

ter and pupil in this legend bore the same name, but that of the pupil is in the Talmud abbreviated into Jeschu.

This story is introduced in the Gemara to illustrate the obligation incumbent on a Rabbi to keep custody over his eyes. It bears no signs of having been forced in so as to give expression to antipathy against Jeschu.

That this Jeschu is our blessed Lord is by no means evident. On the contrary, the balance of probability is that the pupil of Jehoshua Ben Perachia was an entirely different person.

This Jehoshua, son of Perachia, is a known historical personage. He was one of the Sanhedrim in the reign of Alexander Jannæus. He began to teach as Rabbi in the year of the world 3606, or B.C. 154. Alexander Jannæus, son of Hyrcanus, was king of the Jews in B.C. 106. The Pharisees could not endure that the royal and high-priestly functions should be united in the same person; they therefore broke out in revolt. The civil war caused the death of some 50,000, according to Josephus. When Alexander had suppressed the revolt, he led 800 prisoners to the fortress of Bethome, and crucified them before the eyes of his concubines at a grand banquet he gave.

The Pharisees, and those of the Sanhedrim who had not fallen into his hands, sought safety in flight. It was then probably that Jehoshua, son of Perachia, went down into Egypt and was accompanied by Jeschu.

Jehoshua was buried at Chittin, but the exact date of his death is not known.<sup>1</sup>

Alexander Jannæus died B.C. 79, after a reign of twenty-seven years, whilst besieging the castle of Ragaba on the further side of Jordan.

It will be seen at once that the date of the Talmudic

<sup>1</sup> Bartolucci : Bibliotheca Maxima Rabbinica, sub. nom.

Jeschu is something like a century earlier than that of the Jesus of the Gospels.

Moreover, it cannot be said that Jewish tradition asserts their identity. On the contrary, learned Jewish writers have emphatically denied that the Jeschu of the Talmud is the Jesus of the Gospels.

In the "Disputation" of the Rabbi Jechiels with Nicolas, a convert, occurs this statement: "This (which is related of Jesus and the Rabbi Joshua, son of Perachia) contains no reference to him whom Christians honour as a God;" and then he points out that the impossibility of reconciling the dates is enough to prove that the disciple of Joshua Ben Perachia was a person altogether distinct from the Founder of Christianity.

The Rabbi Lippmann<sup>1</sup> gives the same denial, and shows that Jesus of the Gospels was a contemporary of Hillel, whereas the Jeschu of the anecdote lived from two to three generations earlier.

The Rabbi Salman Zevi entered into the question with great care in a pamphlet, and produced ten reasons for concluding that the Jeschu of the Talmud was not the Jesus, son of Mary, of the Evangelists.<sup>2</sup>

We can see now how it was that the Jew of Celsus brought against our Lord the charge of having learned magic in Egypt. He had heard in the Rabbinic schools the anecdote of Jeschu, pupil of Jehoshua, son of Perachia,—an anecdote which could scarcely fail to be narrated to all pupils. He at once concluded that this Jeschu was the Jesus of the Christians, without troubling himself with the chronology.

In the Mischna, Tract. Sabbath, fol. 104, it is forbidden to make marks upon the skin. The Babylonish Gemara

<sup>1</sup> Sepher Nizzachon, n. 337.

<sup>2</sup> Eisenmenger: Neuentdecktes Judenthum, I. pp. 231-7. Königsberg, 1711.

observes on this passage: "Did not the son of Stada mark the magical arts on his skin, and bring them with him out of Egypt?" This son of Stada is Jeschu, as will presently appear.

In the Mischna of Tract. Sanhedrim, fol. 43, it is ordered that he who shall be condemned to death by stoning shall be led to the place of execution with a herald going before him, who shall proclaim the name of the offender, and shall summon those who have anything to say in mitigation of the sentence to speak before the sentence is put in execution.

On this the Babylonish Gemara remarks, "There exists a tradition: On the rest-day before the Sabbath they crucified Jeschu. For forty days did the herald go before him and proclaim aloud, He is to be stoned to death because he has practised evil, and has led the Israelites astray, and provoked them to schism. Let any one who can bring evidence of his innocence come forward and speak! But as nothing was produced which could establish his innocence, he was crucified on the rest-day of the Passah (*i.e.* the day before the Passover)."

The Mischna of Tract. Sanhedrim, fol. 67, treats of the command in Deut. xiii. 6—11, that any Hebrew who should introduce the worship of other gods should be stoned with stones. On this the Gemara of Babylon relates that, in the city of Lydda, Jeschu was heard through a partition endeavouring to persuade a Jew to worship idols; whereupon he was brought forth and crucified on the eve of the Passover. "None of those who are condemned to death by the Law are spied upon except only those (seducers of the people). How are they dealt with? They light a candle in an inner chamber, and place spies in an outer room, who may watch and listen to him (the accused). But he does not see them. Then he whom the accused had formerly

endeavoured to seduce says to him, 'Repeat, I pray you, what you told me before in private.' Then, should he do so, the other will say further, 'But how shall we leave our God in heaven and serve idols?' Now should the accused be converted and repent at this saying, it is well; but if he goes on to say, That is our affair, and so and so ought we to do, then the spies must lead him off to the house of judgment and stone him. This is what was done to the son of Stada at Lud, and they hung him up on the eve of the Passover."<sup>1</sup> And the Tract. Sanhedrim says, "It is related that on the eve of the Sabbath they crucified Jeschu, a herald going before him," as has been already quoted; and then follows the comment: "Ula said, Will you not judge him to have been the son of destruction, because he is a seducer of the people? For the Merciful says (Deut. xiii. 8), Thou shalt not spare him, neither shalt thou conceal him. But I, Jesus, am heir to the kingdom. Therefore (the herald) went forth proclaiming that he was to be stoned because he had done an evil thing, and had seduced the people, and led them into schism. And (Jeschu) went forth to be stoned with stones because he had done an evil thing, and had seduced the people and led them into schism."

The Babylonish Gemara to the Mischna of Tract. Sabbath gives the following perplexing account of the parents of Jeschu:<sup>2</sup> "They stoned the son of Stada in Lud (Lydda), and crucified him on the eve of the Passover. This Stada's son was Pandira's son. Rabbi Chasda said Stada's husband was Pandira's master, namely Paphos, son of Jehuda. But how was Stada his mother? His (*i.e.* Pandira's) mother was a woman's hair-dresser. As they say in Pumbeditha (the Babylonish school by the Euphrates), this one went astray (S'tath-da) from her husband."

Note as  
Robertson

<sup>1</sup> Tract. Sabbath, fol. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 104.

The Gloss or Paraphrase on this is: "Stada's son was not the son of Paphos, son of Jehuda; No. As Rabbi Chasda observed, Paphos had a servant named Pandira. Well, what has that to do with it? Tell us how it came to pass that this son was born to Stada. Well, it was on this wise. Miriam, the mother of Pandira, used to dress Stada's hair, and . . . . Stada became a mother by Pandira, son of Miriam. As they say in Pumbeditha, Stada by name and Stada by nature."<sup>1</sup>

The obscurity of the passage arises from various causes. R. Chasda is a punster, and plays on the double meaning of "Baal" for "husband" and "master." There is also ambiguity in the pronoun "his;" it is difficult to say to whom it always refers. The Paraphrase is late, and is a conjectural explanation of an obscure passage.

It is clear that the Jeschu of the Talmud was the son of one Stada and Pandira. But the name Pandira having the appearance of being a woman's name,<sup>2</sup> this led to additional confusion, for some said that Pandira was his mother's name.

The late Gloss does not associate Stada with the blessed Virgin. It gives the name of Miriam or Mary

<sup>1</sup> The passage is not easy to understand. I give three Latin translations of it, one by Cl. Schickardus, the second quoted from Scheidius (*Loca Talm. i. 2*). "Filius Satdæ, filius Pandeiræ fuit. Dixit Raf Chasda: Amasius Pandeiræ, maritus Paphos filius Jehudæ fuit. At quomodo mater ejus Satda? Mater ejus Mirjam, comptrix mulierum fuit." "Filius Stadæ filius Pandiræ est. Dixit Rabbi Chasda: Maritus seu procus matris ejus fuit Stada, iniens Pandiram. Maritus Paphus filius Judæ ipse est, mater ejus Stada, mater ejus Maria," &c. Lightfoot, *Matt. xxvii. 56*, thus translates it: "Lapidârunt filium Satdæ in Lydda, et suspenderunt eum in vesperâ Paschatis. Hic autem filius Satdæ fuit filius Pandiræ. Dixit quidem Rabb Chasda, Maritus (matris ejus) fuit Satda, maritus Pandira, maritus Paphus filius Judæ: sed tamen dico matrem ejus fuisse Satdam, Mariam videlicet, plicatricem capillorum mulierum: sicut dicunt in Panbeditha, Declinavit ista a marito suo."

<sup>2</sup> פנדירה. As a man's name it occurs in 2 Targum, Esther vii.

to be the mother of Pandira, the father of Jeschu. The Jew of Celsus says that the mother of Jesus was a poor needlewoman, who also span for her livelihood. He probably recalled what was said of Miriam, the mother of Panthera and grandmother of Jeschu, and applied it to St. Mary the Virgin, misled by the obscurity of the saying of Chasda, which was orally repeated in the Rabbinic schools.

The Jerusalem Gemara to Tract. Sabbath says: "The sister's son of Rabbi Jose swallowed poison, or something deadly. There came to him a man and conjured him in the name of Jeschu, son of Pandeira, and he was healed or made easy. But when he went forth it was said to him, How hast thou healed him? He answered, by using such and such words. Then he (R. Jose) said to him, It had been better for him to have died than to have heard this name. And so it was with him (*i.e.* the boy died)."

In another place:<sup>1</sup> "Eleasar, the son of Damah, was bitten by a serpent. There came to him James, a man of the town of Sechania, to cure him in the name of Jeschu, son of Pandeira; but the Rabbi Ismael would not suffer it, but said, It is not permitted to thee, son of Damah. But he (James) said, Suffer me, and I will bring an argument against thee which is lawful. But he would not suffer him."

