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SYLLABUS

FOR USE IN CONNECTION WITH

LECTURES ON GOSPEL HISTORY

BY

WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG

Professor in Princeton Theological Seminary

PRINTED NOT PUBLISHED

The Princeton University Press
Princeton, N. J.

1908

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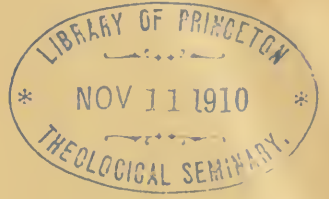
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In memory of
GEORGE TYBOUT PURVES
Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis
in
Princeton Theological Seminary
1892-1900

PREFACE.

This Syllabus has been prepared for the use of students in Princeton Theological Seminary. It contains an outline of lectures on Gospel History and selected passages from patristic writers and other sources that illustrate a type of literature or elucidate subjects discussed in the lectures. The "List of Books" on pages vi-viii contains some of the more important texts (in good and inexpensive editions) and general works in English (including smaller hand-books) which have value for the critical study of Gospel History. The Syllabus is intended as a supplement to the usual methods of instruction by lectures,—not as their substitute. Work on the Syllabus was begun in the late autumn of 1908 and the first pages were issued in December. Corrections or suggestions will be appreciated. Attention is called to "List of Errata" on page iv.

Princeton, N. J., March 2, 1909.

LIST OF ERRATA.

- p. 2, § 1, l. 2, "se" for "te".
 ———, l. 7, "quae" for "quas".
 ———, l. 20, "onmes" for "omnes".
 p. 3, § 1a, l. 4, "divitare" for "devitare".
 ———, l. 7, insert comma after "posuerunt".
 ———, l. 10, insert "est" after "quae".
 p. 5, last line, "Literary" for "Historical".
 p. 8, § 6, l. 2, "passable" for "passible".
 p. 9, § 7, l. 2, "imperante" for "imperitante".
 ———, l. 3, "supertitio" for "superstitio".
 p. 10, l. 2, insert καὶ after δὲ.
 ———, l. 5, insert περὶ after μυρία.
 ———, § 11, l. 3, εὐαγγελιζομένων for εὐαγγελιζομένων.
 p. 11, § 12, l. 1 and 13, omit quotation marks.
 ———, l. 10, κωλύσαι for κωλύσαι.
 ———, § 14, l. 9, "supplementum" for "supplementum".
 p. 12, par. 1), l. 2, "Mk. ii. 4ff." for "Mk. ii. 14ff".
 ———, § 16, l. 1 and 3, insert quotation marks.
 ———, l. 2, ἀντὰ for αὐτὰ.
 ———, § 17, l. 1, insert [sc. εὐαγγελιστῶν τοῦ λόγου].
 p. 13, par. 1), l. 11, omit "29".
 ———, l. 12, "xxii" for "xxiii".
 p. 18, § 21, l. 7, "coelecta" for "coelecta".
 ———, l. 15, "succendente" for "succedente".
 p. 19, § 22, l. 2, αἰὼν for αἰών.
 ———, l. 8, ὑποστρέψωσιν for ὑποστρέψωσιν.
 p. 22, § 25, l. 6, comma for period after "solus".
 ———, "egregium" for "egregium".
 ———, last line, "Andrae" for "Andreae".
 p. 23, § 27, l. 2, ἰατρὸς for ἰατρός.
 p. 29, last line, "Coisilianus" for "Coislinianus".
 p. 30, l. 6, "Andrae" for "Andreae".
 p. 33, l. 5 from bottom, "sc]" for "[sc".
 p. 37, l. 17, "ot" for "to".
 p. 38, ROMAN EMPERORS, col. 2, l. 6, "Antonius" for "Antoninus".
 p. 39, l. 4 from bottom, "Simon?" for "Simon (?)".
 ———, l. 3 from bottom, "Barkocha" for "Barkochba".
 p. 40, l. 4 from bottom, "sun-set" for "sunset".

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

| | |
|---|-------|
| PART I. CRITICAL INTRODUCTION..... | 1-44 |
| I. The Literature of Gospel History..... | 1 |
| II. Methods, Principles and Problems of Gospel Criticism.. | 5 |
| III. Sources of Gospel History. Extent and Character..... | 7 |
| IV. External Evidence for the Four Gospels..... | 10 |
| V. The Gospel of Matthew..... | 12 |
| VI. The Gospel of Mark..... | 17 |
| VII. The Gospel of Luke..... | 22 |
| VIII. Literary Criticism of Synoptic Gospels (Sources)..... | 28 |
| IX. The Gospel of John..... | 29 |
| X. Political Conditions | 38 |
| XI. Religious Conditions | 40 |
| XII. Chronology | 40 |
| PART II. LIFE OF JESUS..... | 45-56 |
| I. Historical Beginnings | 45 |
| II. Public Ministry of Jesus..... | 49-56 |
| i. Introduction | 49 |
| ii. Judean Ministry | 50 |
| iii. Galilean Ministry | 50 |
| iv. Perean Ministry | 54 |
| v. Jerusalem Ministry | 55 |

LIST OF BOOKS.

GREEK NEW TESTAMENT, LEXICON AND GRAMMAR.

- Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Græce*. Editio viii.
Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*.
Thayer, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*.
Winer, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*.
Blass, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*.
Moulton, J. H., *Grammar of New Testament Greek*.
Burton, *New Testament Moods and Tenses*.

PATRISTIC TEXTS AND JOSEPHUS.

- Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*. Edited by J. H. Harmer.
Gebhardt, Harnack, Zahn, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*. Editio v.
Schwartz, *Eusebius Kirchengeschichte*. Kleine Ausgabe.
Niese, *Flavii Josephi Opera*. Editio minor.

NEW TESTAMENT TIMES AND CHRONOLOGY.

- Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*. 5 vols.
Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*.
Riggs, *A History of the Jewish People*.
Mathews, *A History of New Testament Times in Palestine*.
Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*.
Ransay, *Was Christ Born in Bethlehem?*

GEOGRAPHY.

- Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*.
——— *Jerusalem*. 2 vols.
Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*.
Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*.
Paton, *Jerusalem in Bible Times*.

BIBLE DICTIONARIES.

- Davis, *A Dictionary of the Bible*.
Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*. 5 vols.
——— *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*. 2 vols.
——— *Dictionary of the Bible*.
Encyclopedia Biblica. 4 vols.
Jacobus, *A Standard Bible Dictionary*.

COMMENTARIES.

- Alford, *The Greek New Testament*.
Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament*.
The Expositor's Greek Testament.

- Allen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew*. International Critical Commentary.
 Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*.
 Plummer, *The Gospel according to St. Luke*. International Critical Commentary.
 Westcott, *The Gospel according to St. John*. 2 vols.

INTRODUCTIONS.

- Weiss, B., *A Manual of Introduction to the New Testament*. 2 vols.
 Salmon, *A Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament*.
 Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*.
 Godet, *Introduction to the New Testament*.
 Jülicher, *An Introduction to the New Testament*.
 Bacon, *An Introduction to the New Testament*.
 Robinson, *The Study of the Gospels*.
 Burton, *A Short Introduction to the Gospels*.
 Schmiedel, "Gospels". Article in *Encyclopedia Biblica*.
 Chase, "The Gospels in the Light of Historical Criticism." Essay x in *Cambridge Theological Essays*. Ed. H. B. Swete.

HARMONIES AND THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

- Robinson, *A Harmony of the Four Gospels in Greek*. Ed. M. B. Riddle.
 Anger, *Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthæi Marci Lucae*. Editio ii.
 Tischendorf, *Synopsis Evangelica*. Editio vi.
 Huck, *Synopse*. Editio iii.
 Rushbrooke, *Synopticon*.
 Wright, *Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*.
 ——— *St. Luke's Gospel in Greek*.
 Gloag, *Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels*.
 Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticae*.
 Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*.
 Salmon, *The Human Element in the Gospels*.
 Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus*.

THE JOHANNINE PROBLEM.

- Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*.
 ——— *Biblical Essays*.
 Abbot, Peabody and Lightfoot, *The Fourth Gospel*.
 Watkins, *Modern Criticism Considered in its Relation to the Fourth Gospel*.
 Sanday, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*.
 Gloag, *Introduction to the Johannine Writings*.
 Drummond, *The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*.
 Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*. Part I
 Jackson, *The Fourth Gospel*.
 Scott, *The Literature of the New Testament. The Fourth Gospel*.
 Schmiedel, *Johannine Writings*.
 ——— "John, Son of Zebedee". Article in *Encyclopedia Biblica*.

LIFE OF JESUS (HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL).

- Strauss, *The Life of Jesus*. From the fourth German edition by George Eliot.
Keim, *The History of Jesus of Nazara*. 6 vols.
Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*. 2 vols.
Weiss, B., *The Life of Christ*, 3 vols.
Andrews, *The Life of our Lord*.
Holtzmann, O., *The Life of Jesus*.
Gilbert, *The Student's Life of Jesus*.
Rhees, *The Life of Jesus of Nazareth*.
Sanday, *Outlines of the Life of Christ*.
——— *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*.
- Smith, D., *The Days of His Flesh*.
Schmidt, *The Prophet of Nazareth*.
Warfield, *The Lord of Glory*.
- Garvie, *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*.
Robertson, *Epochs in the Life of Jesus*.

THE BIRTH OF JESUS.

- Gore, *The Incarnation of the Son of God*.
- ——— *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation*.
- Orr, *The Virgin Birth of Christ*.
- Usener, "Nativity". Article in *Encyclopedia Biblica*.
- Schmiedel, "Mary". Article in *Encyclopedia Biblica*.
- Box, "Virgin Birth". Article in *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*.
- Knowling, "Birth of Christ". Article in *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*.
- Machen, "The New Testament Account of the Birth of Jesus". Articles in
The Princeton Theological Review, 1905-1906.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

- Weiss, B., *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*. 2 vols.
Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*. 2 vols.
Stevens, *The Theology of the New Testament*.
Vos, *The Kingdom of God and the Church*.
Crane, *The Holy Spirit*.
Gilbert, *The Revelation of Jesus*.
✓ Trench, *Notes on the Parables*.
Bruce, *The Parabolic Teaching of Christ*.

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS.

- Milligan, *The Resurrection of Our Lord*.
- Lake, *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ*.
- Orr, *The Resurrection of Jesus*.
Schmiedel, "Resurrection and Ascension Narratives". Article in *Encyclopedia Biblica*.
Simpson, "Resurrection of Christ". Article in *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*.

GOSPEL HISTORY

PART I.

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION.

Gospel History treats of the life and teaching of Jesus in their historical relations. Primary sources are the Four Canonical Gospels. Secondary sources are the Epistles of the NT Acts Apoc and early Christian and non-Christian writers, both Gentile and Jewish.

Gospel Criticism treats of the primary sources of Gospel History. It is Textual (Lower), and Literary and Historical (Higher). The ultimate problem of Gospel Criticism is historical value or trustworthiness. The subjective element in the solution of this problem arises out of the relation of the concrete to the universal. Philosophy of history is grounded in ultimate theory of truth. Significance of historical evidence. Contribution of Exegesis.

I. THE LITERATURE OF GOSPEL HISTORY

I. PATRISTIC.

Characteristics:—Doctrinal, harmonistic, and poetical.

1) DOCTRINAL.

- (1) Apostolic Fathers (95-150):—Dependence on the Gospel Tradition.
- (2) Apologists (150-180):—Speculative tendency; argument from prophecy.
- (3) Christological Controversies and Councils (3-5C):—Doctrinal.

2) HARMONISTIC

- (1) Text. Tatian (c 170); Ammonius (3C); Eusebius (4C).
- (2) Commentary. Chrysostom (4C); Augustine (4C).

3) POETICAL.

- (1) Epic. Juvenius (4C).
- (2) Paraphrase. Nonnus (5C).

2. MEDIEVAL.

Characteristics:—Devotional, imaginative, apocryphal sources, ascetic, scholastic, poetical.

1) POETICAL.

- (1) Epic. *Heliand* (9C); Otfrid, *Gospel-Book* (9C); Caedmon, *Paraphrase* (7C); Cynewulf, *Christ* (8C).
- (2) Dramatic. *Χριστὸς Πάσχων* (c 12C); Passion and Easter Plays in West.
- (3) Hymns. Bernard of Clairveaux (12C); Thomas a Celano (13C); Bonaventura (13C); Thomas Aquinas (13C); Jacoponus da Todi (13C).

2) HISTORICAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

Bonaventura, *Meditationes Vitae Jesu Christi* (13C publ 1480); Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Jesu Christi* (14C publ 1474); Simon de Cassia, *De Gestis Domini* (14C 2 ed 1517); Thomas a Kempis, *De Imitatione Christi* (15C); H. Xavier, *Historia Christi* (1602 publ in Latin by L. de Dieu 1639).

§ 1. Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Jesu Christi*, Proemium xi:—"Nunc in ipsas meditationes ꝯ aliquantulum introducere tentabo, non omnia quae in evangelio scripta sunt pertractando, sed quaedam devotiora ex his eligendo. nec credas quod omnia, quae Christum dixisse vel fecisse meditari possumus, scripta sunt, sed ad majorem impressionem ea tibi sic narrabo prout contigerunt, vel contigisse pie credi possunt, secundum quasdam imaginativas representationes, quae animus diversimode percipit. Nam circa divinam Scripturam meditari, intelligere, et exponere, multifarie possumus, prout credimus expedire, dummodo non sit contra veritatem vitae, vel justitiae, aut doctrinae, id est, non sit contra fidem, vel bonos mores. . . . Cum ergo me narrantem invenies: ita dixit vel fecit Dominus Jesus, seu alii qui introducuntur; si id per Scripturam probari non possit, non aliter accipias quam devota meditatio exigit, hoc est, perinde accipe ac si dicerem: meditor quod ita dixerit vel fecerit bonus Jesus; et sic de similibus." [This passage agrees almost verbatim with the Proemium of Bonaventura's *Meditationes*.]

ii. 57. 4. Quicumque connumeratur militiae alicujus regis, debet portare insignia ejus; insignia Christi sunt insignia caritatis; quicumque ergo vult annumerari militiae Christi, debet caritatis caractere insigniri. Tamquam diceret, secundum Augustinum: ". . . dilectio sola discernit inter filios Dei et filios diaboli. Signent se omnes signo crucis Christi, respondeant omnes, amen, cantent omnes alleluia, baptizentur omnes, intrent ecclesias, faciant parietes basilicarum: non discernuntur filii Dei a filiis diaboli nisi caritate. Quidquid vis habeas, hoc solum si non habeas, nihil tibi prodest; alia si non habeas, hoc habe, et implevisti Legem."

§ 1a. Simon de Cassia, *De Gestis Domini. Praef.*:—"Multi multa locuti sunt in Evangelio, aliqui in uno sensu, aliqui plus in alio, aliqui in utroque. Ego novissime vigilans simplicitati Evangelicæ studui in modo tractandi dēbitare antiquos, qui tantum unius Evangelistarum scriptionem disserere curaverunt, sicut fuit eis in placito: & modernos, qui Evangelistarum inscriptionem ad declarandum pro libito assumentes dimiserunt, & in questionibus veritatem, & puritatem Evangelicam posuerunt, ut saepe videatur ab illa simplici Evangelii intelligentiā fuisse recessus. Ego autem quasi novissime adveniēns, Apostolicum dictum veritus, ne sicut serpens seduxit Evam astutia sua, ita ne corrumpantur sensus nostri a simplicitate, quæ in Christo Jesu: disposui juxta simpliciore[m] atque minoribus utiliorem intelligentiam totum corpus Evangelicum declarare."

§ 1b. H. Xavier, *Historia Christi. Monitio & directorium Translatoris pro Lectoribus*:—"Charissimi ac dilectissimi mei, Hanc Historiam Christi P. Hieronymus Xavier pure non scripsit, quia terminos librorum Evangelii egressus, multa peregrina addidit, quæ aut incerta sunt, aut falsa sunt, aut gloriæ Dei & integritati Sanctæ Doctrinæ Evangelicæ adversantur, imo ipsas illas res, quas ex libris S. Evangelii protulit, adeo contaminavit, ut puritatem, & efficaciam, & perfectionem suam amiserint. Quapropter in summitate ejusq; paginae hanc historiam contaminatam vocavimus, ne quisquam seduceretur, itaq; Lectores diligenter discernere oportet, quænam ex his recepturi sint, nempe, quicquid cum libris S. Evangelii convenit. Hujus memores estote, & Deum custodem habete."

Praef.:—"Latere non debet, hunc librum in 4 partes esse dispositum. In parte prima a tempore nativitatis Majestatis Iesu usq; ad principium docendi, status ejus manifestatur, in parte secunda, stupenda & mirabilia ejus, quæ fecit, & pars eorum quæ docuit. In parte tertiâ mors, & perpassiones & molestiæ, quas pro salute hominum & tranquillitate ipsorum passus est. In parte quarta modus resurrectionis ejus ex sepulchro, & profectio ejus supra cælos. Non scripsi quicquid potuissem scribere: sed ad cognoscendum, & notificandum Regi, Sanctissimus ille quis sit, hic modus mihi sufficiens visus est: sicut elephantem ex vestigio pedum ejus cognoscent, & leonem ex planta."

3. MODERN.

Characteristics:—Philosophic principles, scientific method, increase of historical materials.

1) HARMONISTIC.

- (1) Text. Osiander, 1537; Codoman, 1568; Chemnitz-Leyser-Gerhard, 1593-1704; Clericus, 1699; Toinard, 1707; etc. represented in Synopsis or Harmony of Robinson, Tischendorf, Huck.
- (2) Commentary. Calvin, *Com. in Ioan.*, 1553, *Com. in Har. Matt. Mc. et Lc.*, 1555; Lightfoot, *Harmonia*, 1654; etc. represented in Synoptic commentaries of Bleek, Holtzmann.

3) Synoptic Harmonies of Robinson, Tischendorf, Huck.

2) HISTORICAL.

(1) Naturalistic.

a) Deistic (immoral naturalism). Woolsten (d 1731); Chubb (d 1747); *Eccē Homo*, 1797; Voltaire, 1767; Reimarus (d 1768), anon. author of *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* edited by Lessing, 1774, 1777, 1778.

b) Romantic (Essene naturalism). Bahrdt, 1782; Venturini, 1800-1802.

c) Rationalistic (moral naturalism). Paulus, 1824.

(2) Intermediate.

Kant, 1793 (Moral interpretation); Schliermacher, 1819 (dialectic via media between Ebionism and Docetism; pantheizing emotionalism); Hase, 1829 (1876) (two periods in Jesus' development).

(3) Critical.

a) Mythical (unconscious fiction). Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, 1835. Principles, naturalistic (Hegelian). Uniformity of natural law. Relation of God to the world—acts on the whole immediately but on each part only by means of action on every part. Supernatural elements in Gospels unhistorical on principle. Gospels literary facts. Mythical theory offers explanation of unhistorical elements in Gospels, and constitutes principle of separation. Myth is representation of an event or idea in historical form, creation of a fact out of an idea; legend is seeing an idea in a fact. Gospels contain both. Myths grew without wilful fraud. Part played by tradition (legend) and by creative activity of an individual—still myths if this activity embodies a common faith vs Baur's theory of tendency (conscious fiction). Relation of myth to allegory. Kinds of myths—philosophical, historical, poetical. Mythology as history of Gods. Evangelical myth—a narrative relating directly or indirectly to Jesus which may be considered not as the expression of a fact but as the product of an idea of earliest followers of Jesus—may be pure, constituting the substance of the narrative, or only accidental adjunct of actual history. Pure myths have two sources—a) Messianic ideas and b) impression of Jesus. Historical myths have basis in fact but fact distorted by idea of Jesus having origin in religious enthusiasm. Both forms product of an idea but when tradition plays important part called legend. Criteria for distinguishing unhistorical elements in Gospels whether myth or legend—

1) negative, a) contravention of known or universal laws (natural uniformity, succession i. e. orderly development, psychology i. e. memory); b) lack of consistency or contradiction of other accounts. 2) positive, a) poetical form; b) agreement with preconceived ideas. Boundary line between historical and unhistorical. Method—dialectic of Rationalism and Supernaturalism issuing in mythical theory. Result—historical person and Messianic consciousness but few facts concerning life and teaching of Jesus. Dogmatic import—life of Jesus embodies an eternal idea; the idea of the God-man, but realized in humanity and not in an individual.

b) Liberal. F. C. Baŕr and Tübingen school. Hegelian. Principle—tendency (conscious fiction) arising out of antitheses of Apostolic History. Elimination of Fourth Gospel. Literary Criticism—priority of Mk. Koppe, Storr, Wilke, Weisse, Holtzmann, Weizsäcker. Messianic consciousness—development in two periods under different ideas. Jesus a teacher. H. Holtzmann, Keim, Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, O. Holtzmann, P. W. Schmiedel, Jülicher (Ritschlian.) Bousset, Wernle (Religio-Historical), Renan, Réville, Stapfer (French eclectic).

c) Radical. a) Denial of Jesus' existence. Bruno Bauer (entire portraiture of Jesus in Gospels literary creation of original evangelist), Dutch School, Kalthoff (sociological), J. M. Robertson (sacramental-dramatic), W. B. Smith (pre-Christian cult). b) Denial of Messianic consciousness. Wrede (Messiah-secret), N. Schmidt (Son of Man).

d) Consistent Eschatology. J. Weiss; A. Schweitzer (Jesus' Messianic consciousness controlled by Jewish apocalyptic, eschatological ideas).

e) Moderate and Conservative. Fourth Gospel historical. Messianic consciousness—non-political, ethico-spiritual, sacrificial, eschatological, consistent unitary development. Christology. B. Weiss, Andrews, etc.

II. METHODS, PRINCIPLES, AND PROBLEMS OF GOSPEL CRITICISM.

Results of Lower Criticism presupposed in critical text. Methods of Higher Criticism:—1. Literary (sources). 2. Historical (value or trustworthiness). Principles of Literary Crit-

icism:—1. Theoretical—philosophy of history grounded in theory of truth. 2. Evidential—external and internal. If theoretical principle be naturalistic, two possible views of historical trustworthiness of Gospels—partial or negative; if supernatural (possibility of miracle), three—positive, partial, or negative. Decision must be made by union of theoretical with evidential principle.

