

**An Exegetical Commentary on  
the Gospel according to S.  
Matthew**



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14

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**An Exegetical Commentary on  
the Gospel according to S.  
Matthew**

**Alfred Plummer**



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AN EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY  
ON THE  
GOSPEL ACCORDING TO  
S. MATTHEW

THE REV. ALFRED PLUMMER, M.A., D.D.

TO THE MEMORY OF  
ARTHUR THOMAS LLOYD  
ONCE HIS PUPIL  
AFTERWARDS HIS TEACHER  
FOR EVER HIS FRIEND  
THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED  
BY  
THE WRITER

## PREFACE



THE attempt to write this commentary has been made under impulses given, in the one case consciously, in the other not, by two friends. For some years, Bishop Lloyd of Newcastle-on-Tyne, whose loss we are still deeply lamenting, had been urging the writer to do something of the kind; and one of the latest letters received from him,—a letter written shortly before his death, expressed delight that this volume was progressing. And it was the writer's privilege to take a very small part in the production of the invaluable work on this Gospel by the Rev. W. C. Allen in the International Critical Commentary published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark. To share in that work was to be inspired to continue it.

This volume, therefore, has two aims over and above the desire to do something in accordance with Bishop Lloyd's earnest wishes. On the one hand, this sequel to Mr. Allen's commentary has for its object to call the attention of some who do not already know it to a book which Leaflet 31 of the Central Society of Sacred Study (July 1907) pronounces to be "the best English commentary on the first Gospel" (p. 5), and of which reviewers have said much the same. On the other hand, this volume aims at supplementing the earlier one. A reviewer in the *Guardian* doubted whether Mr. Allen "was well advised to restrict himself so rigidly to questions of literary, as distinct from historical—not to say theological and religious—interest." How well he would have dealt

with the historical, theological, and religious sides of his subject is shown in those places in which he somewhat transgresses his self-imposed limits. But there can be no doubt that his desire to do the critical and literary part of the work (which was the part most needed) with thoroughness has caused him to omit a good deal that his readers would have been glad to have from him. To supply, if possible, some of the elements which he has passed by, or has treated very briefly, is another of the aims of this volume.

The works to which this commentary is indebted are numerous. A list of some of them is given below, partly as an expression of gratitude, partly as some help to others who desire to labour in the same field. An asterisk indicates that the writer's debt is large, and that others may expect to find much to aid them. For further information the list of works in the writer's *International Critical Commentary on St. Luke*, pp. lxxx-lxxxviii, 577-580, may be consulted.

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## INTRODUCTION



### THE AUTHOR.

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IN no case is the title to a book of the New Testament part of the original document. It was in all cases added by a copyist, and perhaps not by the first copyist. Moreover, in all cases it varies considerably in form, the simplest forms being the earliest. The "according to" neither affirms nor denies authorship; it implies *conformity to a type*, and need not mean more than "drawn up according to the teaching of." But it is certain that the Christians of the first four centuries who gave these titles to the Gospels meant more than this: they believed, and meant to express, that each Gospel was written by the person whose name it bears. They used this mode of expression, rather than the genitive case used of the Epistles, to intimate that *the same subject had been treated of by others*; and they often emphasized the oneness of the subject by speaking of "the Gospel" rather than "the Gospels." This mode of expression is accurate; there is only one Gospel, 'the Gospel of God' (Rom. i. 1) concerning His Son. But it has been given us in four shapes (εὐαγγέλιον τετραμόρφον, Iren. III. xi. 8), and "according to" indicates the shape given to it by the writer named.

Was the belief of the first Christians who adopted these titles correct? Were the Gospels written by the persons whose names they bear? With the trifling exception of a few passages, we may believe this with regard to the Second, Third, and Fourth Gospels: but it is very difficult to believe this with regard to the First, the authorship of which is a complicated problem not yet adequately solved. But the following results may be accepted as probable, and some of them as very probable.

Ancient testimony in favour of Matthew being the author is very strong. It begins with Papias and Irenæus in the second century, and is confirmed by Origen in the third and Eusebius in the fourth,<sup>1</sup> not to mention a number of other early writers,

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 39, v. 8, vi. 25, iii. 24, v. 10.

whose evidence repeats, or is in harmony with, these four. Papias speaks of "the oracles" or "utterances" (*τὰ λόγια*) which Matthew composed; the other three speak of his "Gospel" (*εὐαγγέλιον*). Assuming that the two expressions are equivalent, the testimony is uniform that the First Gospel was written in *Hebrew* by Matthew, the tax-collector and Apostle. In that case the Greek Gospel which has come down to us must be a translation from this "Hebrew" original.<sup>1</sup>

But the First Gospel is evidently not a translation, and it is difficult to believe that it is the work of the Apostle. Whoever wrote it took the Second Gospel as a frame,<sup>2</sup> and worked into it much material from other sources. And he took, not only the substance of the Second Gospel, but the Greek phraseology of it, showing clearly that he worked in Greek. It is incredible that he translated the Greek of Mark into Hebrew, and that then some one translated Matthew's Hebrew back into Greek that is almost the same as Mark's. The retranslation would have resulted in very different Greek.<sup>3</sup> And it is not likely that the Apostle Matthew, with first-hand knowledge of his own, would take the Gospel of another, and that other not an Apostle, as the framework of his own Gospel. There would seem, therefore, to be some error in the early tradition about the First Gospel.

Very possibly the *Λόγια* of Papias should not be interpreted as meaning the whole of the First Gospel, but only one of its elements, viz. a collection of facts respecting Jesus Christ, chiefly consisting of His utterances, and the circumstances in which they were spoken. The expression, *τὰ λόγια*, would fitly describe a document largely made up of discourses and parables. That such a document is one main element in both the First and the Third Gospels, may be regarded as certain, and it may have been written originally in Hebrew by S. Matthew.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The subscriptions of certain cursives state that the Hebrew Matthew was translated into Greek "by John," or "by James," or "by James the brother of the Lord," or "by Bartholomew." Zahn, *Einleitung in das NT.* ii. p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> "The main common source of the Synoptic Gospels was a single written document" (Burkitt, *The Gosp. Hist. and its Transmission*, p. 34). "Mk. contains the whole of a document which Mt. and Lk. independently used" (*ibid.* p. 37).

<sup>3</sup> The reader will find a good illustration of this in Duggan's translation of Jacquier's *History of the Books of the New Testament*, pp. 35, 127. Jacquier translated passages from English into French. Duggan translates them back into English, and his English is surprisingly unlike the originals.

<sup>4</sup> "Hebrew" in this connexion must mean the Aramaic which Christ Himself spoke. It is scarcely credible that any one would translate the words of Christ into the Hebrew of the O.T., which was intelligible to none but the learned.

The collection of Utterances often spoken of as "the Logia" is now frequently denoted by the symbol "Q."

When the unknown constructor of the First Gospel took the Second Gospel and fitted on to it the contents of this collection of Utterances, together with other material of his own gathering, he produced a work which was at once welcomed by the first Christians as much more complete than the Second Gospel, and yet not the same as the Third, *if* that was already in existence. What was this Gospel to be called? It was based on Mark; but to have called it "according to Mark" would have caused confusion, for that title was already appropriated. It would be better to name it after the other main element used in its construction, a translation of S. Matthew's collection of Utterances. In this way we get an explanation of the statement of Papias, that "Matthew composed the Utterances in Hebrew, and each man interpreted them as he was able," a statement which seems to be quite accurate. We also get an explanation of the later and less accurate statements of Irenæus, Origen, and Eusebius, which seem to refer to our First Gospel as a whole; viz. that Matthew wrote it in Hebrew. It was known that Matthew had written a Gospel of some kind in Hebrew: the First Gospel, as known to Irenæus, was called "according to Matthew"; and hence the natural inference that *it* had been written in Hebrew. There was a *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, which Jerome had translated into Greek and Latin, and from which he makes quotations. A Jewish Christian sect called Nazarenes used this Gospel, and said that it was by S. Matthew. It was Aramaic, written in Hebrew characters. We do not know enough of it to be certain; but it also may have contained a good many of the Utterances collected by Matthew, and for this reason may have been attributed as a whole to him. It seems to have been very inferior to our First Gospel, and this would lead to its being allowed to perish. See Hastings' *DB.* extra vol. pp. 338 f.

Dr. C. R. Gregory (*Canon and Text of the New Testament*, pp. 245 ff.) writes thus of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. "One book that now seems to stand very near to the Gospels, and again moves further away from them, demands particular attention. But we shall scarcely reach any very definite conclusion about it. It is like an *ignis fatuus* in the literature of the Church of the first three centuries. We cannot even tell from the statements about it precisely who, of the writers who refer to it, really saw it. Yes, we are even not sure that it is not kaleidoscopic or plural. It may be that several, or at least two, different books are referred to, and that even by people who fancy that there is but one book, and that they know it. . . . Nothing would be easier for any one or every one who saw, read, or heard of that book to call it the Gospel to the Hebrews, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or the Hebrews' Gospel. . . . We shall doubtless some day receive a copy of it in the original, or in a translation. It may have contained much of what Matthew, Mark, and Luke contain, without that fact having been brought to our notice in the quotations made from it. For those who quoted it did so precisely in order to give that which varied from the contents of our four Gospels, or especially of the three synoptic ones." The origin of this

perplexing document must be placed early. After Matthew and Luke became well known a Gospel covering much the same ground would hardly have been written. E. B. Nicholson has collected and annotated the quotations from it; R. Handmann, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1888, has done the same. See also Mgr. A. S. Barnes, *Jour. of Th. St.*, April 1905.

The collection of Utterances made by Matthew and used by the compiler of the First Gospel, and the similar collection used by Luke, were not such as we might have expected. The selection was determined by the needs and hopes of the first Christians, who wanted moral guidance for the present and revelation as to the future. Hence the sayings of Christ preserved in the Synoptic Gospels are largely of either a moral or an apocalyptic character.<sup>1</sup> Utterances which seemed to teach principles of conduct, and prophecies or parables respecting the Coming and the Kingdom were specially treasured. Some of them were misunderstood at the time, and some appear to have been misreported, either from the first or in repeated transmission; but the result is a body of doctrine, of marvellous unity and adaptability, the great bulk of which must be faithfully reported, because it is inconceivable that the Evangelists or their informants can have invented such things. It is evident that these informants, in the last resort, are the memories of the first body of disciples, who, happily for us, were sometimes stronger in memory than in understanding. They remembered what perplexed them, *because* it perplexed them; and they reported it faithfully. That a collection of sayings and narratives was made during our Lord's lifetime, as Salmon (*The Human Element in the Gospels*, p. 275) and Ramsay (*Expositor*, 1907, p. 424) suppose, is scarcely probable (Sanday, *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, p. 172).

The answer, therefore, to the question, Who was the author of the First Gospel? is a negative one. It was not S. Matthew. The writer was an early Jewish Christian, not sufficiently important to give his name to a Gospel, and in no way desiring to do so. But he used a great deal of material which was probably collected by S. Matthew, whose name thus became connected with the First Gospel as we have it.<sup>2</sup> That it is in no sense the work of S. Matthew is not probable. Some more conspicuous Apostle than the toll-collector would have been chosen, if the title had no better basis than the desire to give a distinguished name to a nameless document. Andrew, or James the son of

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Ropes, *The Apostolic Age*, p. 222. There is good reason for believing that there existed a written collection of sayings which had the definite title *Λόγοι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ*, to which reference is made Acts xx. 35; also in Clem. Rom. *Cor.* xiii., xlv. ; and in Polycarp, ii. See Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 187-189.

<sup>2</sup> See Briggs, *The Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 2, 3, 20.