The Gemara to Tract. Sanhedrim, fol. 43, mentions five disciples of Jeschu Ben-Stada, namely, Matthai, Nakai, Netzer, Boni and Thoda. It says:—

"Jeschu had five disciples, Matthai, Nakai, Nezer and Boni, and also Thoda. They brought Matthai (to the tribunal) to pronounce sentence of death against him. He said, Shall Matthai suffer when it is written (Ps. xlii. 3), מתי When shall

<sup>1</sup> Avoda Sava, fol. 27.

I come to appear before the presence of God? They replied, Shall not Matthai die when it is written, **מתי** When shall he die and his name perish? They produced Nakai. He said, Shall Nakai **נקאי** die? Is it not written, The innocent **ונקי** slay thou not? (Exod. xxiii. 7). They answered him, Shall not Nakai die when it is written, In the secret places does he murder the innocent? (Ps. x. 8). When they brought forth Netzer, he said unto them, Shall Netzer **נצר** be slain? Is it not written (Isa. xi. 1), A branch **ונצר** shall grow out of his roots? They replied, Shall not Netzer die because it is written (Isa. xiv. 19), Thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable branch? They brought forth Boni **בוני**. He said, Shall Boni die the death when it is written (Ex. iv. 22), **בני** My son, my firstborn, is Israel? They replied, Shall not Boni die the death when it is written (Ex. v. 23), So I will slay thy son, thy firstborn son? They led out Thoda **תודה**. He said, Shall Thoda die when it is written (Ps. c. 1), A psalm **לתודה** of thanksgiving? They replied, Shall not Thoda die when it is written (Ps. l. 23), He that sacrificeth praise, he honoureth me?"

This is all that the Gemara tells us about Jeschu, son of Stada or Pandira. It behoves us now to consider whether he can have been the same person as our Lord.

That there really lived such a person as Jeschu Ben-Pandira, and that he was a disciple of the Rabbi Jehoshua Ben-Perachia, I see no reason to doubt.

That he escaped from Alexander Jannæus with his master into Egypt, and there studied magical arts; that he returned after awhile to Judæa, and practised his necromantic arts in his own country, is also not improbable. Somewhat later the Jews were famous, or infamous, throughout the Roman world as conjurors and exorcists. Egypt was the head-quarters of magical studies.

That Jeschu, son of Pandira, was stoned to death, in

accordance with the Law, for having practised magic, is also probable. The passages quoted are unanimous in stating that he was stoned for this offence. The Law decreed this as the death sorcerers were to undergo.

In the Talmud, Jeschu is first stoned and then crucified. The object of this double punishment being attributed to him is obvious. The Rabbis of the Gemara period had begun—like the Jew of Celsus—to confuse Jesus son of Mary with Jeschu the sorcerer. Their tradition told of a Jeschu who was stoned; Christian tradition, of a Jesus who was crucified. They combined the punishments and fused the persons into one. But this was done very clumsily. It is possible that more than one Jehoshua has contributed to form the story of Jeschu in the Talmud. For his mother Stada is said to have been married to Paphos, son of Jehuda. Now Paphos Ben-Jehuda is a Rabbi whose name recurs several times in the Talmud as an associate of the illustrious Rabbi Akiba, who lived after the destruction of Jerusalem, and had his school at Bene-Barah. To him the first composition of the Mischna arrangements is ascribed. As a follower of the pseudo-Messiah Barcochab, in the war of Trajan and Hadrian, he sealed a life of enthusiasm with a martyr's death, A.D. 135, at the capture of Bether. When the Jews were dispersed and forbidden to assemble, Akiba collected the Jews and continued instructing them in the Law. Paphus remonstrated with him on the risk. Akiba answered by a parable. "A fox once went to the river side, and saw the fish flying in all directions. What do you fear? asked the fox. The nets spread by the sons of men, answered the fish. Ah, my friends, said the fox, come on shore by me, and so you will escape the nets that drag the water." A few days after, Akiba was in prison, and Paphus also. Paphus said, "Blessed art thou, Rabbi Akiba, because thou art im-



prisoned for the words of the Law, and woe is me who am imprisoned for matters of no importance.”<sup>1</sup>

We naturally wonder how it is that Stada, the mother of Jeschu, who was born about B.C. 120, should be represented as the wife of Paphus, son of Jehuda, who died about A.D. 150, two centuries and a half later.

It is quite possible that this Paphus lost his wife, who eloped from him with one Pandira, and became mother of a son named Jehoshua. The name of Jehoshua or Jesus is common enough.

In Gittin, Paphus is again mentioned. “There is who finds a fly in his cup, and he takes it out, and will not drink of it. And this is what did Paphus Ben-Jehuda, who kept the door shut upon his wife, and nevertheless she ran away from him.”<sup>2</sup>

Mary, the plaiter of woman’s hair, occurs in Chajigah. “Rabbi Bibai, when the angel of death at one time stood before him, said to his messenger, Go, and bring hither Mary, the women’s hair-dresser. And the young man went,” &c.<sup>3</sup>

According to the Toledoth Jeschu, as we shall see presently, Mary’s instructor is the Rabbi Simon Ben Schetach. She is visited and questioned by the Rabbi Akiba. This visitation by Akiba is given in the Talmudic tract, Calla,<sup>4</sup> and thence the author of the Toledoth Jeschu drew it.

“As once the Elders sat at the gate, there passed two boys before them. One uncovered his head, the other did not. Then said the Rabbi Elieser, The latter is certainly a Mamser; but the Rabbi Jehoshua<sup>5</sup> said, He is a Ben-hannidda. Akiba said, He is both a Mamser and a Ben-hannidda. They said to him, How canst thou

<sup>1</sup> Talmud, Tract. Beracoth, ix. fol. 61, b.

<sup>2</sup> Gittin, fol. 90, a.

<sup>3</sup> Chajigah, fol. 4, b.

<sup>4</sup> Calla, fol. 18, b.

<sup>5</sup> Son of Levi, according to the Toledoth Jeschu of Huldreich.

oppose the opinion of thy companions? He answered, I will prove what I have said. Then he went to the boy's mother, who was sitting in the market selling fruit, and said to her, My daughter, if you will tell me the truth I will promise you eternal life. She said to him, Swear to me. And he swore with his lips, but in his heart he did not ratify the oath." Then he learned what he desired to know, and came back to his companions and told them all.<sup>1</sup>

We have here corroborative evidence that this Stada and her son Jeschu lived at the time of Akiba and Paphus, that is, after the fall of Jerusalem, in the earlier part of the second century.

I think that probably the story grew up thus:

A certain Jehoshua, in the reign of Alexander Janæus, went down into Egypt, and there learnt magic. He returned to Judæa, where he practised it, but was arrested at Lydda and executed by order of the Sanhedrim, by being stoned to death.

But who was this Jehoshua? Tradition was silent. However, there was a floating recollection of a Jehoshua born of one Stada, wife of Paphus, son of Jehuda, the companion of Akiba. The two Jehoshuas were confounded together. Thus stood the story when Origen wrote against Celsus in A.D. 176.

By A.D. 500 it had grown considerably. The Jew of Celsus had already fused Jesus of Nazareth with the other two Jehoshuas. This led to the Rabbis of the Gemara relating that Jehoshua was both stoned and crucified.

I do not say that this certainly is the origin of the story as it appears in the Talmud, but it bears on the

<sup>1</sup> In the apocryphal Gospel of Thomas, Jesus as a boy behaves without respect to his master and the elders; thence possibly this story was derived.

face of it strong likelihood that it is. Jehoshua who went into Egypt could not have been stoned to death after the destruction of Jerusalem and the revolt of Barcochab, for then the Jews had not the power of life and death in their hands. The execution must have taken place long before ; yet the Rabbis whose names appear in connection with the story—always excepting Jehoshua son of Perachia—all belong to the second century after Christ.

The solution I propose is simple, and it explains what otherwise would be inexplicable.

If it be a true solution, it proves that the Jews in A.D. 500, when the Babylonian Gemara was completed, had no traditions whatever concerning Jesus of Nazareth.

We shall see next how the confusion that originated in the Talmud grew into the monstrous romance of the Toledoth Jeschu, the Jewish counter-Gospel of the Middle Ages.

## V.

### THE COUNTER-GOSPELS.

IN the thirteenth century it became known among the Christians that the Jews were in possession of an anti-evangel. It was kept secret, lest the sight of it should excite tumults, spoliation and massacre. But of the fact of its existence Christians were made aware by the account of converts.

There are, in reality, two such anti-evangels, each called Toldoth Jeschu, not recensions of an earlier text, but independent collections of the stories circulating among the Jews relative to the life of our Lord.

The name of Jesus, which in Hebrew is Joshua or Jehoshua (the Lord will sanctify) is in both contracted into Jeschu by the rejection of an *Ain*, ישו for ישוע.

The Rabbi Elias, in his *Tischbi*, under the word Jeschu, says, "Because the Jews will not acknowledge him to be the Saviour, they do not call him Jeschua, but reject the *Ain* and call him Jeschu." And the Rabbi Abraham Perizol, in his book *Maggers Abraham*, c. 59, says, "His name was Jeschua; but as Rabbi Moses, the son of Majemoun of blessed memory, has written it, and as we find it throughout the Talmud, it is written Jeschu. They have carefully left out the *Ain*, because he was not able to save himself."

The Talmud in the Tract. *Sanhedrim*<sup>1</sup> says, "It is not lawful to name the name of a false God." On this account the Jews, rejecting the mission of our Saviour,

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 114.

refused to pronounce his name without mutilating it. By omitting the *Ain*, the Cabbalists were able to give a significance to the name. In its curtailed form it is composed of the letters Jod, Schin, Vau, which are taken to stand for *ימה שמו וזכרונו* jimmach schemo vezichrono, "His name and remembrance shall be extinguished." This is the reason given by the Toledoth Jeschu.

Who were the authors of the books called Toledoth Jeschu, the two counter-Gospels, is not known.

Justin Martyr, who died A.D. 63, speaks of the blasphemous writings of the Jews about Jesus;<sup>1</sup> but that they contained traditions of the life of the Saviour can hardly be believed in presence of the silence of Josephus and Justus, and the ignorance of the Jew of Celsus. Origen says in his answer, that "though innumerable lies and calumnies had been forged against the venerable Jesus, none had dared to charge him with any intemperance whatever."<sup>2</sup> He speaks confidently, with full assurance. If he had ever met with such a calumny, he would not have denied its existence, he would have set himself to work to refute it. Had such calumnious writings existed, Origen would have been sure to know of them. We may therefore be quite satisfied that none such existed in his time, the middle of the third century.