Problem of Origin:—The positive view permits factual basis; partial and negative views must explain origin of unhistorical (ideal) element in Gospels; partial view must separate unhistorical from historical. According to the partial view, Gospels contain ideal history, i. e. history influenced by some idea. The problems of this view are—the identification and origin of the ideal element (Weizsäcker), or the identification of the historical element and the origin of the unhistorical (ideal) element (Schmiedel). Weizsäcker identifies ideal element by theory of creative activity of Jerusalem Church affecting sources (Logia and Mk.) of Synoptic Gospels. Source of this influence is faith and experience of Jerusalem Church before 70 A. D. Schmiedel identifies the historical element by principle of contradiction. Source of the ideal element is faith (worship) of the early disciples. When the ideal element is increased until the historical approaches the vanishing point, the partial view passes over into the negative.

The positive view rests on supernatural principle combined with historical evidence. Origin of the substance of the Gospels in the factual basis of Gospel tradition; origin of form in the literary purpose of the evangelists. The partial and negative views afford no adequate explanation of the origin of Christianity and the Gospels; and the partial view gives no sufficient account either of the origin or of the identification of the ideal element in the Gospels. The positive view is commended by the consistency of the Gospel witness with the whole Apostolic testimony to Jesus and by the difference of the two in form.

Alternatives of the different views are:—1) theoretical—naturalism vs supernaturalism. 2) ideal element in Gospels—unhistorical vs historical, a) the Synoptic Gospels vs the Four Gospels, b) unhistorical elements in Synoptic Gospels vs historicity of Synoptic tradition. 3) Messianic consciousness of Jesus, a) ideal vs historical, b) political or eschatological vs ethico-spiritual, c) dual or abnormal vs unitary development. 4) ultimate nature of

Jesus' person—human vs theanthropic. 5) character of Jesus' work—teaching vs saving.

III. SOURCES OF GOSPEL HISTORY. EXTENT AND CHARACTER.

1) GOSPELS.

(1) Four canonical Gospels.

(2) Apocryphal—Generally legendary elaborations of the parentage and infancy or of the passion of Jesus (2-4C).

a) Gospel according to the Hebrews. Euseb. *HE*. iii. 25, 5; iii. 27, 5; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 9; Origen, in *Ioan.* ii. 6; in *Jer.* xv. 4; Hier. *VI.* ii-iii; Ign. *Smyrn.* iii (Hier *VI.* xvi; Euseb. *HE*. iii. 36, 11); Papias, in Euseb. *HE*. iii. 39, 17; Hegesippus, in Euseb. *HE*. iv. 22, 8. Character—probably a complete Gospel, similar in length to Matt; docetic-Ebionite tendency; used among Jewish Christians. Time 2C; Harnack, first third of 2C; Zahn, 135-150.

§ 2. Hier. *Pelag.* iii. 2:—'Ecce mater Domini et fratres eius dicebant ei: 'Ioannes baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum. camus et baptizemur ab eo.' Dixit autem eis: 'quid peccavi, ut vadam et baptizer ab eo? nisi forte hoc ipsum, quod dixi, ignorantia est.'

§ 3. Hier. *Isa.* xi. 2:—'Factum est autem, quum ascendisset Dominus de aqua, descendit fons omnis spiritus sancti et requievit super eum, et dixit illi: 'fili mi, in omnibus prophetis expectabam te, ut venires et requiescerem in te. Tu es enim requies mea, tu es filius meus primogenitus, qui regnas in sempiternum.'

§ 4. Origen, *Ioan.* ii. 6:—'Ἀρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου καὶ ἀπήνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβώρ.'

§ 5. Hier. *VI.* ii:—'Dominus autem cum dedisset sindonem servo sacerdotis, ivit ad Iacobum et apparuit ei,' (iuraverat enim Iacobus se non comedurum panem ab illa hora qua biberat calicem Domini, donec videret eum resurgentem a dormientibus) rursusque post paululum, 'Adferite, aut Dominus, mensam et panem,' statimque additur: 'Tulit panem et benedixit et fregit et dedit Iacobo Iusto et dixit ei: 'Frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit Filius hominis a dormientibus.'

b) Gospel of Peter.—Euseb. *HE*. iii. 3, 2; iii. 25, 6. Origen, *Matt.* x. 17. Serapion (c 190) in Euseb. *HE*. vi. 12. Hier. *VI.* i. Fragment of passion narrative (c 60 verses, incomplete at beginning and end) discovered at Akhmim 1886-7, publ by Bouriant 1892. Petrine authorship claimed in title and text (v. 59. ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταὶ . . . v. 60 ἐγὼ δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος); shows dependence

on Syn. Gospels, probably on John, possibly on a harmony. Time—2C. Harnack 110-130, Zahn c 150, Swete 150-170. Character—antijudaic, docetic tendency.

§ 6. Herod responsible for Jesus' death (v. 1ff.). On cross Jesus impassable v. 10. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐσιώπα ὡς μηδὲν πόνον ἔχων. He cries from the cross v. 19. ἡ δύναμις μου, ἡ δύναμις μου κατέλειψάς με, καὶ εἰπὼν ἀνελήφθη. At the resurrection His body assumes supernatural proportions and the cross is personified. v. 39. ὀρθῶσιν [sc. οἱ στρατιῶται] ἐξελθόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου τρεῖς ἄνδρας, καὶ τοὺς δύο τὸν ἕνα ὑπορθοῦντας καὶ σταυρὸν ἀκολουθοῦντα αὐτοῖς, v. 40. καὶ τῶν μὲν δύο τὴν κεφαλὴν χωροῦσαν μέχρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τοῦ δὲ χειραγωγουμένου ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπερβαίνουσαν τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, v. 41. καὶ φωνῆς ἤκουον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν λεγούσης· ἐκήρυξας τοῖς κοιμωμένοις; v. 42. καὶ ὑπακοῇ ἤκούετο ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὅτι ναί.

2) AGRAPHA—Extracanonical sayings of Jesus (cf. Resch, Ropes).

3) EPISTOLARY LITERATURE OF NT., ACTS AND APOC. Value—early, historical presuppositions, incidental historical references, differences in form. Witness to facts of Jesus' life and to His teaching, to representation of His person (Messianic and divine), and to character of His work (Messianic and redemptive).

James—echoes the teaching of Jesus especially in its Synoptic form (i. 2, v. 10-11—Matt. v. 11-12; i. 5—Matt. vii. 7-8. Lk. xi. 9-10; i. 11—Matt. xiii. 6; i. 12—Matt. x. 22; i. 17—Matt. v. 16, vii. 11; i. 18-19, 21, 25—Lk. viii. 8, 11, 13, 15, 18; i. 20—Matt. vi. 33; i. 22—Matt. vii. 24, Lk. viii. 21, xi. 28; ii. 5—Matt. v. 3, Lk. vi. 20; ii. 6—Lk. vi. 24; ii. 10—Matt. v. 19; ii. 8-10, 19—Matt. xxii. 36, Mk. xii. 28-31; iv. 4, 8—Matt. vi. 22, Lk. xvi. 13; iv. 11-12—Matt. vii. 1, Lk. vi. 37; iv. 13-14—Matt. vi. 34, Lk. xii. 16-21; v. 12—Matt. v. 34-37; v. 14—Mk. vi. 13, 16, 18, Lk. x. 34; v. 17—Lk. iv. 25. (For list of parallels in detail cf. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*, lxxxiiff.).

The Pauline Epistles—Jesus of seed of David, Rom. iv. 6; 2 Tim. ii. 8; born of a woman under the law, Gal. iv. 4; James brother of the Lord, 1 Cor. xv. 7; Gal. i. 19; ii. 9, 12; brethren of the Lord, 1 Cor. ix. 5; the twelve Apostles, 1 Cor. xv. 5; Cephas (Peter, Gal. ii. 7f.), 1 Cor. i. 12; ii. 22; ix. 5; xv. 5; Gal. i. 18; ii. 9; John, Gal. ii. 9; Jesus minister of circumcision, Rom. xv. 8; teaching of Jesus, 1 Thess. iv. 15; 1 Cor. vii. 10; ix. 14; 1 Tim. v. 18; Lord's Supper, 1 Cor. xi. 23ff.; Jesus before Pontius Pilate, 1 Tim. vi. 13;

suffered on cross, 1 Cor. i. 22; ii. 2, 8; Gal. iii. 1; was buried, 1 Cor. xv. 4 (Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12); rose on the third day, 1 Cor. xv. 4 (Rom. iv. 24ff.; vi. 4, 9; viii. 11; x. 9; 1 Cor. vi. 14; xv. 12ff.; 2 Cor. iv. 14; v. 15; Gal. i. 1; Eph. i. 20; Col. ii. 12; 1 Thess. i. 10; 2 Tim. ii. 8); appeared to disciples and others, 1 Cor. xv. 5ff.; exalted in glory, Phil. ii. 9; Rom. viii. 34; Person of Jesus, Gal. iv. 4ff.; Phil. ii. 6ff.; Col. i. 15ff.; Eph. ii. 20; Work of Jesus (sacrificial), Gal. iii. 1ff.; vi. 14ff.; Rom. iii. 25; v. 9; 1 Cor. x. 16; Col. i. 20; Eph. i. 7; ii. 13.

Acts—close connection with Third Gospel; undogmatic character of early speeches; emphasis on resurrection and exaltation of Jesus the Messiah and spiritual character of His work, its relation to the forgiveness of sins. Hebrews—temptation, ii. 18; iv. 15; obedience, v. 8; Gethsemane, v. 7; crucifixion outside the gate, xiii. 12; Person of Jesus, Heavenly Highpriest; Work of Jesus, sacrificial. 2 Peter—transfiguration, i. 17.

4) APOSTOLIC FATHERS AND LATER CHRISTIAN WRITERS. Dependence on the Gospel tradition with increasingly explicit recognition of the authority as well as trustworthiness of the Four Canonical Gospels.

5) NON-CHRISTIAN WRITERS.

(1) GENTILE—Explanation of silence.

§ 7. Tacitus, *Annals* (c 114-117) xv. 44:—"Auctor nominis eius Christus Tiberio imperante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat; repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Iudaeam, originem eius mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocitas aut pudenda confluent celebranturque."

§ 8. Suetonius, *Vita Caes.* (c 120), *Claud.* xxv:—"Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit." *Nero*, xvi:—"afflicti supplicii Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae."

Pliny, *Epistulae* (c 112) xcvi; Celsus (c 180) in Origen; Lucian, *Perigrinus Proteus* (c 170).

(2) JEWISH.

Philo (1C), *Vita Contemp.* (Therapeutae); Josephus, *Ant.* (93-94), xviii. 3, 3; xx. 9, 1; Talmud (2-4C). *Testament of XII Patriarchs* (Christian rec. 2C). *Sibylline Oracles* (Christian rec. 2C).

§ 9. Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 3, 3:—"Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εἶγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρῆ· ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής,

διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τάληθῆ δεχομένων, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο · ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῶ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσαντες · ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια εἰρηκότων. εἰς ἔτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὀνομασμένον οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῶλον.

§ 10. *Ant.* xx. 9. 1:—ἄτε δὴ οὖν τοιοῦτος ὢν ὁ Ἄνανος, νομίσας ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον διὰ τὸ τεθνάναι μὲν Φῆστον, Ἀλβίνον δ' ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῶ, καὶ τινας ἑτέρους, ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος παρέδωκε λευσθησομένους.

IV. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR THE FOUR GOSPELS.

TABLE OF EARLY PATRISTIC LITERATURE.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 Clement. Rome. 95-97. | 2 Clement (Pseudo). Italy? c 160. |
| Barnabas (Pseudo). Egypt. c 100-130. | Muratorì Canon. Italy? c 170-200. |
| Hermas. Italy. c 100 or 145. | Letter of Lyons and Vienne. 177. |
| Ignatius. Antioch. c 110-117. | Athenagoras. Greece? c 180. |
| Polycarp. Smyrna. c 115. | Theophilus. Antioch. c 180. |
| Martrydom of Polycarp. c 155+. | Irenaeus. Lyons. c 185. |
| Didache. East. c 100-130. | Tertullian. Carthage. c 200. |
| Papias. Hierapolis. c 125-140. | Clement. Alexandria. c 200. |
| Seniores of Iren. Asia Minor. c 125. | Hippolytus. Rome. c 200-240. |
| Aristides. Greece? c 140. | Origen. Alexandria. c 203-250. |
| Justin, Rome. c 150. | Dionysius. Alexandria. c 230-265. |
| | Eusebius. Caesarea. c 325. |

Method—relation of external and internal evidence. 1. Early MSS. and Versions—tradition of 2C or earlier. 2. Irenaeus. *Haer.* iii. 1, 1; iii. 11, 7-8. 3. Tertullian, *Marc.* iv. 2. 4. Clement of Alexandria, *Hyp.* in Euseb. *HE.* vi. 14; *Strom.* iii. 13, 93. 5. Origen, *Matt.* in Euseb. *HE.* vi. 25. 3, and in *c. Cels.* (2C). 6. *Muratorì Canon.* 7. Tatian, *Diatessaron.* 8. Justin *Apol.* i. 66-67; *Dial.* 106.

9. *Papias*
 § 11. Iren. *Haer.* iii. 1 (in Euseb. *HE.* v. 8, 2-4):—“ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφῆν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον Μάρκος, ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκεν· καὶ Λουκᾶς δέ, ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου, τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βίβλῳ κατέθετο. ἔπειτα Ἰωάννης, ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσὼν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκεν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρέβων.”

§ 12. Clem. of Alex. *Hyp.* (in Euseb. *HE.* vi. 14, 5-7) :—“ αἴθις δ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὁ Κλήμης βιβλίους [sc. ἐν ταῖς Ὑποτυπώσειςιν] περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν εὐαγγελίων παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων τέθειται, τοῦτον ἔχουσαν τὸν τρόπον. προγεγράφθαι ἔλεγεν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ Μάρκον ταύτην ἐσχικήναι τὴν οἰκονομίαν. τοῦ Πέτρου δημοσίᾳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κηρύξαντος τὸν λόγον καὶ πνεύματι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐξειπόντος, τοὺς παρόντας, πολλοὺς ὄντας, παρακαλέσαι τὸν Μάρκον, ὡς ἂν ἀκολουθήσαντα αὐτῷ πόρρωθεν καὶ μεμνημένον τῶν λεχθέντων, ἀναγράψαι τὰ εἰρημένα· ποιήσαντα δέ, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μεταδοῖναι τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτοῦ· ὅπερ ἐπιγρόντα τὸν Πέτρον προτρεπτικῶς [Schw. πνευματικῶς] μήτε κωλύσαι μήτε προτρέψασθαι. τὸν μέντοι Ἰωάννην ἐσχατον, συνιδόντα ὅτι τὰ σωματικὰ ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις δεδήλωται, προτραπέντα ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων, πνεύματι θεοφορηθέντα πνευματικῶν ποιῆσαι εὐαγγέλιον.”

§ 13. Origen, *Matt.* (in Euseb. *HE.* vi. 25, 3-6) :—ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον, τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φυλάττων κανόνα, μόνα τέσσαρα εἰδέναί εὐαγγέλια μαρτύρεται, ὧδέ πως γράφων “ ὡς ἐν παραδόσει μαθῶν περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων εὐαγγελίων, ἃ καὶ μόνα ἀναντίρρητά ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν γέγραπται τὸ κατὰ τὸν ποτε τελώνην, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπόστολον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Ματθαῖον, ἐκδεδωκότα αὐτὸ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαϊσμῶ πειστεύσασιν, γράμμασιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς συντεταγμένον· δεύτερον δὲ τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον, ὡς Πέτρος ὑφηγήσατο αὐτῷ, ποιήσαντα, ὃν καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ διὰ τούτων ὠμολόγησεν φάσκων ‘ ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἢ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτῇ καὶ Μάρκος ὁ υἱός μου’· καὶ τρίτον τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν, τὸ ὑπὸ Παύλου ἐπαινούμενον εὐαγγέλιον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν πεποιηκότα· ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην.”

§ 14. Tert. *Marc.* iv. 2 :—“Constituimus imprimis evangelicum instrumentum apostolos auctores habere, quibus hoc munus evangelii promulgandi ab ipso domino sit impositum. Si et apostolicos, non tamen solos, sed cum apostolis et post apostolos, quoniam praedicatio discipulorum suspecta fieri posset de gloriae studio, si non adsistat illi auctoritas magistrorum, immo Christi, quae magistros apostolos fecit. Denique nobis fidem ex apostolis Ioannes et Matthaecus insinuant, ex apostolicis Lucas et Marcus instaurant, isdem regulis exorsi, quantum ad unicum deum attinet creatorem et Christum eius, natum ex virgine, supplementum legis et prophetarum.”

§ 15. *Muratorii Canon* (text after Lietzmann) :— . . . quibus tamen interfuit, et ita posuit. Tertium evangelii librum secundum Lucam. Lucas iste medicus, post ascensum Christi cum eum Paulus quasi litteris [i. juris, c. itineris] studiosum secum adsumpsisset, nomine suo ex opinione conscripsit, dominum tamen nec ipse vidit in carne, et ideo prout assequi potuit ita et a natiuitate Iohannis incipit dicere. Quartum euangeliorum Iohannis ex discipulis. cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis dixit “Conieimate mihi hodie triduo, et quid cuique fuerit reuelatum alterutrum nobis enarremus”. eadem nocte reuelatum Andraeae ex apostolis, ut recognoscensibus cunctis Iohannes suo nomine cuncta describeret, et ideo, licet uaria singulis euange-

liorum libris principia doceantur, nihil tamen differt credentium fidei, cum uno ac principali spiritu declarata sint in omnibus: de natiuitate, de passione, de resurrectione, de conuersatione cum discipulis suis ac de gemino eius aduentu, primo in humilitate despectus, quod fuit, secundo in potestate regali praeclaro, quod futurum est. quid ergo mirum, si Iohannes tam constanter singula etiam in epistulis suis profert dicens in semetipsuim "Quae uidimus oculis nostris et auribus audiimus et manus nostrae palpaerunt, haec scripsimus uobis" (1 Joh. i. 1, 3, 4). sic enim non solum uisorem se et auditorem, sed et scriptorem omnium mirabilium domini per ordinem profitetur.

V. THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW.

I. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

1) Author—Matthew (Euseb. Orig. Iren. Tert. Clem. Alex. Papias. NT., Matt. ix. 9-13, cf. Mk. ii. 4ff. Lk. v. 27ff; Matt. x. 3, cf. Mk. iii. 18, Lk. vi. 15; Acts i. 13). 2) Use—Tatian, Hegesippus, Theophilus, Athenagoras, Apollinaris, 2C Gnostics, 2 Clem? Justin, Barnabas, Seniores of Iren. Ign? Polyc? 1 Clem? 3) Readers—Jewish Christians. 4) Place—Palestine. 5) Time—while Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome (63-68). 6) Original Language—Hebrew i. e. Aramaic. Hier. VI. iii. Cyril Hier. *Catech.* xiv. Epiphani. xxx. 3. 1. Euseb. *HE.* iii. 24. 6. Papias.

§ 16. Papias (Euseb. *HE.* iii. 39. 16):—*Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο [v. l. συνεγράψατο], ἡρμῆνευσεν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς [v. l. ἐδύνατο, ἦν δυνατὸν] ἕκαστος.*

§ 17. Alexandrine tradition in Euseb. *HE.* v. 10, 3:—*ὧν εἰς γενόμενος καὶ ὁ Πάνταινος, καὶ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἐλθεῖν λέγεται, ἐνθα λόγος εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν προφθάσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον παρά τισιν αὐτόθι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεγνώκασιν, οἷς Βαρθολομαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἕνα κηρῶσαι αὐτοῖς τε Ἑβραίων γράμμασι τὴν τοῦ Ματθαίου καταλεῖψαι γραφὴν, ἣν καὶ σώζεσθαι εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον.*

§ 18. Hier. VI. xxxvi:—quod [sc. evangelium Matthaei] Hebraicis litteris scriptum, revertens [sc. Pantaenus] Alexandriam secum detulit.

Interpretations of Papias:—Jülicher, *ἕκαστος* = all too many, *ἡρμῆνευσε* = made Greek translations; Zahn, *ἡρμῆνευσε* = interpreted in reading in Churches of Asia Minor; *ἡρμῆνευσε* probably means interpreted in private reading *ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος*; description of conditions prior to Papias; no evidence that Papias knew Aramaic Matthew. Western tradition may owe its origin to Papias; Alexandrine tradition seems to be independent. Experience of Jerome suggests possibility of confusion with Gospel

according to the Hebrews. Internal character of Matt. does not favor theory of direct translation from Aramaic. No information concerning translator.

§ 19. Hier. VI. iii.—“Matthaeus qui et Levi, ex publicano apostolus, primus in Judaea, propter eos qui ex circumcissione crediderunt, *Evangelium* Christi Hebraeis litteris verbisque composuit; quod quis postea in Graccum transtulerit, non satis certum est.” cf. *Pracf. in Matth.*

2. INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

1) Author—not named in text; no first personal pronoun; but no intimation that author was not an eye-witness as in Lk. i. 1-4; indications of authorship indirect; question of originality in relation to a common tradition; traditional view of authorship tested by internal evidence:—call of Levi, ix. 9ff.; Mk. ii. 13ff.; Lk. v. 27ff.; OT. quotations. 2) Readers—Jewish Christians (Zahn includes Jews). 3) Purpose—to meet needs of readers; genealogies, fulfilment of OT. Messianic prophecy in Jesus, i. 22 etc., cf. Acts ii. 30ff.; iii. 22ff.; xiii. 16ff.; xvii. 2ff.; 1 Cor. ix. 20; ecclesiastical tendency, xvi. 18; xviii. 17; xxviii. 19f. 4) Place—probably Palestine, but not Galilee, ix. 29, 31. 5) Time—v. 35; xxiv. 16 cf. Euseb. *HE.* iii. 5, 3; xxiii. 35 ἕως τοῦ αἵματος Ζαχαρίου υἱοῦ Βαραχίου cf. Josephus, *B. J.* iv. 5, 4 Ζαχαρίαν υἱὸν Βάρεις [Niese]. v. l. Βαρούχου [Naber], Βαρσκαίου. Probably 60-70. Harnack, 60? c 75. Zahn (Aramaic original) 62, Greek Gospel c 85.