Zebedee, or Philip would have been preferred. And the writer has given us "a Catholic Gospel," written in "a truly Catholic temper." "Wherever his own hand shows itself, one sees that his thought is as universalistic as it is free from the bondage of the Law. . . . The individuality of the author makes itself so strongly felt both in style and tendency, that it is impossible to think of the Gospel as a mere compilation" (Jülicher).

On the contrary, as Renan says, "the Gospel of Matthew, all things considered, is the most important book of Christianity—the most important book that has ever been written." Not without reason it received the first place in the N.T. "The compilation of the Gospels is, next to the personal action of Jesus, the leading fact in the history of the origins of Christianity;—I will even add in the history of mankind" (*Les Évangiles*, p. 212; Eng. trans. p. 112).

The writer of this Gospel rises far above the limitations of his own Jewish Christianity. To see in it anything directed against the teaching of S. Paul is strangely to misunderstand it. So far as there is anything polemical in Mt., it is directed, not against the Apostle of the Gentiles, but against Pharisaic Judaism. This wide outlook as to the meaning and scope of Christianity is clear evidence that what he gives us as the Messiah's teaching is not the writer's own, but the teaching of Him in whom both Jew and Gentile were to find salvation. Its Catholic Christianity, which is the spirit of Christ Himself, has made this Gospel, from the first century to the twentieth, a favourite with Christians.

#### THE SOURCES.

To some extent these have been already stated. The writer of our First Gospel used Mk. in nearly the same form as that in which it has come down to us,<sup>1</sup> and also a collection of Utterances which was probably made either wholly or in part by S. Matthew. This second document, which quickly went out of use owing to the superiority of the Canonical Gospels, is commonly spoken of as "the Logia," or (more scientifically) as "Q," a symbol which commits us to nothing. Besides these two main sources, there were at least two others. These are (1) the O.T., the quotations from which, however, may have come from a collection of passages believed to be Messianic, rather than from the writer's knowledge of the O.T. as a whole; and (2) traditions current among the first Christians. It is also

<sup>1</sup> If there were differences, it is not impossible that the text of Mk. which Mt. used was inferior to that which has come down to us: corruption had already begun.

possible that some of the many attempts at Gospels, mentioned by S. Luke in his Preface, may have been known to our Evangelist and used by him. But the only one of his sources which we can compare with his completed work is the Second Gospel, and it is most instructive to see the way in which he treats it. This has been worked out in great detail by the Rev. W. C. Allen in his admirable work on St. Matthew in the International Critical Commentary, which ought to be consulted by all who wish to do justice to the Synoptic problem. Here it will suffice to make a selection of instances, paying attention chiefly to those which illustrate the freedom which the compiler of the First Gospel allowed himself in dealing with the Second.

1. He appropriates *nearly the whole of it*.<sup>1</sup> The chief omissions are: Healing of a demoniac (Mk. i. 23-28); Prayer before preaching in Galilee (i. 35-39); Seed growing secretly (iv. 26-29); Healing of a deaf stammerer (vii. 32-36); Healing of a blind man (viii. 22-26); The uncommissioned exorcist (ix. 38-40); Widow's mites (xii. 41-44). And there are other smaller omissions.

2. He makes considerable *changes in order*, chiefly so as to group similar incidents and sayings together, and thus make the sequence more telling. Thus we have three triplets of miracles: leprosy, paralysis, fever (viii. 1-15); victory over natural powers, demonic powers, power of sin (viii. 23-ix. 8); restoration of life, sight, speech (ix. 18-34). And he omits sayings where Mark has them, and inserts them in a different connexion, generally earlier. Thus Mk. iv. 21 is inserted Mt. v. 15 instead of xiii. 23, 24; Mk. iv. 22 is inserted Mt. x. 26 instead of xiii. 23, 24; Mk. ix. 41 is inserted Mt. x. 42 instead of xviii. 5; Mk. ix. 50 is inserted Mt. v. 13 instead of xviii. 9; Mk. xi. 25 is inserted Mt. vi. 14 instead of xxi. 22.

3. Although he adds a great deal to Mark, yet he *frequently abbreviates*, perhaps to gain space for additions. He often omits what is redundant. In the following instances, the words in brackets are found in Mark but not in the First Gospel. '[The time is fulfilled, and] the Kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye [and believe in the gospel]' (Mk. i. 15). 'And at even, [when the sun did set]' (i. 32). 'And straightway the leprosy [departed from him, and he] was cleansed' (i. 42). '[And the wind ceased] and there was a great calm' (iv. 39). 'Save in his own country, [and among his own kin,] and in his own house' (vi. 4). Such things are very frequent. He also omits un-

<sup>1</sup> Why did both he and S. Luke have so high an estimate of Mk. as to incorporate it in their own Gospels? Because Mk. was believed to be the mouthpiece of S. Peter, and because his Gospel emanated (as is highly probable) from the great centre of all kinds of interests—Rome.

essential details; *e.g.* 'He was with the wild beasts' (Mk. i. 13); 'with the hired servants' (i. 20); 'with James and John' (i. 29); 'upon the cushion' (iv. 38); 'about 2000' (v. 13); '200 pennyworth' (vi. 37); 'so as no fuller on earth can whiten them' (ix. 3); '300 pence' (xiv. 5); the young man who fled naked (xiv. 51); 'the father of Alexander and Rufus' (xv. 21). And he frequently omits notes about the crowds which impeded Christ (Mk. i. 33, 45, ii. 2, 4, iii. 9, 10, 20, vi. 31).

4. On the other hand he frequently *expands*. Compare Mk. i. 7, 8 with Mt. iii. 7-12; Mk. iii. 22-26 with Mt. xii. 24-45; Mk. iv. with Mt. xiii.; Mk. vi. 8-11 with Mt. x. 5-42; Mk. xii. 38-40 with Mt. xxiii.; Mk. xiii. with Mt. xxiv.-xxv.

5. Among the many *changes in language* which he makes the following are conspicuous; and in considering the numbers we must remember the different length of the two Gospels. Mark has 'again' (πάλιν) about 26 times, Matthew about 16, of which 4 are from Mark. Mark has 'straightway' (εὐθύς) about 41 times, Matthew about 7, all from Mark. Mark has the historic present about 150 times, Matthew about 93, of which 21 are from Mark. And the compiler seems to have disliked the imperfect tense. He frequently turns Mark's imperfects into aorists, or avoids them by a change of expression. Comp. Mk. vi. 7, 20, 41, 56 with Mt. x. 1, xiv. 5, 19, 36; and Mk. x. 48, 52 with Mt. xx. 31, 34. Such alterations are very frequent.

6. But the compiler, besides making changes of order and language, and sometimes abbreviating and sometimes expanding Mark's narrative, occasionally makes *alterations in the substance* of Mark's statements. Some of these seem to aim at greater accuracy; as the substitution of 'tetrarch' (Mt. xiv. 1) for 'king' (Mk. vi. 14), the omissions of 'when Abiathar was high priest' (Mk. ii. 26), 'coming from (work in the) field' (xv. 21), 'having bought a linen cloth' (xv. 46), and perhaps the change from 'after three days' (viii. 31, ix. 31, x. 34) to 'on the third day' (Mt. xvi. 21, xvii. 23, xx. 19). But other changes involve more substantial difference; *e.g.* 'Levi the son of Alphæus' (ii. 14) becomes 'a man called Matthew' (Mt. ix. 9); 'Gerasenes' (v. 1) becomes 'Gadarenes' (Mt. viii. 28); 'Dalmanutha' (viii. 10) becomes 'Magadan' (Mt. xv. 39). Where Mark has one demoniac (v. 2) and one blind man (x. 46), the compiler gives two (Mt. viii. 28, xx. 30).

7. Sometimes he alters the narrative of Mark in order to make the incident a more clear case of the fulfilment of prophecy. Mark has, 'Ye shall find a colt tied, whereon no man ever yet sat; loose him and bring him' (xi. 2). For this he has, 'Ye shall find an ass tied and a colt with her; loose and bring to Me' (Mt. xxi. 2), and then he goes on to quote the

prophecy, 'riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.' Mark says, 'They promised to give him money' (xiv. 11); for which the compiler substitutes, 'They weighed to him thirty pieces of silver' (xxvi. 15), which comes from Zech. xi. 12, and a little later he quotes Zech. xi. 13, which he erroneously attributes to Jeremiah (xxvii. 9). Mark has, 'They offered Him wine mingled with myrrh' (xv. 23). In Mt. xxvii. 34 the 'myrrh' is changed to 'gall,' perhaps to suggest a reference to Ps. lxix. 21. In a similar way Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 32) says that the foal of the ass was "tied to a vine," in order to make the incident a fulfilment of 'binding his foal unto the vine' (Gen. xlix. 11).

8. The compiler *tones down or omits what seems to be unfavourable to the disciples*. The rebuke, 'Know ye not this parable? and how shall ye know all the parables?' (Mk. iv. 13) becomes a blessing in Mt. xiii. 16 ff. 'For they understood not concerning the loaves, but their heart was hardened' (vi. 52) is omitted. At Mk. viii. 29 the compiler inserts 'Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona,' etc. (xvi. 17-19). He omits (xvii. 4) that Peter 'wist not what to answer' (Mk. viii. 6); also that they 'questioned among themselves what the rising from the dead should mean' (ix. 10). For 'they understood not the saying, and were afraid to ask Him' (Mk. ix. 32) he substitutes, 'they were exceeding sorry' (xvii. 23). For 'they disputed one with another, who was the greatest' (Mk. ix. 34) and were rebuked for so doing, he substitutes, 'the disciples came unto Jesus, saying, Who then is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?' (xviii. 1). The ambitious petition of the sons of Zebedee (Mk. x. 35) is assigned to their mother (Mt. xx. 20). 'They wist not what to answer Him' (Mk. xiv. 40) is omitted (Mt. xxvi. 43).

9. Still more instructive and interesting are the cases in which the compiler *tones down or omits what might encourage a low conception of the character of Christ*. Reverential feeling seems to have made him shrink from the freedom with which the earlier record attributes human emotions and human limitations to our Lord. 'And when He had looked round on them with anger, being grieved at the hardening of their heart' (Mk. iii. 5) is omitted Mt. xii. 13. 'He marvelled because of their unbelief,' and 'He could there do no mighty work' (vi. 5, 6) is changed to 'He did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief' (Mt. xiii. 58). 'He sighed deeply in His Spirit' (viii. 12) is omitted Mt. xvi. 4. 'He was moved with indignation' (x. 14) is omitted Mt. xix. 14. 'Looking upon him loved him' (x. 21) is omitted Mt. xix. 21. 'Began to be greatly amazed' (xiv. 33) is changed to 'began to be sorrowful' (Mt. xxvi. 37).

The compiler also omits questions which seem to imply ignorance on the part of Christ. 'What is thy name?' (v. 9). 'Who touched My garments?' (v. 30). 'How many loaves have ye?' (vi. 38). 'Why doth this generation seek a sign?' (viii. 12). 'Seest thou aught?' (viii. 23). 'What question ye with them?' (ix. 16). 'How long time is it since this hath come unto him?' (ix. 21). 'What were ye reasoning in the way?' (ix. 33). 'Where is My guest-chamber?' (xiv. 14). The compiler also omits what might imply that Christ was unable to accomplish what He willed. 'Jesus could no more openly enter into a city' (i. 45). 'He said unto him, Come forth thou unclean spirit' (v. 8) when the demon had not yet come forth. 'He would have passed by them' (vi. 48). 'Would have no man know it; and He could not be hid' (vii. 24). 'If haply He might find anything thereon . . . for it was not the season of figs' (xi. 13); as if Christ did not know till He came and looked, and as if He had expected what could not be. Perhaps the change from 'driveth Him forth' (Mk. i. 12) to 'was led up' (Mt. iv. 1) is of a similar character.