The Toledoth Jeschu comes before us with a flourish of trumpets from Voltaire. "Le Toledos Jeschu," says he, "est le plus ancien écrit Juif, qui nous ait été transmis contre notre religion. C'est une vie de Jesus Christ, toute contraire à nos Saints Evangiles: elle parait être du premier siècle, et même écrite avant les evangiles."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Justin Mart. Dialog. cum Tryph. c. 17 and 108.

<sup>2</sup> Cont. Cels. lib. iii.

<sup>3</sup> Lettres sur les Juifs. Œuvres, I. 69, p. 36.

A fair specimen of reckless judgment on a matter of importance, without having taken the trouble to examine the grounds on which it was made! Luther knew more of it than did Voltaire, and put it in a very different place:—

“The proud evil spirit carries on all sorts of mockery in this book. First he mocks God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and His Son Jesus Christ, as you may see for yourself, if you believe as a Christian that Christ is the Son of God. Next he mocks us, all Christendom, in that we believe in such a Son of God. Thirdly, he mocks his own fellow Jews, telling them such disgraceful, foolish, senseless affairs, as of brazen dogs and cabbage-stalks and such like, enough to make all dogs bark themselves to death, if they could understand it, at such a pack of idiotic, blustering, raging, nonsensical fools. Is not that a masterpiece of mockery which can thus mock all three at once? The fourth mockery is this, that whoever wrote it has made a fool of himself, as we, thank God, may see any day.”

Luther knew the book, and translated it, or rather condensed it, in his “Schem Hamphoras.”<sup>1</sup>

There are two versions of the Toledoth Jeschu, differing widely from one another. The first was published by Wagenseil, of Altdorf, in 1681. The second by Huldreich at Leyden in 1705. Neither can boast of an antiquity greater than, at the outside, the twelfth century. It is difficult to say with certainty which is the earlier of the two. Probably both came into use about the same time; the second certainly in Germany, for it speaks of Worms in the German empire.

According to the first, Jeschu (Jesus) was born in the year of the world 4671 (B.C. 910), in the reign of Alex-

<sup>1</sup> Luther's Works, Wittemberg, 1556, T. V. pp. 509—535. The passage quoted is on p. 513.

ander Jannæus (B.C. 106—79)! He was the son of Joseph Pandira and Mary, a widow's daughter, the sister of Jehoshua, who was affianced to Jochanan, disciple of Simeon Ben Schetah; and Jeschu became the pupil of the Rabbi Elchanan. Mary is of the tribe of Juda.

According to the second, Jeschu was born in the reign of Herod the Proselyte, and was the son of Mary, daughter of Calpus, and sister of Simeon, son of Calpus, by Joseph Pandira, who carried her off from her husband, Papus, son of Jehuda. Jeschu was brought up by Joshua, son of Perachia, in the days of the illustrious Rabbi Akiba! Mary is of the tribe of Benjamin.

The anachronisms of both accounts are so gross as to prove that they were drawn up at a very late date, and by Jews singularly ignorant of the chronology of their history.

In the first, Mary is affianced to Jochanan, disciple of Simeon Ben Schetah. Now Schimon or Simeon, son of Scheta, is a well-known character. He is said to have strangled eighty witches in one day, and to have been the companion of Jehudu Ben Tabai. He flourished B.C. 70.

In the second life we hear of Mary being the sister of Simeon Ben Kalpus (Chelptu). He also is a well-known Rabbi, of whom many miracles are related. He lived in the time of the Emperor Antoninus, before whom he stood as a disciple, when an old man (circ. A.D. 160).

In this also the Rabbi Akiba is introduced. Akiba died A.D. 135. Also the Rabbi Jehoshua Ben Levi. Now this Rabbi's date can also be fixed with tolerable accuracy. He was the teacher of the Rabbi Jochanan, who compiled the Jerusalem Talmud. His date is A.D. 220.

We have thus, in the two lives of Jeschu, the following personages introduced as contemporaries :

I.	II.
Jeschu born (date given), B.C. 910.	Herod the Great, B.C. 70—4.
Alexander Jannæus, B.C. 106—79.	R. Jehoshua Ben Perachia, <i>c.</i> B.C. 90.
R. Simeon Ben Schetach, B.C. 70.	R. Akiba, A.D. 135.
	R. Papus Ben Jehuda, <i>c.</i> A.D. 140.
	R. Jehoshua Ben Levi, <i>c.</i> A.D. 220.

The second Toledoth Jeschu closes with, "These are the words of Jochanan Ben Zaccai;" but it is not clear whether it is intended that the book should be included in "The words of Jochanan," or whether the reference is only to a brief sentence preceding this statement, "Therefore have they no part or lot in Israel. The Lord bless his people Israel with peace." Jochanan Ben Zaccai was a priest and ruler of Israel for forty years, from A.D. 30 or 33 to A.D. 70 or 73. He died at Jamnia, near Jerusalem (Jabne of the Philistines), and was buried at Tiberias.

Nor are these anachronisms the only proofs of the ignorance of the composers of the two anti-evangels. In the first, on the death of King Alexander Jannæus, the government falls into the hands of his wife Helena, who is represented as being "also called Oleina, and was the mother of King Mumbasius, afterwards called Hyrcanus, who was killed by his servant Herod."

The wife of Alexander Jannæus was Alexandra, not Helena; she reigned from B.C. 79 to B.C. 71. She was the mother of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; but was quite distinct from Oleina, mother of Mumbasius, and Mumbasius was a very different person from Hyrcanus. Oleina was a queen of Adiabene in Assyria.

The first Life refers to the Talmud: "This is the same



Mary who dressed and curled women's hair, mentioned several times in the Talmud."

Both give absurd anecdotes to account for monks wearing shaven crowns; both reasons are different.

In the first Life, the Christian festivals of the Ascension "forty days after Jeschu was stoned," that of Christmas, and the Circumcision "eight days after," are spoken of as institutions of the Christian Church.

In the VIIIth Book of the Apostolical Constitutions, the festivals of the Nativity and the Ascension are spoken of,<sup>1</sup> consequently they must have been kept holy from a very early age. But it was not so with the feast of the Circumcision.

The 1st of Jannary was a great day among the heathen. In the Homilies of the Fathers down to the eighth century, the 1st of January is called the "Feast of Satan and Hell," and the faithful are cautioned against observing it. All participation in the festivities of that day was forbidden by the Council "in Trullo," in A.D. 692, and again in the Council of Rome, A.D. 744.

Pope Gelasius (A.D. 496) forbade all observance of the day, according to Baronius,<sup>2</sup> in the hope of rooting out every remembrance of the pagan ceremonies which were connected with it. In ancient Sacramentaries is a mass on this day, "de prohibendo ab idolis." Nevertheless, traces of the celebration of the Circumcision of Christ occur in the fourth century; for Zeno, Bishop of Verona (d. A.D. 380), preached a sermon on it. In the ancient Mozarabic Kalendar, in the Martyrology wrongly attributed to St. Jerome, and in the Gelasian Sacramentary, the Circumcision is indicated on January 1. But though noted in the Kalendars, the day was, for the reason of its being observed as a heathen festival, not

<sup>1</sup> Lib. viii. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Martyrol. Rom. ad. 1 Januar.

treated by the Church as a festival till very late. Litanies and penitential offices were appointed for it.

The notice in the *Toledoth Jeschu*, therefore, points to a time when the feast was observed with outward demonstration of joy, and the sanction of the Church accorded to other festivities.

The *Toledoth Jeschu* adopts the fable of the Sanhedrim and King having sent out an account of the trial of Jesus to the synagogues throughout the world to obtain from them an expression of opinion. The synagogue of Worms remonstrated against the execution of Christ. "The people of Girmajesa (Germany) and all the neighbouring country round Girmajesa which is now called Wormajesa (Worms), and which lies in the realm of the Emperor, and the little council in the town of Wormajesa, answered the King (Herod) and said, Let Jesus go, and slay him not! Let him live till he falls and perishes of his own accord."

The synagogues of several cities in the Middle Ages did, in fact, produce apocryphal letters which they pretended had been written by their forefathers remonstrating with the Jewish Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, and requesting that Jesus might be spared. An epistle was produced by the Jews of Ulm in A.D. 1348, another by the Jews of Ratisbon about the same date, from the council at Jerusalem to their synagogues.<sup>1</sup> The Jews of Toledo pretended to possess similar letters in the reign of Alfonso the Valiant, A.D. 1072. These letters probably served to protect them from feeling the full stress of persecution which oppressed the Jews elsewhere.

The most astonishing ignorance of Gospel accounts of Christ and the apostles is observable in both anti-evangels. Matthias and Matthew are the same, so are

<sup>1</sup> Fabricius, *Codex Apocryph.* N.T. ii. p. 493.

John the Baptist and John the Apostle, whilst Thadæus is said to be "also called Paul," and Simon Peter is confounded with Simon Magus.<sup>1</sup>

These are instances of the confusion of times and persons into which these counter-Gospels have fallen, and they are sufficient to establish their late and worthless character.

The two anti-Gospels are clearly not two editions of an earlier text. The only common foundation on which both were constructed was the mention of Jeschu, son of Panthera, in the Talmud. Add to this such distorted versions of Gospel stories as circulated among the Jews in the Middle Ages, and we have the constituents of both counter-Gospels. Both exhibit a profound ignorance of the sacred text, but a certain acquaintance with prominent incidents in the narrative of the Evangelists, not derived directly from the Gospels, but, as I believe, from miracle-plays and pictorial and sculptured representations such as would meet the eye of a mediæval Jew at every turn.

We have not to cast about far for a reason which shall account for the production of these anti-evangels.

The persecution to which the Jews were subjected in the Middle Ages from the bigotry of the rabble or the cupidity of princes, fanned their dislike for Christianity into a flame of intense mortal abhorrence of the Founder of that religion whose votaries were their deadliest foes. The Toledoth Jeschu is the utterance of this deep-seated hatred,—the voice of an oppressed people execrating him who had sprung from the holy race, and whose blood was weighing on their heads.

