed heir of all things, through whom he also made the worlds ;
 3 who, as the reflected radiance of his majesty and the *facsimile* of his
 nature, sustaining also all things with the word of his power, *sat down*,
 4 after he had made purification of sins, *at the right hand* of the Sovereignty
 on high, becoming so far better than the angels as the name he has
 5 inherited is more excellent than they. For to which of the angels did
 he ever say,

My Son thou art, to-day have I begotten thee?

and again,

I will be to him a Father, and he shall be a Son to me?

6 And again, when he introduces the first-born into the world, he says,
And let all God's angels do him reverence.

7 And while he says of the angels,
*Who makes his angels winds,
 And his servants a flame of fire ;*

8 he says of the Son,
*Thy throne, O God, is ever and for ever,
 And the sceptre of thy reign is the sceptre of equity.*

9 *Thou hast loved justice and hated lawlessness ;
 Therefore has God anointed thee, thy God,
 With oil of rejoicing above thy comrades.*

10 And,
*Thou Lord didst found the earth at the beginning,
 And the skies are works of thy hands :*

11 *They shall perish, but thou remainest ;
 They shall all become worn out like a garment,
 12 Yea, like a mantle thou shalt fold them up and ¹ they shall be changed,
 But thou art the same and thy years shall not fail.*

13 And to which of the angels has he ever said,
*Sit at my right hand,
 Till I make thine enemies a footstool for thy feet ?*

14 Are they not all spirits for service, sent out to minister on behalf of
 2 **1** those who are to inherit salvation ? Therefore we must more
 and more devote ourselves to what we have been taught, in case we drift
 2 away. For if the word spoken through angels held good, and every
 transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward,
 3 how shall we escape if we have paid no heed to so great a salvation ?—
 which began by being spoken through the Lord and was confirmed for
 4 us by the hearers, while God bore witness along with them by signs and
 also by wonders and by manifold miracles and by distributions of the
 holy Spirit in virtue of his will.

¹ Omitting [[ὁς ἰμάντιον]].

5 For it was not to angels that he subjected the world to come, of which
6 we speak : but someone has testified somewhere, saying,

What is man that thou rememberest him ?

Or the son of man that thou carest for him ?

7 *Thou didst make him for a little while lower than the angels,*

With majesty and honour thou didst crown him ;

8 *Thou didst make all things subject under his feet.*

In making all things subject to him he left nothing unsubjected to him.
9 Now as it is, we do not yet see all things subjected to him ; but we see
Jesus, who has been made for a little while lower than the angels, crowned
with majesty and honour for the suffering of death, that by the grace of
10 God he might taste death for everyone. For it became him for whom
are all things and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons to
majesty to make the leader of their salvation perfect through sufferings.
11 For the sanctifier and the sanctified all come from One ; and this is
12 why he is not ashamed to call them brothers, saying,

I will declare thy name to my brothers,

In the midst of the assembly I will sing thy praise :

13 and again,

I will put my trust in him :

and again,

Here am I with the children whom God has given me !

14 Since then the children's share is blood and flesh,

Of these did he partake in the same way,

That through death he might put down him who has the power of
death (that is, the devil),

15 And deliver all who through fear of death were all their life-time
held under bondage.

16 For, one need hardly say, it is not angels that he takes in hand ;

No, he takes in hand the offspring of Abraham.

17 Hence he needed to be made like his brothers in all things,

That he might be merciful and a faithful high priest with regard
to God,

To make propitiation for the sins of the people.

18 For as he was tempted himself in what he suffered,

He is able to help the tempted.

3 1 Wherefore, holy brothers, partakers of a heavenly calling,

Consider Jesus, the apostle and high priest of our confession ;

2 Who was faithful to him who appointed him,

Like Moses in God's whole household.

3 For this man has been held worthy of more majesty than Moses,

Inasmuch as he who established the household is more honoured
than the household.

4 For every household is established by someone ;

But he who established all things is God.

5 And while Moses was faithful in God's whole household as a servant—

To bear testimony to what was to be spoken—

6 Christ was faithful as a son over his household ;

And we are his household,

If we hold fast and firm to the end our confidence and the hope
wherein we exult.

7 Therefore, as the holy Spirit says,

To-day, when you hear his voice,

- 8 *Make not your heart stubborn as at the provocation*
 On the day of the trial, in the wilderness,
 9 *Where your fathers tried me by proving me,*
 Yet saw my works for forty years.
 10 *Therefore was I exasperated with this generation,*
 And I said, "They are ever erring in their heart."
 Yea, they knew not my ways.
 11 *So I swore in my wrath,*
 "They shall not enter into my rest."
 12 Brothers, take care lest there is ever in any one of you an evil heart of
 unbelief,
 and you depart from the living God :
 13 But exhort one another day by day, as long as the call comes
 "To-day"—
 so that none of you may become stubborn by the deceit of sin.
 14 For we are partakers of Christ,
 If we hold fast and firm to the end the confidence with which we
 began—
 15 While it is said, *To-day, when you hear his voice,*
 Make not your hearts stubborn as in the wilderness.
 16 For who heard and yet provoked?
 Was it not all who came out of Egypt under Moses?
 17 And with whom was he exasperated for forty years?
 Was it not with those who had sinned, whose corpses fell in the
 wilderness?
 18 And to whom did he swear that they should not enter into his rest?
 To whom but to those who had disobeyed?
 19, 4 1 So it was owing to unbelief, we see, that they could not enter. Let
 us then be afraid lest, when there is still a promise left of enter-
 ing into his rest, any one of you be held to have fallen short of it.
 2 For indeed we have had the glad tidings preached to us as they had also ;
 but to them the word of the message was of no avail, since the hearers
 3 did not make it their own¹ by faith. For it is we who have believed
 that enter into the rest ; as he said,
 So I swore in my wrath,
 "They shall not enter into my rest"—
 although from the foundation of the world the works were finished.
 4 For he spoke somewhere about the seventh day thus : *And God rested on*
 5 *the seventh day from all his works,* and again in this place, *they shall not*
 6 *enter into my rest.*—Well then, since it is reserved for some to enter into it,
 and since those who had the glad tidings previously preached to them
 7 did not enter on account of disobedience, he appoints a day once more ;
 To-day (speaking in David after so long a time, as it has been already
 said)
 To-day, when you hear his voice,
 Make not your hearts stubborn.
 8 For had they been given rest by Joshua, he would not afterwards have
 9 spoken of another day. So then there is reserved for the people of God
 10 a sabbath-rest ; for he who has entered into his rest, he also has rest from
 11 his works, as God from his. Let us then eagerly endeavour to enter into
 that rest, so that no one may follow the same example and fall into
 12 disobedience. For the Logos of God is living and active and sharper
 than any two-edged sword, penetrating even to the division of soul

¹ Reading *συνκατεπαίμενος*.

and spirit, of both joints and marrow, and quick to judge the thoughts and convictions of the heart :

- 13 And before him nothing created is concealed,
But all things are bare and laid open before the eyes of him with whom we have to do.

- 14 As we have then a great high priest who has passed through the heavens, Jesus the Son of God,
Let us hold to our confession.

- 15 For we have not a high priest who cannot be touched with compassion for our weaknesses,

But one who has been tempted in all points like ourselves, apart from sin.

- 16 Let us draw near then with confidence to the throne of grace,
That we may receive mercy and find grace for timely help.

- 5 1 For every high priest, being selected from among men, is wont to be appointed for men Godward, that he may offer both gifts and 2 sacrifices for sins ; one who can bear gently with the ignorant and erring, 3 since he too is himself compassed with weakness, and needs for that reason to make offering for sins, as for the people so also for himself. 4 And no one takes the office to himself, but takes it when called by 5 God, exactly like Aaron. So Christ also did not exalt himself to the high priesthood ; nay it was he who spoke to him,

My Son thou art, to-day have I begotten thee :

- 6 as he says also in another place,

Thou art priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek.

- 7 He who in the days of his flesh offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears to him who was able to save him from 8 death, and owing to his reverence was heard ; he learned obedience— 9 though he was a Son—by what he suffered ; and after being made perfect, 10 he became the author of *eternal salvation* to all who obey him, styled by God a high priest *after the order of Melchizedek.*

- 11 In regard to him we have much to say, and it is difficult to explain, 12 since you have become dull. For while you ought to be teachers (considering the length of time), you again require someone to teach you the elementary principles of the oracles of God, and you have 13 come to require milk and not solid food. For anyone who partakes of milk is inexperienced in the word of uprightness, he is an infant. 14 But solid food is for the full-grown, for those who by virtue of 6 1 practice have their faculties trained to discern good and evil. Let us therefore leave the elementary Christian instruction and pass on to what is full-grown, instead of laying a foundation over again with 2 repentance from dead actions and with faith towards God, with the doctrine of baptisms and of laying on of hands, of resurrection of the 3 dead and of judgment eternal. And this we will do, if God permit.

- 4 For in regard to those who were once enlightened,
Who tasted the heavenly gift and became partakers of the holy Spirit,

- 5 And tasted the goodness of God's word and the powers of the age to come,

- 6 And then fell away—

It is impossible to be renewing them over again to repentance,
While they are crucifying the Son of God afresh for themselves

And making him a public spectacle.

- 7 For the *land* which drinks in the rain that falls often upon it,
And bears *plants* suited for those for whose sake it is also tilled,
partakes of blessing from God :
- 8 But if it *produces thorns and thistles*,
it is reprobate and on the verge of a *curse* ;
its fate is to be burned.
- 9 But we are persuaded better things of you, beloved, and things con-
10 nected with salvation, although we speak in this way. For God is
not unjust, so as to forget your work and the love you showed toward
his name in that you ministered to the saints and minister still.
11 And our desire is that each one of you may show to the very end
12 the same earnestness for the fulness of your hope ; that you may not
become dull, but imitators of those who through faith and patience
13 inherit the promises. For when God made a promise to
Abraham, *he swore by himself*, since he could swear by none greater,
14, 15 saying, *Richly will I bless thee : richly will I multiply thee*. And
16 so he obtained the promise, after enduring patiently. For men
swear by the greater one, and in every dispute of theirs the oath is
17 final and settles it. Wherefore, as God meant to demonstrate to
the heirs of the promise more and more the immutability of his
18 counsel, he intervened with an oath ; so that by two immutable
things in which it is impossible for God to lie, we who have fled
for refuge may have strong encouragement to hold to the hope set
19 before us, which we possess as an anchor of the soul, both sure and
20 firm, *that enters also into what is within the veil*, where Jesus entered
as a pioneer for us when he became *for ever* a high priest *after the
order of Melchizedek*.
- 7 1 For this *Melchizedek, king of Salem, priest of the Most High God*, who met
2 Abraham on his return from the slaughter of the kings and blessed him, and
to whom Abraham assigned a tenth part of all—being first of all by inter-
pretation “King of uprightness,” and then also *King of Salem*, which is
3 “King of peace” ; with no father, with no mother, with no genealogy,
without beginning of days or end of life, but made like to the Son of God
4 —he remains a *priest* for all time. Now observe how great this
man was, a man to whom the patriarch Abraham gave a tenth from the best
5 of the spoils. Also, while those of Levi’s sons who receive the priesthood
have a commandment to receive tithes from the people according to the law
(that is, from their brothers), although these people have come out of the
6 loins of Abraham, he who can trace no descent from them received tithes
7 from Abraham and *blessed* the possessor of the promises. Now it is quite
8 indisputable that the inferior is blessed by the superior. Also, while
here it is mortal men who receive tithes, there it is one of whom the
9 witness is, “he lives.” And, one might almost say, even Levi the receiver of
10 tithes paid tithes through Abraham ; for he was yet in the loins of his father
11 when *Melchizedek met him*. Now again, had there been perfection
by the Levitical priesthood (for it was on the basis of that priesthood that
the law was established for the people), what further need was there for
another priest arising *after the order of Melchizedek* and not being spoken
12 of as not *after the order of Aaron* ?—for when the priesthood is changed,
13 a change of the law necessarily takes place as well. For he who is thus
spoken of belongs to another tribe, no man of which devoted himself to
14 the altar. For it is evident that our Lord has sprung from Judah, and
15 Moses said nothing about priests in connection with that tribe. And all
this is more plainly evident than ever, if another *priest* arises *after the*

16 likeness of *Melchizedek*, one who has become priest not after the law of a
17 material commandment but after the power of a life indissoluble; for
the witness to him is,

Thou art priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek.

18 For while a previous commandment is set aside on account of its weakness
19 and uselessness (for the law made nothing perfect), there is introduced
20 a better hope, through which we draw near to God. And

21 inasmuch as this was not done without an oath (for while they have
become priests without an oath, he became priest with an oath, through
him who said to him, *The Lord swore and he will not repent, thou art priest*
22 *for ever*), by so much also has Jesus become the surety of a better
covenant.

23 Also, while they have become priests in numbers,

Since they are prevented by death from living on,

24 He has his priesthood inviolate,

Since he abides *for ever*.

25 Hence also he is able to save to the uttermost those who draw near to
God through him,

Seeing that he ever lives to plead for them.

26 For¹ such was the proper high priest for us, holy, guileless, undefiled,
27 separated from sinners and made higher than the heavens, who does not
require to offer sacrifices day by day, like the high priest, first for his own
sins and then for those of the people; he did this once for all by offering
himself.

28 For the law appoints to the high priesthood men who have weakness,
But the word of the oath which is after the law appoints a *Son* who
is made perfect *for ever*.

8 1 Now, to crown what we are saying; such a high priest we have,
one who *sat down at the right hand* of the throne of the Sovereignty
2 in the heavens, a minister of the holy place and of *the real tabernacle*
3 *which the Lord pitched*, not man. For every high priest is appointed to
offer both gifts and sacrifices; hence it is necessary that this high
4 priest also should have somewhat to offer. While then he would not be
a priest at all if he were on earth, since there are those who offer the
5 gifts according to the law (men who serve what is an outline and a shadow
of the heavenly things—as Moses was divinely instructed when he was
about to execute the building of the tabernacle; *for see*, it is said, *that*
thou make all things according to the pattern shown thee on the mountain—),
6 as it is, he has obtained a sacred service the more excellent inasmuch as
he is also the mediator of a better covenant, which has been established
7 by law upon better promises. For had not that first covenant been
8 defective, no occasion would have been required for a second. Finding
fault with them he says,

Lo, days are coming, saith the Lord,

*When I will conclude a new covenant with the house of Israel and
with the house of Judah;*

9 *Not according to the covenant I made with their fathers*

*In the day that I took them by the hand to lead them out of
Egypt's land;*

For they did not abide by my covenant,

And I paid no heed to them, saith the Lord.

10 *For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel
After those days, saith the Lord:*

¹ Omitting [[*αα*]].

*I will put my laws into their mind,
 And upon their heart I will inscribe them ;
 And I will be to them a God,
 And they shall be to me a people ;
 11 And they shall not teach every man his fellow-citizen,
 And every man his brother, saying, " Know the Lord " ;
 Because all shall know me,
 From the least to the greatest of them.
 12 For I will be merciful to their iniquities,
 And their sins I will remember no more.*

13 In saying a new covenant, he has antiquated the first ; and what is being antiquated and failing for age, is on the point of disappearing.

9 1 Now even the first covenant indeed had ordinances of sacred service
 2 and its sanctuary of this world. For the first part of the tabernacle was
 3 constructed to contain the lampstand and the table and the showbread ;
 4 this part is called " holy." And behind the second veil is the tabernacle
 5 called " holy of holies," with a golden altar of incense and the ark of the
 6 covenant covered all over with gold and containing a golden pot with the
 7 manna and the rod of Aaron that sprouted and the tablets of the
 8 covenant, and above it cherubim of glory overshadowing the mercy-seat
 9 —things of which one cannot speak now in detail. Now with these things
 10 thus constructed, the priests are continually going into the first tabernacle
 11 performing the services of worship ; but the high priest alone goes
 12 once a year into the second—not without blood, which he offers for
 13 himself and for the people's sins of ignorance. By this the holy Spirit
 14 points out that the way into the holy place has not yet been opened, so
 15 long as the first tabernacle is still in existence—a symbol as it is for the
 16 present time, according to which both gifts and sacrifices are being offered
 17 that cannot make the worshipper perfect as regards his conscience,
 18 since they merely consist of food and drink and various ablutions, ordi-
 19 nances of the flesh imposed until a time of reformation. But Christ,
 20 on arriving as high priest of the good things to come, through the greater
 21 and more perfect tabernacle which is not made by hands (that is to say,
 22 not belonging to this creation), nor yet through blood of goats and oxen
 23 but through his own blood, entered into the holy place once for all, and
 24 obtained eternal redemption.

13 For if the blood of goats and oxen and the ashes of a heifer
 Sanctify to make the flesh clean, by sprinkling the defiled,
 14 How much more shall the blood of Christ who offered himself
 through an eternal spirit faultless to God,

Cleanse our ¹ conscience from dead actions to serve the living God ?
 15 And hereby he is mediator of a new covenant, so that those who have
 been called may receive the promised eternal inheritance, seeing that a
 death has taken place to secure redemption from the transgressions under
 16 the first covenant. For wherever a will is produced, the death of the
 17 testator must be announced. A will holds good only in the case of the
 18 dead ; since it never has any effect during the life-time of the testator.
 19 Hence even the first covenant was not inaugurated apart from blood.
 20 For after every commandment had been spoken to all the people by
 Moses according to the law, he took the blood of the calves and the goats,
 with water and scarlet wool and hyssop, and sprinkled the book itself
 21 and also all the people, saying, *This is the blood of the covenant which*
 22 *God has ordained with you.* In the same way also he sprinkled with the

¹ Reading ἡμῶν.