3. CHARACTERISTICS. Emphasis on Messianic Sonship of Jesus; frequent use of OT. prophecy; teaching of Jesus; logical arrangement.

4. CONTENTS.

- I. BIRTH AND INFANCY OF JESUS THE MESSIAH. I. I-II. 23.
 - 1. Genealogies. i. 1-17.
 - 2. Birth of Jesus. i. 18-25.
 - 3. Visit of the Magi. ii. 1-12.
 - 4. Flight into Egypt. ii. 13-15.
 - 5. Slaughter of the Infants by Herod. ii. 19-23.
- II. INTRODUCTION TO THE MESSIANIC WORK OF JESUS. III. I-IV. 11.
 - 1. Work of John the Baptist. iii. 1-12.
 - 2. Baptism of Jesus. iii. 13-17.
 - 3. Temptation. iv. 1-11.
- III. GALILEAN WORK OF JESUS. IV. 12-XV. 20.
 - 1. Early Ministry of Preaching and Healing. iv. 12-ix. 34.
 - 1) Settlement at Capernaum. iv. 12-16.
 - 2) Gospel Message. iv. 17.

- 3) Preaching Tour. iv. 23-25.
- 4) Teaching (Sermon on the Mount). v. 1- vii. 29.
 - (1) Beatitudes. v. 3-12.
 - (2) Salt and Light. v. 13-16.
 - (3) Law and Prophets, and Traditions. v. 17-48.
 - (4) Alms. vi. 1-4.
 - (5) Prayer. vi. 5-15.
 - a) Lord's Prayer. vi. 9-13.
 - (6) Fasting. vi. 16-18.
 - (7) Treasures. vi. 19-34.
 - (8) Judgment. vii. 1-5.
 - (9) Pearls and Swine. vii. 6.
 - (10) Seeking and Finding. vii. 7-12.
 - a) Golden Rule. vii. 12.
 - (11) Narrow Gate. vii. 13-14.
 - (12) False Prophets. vii. 15-23.
 - (13) House-building. vii. 24-27.
- 5) Works of Healing. viii. 1-ix. 34.
 - (1) Leper. viii. 1-4.
 - (2) Centurion's Servant. viii. 5-13.
 - (3) Peter's Wife's Mother. viii. 14-15.
 - (4) Crowds at Evening. viii. 16-17.
 - a) Scribe would follow Jesus. viii. 18-20.
 - b) Disciple would bury his Father. viii. 21-22.
 - (5) Storm on the Lake. viii. 23-27.
 - (6) Two Demoniacs of the Gadarenes. viii. 28-34.
 - (7) Paralytic in Capernaum. ix. 1-8.
 - a) Call of Matthew. ix. 9-17.
 - (8) Woman with Issue of Blood. ix. 20-23.
 - (9) Daughter of Jairus. ix. 18-20, 24-27.
 - (10) Two Blind men. ix. 28-31.
 - (11) Dumb Demoniac. ix. 32-34.
2. Extension of Work and Increasing Opposition. ix. 35-xv. 20.
 - 1) Tour of Teaching and Healing. ix. 35-x. 1.
 - 2) Mission of the Apostles. x. 2-42.
 - 3) Tour of Teaching and Preaching. xi. 1.
 - 4) Message of John and Jesus' Testimony to John. xi. 2-30.
 - (1) *Confiteor Tibi*. xi. 25-30.
 - 5) Opposition of the Pharisees. xii. 1-45.
 - (1) Sabbath Controversy. xii. 1-21.
 - a) Cornfields. xii. 1-8.
 - b) Man with Withered Hand. xii. 9-21.
 - (2) Demoniac and Beelzebub Charge. xii. 22-37.
 - (3) Demand for Sign. xii. 38-45.
 - 6) Interruption by Family. xii. 46-50.
 - 7) Parables. xiii. 1-52.
 - (1) Sower. xiii. 1-8.

- a) Reason for Parables. xiii. 9-17.
 - b) Interpretation of the Sower. xiii. 18-23.
 - (2) Tares. xiii. 24-30.
 - (3) Mustard Seed. xiii. 31-32.
 - (4) Leaven. xiii. 33.
 - a) Parables and Prophecy. xiii. 34-35.
 - b) Interpretation of Tares. xiii. 36-43.
 - (5) Hid Treasure. xiii. 44.
 - (6) Pearl. xiii. 45-46.
 - (7) Net. xiii. 47.
 - 8) Rejection at Nazareth. xiii. 53-58.
 - 9) Herod's Inquiry and the Death of John the Baptist. xiv. 1-12.
 - 10) Feeding of 5000. xiv. 13-22.
 - 11) Jesus retires for Prayer and comes to the Disciples Walking on the Water. xiv. 23-36.
 - 12) Discussion of Traditions. xv. 1-20.
- IV. RETIREMENT FROM WORK IN GALILEE. xv. 21-xviii. 35.
- 1. Healing Daughter of Canaanite Woman in Region of Tyre and Sidon. xv. 21-28.
 - 2. Return to Galilee. Feeding of 4000. xv. 29-39.
 - 3. Pharisees and Sadducees seek a Sign. xvi. 1-12.
 - 4. Caesarea Philippi—Peter's Confession and Jesus' Announcement of His Passion. xvi. 13-28.
 - 5. Transfiguration—Announcement of Passion. xvii. 1-13.
 - 6. Healing a Démoniac Boy. xvii. 14-21.
 - 7. Tour in Galilee—Announcement of Passion. xvii. 22-23.
 - 8. Temple Tax. xvii. 24-27.
 - 9. Teaching concerning the Spirit of Discipleship. xviii. 1-35.
 - 1) The spirit of a little child is the spirit of those—the Little Ones—who receive and enter into the Kingdom of Heaven,—contrasted with the spirit of strife for precedence. xviii. 1-4.
 - 2) Jesus' Interest in the Little Ones and His Warning against offending them. xviii. 5-9.
 - 3) God's Interest in the Little Ones illustrated by the Parable of the Lost Sheep. xviii. 10-14.
 - 4) Relations of Brethren in the Church and the Authority of the Church. xviii. 15-20.
 - 5) Relation of Brethren one to another and the Duty of Forgiveness illustrated by the Parable of the Ungrateful Servant. xviii. 21-35.
- V. WORK IN JUDEA. xix. 1-xx. 34.
- 1. Pharisees inquire concerning Divorce. xix. 1-12.
 - 2. Jesus and Little Children. xix. 13-15.
 - 3. Inquiry of a Rich Young Man. xix. 16-30.
 - 4. Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard. xx. 1-16.
 - 5. Journey toward Jerusalem and Announcement of Passion. xx. 17-19.
 - 6. Petition of the Mother of James and John. xx. 20-28.

7. Healing Two Blind Men at Jericho. xx. 29-34.
- VI. WORK IN JERUSALEM. XXI. 1-XXV. 46.
1. Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem. xxi. 1-11.
 2. Cleansing of the Temple. xxi. 12-17.
 3. The Fig Tree. xxi. 19-22.
 4. Teaching in the Temple. xxi. 23-xxiv. 2.
 - 1) Question concerning Jesus' Authority and Jesus' Inquiry concerning the Baptism of John. xxi. 23-27.
 - 2) Parable of the Two Sons. xxi. 28-32.
 - 3) Parable of the Vineyard. xxi. 33-44.
 - (1) High-priests and Pharisees seek Jesus' Death. xxi. 45-46.
 - 4) Parable of the Marriage Supper. xxii. 1-14.
 - 5) Jesus answers:—
 - (1) Pharisees and Herodians concerning Tribute. xxii. 15-22.
 - (2) Sadducees concerning the Resurrection. xxii. 23-33.
 - (3) Pharisee Lawyer concerning the Greatest Commandment. xxii. 34-40.
 - 6) Jesus inquires concerning the Davidic Sonship of the Messiah. xxii. 41-46.
 - 7) Denunciation of Pharisaism. xxiii. 1-39.
 - 8) Jesus departs from the Temple and announces its Destruction. xxiv. 1-2.
 5. Eschatological Discourse on the Mount of Olives. xxiv. 3-xxv. 46.
 - 1) Antecedents of the Parousia. xxiv. 1-14.
 - 2) Antecedents of the Fall of Jerusalem. xxiv. 15-28.
 - 3) Sign of the Son of Man. xxiv. 29-31.
 - 4) Parable of the Fig Tree. xxiv. 32-35.
 - 5) Unexpectedness of the Parousia. xxiv. 36-41.
 - 6) Duty of Watchfulness. xxiv. 42-51.
 - (1) Parables. xxv. 1-30.
 - a) Ten Virgins. xxv. 1-13.
 - b) Talents. xxv. 14-30.
 - 7) Messianic Judgment. xxv. 31-46.
- VII. PASSION OF JESUS. XXVI. 1-XXVIII. 20.
1. Jesus announces His Passion and High-priests and Elders seek His Death. xxvi. 1-5.
 2. Jesus anointed in the House of Simon the Leper. xxvi. 6-13.
 3. Treachery of Judas. xxvi. 14-16.
 4. Preparation for the Last Passover. xxvi. 17-19.
 5. Jesus announces His Betrayal. xxvi. 20-25.
 6. Institution of the Lord's Supper. xxvi. 26-29.
 7. Jesus retires with His Disciples toward the Mount of Olives, announces His Passion, and promises to go before the Disciples into Galilee after His Resurrection. xxvi. 30-32.
 8. Jesus announces Peter's Denial. xxvi. 33-35.
 9. Gethsemane. xxvi. 36-46.
 10. Arrest of Jesus and Flight of the Disciples. xxvi. 47-56.

11. Trial of Jesus. xxvi. 57-xxviii. 26.
 - 1) Jesus before Caiaphas. xxvi. 57-68.
 - (1) Peter's Denial. xxvi. 69-75.
 - 2) Jesus before the Sanhedrin. xxvii. 1-2.
 - (1) Death of Judas. xxvii. 3-10.
 - 3) Jesus before Pilate. xxvii. 11-26.
12. Suffering of Jesus. xxvii. 27-66.
 - 1) Jesus Scourged and Mocked. xxvii. 27-31.
 - 2) Crucifixion. xxvii. 32-56.
 - (1) Burial. xxvii. 57-62.
 - (2) Watch. xxvii. 62-66.
13. Resurrection and Appearances. xxviii. 1-20.
 - 1) Appearances of an Angel to Mary Magdalene and the other Mary at the Sepulchre, and Message to the Disciples to repair to Galilee. xxviii. 1-8.
 - 2) Appearance of Jesus to the Women and Message to Disciples. xxviii. 9-10.
 - (1) Report of the Watch. xxviii. 11-15.
 - 3) Appearance of Jesus to the Eleven Disciples in Galilee. xxviii. 16-17.
 - 4) Great Commission. xxviii. 18-20.

VI. THE GOSPEL OF MARK.

I. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

1) Author—John Mark (Euseb. Orig. Iren. Tert. Clem. Alex. Papias. NT. Acts. xii. 12, 25; xiii. 5, 13; xv. 37, 39; Col. iv. 10; Philm. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11; 1 Pet. v. 13). 2) Use—Tatian, Mur. Can., 2C Gnostics, Justin, Hermas, Polyc? 3) Readers—Gentile Christians (Roman or Egyptian). 4) Place—Rome (Iren.) or Egypt (Chrys. *Hom. in Matt.* 1). 5) Time—During Peter's life-time (Hier. VI. viii. Euseb. *HE.* ii. 15. Clem. Alex. in Euseb. *HE.* vi. 14, 7) or after Peter's death (Iren. iii. 11, 1. Presbyter of Papias in Euseb. *HE.* iii. 39, 15. 2 Pet. ii. 15).

§ 20. Papias in Euseb. *HE.* iii. 39, 15:—“καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγεν· Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μόντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσεν τοῦ κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ· ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων, ὥστε οἰδὲν ἤμαρτεν Μάρκος οὕτως ἕνα γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσεν παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.”

Justin, *Dial.* 106 refers to an incident concerning Peter in the Gospel of Mark as, ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ.

§ 21. Hier. *VI.* viii:—"Marcus, discipulus et interpres Petri iuxta quod Petrum referentem audierat, rogatus Romae a fratribus breve scripsit *Evangelium*. Quod cum Petrus audisset, probavit et ecclesiis legendum sua auctoritate edidit, sicut scribit Clemens in sexto *Ἐποτυπώσεων* libro et Papias Hierapolitanus episcopus. Meminit huius Marci et Petrus in prima epistula, sub nomine Babylonis figuraliter Romam significans: 'Salutat vos quae est in Babylone coelecta et Marcus filius meus'. Adsumpto itaque evangelio quod ipse confecerat, perrexit Aegyptum et primus Alexandriae Christum adnunciatus constituit ecclesiam tanta doctrina et vitae continentia, ut omnes sectatores Christi ad exemplum sui cogeret. Denique Philon, disertissimus Iudaeorum, videns Alexandriae primam ecclesiam adhuc iudaizantem quasi in laudem gentis suae librum super eorum conversatione scripsit, et quomodo Lucas narrat Hierosolymae credentes omnia habuisse communia, sic ille quod Alexandriae sub Marco fieri doctore cernebat memoriae tradidit. Mortuus est autem octavo Neronis anno et sepultus Alexandriae, succedente sibi Aniano." (cf. Euseb. *HE.* ii. 15-16.)

Interpretations of Papias:—Mark became ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου a) by translating Peter's oral Aramaic discourses into Greek or Latin; or b) by embodying Peter's discourse in his Gospel (Zahn). Jülicher rejects the tradition but admits Petrine basis of the Gospel.

2. INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

1) Author—not named or directly indicated in text; hint in xiv. 51; embodies tradition of eyewitness, probably of Peter (Euseb. *HE.* iii. 5, 89, 95); confession, viii. 29 cf Matt. xvi. 17-19; denial, xiv. 66ff; after Transfiguration, ix. 14ff cf 2 Pet. i. 17; cf also i. 36; iii. 16 with Jno. i. 42. Matt. x. 2, xvi. 17; vii. 17 with Matt xv. 15; vi. 50 with Matt. xiv. 28, 31; x. 28; xii. 20 with Matt. xxi. 20; xiv. 37 with Matt. xxvi. 40; xiv. 47 with Jno. xviii. 10; xvi. 7 with xiv. 28f. 2) Readers—Gentile Christians; Blass, Wellhausen theory of Aramaic original—Jewish Christians. 3) Purpose—Historical and religious; Pfeleiderer—Pauline. 4) Place. Rome—Latinisms, xv. 21 with Rom. xvi. 13. 5) Time—Before 70; no intimation of fall of Jerusalem. F. C. Baur 130-170; Holtzmann 81-96; Jülicher after 70; Harnack c 60 or 65-70; Zahn c 67.

3. CHARACTERISTICS. Rapidity and vividness of narrative; Jesus as Messiah with power; chronological order and historical development.

4. THE TEXT (INTEGRITY). a) xvi. 8, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ **Σ** B Syr^{sin} arm^{cod} aeth^{cod} Clem? Orig? Euseb. Hier. b) xvi. 9-20, A C D

...L 7¹² P Ψ . . . cursives it vg syr^{cu} sch p.txt hier cop go Justin? Tatian Iren^{int}. c) xvi. 9-14¹⁻¹², 15-20, Freer MS. Hier. d) xvi. 8f, L 7¹² P Ψ 274^{mg} syr^{v.mg} cop^{cdh} aeth^{cdh} k.

a) = Earliest transmitted text. Type (documentary evidence) = Neutral; Priority (transcriptional evidence)—explains origin of b) and d). Character,—incomplete. Origin,—text unfinished; suffered from accidental loss or intentional mutilation (Harnack, Rohrbach, Jülicher—theory in conflict with phenomena of transmitted text).

b) = Type (documentary evidence) Syrian repetition of Western text. Intrinsic evidence—non-Markan. Transcriptional evidence—derivative. Character—composite. Origin—early in 2C, in Asia Minor, probably from Arist(i)on.

c) = later than b) ; origin probably in Egypt.

d) = later than b) ; origin probably in the West.

§ 22. Text of c) from the Freer MS. of the Gospels (4-5c), after Gregory:—1 *κακῆνοι ἀπελογοῦντο λέγοντες* · 2 *ὅτι ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος τῆς ἀνομίας καὶ τῆς ἀπιστίας ὑπὸ τὸν σατανᾶν ἐστίν*, 3 *ὃ μὴ ἔων τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀκάθαρτα* 4 *τὴν ἀληθινὴν τοῦ θεοῦ καταλαβέσθαι δύναμιν* · 5 *διὰ τοῦτο ἀποκάλυψον σοῦ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἣδη*, 6 *ἐκείνοι ἔλεγον τῷ χριστῷ* · 7 *καὶ ὁ χριστὸς ἐκείνοις προσέλεγεν* · 8 *ὅτι πεπλήρωται ὁ ὄρος τῶν ἑτῶν τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σατανᾶ*, 9 *ἀλλὰ ἐγγίζει ἄλλα δευῖά* · 10 *καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτησάντων ἐγὼ παρεδόθην εἰς θάνατον*, 11 *ἵνα ἵποστήψωσιν εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ μηκέτι ἁμαρτήσωσιν*, 12 *ἵνα τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πνευματικὴν καὶ ἄφθαρτον τῆς δικαιοσύνης δόξαν κληρονομήσωσιν*. [Mk 16, 15:] *ἀλλὰ πορευθέντες κτλ.*

§ 23. Hier. *Pelag.* ii. 15:—"In quibusdam exemplaribus et maxime in Graecis codicibus, juxta Marcum in fine eius evangelii scribitur: "Postea cum accubuissent undecim apparuit eis Jesus et exprobravit incredulitatem et duritiam cordis eorum, quia his qui viderant eum resurgentem non crediderunt. Et illi satisfaciebant dicentes: Saeculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis sub Satana est, qui non sinit per immundos spiritus veram Dei apprehendi virtutem. Idecirco iam nunc revela iustitiam tuam."

§ 24. Text of d) :—*Πάντα δὲ τὰ παρηγγελμένα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον συντόμως ἐξήγγειλαν*. *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἄχρι δύσεως ἐξαπέστειλεν δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ἱερόν καὶ ἄφθαρτον κήρυγμα τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας*.

5. CONTENTS.

I. BEGINNING OF THE GOSPEL OF JESUS. I. 1-13.

1. Work of John the Baptist. i. 1-8.

2. Baptism of Jesus. i. 9-11.

3. Temptation. i. 12-13.

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- II. MESSIANIC WORK OF JESUS IN GALILEE. I. 14-VII. 23.
1. Early Ministry of Preaching and Healing. i. 14-45.
 - 1) Gospel Message. i. 14-15.
 - 2) First Disciples. i. 16-20.
 - 3) Works of Healing. i. 21-34.
 - (1) Demoniac in Capernaum. i. 21-28.
 - (2) Peter's Wife's Mother. i. 29-31.
 - (3) Crowds at Evening. i. 32-34.
 - 4) Preaching Tour. i. 35-39.
 - 5) Healing a Leper. i. 40-45.
 2. Early Opposition. ii. 1-iii. 6.
 - 1) Healing of a Paralytic. ii. 1-12.
 - 2) Call of Levi. ii. 13-22.
 - 3) Sabbath Controversy. ii. 23-iii. 6.
 - a) Cornfields. ii. 23-28.
 - b) Man with Withered Hand. iii. 1-6.
 3. Extension of Work and Increasing Opposition. iii. 7-vii. 23.
 - 1) Popular Interest in Jesus' Work. iii. 7-12.
 - 2) Appointment of the Apostles. iii. 13-19.
 - 3) Beelzebub Charge. iii. 20-30.
 - 4) Interruption by Family. iii. 31-35.
 - 5) Parables (Sower, Interpretation, Light, Growing Seed, Mustard Seed). iv. 1-34.
 - 6) Miracles (Storm, Gerasene Demoniac, Woman with Issue of Blood, Daughter of Jairus). iv. 35-v. 43.
 - 7) Rejection at Nazareth. vi. 1-6.
 - 8) Mission of the Apostles. vi. 7-13.
 - 9) Herod's Inquiry and Death of John the Baptist. vi. 14-29.
 - 10) Return of the Apostles—Feeding of the 5000. vi. 30-44.
 - 11) Walking on the Water. vi. 45-56.
 - 12) Denunciation of Pharisees and Scribes. vii. 1-23.
- III. RETIREMENT FROM WORK IN GALILEE. VII. 24-IX. 50.
1. Healing Daughter of Greek Woman in Region of Tyre and Sidon. vii. 24-30.
 2. Return to Galilee—Healing a Deaf and Blind Man. vii. 31-37.
 3. Feeding the 4000. viii. 1-10.
 4. Pharisees seek a Sign. viii. 11-21.
 5. Healing a Blind Man in Bethsaida. viii. 22-26.
 6. Caesarea Philippi—Peter's Confession and Jesus' Announcement of His Passion. viii. 27-ix. 1.
 7. Transfiguration and Announcement of Passion. ix. 2-13.
 8. Healing a Demoniac Boy. ix. 14-29.
 9. Tour in Galilee and Announcement of Passion. ix. 30-32.
 10. Return to Capernaum—Teaching concerning the Spirit of Discipleship. ix. 33-50.

IV. WORK IN JUDEA. x. 1-52.

1. Pharisees inquire concerning Divorce. x. 1-12.
2. Jesus and Little Children. x. 13-16.
3. Inquiry of Rich Young Man. x. 17-31.
4. Journey toward Jerusalem—Announcement of Passion. x. 32-34.
5. Petition of James and John. x. 35-45.
6. Healing Blind Man (Bartimaeus) in Jericho. x. 46-52.