And it is not improbable that the Gospel record of the patient, loving life of Jesus may have exerted an

<sup>1</sup> Whereas the bitter conflict of Simon Peter and Simon Magus was a subject well known in early Christian tradition.

influence on the young who ventured, with the daring curiosity of youth, to explore those peaceful pages. What answer had the Rabbis to make to those of their own religion who were questioning and wavering? They had no counter-record to oppose to the Gospels, no tradition wherewith to contest the history written by the Evangelists. The notices in the Talmud were scanty, incomplete. It was open to dispute whether these notices really related to Christ Jesus.

Under such circumstances, a book which professed to give a true account of Jesus was certain to be hailed and accepted without too close a scrutiny as to its authenticity; much as in the twelfth century Joseph Ben Gorion's "Jewish War" was assumed to be authentic.

The Toledoth Jeschu or "Birth of Jesus" boldly identified the Jesus of the Gospels with the Jeschu of the Talmud, and attempted to harmonize the Rabbinic and the Christian stories.

There is a certain likeness between the two counter-Gospels, but this arises solely from each author being actuated by the same motives as the other, and from both deriving from common sources,—the Talmud and Jewish misrepresentations of Gospel events.

But if there be a likeness, there is sufficient dissimilarity to make it evident that the two authors wrote independently, and had no common written text to amplify and adorn.

## VI.

### THE FIRST TOLEDOTH JESCHU.

WE will take first the WAGENSEIL edition of the TOLEDOTH JESCHU,<sup>1</sup> and give an outline of the story, only suppressing the most offensive particulars, and commenting on the narrative as we proceed. Wagenseil's Toledoth Jeschu begins as follows :

“ In the year of the world 4671, in the days of King Janæus, a great misfortune befel Israel. There arose at that time a scape-grace, a wastrel and worthless fellow, of the fallen race of Judah, named Joseph Pandira. He was a well-built man, strong and handsome, but he spent his time in robbery and violence. His dwelling was at Bethlehem, in Juda. And there lived near him a widow with her daughter, whose name was Mirjam ; and this is the same Mirjam who dressed and curled women's hair, who is mentioned several times in the Talmud.”

It is remarkable that the author begins with the very phrase found in Josephus. He calls the appearance of our Lord “ a great misfortune which befel Israel.” Josephus, after the passage which has been intruded into his text relative to the miracles and death of Christ, says, “ About this time another great misfortune set the Jews in commotion ;” from which it appears as if Josephus regarded the preaching of Christ as a great misfortune. That he made no such reference has been already shown.

<sup>1</sup> Wagenseil : *Tela ignea Satanæ. Hoc est arcani et horribiles Judæorum adversus Christum Deum et Christianam religionem libri anecdoti* ; Altdorf, 1681.

The author also places the birth of Jesus, in accordance with the Talmud, in the reign of Alexander Jannæus, who reigned from B.C. 106 to B.C. 79. He reckons from the creation of the world, and gives the year as 4671 (B.C. 910). This manner of reckoning was only introduced among the Jews in the fourth century after Christ, and did not become common till the twelfth century.

The Wagenseil Toledoth goes on to say that the widow engaged Mirjam to an amiable, God-fearing youth, named Jochanan (John), a disciple of the Rabbi Simeon, son of Shetach (fl. B.C. 70); but he went away to Babylon, and she became the mother of Jeschu by Joseph Pandira. The child was named Joshua, after his uncle, and was given to the Rabbi Elchanan to be instructed in the Law.

One day Jeschu, when a boy, passed before the Rabbi Simeon Ben Shetach and other members of the Sanhedrim without uncovering his head and bowing his knee. The elders were indignant. Three hundred trumpets were blown, and Jeschu was excommunicated and cast out of the Temple. Then he went away to Galilee, and spent there several years.

“Now at this time the unutterable Name of God was engraved in the Temple on the corner-stone. For when King David dug the foundations, he found there a stone in the ground on which the Name of God was engraved, and he took it and placed it in the Holy of Holies.

“But as the wise men feared lest some inquisitive youth should learn this Name, and be able thereby to destroy the world, which God avert! they made, by magic, two brazen lions, which they set before the entrance to the Holy of Holies, one on the right, the other on the left.

“Now if any one were to go within, and learn the holy Name, then the lions would begin to roar as he came out, so that, out of alarm and bewilderment, he would lose his presence of mind and forget the Name.

“And Jeschu left Upper Galilee, and came secretly to Jerusalem, and went into the Temple and learned there the holy writing; and after he had written the incommunicable Name on parchment, he uttered it, with intent that he might feel no pain, and then he cut into his flesh, and hid the parchment with its inscription therein. Then he uttered the Name once more, and made so that his flesh healed up again.

“And when he went out at the door, the lions roared, and he forgot the Name. Therefore he hasted outside the town, cut into his flesh, took the writing out, and when he had sufficiently studied the signs he retained the Name in his memory.”

It is scarcely necessary here to point out the amazing ignorance of the author of the Toledoth Jeschu in making David the builder of the Temple, and in placing the images of lions at the entrance to the Holy of Holies. The story is introduced because Jeschu, son of Stada, in the Talmud is said to have made marks on his skin. But the author knew his Talmud very imperfectly. The Babylonian Gemara says, “Did not the son of Stada mark the magical arts on his skin, and bring them with him out of Egypt?” The story in the Talmud which accounted for the power of Jeschu to work miracles was quite different from that in the Toledoth Jeschu. In the Talmud he has power by bringing out of Egypt, secretly cut on his skin, the magic arts there privately taught; in the Toledoth he acquires his power by learning the incommunicable Name and hiding it under his flesh.

However, the author says, “He could not have penetrated into the Holy of Holies without the aid of magic; for how would the holy priests and followers of Aaron have suffered him to enter there? This must certainly have been done by the aid of magic.” But the author gives no account of how Jeschu learned magic. That

we ascertain from the Huldrich text, where we are told that Jeschu spent many years in Egypt, the head-quarters of those who practised magic.

Having acquired this knowledge, Jeschu went into Galilee and proclaimed himself to have been the creator of the world, and born of a virgin, according to the prophecy of Isaiah (vii. 14). As a sign of the truth of his mission, he said :

“Bring me here a dead man, and I will restore him to life. Then all the people hastened and dug into a grave, but found nothing in it but bones.

“Now when they told him that they had found only bones, he said, Bring them hither to me.

“So when they had brought them, he placed the bones together, and surrounded them with skin and flesh and muscles, so that the dead man stood up alive on his feet.

“And when the people saw this, they wondered greatly ; and he said, Do ye marvel at this that I have done? Bring hither a leper, and I will heal him.

“So when they had placed a leper before him, he gave him health in like manner, by means of the incommunicable Name. And all the people that saw this fell down before him, prayed to him and said, Truly thou art the Son of God !

“But after five days the report of what had been done came to Jerusalem, to the holy city, and all was related that Jeschu had wrought in Galilee. Then all the people rejoiced greatly ; but the elders, the pious men, and the company of the wise men, wept bitterly. And the great and the little Sanhedrim mourned, and at length agreed that they would send a deputation to him.

“For they thought that, perhaps, with God’s help, they might overpower him, and bring him to judgment, and condemn him to death.

“Therefore they sent unto him Ananias and Ahasias, the noblest men of the little council ; and when they had come to him, they bowed themselves before him reverently, in order to



deceive him as to their purpose. And he, thinking that they believed in him, received them with smiling countenance, and placed them in his assembly of profligates.

“They said unto him, The most pious and illustrious among the citizens of Jerusalem sent us unto thee, to hear if it shall please thee to go to them; for they have heard say that thou art the Son of God.

“Then answered Jeschu and said, They have heard aright. I will do all that they desire, but only on condition that both the great and lesser Sanhedrim and all who have despised my origin shall come forth to meet me, and shall honour and receive me as servants of their Lord, when I come to them.

“Thereupon the messengers returned to Jerusalem and related all that they had heard.

“Then answered the elders and the righteous men, We will do all that he desires. Therefore these men went again to Jeschu, and told him that it should be even as he had said.

“And Jeschu said, I will go forthwith on my way! And it came to pass, when he had come as far as Nob,<sup>1</sup> nigh unto Jerusalem, that he said to his followers, Have ye here a good and comely ass?

“They answered him that there was one even at hand. Therefore he said, Bring him hither to me.

“And a stately ass was brought unto him, and he sat upon it, and rode into Jerusalem. And as Jeschu entered into the city, all the people went forth to meet him. Then he cried, saying, Of me did the prophet Zacharias testify, Behold thy King cometh unto thee, righteous and a Saviour, poor, and riding on an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass!

“Now when they heard this, all wept bitterly and rent their clothes. And the most righteous hastened to the Queen. She was the Queen Helena, wife of King Jannæus, and she

<sup>1</sup> Nob was a city of Benjamin, situated on a height near Jerusalem, on one of the roads which led from the north to the capital, and within sight of it, as is certain from the description of the approach of the Assyrian army in Isaiah (x. 28—32).

reigned after her husband's death. She was also called Oleina, and had a son, King Mumbasus, otherwise called Hyrcanus, who was slain by his servant Herod.<sup>1</sup>

“And they said to her, He stirreth up the people; therefore is he guilty of the heaviest penalty. Give unto us full power, and we will take him by subtlety.

“Then the Queen said, Call him hither before me, and I will hear his accusation. But she thought to save him out of their hands because he was related to her. But when the elders saw her purpose, they said to her, Think not to do this, Lady and Queen! and show him favour and good; for by his witchcraft he deceives the people. And they related to her how he had obtained the incommunicable Name. . . .

“Then the Queen answered, In this will I consent unto you; bring him hither that I may hear what he saith, and see with my eyes what he doth; for the whole world speaks of the countless miracles that he has wrought.

“And the wise men answered, This will we do as thou hast said. So they sent and summoned Jeschu, and he came and stood before the Queen.”

In the sight of Queen Helena, Jeschu then healed a leper and raised a dead man to life.

“Then Jeschu said, Of me did Isaiah prophesy: The lame shall leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing.

“So the Queen turned to the wise men and said, How say ye that this man is a magician? Have I not seen with my eyes the wonders he has wrought as being the Son of God?

“But the wise men answered and said, Let it not come into the heart of the Queen to say so; for of a truth he is a wizard.

“Then the Queen said, Away with you, and bring no such accusations again before me!

<sup>1</sup> Herod put Alexander Hyrcanus to death B.C. 30. Alexandra, the mother of Hyrcanus, reigned after the death of Jannæus, from B.C. 79 to B.C. 71.