- 22 blood the tabernacle and all the vessels of the sacred service. Indeed we may almost say that according to the law all things are cleansed in blood, and that no remission takes place apart from the shedding of blood.
- 23 It was needful then that what were outlines of the things in the heavens should thus be cleansed,
But that the heavenly things themselves should be cleansed with better sacrifices.
- 24 For Christ did not enter into a holy place made by hands (mere anti-type of the real),
But into heaven itself, to appear now before the face of God for us ;
- 25 Nor was it to offer himself many times,
As the high priest enters year by year into the holy place with blood that is not his own
- 26 (Since in that case he must have suffered many times, from the foundation of the world),
But, as it is, he has been disclosed once for all at the close of the ages to set sin aside through his sacrifice.
- 27 And inasmuch as it is appointed for men to die once for all,
and thereafter to be judged ;
- 28 So also shall Christ,
offered once for all to bear the sins of many,
be seen a second time for salvation apart from sin, by those who wait for him.
- 10 1 For as the law has merely a shadow of the good things to come, not the very image of the things, it is impossible to make those who draw near perfect with the same sacrifices which they are perpetually offering year by year. For in that case would they not have ceased to be offered, because the worshippers would have been no longer conscious of sin after being purified once for all ? Whereas in those sacrifices there is year by year a memory of sins. For it is impossible that the blood of oxen and goats should take away sins ; therefore in coming into the world he says,
*For sacrifice and offering thou didst not care,
But a body thou didst fashion for me ;
In holocausts and offerings for sin thou hadst no delight.*
- 6 *Then I said, "Lo, I have come
(In the roll of the book it is written of me)
To do thy will, O God."*
- 8 After saying at the outset, *For sacrifices and offerings and holocausts and offerings for sin thou didst not care, and hadst no delight in them* (in 9 things which are offered according to the law), he then said, *Lo, I have come to do thy will.* He repeals the first, that he may set up the second.
- 10 And by this *will* we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.
- 11 Also, while every priest stands ministering day by day
And offering the same sacrifices many times,
Sacrifices that never can take sins away,
- 12 He offered one sacrifice for sins,
And sat down at the right hand of God for all time,
- 13 Waiting henceforth till his enemies are made a footstool for his feet ;
- 14 For by one offering he has made those who are sanctified, perfect for all time.
- 15 And the holy Spirit also bears witness to us. For after saying,
- 16 *This is the covenant which I will make with them*

*After those days, saith the Lord :
I will put my laws upon their heart,
And upon their mind I will inscribe them,*

he adds

- 17 *And their sins and their iniquities I will remember no more.*
 18 Now where there is remission of these,
 There is no longer any offering for sin.
 19 As we have confidence then, brothers, to enter the holy place
 through the blood of Jesus,
 20 By the fresh and living way which he inaugurated for us through
 the veil (that is to say, through his flesh),
 21 And as we have a great priest over the household of God,
 22 Let us draw near with a true heart in fulness of trust,
 Our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience,
 And our body washed with pure water :
 23 Let us hold fast and unwavering the confession of our hope—
 For he is faithful who promised—
 24 And let us consider and incite one another to love and good deeds,
 25 Not forsaking our way of gathering together—
 as is the habit of some—
 But exhorting one another ;
 and the more so, as you see the Day drawing nigh.
 26 For if we are sinning wilfully after receiving the full knowledge of
 27 the truth, there is reserved for us no longer a sacrifice for sins, but a
 dreadful prospect of judgment and a fury of fire which is to devour the
 adversaries.
 28 A man who has set aside the law of Moses,
 Dies on the evidence of two or three witnesses without mercy ;
 29 Of how much sorer punishment, think you, shall a man be held
 worthy,
 Who has trampled underfoot the Son of God,
 And reckoned the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified,
 an unclean thing,
 And outraged the Spirit of grace ?
 30 For we know him who said,
 Vengeance is mine, I will repay :
 and again,
 The Lord shall judge his people.
 31 It is a dreadful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.
 32 But recall the former days, when you endured a hard struggle with
 33 sufferings after you were enlightened, partly as you were exposed to con-
 tempt both by reproaches and by distresses, partly as you became com-
 34 panions of those who had such an experience. For you were touched with
 compassion for those who were in fetters, and you also accepted with joy
 the spoiling of your goods, knowing that you have in yourselves better
 35 and lasting goods. Throw not away then your confidence, for it brings
 36 great recompense of reward. For you have need of endurance, that you
 37 may do the will of God and so obtain the promise. For a little while, yet
 a very little, and
 The coming One shall come and shall not delay :
 38 Now my upright one shall live by faith ;
 Yet if he shrink back, my soul takes no delight in him.
 39 But we belong, not to those who shrink back and are lost, but to those
 who have faith and so preserve the soul.

- 11 1 Now faith is to be confident of what we hope for,
to be convinced of what we do not see.
- 2 It was in this that witness was borne to the men of old.
- 3 By faith we understand that the worlds have been fashioned by the word of God,
So that what is visible has not been made out of things that appear.
- 4 By faith Abel offered to God a better sacrifice than Cain,
Through which he had witness borne him that he was upright
(As God bore witness in respect of his gifts);
And thereby he still speaks in death.
- 5 By faith Enoch was removed, so that he saw not death :
Yea *he was not to be found, for God had removed him.*
For before his removal the witness borne to him was, that *he had pleased God well :*
- 6 Now apart from faith it is impossible to *please him well,*
For he who draws near to God must believe that he exists, and that he proves a rewarder of those who seek after him.
- 7 By faith Noah, on being divinely instructed concerning what he did not see as yet,
Constructed reverently an ark to save his household :
Whereby he condemned the world,
And became heir of the uprightness that proceeds from faith.
- 8 By faith Abraham obeyed his call to *go out* into a place which he was to receive as an inheritance,
And *he went out* knowing not where he was going.
- 9 By faith he *became a sojourner* in the promised land, as in a foreign land,
Dwelling in tents with Isaac and Jacob, fellow-heirs with him of the same promise ;
- 10 For he was waiting for that city with foundations,
Whose architect and builder is God.
- 11 By faith also Sarah herself received power to conceive offspring even when she was past the proper age,
Since she reckoned him faithful who had promised.
- 12 Therefore even of one (and him as good as dead) there was begotten issue
Like the stars of the sky in multitude,
And *like the sand which is by the seashore, innumerable.*
- 13 In faith these all died, without obtaining the promises,
But after seeing and hailing them afar off,
And after confessing that they were "*strangers and pilgrims* on the earth."
- 14 For those who speak thus make it evident that they are seeking for a fatherland.
- 15 Yea, had they been mindful indeed of that country from which they went out,
They would have had opportunity to return :
- 16 But as it is they aspire to a better, that is, a heavenly country ;
Therefore God is not ashamed of them, of being called their God,
For he has prepared a city for them.—
- 17 By faith *Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac :*
Yea, he who had welcomed the promises was about to offer up *his only son,*
- 18 (He to whom it had been said, *Thy offspring shall be reckoned through Isaac*),

- 19 Since he considered God was able to raise up even from the dead :
And from the dead (in a symbol) he did receive him back.
- 20 By faith Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau, even concerning things to come.
- 21 By faith Jacob, when he was dying, blessed each of the sons of Joseph,
And bowed over the top of his staff in worship.
- 22 By faith Joseph at his death made mention of the exodus of the sons of Israel,
And gave charge concerning his bones.
- 23 By faith Moses after birth was hid for three months by his parents,
Because they saw he was a comely child ;
And they feared not the mandate of the king.
- 24 By faith, when Moses had grown up, he refused to be called the son of a daughter of Pharaoh,
- 25 Preferring maltreatment with the people of God to the enjoyment of sin for a time ;
- 26 Since he reckoned the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt—
For he was looking to the recompense of reward.
- 27 By faith he left Egypt, through no fear of the king's rage :
For he bore up as one who saw Him who is invisible.
- 28 By faith he observed the passover and the sprinkling of blood,
So that the destroyer might not touch their first-born.
- 29 By faith they crossed the Red Sea as on dry land,
Which the Egyptians attempted to do and were swallowed up.
- 30 By faith the walls of Jericho fell,
After being surrounded for seven days.
- 31 By faith Rahab the harlot did not perish along with the disobedient,
Because she had received the spies in peace.
- 32 And what more am I to say ?
The time will fail me if I narrate
About Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah,
About David and Samuel and the prophets :
- 33 Who through faith subdued realms, wrought upright deeds, obtained promises,
- 34 Stopped the jaws of lions, quenched the power of fire, escaped the edge of the sword,
Out of weakness became strong, waxed mighty in war, routed armies of foreigners.
- 35 Women received their dead by a resurrection ;
Others were broken on the wheel, refusing to accept their release,
That they might obtain a better resurrection.
- 36 Others had experience of many a scoff and scourge,
Aye of fetters and imprisonment :
- 37 They were stoned,¹ sawn asunder, slain with the sword,
They went about in sheepskins, in goatskins,
Destitute, distressed, maltreated
- 38 (Of whom the world was not worthy),
Wandering in deserts and mountains and caves and holes of the earth.
- 39 And though all these had witness borne them through their faith,
Yet they obtained not the promise :
- 40 Since God had something better in view for us,
That apart from us they should not be made perfect.

¹ Omitting ἐκρίβανον.

- 12 1 Therefore as we have round us so great a cloud of witnesses,
 Let us too put away every encumbrance and the sin that clings so close,
 And let us run patiently the course set before us,
- 2 Looking to Jesus the leader and perfecter of the faith,
 Who for the joy set before him endured the cross, despising the shame,
 And is seated at the right hand of the throne of God.
- 3 Yes, consider him who has endured such opposition from men who
 were sinners against themselves,¹
 That you may not grow wearied and faint in your souls.
- 4 You have not yet resisted to blood in your struggle against sin :
- 5 And you have forgotten the appeal—one that reasons with you as with sons—
*My son, regard not the Lord's chastening lightly,
 Nor faint, when reproved by him ;*
- 6 *For whom the Lord loves, he chastens,
 And scourges every son whom he receives.*
- 7 It is for chastening that you endure. God is dealing with you as with sons ;
 For what son is there whom his father does not chasten ?
- 8 If you are without *chastening*, in which all come to partake,
 Then you are bastards, and not sons.
- 9 Furthermore, we used to have the fathers of our flesh to chasten us,
 and them we revered :
 Shall we not much rather be subject to the Father of spirits, and so live ?
- 10 For while they chastened us after their good pleasure for a few days,
 He chastens for our profit, that we may partake of his holiness.
- 11 For the moment indeed, all chastening seems to be matter not of joy
 but of sorrow ;
 Yet afterwards it yields peaceable fruit to those who have been
 trained by it, fruit of uprightness.
- 12, 13 Therefore lift up the nerveless hands and the paralysed knees, and make
 even tracks for your feet, so that what is lame may not be dislocated but
 rather cured. Aim at peace with all men, and at that sanctification
 without which no one shall see the Lord ; watchful lest anyone
 be falling short of the grace of God—lest any bitter root spring up to vex
 you, and the many be defiled by it ; lest there be any fornicator or
 worldly person like Esau, who for a single meal sold his own birth-right.
- 17 For you know that even when he afterwards desired to inherit the
 blessing, though he sought for it with tears, he was rejected—for he got
 no chance of repentance.
- 18 For you have not drawn near to a fire that is felt and flaming, and to
 19 blackness and to darkness and to storm and to the sound of trumpet and to
 the sound of words (at which the hearers begged to have not a word more
 20 added, for they could not bear the charge : If even a beast touch the
 21 mountain, it shall be stoned)—and so dreadful was the appearance that
 22 Moses said, “ I am frightened and terrified.” Nay, you have drawn near to
 Mount Zion, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem,
 23 and to thousands of angels in festal gathering, and to the assembly of the
 first-born registered in the heavens, and to the God of all, as judge, and
 24 to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus, mediator of a fresh
 covenant, and to that blood of sprinkling which speaks better than Abel's.

¹ Reading *ἐαυτοῖς*.

- 25 See that you refuse not him who speaks :
 For if they did not escape,
 When they refused him who divinely instructed them on earth,
 Much less shall we,
 Who turn away from him who speaks from the heavens.
- 26 At that time his voice shook the earth :
 But now he has promised, saying,
Once again will I make not only the earth but the sky also to quake.
- 27 Now this word "*once again*" points to the removal of what is shaken,
 as of what has been created, so that what is not shaken may be lasting.
- 28 Therefore, as we receive a realm that is not to be shaken, let us give
 thanks, and let us thereby render service that is well-pleasing to God,
 29 with reverence and awe. For indeed our *God is a consuming fire.*
- 13 1 Let brotherly love continue.
 2 Forget not to be hospitable,
 For thereby some have entertained angels unawares.
 3 Remember those in bonds, as bound with them :
 Those who are maltreated, as being also in the body yourselves.
 4 Let marriage be honoured among all, and let the bed be un-
 defiled :
 For God will judge fornicators and adulterers.
 5 Let your character be free from the love of money,
 Be content with what you have :
 For He has said, "*Never will I fail thee, never will I forsake thee*";
 6 So that we have confidence to say,
The Lord is my helper, I will not fear.
What shall man do to me?
 7 Remember your chief men, those who spoke God's word to you :
 Look back upon the close of their career, and imitate their faith.
- 8 Jesus Christ is the same, yesterday, to-day, and for ever.
 9 Be not carried away by doctrines manifold and foreign ;
 For it is good to have the heart confirmed by grace,
 Not by foods, which were of no avail to those who had recourse to
 them.
- 10 We have an altar of which they have no right to eat who serve the taber-
 nacle.
- 11 For the bodies of those animals, whose *blood is brought into the holy place*
by the high priest as an offering for sin,
Are burned outside the camp.
- 12 Therefore, to sanctify the people through his own blood,
 Jesus also suffered outside the gate.
- 13 Then let us go out to him *outside the camp*, bearing his reproach.
- 14 (For we have no lasting city here,
 We seek for one which is to come.)
- 15 Through him then *let us offer continually to God a sacrifice of praise,*
That is, the fruit of lips confessing to his name.
- 16 And forget not beneficence and contributions ;
 For God is well pleased with sacrifices like these.
- 17 Obey your chief men and be submissive to them, for they watch on behalf
 of your souls as those who are to render an account. Let them watch thus
 with joy instead of with grief—that would be to your own loss.

18 Pray for us: for we are persuaded we have a good conscience,
19 desiring to conduct ourselves aright in all points. And I appeal to you
more and more to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner.
20 Now the God of peace, *who brought up from the dead the great shepherd of*
21 *the sheep by the blood of the eternal covenant*, even our Lord Jesus, equip you
with all good for obedience to his will, working in us what is well-
pleasing in his sight through Jesus Christ—to whom be the honour for
ever and ever : Amen.

22 Now I appeal to you, brothers, bear with the word of appeal ; for
23 indeed I have written to you briefly. Know that our brother Timotheus
has been released : in company with him I will see you, if he is coming
24 soon. Salute all your chief men, and all the saints. Those of Italy
salute you.

25 Grace be with you all.

LUKE

For the writers of the gospels the religious interest is supreme. Their main concern is not to give scrupulously exact accounts of facts, but to make the moral and religious significance of the facts apparent. . . . One very marked feature of this gospel is what may be called the *idealisation* of the characters of Jesus and the disciples. These are contemplated not in the light of memory, as in Mark, but through the brightly-coloured medium of faith. The evangelist does not forget that the personages of whom he writes are now the risen Lord and the apostles of the church. Jesus appears with an aureole round his head, and the faults of the disciples are very tenderly handled. . . . The author of the third gospel avowedly had a didactic aim. But there is no trace of a dominant theological or controversial aim. He appears to be an eclectic, rather than a man whose mind is dominated by a great ruling idea. Distinct if not conflicting tendencies or religious types find house-room in his pages : Pauline universalism, Jewish particularism, Ebionitic social ideals.

A. B. Bruce.

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Judas—the supper—in the garden.

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the burial.

24 **After death :** appearances of Jesus—his charges and departure.

LUKE

1 1 INASMUCH as many have undertaken to compose a narrative upon the
 2 subject of what are matters of conviction among us, even as they were
 3 handed on to us by those who were eye-witnesses and servants of the word
 4 from the beginning ; I also determined, as I have accurately investigated
 all from the very first, that I would write them for thee in order, most
 4 excellent Theophilus, to let thee understand the reliable truth about the
 affairs of which thou hast been informed.

5 In the days of Herod, king of Judaea, there was a priest named
 Zachariah, belonging to the course of Abijah ; and he had a wife belong-
 6 ing to the daughters of Aaron, whose name was Elizabeth. They
 were both upright before God, walking in all the commandments and
 7 ordinances of the Lord blameless. But they had no child, because
 Elizabeth was barren ; and they were both advanced in years.

8 Now it came to pass while he was officiating as priest before God in his
 9 usual course, it fell to him by lot (after the custom of the priesthood) to
 10 enter the sanctuary of the Lord and burn incense. And all the multitude
 11 of the people were praying outside at the hour of incense. And an
 angel of the Lord was seen by him, standing on the right side of the
 12 altar of incense. And Zachariah was troubled at the sight, and fear fell
 13 upon him. But the angel said to him,

“ Fear not, Zachariah ! for thy prayer has been heard,
 And thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call
 his name John.

14 And joy shall be thine and rejoicing,

Yea many shall joy over his birth.

15 For he shall be great before the Lord,

And *shall drink no wine or strong drink,*

And with the holy Spirit shall he be filled even from his mother's
 womb ;

16 And many of the sons of Israel shall he turn back to the Lord
 their God.

17 Yea, he shall go in front before His face in the spirit and power of
Elijah,

*To turn back the hearts of fathers to children, and the disobedient to
 the thoughtfulness of the upright—*

To make ready for the Lord a prepared people.”

18 And Zachariah said to the angel, “ How shall I be sure of this ? for I am
 19 an aged man, and my wife is advanced in years.” And in reply the angel
 said to him,

“ I am Gabriel who stands before God,

And I was sent to speak to thee and bring thee these glad tidings.

20 And lo, thou shalt be silent and unable to speak

Until the day when this comes to pass,

Because thou hast not believed my words,

Words that shall be fulfilled at their due time."

21 And the people were waiting for Zachariah; and as he delayed in the
22 sanctuary, they wondered. When he did come out, he could not speak to
them, and they realised that he had seen a vision in the sanctuary; then
23 he went on making signs to them, and continued dumb. And it came to
24 pass, when the days of his service had elapsed, he went away home. Now
after these days Elizabeth his wife conceived. And she concealed herself
25 for five months, saying, "Thus the Lord has dealt with me, in the days
when he has deigned to remove my reproach among men!"

26 Now in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a
27 city of Galilee named Nazaret, to a maiden who was betrothed to a man
named Joseph, belonging to the house of David; and the maiden's name
28 was Mary. And he came in to her and said, "Hail, O highly favoured!
29 The Lord be with thee!" Startled at the saying, she began to reflect
30 what such a salutation as this could mean. But the angel said to her,

"Fear not, Mary! thou hast found favour with God.

31 And lo, thou shalt conceive in thy womb and bear a son and call
his name Jesus!

32 He shall be great, and shall be called 'Son of the most High,'

And the Lord God shall give him *the throne of David* his father;

33 And he shall reign over the house of Jacob *for ever*,

And of his reign there shall be no end."

34 And Mary said to the angel, "How shall this be, since I know not a
35 man?" And in reply the angel said to her,

"The holy Spirit shall come upon thee,

And the power of the most High shall overshadow thee,

Therefore also what is born *shall be called holy*, 'Son of God.'

36 And lo, Elizabeth thy kinswoman, she too has conceived a son in
her old age,

And she who was called 'barren' is now in her sixth month;

37 For *with God nothing shall be impossible*."

38 And Mary said, "Here am I, the handmaid of the Lord! Be it to me
according to thy word." Then the angel went away from her.

39 Now in these days Mary rose and journeyed into the hill-country with haste
40 to a city of Judah, and she entered the house of Zachariah and saluted
41 Elizabeth. And it came to pass, when Elizabeth heard the salutation of
Mary, the infant leaped in her womb. And Elizabeth was filled with the

42 holy Spirit, and she called out with a loud cry and said,

"Blessed art thou among women!

And blessed the fruit of thy womb!

43 And what have I done that the mother of my Lord should come to me?

44 For lo, when the sound of thy salutation reached my ears,

The infant leaped in my womb with rejoicing.