To the same feeling we may attribute the remarkable change of 'Why callest thou Me good? None is good save one, even God' (x. 18), into 'Why askest thou Me concerning that which is good? One there is who is good' (Mt. xix. 17); and the probable omission (the reading is doubtful) of 'neither the Son' (xiii. 32) in Mt. xxiv. 36. The change of 'the carpenter' (vi. 3) into 'the carpenter's son' (Mt. xiii. 55) is of a similar kind; and perhaps the change of 'Master, carest Thou not that we perish?' (iv. 38) into 'Save, Lord, we perish' (Mt. viii. 25). But perhaps this last change was made to shield the disciples.

Side by side with this toning down of what might lessen the majesty of Christ's person is a *readiness to heighten what illustrates it*. When Mark says that 'they brought to Him *all* that were sick and them that were possessed,' and that 'He healed *many* and cast out *many* demons' (i. 32, 34), the compiler says that 'they brought to Him *many* possessed,' and that 'He cast out the spirits *with a word*, and healed *all*' (Mt. viii. 16). He thrice, by inserting 'from that hour,' insists that the healing word took effect immediately (ix. 22, xv. 28, xvii. 18). He makes the fig-tree wither immediately, and states that the disciples were amazed at the sudden withering, whereas Mark indicates that they did not notice the withering till next day. He omits the two miracles in which Christ used spittle as a means of healing (Mk. vii. 31, viii. 22), and he omits the convulsions of the demoniac boy, which might imply that Christ had difficulty in healing him (Mt. ix. 20). He also represents

Jairus' daughter as being raised by merely taking her hand: no word is recorded (ix. 25).<sup>1</sup>

These nine classes of changes, which by no means exhaust the subject, strongly confirm the generally accepted view that the Gospel according to S. Mark is the earlier. We can see in the majority of cases why the change from Mark to Matthew has been made. Assume that Matthew is primary, and the changes to what Mark gives us would be unintelligible. Moreover there is the fact that some of the changes made in Matthew are found in Luke also. That again points to Mark being the earliest.<sup>2</sup>

The consideration of the material which is common to both Matthew and Luke, but is not found in Mark, does not lead to such sure results; and a variety of hypotheses are possible. (1) Both the compiler of Matthew and 'the beloved physician' may have used the same collection of Utterances, translated from the Hebrew of S. Matthew the Apostle. (2) S. Luke may have used a collection similar to the one used by the compiler, but varying somewhat from it. (3) Each may have used several such collections, having a good deal of common material; and S. Luke knew of the existence of many such documents. (4) Each may have drawn from oral traditions, which to a large extent had become stereotyped. (5) S. Luke may have seen the Gospel according to Matthew. With our present knowledge, certainty is impossible. That S. Luke and the compiler of Matthew used Mark, pretty nearly as we have it, is certain; that they had other and similar materials, is certain; and that each used materials which the other did not use, and perhaps did not know, is also certain. Beyond that, all is more or less reasonable conjecture. That each of them used Mark as we have it, is a reasonable conjecture; and Burkitt agrees with Wellhausen that "Mark was known to both the other Synoptists in the same form and with the same contents as we have it now" (*The Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 64). But perhaps it would be more accurate to say that our Mark is derived from one copy of the autograph, and that the other two Synoptists made use of another; and we must remember that in those days scribes were not mere copyists whose one aim was to copy accurately; they thought that it was their duty to edit and improve what they had before them. Again, it is a reasonable conjecture that the material used by the Synoptists existed originally in Aramaic,

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the two demoniacs and the two blind men (viii. 28, xx. 30), where Mark mentions only one, may be placed, under this head.

<sup>2</sup> See an excellent article on "The Early Church and the Synoptic Gospels" in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1904, pp. 330-342; also January 1909, pp. 168, 172.

and that most of it had been translated into Greek before they used it.

If copyists sometimes edited what they copied, much more did Evangelists edit the materials which they used. We see this in their grouping, in their wording, and in their insertion of editorial notes. Such notes were indispensable. A writer who has to unite in consecutive narrative anecdotes and utterances of which the historical connexion has been lost, must insert editorial links to form a sequence. He may or may not have independent authority for the link, but a link of some kind he must have, whether there be authority for it or not. And in some cases the discourses or narratives which he has to piece together may be said to be the authority for what is inserted, for something of the kind must have taken place, or what is recorded could not have happened. Thus, the record of a long discourse on a mount implies that the Lord went up the mount, that He had an audience, and that, when all was over, He came down again. These details, therefore, are inserted (v. 1, viii. 1). After charging the Apostles, He must have gone elsewhere to teach (xi. 1). The same thing would happen at the end of other discourses (xiii. 53, xix. 1, xxvi. 1). Where there was nothing known to the contrary, it might be assumed that the Twelve understood Him (xvii. 13), even when at first they had not done so (xvi. 12). If the Evangelist felt quite certain of the meaning of our Lord's words, he might give the supposed meaning as having been actually spoken by Him (xii. 40). If a prophecy, which the Messiah must have known, seemed to be very appropriate, He might be supposed to have quoted it (ix. 13, xii. 7, xiii. 14, 15, xxiv. 30). If, at the Supper, the Twelve said to Him, one by one, 'Is it I?' then Judas must have said so, and the Lord would answer him (xxvi. 25). If the women on Easter morning found the stone already removed from the tomb, the removal must have had a cause; and if there was an earthquake, this must have had a cause. It was reported that an Angel had been seen: then, doubtless, he was the cause (xxviii. 2-4). There are other places where we may reasonably conjecture that we are reading editorial comment rather than the reproduction of historical tradition; e.g. xiii. 36a, xvi. 11b, xxii. 34; and there may be even more than these.

Editorial additions of this kind do not look like the work of an Apostle and an eye-witness. If the First Gospel, as we have it, were the production of S. Matthew, we should, as in the Fourth Gospel, have much more important additions to what is told us by S. Mark. In the feeding of the 5000, contrast the vivid details which Jn. alone gives with the trifling inferences which are peculiar to Mt. In the story of the Passion and of

the Resurrection, the same kind of contrast will be felt. These editorial notes, therefore, are a strong confirmation of the view that only to a very limited extent can our First Gospel be regarded as the composition of the Apostle.

The existence of these notes does not interfere with the substantial trustworthiness of the Gospels. Even when we have set aside all the verses which seem to be editorial, the number of them is not large, and is almost infinitesimal in comparison with the remainder. And it must be remembered that we may be mistaken about some of them, and also that some, although editorial, may be quite true. At any rate they represent what writers in A.D. 60-100 regarded as sufficiently probable to be affirmed.

#### PLAN OF THE GOSPEL.

As already intimated, the framework is that of Mk. Omitting the first two chapters respecting the Birth and Infancy of the Messiah, which have no parallel in Mk., we may exhibit the correspondence, or want of correspondence, between the two Gospels section by section. If both Gospels are analysed into five main divisions, the relations of the divisions to one another will stand thus :—

MARK.		MATTHEW.
i. 1-13	Introduction to the Gospel	iii. 1-iv. 11
i. 14-vi. 13	Ministry in Galilee	iv. 12-xiii. 58
vi. 14-ix. 50	Ministry in the Neighbourhood	xiv. 1-xviii. 35
x. 1-52	Journey through Perea to Jerusalem	xix. 1-xx. 34
xi. 1-xvi. 8	Last Week in Jerusalem	xxi. 1-xxviii. 8

It is in the first two divisions that Mt. makes most changes in the order of the shorter sections of which they are composed. But from xiv. 1, and still more decidedly from xv. 21, he follows the order of Mk. very closely, although he both abbreviates and expands. And it should be noted that where Mt. deviates from the order of Mk., Lk. commonly follows it. Mk. is nearly always supported by either Mt. or Lk. or both: his is the original order.

When we subtract from Mt. what has been derived from Mk., we have a remainder very different from that which is produced by subtracting from Lk. what has been derived from Mk. In the latter case we have not only various discourses, especially parables, which have not been recorded elsewhere, but also a large proportion of narratives, which Lk. alone has preserved. But in the case of Mt., that which remains after Mk. has been subtracted consists almost wholly of discourses, for which the compiler evidently had a great liking. The amount

of narrative which he alone has preserved for us is not very great; nor, with the exception of the contents of the first two chapters, is it, as a rule, of first-rate importance. It consists of such stories as Peter's walking on the sea, the demand for the Temple-tax, the suicide of Judas, the message of Pilate's wife and his washing his hands, the earthquake and the resurrection of the saints, the setting of a watch at the sepulchre and the subsequent bribing of the guards. What the Evangelist chiefly has at heart is to add to Mk.'s narratives of the *doings* of the Messiah a representative summary of the *teaching* of the Messiah. 'From that time began Jesus to preach' (iv. 17). 'He opened His mouth and taught them' (v. 2). 'He departed thence to teach and preach' (xi. 1). 'He taught them in their synagogue' (xiii. 54). 'And Jesus went about all the cities and the villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom' (ix. 35). Statements such as these show clearly the writer's deep interest in all that the Messiah *said*; and the number of sayings which he has collected shows this still more.

In this presentation of the words of Christ in this Gospel the Evangelist is fond of gathering into one discourse a number of shorter sayings, as may be seen from comparison with S. Luke, who has these same sayings scattered about, in various connexions, in his Gospel. The chief example of this is the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. v.-vii.). But there are other instances of what seems to be a similar process, making at least seven in all. There is the address to the Apostles (x. 5-42); the collection of parables (xiii.); the discourse on the little child and the sayings which follow it (xviii.); the three parables of warning to the hierarchy (xxi. 28-xxii. 14); the Woes against the Pharisees (xxiii.); and the discourse on the Last Things (xxiv., xxv.). To these we may perhaps add the discourse about John the Baptist, which is grouped with other sayings (xi. 4-19; 20-30). Five of these seven or eight discourses are clearly marked off, as we shall see, by the Evangelist himself.

It is often pointed out that in this Gospel incidents and sayings are frequently arranged in numerical groups of three, five, or seven. Triplets are very common. The opening genealogy is artificially compressed into three divisions, each having two sevens in it. There are three events of the Childhood, the visit of the Magi, the flight into Egypt, and the return (ii. 1-23); three temptations (iv. 1-11); three examples of righteousness, alms, prayer, and fasting (vi. 1-18); three prohibitions, Hoard not, Judge not, Give not what is holy to the dogs (vi. 19-vii. 6); under 'Hoard not' there are three aims, the heavenly treasure, the single eye, and the banishment

of anxiety (vi. 19-34); threefold 'Be not anxious' (vi. 25; 31; 34); three commands, Ask, Enter by the narrow gate, Beware of false prophets (vii. 7-20); three pairs of contrasts, the broad and narrow way, the good and bad trees, and the wise and foolish builders (vii. 13; 17; 24-27); threefold 'in Thy Name' (vii. 22); three miracles of healing, leprosy, palsy, fever (viii. 1-15); three miracles of power, storm, demoniacs, sin (viii. 23-ix. 8); three miracles of restoration, health, life, sight (ix. 8-34); threefold 'Fear not' (x. 26; 28; 31); threefold 'is not worthy of Me' (x. 37, 38); three cavils of the Pharisees (xii. 2; 14; 24); three signs to the Pharisees, Jonah, Ninevites, and Queen of the South (xii. 38-42); 'empty, swept, and garnished' (xii. 44); three parables from vegetation, Sower, Tares, and Mustard-seed (xiii. 1-32); three parables of warning (xxi. 28-xxii. 14); three questioners, Pharisees, Sadducees, and lawyer (xxii. 15; 23; 35); three powers with which God is to be loved, heart, soul, and mind (xxii. 37). In ch. xxiii. we have numerous triplets: 'Scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites (*passim*); feasts, synagogues, and market-places (6); teacher, father, and master (8-10), Temple and gold, altar and gift, heaven and throne (16-22); tithing of mint, dill, and cummin contrasted with judgment, mercy and faith (23); tithing of trifles, straining out gnats, cleansing of cup and platter (23-26); prophets, wise men, and scribes (34). In the remaining chapters we have other examples; three parables against negligence, the Faithful and the Unfaithful Slaves, the Ten Virgins, and the Talents (xxiv. 45-xxv. 30); three addresses to the Three in Gethsemane (xxvi. 38; 40, 41; 45, 46); three prayers in Gethsemane (xxvi. 39; 42; 44); three utterances at the Arrest, to Judas, Peter, and the multitudes (xxvi. 50; 52-54); three shedders of innocent blood, Judas, Pilate, and the people (xxvii. 4; 24; 25); three signs to attest the Messiahship of the Crucified, the rending of the veil, the earthquake, the resurrection of saints (xxvii. 51-53); three groups of witnesses to the Resurrection, the women, the soldiers, and the disciples (xxviii. 1-10; 11-15; 16-20); the last words to the Church, a claim, a charge, and a promise (xxviii. 18-20); of which three the second was threefold, to make disciples, to baptize, and to teach (19, 20); of which three the second again has a triple character: 'into the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost' (19).