“Therefore the wise men went forth with sad hearts, and one turned to another and said, Let us use subtlety, that we may get him into our hands. And one said to another, If it seems right unto you, let one of us learn the Name, as he did, and work miracles, and perchance thus we shall secure him. And this counsel pleased the elders, and they said, He who will learn the Name and secure the Fatherless One shall receive a double reward in the future life.

“And thereupon one of the elders stood up, whose name was Judas, and spake unto them, saying, Are ye agreed to take upon you the blame of such an action, if I speak the incommunicable Name? for if so, I will learn it, and it may happen that God in His mercy may bring the Fatherless One into my power.

“Then all cried out with one voice, The guilt be on us; but do thou make the effort and succeed.

“Thereupon he went into the Holiest Place, and did what Jeschu had done. And after that he went through the city and raised a cry, Where are those who have proclaimed abroad that the Fatherless is the Son of God? Cannot I, who am mere flesh and blood, do all that Jeschu has done?

“And when this came to the ears of the Queen, Judas was brought before her, and all the elders assembled and followed him. Then the Queen summoned Jeschu, and said to him, Show us what thou hast done last. And he began to work miracles before all the people.

“Thereat Judas spake to the Queen and to all the people, saying, Let nothing that has been wrought by the Fatherless make you wonder, for were he to set his nest between the stars, yet would I pluck him down from thence!

“Then said Judas, Moses our teacher said:

“If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend, which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other gods, which thou hast not known, thou, nor thy fathers;

“Namely, of the gods of the people which are round about

you, nigh unto thee, or far off from thee, from the one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth ;

“ Thou shalt not consent unto him, nor hearken unto him ; neither shall thine eye pity him, neither shalt thou spare, neither shalt thou conceal him :

“ But thou shalt surely kill him ; thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people.

“ And thou shalt stone him with stones, that he die ; because he hath sought to thrust thee away from the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage.

“ But the Fatherless One answered, Did not Isaias prophesy of me ? And my father David, did he not speak of me ? The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son ; this day have I begotten thee. Desire of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost part of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron, and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel. And in like manner he speaks in another place, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies my footstool ! And now, behold ! I will ascend to my Heavenly Father, and will sit me down at His right hand. Ye shall see it with your eyes, but thou, Judas, shalt not prevail !

“ And when Jeschu had spoken the incommunicable Name, there came a wind and raised him between heaven and earth. Thereupon Judas spake the same Name, and the wind raised him also between heaven and earth. And they flew, both of them, around in the regions of the air ; and all who saw it marvelled.

“ Judas then spake again the Name, and seized Jeschu, and thought to cast him to the earth. But Jeschu also spake the Name, and sought to cast Judas down, and they strove one with the other.”

Finally Judas prevails, and casts Jeschu to the ground, and the elders seize him, his power leaves him, and he

is subjected to the tauntings of his captors. Then sentence of death was spoken against him.

“But when Jeschu found his power gone, he cried and said, Of me did my father David speak, For thy sake are we killed all the day long; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter.

“Now when the disciples of Jeschu saw this, and all the multitude of sinners who had followed him, they fought against the elders and wise men of Jerusalem, and gave Jeschu opportunity to escape out of the city.

“And he hasted to Jordan; and when he had washed therein his power returned, and with the Name he again wrought his former miracles.

“Thereafter he went and took two millstones, and made them swim on the water; and he seated himself thereon, and caught fishes to feed the multitudes that followed him.”

Before going any further, it is advisable to make a few remarks on what has been given of this curious story.

The Queen Helena is probably the mother of Constantine, who went to Jerusalem in A.D. 326 to see the holy sites, and, according to an early legend, discovered the three crosses on Calvary. There are several incidents in the apocryphal story which bear a resemblance to the incidents in the *Toledoth Jeschu*.

The Empress Helena favours the Christians against the Jews. Where three crosses are found, a person suffering from “a grievous and incurable disease” is applied to the crosses, and recovers on touching the true one. Then the same experiment is tried with a dead body, with the same success.<sup>1</sup> According to the Apocryphal Acts of St. Cyriacus, a Jew named Judas was brought before the Empress, and ordered to point out where the

<sup>1</sup> Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 1.

cross was buried. Judas resisted, but was starved in a well till he revealed the secret. The resemblance between the stories consists in the names of Helena and Judas, and the miracles of healing a leper, and raising a dead man to life.

According to the Apocryphal Acts of St. Cyriacus, Judas was the grandson of Zacharias, and nephew of St. Stephen the protomartyr.<sup>1</sup>

It is remarkable that Jeschu should be made to quote two passages in the Psalms as prophecies of himself, both of which are used in this manner in the New Testament: Ps. ii. 7, in Acts xiii. 33, and again Heb. i. 5, and v. 5; and Ps. cx. 1, in St. Matthew xxii. 44, and the corresponding passages in St. Mark and St. Luke; also in Acts ii. 34, in 1 Cor. xv. 25, and Heb. i. 13.

The scene of the struggle in the air is taken from the contest of St. Peter with Simon Magus, and reminds one of the contest in the Arabian Nights between the Queen of Beauty and the Jin in the story of the Second Calender.

The putting forth from land on a millstone on the occasion of the miraculous draught of fishes is probably a perversion of the incident of Jesus entering into the boat of Peter—the stone—before the miracle was performed, according to St. Luke, v. 1—8. In the Toledoth Jeschu there are two millstones which our Lord sets afloat, and he mounts one, and then the fishes are caught; in St. Luke's Gospel there are two boats.

“He saw two ships standing by the lake. . . . And he entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's, and prayed him that he would thrust out a little from the land. And he sat down and taught the people out of the ship. Now when he had left speaking, he said unto Simon, Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught.”

<sup>1</sup> Acta Sanct. Mai. T. I. pp. 445—451.

It was standing on the swimming-stone, according to the Huldrich version, that Jeschu preached to the people, and declared to them his divine mission.

The story goes on. The Sanhedrim, fearing to allow Jeschu to remain at liberty, send Judas after him to Jordan. Judas pronounces a great incantation, which obliges the Angel of Sleep to seal the eyes of Jeschu and his disciples. Then, whilst they sleep, he comes and cuts from the arm of Jeschu a scrap of parchment on which the Name of Jehovah is written, and which was concealed under the flesh. Jeschu awakes, and a spirit appears to him and vexes him sore. Then he feels that his power is gone, and he announces to his disciples that his hour is come when he must be taken by his enemies.

The disciples, amongst whom is Judas, who, unobserved, has mingled with them, are sorely grieved; but Jeschu encourages them, and bids them believe in him, and they will obtain thrones in heaven. Then he goes with them to the Paschal Feast, in hopes of again being able to penetrate into the Holy of Holies, and reading again the incommunicable Name, and of thus recovering his power. But Judas forewarns the elders, and as Jeschu enters the Temple he is attacked by armed men. The Jewish servants do not know Jeschu from his disciples. Accordingly Judas flings himself down before him, and thus indicates whom they are to take. Some of the disciples offer resistance, but are speedily overcome, and take to flight to the mountains, where they are caught and executed.

“ But the elders of Jerusalem led Jeschu in chains into the city, and bound him to a marble pillar, and scourged him, and said, Where are now all the miracles thou hast wrought? And they plaited a crown of thorns and set it on his head. Then the Fatherless was in anguish through thirst, and he

cried, saying, Give me water to drink! So they gave him acid vinegar; and after he had drunk thereof he cried, Of me did my father David prophesy, They gave me gall to eat, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.<sup>1</sup> But they answered, If thou wert God, why didst thou not know it was vinegar before tasting of it? Now thou art at the brink of the grave, and changest not. But Jeschu wept and said, My God, my God! why hast thou forsaken me? And the elders said, If thou be God, save thyself from our hands. But Jeschu answered, saying, My blood is shed for the redemption of the world, for Isaiah prophesied of me, He was wounded for our transgression and bruised for our iniquities; our chastisement lies upon him that we may have peace, and by his wounds we are healed.<sup>2</sup> Then they led Jeschu forth before the greater and the lesser Sanhedrim, and he was sentenced to be stoned, and then to be hung on a tree. And it was the eve of the Passover and of the Sabbath. And they led him forth to the place where the punishment of stoning was wont to be executed, and they stoned him there till he was dead. And after that, the wise men hung him on the tree; but no tree would bear him; each brake and yielded. And when even was come the wise men said, We may not, on account of the Fatherless, break the letter of the law (which forbids that one who is hung should remain all night on the tree). Though he may have set at naught the law, yet will not we. Therefore they buried the Fatherless in the place where he was stoned. And when midnight was come, the disciples came and seated themselves on the grave, and wept and lamented him. Now when Judas saw this, he took the body away and buried it in his garden under a brook. He diverted the water of the brook elsewhere; but when the body was laid in its bed, he brought its waters back again into their former channel.

“Now on the morrow, when the disciples had assembled and had seated themselves weeping, Judas came to them and said, Why weep you? Seek him who was buried. And

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxix. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. liii. 5.



they dug and sought, and found him not, and all the company cried, He is not in the grave; he is risen and ascended into heaven, for, when he was yet alive, he said, He would raise him up, Selah!"

When the Queen heard that the elders had slain Jeschu and had buried him, and that he was risen again, she ordered them within three days to produce the body or forfeit their lives. In sore alarm, the elders seek the body, but cannot find it. They therefore proclaim a fast.

"Now there was amongst them an elder whose name was Tanchuma; and he went forth in sore distress, and wandered in the fields, and he saw Judas sitting in his garden eating. Then Tanchuma drew near to him, and said to him, What doest thou, Judas, that thou eatest meat, when all the Jews fast and are in grievous distress?"

"Then Judas was astonished, and asked the occasion of the fast. And the Rabbi Tanchuma answered him, Jeschu the Fatherless is the occasion, for he was hung up and buried on the spot where he was stoned; but now is he taken away, and we know not where he is gone. And his worthless disciples cry out that he is ascended into heaven. Now the Queen has condemned us Israelites to death unless we find him.

"Judas asked, And if the Fatherless One were found, would it be the salvation of Israel? The Rabbi Tanchuma answered that it would be even so.

"Then spake Judas, Come, and I will show you the man whom ye seek; for it was I who took the Fatherless from his grave. For I feared lest his disciples should steal him away, and I have hidden him in my garden and led a water-brook over the place.