45 And happy is she who believed there should be fulfilment of what
had been told her from the Lord!"

46 And Mary said,

"*My soul magnifies the Lord,*

47 And my spirit has rejoiced in God my Saviour,

48 Because *with favour* has he looked on the humiliation of his handmaid—

For lo, from this time all generations shall call me happy—

49 Because the mighty One has done for me great things;

And *holy is his name*.

- 50 And *his mercy is to generations and generations,*
 For those who fear him.
- 51 A deed of might has he done *with his arm,*
 He has scattered the haughty with their heart's device ;
 52 *He has cast princes down from thrones and raised the humble,*
 53 *The hungry he has satisfied with good things, and the rich he has*
 sent away empty.
- 54 *He has given succour to Israel his servant,*
 That he might remember mercy—
 55 *Even as he spoke to our fathers—*
 For Abraham and for his offspring for ever.”
- 56 So Mary stayed with her about three months, and returned to her own house.
- 57 Now the time for Elizabeth's delivery had elapsed, and she bore a son.
 58 And her neighbours and kinsfolk heard that the Lord had shown supreme
 59 mercy to her, and they rejoiced with her. And it came to pass on the
 eighth day that they came to circumcise the child ; and they were going
 60 to call him after the name of his father, Zachariah. But his mother
 61 answered and said, “No ! he shall be called John.” And they said to
 her, “There is no one belonging to thy kinsfolk who is called by this
 62 name.” So they proceeded to make signs to his father, to find out what
 63 he would have him called. And he demanded a writing-tablet, and
 64 wrote the words, “His name is John.” And they all wondered. And
 instantly his mouth was opened, and his tongue ; and he began to speak,
 65 blessing God. And fear came on all their neighbours ; and all these
 66 events were talked of throughout the whole hill-country of Judaea. And
 all who heard them laid them up in their heart, saying, “What ever
 is this child to be ?” For the hand of the Lord also was with him.
- 67 And Zachariah, his father, was filled with the holy Spirit and
 prophesied, saying :
 68 “*Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel,*
 Because he has visited and wrought redemption for his people,
 69 *And raised up a horn of salvation for us*
 In the house of David his servant—
- 70 Even as he spoke through the lips of his holy prophets from of
 old—
 71 *Safety from our enemies and from the hand of all who hate us ;*
 72 *To deal mercifully with our fathers,*
 And to remember his holy covenant,
- 73 *The oath which he swore to Abraham our father,*
 74 *To grant that unafraid, rescued from the hand of our enemies,*
 75 *We should serve him in holiness and uprightness*
 In his presence all our days.
- 76 Yea and thou, child, shalt be called, ‘prophet of the most
 High’ ;
 For thou shalt precede the face of the Lord to make ready
 his ways,
- 77 To give knowledge of salvation to his people
 Through remission of their sins,

- 78 Because of our God's heart of mercy,
 79 Whereby the dawn shall visit us from on high,
 79 *To shine upon those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death,*
 To direct our feet into the way of peace."
- 80 And the child grew and became strong in spirit, and he lived in the
 deserts till the day of his commission to Israel.
- 2 1 Now it came to pass in those days that a decree was issued from Caesar
 2 Augustus for a census to be taken of the whole world. (This was the first
 3 census taken when Quirinius was governor of Syria.) And all went to
 4 have themselves registered, every one at his own city. Now Joseph also
 went up from the city of Nazaret in Galilee into Judaea, to the city of
 5 David which is called Bethlehem—because he belonged to the house and
 5 family of David—to have himself registered, accompanied by Mary his
 6 betrothed, who was pregnant. And while they were there, it came to
 7 pass that the days elapsed for her delivery. And she bore her firstborn
 son; and as there was no room for them in the khan, she wrapped him in
 8 swaddling clothes and laid him in a cattle-stall. And there were
 shepherds in the same district who were out in the fields, keeping guard
 9 by night over their flock. And an angel of the Lord came upon them,
 and the brightness of the Lord shone round them; and they were terribly
 10 afraid. And the angel said to them,
 "Fear not; for lo, I bring you glad tidings of great joy which shall
 be for all the people;
 11 For this day there is born to you in David's city a Saviour who
 is Christ the Lord.
 12 And here is a¹ sign for you:
 You shall find an infant wrapped in swaddling clothes² within a
 cattle-stall."
- 13 And suddenly there was along with the angel a multitude of the heavenly
 host extolling God and saying,
 14 "Honour to God in the highest!
 And on earth peace—among men of his pleasure!"
- 15 And it came to pass when the angels had gone away from them into
 heaven, the shepherds said to one another, "Come now! let us go as far
 as Bethlehem and see this affair that has come to pass, which the Lord
 16 has made known to us." So they went with haste and found out Mary
 17 and Joseph, and also the infant lying in the cattle-stall. And when they
 saw it, they made known all about what had been told them with regard
 18 to this child. And all who heard it wondered at what the shepherds
 19 told them. But Mary pondered all these things, musing over them in
 20 her heart. Then the shepherds went back, magnifying and extolling
 God for all they had heard and seen, just as it had been told them.
- 21 And when eight days had elapsed for circumcising him, his name
 was called "Jesus"—the name given him by the angel before he had
 been conceived in the womb.
- 22 And when the *days of their purification* according to the law of Moses
 had elapsed, they brought him up to Jerusalem to present him to the
 23 Lord—even as it is written in the law of the Lord, *every male that opens*
 24 *the womb shall be called "holy to the Lord,"*—and to offer a sacrifice accord-
 ing to what is said in the law of the Lord, *a pair of turtledoves or two*
 25 *young pigeons.* And behold there was a man in Jerusalem whose name
 was Symeon. And this man was upright and devout, waiting for the
 26 consolation of Israel. And the holy Spirit was upon him, and he had

¹ Omitting *τὸ*.² Omitting *καὶ περιμένον*.

been divinely instructed by the holy Spirit, that he was not to see death before he had seen the Christ of the Lord. And he came in the Spirit into the temple; and when the parents had brought in the child Jesus to do for him after the usage of the law, then he took him up in his arms and blessed God, and said:

29 "Now, Master, thou art releasing thy slave,

According to thy word, in peace;

30 For mine eyes *have seen thy salvation,*

31 Which thou hast made ready *before the face of all peoples,*

32 *A light for revelation to the Gentiles*

And the glory of thy people Israel."

33 And his father and mother were in wonder at what was being said about

34 him. And Symeon blessed them, and said to Mary his mother,

"Lo, this child is destined to be the downfall and rise of many in Israel,
And a sign that is objected to—

35 Yea and through thine own soul a spear shall pierce—

That thoughts from many a heart may be disclosed."

36 And there was a prophetess Hannah, the daughter of Phanuel, belonging to the tribe of Asher. She was far advanced in years, as she had lived

37 with her husband for seven years from her maidenhood, and had been a widow now for eighty-four years. She was never away from the temple,

38 but worshipped, fasting and praying, night and day. And at that very hour she came up to them; and she offered praise to God and proceeded to speak about him to all who were waiting for the redemption of Israel.

39 And when they had finished all that was prescribed by the law of the Lord, they returned to Galilee, to their own city Nazaret.

40 And the child grew and became strong, being filled with wisdom; and God's favour was upon him.

41 And his parents used to journey every year to Jerusalem at the festival of the passover. And when he was twelve years old they went

42 up as usual to the festival. And after the days had been completed, they were on their way back, when the boy Jesus remained behind in

43 Jerusalem. But his parents did not know of it; supposing he was in the caravan, they went on their way for a day, and meanwhile searched for

44 him among their kinsfolk and acquaintances. And when they could not find him, they went back to Jerusalem in search of him. And it

45 came to pass after three days they found him in the temple sitting among the teachers, listening to them and also putting questions to them;

46 and all who heard him were amazed at his intelligence and replies.

47 And when they saw him, they were astonished; and his mother said to him, "Child, why hast thou treated us in this way? Lo, thy father and

48 I were seeking thee in anguish!" And he said to them, "Why was it that you sought me? Did you not know that I must be within my Father's

49 house?" But they did not understand the word that he spake to

50 them. And he went down with them and came to Nazaret, and was subject to them. And his mother kept all the sayings carefully in her

51 heart. And Jesus *went on advancing in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.*

- 3 1 Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, when Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judaea, Herod tetrarch of Galilee, Philip his brother tetrarch of the region of Ituraea and Trachonitis, and 2 Lysias tetrarch of Abilenê—during the highpriesthood of Annas and Kaiaphas, God's word came to John the son of Zachariah in the wilder-

3 ness. And he went into all the country surrounding the Jordan,
preaching a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins—as it is
4 written in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet,

The voice of one crying in the wilderness :

“ Make ready the way of the Lord,

Make level his paths !

5 *Every valley shall be filled up,*

And every mountain and mound laid low,

And the crooked shall be made straight,

And the rough ways smooth ;

6 *And all flesh shall see the salvation of God.”*

7 He said therefore to the crowds who journeyed out to get baptized by him,
“ You offspring of vipers, who has directed you to flee from the
wrath to come ?

8 Bear fruits, then, befitting your repentance :

And do not attempt to say to yourselves, ‘ We have Abraham as
our father ’ ;

9 For I tell you, God can raise up children for Abraham from these
stones !

Even already is the axe laid at the root of the trees :

So shall each tree be hewn and thrown into the fire, unless it
bear sound fruit.”

10 And the crowds plied him with questions, saying, “ What are we to do,
11 then ? ” And in reply he said to them,

“ He who has two tunics, let him share with him who has none,

And let him who has food do likewise.”

12 Tax-gatherers also came to get baptized ; and they said to him, “ Teacher,
13 what are we to do ? ” He said to them, “ Exact no more than your
14 instructions.” Men on military service also questioned him, saying,
“ And what are we to do ? ” And he told them, “ Use no violence to
anyone, nor defraud by false charges, but be satisfied with your
pay.”

15 Now as the people were in expectation and all were arguing in their
16 hearts about John, “ Could this be the Christ ? ”—John answered, saying
to them all,

“ With water I baptize you ;

But one is coming mightier than I,

The thong of whose sandals I am not fit to untie,

He shall baptize you with the holy Spirit and fire—

17 Whose winnowing fan is in his hand for cleansing out his
threshing-floor,

To gather the corn into his granary,

But the straw he will burn up with fire unquenchable.”

18 Thus, with many other appeals as well, he preached glad tidings to
19 the people. But Herod the tetrarch, who had been reproved by him for
Herodias the wife of his brother, and for all the wickedness that he,
20 Herod, had done, crowned it all by shutting up John in prison.

21 Now it came to pass, when all the people had been baptized, and
Jesus also had been baptized and was at prayer, the skies were opened
22 and the holy Spirit came down in bodily form, like a dove, upon him ;
and a voice came out of the sky,

“ My Son thou art :

*To-day have I begotten thee.”*¹

¹ Reading υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γενένηκά σε.

23 And Jesus himself, at the outset, was about thirty years old, being
 24 the son (as it was supposed) of Joseph, the son of Heli, the son of
 25 Joseph, the son of Levi, the son of Melchi, the son of Jannai, the son of
 26 Joseph, the son of Mattathias, the son of Amos, the son of Nahum, the
 27 son of Esli, the son of Naggai, the son of Maath, the son of Mattathias,
 28 the son of Semein, the son of Josech, the son of Joda, the son of Joanan,
 29 the son of Rhesa, the son of Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, the son of
 30 Neri, the son of Melchi, the son of Addi, the son of Kosam, the son of
 31 Elmadam, the son of Er, the son of Jesus, the son of Eliezer, the son of
 32 Jorim, the son of Matthat, the son of Levi, the son of Symeon, the son of
 33 Judas, the son of Joseph, the son of Jonam, the son of Eliakim, the son of
 34 Melea, the son of Menna, the son of Mattatha, the son of Natham, the son
 35 of David, the son of Jesse, the son of Obed, the son of Boaz, the son of
 36 Sala, the son of Nahshon, the son of Aminadab, the son of Admim, the son
 37 of Arni, the son of Hezron, the son of Perez, the son of Judah, the son of
 38 Jacob, the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, the son of Terah, the son of
 39 Nachor, the son of Serug, the son of Reu, the son of Pelag, the son of
 40 Eber, the son of Sala, the son of Kainan, the son of Arphaxad, the son of
 41 Shem, the son of Noah, the son of Lamech, the son of Methuselah, the
 son of Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Maleleel, the son of Kainan,
 the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, the son of God.

4 1 Now Jesus, full of the holy Spirit, returned from the Jordan, and in
 2 the Spirit he was led for forty days within the wilderness, tempted by
 3 the devil. And he ate nothing during those days; and when they were
 4 concluded, he was hungry. The devil said to him, "If thou art God's
 5 Son, order this stone to become bread." But Jesus answered him,
 6 It is written: "*Not on bread alone is man to live.*" Then he brought him
 7 up and showed him all the realms of the world in a single instant.
 8 And the devil said to him, "To thee will I give all the jurisdiction and
 9 the grandeur of these; for to me has it been delivered, and I give it to
 10 whomsoever I choose. If thou wilt do reverence before me, then shalt it
 11 all be thine." Jesus said to him in reply, "It is written: *Thou shalt do
 12 reverence to the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou worship.*" Then he
 13 brought him to Jerusalem; and setting him on the pinnacle of the
 14 temple, he said to him, "If thou art God's Son, throw thyself down
 15 from here; for it is written:

He shall charge his angels concerning thee, to guard thee safe:

16 and,

On their hands they shall bear thee,

Lest ever thou strike thy foot against a stone.'

17 But Jesus said to him in reply, "It is said: *Thou shalt not make trial of
 18 the Lord thy God.*" And after exhausting every kind of temptation, the
 devil left him till a fit opportunity.

19 And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit to Galilee. And a
 report about him went out through the whole of the surrounding
 20 district. And he taught in their synagogues, while all magnified him.

21 And he came to Nazara where he had been brought up; and as his
 custom was, he entered the synagogue on the sabbath-day. And he
 22 stood up to read, and was handed the book of the prophet Isaiah.
 Then opening the book, he came upon the place where it was written:

23 "*The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,*

Therefore he has anointed me to preach glad tidings to the poor,

*He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight
 to the blind,*

*To set the oppressed at liberty,
To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."*

19 And he folded up the book, handed it back to the attendant, and sat
20 down. And the eyes of all in the synagogue were fixed on him. And
21 he began to say to them, "To-day this scripture has been fulfilled in
22 your ears." And all spoke well of him and marvelled at the winsome
23 words that issued from his mouth; and they kept saying, "Is not this
24 Joseph's son?" And he said to them, "No doubt you will tell me this
25 proverb: 'Physician, heal thyself. All that we have heard was done
26 at Kapharnahum, do here as well in thine own country.' I tell you
27 truly," said he, "no prophet is acceptable in his own native place.
28 I tell you for a fact,

In Israel there were many widows in the days of Elijah,
When the sky was closed for three years and six months,
When a great famine came over the land;

26 Yet Elijah was sent to none of them,
But only to Zarephath in the land of Sidon, to a woman who was a
widow.

27 And in Israel there were many lepers in the time of Elijah the
prophet;

Yet none of them were cleansed,
But only Naaman the Syrian."

28 And all in the synagogue were filled with rage when they heard this.
29 And they rose up and threw him outside the city, and brought him to
the brow of the hill on which their city was built, in order to hurl him
30 down. But he passed through the midst of them and went on his way.

31 And he went down to Kapharnahum, a city of Galilee. And he was
32 teaching them on the sabbath-day; and they were astonished at his
33 teaching, because his word was invested with authority. And in the
34 synagogue there was a man with the spirit of an unclean daemon, and it
shrieked with a loud voice, "Ha! what have we to do with thee, Jesus of
Nazaret? Hast thou come to destroy us? I know who thou art, the
35 holy One of God." And Jesus rebuked it. "Silence!" said he, "leave
him!" And after throwing him down in the midst, the daemon left him
36 without having done him any injury. And wonder came upon all, and
they talked together with one another, saying, "What does this mean?
For with authority and power he commands the unclean spirits, and
37 they leave!" And a rumour about him spread to every place in the
38 surrounding country.

Rising up, he went from the synagogue
into the house of Simon. Now the mother of Simon's wife was laid up
39 with a severe fever, and they asked him about her. And he stood over
her and rebuked the fever, and it left her; and instantly she rose up and
40 ministered to them.

Now when the sun was setting, all who had
any people sick with manifold diseases brought them to him, and he laid
41 his hands on every one of them and healed them. And daemons also
left many people, clamouring, "Thou art the Son of God!" And rebuk-
ing them he would not allow them to speak, because they knew he was
42 the Christ.

Now when day broke, he went out and made his
way to a desert place. And the crowds searched for him and came to
him, and they would have detained him to prevent him leaving them.
43 But he said to them, "I must preach the glad tidings of God's reign to
44 the other cities as well, for that is what I was sent to do." Then he
continued preaching throughout the synagogues of Judaea.¹

¹ Reading 'Ιουδαίας.

5 1 Now it came to pass, while the crowd were pressing on him and
 listening to the word of God, that he was standing beside the lake of
 2 Gennesaret; and he saw two boats lying beside the lake, but the fisher-
 3 men had disembarked from them, and were washing their nets. And he
 entered one of the boats, which belonged to Simon, and asked him to
 push out a short distance from the land. And he sat down and proceeded
 4 to teach the crowds out of the boat. And when he stopped speaking, he
 said to Simon, "Push out into the deep water, and lower your nets for a
 5 take." And Simon answered and said, "Chief, we have toiled the whole
 night long, and got nothing!—still, at thy word I will lower the nets."
 6 And when they did so, they enclosed a huge shoal of fish. And their
 7 nets began to break, and they made signs to their comrades in the other
 boat to come and assist them. And they came and filled both the boats,
 8 so that they began to sink. Now when Simon Peter saw it, he fell down
 9 at the knees of Jesus, saying, "Lord, leave me; I am a sinful man!" For
 wonder had seized him and all his companions at the take of fish which
 10 they had caught; and this was the case also with James and John,
 Zebedee's sons, whom Simon had as partners. And Jesus said to Simon,
 11 "Fear not, from this time thy captures shall be men." And when they
 had brought their boats to land, they left all, and followed him.
 12 And it came to pass, when he was in one of the cities, a man was there full of
 leprosy. And when he saw Jesus, he fell on his face and entreated him,
 13 saying, "Sir, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean." And stretching
 out his hand he touched him, saying, "I will: be clean." And im-
 14 mediately the leprosy left him. And he charged him to tell no one;
 "Go away," said he, "*show thyself to the priest, and offer for thy cleansing*
 15 *as Moses commanded—as a proof to men.*" But the news about him
 spread all the more, and large crowds kept gathering to hear and to be
 16 healed of their illnesses. But he used to withdraw into the deserts and
 17 pray. And it came to pass on one of those days that he was teaching,
 while Pharisees and doctors of the law were sitting near who had come
 out of every village of Galilee and Judaea and Jerusalem; and the power
 18 of the Lord was there, so that he could cure. And behold some men
 bring on a bed a man who was paralysed; and they tried to bring him
 19 in and lay him before him. And as on account of the crowd they could
 not find any way of bringing him in, they got up on the house-top, and
 let him down through the tiles of the roof, couch and all, into the midst in
 20 front of Jesus. And on seeing their faith, he said, "Man, thy sins are
 21 forgiven thee." And the scribes and the Pharisees began to argue, "Who
 is this fellow that talks blasphemy? Who can forgive sins, except God
 22 only?" Now on understanding their thoughts, Jesus answered and said
 23 to them, "What are you arguing about in your hearts? Which is easier,
 24 to say, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee,' or to say, 'Rise and walk'? But,
 to let you know that the Son of man has authority on earth to forgive
 sins"—he said to the paralysed man—"I say to thee, 'Rise, and take up
 25 thy couch and go home.'" And instantly he rose before them, took up
 26 what he was lying on, and went away home magnifying God. And
 amazement took hold of them all, and they continued to magnify God,
 and were filled with awe, saying, "We have seen incredible things
 27 to-day." And after this he went out, and observing a tax-gatherer,
 named Levi, who sat at the tax-office, he said to him, "Follow me."
 28, 29 And leaving all, he rose and followed him. And Levi gave a great
 banquet for him in his house; and there was a large throng of tax-
 30 gatherers and of others who were reclining at table with them. And the

Pharisees and their scribes murmured against his disciples, saying, "Why
31 are you eating and drinking with the tax-gatherers and sinners?" And
in answer Jesus said to them,

"The healthy need not a physician, but those who are ill :

32 I have not come to call upright men but sinners to repentance."

33 And they said to him, "The disciples of John fast frequently and offer
prayers, as also do the disciples of the Pharisees ; but thy disciples eat and
34 drink." And Jesus said to them,

"Can you make the sons of the bride-chamber fast,
While the bridegroom is with them ?