V. WORK IN JERUSALEM. xi. 1-xiii. 37.

1. Triumphal Entry. xi. 1-11.
2. The Fig Tree. xi. 12-14.
3. Cleansing of the Temple. xi. 15-19.
4. Teaching concerning Faith. xi. 20-26.
5. Teaching in the Temple. xi. 27-xii. 44.
 - 1) Question concerning Jesus' Authority and Jesus' Inquiry concerning the Baptism of John. xi. 27-33.
 - 2) Parable of the Vineyard. xii. 1-12.
 - 3) Jesus answers:—
 - (1) Pharisees and Herodians concerning Tribute. xii. 13-17.
 - (2) Sadducees concerning the Resurrection. xii. 18-27.
 - (3) A Scribe concerning the Greatest Commandment. xii. 28-34.
 - 4) Jesus inquires concerning the Davidic Sonship of the Messiah. xii. 35-37.
 - 5) Warning against the Scribes. xii. 38-40.
 - 6) Widow's Mite. xii. 41-44.
6. Eschatological Discourse. xiii. 1-37.

VI. PASSION OF JESUS. xiv. 1-xvi. 8 (9-20).

1. Priests and Scribes seek Jesus' Death. xiv. 1-2.
2. Jesus Anointed in the House of Simon the Leper. xiv. 3-9.
3. Treachery of Judas. xiv. 10-11.
4. Preparation for the Last Passover. xiv. 12-16.
5. Jesus announces His Betrayal. xiv. 17-21.
6. Institution of the Lord's Supper. xiv. 22-25.
7. Jesus retires with His Disciples toward the Mount of Olives, announces His Passion, and promises to go before the Disciples into Galilee after His Resurrection. xiv. 26-28.
8. Jesus announces Peter's Denial. xiv. 29-31.
9. Gethsemane. xiv. 32-42.
10. Arrest of Jesus and Flight of the Disciples. xiv. 43-50.
11. Flight of a Young Man. xiv. 51.
12. Trial of Jesus. xiv. 53-xv. 15.
 - 1) Before the High-priest—Peter's Denial. xiv. 53-72.
 - 2) Before the Sanhedrin and Pilate. xv. 1-15.
13. Suffering of Jesus. xv. 16-47.
 - 1) Jesus Scourged and Mocked. xv. 16-20.
 - 2) Crucifixion. xv. 21-41.

- 3) Burial. xv. 42-47.
 14. Resurrection. xvi. 1-8.
 1) Appearance of an Angel to the Women at the Sepulchre and Message to Disciples. xvi. 1-8.

VII. THE GOSPEL OF LUKE.

I. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

1) Author—Luke (Mur. Can., Iren., Clem. Alex., Tert., Origen, Euseb. Hier. NT. Acts i. 1; xi. 28 (West.); xvi. 10 etc; Col. iv. 14; Philm. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11). Gentile Christian; connected with Paul; of Antioch. 2) Use—Epis. Ch. Lyons-Vien. Tatian. Theophilus Athenagoras 2C Gnostics. Marcion, Justin. Herm. Did?.

§ 25. Hier. VI. vii:—"Lucas, medicus Antiochensis, ut eius scripta indicant, Graeci sermonis non ignarus fuit, sectator apostoli Pauli et omnis eius peregrinationis comes, scripsit *Evangelium*, de quo idem Paulus: 'Misimus, inquit, cum illo fratrem cuius laus est in evangelio per omnes ecclesias', et ad Colossenses, 'Salutat vos Lucas medicus carissimus', et ad Timotheum, 'Lucas est mecum solus'. Aliud quoque edidit volumen egregium quod titulo *Apostolicorum πράξεων* prae-notatur, cuius historia usque ad biennium Romae commorantis Pauli pervenit, id est ad quartum Neronis annum. Ex quo intelligimus in eadem urbe librum esse compositum. Igitur *περιόδους* Pauli et Theclae et totam baptizati leonis fabulam inter apocryphas scripturas computemus. Quale enim est, ut individuus comes apostoli inter ceteras eius res hoc 'solum ignoraverit? Sed et Tertullianus, vicinus illorum temporum, refert presbyterum quendam in Asia, *σπονδοαστήν* apostoli Pauli, convictum apud Iohannem quod auctor esset libri, et confessum se hoc Pauli amore fecisse, loco excidisse. Quidam suspicantur, quotiescumque Paulus in epistulis suis dicat 'iuxta evangelium meum', de Lucae significare volumine et Lucam non solum ab apostolo Paulo didicisse evangelium, qui cum Domino in carne non fuerat, sed et a ceteris apostolis. Quod ipse quoque in principio voluminis sui declarat dicens: 'Sicut tradiderunt nobis qui a principio ipsi viderunt et ministri fuerunt sermonis'. Igitur *Evangelium*, sicut audierat scripsit; *Acta* vero *apostolorum*, sicut viderat ipse, composuit. Sepultus est Constantino-polim, ad quam urbem, vicesimo Constantii anno, ossa eius, cum reliquiis Andrae apostoli, translata sunt."

§ 26. *Praefatio uel Argumentum Lucae* (text after Wordsworth and White):—"Lucas Syrus natione Antiochensis arte medicus discipulus apostolorum postea Paulum secutus usque ad confessionem eius serviens domino sine crimine. Nam neque uxorem unquam habens neque filios septuaginta et quattuor annorum obiit in Bithynia plenus spiritu sancto. Qui cum iam descripta essent euangelia per Mattheum quidem in Iudaea per Marcum autem in Italia sancto instigante spiritu in Achaiae partibus hoc scripsit euangelium significans etiam ipse in principio ante alia esse descripta"; etc.

§ 27. Euseb. *HE.* iii. 4. 6-7:—Λουκᾶς δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ὢν τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας, τὴν ἐπιστήμην δὲ ἰατρὸς, τὰ πλεῖστα συγγεγονὸς τῷ Παύλῳ, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς δὲ οὐ παρέργως τῶν ἀποστόλων ὠμιληκός, ἧς ἀπὸ τούτων προεκτίησατο ψυχῶν θεραπευτικῆς ἐν δυσὶν ἡμῖν ὑποδείγματα θεοπνεύστοις κατέλιπεν βιβλίοις, τῷ τε εὐαγγελίῳ, ὃ καὶ χαράξει μαρτύρεται καθ' ἃ παρέδουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρεταὶ γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου, οἷς καὶ φησιν ἔτ' ἄνωθεν ἄπασιν παρηκολουθηκέναι, καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων Πράξεσιν, ἃς οὐκέτι δι' ἀκοῆς, ὀφθαλμοῖς δὲ παραλαβὼν συνετάξατο· φασὶν δ' ὡς ἄρα τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίου μνημονεῖν ὁ Παῦλος εἶωθεν, ὀπηρῆκα ὡς περὶ ἰδίου τινὸς εὐαγγελίου γράφων ἔλεγεν “κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου”.

2. INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

1) Author—Luke (Lk. i. 1-4). Gentile Christian (Col. iv. 10); literary artist; medical language; style and diction like Acts. 2) Readers—Theophilus; Gentile Christians. 3) Purpose—i. 1-4, to write of the origin of the Christian religion in the life and teaching of Jesus, in a thorough, orderly manner, on the basis of careful investigation, for the purpose of confirming faith. 3) Place—probably in Rome like Acts. 4) Time—before Acts; probably before 63-67. Eschatological discourse and fall of Jerusalem (cf. Acts xi. 28; xx. 22ff; xxi. 5, 11, 30f. Relation to Josephus. Third book (Zahn). 1 Tim. v. 18 cf. Lk. x. 7. Harnack 60-66 or 78-93; Zahn 75; Sanday and Plummer 70-80; Blass 54-56, 57-59.

Rome (Holtzmann, Hug, Klein, Zahn)
 Antiochia (Hilgenfeld, Schott)
 Ephesus (Hilgenfeld)

(Ramsay & Weiss)

3. CHARACTERISTICS. Pauline point of view. Tübingen tendency theory. Holtzmann—catholic or universalistic. Jülicher—mild Paulinism. Ebionism. Luke a historian; chronology; interest in teaching of Jesus. Style and diction varies but generally of high literary quality.

4. TEXT.

1) Integrity. Relation to Marcion's Gospel. Patristic view (Iren. *Haer.* iii. 12, 12; 14, 1; Tert. *Marc.* iv. 2. Tübingen view—Baur vs. Hilgenfeld and Volkmar. Zahn and Sanday. van Manen. 2) Origin and Value of Binary text. Blass—two originals; Neutral (Eastern) first in Jerusalem c. 54-56, longer; Western in Rome c. 57-59, shorter (xxiv. 51 caused by plan to write Acts) but with additions (xi. 1-2 caused by place of writing); not purely transmitted but mixture caused by circulation of Tatian's Diatessaron in East (Syria and Egypt).

5. CONTENTS.
- I. HISTORICAL BEGINNINGS OF THE GOSPEL. I. I-II. 52.
1. Prologue. i. 1-4.
 2. Announcement of the Birth of John. i. 5-25.
 3. Announcement of the Birth of Jesus. i. 26-38.
 4. Visit of Mary to Elizabeth. i. 39-56.
 - 1) *Magnificat* (Mary). i. 46-55.
 5. Birth of John. i. 57-80.
 - 1) *Benedictus* (Zacharias). i. 68-79.
 6. Birth of Jesus. ii. 1-7.
 7. Visit of the Shepherds. ii. 8-20.
 - 1) *Gloria in Excelsis* (Angels). ii. 14.
 8. Circumcision. ii. 21.
 9. Presentation. ii. 22-38.
 - 1) *Nunc Dimittis* (Simeon). ii. 29-32.
 - 2) Anna. ii. 36-38.
 10. Return to Nazareth. ii. 39-40.
 11. The Boy Jesus in Jerusalem. ii. 41-52.
- II. INTRODUCTION TO THE MESSIANIC WORK OF JESUS. III. I-IV. 13.
1. Work of John the Baptist. iii. 1-20.
 2. Baptism of Jesus. iii. 21-22.
 3. Genealogy of Jesus. iii. 23-38.
 4. Temptation. iv. 1-13.
- III. GALILEAN WORK OF JESUS. IV. 14-IX. 50.
1. Early Ministry of Preaching and Healing. iv. 14-v. 16.
 - 1) Proclamation of the Gospel in Nazareth. iv. 14-30.
 - 2) Settlement at Capernaum. iv. 31-41.
 - a) Teaching. iv. 31-32.
 - b) Healing Demoniac. iv. 33-38.
 - c) Peter's Wife's Mother. iv. 38-39.
 - d) Crowds at Evening. iv. 40-41.
 - 3) Preaching Tour. iv. 42-44.
 - 4) Large Catch of Fish and Call of Four Disciples. v. 1-11.
 - 5) Healing a Leper. v. 12-16.
 2. Early Opposition. v. 17-vi. 11.
 - 1) Healing a Paralytic. v. 17-26.
 - 2) Call of Levi. v. 27-39.
 - 3) Sabbath Controversy. vi. 1-11.
 - (1) Cornfields. vi. 1-5.
 - (2) Man with Withered Hand. vi. 6-11.
 3. Extension of Work and Increasing Opposition. vi. 12-ix. 50.
 - 1) Appointment of the Apostles. vi. 12-16.
 - 2) Sermon on the Mount. vi. 17-49.
 - 3) Healing of a Centurion's Servant. vii. 1-10.
 - 4) Raising Son of Widow of Nain. vii. 11-17.
 - 5) Message of John and Jesus' Testimony to John. vii. 18-35.

- 6) Jesus dines with a Pharisee. vii. 36-50.
- 7) Preaching Tour. viii. 1-3.
- 8) Parables. viii. 4-18.
 - (1) Sower. viii. 4-8.
 - a) Interpretation. viii. 9-15.
 - (2) Light (External). viii. 10-18.
- 9) Interruption by Family. viii. 19-21.
- 10) Storm on the Lake. viii. 22-25.
- 11) Demoniac of Gerasenes. viii. 26-39.
- 12) Healing Woman with Issue of Blood and Raising Daughter of Jairus. viii. 40-56.
- 13) Instruction and Mission of the Apostles. ix. 1-6.
- 14) Herod inquires about Jesus. ix. 7-9.
- 15) Return of the Apostles. ix. 10.
- 16) Feeding 5000. ix. 11-17.
- 17) Caesarea Philippi, Confession of Peter and Announcement of Passion. ix. 18-27.
- 18) Transfiguration. ix. 28-36.
- 19) Healing a Demoniac Boy. ix. 37-43a.
- 20) Announcement of Passion. ix. 43b-45.
- 21) Spirit of Discipleship. ix. 46-50.
 - (1) Precedence and Little Child. ix. 46-49.
 - (2) Man casting out Demons. ix. 49-50.

IV. RETIREMENT FROM GALILEE. JOURNEYING TOWARD JERUSALEM. IX. 51-
XIX. 28.

1. First Circuit. ix. 51-xiii. 21.
 - 1) Visit to Samaria. ix. 51-56.
 - 2) Implications of Discipleship. ix. 57-62.
 - 3) Mission and Instruction of the Seventy. x. 1-16.
 - 4) Return of the Seventy. x. 17-24.
 - (1) *Confiteor Tibi*. x. 21-22.
 - 5) Parable of the Good Samaritan (Concerning "My Neighbor"). x. 25-37.
 - 6) Jesus in Home of Martha and Mary. x. 38-42.
 - 7) Lord's Prayer. xi. 1-4.
 - (1) Importunity of Prayer. xi. 5-13.
 - 8) Healing a Dumb Demoniac, Beelzebub Charge and Demand for Sign. xi. 14-26.
 - 9) Concerning True Blessedness. xi. 27-28.
 - 10) Sign of Jonah. xi. 29-32.
 - 11) Parable of Light (Internal). xi. 33-36.
 - 12) Denunciation of Pharasaism. xi. 37-xii. 12.
 - 13) Parable of a Rich Man (Concerning Inheritance). xii. 13-21.
 - 14) Instruction of Disciples. xii. 22-59.
 - 15) Warning of Calamities. xiii. 1-5.
 - 16) Parable of the Fig Tree. xiii. 6-9.
 - 17) Healing a Woman with an Infirmary on the Sabbath. xiii. 10-17.

- 18) Parables. xiii. 18-21.
 - (1) Mustard Seed. xiii. 18-19.
 - (2) Leaven. xiii. 20-21.
- 2. Second Circuit. xiii. 22-xvii. 10.
 - 1) Narrow Door into Salvation. xiii. 22-30.
 - 2) Pharisees warn Jesus against Herod. xiii. 31-33.
 - 3) Jesus' Lament over Jerusalem. xiii. 34-35.
 - 4) Healing a Dropsical Man on the Sabbath. xiv. 1-6.
 - 5) Parables. xiv. 7-24.
 - (1) Chief Seats at Feast. xiv. 7-11.
 - (2) Invitation of Guests. xiv. 12-14.
 - (3) Great Supper (Excuses). xiv. 15-24.
 - 6) Cost of Discipleship. xiv. 25-35.
 - (1) Building a Tower. xiv. 28-30.
 - (2) Waging War. xiv. 31-33.
 - (3) Parable of Salt. xiv. 34-35.
 - 7) Parables (Concerning the Lost). xv. 1-xvi. 13.
 - (1) Lost Sheep. xvi. 3-7.
 - (2) Lost Coin. xv. 8-10.
 - (3) Lost (Prodigal) Son. xv. 11-32.
 - (4) Unrighteous Steward. xvi. 1-13.
 - 8) Pharisees and the Law (Divorce). xvi. 14-18.
 - 9) Parable of the Rich and the Poor (Lazarus). xvi. 19-31.
 - 10) Spirit of Discipleship. xvii. 1-10.
 - (1) Little Ones and Offences. xvii. 1-2.
 - (2) Duty of Forgiveness. xvii. 3-4.
 - (3) Power of Faith. xvii. 5-6.
 - (4) Duty of Servants. xvii. 7-10.
- 3. Third Circuit. xvii. 11-xix. 28.
 - 1) Healing Ten Lepers. xvii. 11-19.
 - 2) Coming of the Kingdom. xvii. 20-37.
 - 3) Parables (Concerning Prayer). xviii. 1-14.
 - (1) Unjust Judge. xviii. 1-8.
 - (2) Pharisee and Publican. xviii. 9-14.
 - 4) Jesus and Little Children. xviii. 15-17.
 - 5) A Rich Young Man. xviii. 18-27.
 - 6) Reward of Discipleship. xviii. 28-30.
 - 7) Announcement of Passion. xviii. 31-34.
 - 8) Healing a Blind Man in Jericho. xviii. 35-43.
 - 9) Jesus stays with the Publican Zacchaeus. xix. 1-10.
 - 10) Parable of the Ten Pounds. xix. 11-28.
- V. WORK IN JERUSALEM. XIX. 29-XXI. 38.
 - 1. Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem. xix. 29-45.
 - 2. Cleansing the Temple. xix. 46-48.
 - 3. Teaching in the Temple. xx. 1-xxi. 6.
 - 1) Question concerning Jesus' Authority and Jesus' Inquiry con-

- cerning the Baptism of John. xx. 1-8.
- 2) Parable of the Vineyard. xx. 9-18.
 - (1) Scribes and High-priests seek Jesus' Death. xx. 19-20.
 - 3) Jesus answers:—
 - (1) Pharisees concerning Tribute. xx. 21-26.
 - (2) Sadducees concerning the Resurrection. xx. 27-40.
 - 4) Jesus inquires concerning the Davidic Sonship of the Messiah. xx. 41-44.
 - 5) Denunciation of Scribism. xx. 45-47.
 - 6) Widow's Mite. xxi. 1-4.
 - 7) Jesus retires from the Temple and announces its Destruction. xxi. 5-6.
4. Eschatological Discourse. xxi. 7-38.
- VI. PASSION OF JESUS. xxii. 1-xxiv. 53.
1. Treachery of Judas. xxi. 1-6.
 2. Last Passover. xxii. 7-38.
 - 1) Preparation. xxii. 7-13.
 - 2) Passover Meal. xxii. 14-16.
 - 3) Institution of the Lord's Supper. xxii. 17-21.
 - 4) Jesus announces His Betrayal. xxii. 22-23.
 - 5) Concerning the Relation of Precedence to Service. xxii. 24-30.
 - 6) Jesus announces Peter's Denial. xxii. 31-34.
 - 7) Two Swords. xxii. 35-38.
 3. Gethsemane. xxii. 39-46.
 4. Arrest of Jesus. xxii. 47-53.
 5. Trial of Jesus. xxii. 54-xxiii. 25.
 - 1) Jesus before the High-priest. xxii. 54.
 - (1) Peter's Denial. xxii. 55-62.
 - (2) Jesus Smitten. xxii. 63-65.
 - 2) Jesus before the Sanhedrin. xxii. 66-71.
 - 3) Jesus before Pilate. xxiii. 1-25.
 - (1) Pilate hears Charges against Jesus. xxiii. 1-7.
 - (2) Jesus sent to Herod. xxiii. 8-12.
 - a) Jesus mocked by Herod. xxiii. 11.
 - (3) Pilate's Judgment. xxiii. 13-25.
 6. Suffering of Jesus. xxiii. 26-56.
 - 1) Bearing the Cross. xxiii. 26-32.
 - 2) Crucifixion. xxiii. 33-49.
 - 3) Burial. xxiii. 50-56.
 7. Resurrection and Appearances. xxiv. 1-53.
 - 1) Appearances of Angels to the Women at the Sepulchre. xxiv. 1-11.
 - 2) Appearance of Jesus to Cleopas and a Companion on the Way to Emmaus. xxiv. 12-32.
 - 3) Report of Cleopas and Mention of Appearance to Peter. xxiv. 33-36.
 - 4) Appearance of Jesus to the Disciples. xxiv. 37-43.

- 5) Teaching of Jesus. xxiv. 44-49.
6) Ascension. xxiv. 50-53.

VIII. LITERARY CRITICISM OF SYNOPTIC GOSPELS (SOURCES).

SYNOPTIC PROBLEM. Origin of literary phenomena—similarity and difference. Logical possibilities. Dependence—1. Direct (Priority). 2. Indirect (Common Source). 2a. Oral. 2b. Written. 3. Combination of 1. and 2. Experimental difficulties. Historical significance.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE. Sources of Lk.

§ 28. Lk. i. 1-4:—Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου, ἔδοξε καμοὶ παρηκολουθηκῶτι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, κράτιστε Θεόφιλε, ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

REVIEW OF OPINION.

cf *ἐπιφ. Har 51-6*
 γι' ἐκάστῳ ἐμέρισεν
 εὖς ἵνα οἱ τέσσαρες
 ἀκριβῶς... τὰ μὲν
 φωνῶν καὶ ἴσως
 ὡσιν, ἵνα φειθῶσιν
 αὐτῶν τῶν πηγῶν
 αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐκάστῳ
 ἔθενται (i. παραλείψ-
 αληφ θέντα)
 ἄλλος διηγῆσται
 τὰ) ὡς ἡλασε περὶ
 πνύκτους αὐτῶν
 ὡς κατὰ γινῆ.

PATRISTIC:—Point of view—Harmonistic. Problem—Origin of difference. Indirect—oral; Chrysostom—Mk. from Peter. Direct—Augustine; Mk. abbreviator of Matt. MODERN:—Point of view—Genetic. Problem—Origin of agreement. Direct—Griesbach; Priority of (Gk) Matt. Direct—Storr, Koppe, Wilke, Weisse; Priority of Mk. Indirect—oral. Giessler, Westcott, Veit, D. Smith. Indirect-written (Original Aramaic Gospel)—Grotius, Lessing, Eichhorn, Herder, Baur, Hilgenfeld. Two-Document Hypothesis—Direct (Mk. or UrMk.) and Indirect-written (Discourse-source of Matt. and Lk.—Logia, Q). Holtzmann—Logia and UrMk (Mk-); later Logia, Mk. and use of Matt. by Lk. Weizsäcker—Logia and UrMk (Mk+). Wernle—Logia (in variant forms) and Mk. (in variant text-recensions). B. Weiss—Logia and Peter's discourses used by Mk.; Logia and Mk. used by Matt.; Logia, Mk. and special source (L) used by Lk. Problems:—Character and content of Logia (exclusive of Passion—B. Weiss, Harnack). Time of Logia (before Jesus' death—Ramsay). Sources of Mk. (UrMk—Greck, Hoffmann, Wendling; Aramaic, Wellhausen; anecdotes, Bacon).