"Then the Rabbi Tanchuma hastened to the elders of Israel, and told them all. And they came together, and drew him forth, attached to the tail of a horse, and brought him before

the Queen, and said, See ! this is the man who, they say, has ascended into heaven !

“ Now when the Queen saw this, she was filled with shame, and answered not a word.

“ Now it fell out, that in dragging the body to the place, the hair was torn off the head ; and this is the reason why monks shave their heads. It is done in remembrance of what befel Jeschu.

“ And after this, in consequence thereof, there grew to be strife between the Nazarenes and the Jews, so that they parted asunder ; and when a Nazarene saw a Jew he slew him. And from day to day the distress grew greater, during thirty years. And the Nazarenes assembled in thousands and tens of thousands, and hindered the Israelites from going up to the festivals at Jerusalem. And then there was great distress, such as when the golden calf was set up, so that they knew not what to do.

“ And the belief of the opposition grew more and more, and spread on all sides. Also twelve godless runagates separated and traversed the twelve realms, and everywhere in the assemblies of the people uttered false prophecies.

“ Also many Israelites adhered to them, and these were men of high renown, and they strengthened the faith in Jeschu. And because they gave themselves out to be messengers of him who was hung, a great number followed them from among the Israelites.

“ Now when the wise men saw the desperate condition of affairs, one said to another, Woe is unto us ! for we have deserved it through our sins. And they sat in great distress, and wept, and looked up to heaven and prayed.

“ And when they had ended their prayer, there rose up a very aged man of the elders, by name Simon Cephas, who understood prophecy, and he said to the others, Hearken to me, my brethren ! and if ye will consent unto my advice, I will separate these wicked ones from the company of the Israelites, that they may have neither part nor lot with Israel. But the sin do ye take upon you.

“Then answered they all and said, The sin be on us ; declare unto us thy counsel, and fulfil thy purpose.

“Therefore Simon, son of Cephas, went into the Holiest Place and wrote the incommunicable Name, and cut into his flesh and hid the parchment therein. And when he came forth out of the Temple he took forth the writing, and when he had learned the Name he betook himself to the chief city of the Nazarenes,<sup>1</sup> and he cried there with a loud voice, Let all who believe in Jeschu come unto me, for I am sent by him to you !

“Then there came to him multitudes as the sand on the sea-shore, and they said to him, Show us a sign that thou art sent ! And he said, What sign ? They answered him, Even the signs that Jeschu wrought when he was alive.”

Accordingly he heals a leper and restores a dead man to life. And when the people saw this, they submitted to him, as one sent to them by Jeschu.

“Then said Simon Cephas to them, Yea, verily, Jeschu did send me to you, and now swear unto me that ye will obey me in all things that I command you.

“And they swore to him, We will do all things that thou commandest.

“Then Simon Cephas said, Ye know that he who hung on the tree was an enemy to the Israelites and the Law, because of the prophecy of Isaiah, Your new moons and festivals my soul hateth.<sup>2</sup> And that he had no pleasure in the Israelites, according to the saying of Hosea, Ye are not my people.<sup>3</sup> Now, although it is in his power to blot them in the twinkling of an eye from off the face of the earth, yet will he not root them out, but will keep them ever in the midst of you as a witness to his stoning and hanging on the tree. He endured these pains and the punishment of death, to redeem your souls from hell. And now he warns and commands you

<sup>1</sup> Rome. Simon Cephas is Simon Peter, but the miraculous power attributed to him perhaps belongs to the story of Simon Magus.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. i. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Hosea i. 9.

to do no harm to any Jew. Yea, even should a Jew say to a Nazarene, Go with me a mile, he shall go with him twain; or should a Nazarene be smitten by a Jew on one cheek, let him turn to him the other also, that the Jews may enjoy in this world their good things, for in the world to come they must suffer their punishment in hell. If ye do these things, then shall ye merit to sit with them (*i.e.* the apostles) on their thrones.<sup>1</sup>

“And this also doth he require of you, that ye do not celebrate the Feast of Unleavened Bread, but that ye keep holy the day on which he died. And in place of the Feast of Pentecost, that ye keep the fortieth day after his stoning, on which he went up into heaven. And in place of the Feast of Tabernacles, that ye keep the day of his Nativity, and eight days after that ye shall celebrate his Circumcision.”

The Christians promised to do as Cephias commanded them, but they desired him to reside in the midst of them in their great city.

To this he consented. “I will dwell with you,” said he, “if ye will promise to permit me to abstain from all food, and to eat only the bread of poverty and drink the water of affliction. Ye must also build me a tower in the midst of the city, wherein I may spend the rest of my days.”

This was done. The tower was built and called “Peter,” and in this Cephias dwelt till his death six years after. “In truth, he served the God of our fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and composed many beautiful hymns, which he dispersed among the Jews, that they might serve as a perpetual memorial of him; and he divided all his hymns among the Rabbis of Israel.”

On his death he was buried in the tower.

After his death, a man named Elias assumed the place of messenger of Jeschu, and he declared that Simon

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xix. 28.

Cephas had deceived the Christians, and that he, Elias, was an apostle of Jeschu, rather than Cephas, and that the Christians should follow him. The Christians asked for a sign.

Elias said, "What sign do ye ask?" Then a stone fell from the tower Peter, and smote him that he died. "Thus," concludes this first version of the Toledoth Jeschu, "may all Thine enemies perish, O Lord; but may those that love Thee be as the sun when it shineth in its strength!"

Thus ends this wonderful composition, which carries its own condemnation with it.

The two captures and sentences of Jeschu are apparently two forms of Jewish legend concerning Christ's death, which the anonymous writer has clumsily combined.

The scene in Gethsemane is laid on the other side of Jordan. It is manifestly imitated from the Gospels, but not directly, probably from some mediæval sculptured representation of the Agony in the Garden, common outside every large church.<sup>1</sup> In place of an angel appearing to comfort Christ, an evil spirit vexes him. The kiss of Judas is transformed into a genuflexion or prostration before him, and takes place, not in the Garden, but in the Temple. The resistance of the disciples is mentioned. Jeschu is bound to a marble pillar and scourged. Of this the Gospels say nothing; but the pillar is an invariable feature in artistic representations of the scourging. Two of the sayings on the Cross are correctly given. In agreement with the account in the

<sup>1</sup> The Oelberg was especially characteristic of German churches, and was erected chiefly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They remain at Nürnberg, Xanten, Worms, Marburg, Donauwörth, Landshut, Wasserburg, Ratisbon, Klosterneuburg, Wittenberg, Merseburg, Lucerne, Bruges, &c.

Talmud, Jeschu is stoned, and then, to identify the son of Panthera with the son of Mary, is hung on a tree. The tree breaks, and he falls to the ground. The visitor to Ober Ammergau Passion Play will remember the scene of Judas hanging himself, and the tree snapping. The Toledoth Jeschu does not say that Jeschu was crucified, but that he was hung. The suicide of Judas was identified with the death of Jesus. If the author of the anti-evangel saw the scene of the breaking bough in a miracle-play, he would perhaps naturally transfer it to Christ.

The women seated late at night by the sepulchre, or coming early with spices, a feature in miracle-plays of the Passion, are transformed into the disciples weeping above the grave. The angel who addresses them, in the Toledoth Jeschu, becomes Judas.

In miracle-plays, Claudia Procula, the wife of Pilate, assumes a prominence she does not occupy in the Gospels; she may have originated the idea in the mind of the author of Wagenseil's Toledoth, of the Queen Helena. That he confounded the Queen of King Jannæus with the mother of Constantine is not wonderful. The latter was the only historical princess who showed sympathy with the Christians at Jerusalem, and of whose existence the anonymous author was aware, probably through the popular mediæval romance of Helena, "La belle Helène." He therefore fell without a struggle into the gross anachronism of making the Empress Helena the wife of Jannæus, and contemporary with Christ.

In the Toledoth Jeschu of Wagenseil, Simon Peter is represented as a Jew ruling the Christians in favour of the Jews. The Papacy must have been fully organized when this anti-evangel was written, and the Jews must have felt the protection accorded them by the Popes

against their persecutors. St. Gregory the Great wrote letters, in 591 and 598, in behalf of the Jews who were maltreated in Italy and Sicily. Alexander II., in 1068, wrote a letter to the Bishops of Gaul exhorting them to protect the Jews against the violence of the Crusaders, who massacred them on their way to the East. He gave as his reason for their protection the very one put into Simon Cephas' mouth in the Toledoth Jeschu, that God had preserved them and scattered them in all countries as witnesses to the truth of the Gospel. In the cruel confiscation of their goods, and expulsion from France by Philip Augustus, and the simultaneous persecution they underwent in England, Innocent III. took their side, and insisted, in 1199, on their being protected from violence. Gregory IX. defended them when maltreated in Spain and in France by the Crusaders in 1236, on their appeal to him for protection. In 1246, the Jews of Germany appealed to the Pope, Innocent IV., against the ecclesiastical and secular princes who pillaged them on false charges. Innocent wrote, in 1247, ordering those who had wronged them to indemnify them for their losses.

In 1417, the Jews of Constance came to meet Martin V., as their protector, on his coronation, with hymns and torches, and presented him with the Pentateuch, which he had the discourtesy to refuse, saying that they might have the Law, but they did not understand it.

The claim made in the Toledoth Jeschu that the Papacy was a government in the interest of the Jews against the violence of the Christians, points to the thirteenth century as the date of the composition of this book, a century when the Jews suffered more from Christian brutality than at any other period, when their exasperation against everything Christian was wrought to its highest pitch, and when they found the

Chair of Peter their only protection against extermination by the disciples of Christ.

Some dim reference may be made to the anti-pope of Jewish blood, Peter Leonis, who took the name of Anacletus II., and who survives in modern Jewish legend as the Pope Elchanan. Anacletus II. (A.D. 1130—1138) maintained his authority in Rome against Innocent II., and from his refuge in the tower of St. Angelo defied the Emperor Lothair, who had marched to Rome to install Innocent. Anacletus was accused of showing favour to the Jews, whose blood he inherited—his father was a Jewish usurer. When Christians shrank from robbing the churches of their silver and golden ornaments, required by Anacletus to pay his mercenaries and bribe the venal Romans, he is said to have entrusted the odious task to the Jews.