35 But days will come, days when the bridegroom shall be taken away
from them,

Then will they fast in those days."

36 Also he told them a parable :

"No man tears a piece from a new cloak and sews it on an old cloak :
Otherwise, he will tear the new,

Nor will the new piece match with the old.

37 And no man pours fresh wine into old wine-skins :

Otherwise, the fresh wine will burst the wine-skins,

It will be spilt itself, and the wine-skins lost.

38 No, fresh wine must be poured into new wine-skins.

39 Besides, no man who has drunk old wine wants fresh.

[['The old,' says he, 'is excellent.']]"

6 1 Now it came to pass on a sabbath-day¹ that he was passing through
the cornfields ; and his disciples plucked the ears of corn and ate them,
2 rubbing them in their hands. But some of the Pharisees said, "Why are
3 you doing what it is wrong to do upon the sabbath ?" And in answer
Jesus said to them, "Have you not read even this deed of David when he
4 was hungry, he and his companions ? How he went into the house of God
and took and ate *the show-bread*, and gave it to his companions—bread
5 which no one except the priests has any right to eat ?" And he said to
them, "The Son of man is lord even of the sabbath." [[On the same
day, observing a man at work on the sabbath, he said to him, "Man, if
thou knowest what thou art doing, happy art thou ; but if thou knowest
6 not, thou art cursed, and a transgressor of the law."]]² And it came
to pass on another sabbath-day that he entered the synagogue and taught.
7 And a man was there, and his right hand was withered. And the scribes
and the Pharisees were watching him narrowly to see if he would heal on
8 the sabbath, that they might discover something to accuse him of. But,
aware of their thoughts, he said to the man who had the withered hand,
9 "Rise and stand forward." And he got up and stood forward. And
Jesus said to them, "I ask you, is it right to help or to harm upon the
10 sabbath-day ? to save life or to destroy it ?" And after looking round
upon them all, he said to him, "Stretch out thy hand." He did so, and
11 his hand was restored. But they became filled with rage, and began to
confer with one another about what they should do to Jesus.

12 Now it came to pass in these days that he went out to the mountain to
13 pray ; and he spent the whole night in prayer to God. And when day
broke he summoned his disciples, and from them he chose twelve, whom
14 he also named "apostles": Simon (whom he also named Peter) and Andrew
15 his brother, and James and John, and Philip and Bartholomew, and

¹ Omitting [[δευτεροπρώτω]].

² Adding [[τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, κατάρτος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου]].

Matthew and Thomas, and James the son of Alphaeus and Simon (who was
 16 called "the Zealot"), and Judas the son of James and Judas of Kerioth
 17 (who turned traitor). And he went down with them and stood on a level
 spot, with a large throng of his disciples and a large multitude of the
 people from all Judaea and Jerusalem and the sea-coast of Tyre and
 18 Sidon, who had come to hear him and to be cured of their diseases. And
 19 those who were vexed with unclean spirits were healed. And all the
 crowd made efforts to touch him, because power kept issuing from him
 20 and curing all. Then, lifting up his eyes on his disciples, he said :

"Happy ye who are poor !

For yours is the reign of God.

21 Happy ye who are hungry now !

For you shall be filled.

Happy ye who are weeping now !

For you shall laugh.

22 Happy are you when men shall hate you, and when they shall expel
 you and denounce you and reject your name as evil, for the
 sake of the Son of man.

23 Rejoice in that day and leap ! for behold, great is your reward
 in heaven.

For even so dealt their fathers with the prophets.

24 But woe to you who are rich !

For you are getting all your comfort.

25 Woe to you who are satisfied now !

For you shall hunger.

Woe, you who are laughing now !

For you shall mourn and weep.

26 Woe, when all men shall speak well of you !

For even so dealt their fathers with the false prophets.

27 But I tell you who are listening :

Love your enemies, do good to these who hate you,

28 Bless those who curse you, pray for those who ill-treat you.

29 To him who strikes thee on the one cheek,

Offer the other also ;

And from him who takes thy cloak away,

Keep not back thy tunic also.

30 Give to every one who asks thee ;

And from him who takes away thy goods, ask them not again.

31 Yes, even as you would have men to do to you,

So do to them also, yourselves.

32 And if you love those who love you, what recompense is yours ?

Why, even sinners love those who love them.

33 And if you help those who help you, what recompense is yours ?

Why, even sinners do that.

34 And if you lend to those from whom you hope to receive, what
 recompense is yours ?

Even sinners lend to sinners, to get back as much in return.

35 Rather, love your enemies and help and lend, looking for no return,

Then shall your reward be great,

And you shall be sons of the most High,

For he is kind to the ungrateful and evil.

36 Be pitiful,

Even as your Father is pitiful.

- 37 Also : judge not, and you shall not be judged ;
 Condemn not, and you shall not be condemned ;
 Release, and you shall be released ;
- 38 Give, and it shall be given you—
 Ample measure, pressed down, shaken together and running over,
 shall they pour into your bosom.
 For with what measure you measure,
 It shall be measured to you in return."
- 39 Now he also told them a parable :
 "Can a blind man guide a blind man ?
 Shall they not both fall into a ditch ?
- 40 A pupil is not above his teacher :
 Yet every finished pupil shall be like his teacher.
- 41 Why look at the splinter in thy brother's eye,
 And mark not the beam in thine own eye ?
- 42 How canst thou say to thy brother, 'Come, brother ! let me pull out
 the splinter in thine eye,'
 When thou thyself dost not look at the beam in thine eye ?
 Hypocrite ! pull the beam out of thine own eye first,
 Then indeed shalt thou see clearly to pull out the splinter in thy
 brother's eye.
- 43 For there is no sound tree that brings forth rotten fruit,
 Nor again is there a rotten tree that brings forth sound fruit :
- 44 Each tree is known by its own fruit.
 Men do not gather figs from thorns,
 Nor do they pluck grapes from a bramble-bush.
- 45 The good man from the good storehouse of his heart brings out what
 is good,
 And the bad man from the bad storehouse brings out what is bad :
 For out of the heart's abundance the mouth of man speaks.—
- 46 Why call me 'Lord, Lord !' and do not what I say ?
- 47 Everyone who comes to me and hears my words and obeys them,
- 48 I will let you know whom he is like.
 He is like a man building a house, who dug and deepened and laid a
 foundation upon the rock ;
 And when a flood came, the stream broke against that house and had
 no power to shake it, because it was well built.
- 49 But he who hears and obeys not,
 Is like a man who built a house upon the earth without a foundation,
 Against which the stream broke, and immediately it collapsed ;
 and the ruin of that house was great."
- 7 1 When he had ended all his sayings in the hearing of the people, he
 2 entered Kapharnahum. Now a centurion's slave, whom he
 3 greatly valued, was ill and at the point of death. So when he heard
 about Jesus, he despatched some elders of the Jews to him asking him to
 4 come and restore his slave. And on reaching Jesus they earnestly
 5 besought him, saying, "He is worthy to have this boon from thee, for he
 6 loves our nation, and has built the synagogue for us, himself." So Jesus
 went with them. And when he was by this time not far from the house,
 the centurion sent some friends to tell him, "Do not trouble thyself, sir.
 7 I am not fit to have thee come under my roof ; hence I did not even
 consider myself worthy to come to thee. Say but the word, and let my
 8 servant be cured. For indeed I am myself a man placed under authority,

with soldiers under me : and I say to this man, 'Go,' and he goes ; to another, 'Come,' and he comes ; to my slave, 'Do this,' and he does it."

9 Now when Jesus heard this, he marvelled at him ; and turning to the crowd that followed him, he said, "I tell you, not even in Israel have I found such faith as this !" And when the messengers went back to the house, they found the slave in sound health. And it came to pass shortly afterwards that he journeyed to a city called Nain ; and his disciples journeyed with him, and a large crowd. Now when he came near to the gate of the city, behold a dead man was being carried out, the only son of his mother—and she was a widow. And a considerable crowd from the city accompanied her. So when the Lord saw her, he was moved with compassion for her, and said to her, "Weep not." Then he went up and touched the bier ; and the bearers stood still. And he said, "Young man, I say to thee, Rise !" And the corpse sat up and began to speak. And he gave him to his mother. And fear took hold of all, and they began to magnify God, saying, "A great prophet has risen among us !" and "God has visited his people !" And this story about him spread through the whole of Judaea and all the surrounding country.

18, 19 And John had all this reported to him by his disciples. So calling two of his disciples to him, he sent them to the Lord with the question, 20 "Art thou he 'who is to come' ? or are we to expect another ?" And when the men reached him, they said, "John the baptizer has sent us to thee with the question, 'Art thou he "who is to come" ? or are we to expect another ?'" At that hour he healed many people of diseases and plagues and hurtful spirits, and bestowed sight on many blind people. 22 And in answer he said to them, "Go and report to John what you have seen and heard :

*The blind regain their sight, the lame walk,
The lepers are cleansed, the deaf¹ hear,
The dead are raised, the poor have glad tidings preached to them.*

23 And happy is he who is repelled by nothing in me."

24 Now when the messengers had gone away, he began to speak about John to the crowds :

"What did you go out into the wilderness to view ? A reed being shaken by the wind ?

25 Nay, what did you go out to see ? A man clothed in soft robes ?
Lo, those who live in splendid apparel and luxury are in king's palaces.

26 Nay, what did you go out to see ? A prophet ?

Yes, I tell you, and far more than a prophet.

27 This is he of whom it is written,

*Lo, I send my messenger before thy face,
Who shall prepare thy way before thee.*

28 I tell you, among those born of women, none is greater than John ;

Yet he who is least in the realm of God is greater than he."

29 (And on hearing it all the people and the tax-gatherers acknowledged God was right,

As they had received the baptism of John.

30 But the Pharisees and the lawyers frustrated God's purpose for themselves,

As they did not get baptized by him.)

31 "To what then shall I compare the men of this generation ?

And to what are they like ?

¹ Omitting [[*zai*]].

- 32 They are like children who sit in the marketplace and address one another, saying,
 'We piped to you, and you did not dance :
 We lamented, and you did not weep.'
- 33 For John the baptizer has come, eating no bread and drinking no wine,
 And you say, 'He has a daemon' :
- 34 The Son of man has come, eating and drinking,
 And you say, 'Here is a man of gluttony and wine, a friend of tax-gatherers and sinners.'
- 35 (Yet wisdom is vindicated by all her children.)"
- 36 Now one of the Pharisees asked him to eat with him. And he entered
 37 the Pharisee's house and reclined at table. And lo, a woman who was a sinner in the city ascertained that he was reclining at table in the
 38 Pharisee's house ; and she brought an alabaster flask of ointment, and as she stood behind at his feet and wept, she began to wet his feet with her tears and wipe them with the hair of her head. And she continued to
 39 fondly kiss his feet and to anoint them with the ointment. Now when the Pharisee who had invited him saw it, he said to himself, "Were this man a prophet, he would know who this woman is that is touching him, and
 40 what is her character ; for she is a sinner." And in answer Jesus said to him, "Simon, I have something to say to thee." And he says, "Say it, teacher." "A moneylender had two debtors, one owed him five hundred
 42 shillings and the other fifty. As they were unable to pay, he forgave them both. Which of them therefore will love him most ?" Simon answered and said, "The man, I suppose, to whom he forgave the most."
 44 And he said to him, "Thou hast judged correctly." And turning to the woman, he said to Simon, "Seest thou this woman ? I came into thy house ;
 Thou gavest me no water for my feet,
 But she has wet my feet with her tears and wiped them with her hair :
- 45 Thou gavest me no kiss,
 But she, from the time that I came in, has not ceased to fondly kiss my feet :
- 46 Thou didst not anoint my feet with oil,
 But she has anointed my feet with ointment.
- 47 Therefore I tell you ; many as her sins are, they are forgiven, because she has loved much :
- But he to whom little is forgiven has little love."
- 48, 49 And he said to her, "Thy sins are forgiven." And his fellow-guests
 50 began to say to themselves, "Who is this, that even forgives sins ?" But he said to the woman, "Thy faith has restored thee, go in peace."
- 8 1 And it came to pass shortly afterwards that he travelled about from city to city and village to village, preaching and bringing the glad tidings
 2 of God's reign, accompanied by the twelve and by some women who had been healed of hurtful spirits and illnesses, Mary (who was called "of
 3 Magdala") from whom seven daemons had gone out, and Joanna the wife of Chuzas (Herod's manager), and Susanna, and many others—women who
 4 were ministering to them out of their goods. Now as a large crowd was mustering and people from every city were resorting to him, he spoke by means of a parable :
- 5 "A sower went out to sow his seed.
 And as he sowed

Some seed fell along the path and was trampled under foot,
And the birds of the air ate it up.

- 6 And other seed dropped on the rock,
And springing up it withered away, because it had no moisture.
7 And other seed fell in the midst of the thorns,
And the thorns sprang up along with it, and completely choked it.
8 And other seed fell into the honest soil,
And springing up it produced a crop one hundredfold."

As he said this he cried aloud, "He who has ears to hear, let him hear."

- 9 Now his disciples plied him with questions about what this parable
10 could mean. And he said,

"To you it is given to know the secrets of God's reign ;

But for the rest it is by way of parables,

That for all their sight they may not see,

And for all their hearing they may not understand.

- 11, 12 This is the parable. The seed is the word of God. Those 'along the
path' are people who have heard ; then comes the devil and takes
away the word from their heart, that they may not believe and be saved.
13 Those 'on the rock' are people who, when they have heard, welcome
the word with joy ; yet these have no root, they believe for a time, and
14 in time of trial fall away. As for the seed that fell among the thorns,
that means people who have heard ; yet they come to be choked with
15 anxieties and riches and life's pleasures, and so they never ripen. But
as for the seed in the good ground—those are the people who in a good
and honest heart have heard the word and hold it fast ; and so, enduring
patiently, they bear fruit.

- 16 No man, after setting light to a lamp, covers it with a vessel or puts
it below a bed.

Nay, he puts it on a lampstand, that those who enter may see
the light.

- 17 For nothing is hidden that shall not be disclosed,
Nor concealed, that shall not be known and come to view.

- 18 Take heed then how you hear :

For whosoever has,

To him shall be given ;

But whosoever has not,

From him shall be taken even what he thinks he has."

- 19 Now his mother and brothers arrived where he was, and could not
20 join him for the crowd. And word was brought him, "Thy mother and
21 thy brothers are standing outside, wishing to see thee." But in answer
he said to them, "My mother and my brothers are those who hear and
obey the word of God."

- 22 Now it came to pass, one day, that he entered a boat with his disciples ;
23 and he said to them, "Let us cross to the opposite side of the lake." So
they set sail ; and during the voyage he fell asleep. And down came
a squall of wind upon the lake, and they were being swamped and were
24 in danger. So they went to him and woke him up, saying, "Chief !
chief ! we are perishing !" Then wakening up he rebuked the wind
and the surge of the water ; and they ceased, and there was a calm.
25 Then he said to them, "Where is your faith ?" And they feared and
 marvelled, saying to one another, "Whoever is this ? he orders even the
26 winds and the water, and they obey him !" And they put in at
27 the country of the Gerasenes, which is on the shore opposite Galilee. And
when he stepped out upon the land, he was met by a man from the city,

who had daemons; for a considerable time he had worn no clothing, and he stayed not in a house but among the tombs. And on seeing Jesus he shrieked, and dropping down before him said with a loud voice, "What have I to do with thee, Jesus, Son of the most High God? I entreat thee, torment me not!" (For he was charging the unclean spirit to leave the man.) For many a time when it had gripped him, he had been fastened and secured with chains and fetters; yet he would break the bonds and be driven by the daemon into the deserts. Then Jesus questioned him,¹ "What is thy name?" "Legion," said he (because many daemons had entered him). And they besought him not to order them to depart into the abyss. Now a drove of a good many swine was there, grazing on the mountain; and they besought him to permit them to enter these. And he permitted them. Then the daemons left the man and entered the swine, and the drove rushed down the steep slope into the lake and was suffocated. Now when the herdsmen saw what had happened, they fled and brought word of it to the city and the hamlets. And the people came out to see what had happened; and they came to Jesus and found, seated at the feet of Jesus, the man whom the daemons had left, clothed and sensible. And they were afraid. And those who had seen it told them how he who had been possessed by daemons had been restored. And all the multitude belonging to the surrounding country of the Gerasenes asked him to depart from them, for they were possessed with great fear. And he embarked in a boat and returned. Now the man whom the daemons had left, entreated him that he might accompany him; but he sent him away, saying, "Return home and describe all that God has done for thee." And he departed to preach throughout the whole city all that Jesus had done for him.

Now it came to pass at the return of Jesus, that the crowd welcomed him; for they were all looking out for him. And behold, a man named Jairo came (and he was a president of the synagogue) and fell down at the feet of Jesus and besought him to come to his house, because he had an only daughter about twelve years old, and she was dying. Now as he went, the crowds were crushing him. And there was a woman who had had an issue of blood for twelve years, who [[had besides spent the whole of her livelihood upon physicians and]] could not be healed by anyone. She came behind him and touched the tassel of his cloak; and instantly the issue of her blood stopped. Then said Jesus, "Who was it that touched me?" And as everyone was denying it, Peter and his companions said, "Master, the crowds are close to thee and pressing hard!" But Jesus said, "Someone did touch me, for I was conscious of power having issued from me." So when the woman saw she had not escaped notice, she came trembling and fell down before him and declared in the presence of all the people her reason for touching him, and how she had been instantly cured. And he said to her, "Daughter, thy faith has restored thee. Go in peace."