IX. THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

1. JOHANNINE PROBLEM. Historical in character. Relation of the Fourth Gospel to Synoptic Gospels.

2. HISTORY OF CRITICISM.

1) Historical. (1) Negative:—Alogi (2C), Deists (18C), Bretschneider 1820, Tübingen School, Dutch, English, Keim, Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, Schmiedel, Ritschlian School (Harnack, Jülicher), French (Havet, Réville, Loisy), Bousset, Corssen, Schwartz, Heilmüller, Bacon, Scott. (2) Positive:—Patristic Tradition, Lücke 1833, Bleek, Guericke, Luthardt, Meyer, Beyschlag, B. Weiss, P. Ewald, Zahn, Barth, Godet, Cornely, Gutjahr, Camerlynck, Belser, Lightfoot, Westcott, E. Abbot, Watkins, Salmon, Sanday, J. Drummond (on authorship), Stanton.

2) Literary. Schweizer, Weisse, Schenkel, Delff, Wendt, Spitta, Bacon, Soltau, Schwartz, Wellhausen.

3. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

1) Author:—John (Euseb. *HE.* iii. 24. 5-15; Hier. *in Matth.* argum., *de vir. ill.* ix; Orig. *in Joan.* v. 3; Monarch. Prolog.; Iren. *haer.* iii. 1, 1; Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 2; Clem. Alex. in Euseb. *HE.* vi. 14, 7; Mur. Can.; Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 22). 2) Place and Time:—Ephesus—John in old age; after Syn. Gospels (Epiph. *haer.* li. 12). 3) Use:—Tatian, Clem. Hom., Epis. of L. and V., Epis. to Diogn., Justin, Gnostics (2C), Protev. of Jas., Gosp. of Peter, Leucian Acts of John, Montanists, Pasch. Controv., Elders of Clem. Alex., Elders of Iren., Papias, Mk. xvi. 9-20, Ign., Barn., Herm., 1 Clem., Did., Joh. Trad. in Past. Epis. 4) Ephesian Residence:—(1) Positive Evidence. Iren. in Euseb. *HE.* v. 20, 4-8; *haer.* iii. 3, 4 in Euseb. *HE.* v. 24; *haer.* ii. 22, 5; iii. 1, 1; iii. 11, 1; v. 30, 3; v. 33, 4; Elders of Iren.; Clem. Alex. in Euseb. *HE.* iii. 23, 5-19; Polycrates in Euseb. *HE.* iii. 31, 3; v. 24, 3; Leucian Acts of John, Justin, *Dial.* lxxxix; Apoc. i. 1, 4, 9; xxii. 8; cf. i. 4-iii. 22; as to age cf. Jno. xxi. 2, 22-23, 24 cf. xix. 35. (2) Negative Criticism (Denial of Eph. res. and Pres. John Hyp.) a) Sources of Irenaeus:—(a) Papias. Eusebian interpretation and two-John hypothesis (Dionysius of Alex. 3C). Modern theory of confusion: (b) Memory of Polycarp. b) Argumentum e silentio:—Iren. and Euseb. concerning Papias, Ign., Poly., Mart. of Poly., Clem. of Rome. c) Tradition of (early) Martyrdom:—(a) Papias in Codex Coisilianus 305 (10-

11C) of Chronicon of Georgius Hamartolus (9C) and in Codex Baroccianus 142 (6-8C) of an Epitome containing passages from Eusebius with additions thought to be from Philippus Sidetes (5C) edited by de Boor, 1888. (b) Syriac Martyrology (4C). (c) Mk. x. 35-40; Matt. xx. 20-23. (d) Aphraates, *Hom.* xxi. (e) Ephraem. (f) Heracleon in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 9. (g) Martyrium Andrae Prius. (h) Mur. Can. (i) Chrysostom.

§ 29. Euseb. *HE* iii. 24. 5-15:—ὁμως δ' οὖν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν τοῦ κυρίου διατριβῶν (v. l. μαθητῶν, ἀποστόλων, Ruf. *ex ipsius discipulis*) ὑπομνήματα Ματθαῖος ἡμῖν καὶ Ἰωάννης μόνοι καταλειπίασιν· οὓς καὶ ἐπάναγκες ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἔλθειν κατέχει λόγος. Ματθαῖός τε γὰρ πρότερον Ἑβραίοις κηρύξας, ὡς ἡμελλεν καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρουσ ἰέναι, πατρίῳ γλώττῃ γραφῇ παραδοὺς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ λείπον τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ τούτοις ἀφ' ὧν ἐστέλλετο, διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλήρου· ἥδη δὲ Μάρκου καὶ Λουκᾶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελίων τὴν ἔκδοσιν πεποιημένων, Ἰωάννην φασὶ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀγράφῳ κεκρημένον κηρύγματι, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἔλθειν τοιαῦδε χάριν αἰτίας. τῶν προαναγραφέντων τριῶν εἰς πάντας ἦδη καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν διαδομένων, ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν φασιν, ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντα, μόνην δὲ ἄρα λείπεσθαι τῇ γραφῇ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐν πρώτοις καὶ κατ' ἀρχὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πεπραγμένων διήγησιν. καὶ ἀληθὴς γε ὁ λόγος. τοὺς τρεῖς γοῖν εὐαγγελιστὰς συνιδεῖν πάρεστιν μόνᾳ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ κάθειρξιν ἐφ' ἓνα ἑνιαυτὸν πεπραγμένα τῷ σωτῆρι συγγεγραφότας αὐτὸ τε τοῦτ' ἐπισημναμένους κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς αὐτῶν ἱστορίας· μετὰ γοῖν τὴν τεσσαρακονταήμερον ἠσθεῖαν καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ πειρασμὸν τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἰδίας γραφῆς ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖος δηλοῖ λέγων “ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἰωάννης παρεδόθη, ἀνεχώρησεν” ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας “εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν”, ὁ δὲ Μάρκος ὡσαύτως “μετὰ δὲ τὸ παραδοθῆναι” φησὶν “Ἰωάννην ἦλθεν Ἰησοῖς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν”, καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς δὲ πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πράξεων, παραπλησίως ἐπιτηρεῖ, φάσκων ὡς ἄρα προσθεῖς Ἡρώδης οἷς διεπράξατο πονηροῖς, “κατέκλεισε τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν φυλακῇ”. παρακληθέντα δὲ οὖν τούτων ἕνεκά φασι τὸν ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων εὐαγγελιστῶν παρασιωπηθέντα χρόνον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοῦτον πεπραγμένα τῷ σωτῆρι (ταῦτα δ' ἦν τὰ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ καθείρξεως) τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίῳ παραδοῦναι, αὐτὸ τε τοῦτ' ἐπισημῆνασθαι, τοτὲ μὲν φήσαντα “ταύτην ἀρχὴν ἐποίησεν τῶν παραδόξων ὁ Ἰησοῦς”, τοτὲ δὲ μνημονεύσαντα τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ μεταξὺ τῶν Ἰησοῦ πράξεων ὡς ἔτι τότε βαπτίζοντας ἐν Αἰνῶν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλείμ, σαφῶς τε τοῦτο δηλοῦν ἐν τῷ λέγειν “οὕτω γὰρ ἦν Ἰωάννης βεβλημένος εἰς φυλακὴν”. οὐκοῖν ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης τῇ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίου γραφῇ τὰ μηδέπω τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ εἰς φυλακὴν βεβλημένου πρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ πραχθέντα παραδώσιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τρεῖς εὐαγγελιστὰι τὰ μετὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ δεσμοτηρίον κάθειρξιν τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ μνημονεύουσιν· οἷς καὶ ἐπιστήσαντι οὐκ ἔν ἂν δοξαί

διαφωνεῖν ἀλλήλους τὰ εὐαγγέλια τῷ τὸ μὲν κατὰ Ἰωάννην τὰ πρῶτα τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πράξεων περιέχειν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ χρόνου αὐτῷ γεγεννημένην ἱστορίαν· εἰκότως δ' οὖν τὴν μὲν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γενεολογίαν ἄτε Ματθαίῳ καὶ Λουκᾷ προγραφεῖσθαι ἀποσιωπῆσαι τὸν Ἰωάννην, τῆς δὲ θεολογίας ἀπάρξασθαι ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος οἷα κρείττονι παραπεφυλαγμένης. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου γραφῆς εἰρήσθω, καὶ τῆς κατὰ Μάρκον δὲ ἡ γενομένη αἰτία ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἡμῖν δεδῶλται· ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς ἀρχόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν συγγράμματος τὴν αἰτίαν προῖθηκεν δι' ἣν πεποιήται τὴν σύνταξιν, δηλῶν ὡς ἄρα πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων προπετιέστερον ἐπιτετηδευκότων διήγησιν ποιήσασθαι ὡν αὐτὸς πεπληροφόρητο λόγων, ἀναγκαιῶς ἀπαλλάττων ἡμᾶς τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀμφηρίστου ἑπολήψεως, τὸν ἀσφαλῆ λόγον ὡν αὐτὸς ἰκανῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν κατειλήφει ἐκ τῆς ἄμα Παύλῳ συνοουσίας τε καὶ διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλίας ὠφελιμῆνος, διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου παρέδωκεν εὐαγγέλιον.

§ 30. Hier. *de vir. ill.* ix. Iohannes apostolus quem Iesus amavit plurimum, filius Zebedaei et frater Iacobi apostoli quem Herodes post passionem Domini decollavit, novissimus omnium scripsit *Evangelium*, rogatus ab Asiae episcopis, adversus Cerinthum aliosque haereticos et maxime tunc Ebionitarum dogma consurgens, qui adserunt Christum ante Mariam non fuisse. Unde etiam compulsus est divinam eius nativatem edicere. Sed et aliam causam huius scripturae ferunt, quod, cum legisset Matthaei, Marci et Lucae volumina, probaverit quidem textum historiae et vera eos dixisse firmaverit, sed unius tantum anni in quo et passus est post carcerem Iohannis, historiam texuisse. Praetermisso itaque anno cuius acta a tribus exposita fuerant, superioris temporis, antequam Iohannes clauderetur in carcerem, gesta narravit, sicut manifestum esse poterit his qui diligenter quattuor Evangeliorum volumina legerint. Quae res et *διαφωνίαν*, quae videtur Iohannis esse cum ceteris, tollit.

Scripsit autem et unam *Epistulam* cuius exordium est, 'Quod fuit ab initio, quod audivimus et vidimus oculis nostris, quod perspeximus et manus nostrae temptaverunt de verbo vitae', quae ab universis ecclesiasticis et eruditis viris probatur. Reliquae autem duae quarum principium est, 'Senior electae dominae et natis eius' et sequentis: 'Senior Gaio carissimo, quem ego diligo in veritate' Iohannis presbyteri adseruntur, cuius et hodie alterum sepulcrum apud Ephesum ostenditur; et nonnulli putant duas memorias eiusdem Iohannis evangelistae esse; super qua re, cum per ordinem ad Papiam auditorem eius ventum feurit, disseremus.

Quarto decimo igitur anno, secundam post Neronem persecutionem movente Domitiano, in Patmos insulam relegatus, scripsit *Apocalypsin*, quam interpretantur Iustinus martyr et Irenaeus. Interfecto autem Domitiano et actis eius ob nimiam crudelitatem a senatu rescissis, sub Nerva redit Ephesum ibique usque ad Traianum principem perseverans totas Asiae fundavit rexitque ecclesias et confectus senio et sexagesimo octavo post passionem Domini anno mortuus, iuxta eandem urbem sepultus est.

§ 31. Hier. *Prologus ex Comment. in Matth.* Ultimus Iohannes apos-

tolus et euangelista, quem Iesus amavit plurimum, qui super pectus domini recumbens purissima doctrinarum fluentia potavit, et qui solus de cruce meruit audire Ecce mater tua. Is cum esset in Asia et iam tunc hereticorum semina pullularent, Cerinthi Hebionis et ceterorum qui negant Christum in carne uenisse, quos et ipse in epistula sua antichristos uocat et apostolus Paulus frequenter percutit, coactus est ab omnibus paene tunc Asiae episcopis et multarum ecclesiarum legationibus, de diuinitate saluatoris altius scribere et ad ipsum ut ita dicam dei uerbum non tam audaci quam felici temeritate prorumpere, ut ecclesiastica narrat historia, cum a fratribus cogeretur ut scriberet, ita facturum respondisse si indicto ieiunio in commune omnes deum deprecarentur; quo expleto reuelatione saturatus in illud prohemium caelo ueniens eructauit In principio erat uerbum, et uerbum erat apud deum, et deus erat hoc uerbum; hoc erat in principio apud deum.

§ 32. *Argumentum Euangelii Secundum Iohannem* (text after Corssen). Hic est Iohannes euangelista unus ex discipulis Dei, qui uirgo electus a Deo est, quem de nuptiis uolentem nubere uocauit Deus. Cui uirginitatis in hoc duplex testimonium in euangelio datur, quod et prae ceteris dilectus a Deo dicitur et huic matrem suam iens ad crucem commendauit Deus, ut uirginem uirgo seruaret. Denique manifestans in euangelio quod erat ipse incorruptibilis, uerbi opus inchoans solus uerbum caro factum esse nec lumen a tenebris comprehensum fuisse testatur, primum signum ponens quod in nuptiis fecit Deus, ut ostendens quod erat ipse, legentibus demonstraret, quod ubi Dominus uocatur deficere nuptiarum uinum debeat ac ueteribus immutatis noua omnia quae a Christo instituuntur appareant. De quo singula quaeque in mysterio acta uel dicta euangelii ratio quaerentibus monstrat. Hoc autem euangelium scripsit in Asia, posteaquam in Pathmos insula apocalypsin scripserat... Et hic est Iohannes, qui sciens superuenisse diem recessus sui conuocatis discipulis suis in Epheso per multa signorum experimenta promens Christum descendens in defossum sepulturae suae locum facta oratione positus est ad patres suos tam extraneus a dolore mortis quam a corruptione carnis inuenitur alienus...

§ 33. Theophilus, *ad Autolyicum*, ii. 22. Ὅποτε δὲ ἠθέλησεν ὁ θεὸς ποιῆσαι ὅσα ἐβουλεύσατο, τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐγέννησεν προφορικόν, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, οὐ κενωθεὶς αὐτὸς τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλὰ λόγον γεννήσας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς ὁμιλῶν. Ὅθεν διδάσκουσιν ἡμῶς αἱ ἄγλαι γραφαὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ πνευματοφόροι, ἐξ ὧν Ἰωάννης λέγει· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν· δεικνὺς ὅτι ἐν πρώτοις μόνος ἦν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος. Ἐπειτα λέγει· Καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος· πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν. Θεὸς οὖν ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ πεφυκώς, ὅποταν βούληται ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὄλων πέμπει αὐτὸν εἰς τινὰ τόπον, ὃς παραγιγόμενος καὶ ἀκούεται καὶ ὁρᾶται, πεμπόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τόπῳ εἰρίσκειται.

§ 34. Polycrates in Euseb. *HE*, iii. 31. 3. “καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μεγάλη στοιχεῖα κεκοίμηται· αὐτὰ ἀναστήσεται τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου, ἐν ᾗ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀναζητήσῃ πάντας τοὺς ἄγιους, Φίλιππον τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ὃς κεκοίμηται ἐν Ἱεραπόλει καὶ δύο θυγατέρες

αὐτοῦ γεγηρακῶναι παρθένοι καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσαμένη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται· ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσών, ὃς ἐγειρήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκῶς καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος, οὗτος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκόμηται.

§ 35. Iren. in Euseb. *HE.* iii. 23. 3-4. “καὶ πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰωάννη τῷ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῇ συμβεβληκότες παραδεδωκέναι τὸν Ἰωάννην. παρέμεινεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανου χρόνων.”

“ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησία ὑπὸ Παύλου μὲν τεθεμελιωμένη, Ἰωάννου δὲ παραμείναντος αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανου χρόνων, μάρτυς ἀληθῆς ἐστὶν τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως.”

§ 36. Papias in Euseb. *HE.* iii. 39. 1-4. τοῦ δὲ Παπία συγγράμματι πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν φέρεται, ἃ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως. τούτων καὶ Εἰρηναῖος ὡς μόνων αὐτῷ γραφέντων μνημονεύει, ὡδὲ πως λέγων

“ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίου ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος γεγονώς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βιβλίων. ἐστὶν γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα.”

καὶ ὁ μὲν Εἰρηναῖος ταῦτα· αὐτὸς γε μὴν ὁ Παπίας κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀκροατὴν μὲν καὶ αὐτόπτην οὐδαμῶς ἑαυτὸν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμφαίνει, παρεληφέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως παρὰ τῶν ἐκείνοις γνωρίμων διδάσκει δι’ ὧν φησιν λέξεω

“οὐκ ὀκνήσω δὲ σοὶ καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα, συγκατατάξαι¹ ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, διαβεβαιούμενος ἐπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὡσπερ οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τάληθῆ διδάσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὴς ἀλλοτρίας ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς παραγινόμενας² τῆς ἀληθείας· εἰ δὲ που³ καὶ παρηκολουθηκῶς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους, τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης⁴ ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν ἢ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί⁵, λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μειούσης.”

¹συντάξαι. ²παραγινόμενοις, παραγενομένοις. ³οὐδ’ εἶπον. ⁴Hausleiter omits ἢ τί Ἰωάννης. ⁵οἱ τοῦ κυ μαθηταί. Hier. *discipuli domini*, Rufin. *ceterique discipuli*. Syr. omits. Conjectural emendation: Renan, οἱ τοῦ κυρίου [μαθητῶν] μαθηταί. Abbott, οἱ [τῶν] τοῦ κυρίου [μαθητῶν] μαθηταί. Bacon, οἱ τούτων [sc] τῶν ἀποστόλων] μαθηταί — ΟΙΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ became ΟΙΤΟΥΚΥΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ. Mommsen omits with Syr.

§ 37. Euseb. *HE.* iii. 39. 5-7 (Interpretation of Papias): εἶθα καὶ ἐπιστῆσαι ἄξιον δις καθαρῶς ἀναπαύεται αὐτῷ τὸ Ἰωάννου ὄνομα, ὧν τὸν μὲν πρότερον Πέτρον καὶ Ἰακώβον καὶ Ματθαῖον καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις συγκαταλέγει, σαφῶς

δηλῶν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον Ἰωάννην, διαστείλας τὸν λόγον, ἑτέροις παρὰ τὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀριθμὸν κατατάσσει, προτάξας αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀριστίωνα, σαφῶς τε αὐτὸν πρεσβύτερον ὀνομάζει· ὡς καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀληθῆ τῶν δύο κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁμωνυμίᾳ κεχρησθαι εἰρηκώτων δύο τε ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνήματα καὶ ἑκάτερον Ἰωάννου ἔτι νῦν λέγεσθαι· οἷς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον, εἰ μὴ τις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν ἐπ' ὀνόματος φερομένην Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψιν ἑορακεῖναι. καὶ ὁ νῦν δὲ ἡμῖν δηλούμενος Παπίας τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγους παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς παρηκολουθηκότων ὁμολογεῖ παρεληφέναι, Ἀριστίωνος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου αὐτῆκοον ἐαυτὸν φησι γενέσθαι· ὀνομαστὶ γοῦν πολλακίς αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασιν τίθησιν αὐτῶν παραδόσεις.

§ 38. Fragment of Papias in Codex Barocccianus 142, ed. C. de Boor, TU. 1888 (after quotation from Euseb. *HE.* iii. 39 and 25). Παπίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθησαν.

§ 39. Fragment of Papias in Codex Coislinianus 305 of the Chronicon of Georgius Hamartolus. Μετὰ δὲ Δομετιανὸν ἐβασίλευσε Νερούας ἔτος ἕν, ὃς ἀνακαλεσάμενος Ἰωάννην ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἀπέλυσεν οἰκεῖν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. μόνος τότε περιῶν τῷ βίῳ ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα μαθητῶν καὶ συγγραψάμενος τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον μαρτυρίῳ¹ κατηξιώται. Παπίας γὰρ ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, αὐτόπτης τούτου γενόμενος, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων φάσκει, ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθη· πληρώσας δηλαδὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν πρόρρησιν καὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν ὁμολογίαν περὶ τούτου καὶ συγκατάθεσιν· εἰπὼν γὰρ ὁ κύριος πρὸς αὐτούς· Δύνασθε πειεῖν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω; καὶ κατανευσάντων προθύμως καὶ συνθεμένων· Τὸ ποτήριόν μου, φησίν, πίεσθε καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθήσεσθε. καὶ εἰκότως. ἀδύνατον γὰρ θεὸν ψεύσασθαι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ πολυμαθὴς Ὠριγένης ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἑρμηνείᾳ διαβεβαιούται, ὡς ὅτι μεμαρτύρηκεν Ἰωάννης, ἐκ τῶν διαδόχων τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποσημαινόμενος τοῦτο μεμαθηκέναι. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ πολυῖστωρ Εὐσέβιος² ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ ἱστορίᾳ φησί· Θωμᾶς μὲν τὴν Παρθίαν εἰληχεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν, πρὸς οὓς καὶ διατρίψας ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.

¹ Other mss. read, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀνεπαύσατο. ² Other mss read, περὶ οὗ ὁ πολυῖστωρ Εὐσέβιος κτλ after ἀνεπαύσατο.

Conjectural emendation: Lightfoot, Παπίας . . . φάσκει ὅτι Ἰωάννης [μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως κατεδικάσθη μαρτυρῶν εἰς Πάτμον, Ἰάκωβος δὲ] ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθη.

§ 40. Origin, in *Matth.* xvi. 6: πεπώκασιν δὲ ποτήριον, καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ἐβαπτίσθησαν οἱ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου υἱοί, ἐπεὶ περ Ἡρώδης μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν Ἰωάννου μαχαίρῃ· ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἢ παράδοσις διδάσκει, κατεδίκασε τὸν Ἰωάννην μαρτυροῦντα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς Πάτμον τὴν νῆσον.