Jewish legend has converted the Jewish anti-pope into the son of the Rabbi Simeon Ben Isaac, of Mainz, who died A.D. 1096. According to the story, the child Elchanan was stolen from his father and mother by a Christian nurse, was taken charge of by monks, grew up to be ordained priest, and finally was elected Pope.

As a child he had been wont to play chess with his father, and had learned from him a favourite move whereby to check-mate his adversary.

The Jews of Germany suffered from oppression, and appointed the Rabbi Simeon to bear their complaints to the Pope. The old Jew went to Rome and was introduced to the presence of the Holy Father. Elchanan recognized him at once, and sent forth all his attendants, then proposed a game of chess with the Rabbi. When the Pope played the favourite move of the old Jew, Simeon Ben Isaac sprang up, smote his brow, and cried out, "I thought none knew this move save I and my long-lost child." "I am that child," answered the



Pope, and he flung himself into the arms of the aged Jew.<sup>1</sup>

That the Wagenseil Toledoth Jeschu was written in the eleventh, twelfth or thirteenth century appears probable from the fact stated, that it was in these centuries that the Jews were more subjected to persecution, spoliation and massacre than in any other; and the Toledoth Jeschu is the cry of rage of a tortured people,—a curse hurled at the Founder of that religion which oppressed them.

In the eleventh century the Jews in the great Rhine cities were massacred by the ferocious hosts of Crusaders under Ernico, Count of Leiningen, and the priests Folkmar and Goteschalk. At the voice of their leaders (A.D. 1096), the furious multitude of red-crossed pilgrims spread through the cities of the Rhine and the Moselle, massacring pitilessly all the Jews that they met with in their passage. In their despair, a great number preferred being their own destroyers to awaiting certain death at the hands of their enemies. Several shut themselves up in their houses, and perished amidst flames their own hands had kindled; some attached heavy stones to their garments, and precipitated themselves and their treasures into the Rhine or Moselle. Mothers stifled their children at the breast, saying that they preferred sending them to the bosom of Abraham to seeing them torn away to be nurtured in a religion which bred tigers.

Some of the ecclesiastics behaved with Christian humanity. The Bishops of Worms and Spire ran some risk in saving as many as they could of this defenceless people. The Archbishop of Treves, less generous, gave refuge to such only as would consent to receive baptism, and coldly consigned the rest to the knives and halters

<sup>1</sup> Mááse, c. 188. I have told the story more fully in the Christmas Number of "Once a Week," 1868.

of the Christian fanatics. The Archbishop of Mainz was more than suspected of participation in the plunder of his Jewish subjects. The Emperor took on himself the protection and redress of the wrongs endured by the Jews, and it was apparently at this time that the Jews were formally taken under feudal protection by the Emperor. They became his men, owing to him special allegiance, and with full right therefore to his protection.

The Toledoth Jeschu of Wagenseil was composed by a German Jew; that is apparent from its mention of the letter of the synagogue of Worms to the Sanhedrim. Had it been written in the eleventh century, it would not have represented the Pope as the refuge of the persecuted Jews, for it was the Emperor who redressed their wrongs.

But it was in the thirteenth century that the Popes stood forth as the special protectors of the Jews. On May 1, 1291, the Jewish bankers throughout France were seized and imprisoned by order of Philip the Fair, and forced to pay enormous mulcts. Some died under torture, most yielded, and then fled the inhospitable realm. Five years after, in one day, all the Jews in France were taken, their property confiscated to the Crown, the race expelled the realm.

In 1320, the Jews of the South of France, notwithstanding persecution and expulsion, were again in numbers and perilous prosperity. On them burst the fury of the Pastoureaux. Five hundred took refuge in the royal castle of Verdun on the Garonne. The royal officers refused to defend them. The shepherds set fire to the lower stories of a lofty tower; the Jews slew each other, having thrown their children to the mercy of their assailants. Everywhere, even in the great cities, Auch, Toulouse, Castel Sarrazen, the Jews were left to

be remorselessly massacred and their property pillaged. The Pope himself might have seen the smoke of the fires that consumed them darkening the horizon from the walls of Avignon. But John XXII., cold, arrogant, rapacious, stood by unmoved. He launched his excommunication, not against the murderers of the inoffensive Jews, but against all who presumed to take the Cross without warrant of the Holy See. Even that same year he published violent bulls against the poor persecuted Hebrews, and commanded the Bishops to destroy their Talmud, the source of their detestable blasphemies; but he bade those who should submit to baptism to be protected from pillage and massacre.

The Toledoth Jeschu, therefore, cannot have been written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Jews had such experience of the indifference of a Pope to their wrongs. We are consequently forced to look to the thirteenth century as its date. And the thirteenth century will provide us with instances of persecution of the Jews in Germany, and Popes exerting themselves to protect them.

In 1236, the Jews were the subject of an outburst of popular fury throughout Europe, but especially in Spain, where a fearful carnage took place. In France, the Crusaders of Guienne, Poitou, Anjou and Brittany killed them, without sparing the women and children. Women with child were ripped up. The unfortunate Jews were thrown down, and trodden under the feet of horses. Their houses were ransacked, their books burned, their treasures carried off. Those who refused baptism were tortured or killed. The unhappy people sent to Rome, and implored the Pope to extend his protection to them. Gregory IX. wrote at once to the Archbishop of Bordeaux, the Bishops of Saintes, Angoulême and Poitiers, forbidding constraint to be exercised on the Jews to

force them to receive baptism ; and a letter to the King entreating him to exert his authority to repress the fury of the Crusaders against the Jews.

In 1240, the Jews were expelled from Brittany by the Duke John, at the request of the Bishops of Brittany.

In 1246, the persecution reached its height in Germany. Bishops and nobles vied with each other in despoiling and harassing the unfortunate Hebrews. They were charged with killing Christian children and devouring their hearts at their Passover. Whenever a dead body was found, the Jews were accused of the murder. Hosts were dabbled in blood, and thrown down at their doors, and the ignorant mob rose against such profanation of the sacred mysteries. They were stripped of their goods, thrown into prison, starved, racked, condemned to the stake or to the gallows. From the German towns miserable trains of yellow-girdled and capped exiles issued, seeking some more hospitable homes. If they left behind them their wealth, they carried with them their industry.

A deputation of German Rabbis visited the Pope, Innocent IV., at Lyons, and laid the complaints of the Jews before him. Innocent at once took up their cause. He wrote to all the bishops of Germany, on July 5th, 1247, ordering them to favour the Jews, and insist on the redress of the wrongs to which they had been subjected, whether at the hands of ecclesiastics or nobles. A similar letter was then forwarded by him to all the bishops of France.

At this period it was in vain for the Jews to appeal to the Emperor. Frederick II. was excommunicated, and Germany in revolt, fanned by the Pope, against him. A new Emperor had been proposed at a meeting at Budweis to the electors of Austria, Bohemia and Bavaria, but the proposition had been rejected. Henry of Thu-

ringia, however, set up by Innocent, and supported by the ecclesiastical princes of Germany, had been crowned at Hochem. A crusade was preached against the Emperor Frederick; Henry of Thuringia was defeated and died. The indefatigable Innocent, clinging to the cherished policy of the Papal See to ruin the unity of Germany by stirring up intestine strife, found another candidate in William of Holland. He was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, October 3, 1247. From this time till his death, four years after, the cause of Frederick declined. Frederick was mostly engaged in wars in Italy, and had not leisure, if he had the power, to attend to and right the wrongs of his Jewish vassals.

It was at this period that I think we may conclude the Toledoth Jeschu of Wagenseil was written.

Another consideration tends to confirm this view. The Wagenseil Toledoth Jeschu speaks of Elias rising up after the death of Simon Cephas, and denouncing him as having led the Christians away.

Was there any Elias at the close of the thirteenth century who did thus preach against the Pope? There was. Elias of Cortona, second General of the Franciscan Order, the leader of a strong reactionary party opposed to the Spirituals or Cæsarians, those who maintained the rule in all its rigour, had been deposed, then carried back into the Generalship by a recoil of the party wave, then appealed against to the Pope, deposed once more, and finally excommunicated. Elias joined the Emperor Frederick, the deadly foe of Innocent IV., and, sheltered under his wing, denounced the venality, the avarice, the extortion of the Papacy. As a close attendant on the German Emperor, his adviser, as one who encouraged him in his opposition to a Pope who protected the Jews, the German Jews must have heard of him. But the stone of excommunication flung at him struck him

---

down, and he died in 1253, making a death-bed reconciliation with Rome.

But though it is thus possible to give an historical explanation of the curious circumstance that the Toledoth Jeschu ranges the Pope among the friends of Judaism and the enemies of Christianity, and provide for the identification of Elias with the fallen General of the Minorites,—the story points perhaps to a dim recollection of Simon Peter being at the head of the Judaizing Church at Jerusalem and Rome, which made common cause with the Jews, and of Paul, here designated Elias, in opposition to him.

## VII.

### THE SECOND TOLEDOTH JESCHU.

WE will now analyze and give extracts from the second anti-evangel of the Jews, the TOLEDOTH JESCHU OF HULDRICH.<sup>1</sup>

It begins thus: "In the reign of King Herod the Proselyte, there lived a man named Papus Ben Jehuda. To him was betrothed Mirjam, daughter of Kalphus; and her brother's name was Simeon. He was a Rabbi, the son of Kalphus. This Mirjam, before her betrothal, was a hair-dresser to women. . . . She was surpassing beautiful in form. She was of the tribe of Benjamin."

On account of her extraordinary beauty, she was kept locked up in a house; but she escaped through a window, and fled from Jerusalem to Bethlehem with Joseph Pandira, of Nazareth.

As has been already said, Papus Ben Jehuda was a contemporary of Rabbi Akiba, and died about A.D. 140. In the Wagenseil Toledoth Jeschu, Mirjam is betrothed to a Jochanan. In the latter, Mary lives at Bethlehem; in the Toledoth of Huldreich, she resides at Jerusalem.

Many years after, the place of the retreat of Mirjam and Joseph Pandira having been made known to Herod, he sent to Bethlehem orders for their arrest, and for the massacre of the children; but Joseph, who had been forewarned by a kinsman in the court of Herod, fled in time with his wife and children into Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> Joh. Jac. Huldricus: *Historia Jeschuzæ Nazareni, a Judæis blaspheme corrupta*; Leyden, 1705.