While he was still speaking, someone comes from the house of the president of the synagogue, saying, "Thy daughter has died: do not trouble the teacher any further." But on hearing it Jesus answered him, "Fear not: only believe, and she shall be restored." And when he came to the house, he would not let anyone enter with him, except Peter and John and James, also the father of the girl and her mother. And everyone was weeping and bewailing her, but he said, "Weep not; she is not dead, but asleep." And they laughed him to scorn, knowing that she was dead. But he took her hand and cried

¹ Omitting [[λέγων]].

55 aloud, "Rise, girl." And her spirit came back, and she rose up instantly.
 56 And he instructed them to give her something to eat. And her parents
 were amazed; but he charged them to tell no one what had happened.

9 1 Now after calling the twelve together he gave them power and
 authority over all the daemons, as well as for the healing of diseases.
 2 And he sent them to preach the reign of God and to cure the infirm.¹
 3 And he said to them, "Take nothing for your journey, neither staff nor
 4 wallet nor bread nor silver, nor have two tunics. And whatever house
 5 you enter, stay there, and leave from there. And whoever do not wel-
 come you, when you are leaving that city, shake off the dust from your
 6 feet, for a witness against them." And they went out and proceeded to
 go through the villages, preaching the glad tidings and healing every-

7 where. Now when Herod the tetrarch heard of all that was
 taking place, he was completely bewildered; for some said, "John has
 8 risen from the dead"; some, "Elijah has appeared"; and others, "One
 9 of the ancient prophets has risen up." Herod said, "John I beheaded.
 But who is this, of whom I hear such tales?" So he made efforts to see

10 him. And the apostles returned and described to him all that
 they had done. And he took them and withdrew in private to a city
 11 called Bethsaida. But when the crowds perceived it, they followed him;
 and he welcomed them and proceeded to speak to them of God's reign,
 12 and to cure those who were in need of healing. Now the day began to
 decline; and the twelve came and said to him, "Dismiss the crowd, that
 they may go and lodge in the surrounding villages and hamlets and get
 13 provisions; for we are in a desert place here." He said to them, "Give
 them something to eat, yourselves." They said, "We have no more than
 five loaves and two fish!—unless indeed we are to go and buy food for
 14 all this people." (For they numbered about five thousand men.) And
 15 he said to his disciples, "Make them recline in rows of about fifty. And
 16 they did so, and made them all recline. Then he took the five loaves
 and the two fish, and after looking up to heaven he blessed and broke
 them in pieces, and went on giving them to the disciples to set before the
 17 crowd. And they all ate and were satisfied. Also, they took up twelve
 baskets of fragments which they had left over.

18 And it came to pass, while he was praying alone, that the disciples
 were with him. And he questioned them, saying, "Who do the crowds
 19 say that I am?" They replied, "John the baptizer; but others say
 20 Elijah, and others that 'One of the ancient prophets has risen up.'" And
 he said to them, "But you—who do you say that I am?" So Peter
 21 answered, "The Christ of God." But he charged and commanded them
 22 to tell this to no one, saying: "The Son of man must suffer much, and be
 rejected by the elders and high priests and scribes, and be killed, and on
 23 the third day rise." And he said to all,

"If any man would come after me,

Let him deny himself, take up his cross day by day, and follow me.
 24 For whoever would save his life

Shall lose it:

And whoever loses his life for my sake,

He shall save it.

25 What use will it be for a man to gain the whole world and lose
 or forfeit himself?

26 For whoever is ashamed of me and of my words
 Of him shall the Son of man be ashamed

¹ Adding τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς.

When he comes in his majesty and in the majesty of the Father and of the holy angels.

27 I tell you distinctly, there are some of those standing here who shall not taste death, until they see God's reign."

28 Now it came to pass about eight days after this had been said, he took Peter and John and James aside, and went up the mountain to pray.

29 And it came to pass while he was praying, the appearance of his face

30 altered and his clothing turned dazzling white. And behold, two men

31 (who were Moses and Elijah) were talking with him: they appeared in splendour and spoke of his departure which he was to effect at Jerusalem.

32 Now Peter and his companions were heavy with sleep; but as they kept wide-awake, they saw his splendour and also the two men who stood

33 beside him. And it came to pass, when they were parting from him, Peter said to Jesus, "Chief, it is fine for us to be here. Now, let us

34 make three booths, one for thee and one for Moses and one for Elijah" (for he did not know what he was saying). But while he was saying

35 this, a cloud came and overshadowed them: and they feared as they

36 passed into the cloud. And a voice came out of the cloud, saying, "This is my Son, the chosen one. listen to him." Then, after the voice had

37 passed, they found that Jesus was alone. And they kept silence and told no one during those days anything of what they had seen.

38 Now it came to pass on the next day when they had descended from the mountain, a large crowd met him. And behold, a man from the

39 crowd cried, saying, "Teacher, I entreat thee to look with favour on my son! for he is my only child; and behold, a spirit catches him! Then

40 suddenly he shrieks out. But it convulses him till he foams; indeed it

41 will scarcely leave off bruising him. And I entreated thy disciples to

42 cast it out; but they could not." Jesus answered and said, "O incredulous and perverse generation! how long am I to be with you and

43 bear with you? Fetch thy son here." But while he was still approaching, the daemon hurled him down and convulsed him terribly. So Jesus

44 rebuked the unclean spirit, cured the boy, and gave him back to his father. And all were astonished at the grandeur of God.

45 Now while all marvelled at all he was doing, he said to his disciples, "Lay up these words in your ears: the Son of man is to be delivered

46 into the hands of men." But they did not understand this saying; and it was kept a secret from them, so that they could not fathom it.

47 Also, they were afraid to ask him about this saying. Now an argument rose among them as to which of them would be the greatest.

48 But as Jesus knew their secret argument, he took hold of a little child and set it beside himself; then he said to them,

"Whosoever shall receive such a little child as this in my name, receives me;

And whoever shall receive me, receives him who sent me. For he who is least among you all, he is great."

49 John answered and said, "Chief, we saw a man casting out daemons in thy name; and we tried to prevent him, because he is not a follower

50 of ours." But Jesus said to him, "Prevent him not: he who is not against you is for you."

51 Now it came to pass, when the days for him to be taken up were coming to a close, he set his face stedfastly to go to Jerusalem, and

52 despatched messengers in front of him. And on their way they entered a village of the Samaritans, in order to make ready for him; but the

people would not receive him, because his face was turned in the
 54 direction of Jerusalem. When his disciples James and John saw it,
 they said, "Lord, wilt thou have us bid *fire come down from the sky and*
 55, 56 *consume them?*" But he turned and rebuked them. And they journeyed
 to another village.

57 And as they journeyed on the road, a man said to him, "I will follow
 58 thee wherever thou goest." Then said Jesus to him,

"The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have shelters:

But the Son of man has no place to lay his head."

59 He said to another, "Follow me." And he said, "Let me go first and
 60 bury my father." But he said to him,

"Let the dead bury their own dead:

Go thou and publish abroad the reign of God."

61 Also another said, "I will follow thee, Lord; but first let me take leave
 62 of those at home." But Jesus said to him, "No man who looks back,
 after putting his hand to the plough, is fit for the reign of God."

10 1 Now after this the Lord¹ appointed seventy-two² others, and
 despatched them two and two in front of him into every city and place
 2 where he intended to come himself. And he said to them,

"The harvest is ample, but the labourers are few:

Entreat then the owner of the harvest to thrust out labourers
 into his harvest.

3 Go on your way:

Lo, I despatch you like lambs amid wolves.

4 Carry no purse, no wallet, no sandals,

And salute no one on the road.

5 Whatever household you enter first,

Say, 'Peace be to this household!'

6 Then, if a son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it:

Otherwise, it shall return to you again.

7 Stay in the same house—

Eating and drinking what they provide,

For the labourer is worthy of his wages—

Shift not from house to house.

8 Also, whatever city you enter, and the people receive you,

Eat what is set before you,

9 And heal the infirm in it, telling them, 'The reign of God is
 near you.'

10 But whatever city you shall enter and the people receive you not,

Go out into its streets and say,

11 'Even the dust from your city which clings to our feet, we wipe
 off against you.

But know this; the reign of God is near.'

12 I tell you, on that Day Sodom shall find it more bearable than
 that city.

13 Woe to thee, Khorazin! Woe to thee, Bethsaida!

For had the miracles wrought in you been wrought in Tyre and
 Sidon,

They had repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes.

14 Yet I tell you, Tyre and Sidon shall find it more bearable in the
 judgment than you.

15 And thou, Kapharnahum, shalt thou be raised to the sky? thou shalt
 be thrust down to Hades!

¹ Omitting [[*καὶ*]].

² Adding *δύο* (as in ver. 17).

- 16 He who listens to you listens to me,
And he who rejects you rejects me:
And he who rejects me rejects him who sent me."
- 17 Now the seventy-two returned with joy, saying, "Lord, even the
18 daemons are subject to us in thy name!" And he said to them, "I saw
Satan like lightning fall from heaven.
- 19 Lo, I have given you the power of *treading on serpents* and scorpions,
and over all the enemy's power,
And nothing shall injure you at all.
- 20 Yet joy not over this, that the spirits are subject to you,
But joy that your names are enrolled in the heavens."
- 21 At the same hour Jesus rejoiced in the holy Spirit, and said,
"I praise thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth,
That thou didst conceal these things from wise and clever men,
revealing them to babes.
Even so, Father!—
That thus it pleased thee.
- 22 All things have been delivered to me by my Father,
And no one knows who the Son is, but the Father,
And who the Father is, but the Son, and he to whom the Son may
choose to reveal him."
- 23 Then turning to the disciples he said privately,
"Happy the eyes that see what you see!"
- 24 For I tell you, many prophets and kings desired to see what you
see, yet they saw not;
And to hear what you hear, yet they heard not."
- 25 And behold, a lawyer stood up to make trial of him. "Teacher,"
26 said he, "What shall I do to inherit life eternal?" He said to him,
27 "What is written in the law? How readest thou?" He replied, "*Thou
shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, with thy whole soul,
with thy whole strength, with thy whole mind; also thy neighbour as thyself.*"
- 28 And he said to him, "Thou hast answered correctly. *Do this and thou
29 shalt live.*" But as he wished to put himself in the right, he said to
30 Jesus, "And who is my neighbour?" Jesus said in reply: "A certain
man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho; and he fell in with
robbers, who actually stripped him, and after showering stripes on him
31 went off, leaving him half-dead. Now it so happened that a priest was
going down by that road; but on seeing him he went past, upon the
32 opposite side. Similarly too a Levite, on coming up to the spot and seeing
33 him, went past upon the opposite side. But a Samaritan traveller came
34 to where he was, and on seeing him was moved with compassion; and
going to him, he bound up his wounds, pouring on them oil and wine.
And mounting him on his own beast, he brought him to an inn and took
35 care of him. And on the following day he took out two shillings and
gave them to the inn-keeper, saying, 'Take care of him; and any extra
36 expense I will refund thee on my way back.' Which of these three,
thinkest thou, proved himself a neighbour to him who fell among the
37 robbers?" He said, "The man who dealt mercifully with him." Jesus
said to him, "Go thou also, do likewise."
- 38 Now in the course of their journey he entered a village; and a woman
39 named Martha welcomed him to her house. And she had a sister
called Mary, who for her part seated herself at the Lord's feet and
40 listened to his talk. But Martha was distracted with serving busily,
and she came up and said, "Lord, carest thou not that my sister has left

- 41 me to serve all by myself? Come, tell her to help me." The Lord answered and said to her, "Martha, Martha, thou art anxious and restless about many things, yet few things are needed—few or only one.¹ Mary has chosen the good portion, and it shall not be taken away from her."
- 11 1 And it came to pass while he was at a certain place praying, when he ceased, one of his disciples said to him, "Lord, teach us to pray, just as 2 John also taught his disciples." He said to them, "When you pray, say :
 Father, thy name be hallowed,
 Thy reign come !
 3 Our bread for the morrow give us day by day.
 4 And forgive us our sins,
 For we also forgive every debtor of ours.
 And lead us not into temptation."
- 5 And he said to them, "Which of you shall have a friend, and shall go to him at midnight and say to him, 'Friend, lend me three loaves ; 6 for a friend of mine has arrived at my house from a journey, and I have 7 nothing to set before him';—and he inside shall answer and say, 'Disturb me not : the door is shut by this time, and my children are in 8 bed with me. I cannot get up and give thee anything'? I tell you, though he will not get up and give him anything because he is a friend of his, yet on account of his friend's persistence he will rise and give him 9 all that he requires. And I tell you,
 Ask and it shall be given you,
 Seek and you shall find,
 Knock and it shall be opened to you :
 10 For everyone who asks receives,
 And he who seeks finds,
 And to him who knocks it shall be opened.
 11 Now what father of you,² if his son asks a fish, will hand him instead of a fish, a serpent?
 12 Or if an egg, will hand him a scorpion?
 13 If you then, niggardly as you are, know how to give good gifts to your children,
 How much more shall your Father give from heaven the holy Spirit to those who ask him?"
- 14 And he was casting out a dumb daemon ; and it came to pass, when the daemon had gone out, that the dumb man spoke. And the crowds 15 marvelled, but some of them said, "It is with the help of Beelzebub the 16 ruler of the daemons, that he is casting out the daemons"; while others— 17 to make trial of him—required from him a sign from the sky. And aware of what they thought, he said to them :
 "Any realm divided against itself comes to ruin,
 And house falls upon house.
 18 Also, if Satan is divided against himself,
 How shall his realm stand ?
 (Because you say, it is with the help of Beelzebub that I am casting out the daemons.)
 19 If I am casting out the daemons with the help of Beelzebub, with whose help do your sons cast them out ?
 Therefore shall they be your judges.
 20 But if I am casting out the daemons with the finger of God,
 Then God's reign has already reached you.

¹ Reading *ὀλίγων δέ ἐστιν χρεία ἡ ἐνός*.² Omitting *ἄρτον, μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ ; ἢ καί*.

- 21 When the mighty man, clad in full armour, is guarding his own
homestead,
His goods are undisturbed :
- 22 But when a mightier man attacks him and conquers him,
He seizes his full armour on which he relied, and divides up his
spoils.
- 23 Whoever is not with me is against me ;
And whoever gathers not with me, is scattering.
- 24 When the unclean spirit leaves a man,
It passes through waterless places in search of rest,
And unable to find any, it says, 'I will turn back to my house
that I left' ;
- 25 And on coming finds it swept clean and in order :
- 26 Then it goes and fetches other spirits more hurtful than itself, whole
seven of them,
And entering there they dwell—and that man's last state
becomes worse than his first."
- 27 Now it came to pass, while he was saying this, that a woman raised
her voice out of the crowd and said to him, "Happy the womb that
28 bore thee! and the breasts that thou didst suck!" And he said, "Happy,
29 rather, those who hear the word of God and observe it!" Now
as the crowds thronged together, he began to say :
- "This generation is an evil generation—it requires a sign,
Yet no sign shall be given it, save the sign of Jonah :
- 30 For as Jonah proved a sign to the Ninevites,
So too shall the Son of man be to this generation.
- 31 The queen of the South shall rise up at the judgment along with
the men of this generation and condemn them ;
For she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of
Solomon—
And lo, a greater than Solomon is here !
- 32 The men of Nineveh shall stand up at the judgment along with this
generation and condemn it ;
For they repented at the preaching of Jonah—
And lo, a greater than Jonah is here !
- 33 No man, after setting light to a lamp, puts it in a cellar or under
the bushel,
But on the lampstand, that those who enter may see the light.
- 34 The lamp of the body is thine eye.
When thine eye is sound, then thy whole body is lit up :
But so soon as it is diseased, then thy whole body is darkened.
- 35 See to it then, lest the light that is in thee be not darkness.
- 36 If then thy whole body be lit up, with no part darkened, it shall
be wholly lit up,
As when the lamp lights thee with its gleam."
- 37 Now after he had spoken, a Pharisee asked him to dine with him ; so
38 he went in and lay down. And when the Pharisee saw it, he was
39 astonished that he had not first washed before dinner. But the Lord said
to him,
"Here now! you Pharisees cleanse the outside of the cup and the
dish,
40 But your inside is filled with plunder and malice.
Senseless men! did not he who made the outside make the inside
also?

- 41 [Only, give the contents as alms—and lo, all things are clean
to you !]
- 42 But woe to you Pharisees !
For you tithe mint and rue and every vegetable,
And disregard justice and the love of God :
Now these you ought to have practised—without neglecting the
former.
- 43 Woe to you Pharisees ! for you like the chief seat in the synagogues
and the salutations in the marketplaces.
- 44 Woe to you ! for you are like unsuspected tombs,
And people who walk over them are unaware of it.”
- 45 One of the lawyers says to him in reply, “Teacher, in saying this thou
46 art insulting even us !” He said :
- “Woe even to you lawyers ! for you load men with irksome burdens,
Yet you touch not the burdens with one of your own fingers.
- 47 Woe to you ! for you build the tombs of the prophets,
Yet your fathers killed them.
- 48 So then to your fathers’ deeds you bear witness and consent :
For they killed them,
While you build their tombs !
- 49 Wherefore the Wisdom of God also said, ‘I will send to them
prophets and apostles :
And some of them shall they kill and persecute—
- 50 That the blood of all the prophets shed from the foundation of the
world may be exacted from this generation,
51 From the blood of Abel down to the blood of Zachariah, who
perished between the altar and the House’ :
- Yes, I tell you, from this generation shall it be exacted.
- 52 Woe to you lawyers ! for you have taken away the key of know-
ledge :
- You have not entered yourselves, and you have hindered those
who were entering.”
- 53 And after he had gone away from here, the scribes and the Pharisees
began to press him keenly and to cross-examine him on many subjects,
54 lying in ambush to catch some word out of his lips.
- 12 1 Meanwhile, as the crowd was gathering in its thousands, so that they
were trampling on one another, he began to say to his disciples first of all :
“Take heed to yourselves and avoid the leaven of the Pharisees,
It is hypocrisy.
- 2 Nothing is covered up that shall not be disclosed,
Or hidden that shall not be known :
- 3 Since all that you have said in the darkness shall be taught in the
light,
And what you have whispered in the inner chambers shall be
proclaimed upon the housetops.
- 4 I tell you, my friends,
Fear not those who kill the body,
And after that can do nothing further.
- 5 I will let you know whom to fear :
Fear him who, after he has killed,
Has power to throw into Gehenna—
Yes, I tell you, fear him.
- 6 Are not five sparrows sold for twopence ?
Yet not one of them is forgotten in the sight of God.