Conjectural reconstruction of source of de Boor Fragment and Chronicon: Bernard,—Common to both . . . ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀγγρέθη [σαν]. ΟΑΔΕΛΦΟΣΤΟΥΚΥΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ read as ΟΑΔΕΛΦΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΗΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ.

§ 41. *Argumentum Iohannis* ex Cod. Reginae Suetiae. Euangelium Iohannis manifestatum et datum ecclesiis ab Iohanne adhuc in corpore constituto; sicut Papias nomine, Hieropolitanus, discipulus Iohannis carus, in exotericis,¹ id est in extremis² quinque libris retulit; descripsit uero euangelium dictante Iohanne recte. Uerum Martion haereticus cum ab eo fuisset improbatu eo quod contraria sentiebat, abiectus est a Iohanne. Is uero scripta uel epistolas ad eum pertulerat a fratribus qui in Ponto fuerunt.

Conjectural emendation: Lightfoot, ¹exegeticis, ²externis. Corssen, ¹ἐξωτερικοῖς, ²externis or extraneis. Schwartz, ¹and ²ἐξηγητικῶν εἶ[=πεμπτοι].

§ 42. Syriac Martyrology (Greek version of Duchesne). Τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν τῶν μαρτύρων (sc. ὁμολογητῶν) καὶ νικητῶν καὶ αἱ ἡμέραι αὐτῶν ἐν αἷς ἔλαβον τοὺς στεφάνους.

Μητὶ Κανοῖν τῷ προτέρῳ

κς' καθ' Ἑλλήνας. — Ὁ πρῶτος μάρτυρ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, Στέφανος ὁ ἀπόστολος, ὁ κορυφαῖος τῶν μαρτύρων. καὶ κζ'. — Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰάκωβος οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.

καὶ κη' Κανοῖν τῷ προτέρῳ. —

Ἐν Ρώμῃ τῇ πόλει Παῦλος ἀπόστολος καὶ Συμεὼν Κηφᾶς ὁ κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

4. INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

1) Author:—not named, but eye-witness (i. 14, 16; xix. 26, 34; I Jn. i. 1-4; iv. 14) and identified with John in xxi. 24. 2) Place and Time:—after Syn. Gospels (iii. 24), and author in old age (xxi. 22ff.). 3) Readers:—Christians familiar with Syn. tradition of Jesus' life. 4) Purpose:—xx. 30—to set forth in a narrative of His life and work the essentially divine Jesus as the object of Christian faith and the source of spiritual life. Hier., Euseb., Clem. Alex. Relation to Syn. Gospels supplementary (narrative element and discourses). Testimony of John the Baptist. Reality of incarnation, life, death and resurrection vs. docetism. Attitude toward Judaism. 5) Character:—a Gospel but historical and doctrinal vs. allegory and fiction or ideal history. Authenticity (geographical, linguistic, social, religious, political phenomena). Criticism of v. 2; xi. 49, 51; xviii. 13.

5. TEXT.

1) Integrity:—(1) vii. 53-viii. 11. Omitted in ⚡ B L T X Δ mss of it go sah cop syr ^{sn} ^{cu} arm Orig Chry Cyr Nonn Cosm Thphyl Tert marked with asterisk or obelisk in some mss, in 225 after vii. 26,

in some after Lk. xxi, in others after end of Jn. Inserted in D F (from viii. 10) G H K U Γ (E M S Δ Π with asterisk or obelisk) Greek and Latin mss known to Hier mss of it vg aeth syr^{hr} Aug.

Documentary, intrinsic and transcriptional evidence for omission. Authenticity and theories of origin.

(2) v. 4. Omitted in \aleph B C* D 33 157 134 mss of it and vg syr^{cu} sah cop arm Nonn marked with asterisk in S Π with obelisk in Δ Inserted in A C^o E F G H I K L M (S) U V Γ (Δ Π) mss of it vg syr^{seh hier} cop arm Chry Cyr Amb.

Omission is Neutral (Alex.) and Western; insertion Syrian.

(3) xxi. 25. Omitted in \aleph^* . Inserted in \aleph^a A B C D etc.
2) Order. Tatian and syr^{sin}.

6. CONTENTS.

- I. PROLOGUE. i. 1-18.
 1. Eternal Existence and Activity of the Logos. i. 1-5.
 2. Function of John. i. 6-8.
 3. Revealing Activity of the Logos. i. 9-13.
 4. Incarnation of the Logos. i. 14-18.
- II. INTRODUCTION TO THE MESSIANIC WORK OF JESUS. i. 19-ii. 12.
 1. Witness of John and the First Disciples of Jesus. i. 19-51.
 2. First Messianic Sign at Cana. ii. 1-11.
 3. Sojourn in Capernaum. ii. 12.
- III. MESSIANIC WORK OF JESUS. ii. 13-xi. 57.
 1. In Jerusalem and Judea. ii. 13-iii. 36.
 - 1) Cleansing the Temple and Reference to the Passion (*Passover*). ii. 13-22.
 - 2) Signs in Jerusalem. ii. 23-25.
 - 3) Conversation with Nicodemus. iii. 1-21.
 - 4) Work in Judea and Testimony of John. iii. 22-36.
 2. In Samaria (*Three Months before Harvest*). iv. 1-42.
 - 1) Withdrawal from Judea and Journey through Samaria. iv. 1-6.
 - 2) Conversation with a Samaritan Woman at Jacob's Well and Teaching concerning Messiahship and Spiritual Worship of God. iv. 7-42.
 3. In Galilee. iv. 43-54.
 - 1) Second Messianic Sign at Cana—Healing of Nobleman's Son.
 4. In Jerusalem (*Feast of the Jews*) v. 1-47.
 - 1) Jesus Healing a Man at the Pool of Bethesda on the Sabbath and Teaching concerning His Relation to God.
 5. In Galilee (*Passover*). vi. 1-vii. 1.
 - 1) Feeding the 5,000 and Teaching concerning the Bread of Life. vi. 1-71.
 - 2) Jesus Remains in Galilee because of the Hostility of the Jews. vii. 1.

6. In Jerusalem. vii. 2-x. 42.
 - 1) Journey to Jerusalem (*Tabernacles*). vii. 2-13.
 - 2) Teaching in the Temple concerning the Law. vii. 14-31.
 - 3) Chief Priests and Pharisees seek to seize Jesus and Teaching concerning His Departure. vii. 32-37.
 - 4) Teaching concerning the Water of Life. vii. 37-52.
(*Pericope adulterae*. vii. 53-viii. 11)
 - 5) Teaching concerning the Light of the World. viii. 12-20.
 - 6) Teaching concerning His Departure. viii. 21-59.
 - 7) Healing a Blind Man on the Sabbath. ix. 1-41.
 - 8) Door of the Sheep and the Good Shepherd. x. 1-21.
 - 9) Witness of Jesus' Works (*Dedication*). x. 22-39.
 - 10) Jesus retires beyond Jordan. x. 40-42.
 7. In Bethany and Jerusalem. xi. 1-xii. 50.
 - 1) Teaching concerning the Resurrection and the Raising of Lazarus. xi. 1-46.
 - 2) Decision of the Sanhedrin to put Jesus to Death. xi. 47-53.
 - 3) Jesus retires to Ephraim. xi. 54-57.
 - 4) Supper in Bethany (*six days before Passover*). xii. 1-11.
 - 5) Triumphal Entry. xii. 12-19.
 - 6) Greeks seek Jesus and Teaching in Temple. xii. 20-50.
- IV. PASSION OF JESUS. xiii. 1-xxi. 25.
1. Last Supper (*Passover*). xiii. 1-xiv. 31.
 - 1) Washing the Disciples' Feet. xiii. 1-20.
 - 2) Announcement of Betrayal. xiii. 21-30.
 - 3) New Commandment of Love. xiii. 31-35.
 - 4) Announcement of Peter's Denial. xiii. 36-38.
 - 5) Going Away of Jesus. xiv. 1-14.
 - 6) Coming of the Paraclete. xiv. 15-31.
 2. Teaching concerning
 - 1) Vine and Branches. xv. 1-16.
 - 2) Hatred of the World. xv. 17-xvi. 11.
 - 3) Spirit of Truth. xvi. 12-16.
 - 4) Near Approach of Separation. xvi. 17-22.
 - 5) Prayer in Jesus' Name. xvi. 23-33.
 3. High-Priestly Prayer of Jesus. xvii. 1-26.
 4. Arrest of Jesus. xviii. 1-11.
 5. Trial of Jesus. xviii. 12-xix. 16.
 - 1) Before Annas. xviii. 12-14, 19-25.
 - a) Peter's Denial. xviii. 15-18, 25-27.
 - 2) Before Pilate. xviii. 28-xix. 16.
 6. Crucifixion. xix. 17-37.
 7. Burial. xix. 38-42.
 8. Resurrection. xx. 1-xxi. 25.
 - 1) Empty Tomb. xxi. 1-10.
 - 2) Appearance to Mary Magdalene. xxi. 11-18.
 - 3) Appearance to Ten Disciples. xx. 19-23.

- 4) Doubt of Thomas and Appearance to Eleven Disciples. xx. 24-29.
- 5) Conclusion and Purpose of Gospel. xx. 30-31.
- 6) Appearance to Seven Disciples in Galilee and Peter's Commission. xxi. 1-23.
- 7) Witness of the Author. xxi. 24-25.

X. POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

I. ROMAN PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

In 27 B. C. Augustus divided the provinces with the Senate (Dio Cassius liii. 12, cf. Strabo, 840). I. SENATORIAL PROVINCES. a) Consular. b) Praetorian. Administered by Proconsuls who held office yearly (with some exceptions, Marquardt i. 545, n 6); appointment was by the Senate by lot (with Imperial supervision). II. IMPERIAL PROVINCES. a) Consular (Syria). b) Praetorian. Administered by Legates (*legati Augusti pro praetore*) who were appointed by the Emperor and held office at his pleasure. c) Equestrian (Judea). Administered by Procurators (with the *jus gladii*) who were responsible directly to the Emperor.

ROMAN EMPERORS.

| | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| Julius Caesar † Mar. 15, 44 B. C. | Titus 79-Sep 13, 81 |
| Battle of Actium Sep 2, 31 | Domitian 81-Sep 18, 96 |
| Augustus ¹ Jan 27 B. C.-Aug 19, 14 A. D. | Nerva 96-Jan 25, 98 |
| Tiberius 14-Mar 16, 37 | Trajan 98-Aug 9, 117 |
| Caligula 37-Jan 24, 41 | Hadrian 117-July 10, 138 |
| Claudius 41-Oct 13, 54 | Antonius Pius 138-Mar 7, 161 |
| Nero 54-June 9, 68 | Marcus Aurelius 161-Mar 17, 180 |
| Galba, Otho, Vitellius 69 | Lucius Verus 161-Jan-Feb 169 |
| Vespasian July 1-3, 69-June 23, 79 | Commodus 180-Dec 31, 192 |

¹ The reign of Augustus is variously reckoned from, a) Death of Julius Caesar, Mar 15, 44—57y, 5m, 5d. b) First Consulship, Aug 19, 43—56y. c) Triumvirate, Nov 27, 43—55y, 8m, 24d. d) Battle of Actium, Sep 2, 31—44y-14d. e) Entrance into Alexandria, Aug 29, 30—43y-10d. f) The *anni augustani* were reckoned from the assumption of the name Augustus on the Ides of Jan (13) 27; in Rome from Jan. 1, 27; in Alexandria from Jan. 1, 29.

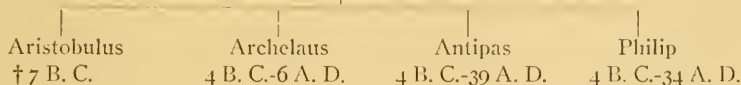
2. THE HERODIANS.

On the death of Herod the Great his territory was divided among his three sons (*Ant.* xvii. 11, 4): a) Archelaus received Judea, Samaria and Idumea with the title of Ethnarch and ruled 10 years. He was deposed in 6 A. D. and banished to Gaul (*Ant.* xvii. 13, 2). b) Antipas received Galilee and Perea with the title of Tetrarch and ruled 43 years. He was deposed in 39 and banished to Gaul (*Ant.* xviii. 7, 2; *B. J.* ii. 9, 6). c) Philip received

Bataonæa, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulanitis, Pnias and Iturea (*Ant.* xvii. 8, 1; *B. J.* ii. 6, 3; *Lk.* iii. 1) with the title of Tetrarch and ruled 37 years (*Ant.* xviii. 4, 6). He died in 34.

THE HERODIANS.

Herod the Great, 40 (37)-4 B. C.



Herod Agrippa I 37, 40, 41-44 A. D.

Herod Agrippa II 50, 53-c. 100.

3. ROMAN PROCURATORS AND AGRIPPA.

When Archelaus was deposed, his territory was organized into a Roman province (Imperial-Equestrian). Quirinius, the legate of Syria, made a census (which caused an insurrection led by Judas, the Galilean) and Coponius came as Procurator (*Ant.* xvii. 13, 5; xviii. 1, 1; *B. J.* ii. 8, 1). This territory was administered by Procurators until 41 when it was given by Claudius to Herod Agrippa I (*Ant.* xix. 5, 1; *B. J.* ii. 11, 5; Dio Cassius, lx. 8) who had already received the territory of Philip in 37 (*Ant.* xviii. 6, 10; *B. J.* ii. 9, 6) and that of Antipas in 40 (*Ant.* xviii. 7, 2). Agrippa I thus united again under his rule the territory of his grandfather, Herod the Great; but he reigned over it only three years and died in 44 (*Ant.* xix. 8, 2; Acts xii. 3ff). His territory was organized into a Roman province and administered by Procurators (*Ant.* xix. 9, 2; *B. J.* ii. 11, 6) until the outbreak of the war with Rome (*Ant.* xxi. 11, 1; *B. J.* ii. 14, 4). Only, in 53 Claudius gave the territory of Philip to Agrippa II (instead of the territory of his Uncle, Herod of Chalcis, which Agrippa had received in c. 50, with the title of King and the right—exercised also by his Uncle—of appointing the High-priests in Jerusalem. *Ant.* xx. 7, 1; *B. J.* ii. 12, 8; cf. *Ant.* xx. 1, 3; 5, 2; 9, 7; *B. J.* ii. 11, 6; 12, 1). Agrippa (Acts xxv. 13ff) lived until c. 100. The war with Rome broke out in the spring (Iyar—May) of 66 and Jerusalem was taken and destroyed by Titus in the summer (Ab—Aug) 70. The war with Rome under Hadrian, in which Simon? Barkocha (Barkosiba) played a leading part, began in 132 and ended in 135 (Dio Cassius, lxxix. 12ff; cf. Justin, *Apol.* i. 31; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 6, 1). The city was again destroyed; the Jews were expelled and

forbidden to return; and Hadrian carried out his plan of establishing on the site of Jerusalem a Roman city—called Aelia Capitolina (Dio Cassius, lxi. 12).

ROMAN PROCURATORS.

| JUDEA, SAMARIA, IDUMEA. (Territory of Archelaus) | PALESTINE. (Territory of Herod Agrippa I) |
|---|--|
| Coponius 6 A. D. | Cuspius Fadus 44-46 |
| M. Ambivius 10 | Tiberius Alexander 46-48 |
| Annius Rufus 13 | Ventidius Cumanus 48 |
| Valerius Gratus 15-26 | Claudius Felix 52 (exc. Agrippa II) |
| Pontius Pilate 26-35(36) | Porcius Festus 60(56?)-62 |
| Marcellus 35(36) | Albinus 62-64 |
| Maryllus 38-41 | Gessius-Florus 65-66 |
| War with Rome 66; fall of Jerusalem (Titus) 70; | |
| War with Rome under Hadrian 132-135. | |

XI. RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS.

1. THE SYNAGOGUE. Origin; Function; Service; Influence.
2. JEWISH PARTIES (*Ant.* xiii. 5, 9; 10, 5-6; xvii. 2, 4; xviii. 1-4; xx. 9, 1; *B. J.* ii. 8, 14; *Vita* ii; xxviii; N. T.). Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, Zealots, Herodians (Mk. iii. 6; xii. 13; Matt. xxii. 16).
3. MESSIANIC IDEAS. O. T. prophecy—the kingdom; the covenant; and the future (the Messiah). Legalism and apocalyptic. Elements of the Messianic idea: Types—politico-national; eschatological; ethico-spiritual and supernatural.

XII. CHRONOLOGY.

1. JEWISH CALENDAR. Twelve lunar months (29-30 days)—intercalary months every second or third year. Civil year began with Tishri, religious with Nisan. The week (*τὸ σάββατον, τὰ σάββαρα* from Aramaic)—seven days, numbered (Mk. xvi. 2 *τῆ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων*; cf. Matt. xxviii. 1; Lk. xiii. 10; xxiv. 1; Jn. xx. 1, 19; Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2); the sixth day was called *παρασκευή* (Matt. xxvii. 62; Mk. xv. 42; Lk. xxiii. 54; Jn. xix. 14, 31, 42), the seventh *σάββατον, σάββαρα*. The day began with evening after sun-set (Mk. i. 32); the night was divided into periods or watches (Matt. xxiv. 43; Mk. vi. 48; but hours in Acts xxiii. 23); the day into twelve hours, the sixth hour being noon (Jn. xi. 9; Mk. xv. 33 etc.).

MONTHS.

| | | | |
|---|-----------|---------------|---------|
| 1 Nisan | Mar-Apr | 7 Tishri | Sep-Oct |
| 2 Iyar | Apr-May | 8 Marcheshvan | Oct-Nov |
| 3 Sivan | May-June | 9 Chislev | Nov-Dec |
| 4 Tammuz | June-July | 10 Tebeth | Dec-Jan |
| 5 Ab | July-Aug | 11 Shebat | Jan-Feb |
| 6 Elul | Aug-Sep | 12 Adar | Feb-Mar |
| 13 Veadar or Adar Hascheni (intercalary). | | | |

FEASTS.

| | | | |
|-------------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|
| Passover | Nisan 14-15 | Day of Atonement | Tishri 10 |
| Unleavened Bread | Nisan 15-21 | Tabernacles | Tishri 15-22 |
| Pentecost (Weeks) | Sivan 6 | Dedication | Chislev 25 |
| | Purim | Adar 14-15 | |

ERAS.

Olympic (Oly.) from July 1, 776 B. C., in periods of four years.
 Varronian (A. U. C.) from Apr. 1, 753 B. C.
 Seleucid (Sel.) from Oct 1, 312 B. C.
 Dionysian (A. D.) from Mar. 25 (later Jan. 1) 754 A. U. C.
 B. C. 1—Oly. 194, 4, A. U. C. 753, Sel. 312.
 A. D. 1—Oly. 195, 1, A. U. C. 754, Sel. 313.

2. BIRTH OF JESUS.

1) Matt. ii. 1, 19; Lk. i. 5, 36. Jesus was born before the death of Herod the Great. Herod died in the spring of 4 B. C. (1) *Ant.* xvii. 8, 1; *B. J.* i. 33, 7-8:—death of Herod 37 years after he was made king by the Romans and 34 years after he had taken Jerusalem. *Ant.* xiv. 14, 4-5; *B. J.* i. 14, 4:—Herod made king by Romans in 40 B. C. *Ant.* xiv. 16, 1-3; *B. J.* i. 17, 9; 18, 1-3; Dio Cassius, xlix. 22:—Herod captured Jerusalem in 37 B. C. (2) *Ant.* xvii. 6, 4:—eclipse of moon just before Herod's death; eclipses visible in Palestine—Sep. 15, 5 B. C.; Mar 12, 4 B. C.; Jan. 9, 1 B. C. (3) *Ant.* xviii. 13, 2; *B. J.* ii. 7, 3; Dio Cassius lv. 27:—Archelaus deposed in 6 A. D. in tenth year of his reign. (4) *Ant.* xviii. 7, 1-2; cf. xviii. 6, 11; xix. 8, 2:—Antipas deposed probably in summer 39 A. D.; coins with inscription ΜΓ 43; later coins uncertain. (5) *Ant.* xviii. 4, 6:—Philip died in 20th year of Tiberius (Aug. 19, 33-34) after reign of 37 years; era of Caesarea Philippi from 3 B. C. (6) *Ant.* xvii. 8, 4; 9, 4:—Archelaus mourned for Herod five days, was present at Passover and went to Rome; Passover in 4 B. C., c. Apr. 12; Herod died between Mar. 13 and Apr. 7.

2) Lk. ii. 1-2. Enrolment of Quirinius. (1) Lk. ii. 2 *πρώτη*. a) first Roman enrolment (periodic, 14 years); b) first under Quirinius,

distinguished from enrolment of territory of Archelaus by Quirinius in 7 A. D. (cf. Acts v. 37; *Ant.* xvii. 13, 5; xviii. 1, 1; 2, 1; xx. 5, 2; *B. J.* ii. 17, 7; vii. 8, 1). (2) Periodic enrolments in Egypt traceable to 20 A. D. (G. and H. *Oxy. Papyri*, ii. ccliv, pp. 207ff.). Indictional year—8 B. C. Tert, *adv. Marc.* iv. 19 under S. Saturninus; cf. also Justin *Apol.* i. 34. (3) Enrolment under Quirinius in Apameia (Lapis Venetus). (4) Quirinius twice in Syria (Lapis Tiburtinus; Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 48—conquered Homonadenses in Cilicia); second time 7 A. D.; first time, Mommsen 3-2 B. C., Ramsay 7-4 as legate in command of the troops when Varus was legate in charge of the civil administration, the enrolment in Palestine being delayed by Herod until 6 B. C. (cf. *Ant.* xvi. 9, 3; xvii. 2, 4).