Many of these thirty-eight instances have no parallel passage in Mk. or Lk. In many of the others it will be found that the parallel passage omits one or more member of the triplet or adds one to it; e.g. Lk. (vi. 43-49) has the good and bad trees, and the wise and foolish builders, but not the broad and narrow way. Elsewhere (xiii. 24) he has the narrow door, but no broad or

wide door. For 'judgment, mercy, and faith' Lk. (xi. 42) has 'judgment and the love of God.' He has (vi. 39, 42) the cleansing of cup and dish, and the tithing of small herbs, but he omits the straining out of the gnat. For the threefold 'Be not anxious,' he has (xii. 22, 29, 32) 'Be not anxious,' 'Seek not,' 'Fear not.' On the other hand, for heart, soul, and mind he has (x. 27) heart, soul, strength, and mind.

There can be no doubt that some of these triplets were in the sources which both Mt. and Lk. used, for both Gospels have them. In a few cases it is just possible that Lk. derived them from Mt.; but it is much more reasonable to assign their origin to the sources; *e.g.* the three temptations probably come from some unknown source; the three addresses to the Three in Gethsemane are in Mk., though not in Lk., and may be assigned to Mk.; and there are other triplets, not included in the above list, which are in both Mt. and Lk. and may be attributed to the sources which they used; *e.g.* 'ask,' 'seek,' 'knock' (vii. 7; Lk. xi. 9); reed, man in soft clothing, prophet (xi. 7-9; Lk. vii. 24-26); Chorazin, Bethsaida, Capernaum (xi. 20-23; Lk. x. 13-15). But, when all deductions are made, there remains a considerable number of triplets which Mt. has constructed either by grouping or by modifications in wording.

Groups of five are less common. Mt. has marked off for us five great discourses, each of which is closed by him with the same formula, 'It came to pass when Jesus finished' (ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλειεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς), vii. 28, xi. 1, xiii. 53, xix. 1, xxvi. 1. These five discourses are: the Sermon on the Mount; the address to the Apostles; the collection of parables; the discourse on the little child with the sayings which follow it; and the great apocalyptic discourse. The Sermon on the Mount contains five corrections of inadequate conceptions about the Law, each of them introduced by the words, 'But I say unto you' (v. 22, 28, 34, 39, 44); and in the apocalyptic discourse there are two parables in which the number five is prominent, the five wise and the five foolish virgins, and the five talents which gained other five. In chapters xxi. and xxii. there are five questions; about authority, tribute, resurrection, great commandments, and the Son of David. Of the five great discourses, the address to the Twelve (x. 5-15; 16-23; 24-33; 34-39; 40-42) and the great eschatological discourse (xxiv. 5-14; 15-51; xxv. 1-13; 14-30; 31-46) can be divided into five paragraphs; but the latter can also be conveniently divided into seven (xxiv. 5-14; 15-28; 29-31; 32-51; xxv. 1-13; 14-30; 31-46). The discourses in ch. xi. (7-19; 20-24; 25-30) and in ch. xviii. (3-14; 15-20; 21-35) fall readily into three divisions; but by further subdivision they can be made into five. The Sermon on the Mount can also be

divided into five parts (v. 3-16; 17-48; vi. 1-18; 19-vii. 6; 7-27), and some of these parts can be readily subdivided into five or three paragraphs.

We have seen that this Gospel can be placed side by side with Mk. and analysed into five main divisions. This means omitting the first two chapters, which have no parallel in Mk. If we add these two chapters as an Introduction, and break the last great division into two (xxi. 1-xxv. 46; xxvi. 1-xxviii. 20), thus separating the last days of work from the Passion, Death, and Resurrection, we have a Gospel in *seven* main divisions.

But the clearest examples of grouping by seven are the seven parables in ch. xiii. and the seven woes in ch. xxiii. Some find seven Beatitudes at the opening of the Sermon, and seven petitions in the Lord's Prayer. It is also possible to find a group of seven in vi. 25-34 (see notes there); and there are some who think that the separate instructions to the Twelve have been gathered up by Mt. "into a single sevenfold commission." It has been already pointed out that a fivefold division seems to fit this discourse well; but, if we are to find a seven in the Mission of the Twelve, we shall find it more securely in the seven centres of work which resulted from it,—our Lord, and six pairs of Apostles.

It is plain from what has just been stated that groups of five and groups of seven are far less frequent in this Gospel than groups of three. Even if we were to count all the possible instances of five and of seven, they would hardly amount to half the number of triplets. The five great discourses, the seven parables, and the seven woes are evidently intentional groupings. Many of the others which have been suggested may be intended also; but we cannot be certain.

There is nothing fanciful or mystical in these numerical arrangements. Groups of three and of seven are frequent in the O.T., and were in use before its earliest books were written. Three is the smallest number which has beginning, middle, and end, and it is composed of the first odd number added to the first even number. The days of the moon, corresponding to phases of the moon, made seven to be typical of plurality and completeness. Although seven is a sacred number often in the O.T. and sometimes in the N.T.; *e.g.* in the Apocalypse, yet there is no clear instance of this use in the Gospels. All that the Evangelist need be supposed to imply by these numerical groupings is *orderly arrangement*. Everything in the Gospel history took place and was spoken *εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν* (1 Cor. xiv. 40); and everything must be narrated 'decently and in order.'

It is possible that these groupings into threes, or fives, or sevens, or tens would aid the memory of both teachers and learners, and would in this way be useful to catechists. It is also possible that the Evangelist had this end in view in making these numerical groups. Sir John Hawkins (*Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 131) favours such a theory. "This seems to have been done in Jewish fashion, and perhaps especially for the use of Jewish-Christian catechists and catechumens. . . . When we think of the five books of the Pentateuch, the five books of Psalms, the five Megilloth, the five divisions which Dr. Edersheim and others trace in Ecclesiasticus, the five parts which Mr. Charles as well as previous scholars see in the Book of Enoch (pp. 25-32; Hastings' *DB.* art. 'Enoch'), and the five Pereqs which make up the *Pirqe Aboth*, it is hard to believe that it is by accident that we find in S. Matthew the five times repeated formula about Jesus 'ending' His sayings (vii. 28, xi. 1, xiii. 53, xix. 1, xxvi. 1). Are we not reminded of the colophon which still closes the second book of Psalms, 'The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended' (Ps. lxxii. 20)?" Comp. also, 'The words of Job are ended' (Job xxxi. 40). Of course the fact that Mt. consciously made five great discourses does not prove that he did so in order to assist the memory of catechists and catechumens, but some of his numerical groups may have had this aim.

Other instances of the occurrences of these and other numbers in this Gospel might be cited; but they are of less importance. Some of them are probably to be understood quite literally. It so happened that there were three, or five, or seven; as in Peter's proposal for three tabernacles, or the five loaves and the five thousand, or the seven loaves and the seven baskets. In other cases it is a round number, as in Peter's question, 'Until seven times?' But the examples given above fully justify the statement that these numerical arrangements are a characteristic of the First Gospel.

It is this intense desire for what is orderly that has caused the Evangelist to gather together detached sayings of the Messiah and group them into continuous discourses. The large proportion of discourses in this Gospel has often been pointed out, and it is one of the reasons which quickly made the Gospel so much more popular than the earlier Gospel of Mark. In Mk. about half consists of discourses, in Lk. about two-thirds, in Mt. about three-fourths. The main portion of Mt., the ministry in Galilee and the neighbourhood (iv. 12-xviii. 35), is expanded from Mk. chiefly by the insertion of discourses, and it seems to be arranged on a fairly symmetrical plan.

1. Opening activities, grouped round a prophecy of Isaiah

(Mt. iv. 15, 16), and ending with the Sermon on the Mount (iv. 12-vii. 29).

2. Ten acts of Messianic Sovereignty, grouped round a prophecy of Isaiah (Mt. viii. 17), and ending with the Charge to the Apostles (viii. 1-x. 42).

3. Many utterances of Messianic Wisdom, grouped round a prophecy of Isaiah (Mt. xii. 18-21), and ending in seven illustrations of teaching by parables, which are grouped round Ps. lxxviii. 2 (xi. 1-xiii. 58).

4. Continued activities in and near Galilee, grouped round a prophecy of Isaiah (Mt. xv. 8, 9), and ending in the discourses on offences and forgiveness (xiv. 1-xviii. 35). Thus, chapters v.-vii., x., xiii., and xviii. seem to be intended as conclusions to definite sections of the Gospel, and they consist almost entirely of discourses.

The compiler's preference for discourses is shown, not only by his insertion of them, but by his abbreviation of mere narrative. He frequently, as we have seen, omits details. He cares little about local colour or chronological order. His aim is to produce a definite impression—*the Messianic dignity of Jesus*. This aim is clear from the outset. 'Book of the generation of Jesus, Messiah, Son of David, Son of Abraham' (i. 1). The descent from David is emphasized (xii. 23, xxi. 9, 15, xxii. 42) as indicating that He is the Messianic King (ii. 2, xxi. 5, xxvii. 11, 29, 37, 42). The book is at once Jewish and anti-Jewish. It is manifestly written by a Jew for Jews. Its *Jewish* tone is conspicuous throughout. Palestine is 'the Land of Israel' (ii. 20, 21); its people are 'Israel' (viii. 10) or 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel' (x. 6, xv. 24); its towns are 'the cities of Israel' (x. 23); and God is 'the God of Israel' (xv. 31). Jerusalem is 'the holy city' (iv. 5, xxvii. 53), an expression found in Is. xlviii. 2, lii. 1; Dan. ix. 24; Tob. xiii. 9; but in the N.T. peculiar to this Gospel and the equally Jewish book of Revelation (xi. 2, xxi. 2, 10, xxii. 19). References to the fulfilment of Jewish prophecies abound (i. 22, ii. 6, 15, 17, 23, iii. 3, iv. 14, viii. 17, xii. 17, xiii. 14, 35, xxi. 4, xxiv. 15, xxvi. 31, 54, 56, xxvii. 9). It is evidently the aim of the Evangelist to let his fellow-Christians of the house of Israel know the certainty of that in which they had been instructed, viz. that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah foretold in prophecy. And the book is *anti-Jewish* in showing that, although the Messiah was of them, and came to them first (x. 5, 6), yet by their rejection of Him they had lost their birthright of priority. The old exclusive barriers had been broken down, and the Kingdom of Israel had become a Kingdom of the Heavens, open to all nations. In order to enjoy the Messianic glory, the Jew must cease to be a

Jew, must become a Christian, with Jesus as his Messiah, and be a subject in a Kingdom that was no longer Jewish. Thus this Gospel represents a moment of transition, a passage from the peculiar people to the whole race of mankind. On the one hand, the Messiah is come, 'not to destroy but to fulfil' (v. 17, 18), and, as regards His work on earth, is sent only to Israel (xv. 24). But, on the other hand, the Law and the Prophets find their limit in the Baptist (xi. 12, 13); the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath (xii. 8); there is no moral pollution in food (xv. 11, 19); the Kingdom is about to be transferred to others (xxi. 43, comp. viii. 11, 12); and the Gospel of the Kingdom is to be preached in all the world to all peoples (xxiv. 14). And thus the book, which opens within the narrow limits of Jewish thought, with the origin of the Messiah as 'Son of David' and 'Son of Abraham' (i. 1), ends with the great commission of the Messiah to the 'little flock' of Jews that had not shared in the national rejection of Him, 'Go ye and make disciples of all the nations' (xxviii. 19).

#### THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE FIRST GOSPEL.

We have just seen that the impression which this Evangelist desires to enforce is that of the rights of sovereignty which Jesus possessed, in the first place over the ancient people of Israel, and, after their rejection of Him as the Messianic King, over all the nations of the earth. The King of Israel by right of descent becomes, as Messiah, the King of the world. For He is not only the Son of Abraham and the Son of David, but also the Son of Man and the Son of God.

*The Son of Man.* It is specially in the First Gospel that our Lord is set before us as the Son of Man. The expression occurs frequently in all four Gospels; about 80 times in all, of which 40 or more times are distinct occasions. And the expression is invariably used by Christ, and of Himself. No Evangelist speaks of Him as the Son of Man, or represents any one as addressing Him as the Son of Man, or as mentioning Him by this designation. Our Lord, like many Jews of Palestine in His day, spoke both Aramaic and Greek, but He, no doubt, commonly spoke Aramaic. From this fact, and from the assumption that, so far as we know, the difference between 'son of man' in the sense of 'human being' (*υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* = *ὁ ἀνθρώπος*) and 'the Son of Man' (*ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*) could not be expressed in Aramaic,<sup>1</sup> it has been argued that our Lord

<sup>1</sup> This is assumption, and not fact. It is more reasonable to assume, from the use in Daniel and the Book of Enoch, that it must have been possible to express this difference in Aramaic (see Allen, *St. Matthew*, p. lxxiii).

never called Himself 'the Son of Man.' In passing, it may be urged that Christ sometimes spoke Greek, and that it is possible that He may have used the very words *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* of Himself. But, in any case, the conclusion drawn from the linguistic peculiarities of Aramaic is far short of demonstration, and it is incredible. It is contradicted by the whole of the evidence that bears directly on the subject. It assumes that, although He never used the title, all four Evangelists have insisted upon giving it to Him repeatedly: and yet in the Gospels we find that *they* never use it of Him, but report that *He* frequently used it. On any theory of authorship, the Gospels represent the memories of people who must have known whether Christ used this remarkable expression of Himself or not. And we may be sure that, the further we get away from the memories of the first generation of disciples, the less likelihood there would be of any such title being invented and put into Christ's mouth. Something expressing His Divinity rather than His humanity would have been chosen. We may regard the unanimous testimony of the four Gospels as decisive respecting His use of the term; and His use of it explains that of Stephen (Acts vii. 56), who would know the Gospel tradition.

The compiler of Matthew found the expression used 14 times in Mark; and he has kept all these.<sup>1</sup> Besides these cases, he uses it 19 times. That means that he found it in *both* his two main sources, Mark and the Logia or collection of Utterances (Q); for most of the additional 19 must have come from this second source. That again is strong evidence that the phrase was used by Christ; and also that our Evangelist welcomed the phrase as significant and appropriate; for his treatment of Mark shows that he did not scruple to omit, or even to alter, what he did not approve.

The passage in Daniel, 'One like a son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days,' and received a dominion which is universal and eternal (vii. 13, 14),<sup>2</sup>

"Doubts have been thrown, on linguistic grounds, upon the use by our Lord of the title Son of Man with reference to Himself. Those doubts have receded; and I do not think that they will ever be urged with so much insistence again. . . . Here is an expression which can only go back to our Lord Himself, and it bears speaking testimony to the fidelity with which His words have been preserved" (Sanday, *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, pp. 123-125; see also pp. 65-69, 100, 159, 190).

<sup>1</sup> There is an apparent exception in xvi. 21, which is no real exception, for the term is used by anticipation in xvi. 13. In 8 cases the phrase is common to Mt., Mk., and Lk. In 8 it is common to Mt. and Lk. In 9 it is found in Mt. alone. In 8 it is found in Lk. alone. Jn. has it 12 times. The total for the four Gospels is 81 times.

<sup>2</sup> Dan. vii. 18 seems to show that this 'Son of Man,' like the 'beasts,' is

and several passages in Enoch (xlii., li. 4, liii. 6, cv. 2), which possibly are, but probably are not, post-Christian, show that the phrase had come to be used of a Divine Messiah. But there is nothing specially Christian in this supernatural Messiah. He is the Son of God, but He is not the Word, not God. That He is to live on earth, or has lived on earth, and died, and risen again, is not hinted. It is a Jewish, pre-Christian Messiah that is indicated by 'the Son of Man.' But it may be securely asserted that the term was not commonly recognized among the Jews as a name for the Messiah. In that case, our Lord, who carefully abstained from calling Himself the Messiah, would never, until He had revealed Himself as the Messiah, have used the expression of Himself. It is clear that that revelation was made very gradually. Up to the question at Caesarea Philippi (Mt. xvi. 13-16 = Mk. viii. 27-29 = Lk. ix. 18-20) He had not so revealed Himself; and even then He forbade that this partial revelation should be made public (Mt. xvi. 20 = Mk. viii. 30 = Lk. ix. 21; Mt. xvii. 9 = Mk. ix. 9; comp. Lk. ix. 36). Yet there are passages in which 'the Son of Man' is used by our Lord of Himself before the incident at Caesarea Philippi. There are nine such in Matthew. As our Evangelist so often groups things independently of chronology, we may believe that some of these nine cases, though placed before Caesarea Philippi, really took place afterwards. But that can hardly be the case with Mt. ix. 6 = Mk. ii. 10 = Lk. v. 24, or Mt. xii. 8 = Mk. ii. 28 = Lk. vi. 5, or Mt. xii. 32 = Lk. xii. 10. We may be confident, therefore, that as Jesus used this term of Himself so early in the Ministry, it cannot have been one which was generally known as a name for the Messiah. Our Lord seems to have chosen the expression because it had mysterious associations which were *not* generally known, and because it was capable of receiving additional associations of still greater importance. It was like His parables, able to conceal Divine truth from the unworthy, while it revealed more and more to those whose hearts were being prepared to receive it. It insisted upon the reality of His humanity and His unique position as a member of the human race. It hinted at supernatural birth. It harmonized with Messianic claims, if it did not at once suggest them. And, when it became connected with the future glories of the Second Advent, it revealed what it had previously veiled respecting the present office and eternal pre-existence of Him in whom human nature found its highest and most complete expression. Thus it came to indicate the

to be understood collectively. They are tyrannical dynasties; he is the 'saints of the Most High.' But in the Psalm of Solomon (xvii, xviii) and in the Apoc. of Baruch (lxxii. 2, 3), as in Enoch, we clearly have an individual, who is both King and Judge.

meeting-point between what was humanly perfect with what was perfectly Divine.<sup>1</sup>

*The Son of God.* Apart from the Fourth Gospel (v. 25, ix. 35 [?], x. 36, xi. 4), we could not be certain that our Lord used this expression of Himself; and even with regard to those passages we must allow for the possibility that S. John is giving what he believed to be Christ's meaning rather than the words actually used. In Mt. xvi. 16, for 'the Christ, the Son of the living God,' Mk. has only 'the Christ,' and Lk. 'the Christ of God.' In Mt. xxvi. 63 we are on surer ground; there 'the Christ, the Son of God,' is supported by Mk.'s 'the Christ, the Son of the Blessed,' and by Lk.'s 'the Son of God.' And we have it in the voice from heaven at the Baptism (iii. 17 = Mk. i. 11 = Lk. iii. 22) and at the Transfiguration (xvii. 5 = Mk. ix. 7 = Lk. ix. 35); in the devil's challenge (iv. 3, 6 = Lk. iv. 3, 9); in the cries of the demoniacs (viii. 29 = Mk. v. 7 = Lk. viii. 28; comp. Mk. iii. 11); and in the centurion's exclamation (xxvii. 54 = Mk. xv. 39). But, allowing for all critical uncertainties, we may regard it as securely established that expressions of this kind were used both *by* our Lord and *of* Him *during His life on earth*. Dispassionate study of the Gospels, even without the large support which they receive in this particular from the Epistles, will convince us that Jesus knew that He possessed, and was recognized by some of those who knew Him as possessing, a relation of Sonship to God such as was given to no other member of the human race. A merely moral relationship, in which Jesus reached a higher grade than other holy persons, is quite inadequate to explain the definite statements and general tone of the Gospels. To take a single instance; the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen indicates clearly His own view of His relationship to God who sent Him. There had been many sent, but all the others were servants. He is the only 'son,' the sole 'heir,' the one whose rejection and murder at once produces a crisis fatal to the wrong-doers. As Dalman says, Jesus "made it indubitably clear that He was not only *a* but *the* Son of God."<sup>2</sup> The sovereignty of which He was the heir was the sovereignty over the world and over all its tenants.

It is evident that the editor of this Gospel is fully convinced of the appropriateness of this far-reaching expression. If 'the Son of the living God' has been added by him to Peter's confession (xvi. 16), it is because he felt that the addition was

<sup>1</sup> See Hastings' *DB.* ii. pp. 622 ff. and iv. pp. 579 ff.; also Sanday, *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, pp. 92 ff.; Calmes, *Évangile selon S. Jean*, pp. 159 ff.; Zahn on Mt. viii. 18; Drummond in *Journal of Theological Studies*, April and July 1901.

<sup>2</sup> *The Words of Jesus*, p. 280. See also Hastings' *DB.* ii. pp. 850 f., and iv. pp. 570 ff.; Sanday, *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, pp. 130-133; Gore, *The New Theology and the Old Religion*, pp. 87-95.

necessary in order to express the full meaning of what the Apostle said. More often than any other Evangelist he records that the designation 'Son of God' was applied to Him (ii. 15, iii. 17, iv. 3, 6, viii. 29, xiv. 33, xvi. 16, xvii. 5, xxvi. 63, xxvii. 40, 43, 54). He records the crucial passage in which He speaks of His relation to God as one of Sonship in a unique sense (xi. 25-27), and also the two occasions on which God acknowledged Him as His Son, His Beloved (iii. 17, xvii. 5). And for this he prepares his readers by telling of His supernatural birth of a virgin, by conception of the Spirit of God, so that by prophetic sanction He may be called 'God-with-us' (i. 20-23). And the Evangelist finds that this prophetic sanction extends throughout the career of the Son of God; in the chief events of His infancy (ii. 5, 15, 17, 23), in the chief scene of His Ministry (iv. 14), and in the chief details of it. He finds it in John's proclamation of His coming (iii. 3), in His healings (viii. 17), His retirement from public notice (xii. 17), the hardness of His hearers' hearts (xiii. 14), His consequent use of parables (xiii. 35), His riding into Jerusalem (xxi. 4), the flight of His disciples (xxvi. 31), His capture by His enemies (xxvi. 54, 56), and even in the way in which the money paid for His blood was spent (xxvii. 9). He is ministered to by Angels (iv. 11), who are at His disposal (xiii. 41, xxiv. 31), to use or not as He wills (xxvi. 53), and who will attend Him in His future glory (xvi. 27, xxv. 31). But the final purpose of the Son's mission was not simply to minister to the needs of men in body and soul, but 'to give His life a ransom for many' (xx. 28) by shedding His blood for them (xxvi. 28). In the latter passage he adds to Mark's report that the blood is shed 'unto remission of sins.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Jesus felt that He stood *in such closeness of communion with God the Father as belonged to none before or after Him*. He was conscious of speaking the last and decisive word: He felt that *what He did was final*, and that no one would come after Him. The certainty and simple force of His work, the sunshine, clearness and freshness of His whole attitude rest upon this foundation. We cannot eliminate from His personality, without destroying it, the trait of *superprophetic consciousness of the accomplisher to whose person the flight of the ages and the whole destiny of His followers is linked* . . . Let us contemplate this *sovereign sense of leadership* by which Jesus was possessed, and the inimitable sureness with which it unfolded itself in every direction. He knew how to value the authorities of the past, but *He placed Himself above them*. He was more of account than kings and prophets, than David, Solomon, and the Temple. The tradition of the elders He met with His 'But I say unto you,' and even Moses was not an authority to whom He gave unqualified submission."