- 7 Nay, even the hairs of your head are all numbered :
Fear not, you are worth more than many sparrows.
- 8 I tell you,
Everyone who confesses me before men,
The Son of man also shall confess him before the angels of God :
- 9 But he who disowns me in the sight of men,
Shall be disowned in the sight of the angels of God.
- 10 Everyone also who speaks a word against the Son of man,
Shall be forgiven :
But for him who blasphemeth against the holy Spirit,
There shall be no forgiveness.
- 11 Now when they bring you before the synagogues and the magistrates and
the authorities,
Be not anxious how or what shall be your defence, or what you
shall say :
- 12 For in that very hour the holy Spirit shall teach you what you
ought to say."
- 13 And a man out of the crowd said to him, "Teacher, tell my brother
14 to share the inheritance with me." But he said to him, "Man, who made
15 me a judge or arbitrator over you?" And he said to them :
"See and keep yourselves clear of every form of covetousness ;
For it is not in a man's wealth—in his goods—that his life consists."
- 16 And he told them a parable, saying, "A certain rich man's ground
17 bore fertile crops. And he began to argue to himself, 'What am I to do ?
18 I have no room to store my crops !' And he said, 'I will do this. I will
19 pull down my granaries and build larger ones ; so shall I store all my
20 produce and my goods. Then I will say to my soul, 'Soul, thou hast
many goods laid up for many a year ; take a rest, eat, drink, and be
21 merry.'" But God said to him, 'Senseless man ! this very night thy life
is demanded from thee ; and who will get all that thou hast prepared ?'
22 So it is with the man who stores treasure for himself, instead of being
rich toward God."
- 22 And he said to his disciples : "Therefore I tell you,
Be not anxious for the life, about what you are to eat,
Nor yet for the body, about what you are to wear :
- 23 For life is more than food,
And the body than raiment.
- 24 Mark the ravens :
They neither sow nor reap,
Nor have they storehouse or granary,
Yet God feeds them.
How much more are you worth than birds !
- 25 Which of you can add an ell to his stature by anxiety ?
- 26 If then you are unable even for a trifle, why be anxious about the
rest ?
- 27 Mark how the lilies grow ! they toil not, neither do they spin :
Yet I tell you, even Solomon in all his grandeur was not robed
like one of these.
- 28 Now if God thus arrays the grass in the field, which lives to-day
and is thrown to-morrow into the oven,
O men of little faith, how much more shall he array you ?
- 29 Seek not then what to eat and what to drink, tossed with disquiet.
- 30 For these things crave all the nations of the world ;
And your Father knows that you require these things.

- 31 Nay, seek his reign,
And you shall have these things added besides.
- 32 Fear not, little flock :
For it is your Father's good pleasure to grant you the Reign.
- 33 Sell your goods and give alms ;
Make yourselves purses that will not wear out,
Treasure unfailing in the heavens,
Where no thief draws near and no moth destroys.
- 34 For where your treasure is,
There shall your heart be also.
- 35 Let your loins be ready girt and your lamps burning ;
- 36 And be you like men waiting for their lord's return from the
marriage-feast ;
That when he comes and knocks, they may open to him
at once.
- 37 Happy those slaves whom the lord, when he comes, shall find
watching !
I tell you truly, he shall gird himself and make them lie down
and come forward to serve them.
- 38 Be it in the second, be it in the third watch, that he comes and finds
them thus,
Happy are they !
- 39 Now be sure of this ; had the master of the house known at what
hour the thief was coming,
He would have been on the alert, and would not have let his
house be broken into.
- 40 Be you also ready ;
For in an unexpected hour the Son of man is coming."
- 41 Peter said, "Lord, is it for us thou art speaking this parable, or for
42 all men besides?" And the Lord said, "Well, who is the faithful,
shrewd steward, whom his owner shall appoint over his establishment
43 to give out the supplies in due season? Happy that slave whom his
44 owner shall find so doing when he comes! I tell you distinctly, he will
45 appoint him over all he has. But if that slave says in his heart, 'My
owner delays to come,' and shall start to beat the slaves and the maid-
46 servants, and to eat and drink and get drunk, the owner of that slave
shall come in a day when he does not look for him, and in an hour when
he does not know, and shall cut him in two, and assign his part among
the faithless.
- 47 That slave who knew his owner's will, yet did not make ready or do
as he willed,
Shall be flogged with many lashes :
- 48 But he who did not know and did what deserves stripes,
Shall be flogged with few lashes.
Everyone who has much given him
Shall have much required from him :
And he to whom men have entrusted much,
From him shall they demand the more.
- 49 I came to throw fire upon the earth,
And how I wish it were already kindled !
- 50 I have a baptism to undergo,
And what distress I suffer till it be accomplished !
- 51 Do you suppose I am here to give peace on earth?
Nay, I tell you, nothing but dissension.

- 52 For from this time there shall be five in one household divided,
Three against two and two against three shall be divided,
- 53 Father against son, and *son against father*,
Mother against daughter, and *daughter against mother*,
Mother-in-law against¹ daughter-in-law, and *daughter-in-law*
against mother-in-law."
- 54 He said also to the crowds,
"When you see a cloud rise in the west, you say at once, 'A shower
is coming,' and so it is :
55 And when you see the south wind blow, you say, 'It will be
scorching heat,' and heat it is.
56 Hypocrites ! you can read the appearance of the earth and of the
sky,
But how is it you know not the way to read the present time ? . . .
57 And why not decide what is right, even by yourselves ?
58 Aye, as thou goest with thine opponent before the magistrate, try
hard to get quit of him on the road,
Lest he drag thee to the judge ; then the judge will deliver thee to
the jailer, and the jailer will throw thee into prison :
59 I tell thee, thou shalt not leave that place, till thou hast paid the
very last farthing."
- 13 1 Now at that very time some people had come and told him about the
2 Galilaeans whose blood Pilate had mixed with their sacrifices. And he
answered and said to them,
"Do you think those Galilaeans are shown to have been sinners beyond
all the Galilaeans, because they have suffered thus ?
3 Not so, I tell you.
Nay, unless you repent, you shall all perish likewise.
4 Or those eighteen men whom the tower at Siloam fell upon and
killed ?
Do you think they are shown to have been debtors beyond all the
men dwelling in Jerusalem ?
5 Not so, I tell you.
Nay, unless you repent,² you shall all perish in like manner."
- 6 And he spoke this parable : "A certain man had a fig-tree planted in
7 his vineyard ; and he came in search of fruit on it, but found none. So
he said to the vinedresser, 'Here have I come three years in search of
fruit on this fig-tree and found none ! Cut it down. Why should it
8 cumber the ground at all ?' He says to him in reply, 'Sir, leave it alone
9 for this year as well, until I dig round it and put in manure. Then if
it bears fruit next season, all right. Otherwise, thou shalt have it cut
down.'"
- 10 Now he was teaching in one of the synagogues on the sabbath-day.
11 And behold, there was a woman with a spirit of debility for eighteen
years ; indeed she was bent double and quite unable to raise herself.
12 When Jesus saw her, he addressed her and said, "Woman, thou art
13 released from thy debility." Then he laid his hands upon her, and
14 instantly she was straightened and began to magnify God. Now the
president of the synagogue was indignant that Jesus had healed on the
sabbath ; and in reply he proceeded to say to the crowd, "There are six
days on which work ought to be done ; come therefore and get healed on
15 them, instead of on the sabbath-day." But the Lord answered him and
said, "Hypocrites ! does not each of you on the sabbath loose his ox or

¹ Omitting *αὐτῆς*.² Reading *μετανοήτε*.

- 16 ass from the stall, and lead it away to drink? This woman, a daughter
 of Abraham, whom Satan has bound for these eighteen years, ought she
 17 not to have been loosed from this bond on the sabbath-day?" And as he
 said this, all his adversaries were put to shame; but all the crowd rejoiced
 18 at all the splendid things he did. So he went on to say:
 19 "What is God's reign like? And to what shall I compare it? It is like
 a grain of mustard-seed, which a man took and put into his garden; then
 it grew up and became a tree, and *the birds of the air rested in its branches.*"
 20, 21 And again he said, "To what shall I compare God's reign? It is like
 leaven, which a woman took and hid in three pecks of wheaten flour, till
 the whole was leavened."
- 22 And he passed through the cities and villages one after another,
 23 teaching, as he made his way to Jerusalem. Now a certain man said to
 him, "Lord, are the saved few?" And he said to them,
 24 "Strive hard to enter by the narrow gate:
 For many, I tell you, will seek to enter and be powerless.
 25 When once the master of the house has risen up and shut fast the
 door,
 And you begin to stand outside and knock at the door, saying,
 'Open to us, Lord!'
 He shall answer and say to you, 'I know not where you come
 from.'
- 26 Then shall you begin to say, 'We ate and drank in thy presence,
 and thou hast taught in our streets!'
 27 And he shall say, "I tell you, I know not where you come from:
depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity.
 28 There shall the weeping be, and the gnashing of teeth,
 When you see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets
 in God's realm,
 And yourselves thrown outside.
 29 Yea, they shall come *from east and west* and from north and south,
 And recline in God's realm.
 30 And lo, there are last who shall be first,
 And there are first who shall be last."
- 31 At that very hour some Pharisees came and said to him, "Away, leave
 32 this place! for Herod intends to kill thee." But he said to them, "Go
 and tell that fox, 'behold, I cast out daemons and perform cures to-day and
 33 to-morrow, and on the third day I am perfected!' But to-day and
 to-morrow and the day following I must go upon my way; for it cannot
 be that a prophet perish outside Jerusalem.
 34 Jerusalem, Jerusalem! slayer of the prophets and stoner of those sent
 to her!
 How often would I have gathered thy children together,
 Even as a fowl her brood beneath her wings—and you would not!
 35 Lo, *your House is abandoned to yourselves!*
 I tell¹ you, you shall not see me till² you say,
 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.'"
- 14 1 And it came to pass when he went into the house of one of the rulers
 of the Pharisees to take a meal on a sabbath, that they watched him
 2 narrowly. And behold, there was in front of him a man with dropsy.
 3 And Jesus addressed the lawyers and Pharisees, saying, "Is it right to
 4 heal on the sabbath, or not?" They held their peace. Then Jesus took
 5 hold of him, cured him, and sent him away. And he said to them,

¹ Omitting [[εἰς]].² Omitting [[ἕως ἔτι]].

“Which of you, when a son or an ox has fallen into a well, will not immediately draw him up on a sabbath-day?” And they could not dispute this. Now he went on to speak this parable to those who had been invited, when he observed how they selected the chief seats; he said to them,

8 “When thou art invited by anyone to a marriage-feast,
Do not recline in the chief seat, lest perhaps he has invited some one of higher rank than thyself;

9 Then he who invited you both shall come and say to thee,
‘Make room for this man,’

10 And then thou shalt start with shame to take the lowest place.
Nay, when thou art invited,

Go and lie down in the lowest place;

That when he who has invited thee comes, he may say to thee,
‘Friend, come higher up’—

Then shalt thou have honour in the presence of all thy fellow-guests.

11 For everyone who raises himself shall be humbled,
And he who humbles himself shall be raised.”

12 He also went on to say to the man who had invited him,

“When thou givest a dinner or a supper,

Bid not thy friends or thy brothers or thy kinsfolk or thy rich neighbours;

Lest perhaps they too invite thee in return,

And so thou be repaid.

13 Nay, when thou givest a banquet,

Invite the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind,

14 And thou shalt be happy. For they are unable to repay thee;
Thou shalt be repaid at the resurrection of the just.”

15 Now on hearing this, one of his fellow-guests said to him, “Happy the
16 man who takes his meal in the realm of God!” But he said to him,

“A certain man was giving a large supper, and had invited many
17 people. And at the hour for the supper, he despatched his slave to bid
18 those who had been invited, ‘Come, for things are ready now.’ Then all
alike started to decline. The first said to him, ‘I have bought a field,
and I require to go and look at it. I pray thee to consider me excused.’

19 And another said, ‘I have bought five pair of oxen, and I am on my way
20 to try them. I pray thee to consider me excused.’ And another said, ‘I
21 have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come.’ So the slave went
and reported this to his owner. Then in anger the master of the house
said to his slave, ‘Go out quickly into the streets and thoroughfares of
the city, and bring in here the poor and disabled and blind and lame.’

22 And the slave said, ‘Sir, thy order has been carried out; yet still there is
23 room.’ And the owner said to the slave, ‘Go out to the roads and hedges,
24 and compel people to come in; that my house may be filled. For I tell
you, not one of those men who were invited shall taste my supper.’”

25 Now large crowds were journeying along with him; and he turned
and said to them,

26 “If anyone comes to me and hates not his father and mother and
wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes and his own
life also,

He cannot be my disciple.

27 And he who does not carry his own cross and come after me,
Cannot be my disciple.

- 28 For which of you, wishing to build a tower, does not sit down first
and count up the expense,
To see if he has money to complete it?—
- 29 In case, after he has laid the foundation and lacked means to finish,
30 all the spectators begin to mock him, saying,
‘This man began to build, but he lacked means to finish.’
- 31 Or what king, on starting to encounter another king in battle,
will not sit down first and deliberate
Whether he is able with ten thousand men to meet him who is
coming against him with twenty thousand?
- 32 And if not—when the other is still far away,
He sends an embassy and negotiates¹ for peace.
- 33 So then everyone of you who does not part with all his goods,
Cannot be my disciple.
- 34 Yes, salt is a capital thing,
But if even salt has lost its savour,
Wherewith shall it be seasoned?
- 35 It is fit neither for the land nor for the dunghill :
Men throw it out.
He who has ears to hear, let him hear.”
- 15 1 Now all the tax-gatherers and the sinners were drawing near him to
2 listen to him. But the Pharisees and the scribes were complaining,
3 “This man is receiving sinners and eating along with them!” So he told
them this parable :
- 4 “What man of you,” said he, “who has a hundred sheep and has
lost one of them,
Does not leave the ninety-nine in the wilderness and go after the
lost one till he finds it?
- 5 And after finding it, he lays it on his shoulders rejoicing ;
6 And on coming home he calls his friends and neighbours together,
saying to them,
‘Rejoice with me, for I have found my lost sheep.’
- 7 I tell you, so shall there be joy in heaven over one sinner who
repents,
More than over ninety-nine upright people who have no need of
repentance.
- 8 Or, what woman with ten drachmae—if she has lost one drachma,
Does not set light to a lamp and sweep the house clean and search
diligently until she finds it?
- 9 And after finding it, she calls her women-friends and neighbours
together, saying,
‘Rejoice with me, for I have found the drachma which I lost.’
- 10 So, I tell you, joy rises in the presence of the angels of God over
one sinner who repents.”
- 11,12 And he said, “A certain man had two sons. And the younger of them
said to his father, ‘Father, give me that portion of the property which
13 falls to me.’ So he divided his livelihood for them. And not many days
afterwards the younger son sold off everything and went abroad to a
distant country, where he squandered his property by a profligate life.
14 Now when he had spent everything, a severe famine set in throughout
15 that country ; and he began to feel in want. And he went and attached
himself to one of the citizens of that country, who sent him into his fields
16 to feed swine. And fain would he have filled himself with the bean-pods

¹ Omitting *καὶ*.

- 17 that the swine were eating ; yet no one gave him anything. So on coming
 to himself he said, 'How many of my father's hired servants have bread
 18 enough and to spare, while I am perishing here with hunger ! I will rise
 and go to my father and say to him, "Father, I have sinned against heaven
 19 and before thee. I am no longer worthy to be called thy son ; make me
 20 like one of thy hired servants."' And he rose and went to his father.
 Now, while he was still far away, his father saw him ; and moved with
 21 compassion, he ran, fell upon his neck, and kissed him fondly. But the
 son said to him, 'Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee.
 22 I am no longer worthy to be called thy son.' And the father said to his
 slaves, 'Quick, bring the best robe and put it on him ! And give him a
 23 ring for his hand and sandals for his feet ! And bring the fattened calf,
 24 kill it, and let us eat and make merry ! For my son here was dead and
 has come back to life, was lost and has been found.' And they began to
 25 make merry. Now his elder son was in the field. And when he came
 26 and drew near to the house, he heard music and dancing ; and summoning
 27 one of the servants he enquired what was the meaning of this. And he
 said to him, 'Thy brother has come ; and thy father has killed the fattened
 28 calf, because he has got him back safe and sound.' Now he got angry
 and would not go in. And his father went out and sought to appease
 29 him. But he answered and said : 'Look at all the years I have served
 thee, and never disregarded a command of thine ! Yet thou hast never
 30 given me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends. But when
 thy son has come—this fellow who has wasted thy livelihood with harlots
 31 —thou hast killed the fattened calf for him !' He said to him, 'My
 32 son, thou art always with me, and all that is mine is thine. It behoved
 us to make merry and rejoice, for thy brother here was dead and has
 16 1 become alive ; though lost, he has been found.' And he went
 on also to say to his disciples : "There was a rich man who had a steward,
 2 and this steward was accused to him of squandering his goods. So he
 called him and said to him, 'What is this I hear about thee ? Give in the
 statement of thy stewardship, for thou canst not be steward any longer.'
 3 Now the steward said to himself, 'What am I to do, seeing that my owner
 is taking the stewardship away from me ? To dig I have no strength, to
 4 beg I am ashamed.—I know what I will do, so that, when I am deposed
 5 from the stewardship, people may admit me to their houses !' Then
 summoning every single one of his owner's debtors, he proceeded to say to
 6 the first, 'How much art thou owing to my owner ?' and he said, 'A
 hundred barrels of oil.' And he said to him, 'Here, take thy bond, sit
 7 down at once and write fifty instead.' Then he said to another, 'And
 how much art thou owing ?' And he said, 'A hundred quarters of
 wheat.' He says to him, 'Here, take thy bond and write eighty instead.'
 8 And the owner praised the dishonest steward because he had acted
 shrewdly ;—for the sons of this world are more shrewd in dealing with
 9 their own generation than are the sons of the light. And I tell you,
 Make friends for yourselves with the mammon of dishonesty ;
 So that when it fails, they may admit you to the eternal tents.
 10 He who is faithful in what is least, is faithful also in what is great ;
 And he who is dishonest in what is least, is dishonest also in what
 is great.
 11 If then you have not proved faithful in the dishonest mammon,
 Who will trust you with the true ?
 12 And if you have not proved faithful in what is another's,
 Who will give you what is your own ?