LEGATES OF SYRIA.

| Mommsen. | Ramsay. |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| M. Titius 9 B. C. | M. Titius 9 B. C. |
| C. S. Saturninus 8 B. C. • | C. S. Saturninus 9-7 B. C. |
| P. Q. Varus 6-4 B. C. | P. Q. Varus 7-4 B. C. |
| P. S. Quirinius 3-2 B. C. | P. S. Quirinius 7-4 B. C. |
| L. V. Saturninus 4-5 A. D. | L. V. Saturninus 4-5 A. D. |
| P. S. Quirinius 6 A. D. | P. S. Quirinius 6 A. D. |

§ 43. LAPIS TIBURTINUS (Mommsen, *Res ges. d. Aug.* 1883, p. 177; cf. C. I. L. xiv. 3613) . p. *sulpicius p. f.* ^a *quirinius* ¹ *cos.* | | *pr. pro consul. cretam et cyrenas* ² *provinciam optinuit* | | *legatus pr. pr. diui* ³ *augusti syriam et phoenicen optinens* | *bellum gessit cum gente homonaden-* | *sium quae interfecerat* ⁴ *amytam* | *REGEM* · *QVA* · *REDACTA* · *IN POTESTATEM imp. caesaris* | *AVGVSTI* · *POPVLIOVE* · *ROMANI* · *SENATUS dis immortalibus* | *SVPPPLICATIONES* · *BINAS* · *OB* · *RES* · *PROSPERE ab eo gestas et* | *IPSI* · *ORNAMENTA TRIVMPHALIA decreuit* | *PRO* · *CONSVL* · *ASIAM* · *PROVINCIAM* · *optinuit legatus pr. pr.* | *DIVI* · *AVGVSTI ITERVM* · *SYRIAM* · *ET* · *PHOENICEN optinuit*

Ramsay (*Was Christ Born in Beth.* 1898, p. 273) reads:— ¹ *cos. datus rector Gaio* | *Caesari Divi Augusti nepoti* | ² *provinciam* | *optinens Marmaridis et Garamantas subegit* | ³ *Augusti Syriacas legio-* | *nes optinens* ⁴ *Amytam Galatarum* | *REGEM* ⁵ *Phoenicen provinciam optinens regnum Archelai in provinciae formam redegit.*

^a Concerning the reference of the inscription to Quirinius, Mommsen says (*Ibid.* pp. 167f): "Neque ego novam et reconditam doctrinam profero, sed iisdem viris doctis¹ adsensus breviter demonstrabo primum titulum ad C. Sentium Saturninum spectare non posse, deinde in Quirinio non solum nihil obstare, sed indicia quaeque quae supra recensuimus, maxime omnium primum duplicem legationem Syriacam, ita in eum convenire, ut attributio Sanctementiana non solum probabilis habenda sit, sed plane probata."

¹ Sanctementius, Borghesius, Henzenus, Nipperdeius.

§ 44. LAPIS VENETUS ¹ (*Ephemeris Epigraphica*, iv, p. 538; C. I. L. v¹. 136*. Ramsay, *Was Christ Born in Beth.* p. 274. Mommsen, *Res. ges. d. Aug.* 1883, p. 166) · q · acmilivs · q · f | pal. SECVNDVS in | CASTRIS · DIVI · AVG · sub | P · SVLPICIO · QUIRINIO · LEG · aug · | CAESARIS · SYRIAE · HONORI | BVS · DECORATVS · PRAEFECT | COHORT · AVG · I · PRAEFECT | COHORT · II · CLASSICAE · IDEM | IVSSV · QVIRINI · CENSVM · EGI | APAMENAE · CIVITATIS · MIL | LIVM · HOMIN · CIVIVM · CXVII | IDEM | MISSV · QVIRINI · ADVERSVS | ITVRAEOS · IN · LIBANO · MONTE · | CASTELLVM · EORVM · CEPI · ET · ANTE | MILITIEM · PRAEFECT · FABRVN · | DELATVS · A · DVVBVS · COS · AD · AE | RARIVM ET · IN · COLONIA · | QVAESTOR · AEDIL · II · DVVMVIR · II | PONTIFEXS | IBI · POSITI · SVNT · Q · AEMILIVS · Q · F · PAL | SECVNDVS · F · ET · AEMILIA · CIIIA · LIB | II · M · AMPLIVS · II · N · S.

¹In C. I. L. classed among "Inscriptiones Falsae;" but Mommsen says (l. c.): "Accedit titulus Venetus vel potius Berytensis nuper vindicatus (*Eph. epigr.* 4 p. 538)"; cf. also Ramsay, *Was Christ Born in Beth.*, p. 150.

§ 45. Papyrus 904 (A. D. 104). Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, 1907, iii, pp. 124f.

Γ[αιος Ου]βιο[ς Μαξιμος επα]ρχ[ος]

Διγυπτ[ου]

της κατ οι[κίαν απογραφης συ]νεστο[σης]

αναγκαιον [τους αποδημησαντα]ς καθ η[ντινα]

δηποτε αιτ[ιαν απο των εαυτων]

νομων προσο[ναγκαι]σαι επα[νελ]

θειν εις τα εαυ[των ε]φεςτια ι[α]

και την συνηθη [οι]κονομιαν τ[ης απο]

γραφης πληρωσωσιν και τη πρ[ασ]ηκου]

ση αυτοις γεωργια προσκαρτερησω[σιν]

κτλ

3) Jn. ii. 20; Lk. iii. 23. Temple 46 years building at first passover of Jesus' Ministry; Jesus about 30 at Baptism. *Ant.* xv. 11, 1; Dio Cassius liv. 7; cf. *B. J.* i. 21, 1:—Herod began Temple 20 B. C.

4) Lk. iii. 1, 23. John began work in 15th year of Tiberius; Jesus about 30. Augustus died Aug. 19, 14 A. D. Tiberius associated with Augustus in 11-12.

Birth of Jesus c. 6 or 5 B. C. Baptism c. 26 or 27 A. D.

3. DEATH OF JESUS.

1) Before 36. Pilate 26-36; Caiaphas 18-36; Herod Antipas 4 B. C.-39 A. D.

2) Not less than one or more than three years after the first passover after the Baptism. Syn. Gospels imply ministry of one year or more; Jn. mentions three passovers (ii. 23; vi. 4; xiii. 1ff.).

Length of ministry two years, if Jn. vi. 4 second passover; three years, if Jn. vi. 4 third passover,—Jn. v. 1 being a passover or some feast subsequent to the second passover.

Death of Jesus in 29 or 30; on Friday Nisan 15 (Syn. tradition) or 14? Jn. xviii. 28.

[Faint handwritten notes and calculations, possibly a calendar or chronology, including numbers like 23, 27, 28, and 29.]

PART II.

LIFE OF JESUS.

(6/5 B. C.-29/30 A. D.)

I. HISTORICAL BEGINNINGS.

(6/5 B. C.-26/27 A. D.)

I. Order of Events.

- 1) Promise of John's Birth (Lk. i. 5-25).
- 2) Promise of Jesus' Birth (Lk. i. 26-38).
- 3) Visit of Mary to Elisabeth (Lk. i. 39-56).
- 4) Birth of John (Lk. i. 57-80).
- 5) Birth of Jesus (Matt. i. 18-25; Lk. ii. 1-20).
- 6) Circumcision and Presentation (Lk. ii. 21-38).
- 7) Visit of Magi (Matt. ii. 1-12).
- 8) Flight into Egypt (Matt. ii. 13-15).
- 9) Slaughter of Children by Herod (Matt. ii. 16-18).
- 10) Return to Nazareth (Matt. ii. 19-23; Lk. ii. 39-40).
- 11) Boyhood of Jesus (Lk. ii. 39-52).
2. Prologue of Fourth Gospel (Jn. i. 1-18).
3. Birth of John the Baptist (Lk. iii. 23-38).
4. Genealogies (Matt. i. 1-17; Lk. iii. 23-38).
5. Birth of Jesus (Matt. i. 18-ii. 23; Lk. ii. 1-38).
6. Harmony and Characteristics.
7. Supernatural Conception and Virgin Birth.
 - 1) Philosophical principles and historical evidence.
 - 2) Character of evidence. (1) Integrity of Matt. and Lk. (2) Integrity of Matt. i.-ii. Syr^{sia} i. 16. (3) Integrity of Lk. i.-ii. Harnack, i. 34-35.
 - 3) Sources of Matt. and Lk. (1) Character—Jewish Christian. (2) Independent—Joseph and Mary. (3) Common—Hebrew Infancy Gospel (Resch); Protevang. of James (Conrady).
 - 4) Historical Objections. (1) Genealogies. (2) Quirinius. (3) Silence of N. T. (4) Contradictions in Gospels. (5) Angels. (6) Home of Joseph. (7) Star.
 - 5) Review of Opinion.
 - (1) Positive—Apostolic Age. Ignatius (*Eph.* xviii; xix; *Tral.* ix). Justin (1 *Apol.* xxxiii; *Dial.* lxxviii). Irenaeus (*Haer.* iii. 21, 10). Tertullian (*d. Carne Chr.* xviii). Clement Alex. (*Strom.* vi. 15, 127).
 - (2) Negative—Cerinthus (*Iren. Haer.* i. 26). Ebionites

(Iren. *Haer.* iii. 21, 1; v. 1, 3; Epiph, *Haer.* xxx. 3).
 Marcion (Iren. *Haer.* i. 27, 2). Celsus (Orig. *c. Cel.*
 i. 28ff). Strauss (mythical theory). Problem of
 origin: a) Jewish source—O. T. (Harnack, Lob-
 stein); Philo (Völter, Conybeare). b) Gentile
 source — Graeco-Roman (Usener); Babylonian
 (Gunkel, Apoc. xii. 1-6; Jensen, Gilgamesch-Epos).

8. Boyhood of Jesus. Growth. Visit to Temple. Significance
 of the words (Lk. ii. 49): *τί ὅτι ἐζητείτέ με; οὐκ ᾔδειτε ὅτι ἐν*
τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου δεῖ εἶναι με;

GENEALOGIES.

| MATTHEW | LUKE | MATTHEW | LUKE |
|--------------|---------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| I | | | |
| Jesus | 1 God | 11 Boaz | 32 Boaz |
| David | 2 Adam | 12 Obed | 33 Obed |
| Abraham | 3 Seth | 13 Jesse | 34 Jesse |
| | 4 Enos | 14 David | 35 David |
| | 5 Cainan | | |
| | 6 Mahalaleel | 1 Solomon | 36 Nathan |
| | 7 Jared | 2 Rehoboam | 37 Mattatha |
| | 8 Enoch | 3 Abijah | 38 Menna |
| | 9 Methuselah | 4 Asa | 39 Melca |
| | 10 Lamech | 5 Jehoshaphat | 40 Eliakim |
| | 11 Noah | 6 Joram | 41 Jonam |
| | 12 Shem | 7 Uzziah | 42 Joseph |
| | 13 Arphaxad | 8 Jotham | 43 Judas |
| | 14 Cainan | 9 Ahaz | 44 Symeon |
| | 15 Shelah | 10 Hezekiah | 45 Levi |
| | 16 Eber | 11 Manasseh | 46 Matthat |
| | 17 Peleg | 12 Amon | 47 Jorim |
| | 18 Reu | 13 Josiah | 48 Eliezer |
| | 19 Serug | 14 Jechoniah | 49 Jesus |
| | 20 Nahor | | |
| 2 | 21 Terah | | 50 Er |
| 1 Abraham | 22 Abraham | | 51 Elmadam |
| 2 Isaac | 23 Isaac | | 52 Cosam |
| 3 Jacob | 24 Jacob | | 53 Addi |
| 4 Judah | 25 Judah | | 54 Melchi |
| 5 Perez | 26 Perez | | 55 Neri |
| 6 Hezron | 27 Hezron | 1 Shealtiel | 56 Shealtiel |
| 7 Ram (Aram) | 28 Arni (Aram) (Admin) | 2 Zerubbabel | 57 Zerubbabel |
| 8 Amminadab | 29 Amminadab | | 58 Rhesa |
| 9 Nahshon | 30 Nahshon | 3 Abiud | 59 Joanan |
| 10 Salmon | 31 Salmon | 4 Eliakim | 60 Joda |
| | | | 61 Josech |

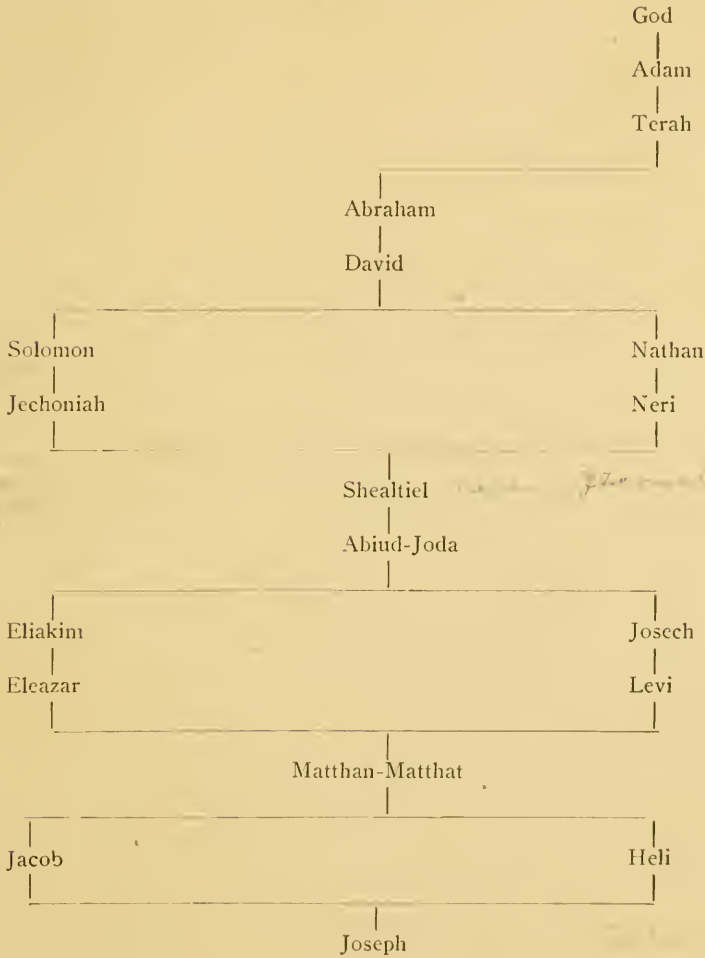
GENEALOGIES

| | | |
|-----------|----------------|------------|
| 5 Azor | 62 Semcin | 70 Joseph |
| 6 Sadoc | 63 Mattathias | 71 Jannai |
| 7 Achim | 64 Maath | 72 Melchi |
| 8 Eliud | 65 Naggai | 73 Levi |
| 9 Eleazer | 66 Esli | 74 Matthat |
| | 67 Nahum | 75 Heli |
| | 68 Amos | 76 Joseph |
| | 69 Mattathias | Jesus |
| | 10 Matthan | Jesus |
| | 11 Jacob | |
| | 12 Joseph—Mary | |

MATTHEW

MATTHEW-LUKE

LUKE



§ 46. Pseudo-Chrysostom. *In Natalem Christi Diem* (Montfaucon vi. 459ff.) Μυστήριον ξένον καὶ παράδοξον βλέπω· ποιμένες μου περιηγοῦσι τὰ ὄντα, οὐκ ἔρημον συνρίζοντες μέλος, ἀλλ' οὐράνιοι ἄδοντες ἕμνον. Ἄγγελοι ἄδουσιν, ἀρχιάγγελοι μέλπουσιν, ἕμνεῖ τὰ Χερουβίμ, δοξολογεῖ τὰ Σεραφίμ, πάντες ἐορτάζουσιν Θεὸν ἐπὶ γῆς ὄρωντες, καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐν οὐρανοῖς· τὸν ἄνω κάτω δι' οἰκονομίαν, καὶ τὸν κάτω ἄνω διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν. Σήμερον Βηθλεὲμ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐμμήσατο· ἀντὶ μὲν ἀστέρων ἀγγέλους ἕμνοῦντας δεξιμένη, ἀντὶ δὲ ἡλίου τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀπεριγράπτως χωρήσασα. Καὶ μὴ ζήτηί πῶς· ὅπου γὰρ βούλεται Θεός, νικάται φύσεως τάξις. Ἡβουλήθη γὰρ, ἡδυνήθη, κατήλθεν, ἔσωσε· σὺνδρομα τὰ πάντα τῷ Θεῷ. Σήμερον ὁ ὢν τίκτεται, καὶ ὁ ὢν γίνεται ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν· ὢν γὰρ Θεός, γίνεται ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἐκστὺς τοῦ εἶναι Θεός. Οὐδὲ γὰρ κατ' ἐκστασιν θεότητος γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, οὐδὲ πάλιν κατὰ προκοπὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γέγονε Θεός· ἀλλὰ Λόγος ὢν, διὰ τὸ ἀπαθὲς σὰρξ ἐγένετο, ἀμεταβλήτου μειούσης τῆς φύσεως. Ἄλλ' ὅτε μὲν ἐτέχθη, Ἰουδαῖοι ἠρνοῦντο τὸν ξένον τόκον, καὶ Φαρισαῖοι παρηर्मίνεον τὰς θείας βίβλους, καὶ γραμματεῖς ὑπειναντία τοῦ νόμου ἐλάουν· Ἡρώδης τὸν τεχθέντα ἐζήτηί, οὐχ ἵνα αὐτὸν τιμήσῃ, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀπολέσῃ. Σήμερον γὰρ πάντα ὑπειναντία εἶδον. Οὐκ ἐκρίβη γὰρ, κατὰ τὸν ψαλμῶδον, ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν εἰς γενεὰν ἑτέραν. Βασιλεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἦλθον, τὸν ἐπουράνιον βασιλεία θαυμάζοντες, ὅτι πῶς ἐπὶ γῆς ἦλθεν οὐκ ἀγγέλους ἔχων, οὐκ ἀρχαγγέλους, οὐ θρόνους, οὐ κυριότητας, οὐ δυνάμεις, οὐκ ἐξουσίας, ἀλλὰ ξένην καὶ ἀτριβῆ βαδίσας ὁδὸν, ἐξ ἀγεωργήτου προῆλθε γαστρός, οὔτε τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ ἐρήμους τῆς ἐπιστασίας αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν, οὔτε τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνανθρωπήσει τῆς οἰκείας θεότητος ἐκστὺς· ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖς μὲν τὸν ἐπουράνιον βασιλεία τῆς δόξης ἦλθον προσκυνησάντες, στρατιῶται δὲ τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον τῆς δυνάμεως θεραπεύσαντες· . . . οἱ ποιμένες τὸν ποιμένα τὸν καλὸν, τὸν τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων προθέμενον· οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ ἀρχιερέα γενόμενον· οἱ δοῦλοι τὸν μορφὴν δοῦλου λαβόντα, ἵνα ἡμῶν τὴν δουλείαν ἐλευθερίᾳ τιμήσῃ· . . . καὶ ἵνα συντόμως εἶπω, πάντες οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἦλθον ἰδεῖν τὸν ἀμνὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν αἴρωντα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, μάγοι δορυφοροῦντες, ποιμένες εὐλογοῦντες, τελῶναι εὐαγγελιζόμενοι, πόρνοι μυροφοροῦσαι, Σαμαρεῖτις πηγὴν διψῶσα ζωῆς, Χαναταῖα πίστιν ἀνευδοίαστον ἔχουσα. Πάντων οὖν σκιρτώντων, σκιρτήσαι θέλω καὶ γὰρ, χορεῖσαι βούλομαι, πανηγυρίσαι θέλω· χορεύω δὲ, οὐ κιθάραν πλήττω, οὐ θυρσὸν κινῶν, οὐκ αὐλοὺς ἔχων, οὐ δᾶδus ἄπτων, ἀλλ' αἰτὶ μουσικῶν ὀργάνων τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σπάργανα φέρων. Αὐτὰ γὰρ μοι ἐλπίς, αὐτὰ μοι ζωὴ, αὐτὰ μοι σωτήρια, αὐτὰ μοι αἰλὸς, αὐτὰ μοι κιθάρα. Διὸ καὶ αὐτὰ ἔρχομαι φέρων, ἵνα τῇ αὐτῶν διείμει ἰσχὴν λόγων λαβὼν μετ' ἀγγέλων εἶπω, Δόξου ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ· μετὰ δὲ ποιμένων, Καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἰδοκία. Σήμερον ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἀρρήτως ἐκ Πατρὸς, ἐκ παρθένου τίκτεται, ἀφράστως δι' ἐμέ. Ἄλλὰ τότε μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς πρὸ αἰῶνων ἐγεννήθη, ὡς ὁ γεννήσας οἶδε· σήμερον δὲ πάλιν παρὰ φύσιν ἐτέχθη, ὡς ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπίσταται χάρις. Καὶ

ἡ ἄνω αὐτοῦ γέννησις ἀληθής, καὶ ἡ κάτω γέννησις ἀψευδής, καὶ ἀληθῶς Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐγεννήθη, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκ παρθένου ἐτέχθη . . . "Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἔτεκεν ἡ παρθένος, σήμερον οἶδα, καὶ ὅτι ἐγέννησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀχρόως, πιστεῖω· τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς γεννήσεως σιωπῇ τιμᾶν μεμάθηκα, καὶ οὐ διὰ λόγων πολυπραγματεῖν παρέλαβον. Ἐπὶ γὰρ Θεοῦ οὐ δεῖ τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος πιστεῖν. Φύσεως γὰρ ἔστι νόμος, ὅταν γυνὴ προσομιλήσασα γάμοις τέκη· ὅταν δὲ παρθένος ἀπειρύγομος τεκοῖσα πάλιν παρθένος φανείη, ἔπερ φύσιν τὸ πρᾶγμα. Τὸ οὖν κατὰ φύσιν ζητήσθω, τὸ δὲ ἔπερ φύσιν σιγῇ τιμάσθω, οὐχ ὡς φεικτὸν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπόρητον, καὶ σιωπῇ τιμᾶσθαι ἄξιον . . . Τί γὰρ εἶπω, ἢ τί λαλήσω; Τὴν τεκοῖσαν ὄρω, τὸν τεχθέντα βλέπω, τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς γεννήσεως οὐ συνωρῶ· νικᾶται γὰρ φύσις, νικᾶται καὶ τάξεως ὄρος, ὅπου Θεὸς βούλεται. Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν γέγονε τὸ πρᾶγμα· ἀλλ' ἔπερ φύσιν τὸ θαῦμα· ἤργησε γὰρ ἡ φύσις, καὶ ἐνήργησε τοῦ Δεσπότητος τὸ βούλημα. *Ὡ χάριτος ἀφράστον. Ὁ πρὸ αἰῶνων Μονογενής, ὁ ἀναφής, καὶ ἀπλοῖς, καὶ ἀσύμυτος, ἐπεισῆλθέ μου τὸ φθαρτὸν καὶ ὄρατον σῶμα. Διὰ τί; Ἴνα βλεπόμενος διδάξῃ, διδάξας δὲ πρὸς τὸ μὴ βλεπόμενον χειραγωγῆσῃ. κτλ.