As Sanday points out, these are extraordinary admissions to be made by a writer (Bousset) who contends that the life of our Lord did not overstep the limits of the purely human. The facts, as Bousset himself states them, flatly contradict his own theory (*The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, pp. 189-191).

The writer of this Gospel shows us very plainly what Jesus Himself thought of His own relations to God and to man. He sets Himself above the Law (v. 22-44, xii. 8) and the Temple (xii. 6), and above all the Prophets from Moses to the Baptist, for John is greater than the Prophets (xi. 9, 11), and He is greater than John (iii. 14, 15, xi. 4-6). The revelation which He brings surpasses all that has been revealed before (xi. 27), and this revelation is to be made known, not merely to the Chosen People (x. 6, xv. 24), but to all the nations (viii. 11, xxiv. 14, xxviii. 19). He is the Source of truth and of peace (xi. 28-30); and although He Himself is man, He can speak of all other men as sinners (vii. 11, xxvi. 45). When the Baptist shrinks from admitting Him to his baptism, He does not say that He too has need of cleansing, but He quiets John's scruples by quite other means (iii. 15). He prays (xiv. 23), and prays for Himself (xxvi. 39, 42, 44), but He never prays to be forgiven. He bids others to pray for forgiveness, and for deliverance from temptation (vi. 12, 13, xxvi. 41), but He never asks them to pray for Him. Without proof, and without reserve, He makes enormous claims upon the devotion of His followers (viii. 22, x. 37, 38, xvi. 24), and He says that the way to save one's life is to lose it for His sake (x. 39, xvi. 25). He confers on Peter (xvi. 19) and on all the Apostles (xviii. 19) authority to prohibit and to allow in the Church which He is about to found; and in the Kingdom which He has announced as at hand (iv. 17) He promises to His Apostles thrones (xix. 28). The Church is His Church (xvi. 18), the elect in it are His elect (xxiv. 31), the Kingdom is His Kingdom (xvi. 28), and the Angels in it are His Angels (xiii. 41, xxiv. 31). Even during His life on earth He has authority to forgive sins (ix. 6), and by His death He will reconcile the sinful race of mankind to God (xxvi. 28). And all this is little more than the beginning. On the third day after His death He will rise again (xvi. 21, xvii. 23, xx. 19), and then He will possess God's authority in heaven and in earth, and also His power of omnipresence (xxviii. 18, 20). At a later period He will come in glory to judge the whole world, to reward righteousness and to punish unrepented sin (xvi. 27, xxiv. 30, 31, 47, 51); and the character of His judgments will depend upon the way in which men have behaved towards those who are their brethren, but in His eyes are *His* brethren and even as Himself (xxv. 31-46).<sup>1</sup>

In most of these passages Mt. is supported by Mk. (ii. 10, 28, iii. 11, 12, viii. 29-31, 34-38, ix. 9, 31, 37, x. 34, 45, xii. 6, xiii. 26, 27, xiv. 35-39, 62, xv. 34, xvi. 6), to say nothing of the still stronger support to be found in the Fourth Gospel.

<sup>1</sup> See Briggs, *The Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 199-206, 222.

We cannot suppose that utterances such as these, so numerous, so various, and yet so harmonious, are the invention of this or that Evangelist. They are beyond the invention of any Evangelist, and few of them are anticipated in the O.T. In particular, there is no hint in the O.T. of a *second* coming of the Messiah; it cannot, therefore, be maintained that either Jesus or the Evangelists derived the idea of His coming again from type or prophecy. And what makes the hypothesis of invention all the more incredible is the combination in Jesus of this consciousness of Divine powers with a character of deep humility, reticence, and restraint. While uttering these amazing claims with a serenity which implies that they are indisputable, He is still meek and lowly of heart (xi. 29), always charging those who in some measure know who He is that they shall not make Him known (xii. 16, xvi. 20, xvii. 9), bidding those whom He has healed not to spread abroad His fame (viii. 4, ix. 30, xii. 16), declaring that He came not to be ministered unto, but to minister (xx. 28), and in His ministering quite ready to be stigmatized as the friend of tax-collectors and sinners (ix. 11, xi. 19).

If, then, criticism accepts the record of His claims and of His actions as substantially true, how are we to explain them? Was He an ecstatic dreamer, a fanatic under the influence of a gigantic delusion? This question may be answered by another. Is it credible that the limitless benefits which have blessed, and are daily blessing, those who believe that Jesus is what He claimed to be, are the outcome of a gigantic delusion? The Incarnation explains all that is so perplexing and mysterious in the records of Christ's words and works, and in the subsequent history of the society which He founded. But nothing less than Divinity will explain the developments in the life of Jesus and of His Church. If, therefore, the Incarnation is a fiction, if it is not true that God became flesh and dwelt among us, then we must assume that flesh became God, and that hypothesis is, intellectually, a far greater difficulty than God's becoming man. To men of this generation the Incarnation may seem to be impossible, but with God all things are possible.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE DATE.

The time at which the unknown Evangelist compiled this Gospel can be fixed, within narrow limits, with a high degree of probability. All the evidence that we have falls into place, if

<sup>1</sup> See the notes on v. 21, 22, 48, vii. 23, 24-29, viii. 21, 22, ix. 12, x. 16-18, 32, 39, xi. 23, 24, xii. 41, xx. 28, xxii. 34, xxviii. 18; Gore, *The New Theology and the Old Religion*, pp. 103-108.

we suppose that he completed his work shortly before or (more probably) shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. He used Mark and a translation of the Logia which had been collected in 'Hebrew' by Matthew. These materials cannot well have been in existence much, if at all, before A.D. 65. The parenthesis in Mk. xiii. 14, 'let him that readeth understand,' is probably not to be taken as our Lord's words, directing attention to the saying in Daniel, for in Mark Daniel is not mentioned; the parenthetical words are those of the Evangelist, warning the reader of his Gospel that, although the time to which the sign refers has not yet come, yet it must be near. This seems to give us the time of the first march of the Romans on Jerusalem (A.D. 66) as about the date for S. Mark's Gospel.<sup>1</sup> In xxiv. 15 our Evangelist retains the parenthesis. But we cannot use the same argument as to his date. He does mention 'Daniel the Prophet,' and may understand the parenthesis as directing attention to the prophecy; or he may have retained Mark's warning, although the reason for it had ceased to exist. Nevertheless, it is possible that both Gospels were completed before A.D. 70.

But our Evangelist seems to have believed that the Second Advent would take place very soon, and would be closely connected with the tribulation caused by the destruction of Jerusalem (xvi. 28, xxiv. 29, 34). A belief which caused our Lord's words to be so arranged as to produce this impression, would not have long survived the events of A.D. 70. When a year or two had passed, and the Second Advent had not taken place, the belief would be found to be erroneous. Therefore, while we can hardly place this Gospel as early as A.D. 65, we can hardly place it as late as A.D. 75. And, on the whole, a little *after* 70 is rather more probable than a little *before*. The later date gives more time for the publication of Mark and of the Logia in Greek. Moreover, 'the king was wroth, and he sent his armies, and destroyed those murderers, and burned their city' (xxii. 7) may be a direct reference to the destruction of Jerusalem regarded as a judgment on the murderers of the Messiah.

And there is nothing in the Gospel which requires us to place it later than A.D. 75. The famous utterance, 'on this rock I will build My church' (xvi. 18), must not be judged by the ideas which have gathered round it. 'On this rock I will build My Israel'—the new Israel, that is to grow out of the old one,—is the meaning, a meaning quite in accordance with thoughts

<sup>1</sup> The statement that Eusebius in his Chronicle places the composition of the First Gospel A.D. 41=Abraham 2057, is untrue. The date of no Gospel is given in the Chronicle. For other statements see the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan. 1905, p. 203.

that were current in the first generation of Christians. Still less does 'tell it unto the Church : and if he refuse to hear the Church also' (xviii. 17) point to a late date. The local community, either of Jews or of Jewish Christians, such as existed in Palestine from the time of Christ onwards, is what is meant.

This early date is of importance in weighing the historical value of the Gospel. At the time when the compiler was at work on it many who had known the Lord were still living. Most of His Apostles may have been still alive. Oral traditions about Him were still current. Documents embodying still earlier traditions were in existence, and some of them were used by our Evangelist. It is possible—indeed, it is highly probable—that the sayings of Christ, which the Evangelist got from the translation of S. Matthew's Logia, and which form such a large portion of the Gospel, are the very earliest information which we possess respecting our Lord's teaching. In them we get back nearest to Him, of whom those sent to arrest Him testified : 'Never *man* thus spake,' Οὐδέποτε ἐλάλησεν οὕτως ἄνθρωπος (Jn. vii. 46).

And it was the presence of this element which made the First Gospel such a favourite, and gave it so wide a circulation. It quite eclipsed S. Mark, and in almost all collections of the Gospels took the first place. For many early Christians it was probably the only Gospel that they knew, and it sufficed ; it told them so much of what the Lord said. With it in their hands they could obey the injunction which came direct from God to man : 'This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased ; hear ye Him' (xvii. 5).

There are critics, such as M. Loisy, who would put the date of this Gospel some thirty years later, because they are unwilling to admit the historical value of its contents. They have a conviction, which is a prejudgment, that certain things *cannot* have happened, and therefore the evidence of those who say that they did happen, *must* be untrustworthy. It must come from witnesses who cannot be contemporary, but who stated what they considered to be edifying, or felt to be in harmony with their own beliefs, rather than what they knew to be true. In some cases they did not mean their narratives to be accepted as literally true ; they meant them to be understood as symbolical. In other cases they invented stories about Jesus, to show that He was what they believed Him to be, viz. the promised Messiah and the Son of God. Such theories are not sound criticism. The true critic is not fond of 'cannot' or 'must.' To decide *a priori* that Deity cannot become incarnate, or that incarnate Deity must exhibit such and such characteristics, is neither true philosophy nor scientific criticism. A Person such as His con-

temporaries and their immediate followers believed Jesus to be is required to explain the facts of Christianity and Christendom—Christian doctrine and the Christian Church. If their beliefs about Him were erroneous, what is the explanation?

“THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS” AND  
THEIR RELATION TO THE FIRST GOSPEL.