- 13 No servant can serve two masters :
 For either he will hate the one and love the other,
 Or else he will hold to one and despise the other.
 You cannot serve God and Mammon.⁵
- 14 Now the Pharisees, who were money-lovers, were listening to all this
 15 and sneering at him. So he said to them,
 “You are the people who justify themselves in the sight of men,
 But God knows your hearts ;
 For what is high in human view,
 Is in the sight of God abomination. . . .
- 16 The law and the prophets lasted until John ;
 From that time the glad tidings of God’s reign are preached,
 And everyone storms his way in. . . .
- 17 But it is easier for sky and earth to pass away,
 Than for one upstroke of a letter in the law to fail. . . .
- 18 Everyone who divorces his wife and marries another commits
 adultery,
 And he who marries a woman divorced from her husband commits
 adultery. . . .
- 19 Now there was a rich man, and he was clothed in purple and fine
 20 linen, enjoying a sumptuous life from day to day. And a poor man
 21 named Lazarus lay at his gateway : he was a mass of ulcers, and fain to
 fill himself with what fell from the rich man’s table ; yes, even the dogs
 22 used to come and lick his ulcers. Now it came to pass that the poor man
 died and was carried away by the angels into the bosom of Abraham.
- 23 The rich man also died, and was buried. And in Hades he lifted up his
 eyes, tormented as he was, and sees Abraham far off with Lazarus in his
 24 bosom. And he cried aloud and said, ‘Father Abraham, have pity on
 me, and send Lazarus to dip his finger-tip in water and cool my tongue,
 25 for I am in anguish in this flame!’ But Abraham said, ‘My son,
 remember thou didst get all thy good in thy lifetime, and Lazarus like-
 wise his evil :
 Now he is in comfort here, and thou in anguish.
- 26 And besides all this, between us and you a great chasm is fixed,
 So that those who would pass from here to you may not be able,
 Nor may any ¹ cross from there to us.’
- 27 And he said, ‘Then I pray thee, father, send him to my father’s
 28 house—for I have five brothers—that he may bear testimony to them, so
 29 that they may not come to this place of torment too.’ But Abraham
 says, ‘They have Moses and the prophets, let them listen to them.’
- 30 ‘Nay, father Abraham,’ says he, ‘but if some one were to go to them
 31 from the dead, they would repent.’ But he said to him,
 ‘If they do not listen to Moses and the prophets,
 They will not be persuaded, not even were one to rise from the dead.’”
- 17 1 And he said to his disciples,
 “It is inevitable that hindrances should come,
 But woe to him through whom they come !
- 2 It would be gain for him were a millstone fastened round his
 neck, and were he tossed into the sea,
 Rather than be a hindrance to one of these little ones !
- 3 Take heed to yourselves.
 If thy brother sins, rebuke him :
 And if he repents, forgive him.

¹ Omitting [[&]].

- 4 And if he sins against thee seven times in the day,
And turns back to thee seven times, saying, 'I repent,'
Thou shalt forgive him."
- 5, 6 And the apostles said to the Lord, "Give us more faith." Said the
Lord,
"Had you faith like a grain of mustard-seed,
You had said to this mulberry-tree, 'Be rooted up and planted in
the sea,'
And it would have obeyed you!"
- 7 Now which of you is there who has a slave ploughing or shepherding,
and will say to him when he comes from the field, 'Come forward at
8 once; lie down and eat'? Will he not rather say to him, 'Get some-
thing ready for my supper, and gird thyself and wait upon me while I
9 eat and drink; then after that thou shalt eat and drink thyself'? Does
10 he give thanks to the slave for doing as he was instructed? So too with
yourselves—
When you have done all as you were instructed, say, 'We are
useless slaves,
We have merely done what we were bound to do.'
- 11 And it came to pass on the journey to Jerusalem that he passed
12 between Samaria and Galilee. And as he entered a certain village, there
13 came to meet him ten lepers, who stood at a distance and lifted up their
14 voice, saying, "Jesus, chief, have pity on us!" And on seeing them he
said to them, "Go and *show yourselves to the priests*." And it came to
15 pass, while they were on the way, they were made clean. Now one of
them, on seeing he was cured, returned, magnifying God with a loud
16 voice; and he fell on his face at his feet giving him thanks. And he
17 was a Samaritan. Jesus answered and said, "Were the ten not made
18 clean? Where¹ are the nine? Is there no one to return and do honour
19 to God except this foreigner?" And he said to him, "Rise and go: thy
faith has restored thee."
- 20 Now, on being questioned by the Pharisees when God's reign was to
come, he answered them and said:
"God's reign comes not by way of observation,
21 Nor shall men say, 'Lo, here it is!' or 'There!'
Why, here is God's reign among you!"
- 22 And he said to his disciples:
"Days will come when you would fain see one of the days of the
Son of man,
Yet you shall not see it.
23 And men will say to you, 'Lo, here it is!' or 'Lo, there it is!'—
Go not after them, nor follow them.
24 For as the lightning shoots and gleams from one side of the sky
to the other,
So shall the Son of man be².
25 (But first he must suffer much and be rejected by this generation.)
26 And even as it was in the days of Noah,
So shall it be also in the days of the Son of man:
27 They were eating, drinking, marrying, giving in marriage,
Up to the day that *Noah entered the ark*,
Then came the deluge and destroyed them all.
28 Likewise, even as it was in the days of Lot:

¹ Omitting [[δὲ]].² Omitting ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ.

They were eating, drinking, buying, selling, planting, building,

29 But on the day when Lot went out of Sodom,
 30 *It rained fire and brimstone from the sky* and destroyed them all ;
 In the same way shall it be on the day when the Son of man
 is revealed.

31 On that day let not him who is on the housetop, with his goods inside
 the house, go down to get them ;

32 And likewise let not him who is in the field *turn back*. (Remember
 Lot's wife.)

33 Whoever shall seek to possess his life,
 Shall lose it,
 And whoever shall lose it,
 Shall preserve it.

34 I tell you, two men shall be in one bed upon that night,
 The one shall be taken and the other shall be left :

35 Two women shall be grinding together,
 The one shall be taken and the other shall be left."

37 Then they answer and say to him, "Where, Lord?" He said to them,
 "Where the body lies,
 The vultures also will be gathered there."

18 1 And he spoke a parable to them upon the need of always praying and
 2 never losing heart. "There was a judge in a certain city," he said, "who
 3 had no fear of God or reverence for man. And in that city there was
 4 a widow ; and she used to come to him, saying, 'Grant me protection
 5 from my opponent.' Yet for some time he would not. Afterwards,
 6 however, he said to himself, 'Although I have no fear of God nor even
 7 reverence for man, yet since this widow disturbs me I will give her pro-
 8 tection—that she may not plague me by for ever coming.'" And the Lord
 said, "Listen to what the unjust judge says !

7 Now, shall not God vindicate his chosen ones who cry to him day and night,
 Though to their foes he is longsuffering ?

8 I tell you, he will vindicate them speedily—

Yet, when the Son of man comes, shall he find faith upon earth ?"

9 He also told this parable to some who were confident of their own
 10 uprightness and despised all other people. "Two men went up to the
 11 temple to pray ; one was a Pharisee, and the other a tax-gatherer. The
 Pharisee stood and began to pray by himself, as follows : 'O God, I give
 thanks to thee that I am not like the rest of men—extortioners, unjust,
 12 adulterers—or even like this tax-gatherer : I fast twice a week, I pay
 13 tithes upon all my income.' But the tax-gatherer stood far off and would
 not even lift up his eyes to heaven, but kept beating his breast, saying,
 14 'O God, be gracious to me the sinner !' I tell you, this man went down
 to his house justified more than the other man ;

For every one who raises himself shall be humbled,

But he who humbles himself shall be raised."

15 Now people were bringing him even their infants that he might
 16 touch them. On seeing it the disciples kept rebuking them, but Jesus
 called them to him, saying,

"Let the little children come to me, and forbid them not,
 for of such is the reign of God.

17 I tell you truly, whoever shall not receive the reign of God like a
 little child,
 shall not enter it."

18 And a certain president questioned him, saying, "Good teacher, what

19 shall I do to inherit life eternal?" Jesus said to him, "Why call me
 20 'good'? No one is good, except God¹ alone. Thou knowest the com-
 mandments: *Do not commit adultery, do not murder, do not steal, do not*
 21 *bear false witness, honour thy father and mother.*" He said, "All these
 22 have I observed from youth." Now on hearing this Jesus said to him,
 "One thing thou lackest. Sell all that ever thou hast and distribute
 to poor people; so shalt thou have treasure in the heavens. Then come,
 23 follow me." But when he heard this he grew very sorrowful; for he was
 24 enormously rich. So looking at him, Jesus said, "With what difficulty
 shall the wealthy enter God's reign!"

25 It is easier for a camel to enter through a needle's eye,
 Than for a rich man to enter God's reign."

26, 27 And those who heard him said, "Then who can be saved?" Jesus
 28 said, "What is impossible with men is possible with God." Said Peter,
 29 "Lo, we have left what belonged to us and followed thee!" And
 he said to them, "I tell you truly; there is no man who leaves house
 or wife or brothers or parents or children for the sake of God's reign,
 30 who shall not get back in this time manifold more; and in the age to
 come, life eternal."

31 Then he took the twelve aside and said to them, "Lo, we are going up
 to Jerusalem, and all that has been written for the Son of man through
 32 the prophets shall be accomplished; for he shall be delivered to the
 33 Gentiles, mocked, ill-treated, spit upon; they shall scourge him and kill
 34 him. Yet on the third day he shall rise again." But of this they under-
 stood nothing; indeed this saying was hidden from them, and they did
 not know what was said.

35 Now it came to pass, while he was drawing near to Jericho, a blind
 36 man sat by the roadside, begging. And as he heard a crowd passing
 37 along he began to enquire what was the matter. So they told him that
 38 Jesus the Nazarene was passing. Then he cried, saying, "Jesus, son of
 39 David, have pity on me!" And those who were walking in front
 admonished him to keep silence, but he cried out all the more, "Son of
 40 David, have pity on me!" So Jesus stood still and ordered him to be
 41 brought to him. When he came near, he questioned him, "What wilt
 thou have me do to thee?" "Lord," he said, "let me regain my sight."

42, 43 Then Jesus said to him, "Thy faith has restored thee." And instantly
 he regained his sight and followed him, magnifying God. And all the
 people gave praise to God when they saw it.

19 1, 2 And he entered and went on his way through Jericho. And behold,
 there was a man called by the name of Zacchaeus; he was head of the
 3 tax-gatherers, and a rich man. And he sought to see who Jesus was, but
 4 could not for the crowd, because he was small of stature. So running on in
 front of him, he climbed up into a sycamore-tree to see him; because he
 5 was to pass that way. And when Jesus came to the spot, he looked up
 and said to him, "Zacchaeus, make haste and come down; I must stay at
 6 thy house to-day." Then he made haste and came down and welcomed
 7 him with joy. And on seeing it, everyone began to complain, "He has
 8 gone in to lodge with a sinner!" But Zacchaeus stood and said to the
 Lord, "Behold, I will give the half of my goods to the poor, Lord; and
 whatever I have defrauded anyone of, by a false charge, I will give it back
 9 fourfold!" Jesus said to him, "Salvation has come to this house to-day,
 10 seeing that he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of man came to
 seek and save what has been lost."

¹ Omitting [[*it*]].

11 Now as they listened to this he went on to tell a parable, since he was
 12 near Jerusalem, and since they imagined God's reign was to be instantly
 13 made visible. So he said, "A certain man of high birth journeyed to
 14 a distant country to obtain royal power for himself and then return.
 15 So he called ten of his slaves, gave them forty pounds, and said to them,
 16 'Trade till I come back.' Now his citizens hated him; and they sent
 17 an embassy after him to say, 'We will not have this fellow to reign over
 18 us.' And it came to pass when he came back again after obtaining the
 19 royal power, he bade those slaves be called to him, who had been given
 20 the money, that he might ascertain what business they had done. The
 21 first came up, saying, 'Sir, thy four pounds have earned forty pounds more.'
 22 And he said to him, 'Good slave, capital! because thou hast proved
 23 faithful in a small matter, receive authority over ten cities.' Then came
 24 the second, saying, 'Thy four pounds, sir, have made twenty pounds.' And
 25 he said to this man also, 'Be thou promoted also over five cities.' And
 26 the other came, saying, 'There are thy four pounds, sir. I kept them
 27 laid away in a napkin. For I was afraid of thee, because thou art an
 28 exacting man—thou dost lift what thou hast not laid down, and reapest
 29 what thou hast not sown.' He says to him, 'Out of thine own lips I
 30 will judge thee, O wicked slave. Thou didst know that I was an exact-
 31 ing man, lifting what I have not laid down, and reaping what I have not
 32 sowed! Then why didst thou not put my money into the bank?—and
 33 then I could have gone and claimed it with interest.' And he said to
 34 the bystanders, 'Take the four pounds from him, and give them to him
 35 who has the forty pounds.' And they said to him, 'Lord, he has forty
 36 pounds already!' 'I tell you,

To every one who has,

Shall be given;

But from him who has not,

Even what he has shall be taken.

27 But, as for those enemies of mine who would not have me to reign
 over them,

Bring them here and slaughter them before me.'"

28, 29 And saying this he went forward on his way up to Jerusalem. And
 it came to pass when he drew nigh Bethphagë and Bethany, at the hill
 30 called "the olive orchard," he despatched two of his disciples, saying, "Go
 into the village opposite. On entering you shall find tied in it a colt on
 which no man has yet sat; then, after you have untied it, bring it here.
 31 And if anyone asks you, 'Why are you untying it?' you shall say this,
 32 'The Lord needs it.' So the messengers went off and found exactly as
 33 he had told them. As they were untying the colt, its owners said to
 34 them, "Why are you untying the colt?" They said, "The Lord needs
 35 it." Then they brought it to Jesus, and after throwing their garments on
 36 the colt, they mounted Jesus upon it. Now as he went along, people spread
 37 their garments beneath him on the road. And when he was now close
 to the descent of the hill of Olives, all the multitude of the disciples
 began to extol God joyfully with a loud voice, for all the miracles they
 38 had seen; saying,

"Blessed is he who comes

As king in the name of the Lord!

Peace in heaven,

And honour in the highest!"

39 And some of the Pharisees said to him from the crowd, "Teacher,
 40 rebuke thy disciples." But in reply he said, "I tell you, if they keep

41 silence, the very stones will shout." And when he drew nigh,
42 he saw the city, and wept over it, saying,

"O that thou hadst known what makes for peace!—Even thou,
even at this day!

—But, ah, it is hidden from thine eyes—

43 For days will come upon thee,
When thine enemies will throw up an earthwork round thee, and
encircle thee, and besiege thee on every side,

44 When *they will raze* thee and *thy children* within thee to the ground,
When they shall not leave one stone upon another within thee,
Because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation."

45, 46 Then he entered the temple and started to drive out the sellers, saying
to them, "It is written,

And my house shall be a house of prayer;

But you have made it *a den of robbers!*"

47 And day by day he taught in the temple. The high priests and the scribes
48 and the leading men of the people made efforts to destroy him; yet they could
not discover what was to be done, for the people all hung upon his lips.

20 1 And it came to pass one day as he was teaching the people in the
temple and preaching the glad tidings, the high priests and the scribes
2 accompanied by the elders came up to him. "Tell us," they said to him,
"by what sort of authority art thou acting thus? Or who is it that gave
3 thee this authority?" Jesus answered and said to them, "I will ask you
4 a question myself; tell me now, Was the baptism of John from heaven or
5 from men?" And they reasoned to themselves: "If we say, 'From heaven,'
6 he will say to us, 'Why did you not believe him?' But if we say, 'From
men,' the people will all stone us; for they are persuaded that John was a
7 prophet." So they replied that they did not know where it was from.
8 Then Jesus said to them, "Neither do I tell you by what sort of authority
9 I am acting thus." And he started to speak this parable to the
people: "A man *planted a vineyard*, and after leasing it to vinedressers

10 he went abroad for a considerable time. And in due season he despatched
a slave to the vinedressers that they might give him some of the fruit of the
vineyard; but the vinedressers flogged him and dismissed him empty-
11 handed. Then he proceeded to send another slave; but him also they
12 flogged, insulted, and dismissed empty-handed. Then he proceeded
13 to send a third; but this one also they wounded and threw out. So the
owner of the vineyard said, 'What am I to do? I will send my beloved
14 son; probably they will reverence him.' But when the vinedressers saw
him, they argued one with another, saying, 'This is the heir; let us kill
15 him, to get the inheritance.' So they threw him outside the vineyard and
killed him. What therefore will the owner of the vineyard do to them?
16 He will come and destroy these vinedressers, and give the vineyard to
17 others." And when they heard it, they said, "God forbid!" He looked
at them and said, "Then what is this that has been written—

The stone which the builders rejected,

This is made head of the corner?

18 Everyone who falls upon that stone shall be shattered,
And it shall crush to pieces whomsoever it falls upon."

19 And at that very hour the scribes and the high priests tried to lay
hands on him (yet they feared the people), for they knew it was against
20 them that he had told his parable. So watching their chance, they
despatched spies, who posed as upright men, to lay hold of what he said;
so that they could deliver him up to the magistrate and to the authority of

- 21 the procurator. And they questioned him, saying, "Teacher, we know
 22 thou speakest and teachest correctly, and regardest not the person of any-
 23 one, but teachest the way of God with truth. Is it right for us to pay
 24 tribute to Caesar, or not?" But he marked their craftiness, and said to
 25 them, "Show me a denarius. Whose likeness and inscription does it
 26 bear?" "Caesar's," they said. "Then," said he to them, "render to
 Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's."
 26 And they were unable to lay hold of the saying before the people; so,
 marvelling at his answer, they kept silence.
- 27 Now some of the Sadducees approached—those who say there is no
 28 resurrection—and questioned him, saying, "Teacher, Moses wrote for us,
 29 *If a man's brother die married and leave no children, his brother is to take his*
 30 *widow and raise up offspring for his brother.* Well, there were seven
 31 brothers. So the first took a wife, and died childless. Then the second
 32, 33 when they died. Last of all the woman died also. At the resurrection,
 then, whose wife will she be? For the seven of them had her as wife."
 34 And Jesus said to them,
 "The sons of this age marry and are given in marriage :
 35 But those who are held worthy of attaining to that age and to
 the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in
 marriage ;
 36 Nor can they die any more, for they are equal to the angels,
 And being sons of the resurrection they are sons of God.
- 37 And, that the dead are raised, even Moses intimated at the place of
 'the Bush,' when he calls the Lord '*God of Abraham, and God of Isaac,*
 38 *and God of Jacob.*' Now God is God not of the dead but of the living ;
 39 for him they all live." And some of the scribes answered and said,
 40 "Teacher, thou hast spoken ably"; for they no longer dared question
 41 him at all. And he said to them, "How is it that they say
 42 the Christ is David's son? For David himself says in the book of
 psalms,
The Lord said to my Lord, 'Sit at my right hand,
 43 *Till I make thine enemies a footstool for thy feet.'*
 44 David therefore calls him 'Lord.' Then how is he his son?"
- 45, 46 And in the hearing of all the people he said to the disciples, "Beware
 of the scribes, who are fond of walking in long robes and like salutations
 in the marketplaces and chief seats in the synagogues and chief places at
 47 the suppers—men who devour widows' properties, and make long prayers
 21 1 for a pretext. These men shall be more heavily sentenced." Now
 on looking up he saw rich people putting their gifts into the treasury.
 2, 3 Also, he saw a destitute widow putting in two farthings; and he said, "I
 4 tell you distinctly, this poor widow has put in more than all of them. For
 all these people put in a contribution out of their wealth; but out of her
 want, she has put in all the livelihood she possessed."
- 5 And as some were speaking of the temple with its adornment of
 6 splendid stones and votive offerings, he said, "As for these things that
 you behold, days will come in which not one stone shall be left here upon
 7 another, that shall not be thrown down." And they questioned him,
 saying, "Teacher, when shall these things be, then? Also, what is the
 8 sign when these things are to come to pass?" So he said,
 "Take care that you are not led astray :
 For many shall come relying on my name, saying, 'I am he,' and
 'The time is near'—go not after them.