II. PUBLIC MINISTRY OF JESUS.

(26/27-29/30 A. D.)

I. INTRODUCTION.

(26/27)

1. Work of John the Baptist (Gospels; cf. Acts xviii. 25ff; Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 5, 2). Prophetic character. Moral and Messianic elements. Significance of baptism. Imprisonment and death. Relation to Jesus and conception of His person and work (Jn. i. 29).
2. Baptism of Jesus (Matt. iii. 13-17; Mk. i. 9-11; Lk. iii. 21-23; cf. Jn. i. 32-34). Harmony. Formal character. Meaning. Patristic interpretation. Relation to Messianic consciousness and work. Meaning of the words (Matt. iii. 15): "Ἄφες ἄρτι, οὕτω γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην.
3. Temptation (Matt. iv. 1-11; Mk. i. 12-13; Lk. iv. 1-13). Order. Character. Principle. Origin. Significance. Interpretations.

§ 47. Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 5. 2: Τισὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει ὀλωλέναι τὸν Ἡρώδου στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μάλα δικαίως τινυμένον κατὰ ποινὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου βαπτιστοῦ. κτείνει γὰρ διὰ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κελείοντα ἀρετὴν ἐπασκοῦσιν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνη καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖα χρωμένοις βαπτισμῶ συνίεναι· οὕτω γὰρ διὰ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανείσθαι μὴ ἐπὶ τινῶν ἁμαρτιῶν

παραιτήσῃ χρωμένων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἀγιείᾳ τοῦ σώματος, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνην προεκεκαθαρμένῃς. καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων συστρεφόμενων, καὶ γὰρ ἦσθησαν ἐπὶ πλείστον τῇ ἀκροάσει τῶν λόγων, δείσας Ἡρώδης τὸ ἐπὶ τουσόνδε πιθανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τινὶ φέροι, πάντα γὰρ ἐψέκσαν συμβουλήν τῇ ἐκείνου πράξοντες, πολὺ κρείττον ἡγεῖται πρὶν τι νεώτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι προλαβὼν ἀνελεῖν τοῦ μεταβολῆς γενομένης εἰς πράγματα ἐμπεσὼν μετανοεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑποψία τῇ Ἡρώδου δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα πεμφθεὶς τὸ προειρημένον φρούριον ταύτῃ κτύννυται. τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις δόξα ἦν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ κακῶσαι Ἡρώδην θέλοντος.

II. JUDEAN MINISTRY.

(Spring-Winter 26/27)

I. Order of Events.

- 1) Testimony of John and the First Disciples (Jn. i. 19-51).
 - 2) First Messianic Sign (Water—Wine) at Cana (Jn. ii. 1-11).
 - 3) Sojourn at Capernaum (Jn. ii. 12).
 - 4) Cleansing the Temple. *First Passover.* (Jn. ii. 13-25).
 - 5) Conversation with Nicodemus (Jn. iii. 1-21).
 - 6) Ministry of Baptism in Judea and Testimony of John (Jn. iii. 22-36).
 - 7) Withdrawal from Judea and Ministry in Samaria. *Four months before harvest.* (Jn. iv. 1-42).
 - 8) Second Messianic Sign (Nobleman's son) in Cana (Jn. iv. 43-54).
2. Characteristics. Self-revelation of Jesus as Messiah. Testimony of John (the nature and dignity of the Messiah; atoning character of His work). Jesus' idea of His work—in action and teaching; its Messianic character; a suffering Messiah; a spiritual kingdom; its universality. Jesus' method. Relation to Syn. Gospels.

III. GALILEAN MINISTRY.

(Winter 26/27-Autumn 28/29)

FIRST PERIOD (Winter 26/27-Spring 27/28).

I. Order of Events.

- 1) Preaching in Galilee (Mk. i. 14; Lk. iv. 14-15).
- 2) First Rejection at Nazareth (Lk. iv. 16-30; cf. Matt. iv. 13).
- 3) Removal to Capernaum (Matt. iv. 13-16; Lk. iv. 31^a).
- 4) Call of Four Disciples (Matt. iv. 18-22; Mk. i. 16-20; Lk. v. 1-11).
- 5) Sabbath in Capernaum. Teaching and Healing (Matt. viii. 14-17; Mk. i. 21-34; Lk. iv. 31^b-41).
- 6) Tour in Galilee (Matt. iv. 23; Mk. i. 35-39; Lk. iv. 42-44).
- 7) Cleansing a Leper (Matt. viii. 1-4; Mk. i. 40-45; Lk. v. 12-16).

- 8) Return to Capernaum. Healing a Paralytic (Matt. ix. 1-8; Mk. ii. 1-12; Lk. v. 17-26).
- 9) Call of Levi-Matthew (Matt. ix. 9; Mk. ii. 13-14; Lk. v. 27-28).
2. Harmony. 1) Rejection at Nazareth (Lk. iv. 16-30; cf. Matt. xiii. 54-58; Mk. vi. 1-6^a). 2) Catch of Fish (Lk. v. 1-11). 3) Levi's Feast (Matt. ix. 18).
3. Literary Relation of Synoptists.
4. Relation of Synoptists and Fourth Gospel.
5. Characteristics. Preaching (message of the Messianic kingdom) and healing. Jesus' relation to forgiveness of sins. Character and significance of miracles—possession. Rejection in Nazareth and universalism. Attitude toward Sabbath. Beginnings of opposition and organization.

SECOND PERIOD (Spring 27/28-Spring 28/29).

I. Order of Events.

- 1) Healing man at Bethesda on Sabbath. *Second Passover* (Jn. v. 1-47).
- 2) Cornfields on Sabbath (Matt. xii. 1-8; Mk. ii. 23-28; Lk. vi. 1-5).
- 3) Healing Withered Hand on Sabbath (Matt. xii. 9-13; Mk. iii. 1-5; Lk. vi. 6-10).
- 4) Official Hostility and Popular Enthusiasm (Matt. xiii. 14-21; Mk. iii. 6-12; Lk. v. 11).
- 5) Choosing the Twelve (Mk. iii. 13-19; Lk. vi. 12-19; cf. Matt. x. 2-4).
- 6) Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 1-viii. 1; Lk. vi. 20-49).
- 7) Centurion's Servant in Capernaum (Matt. viii. 5-13; Lk. vii. 1-10).
- 8) Widow of Nain's Son (Lk. vii. 11-17).
- 9) Message of John the Baptist (Matt. xi. 2-19; Lk. vii. 18-35).
- 10) Jesus anointed in the House of Simon the Pharisee (Lk. vii. 36-50).
- 11) Tour in Galilee (Lk. viii. 1-3).
- 12) Healing Demoniac—Pharisees demand Sign (Matt. xii. 22-45; Mk. iii. 20-30; Lk. xi. 14-26, 29-36).
- 12) Jesus' Family seek Him (Matt. xii. 46-50; Mk. iii. 31-35; Lk. viii. 19-21; cf. xi. 27-28).
- 13) Jesus dines with a Pharisee (Lk. xi. 37-54).
- 14) Teaching (Lk. xii. 1-59).
- 15) Slaughter of Galileans (Lk. xiii. 1-5).
- 16) Parables (Matt. xiii. 1-53; Mk. iv. 1-34; Lk. viii. 4-18; xiii. 18-21).
- 17) Three Inquirers (Matt. viii. 16-22; Lk. ix. 57-62).
- 18) Storm on Lake (Matt. viii. 23-27; Mk. iv. 35-41; Lk. viii. 22-25).
- 19) Gadarene Demoniacs (Matt. viii. 28-ix. 1; Mk. v. 1-21; Lk. viii. 26-40).
- 20) Levi's Feast and Jesus' Discourse (Matt. ix. 10-17; Mk. ii. 15-22; Lk. v. 29-39).

- 21) Jesus heals Woman and raises Jairus' Daughter (Matt. ix. 18-26; Mk. v. 22-43; Lk. viii. 41-56).
- 22) Healing Two Blind Men and a Dumb Demented (Matt. ix. 27-34).
- 23) Second Rejection at Nazareth (Matt. xiii. 54-58; Mk. vi. 1-6^a).
- 24) Mission of the Twelve (Matt. ix. 35-38; x. 1-xi. 1; Mk. vi. 6^b-13; Lk. ix. 1-6).
- 25) Herod inquires about Jesus (Matt. xiv. 1-12; Mk. vi. 14-29; Lk. ix. 7-9).
- 26) Return of the Twelve and Feeding 5000. *Third Passover* (Matt. xiv. 13-21; Mk. vi. 30-44; Lk. ix. 10-17; Jn. vi. 1-14).
- 27) Jesus walks on the Water (Matt. xiv. 22-33; Mk. vi. 45-52; Jn. vi. 15-21).
- 28) From Gennesaret to Capernaum (Matt. xiv. 34-36; Mk. vi. 53-56).
- 29) Discourse on Bread of Life in Capernaum and Peter's Confession (Jn. vi. 22-71).
- 30) Jesus attacks Pharisaic Traditions (Matt. xv. 1-20; Mk. vii. 1-23).
2. Sabbath Controversy. Feast of Jn. v. Bethesda. Opposition in Jerusalem and Jesus' discourse. Opposition in Galilee. Sabbath regulations. Abiathar, Mk. ii. 26.
3. Organization. The Apostles.
4. Sermon on the Mount. Literary relation of Matt. Lk. Teaching; form and chief ideas.
5. Centurion's Servant. Literary relations of Matt. Lk.
6. Message of John the Baptist and Jesus' answer.
7. Jesus anointed in the house of Simon the Pharisee. cf. Matt. xxvi. 6-13; Mk. xiv. 3-9; Jn. xii. 1-8. Jesus' forgiveness of sins.
8. Pharisees Demand a Sign. Messianic Implications. Sign of the Passion.
9. Parables.
 - 1) Introduction: Form; veiling the truth; judicial quality; historical significance; mystery of the Kingdom (Messiahship and passion; spiritual character and significance); Jesus' purpose; eschatological element; truth as revealed; genuineness; interpretation as allegories.
 - 2) Jülicher's View: Criticism of purpose; porosis in Mk. iv. 12; also in Matt. Lk. Jn.; Markan theory of unitary purpose; criticism of Weizsäcker and Pfleiderer; origin in conscious reflection of Mk. cf. Paul; Markan Jesus vs. Jesus—of Jülicher (Galilean springtime, clouds of opposition, overwhelming storm); effect interpreted as purpose

under dogmatic conception of Jesus; divergent tradition Mk. iv. 33; xii. 12; vii. 14-23f. ⁱⁱⁱ

- 3) Criticism of Jülicher's View: subjective standard; early origin of Mk; nature of parable; purpose double; relation to hearers; inadequate account of origin; meaning of porosis; relation of Jesus' teaching to His work as Saviour.
- 4) Nature of the Parable: Classical usage; O. T.; comparison; different kinds in N. T.—a) proverbial saying. b) parable proper. c) illustrative example. d) allegory; interpretation; parable and other forms—simile, metaphor, allegory, fable; originality of Jesus—Graeco-Roman, O. T., Jewish parables.
- 5) Teaching of the Parables: Theme—Kingdom of God; its nature, origin, growth, supernatural and eschatological elements.

§ 48. Schoettgenii *Horae Hebraicae*, 1733, pp. 1129f:—"Erant alicui tres amici, ex quibus duos amabat, tertium vero non admodum colebat. Aliquando Rex illum vocari jubet, qua re perterritus de Advocato sollicitus est. Ad primum ergo, quem optimum habebat, accedens repulsam ab eodem passus est utpote qui ne cum ipso ire quidem voluit. Alter id responsi dedit, se quidem usque ad portam palatii regii iturum, sed verba pro ipso facere non posse. Tertius vero, quem minoris aestimaverat, cum ipso coram Rege adparuit, proque ipso tam bene verba fecit, ut ipsum omni culpa liberaret. Eodem modo homo quilibet tres amicos habet. Quum a iudice Deo per mortem citatur, primus, quem optimum habet, pecunia scilicet, ipsum ne quidem comitatur. Alter amicus, propinqui scilicet et cognati, ad sepulchrum usque cum ipso vadit, deinde domum redit, ipsumque iudicio liberare non potest. Tertius vero, qui apud ipsum exiguo pretio erat, Lex scilicet et opera bona, cum ipso ad Regem abeunt, eumque a iudicio liberant."

10. Jesus at Gerasa (Kherasa). Storm on Lake. Textual variants. Location. Literary Relations. Destruction of the swine. Strauss' criticism.
11. Levi's Feast. Jesus' Discourse (Reference to Passion, Mk. ii. 20). A Woman. Jairus' Daughter. Literary Relations.
12. Healing Two Blind Men and Dumb Demoniac (Matt. ix. 27-34). Suggested Parallels, Matt. xx. 29-34 (Mk. x. 46-52; Lk. xviii. 35-43); Mk. xii. 22-24; Lk. xi. 14-15; cf. Matt. xii. 22. Significance of title "Son of David".
13. Second Rejection at Nazareth. Harmony. Brethren and Sisters of Jesus; Views—a) Helvidian. b) Hieronymian. c) Epiphonian.

14. Mission of the Twelve. Instructions. Relation of Synoptics. Eschatological elements.
15. Herod. Death of John the Baptist.
16. Feeding of 5000. Relation to Feeding of 4000. Significance of parallel in Fourth Gospel. Strauss' criticism of the miracle. Weizsäcker's view. Eschatological interpretation.
17. Discourse in Capernaum and Peter's Confession. *Third Passover*. Attack on Pharasaic Traditions. Galilean Crisis.

THIRD PERIOD (Spring 28/29-Autumn 28/29).

I. Order of Events.

- 1) Syrophenician (Matt. xv. 21-28; Mk. vii. 24-30).
 - 2) Return to Galilee. Healing a Deaf and Dumb Man—Decapolis (Mk. vii. 31-37).
 - 3) Feeding 4000 (Matt. xv. 29-38; Mk. viii. 1-9).
 - 4) Pharisees and Sadducees demand Sign. Jesus' Warning (Matt. xv. 39-xvi. 12; Mk. viii. 10-21).
 - 5) Healing a Blind Man in Bethsaida (Mk. viii. 22-26).
 - 6) Caesarea Philippi (Matt. xvi. 13-28; Mk. viii. 27-ix. 1; Lk. ix. 18-27).
 - 7) Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1-13; Mk. ix. 2-13; Lk. ix. 28-36).
 - 8) Healing a Demoniac Boy (Matt. xvii. 14-23; Mk. ix. 14-32; Lk. ix. 37-45).
 - 9) Tribute Money in Capernaum (Matt. xvii. 24-27; Mk. ix. 33).
 - 10) Preëminence and Humility (Matt. xviii. 1-35; Mk. ix. 33-50; Lk. ix. 46-50).
2. Northern Ministry. Characteristics. Work in Phoenicia.
 3. Return to Galilee.
 4. Caesarea Philippi. Confession of Peter. Jesus' Promise. Announcement of Passion. Significance of Jesus' Person. Commands to Silence and Messiah-secret (Wrede). Eschatological Interpretation (Schweitzer).
 5. Transfiguration. Time. Significance. Passion Idea. Elijah and John the Baptist.
 6. Jesus in Capernaum. Tribute Money. Teaching.

IV. PEREAN MINISTRY.

(Autumn 28/29-Spring 29/30)

I. Order of Events.

- 1) Departure from Galilee. Incident in Samaria (Lk. ix. 51-56; cf. Matt. xix. 1^a; Mk. x. 1^a).
- 2) Mission of the Seventy (Lk. x. 1-16; cf. Matt. xi. 20-24).
- 3) Jesus in Jerusalem. *Tabernacles* (Jn. vii. 2-viii. 59).
- 4) Return of the Seventy (Lk. x. 17-24; cf. Matt. xi. 25-30).

- 5) Parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk. x. 25-37).
 - 6) Jesus in Home of Martha and Mary. Bethany (Lk. x. 38-42).
 - 7) Lord's Prayer (Lk. xi. 1-13; cf. Matt. vi. 9-13).
 - 8) Jesus in Jerusalem. *Dedication* (Jn. ix. 1-x. 42).
 - 9) Ministry in Perea (Jn. x. 40-42; cf. Matt. xix. 1^b-2; Mk. x. 1^b).
 - 10) Parable of the Barren Fig Tree (Lk. xiii. 10-17).
 - 11) Healing on Sabbath, Teaching and Journeying toward Jerusalem (Lk. xiii. 10-35).
 - 12) Jesus dines with a Pharisee and heals a man on Sabbath. Parable of Wedding Feast (Lk. xiv. 1-24).
 - 13) Teaching concerning Discipleship (Lk. xiv. 25-35).
 - 14) Parables (Lk. xv. 1-xvi. 31; cf. Matt. xviii. 12-15).
 - 15) Teaching concerning Faith and Humility (Lk. xvii. 1-10).
 - 16) Healing Ten Lepers (Lk. xvii. 11-19).
 - 17) Teaching concerning Suddenness of Advent (Lk. xvii. 20-37).
 - 18) Parables (Lk. xviii. 1-14).
 - 19) Raising of Lazarus (Jn. xi. 1-46).
 - 20) Counsel of Caiaphas. Jesus retires to Ephraim (Jn. xi. 47-54).
 - 21) Teaching concerning Divorce (Matt. xix. 3-12; Mk. x. 2-12).
 - 22) Jesus and Little Children (Matt. xix. 13-15; Mk. x. 13-16; Lk. xviii. 15-17).
 - 23) Jesus and Rich Young Ruler (Matt. xix. 16-30; Mk. x. 17-31; Lk. xviii. 18-30).
 - 24) Parable of Laborers in Vineyard (Matt. xx. 1-16).
 - 25) Jesus announces His Passion (Matt. xx. 17-19; Mk. x. 32-34; Lk. xviii. 31-34).
 - 26) Request of James and John (Matt. xx. 20-28; Mk. x. 35-45).
 - 27) Healing Two Blind Men near Jericho (Matt. xx. 29-34; Mk. x. 46-52; Lk. xviii. 35-43).
 - 28) Conversion of Zacchaeus (Lk. xix. 1-10).
 - 29) Parable of the Pounds (Lk. xix. 11-28).
 - 30) Arrival at Bethany six Days before Passover (Jn. xi. 55-xii. 1).
2. Lukan and Johannine Traditions.
 3. Teaching. Lukan Parables and Johannine Discourses.
 4. Resurrection of Lazarus and Conditions in Jerusalem.
 5. Characteristics.

V. JERUSALEM MINISTRY (PASSION).

(Spring 29/30).

I. Order of Events.

SATURDAY, NISAN 9.

- 1) Supper and Anointing in Bethany (Matt. xxvi. 6-13; Mk. xiv. 3-9; Jn. xii. 2-11).

SUNDAY, NISAN 10.

- 2) Triumphal Entry (Matt. xxi. 1-11; Mk. xi. 1-11; Lk. xix. 24-44; Jn. xii. 12-19).

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56

MONDAY, NISAN 11.

- 3) Barren Fig Tree and Cleansing the Temple (Matt. xxi. 12-19; Mk. xi. 12-19; Lk. xix. 45-48; xxi. 37-38).

TUESDAY, NISAN 12.

- 4) Lesson of the Fig Tree (Matt. xxi. 20-22; Mk. xi. 20-25).
5) Teaching in the Temple (Matt. xxi. 23-xxiii. 39; Mk. xi. 27-xii. 44; Lk. xx. 1-xxi. 4; Jn. xii. 20-50).
6) Eschatological Discourse (Matt. xxiv. 1-xxv. 46; Mk. xiii. 1-37; Lk. xxi. 4-38).

WEDNESDAY, NISAN 13.

- 7) Conspiracy of Rulers and Treachery of Judas (Matt. xxvi. 1-5, 14-16; Mk. xiv. 1-2, 10-11; Lk. xxii. 1-6).

THURSDAY, NISAN 14.

- 8) Preparation for Passover (Matt. xxvi. 17-19; Mk. xiv. 12-16; Lk. xxii. 7-13).

FRIDAY, NISAN 15.

- 9) *Last Passover* (Matt. xxvi. 20-35; Mk. xiv. 17-31; Lk. xxii. 14-38; Jn. xiii. 1-xvii. 26).
10) Gethsemane (Matt. xxvi. 36-46; Mk. xiv. 32-42; Lk. xxii. 39-46; Jn. xviii. 1).
11) Arrest (Matt. xxvi. 47-56; Mk. xiv. 43-52; Lk. xxii. 47-53; Jn. xviii. 2-12).
12) Trial before Annas and Caiaphas (Matt. xxvi. 57-xxvii. 1; Mk. xiv. 53-xv. 1^a; Lk. xxii. 54-71; Jn. xviii. 13-27).
13) Trial before Pilate and Herod (Matt. xxvii. 2-30; Mk. xv. 1^p-19; Lk. xxiii. 1-25; Jn. xviii. 28-xix. 16^a).
14) Crucifixion and Burial (Matt. xxvii. 31-66; Mk. xv. 20-47; Lk. xxiii. 26-56; Jn. xix. 16^p-42).

SUNDAY, NISAN 17, AND LATER.

- 15) Resurrection and Appearances (Matt. xviii. 1-20; Mk. xvi. 1-8; Lk. xxiv. 1-49; Jn. xx. 1-xxi. 25; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 4-8; Acts. i. 1-11).

AFTER 40 DAYS.

- 16) Ascension (Lk. xxiv. 50-53; cf. Acts i. 9-11).
2. Jerusalem Crisis and Teaching.
3. The Lord's Supper.
4. Trial of Jesus.
5. Completion of Jesus' Work.
6. Review and Summary.