In the notes will be found frequent quotations from the Testaments, of passages which either in substance or wording or both are similar to passages in this Gospel. Some of these may be mere coincidences; but the number of parallels is so large, and in some cases the resemblance is so close, that mere coincidence cannot be the explanation of all the similarities. A considerable number may be the result of independent use of current ideas and phrases: yet even these two hypotheses will not account for all the resemblances. The two writings, in the forms in which they have come down to us, can hardly be independent. Either the Gospel has been influenced by the Testaments, or the latter has been influenced by the Gospel. Dr. Charles, in his invaluable edition of the Testaments, argues for the former hypothesis: a paper in the *Expositor* for Dec. 1908 gives reasons for preferring the latter; and in the *Expositor* for Feb. 1909 Dr. Charles repeats his own view.

The Testaments has long been a literary puzzle. We possess the book in Greek, and in subsidiary translations into Armenian, Latin, and Slavonic; the Latin translation having been made in the thirteenth century, from a Greek MS. of the tenth century, by Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln, who thus made the book known to Western Christendom. He believed it to be a genuine product of Jewish prophecy, with marvellous anticipations of the Messiah; and this view continued until the Revival of Learning. The criticism of that age condemned it as a forgery by a Jewish Christian, and for a long time it was neglected as worthless. A better criticism has shown that the text is composite, and that it consists of a Jewish document which has received Christian interpolations and alterations. Neither the Latin nor the Slavonic is of much value for critical purposes: in determining the text of Testaments we have to rely chiefly upon the Greek MSS. and the MSS. of the Armenian version, and it is from a study of these that a more correct estimate of the Testaments can be obtained.

Thanks to the labours of modern scholars, among whom it will suffice to mention Bousset, Charles, Conybeare, Harnack, Schürer, and Sinker, some important questions have been settled beyond reasonable dispute. (1) The original work was not

Greek, but Hebrew. (2) The author of it was not a Christian, but a Jew. (3) Numerous Christian features in the Testaments have been introduced by changes of wording and by interpolations, which are the work of Christian scribes. These three points are certain; but the details of the process by which the book reached its extant forms, and the exact amount of the alterations made by Christian hands, are not easy to determine.

Dr. Charles holds that there were two Hebrew recensions, from each of which a Greek translation was made, one of which is represented by three of the existing Greek MSS. (*c*, *h*, and *i*), and the other by two Greek MSS. (*b* and *g*); while four Greek MSS. (*a*, *e*, *f*, and *d*) appear to be derived from both the original translations.<sup>1</sup> The Christian insertions and alterations are probably the result of a repeated process and not the work of any one hand. They are more numerous in the Greek than in the Armenian text, and at first one is inclined to regard absence from the Armenian version as a test. Expressions which are in the Greek but not in the Armenian might be assumed to have been added to the Greek after the Armenian translation was made. The proposed test, however, is of uncertain value, for the Armenian translator was an audacious abbreviator. "On almost every page," says Dr. Charles, "he is guilty of unjustifiable omissions." Therefore absence from the Armenian version is no sure evidence of an interpolation.

But what concerns us is the large number of passages in the Testaments which resemble passages in the N.T. so closely that they cannot all be explained as either mere accidents of wording or the result of the same influences of thought and language telling upon different writers. There is a residuum, of uncertain amount, which cannot reasonably be explained by either of these hypotheses. In these cases, either the N.T. has influenced the text of the Testaments, or the text of the Testaments has influenced that of the N.T.

Dr. Charles is persuaded that in nearly all the cases the N.T. has been influenced by the Testaments. He has drawn up lists of parallels between the Testaments on the one hand, and the Gospels, Acts, Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse, on the other: and some of these exhibit resemblances which are very striking. Moreover, he has not tabulated by any means all the resemblances which exist.

It is remarkable that the parallels with the Gospels are chiefly with the First Gospel, those with Mt. being about twice as numerous as those with all the other three put together. It is

<sup>1</sup> From this view Professor Burkitt dissents (*Journal of Theol. St.*, Oct. 1908); also from the view that S. Paul quotes the Testaments. It is more probable that a Christian copyist has put S. Paul's words into the Testaments.

also remarkable that the passages in Mt. which show marked resemblance with the Testaments "are almost exclusively those which give the sayings and discourses of our Lord" (Charles, p. lxxviii). "Almost exclusively" may be too strong; but the proportion is large. Dr. Charles explains this remarkable fact by the hypothesis that our Lord knew the Testaments and adopted some of the thoughts and language which can be found there. There would be nothing startling in our Lord's making such use of the Testaments, for the moral teaching in the Testaments is sometimes of a lofty character. Some of His sayings may have been suggested by Ecclesiasticus. The two cases, however, are not quite parallel. We are quite sure that Ecclesiasticus was written long before the Nativity, and therefore Christ may have read it; but we are not sure that the Testaments had been written when He was born.

Dr. Charles argues strongly for a year between B.C. 137 and 105 as the date of the original Hebrew of the Testaments, and we may rest assured that the book cannot have been written earlier than that. Harnack (*Chron. d. altchrist. Litt.* 1897, p. 567) thinks that it cannot well be placed earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. The problem of date would be easier if the Book of Jubilees could be dated, for the connexion between the Testaments and Jubilees is so close that they cannot be independent of one another; and Schürer (*Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*, 3rd ed., iii. p. 259) thinks that it is the author of the Testaments that has used the Book of Jubilees. There is, however, at least one passage in the Testaments which seems to point to a time subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple.

"There the sanctuary (*ὁ ναός*), which the Lord shall choose, shall be desolate (*ἐρημος*) through your uncleanness, and ye shall be captives unto all the nations. And ye shall be an abomination to them, and shall receive reproach and eternal shame from the righteous judgment of God" (*Levi* xv. 1, 2).

Dr. Charles says, "I take these verses as a *bona fide* prediction," and adds, "The sanctuary was so laid waste under Antiochus Epiphanes: 1 Mac. i. 39." But "ye shall be captives unto all the nations" (*αἰχμάλωτοι ἔσεσθε εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*) can hardly refer to the persecution under Antiochus. What follows these two verses seems to point to something much more comprehensive and permanent. "And all who hate you shall rejoice at your destruction. And if ye were not to receive mercy through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our fathers, not one of our seed should be left upon the earth." Comp. *Dan* v. 13. The passage looks like a fictitious prophecy made after the capture of Jerusalem in A.D. 70; but it is possible that it is an *interpola-*

*tion* inserted after that event, and not part of the original work. We must be content to leave the date of the Hebrew original an open question, as also the date of the earliest translation into Greek. And there is also the question whether the Greek translator was a Jew or a Christian. If the latter, then the Christianizing of the Testaments may have begun at once; but in any case, whether it began with the translator or with subsequent copyists, it does not seem to have taken place all at one time.

It is now admitted by every one that there has been considerable manipulation of the Greek texts of the Testaments in order to give them a Christian tone. There have been changes of wording, and there have been insertions. May not many of the cases in which the Testaments resemble the N.T. have come about in the same manner? May we not suppose that Christians have assimilated the wording of the Testaments to the wording of the Gospels and Epistles? This possibility is all the more probable when the change or the insertion seems to have been made somewhat late, because it is found in the later, but not in the earlier authorities for the Greek text of the Testaments; and this Dr. Charles himself points out (see note on *Judah* xxv. 4). Why may it not have taken place as soon as the Testaments began to be Christianized? If Christians would put their own words into the Testaments in order to make them testify of Christ, much more would they be likely to put the words of the N.T. into them.

This hypothesis, that it is the N.T. which has influenced the Testaments rather than the Testaments which has influenced the N.T. has considerable advantages. It solves one difficulty which the other hypothesis fails to solve, and it avoids another difficulty into which the other hypothesis leads us.

1. Why do the parallels with Mt. so greatly exceed in number the parallels with the other Gospels? In particular, why do the large majority of the passages in the Testaments which recall our Lord's teaching recall that teaching as recorded in Mt.? If Christ knew the Testaments, and adopted much of its moral instruction and language, why does this influence show itself so frequently in His sayings as reported in the First Gospel, and so seldom in His sayings as reported in the other three? If the Testaments did influence the form of Christ's teaching, this influence would be evident, if not in all Gospels alike, at any rate in Lk. almost as often as in Mt. But if it was the Gospels which influenced the Testaments, then at once we see why it was Mt. which exercised the most influence. The Gospel according to Matthew, as soon as it was published, became most popular. It caused the Gospel according to Mark, which

was in the field before it, to be almost neglected; and the Third Gospel never attained to equal popularity. In the Christian literature of the first centuries, quotations from Mt. and allusions to Mt. are *far* more frequent than references to the other Gospels; perhaps twice as frequent as references to Lk. or Jn., and six or seven times as frequent as references to Mk. This fact goes a long way towards showing that it is the Gospels that have influenced the Testaments. If they did so, then the influence of Mt. would be sure to be greater than that of the other three; which is exactly what we find.

2. If the influence of the Testaments on the Gospels, on the Pauline Epistles, and on the Catholic Epistles was so great as to produce scores of similarities in thought and wording, this influence would not be likely to cease quite suddenly as soon as the N.T. was complete; it would probably have continued to work and to manifest itself in early Christian writings. But, as Dr. Charles himself points out, "the Testaments have not left much trace on Patristic literature" (p. lxxv). He has collected seven apparent parallels between the Shepherd of Hermas and the Testaments, and he thinks that these suffice to show that Hermas knew and used the Testaments. The conclusion may be correct, but the evidence is not convincing. Three of the parallels may be mere coincidences; and in two cases the agreement with passages in Scripture is closer than the agreement with the Testaments, so that we may be sure that Hermas is recalling the Bible and not the Testaments. Thus, "Do not partake of God's creature, in selfish festivity, but give a share to those who are in want" may come from Job xxxi. 16, Prov. xxii. 9, Ep. of Jer. 28, or Lk. iii. 11; and "Speak against no one" certainly comes from Prov. xii. 13 or Jas. iv. 11 rather than from *Issachar* iii. 4. Of the two remaining parallels one is striking: "There are two angels with man, one of righteousness and one of wickedness" (*Mand.* vi. ii. 1): "Two spirits wait upon man, the spirit of truth and the spirit of error" (*Judah* xx. 1). But the former may come from Barnabas xviii. 1, and perhaps Origen thought so, for he quotes first Hermas and then Barnabas (*De Prin.* iii. ii. 4); and both in Barnabas and in Hermas we have *ἄγγελοι* and not *πνεύματα*. "The spirit of truth and the spirit of error" is *verbatim* the same as 1 Jn. iv. 6, and this rather than Hermas may be the source of Judah's words. If the parallels between Hermas and the Testaments suffice to make dependence probable, it is possible that Hermas is the original. The Shepherd was written about A.D. 150 and quickly became very popular. Before A.D. 200 it was better known than 2 and 3 Jn., Jude, or 2 Peter, and was often regarded as Scripture. It is not impossible that in some of the parallels

it is the Shepherd that has influenced the text of the Testaments. In any case, it remains somewhat uncertain whether Hermas knew the Testaments.

There is a fragment (No. xvii.) attributed (but perhaps wrongly, as Harnack thinks) to Irenæus, which is thought to refer to the Testaments: "But from Levi and Judah according to the flesh He was born as king and priest." This doctrine about the Messiah is found in *Simeon* vii. 1, 2. But, as neither the authorship of the fragment nor the reference of the passage is certain, this is somewhat slender evidence for the hypothesis, which in itself is quite credible, that the Testaments were known to Irenæus.

Not until we reach Origen, and the later years of his life, do we get an indisputable reference to the Testaments. In his Homilies on Joshua (xv. 6), which were written about A.D. 245-50, he mentions the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs by name, as a book which, whatever its merits, was not included in the Canon. He calls it "a certain book," as if he did not much expect his readers to know it. The fact that he nowhere else quotes it need not mean that he himself did not know it well, but only that he did not like it. Its muddling Christology, the result of Christianizing a Jewish book by frequent re-touching, would not attract him.