- 9 And when you hear of wars and tumults, be not startled ;
For *these things must come to pass first*, but the end is not immediately."
- 10 Then he said to them,
" *Nation shall rise against nation, and realm against realm,*
- 11 Great earthquakes shall there be, with famines and pestilences in place after place,
Alarms there shall be, and great signs from the sky.
- 12 But ere all this they shall lay their hands on you and persecute you,
Delivering you up to the synagogues and prisons,
To drag you before kings and governors for my name's sake :
- 13 It will turn out a witness for you.
- 14 Resolve in your hearts then, not to draw up your defence beforehand,
- 15 For I myself will give you words and wisdom which your adversaries one and all shall be unable to withstand or to gainsay.
- 16 You shall be delivered up even by parents and brothers and kinsmen and friends,
And they shall have some of you put to death ;
- 17 And you shall be hated by all men for my name's sake.
- 18 Yet not a hair from your head shall perish :
- 19 You shall win your souls as you endure.
- 20 But when you see Jerusalem being surrounded by armies,
Then know that her desolation is near.
- 21 Then let those who are in Judaea flee to the hills,
And let those who are in the midst of her take flight,
And let not those who are in the country enter her :
- 22 For these are *days of Vengeance*, for the fulfilment of all that is written.
- 23 Woe to women with child and to women who give suck in those days !
For there shall be great trouble on the earth, and for this people Wrath ;
- 24 They shall fall by the edge of the sword and be led captive among all the nations,
- 25 And *Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles* until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.
- And there shall be signs in sun and moon and stars,
And upon the earth misery of *nations* in perplexity at the sound of sea and waves,
- 26 Men swooning away from fear and foreboding of what is to befall the world ;
For the *powers of the heavens shall be shaken*.
- 27 And then shall they see the *Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great majesty*.
- 28 But when these things begin to come to pass, be elated and raise your heads ; for your release draws near."
- 29 And he told them a parable :
- 30 " Look at the fig-tree and indeed all the trees—as soon as they shoot out,
You see and know for yourselves that summer now is near ;
- 31 So also, when you see this come to pass,
You know that God's reign is near.

32 I tell you truly, this generation shall not pass away
 Till all come to pass ;
 33 Sky and earth shall pass away,
 But shall never my words pass away.
 34 Now take heed to yourselves, lest your hearts be overpowered with
 debauch and drunkenness and anxieties of this life,
 And that Day come upon you suddenly like a snare ;
 35 For come it will upon all the inhabitants over the surface of all the earth.
 36 Be wakeful and pray at every season,
 That you may succeed in escaping all this that shall come to pass,
 And stand before the Son of man."

37 Now during the day he used to teach in the temple, but at night he
 went out and passed the night on the hill which is called "the olive-
 orchard." And early in the morning all the people used to resort to him
 in the temple to listen to him.

22 1 Now the festival of unleavened bread drew near, which is called "the
 2 passover"; and the high priests and the scribes sought how they could
 3 slay him (for they feared the people). Then Satan entered Judas
 4 who was called "Iskariot," one of the twelve ; and he went off and con-
 ferred with the high priests and commanders about how he could betray
 5 him to them. And they were delighted, and consented to pay him
 6 money. So he agreed and sought an opportune moment for betraying
 him in the absence of the crowd.

7 Now the day of unleavened bread came, on which the passover lamb
 8 had to be sacrificed ; and he despatched Peter and John, saying, "Go and
 9 make ready the paschal lamb that we may eat it." They said to him,
 10 "Where wilt thou have us make ready?" He said to them, "Behold,
 when you enter the city, a man shall meet you carrying a pitcher of
 11 water ; follow him into the house that he enters. And you shall say to
 the master of the house, 'The teacher says to thee, "Where is the guest-
 12 chamber where I may eat the paschal lamb with my disciples?"' And
 he will show you a large upper room, spread with couches ; make
 13 ready there." So they went away and found it was exactly as he had
 14 told them ; and they made ready the passover. And when
 15 the hour came he lay down, and the apostles with him. And he said
 to them,

"Keenly have I desired to eat this passover with you before I
 suffer :

16 For I tell you, I shall not eat it until it be fulfilled in God's reign."
 17 And on receiving a cup, he gave thanks and said,

"Take this and distribute it among yourselves :

18 For I tell you I shall not drink of the produce of the vine from this
 moment, till God's reign come."

19 Then he took bread, and after giving thanks he broke it and gave to
 them, saying, "This is my body [[which is given for you : do this in
 20 memory of me." Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, "This cup
 21 is the new covenant in my blood, which is poured out for you]]. But lo,
 22 the hand of my betrayer is with me on the table ! For the Son of man
 departs as it has been determined ; but woe to that man through whom
 23 he is betrayed !" And they began to discuss with themselves, which of
 24 them it could be who was about to do this. A contention also

got up among them, as to which of them was looked up to as the greatest.
 25 So he said to them,

"The kings of the Gentiles lord it over them,

- And those who exercise authority over them take the name of
 'benefactors':
- 26 Not so with you.
 Nay, let him who is greatest among you
 Be as the youngest;
 And he who is chief
 As one who serves.
- 27 For which is greater, guest or servant?
 Is it not the guest?
 And I am in the midst of you
 As one who serves.
- 28 You are the men who have remained with me throughout my
 trials;
- 29 And I assign you, even as my Father has assigned me, regal
 power,
- 30 To eat and drink at my table in my reign—
 And you shall sit upon thrones, governing the twelve tribes of
 Israel.
- 31 Simon, Simon! lo, Satan has obtained his request to sift you like
 wheat;
- 32 But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not.
 And when once thou hast turned back, establish thou thy
 brothers."
- 33 And he said to him, "Lord, I am ready to go with thee, even to prison
 34 and to death." But he said, "I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow
 to-day, till thou hast three times denied that thou knowest me."
- 35 And he said to them, "When I despatched you without purse and wallet
 36 and sandals, did you lack anything?" And they said, "Nothing." And
 he said to them, "But let him who has a purse take it now, and the same
 with a wallet; and let him who has no sword sell his cloak and buy one.
- 37 For I tell you, this thing that is written must be fulfilled in me—*And he*
was reckoned among the wicked. For indeed all that concerns me is being
 38 accomplished." And they said, "Lord, behold here are two swords!" He
 said to them, "Enough! Enough!"
- 39 Then he went out as usual upon his way to the hill of Olives followed
 40 also by the disciples; and on reaching the spot he said to them, "Pray that
 41 you may not enter temptation." And he withdrew himself about a stone's
 42 throw from them, and kneeling down he continued in prayer, saying,
 "Father, if it please thee, take this cup away from me. Nevertheless,
 43 not my will, but thine, be done." [[Now an angel from heaven appeared
 44 to him to strengthen him; and agonised with terror he prayed more
 earnestly than ever, and his sweat became like clots of blood, dropping
 45 on the ground.]] Then rising from his prayer he came to the disciples
 46 and found them asleep for sorrow; and he said to them, "Why sleep? rise
 47 and pray, that you enter not into temptation." When he was
 still speaking, behold, a horde came, preceded by the man called Judas (one
 48 of the twelve). And he came near Jesus to kiss him. But Jesus said to
 49 him, "Judas! betray the Son of man with a kiss!" Now when his
 associates saw what was going to happen, they said, "Lord, shall we
 50 smite with the sword?" Indeed one of them did smite the slave of the
 51 high priest and cut off his right ear. But Jesus spoke out, saying, "Let
 52 me do this, at least"; and touching his ear, he cured him. Then said
 Jesus to the high priests and the commanders of the temple and the elders
 who had appeared against him, "Did you come out as against a robber, with

53 swords and clubs? When I was beside you day by day in the temple, you did not stretch out your hands against me. But this is your hour; this is the power of darkness!"

54 Now after arresting him, they took and brought him into the house
55 of the high priest. Peter followed at a distance; and when they kindled
a fire in the middle of the court-yard and sat down together, Peter
56 seated himself among them. Now a maidservant saw him sitting by the
firelight, and fixing her eyes on him, she said, "This fellow was with
57, 58 him too." But he denied it, saying, "Woman, I know him not." Then
shortly afterwards another person—a man—saw him, and said, "Thou
59 art one of them too." Said Peter, "Man, I am not." Then after an
interval of about an hour, some one else stoutly declared, "Quite true,
60 this fellow was along with him too! Why, he is a Galilean!" Said
Peter, "Man, I know not what thou meanest." Then instantly, while he
61 was still speaking, the cock crowed. And the Lord turned and looked
at Peter; then Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had
said to him, "Before the cock crows to-day, thou shalt three times deny
62 me." And he went out, and bitterly he wept.

63 And the men who held Jesus kept mocking and flogging him;
64 and after blindfolding him they plied him with questions, saying,
65 "Prophecy, who was it that struck thee?" And much more abuse they
uttered against him.

66 And as soon as day broke, the assembly of the elders of the people
met, both high priests and scribes, and brought¹ him before their
67 Sanhedrin, saying, "If thou art the Christ, tell us." He said to them,
68, 69 "You will not believe, if I tell you; nor will you answer, if I ask. But
from this time *the Son of man* shall be seated at the right hand of God's
70 power." And they all said, "Art thou the Son of God, then?" And he
71 said to them, "Certainly, I am." So they said, "What further evidence
do we need? We have heard it ourselves from his own lips."

23 1, 2 Then all the multitude rose up and led him to Pilate. And they began
to accuse him, saying, "We found this fellow perverting our nation, for-
bidding people to pay tribute to Caesar, and declaring himself to be 'Christ,'
3 a king." Pilate asked him, "Art thou the King of the Jews?" And in reply
4 to him he said, "Certainly." Said Pilate to the high priests and the
5 crowds, "I find nothing criminal in this man." But they persisted in
alleging, "He stirs up the people by teaching throughout the whole of
6 Judaea, starting from Galilee and coming even here." Hearing this,
7 Pilate asked them, "Is the man a Galilean?" And when he ascertained
that he belonged to the jurisdiction of Herod, he remitted him to Herod,
8 as he too was at Jerusalem during these days. Now when Herod saw
Jesus he was exceedingly delighted, for he had long had a desire to see
him, owing to what he had heard of him; besides, he was in hopes of
9 seeing some sign performed by him. So he questioned him with many a
10 word; but he did not answer him at all. Meanwhile the high priests
11 and the scribes stood and accused him with might and main. And after
Herod, along with his troops, had scoffed at him and mocked him, he
12 arrayed him in bright raiment and sent him back to Pilate. On that
day Herod and Pilate became friends together; for previously they had
13 been at enmity with one another. Now after Pilate had called
14 together the high priests and the rulers and the people, he said to them,
"You brought me this man as a seducer of the people; yet here have I
examined him before you, and found nothing criminal in him, for all

¹ Reading *ἀνέγαγον*.

15 your accusations against him. No, nor even has Herod, for he remitted
 16 him to us. Behold, he has done nothing to deserve death. I will
 18 chastise him then, and release him." But one and all they shrieked, "Off
 19 with him! Release for us Bar-Abbas" (a man who had been thrown
 into prison on account of a riot which had taken place in the city, as well
 20 as on a charge of murder). Pilate once more addressed them, in his
 21 desire to release Jesus; but they kept roaring out, "Crucify! Crucify
 22 him!" For the third time he said to them, "Why, what evil has this
 man done? I have found nothing criminal in him—no capital offence.
 23 I will chastise him then, and release him." But they loudly pressed
 their demand to have him crucified; and their voices carried the day.
 24, 25 So Pilate gave sentence that their request was to be granted. He released
 the man they requested, who had been thrown into prison for riot and
 murder; and he delivered up Jesus to their pleasure.

26 And as they led him away, they laid hold of Simon, a Cyrenian,
 who was on his way from the country, and put the cross upon him to
 27 bear it after Jesus. Now he was followed by a large multitude of the
 28 people, and of women who beat their breasts and lamented him. But
 Jesus turned to them and said,

"Daughters of Jerusalem! weep not for me,
 But weep for yourselves and for your children:

29 For behold! days are coming when it shall be said,

'Happy the barren—the wombs that have not borne, the breasts
 that have not given suck!'

30 Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, 'Fall on us,'

And to the mounds, 'Cover us';

31 For if they do this in the green tree,

What shall be done in the dry?"

32 There were also two other criminals led along with him to be put to
 33 death. So when they came to the place which is called "The Skull,"
 they crucified him there along with the criminals, one on the right hand
 34 and one on the left. [[And Jesus kept saying, "Father, forgive them—
 they know not what they are doing."]] Then *distributing his garments*
 35 *among them, they cast lots.* And the people stood and looked. But¹ the rulers
 sneered at him, saying, "Others he saved; let him save himself, if he is
 36 the chosen Christ of God!" The soldiers also mocked him by coming up
 37 and handing him *vinegar*, and saying, "If thou art the King of the Jews,
 38 save thyself." (There was also a title over him, THIS IS THE KING
 39 OF THE JEWS.) And one of the criminals who had been hung, heaped
 abuse on him, saying, "Art thou not the Christ? Save thyself and us."
 40 But the other in reply rebuked him, saying, "Hast thou not even fear of
 41 God, seeing that thou art under the same condemnation? And we
 indeed justly, for we get what our deeds deserve; but this man has done
 42 no harm." And he said, "Remember me, Jesus, when thou comest in thy
 43 royal power." And he said to him, "I tell thee truly, thou shalt be in
 paradise with me to-day."

44 By this time it was about the sixth hour, and a darkness covered the
 45 whole land till the ninth hour, owing to an eclipse of the sun; also, the
 46 veil in the middle of the sanctuary was torn. Then Jesus cried with a
 loud voice, and said, "Father, *into thy hands I trust my spirit.*" And on
 47 saying this, he expired. Now when the centurion saw what had taken
 48 place, he magnified God, saying, "This man was really innocent." And
 when all the crowds who had collected for this spectacle, observed what

¹ Omitting *and*.

49 had taken place, they went away back, smiting their breasts. But all his acquaintances stood at a distance and saw this, along with the women who had accompanied him from Galilee.

50 And behold, there was a man named Joseph, who was a councillor, 51 a good and upright man—he had not voted for their scheme and deed.

He belonged to Arimathaea, a city of the Jews; and he was waiting for 52 the reign of God. He went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. 53 Then he took it down, wrapped it up in a linen cloth, and laid it in a tomb 54 cut out of stone, where no one had ever yet been buried. It was the day of Preparation, and the sabbath-day was just dawning.

55 Now the women who had come with him from Galilee followed behind, 56 and after noting the tomb and how his body was laid, they returned and got ready spices and ointments.

And on the sabbath they did nothing, according to the command- 24 1 ment; but at early dawn on the first day of the week they went to the 2 tomb, bringing the spices they had got ready. They found the stone 3 rolled away from the tomb, but when they went in they did not find the 4 body [[of the Lord Jesus]]. And it came to pass, while they were puzzling over this, behold, two men came upon them in dazzling 5 raiment. And as they grew terrified and bent their faces to the ground, 6 they said to them, "Why seek the living among the dead? [[He is not here: he has risen.]] Remember how he spoke to you when he was 7 still in Galilee, saying, 'The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and on the third day rise again.'" 8, 9 Then they remembered his words, and returning from the tomb they 10 brought word of all this to the eleven and to all the others. (It was the Mary who belonged to Magdala, and Joanna and Mary the mother of 11 James who, with the rest of the women, told this to the apostles.) Yet these words appeared in their view to be nonsense, and they disbelieved 12 the women. [[Peter, however, rose up and ran to the tomb; yet on gazing in, he sees only the linen bandages. So he went away home, wondering at what had taken place.]]

13 And behold, two of them were journeying on that very day to a village named Emmaus, six and a half miles distant from Jerusalem; 14, 15 and they were conversing together about all these events. And it came to pass during their converse and discussion that Jesus himself drew 16 near and journeyed along with them. (But they were prevented from 17 recognising him.) And he said to them, "What words are these that are passing between you as you walk?" And they stood still, dejected. 18 And one of them, Cleōpas by name, answered and said to him, "Art thou the solitary inhabitant of Jerusalem—to be ignorant of what has taken 19 place in it during these days?" And he said to them, "What?" They said to him, "All about Jesus of Nazaret, who proved himself a prophet 20 mighty in deed and word before God and all the people: and about how the high priests and our rulers delivered him up to be condemned to 21 death, and crucified him. Now we had hoped he was to be the redeemer of Israel; yet for all that, three days have passed since this took place. 22 Still, at the same time, some women of our number have amazed us. 23 They reached the tomb early and could not find his body; yet they came to tell us that they had actually seen a vision of angels, who said he was living. 24 And some of our companions went away to the tomb. They found it was 25 exactly as the women had said; but him they saw not." And he said to them, "O foolish and slow of heart in believing, after all that the 26 prophets have uttered! Was it not necessary for the Christ to suffer thus

27 and enter his majesty?" And beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he interpreted to them what referred to himself throughout all
28 the scriptures. And they drew near the village to which they were
29 journeying. He pretended he was going further on; but they urged him, saying, "Stay with us, for it is towards evening, and the day has
30 now declined." So he went in to stay with them. And it came to pass while he was reclining at table with them he took the bread and, after the
31 blessing, broke it, and proceeded to hand it to them. So their eyes were
32 opened, and they recognised him; but he vanished from their sight. And they said to one another, "Did not our heart glow within us while he
33 talked to us on the road, while he opened the scriptures to us?" And they rose up that very hour and returned to Jerusalem, where they found
34 the eleven and their companions all mustered, saying, "The Lord has
35 really risen, and he has appeared to Simon!" Then they recounted what had taken place on the road, and how they knew him by the breaking of
36 the bread. Now as they were thus talking, he stood in the
37 midst of them [[and says to them, "Peace to you!"]]. But startled and
38 terrified, they supposed they saw a spirit. And he said to them, "Why are you troubled, and why do questionings start up in your heart?
39 Look at my hands and my feet; it is I! Handle me and see; for a
40 spirit has not flesh and bones, as you see that I have." [[And saying
41 this, he showed them his hands and his feet.]] Now as they still disbelieved for joy and wondered, he said to them, "Have you any food
42, 43 here? So they handed him a piece of broiled fish. And he took and ate
44 it before them. And he said to them, "These are my words that I spoke to you when I was still with you—that everything written in the law of Moses and in the prophets and psalms concerning me, must be
45, 46 fulfilled." Then he opened their mind to understand the scriptures, and said to them, "Thus it is written: the Christ is to suffer and rise again
47 from the dead on the third day, and repentance for the remission of sins is to be preached in his name to all the nations—starting from Jerusalem.
48, 49 You are witnesses of these things. And lo! I send forth upon you what my Father has promised. But do you settle in the city, until you are clothed with power from on high."
50 And he led them out as far as to Bethany; then lifting up his hands,
51 he blessed them. And it came to pass while he blessed them, he parted
52 from them [[and was carried up into heaven]]. Then they [[did him
53 reverence and]] returned to Jerusalem with great joy; and they were constantly within the temple, blessing God.