A single passage in Origen, therefore, written in the middle of the third century, is the earliest *certain* evidence of a Christian writer being acquainted with a book which is supposed to have influenced, and in some cases to have influenced very strongly indeed, nearly every writer in the N.T. Let us leave Hermas and Irenæus on one side, or even admit that they knew it. How is it that we do not find clear traces of this most influential document in either Clement of Rome, or Ignatius, or Polycarp, or Barnabas, or the Letter to Diognetus, or the Didache, or Aristides, or Justin Martyr, or Athenagoras, or Tertullian, or Clement of Alexandria? The total absence of traces of influence between A.D. 95 and 150, and the very scanty signs of possible influence between 150 and 250 render it somewhat improbable that our Lord and St. Paul, to mention no others, frequently adopted the thoughts and words of this apocryphal Jewish writing. What can explain the sudden and almost total cessation of influence upon Christian literature about A.D. 100? If, however, it was the writings of the N.T. which influenced the early Christians who adapted the Testaments to Christian sentiment by frequent alterations, we have an intelligible explanation of the literary facts. These adaptations are known to have taken place, and seem to have begun early, for it was probably a Christianized edition that was known to Origen;

otherwise he would hardly have raised the question about its being included in the Canon or not.

How could the Testaments exercise such enormous influence on the N.T. as Dr. Charles supposes, and yet, with the possible exceptions of Hermas and Irenæus, leave no trace of being known to any writer earlier than Origen? or to writers later than Origen?

Dr. Charles answers this question by asking several others. "How is it that the Gospel of Mark exercised such a preponderating influence on the First and Third Gospels and yet has left no certain trace in Barnabas, the Didache, 1 Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, 2 Clement? Or, again, how is it that the Similitudes of Enoch exercised such a great influence on the Fourth Gospel and certain passages of the Synoptics, and yet are not quoted by a single Apostolic Father? Or how is it that 1 Thessalonians, the earliest Pauline Epistle, has left no trace on Barnabas, the Didache, 1 Clement, Polycarp, 2 Clement? I need not further press this argument" (*Expositor*, Feb. 1909, pp. 117, 118).

None of the three instances given by Dr. Charles is a true parallel; for two reasons. No one asserts that Mark or 1 Thessalonians has had such an influence upon nearly all the writers of the N.T. as Dr. Charles attributes to the Testaments; and perhaps he himself would not attribute as much influence to the Similitudes of Enoch as he attributes to the Testaments. Secondly, it could not be said that these three writings have left no trace of influence upon any Christian writer between S. John and Origen, with the possible exception of Hermas and Irenæus. Mark was probably known to Hermas, Justin Martyr, and some of the early Gnostics; certainly to Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and other writers in abundance. 1 Thessalonians was perhaps known to Ignatius, Hermas, and the author of the Didache; certainly to Marcion, Irenæus, Clement, Tertullian, and later writers. And Dr. Charles has shown that Enoch by no means passed into oblivion between A.D. 100 and 250, or even later. Therefore the literary history of these three writings does not explain what is supposed to have taken place respecting the Testaments.

Dr. Charles supposes that some one has asked "how it is that the Testaments have so largely influenced S. Matthew and S. Luke, and have hardly, if at all, influenced S. Mark." That question is easily answered, but it is not the question which has been raised. The question is, How is it that the Testaments (according to the view of Dr. Charles) have influenced S. Matthew about twice as much as they have influenced the other three Gospels put together? That is a question which deserves an answer. Let us look at some of the facts.

## MATTHEW.

ii. 2. Where is He that is born King of the Jews, for we saw His star in its rising (*τὸν ἀστέρα ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ*).

iii. 14. I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me?

16. Lo, the heavens were opened unto Him (*ἠνεψύχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί*), and He saw the Spirit of God descending as a dove, and coming upon Him; and lo, a voice out of the heavens, saying, This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.

iv. 11. Then the devil leaveth Him; and behold Angels came and ministered unto Him.

iv. 16. The people which sat in darkness saw a great light, and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, to them did light spring up.

v. 3. Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

4. Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.

6. Blessed are they that hunger (*οἱ πεινῶντες*), for they shall be filled (*χορτασθήσονται*).

10. Blessed are they that have been persecuted for righteousness' sake.

19. Whoever shall do and teach them, he shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.

21. Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment:

22. but I say unto you, that every one who is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgment.

## THE TESTAMENTS.

Levi xviii. 3. His star shall arise in heaven as of a king (*ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον αὐτοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ ὡς βασιλέως*).

Num. xxiv. 17. *ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον.*

Judah xxiv. 1. And no sin shall be found in him.

2. And the heavens shall be opened unto him (*ἀνοιγήσονται ἐπ' αὐτῷ οἱ οὐρανοί*), to pour out the spirit, the blessing of the Holy Father.

Levi xviii. 6. The heavens shall be opened, and from the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification, with the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac.

7. And the glory of the Most High shall be spoken over him, and the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest on him in the water.

13. And the Lord shall rejoice in His children, and be well pleased in his beloved ones for ever.

Naphtali viii. 4. The devil shall flee from you. . . . And the Angels shall cleave to you.

Levi iii. 5. The hosts of the Angels are ministering.

xviii. 4. He shall shine forth as the sun in the earth, and shall take away all darkness from under heaven.

Judah xxv. 4. They who were poor for the Lord's sake shall be made rich.

And they who have died in grief shall arise in joy.

And they who have been in want (*ἐν πείνῃ*) shall be filled (*χορτασθήσονται*).

Dan iv. 6. If ye suffer loss voluntarily or involuntarily, be not vexed.

Levi xiii. 9. Whoever teaches noble things and does them shall be enthroned with kings.

Gen. iv. 6. Hatred would slay the living, and those that have sinned in a small thing it would not suffer to live.

v. 1. Hatred therefore is evil, for it maketh small things to be great.

5. Fearing to offend the Lord, he will do no wrong to any man, even in thought.

28. Every one that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.

42. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.

44. Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven.

vi. 10. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.

vi. 14. If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you.

16. [The hypocrites] disfigure their faces (*ἀφανίζουσι τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν*).

19. Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon the earth; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven.

22, 23. If thine eye be single (*ἐὰν ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ἀπλούς ᾖ*) . . . But if thine eye be evil (*ἐὰν δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου πονηρός ᾖ*), thy whole body shall be full of darkness (*σκοτευνόν*).

24. No man can be a slave (*δουλεῖν*) to two masters. . . . Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

vii. 2. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you.

viii. 17. Himself took our infirmities, and bare our diseases.

#### 24-27. *The Storm on the Lake.*

ix. 8. When the multitudes saw it, they were afraid and glorified (*ἐδόξασαν*) God.

x. 1. He gave them authority over unclean spirits.

16. Become therefore wise (*γίνεσθε οὖν φρόνιμοι*) as serpents.

39. He that loseth his life for My sake shall find it.

Benjamin viii. 2. He that hath a pure mind in love looketh not on a woman with thought of fornication.

Zebulon vii. 2. Show compassion and mercy without partiality to all, and grant to every man with a good heart.

Joseph xviii. 2. If any one willet to do evil to you, do you in doing him good pray for him, and ye shall be redeemed of the Lord from all evil.

Naphtali iii. 2. Sun moon and stars change not their order; so do ye also change not the law of God in the disorderliness of your doings.

Zebulon viii. 1. Have compassion towards every man in mercy, that the Lord also may have compassion and mercy on you.

6. [The spirit of revenge] disfigureth the face (*τὸ πρόσωπον ἀφανίζει*).

Levi xiii. 5. Do righteousness upon the earth, that ye may find it in heaven.

Issachar iii. 4. Walking in singleness of eye (*ἐν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπλότητι*).

iv. 6. He walketh in singleness of soul, shunning eyes that are evil (*ὀφθαλμοὺς πονηροὺς*).

Benjamin iv. 2. An eye full of darkness (*σκοτευνόν*).

Judah xviii. 6. For he is a slave (*δουλεῖ*) to two opposite passions, and cannot obey God.

Zebulon v. 3. Have mercy in your hearts, because whatever a man doeth to his neighbour, so the Lord will deal with him.

Joseph xvii. 7. All their suffering was my suffering, and all their sickness was my infirmity.

Naphtali vi. 4-9. *The Storm on the Sea.*

Judah xxv. 5. All the peoples shall glorify (*δοξάσουσι*) the Lord for ever.

Benjamin v. 2. The unclean spirits will fly from you.

Naphtali viii. 10. Become therefore wise in God and prudent (*γίνεσθε οὖν σόφοι ἐν Θεῷ καὶ φρόνιμοι*).

Judah xxv. 4. They who are put to death for the Lord's sake shall awake to life.

xi. 19. The Son of Man came eating and drinking.

27. He to whom the Son willeth to reveal Him.

29. For I am meek and lowly (*πρᾶος καὶ ταπεινός*) of heart.

xii. 13. *Withered Hand restored.*

35. The evil man out of his evil treasure bringeth forth evil things.

45. Then goeth he and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there.

xiii. 40. In the end of the world (*ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος*).

xv. 14. If the blind lead the blind both shall fall into a pit (*εἰς βόθυνον*).

xvi. 27. He shall render unto every man according to his deeds.

27. The Son of Man shall come in the glory of His Father with His Angels.

xviii. 15. If thy brother sin against thee, go show him his fault between him and thee alone. Comp. Lk. xvii. 3.

35. So shall also My heavenly Father do unto you, if ye forgive not every one his brother from your hearts.

xix. 28. In the regeneration . . . ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

29. And every one that hath left houses, or brethren, or sisters . . . for My Name's sake shall receive manifold (*πολλαπλασίασα*).

xxii. 15. They took counsel how they might ensnare (*παγιδεύσωσιν*) Him in His talk.

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.

39. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

xxiii. 34. *Persecution foretold.*

38. Behold your house is left unto you [desolate].

Asher vii. 3. The Most High shall visit the earth, coming Himself as man, with men eating and drinking.

Levi xviii. 2. The Lord shall raise up a new priest, to whom all the words of the Lord shall be revealed.

Dan. vi. 9. For he is true and long-suffering, meek and lowly (*πρᾶος καὶ ταπεινός*).

Simeon ii. 13. *Withered Hand restored.*

Asher i. 9. Seeing that treasure of the inclination hath been filled with an evil spirit.

Reuben ii. 2. Seven spirits therefore were given against man.

Naphtali viii. 6. And the devil dwelleth in him as his own vessel.

Levi x. 2. At the end of the world (*τῇ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων*).

Reuben ii. 9. Desire leadeth the youth as a blind man to a pit (*ἐπὶ βόθυνον*).

Levi xviii. 2. He shall execute a righteous judgment upon the earth for a multitude of days.

5. The Angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord shall be glad in him.

Gad vi. 3. If any one sin against thee, speak peace to him, and in thy soul hold not guile, and if he repent and confess forgive him.

7. But if he is shameless and persists in his wickedness, even so forgive him from the heart and give to God the taking vengeance.

Judah xxv. 1. Abraham and Isaac and Jacob shall arise unto life, and I and my brethren shall be chiefs of the tribes of Israel.

Zebulon vi. 6. For he who gives a share to his neighbour, receives manifold (*πολλαπλασίασα*) from the Lord.

Joseph vii. 1. She looked about how to ensnare (*παγιδεύσαι*) me.

Dan v. 3. Love the Lord in all your life, and one another in a true heart.

Judah xxi. 9. *Persecution foretold.*

Levi xv. 1. Therefore the Temple, which the Lord shall choose, shall be desolate through your uncleanness.