After many years a famine broke out in Egypt, and Joseph and Mirjam, with their son Jeschu and his brethren, returned to Canaan and settled at Nazareth.

“And Jeschu grew up, and went to Jerusalem to acquire knowledge, in the school of Joshua, the son of Perachia (B.C. 90); and he made there great advance, so that he learned the mystery of the chariot and the holy Name.<sup>1</sup>

“One day it fell out that Jeschu was playing ball with the sons of the priests, near the chamber Gasith, on the hill of the Temple. Then by accident the ball fell into the Fish-valley. And Jeschu was very grieved, and in his anger he plucked the hat from off his head, and cast it on the ground and burst into lamentations. Thereupon the boys warned him to put his hat on again, for it was not comely to be with uncovered head. Jeschu answered, Verily, Moses gave you not this law; it is but an addition of the lawyers, and therefore need not be observed.

“Now there sat there, Rabbi Eliezer and Joshua Ben Levi (A.D. 220), and the Rabbi Akiba (A.D. 135) hard by, in the school, and they heard the words that Jeschu had spoken.

“Then said the Rabbi Eliezer, That boy is certainly a Mamser. But Rabbi Joshua, son of Levi, said, He is a Benhannidda. And the Rabbi Akiba said also, He is a Benhannidda.<sup>2</sup> Therefore the Rabbi Akiba went forth out of the school, and asked Jeschu in what city he was born. Jeschu answered, I am of Nazareth; my father's name is Mezaria,<sup>3</sup> and my mother's name is Karchat.

“Then the Rabbis Akiba, Eliezer and Joshua went into the school of the Rabbi Joshua, son of Perachia, and seized Jeschu by the hair and cut it off in a circle, and washed his

<sup>1</sup> The mystery of the chariot is that of the chariot of God and the cherubic beasts, Ezekiel i. The Jews wrote the name of God without vowels, Jhvh; the vowel points taken from the name Adonai (Lord) were added later.

<sup>2</sup> The story is somewhat different in the Talmudic tract Calla, as already related.

<sup>3</sup> From Mizraim, Egypt.



head with the water Boleth, so that the hair might not grow again."

Ashamed at this humiliation, according to the *Toledoth Jeschu* of Huldreich, the boy returned to Nazareth, where he wounded his mother's breast.

Probably the author of this counter-Gospel saw one of those common artistic representations of the *Mater Dolorosa* with a sword piercing her soul, and invented the story of Jesus wounding his mother's breast to account for it.

When Jeschu was grown up, there assembled about him many disciples, whose names were Simon and Matthias, Elikus, Mardochai and Thoda, whose names Jeschu changed.

? "He called Simon Peter, after the word *Petrus*, which in Hebrew signifies the First. And Matthias he called Matthew; and Elikus he called Luke, because he sent him forth among the heathen; and Mardochai he named Mark, because he said, Vain men come to me; and Thoda he named Pahul (Paul), because he bore witness of him.

"Another worthless fellow also joined them, named *Jochanan*, and he changed his name to *Jahannus* on account of the miracles Jeschu wrought through him by means of the incommunicable Name. This *Jahannus* advised that all the men who were together should have their heads washed with the water Boleth, that the hair might not grow on them, and all the world might know that they were Nazarenes.

"But the affair was known to the elders and to the King. Then he sent his messengers to take Jeschu and his disciples, and to bring them to Jerusalem. But out of fear of the people, they gave timely warning to Jeschu that the King sought to take and kill him and his companions. Therefore they fled into the desert of Ai (*Capernaum*?). And when the servants of the King came and found them not, with the exception of *Jahannus*, they took him and led him before the King. And

the King ordered that Jahannus should be executed with the sword. The servants of the King therefore went at his command and slew Jahannus, and hung up his head at the gate of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

“About this time Jeschu assembled the inhabitants of Jerusalem about him, and wrought many miracles. He laid a millstone on the sea, and sailed about on it, and cried, I am God, the Son of God, born of my mother by the power of the Holy Ghost, and I sprang from her virginal brow.

“And he wrought many miracles, so that all the inhabitants of Ai believed in him, and his miracles he wrought by means of the incommunicable Name.

“Then Jeschu ordered the law to be done away with, for it is said in the Psalm, It is time for thee, Lord, to lay too thine hand, for they have destroyed thy law. Now, said he, is the right time come to tear up the law, for the thousandth generation has come since David said, He hath promised to keep his word to a thousand generations (Ps. cviii. 8).

“Therefore they arose and desecrated the Sabbath.

“When now the elders and wise men heard of what was done, they came to the King and consulted him and his council. Then answered Judas, son of Zachar,<sup>2</sup> I am the first of the King's princes; I will go myself and see if it be true what is said, that this man blasphemeth.

“Therefore Judas went and put on other clothes like the men of Ai, and spake to Jeschu and said, I also will learn your doctrine. Then Jeschu had his head shaved in a ring and washed with the water Boleth.

“After that they went into the wilderness, for they feared the King lest he should take them if they tarried at Ai. And they lost their way; and in the wilderness they lighted on a shepherd who lay on the ground. Then Jeschu asked

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the author confounds John the Baptist with John the Apostle.

<sup>2</sup> Judas Iscarioth. In St. John's Gospel he is called the son of Simon (vi. 71, xiii. 2, 26). Son of Zachar is a corruption of Iscarioth. The name Iscarioth is probably from Kerioth, his native village, in Judah.

him the right way, and how far it was to shelter. The shepherd answered, The way lies straight before you; and he pointed it out with his foot.

“They went a little further, and they found a shepherd maiden, and Jeschu asked her which way they must go. Then the maiden led them to a stone which served as a signpost. And Peter said to Jeschu, Bless this maiden who has led us hither! And he blessed her, and wished for her that she might become the wife of the shepherd they had met on the road.

“Then said Peter, Wherefore didst thou so bless the maiden? He answered, The man is slow, but she is lively. If he were left without her activity, it would fare ill with him. For I am a God of mercy, and make marriages as is best for man.”

This is a German story. There are many such of Jesus and St. Peter to be found in all collections of German household tales. They go together on a journey, and various adventures befall them, and the Lord orders things very differently from what Peter expects. To this follows another story, familiar to English school-boys. The apostles come with their Master to an inn, and ask for food. The innkeeper has a goose, and it is decided that he shall have the goose who dreams the best dream that night. When all are asleep, Judas gets up, plucks, roasts and eats the goose. Next morning they tell their dreams. Judas says, “Mine was the best of all, for I dreamt that in the night I ate the goose; and, lo! the goose is gone this morning. I think the dream must have been a reality.” Among English school-boys, the story is told of an Englishman, and Scotchman, and an Irishman. The latter, of course, takes the place of Judas.

Some equally ridiculous stories follow, inserted for the purpose of making our blessed Lord and his apostles

contemptible, but not taken, like the two just mentioned, from German folk-lore.

“After that Judas went to Jerusalem, but Jeschu and Peter tarried awaiting him (at Laish), for they trusted him. Now when Judas was come to Jerusalem, he related to the King and the elders the words and deeds of Jeschu, and how, through the power of the incommunicable Name, he had wrought such wonders that the people of Ai believed in him, and how that he had taken to wife the daughter of Karkamus, chief ruler of Ai.

“Then the King and the elders asked counsel of Judas how they might take Jeschu and his disciples. Judas answered, Persuade Jager Ben Purah, their host, to mix the water of forgetfulness with their wine. We will come to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles; and then do ye take him and his disciples. For Jager Purah is the brother of the Gerathite Karkamus; but I will persuade Jeschu that Jager Purah is the brother of Karkamus of Ai, and he will believe my words, and they will all come up to the Feast of Tabernacles. Now when they shall have drunk of that wine, then will Jeschu forget the incommunicable Name, and so will be unable to deliver himself out of your hands, so that ye can capture him and hold him fast.

“Then answered the King and the elders, Thy counsel is good; go in peace, and we will appoint a fast. Therefore Judas went his way on the third of the month Tisri (October), and the great assembly in Jerusalem fasted a great fast, and prayed God to deliver Jeschu and his followers into their hands. And they undertook for themselves and for their successors a fast to be held annually on the third of the month Tisri, for ever.

“When Judas had returned to Jeschu, he related to him, I have been attentive to hear what is spoken in Jerusalem, and none so much as wag their tongues against thee. Yea! when the King took Jahannus to slay him, his disciples came in force and rescued him. And Jahannus said to me, Go say

to Jesus, our Lord, that he come with his disciples, and we will protect him; and see! the host, Jager Purah, is brother of Karkamus, ruler of Ai, and an uncle of thy betrothed.

“Now when Jeschu heard the words of Judas, he believed them; for the inhabitants of Jerusalem and their neighbours fasted incessantly during the six days between the feast of the New Year and the Day of Atonement,—yea, even on the Sabbath Day did some of them fast. And when those men who were not in the secret asked wherefore they fasted at this unusual time, when it was not customary to fast save on the Day of Atonement, the elders answered them, This is done because the King of the Gentiles has sent and threatened us with war.

“But Jeschu and his disciples dressed themselves in the costume of the men of Ai, that they might not be recognized in Jerusalem; and in the fast, on the Day of Atonement, Jeschu came with his disciples to Jerusalem, and entered into the house of Purah, and said, Of me it is written, Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save. I have trodden the wine-press alone, and of the people there was none with me.<sup>1</sup> For now am I come from Edom to the house of Purah, and of thee, Purah, was it written, Jegar Sahadutha!<sup>2</sup> For thou shalt be to us a hill of witness and assured protection. But I have come here to Jerusalem to abolish the festivals and the holy seasons and the appointed holy days. And he that believeth in me shall have his portion in eternal life. I will give forth a new law in Jerusalem, for of me was it written, Out of Zion shall the law go forth, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> And their sins and unrighteousness will I atone for with my blood. But after I am dead I will arise to life again; for it is written,

<sup>1</sup> Isa. lxiii. 1—3. Singularly enough, this passage is chosen for the Epistle in the Roman and Anglican Churches for Monday in Holy Week, with special reference to the Passion.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxi. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. ii. 3.

I kill and make alive; I bring down to hell, and raise up therefrom again.<sup>1</sup>

“But Judas betook himself secretly to the King, and told him how that Jeschu and his disciples were in the house of Purah. Therefore the King sent young priests into the house of Purah, who said unto Jeschu, We are ignorant men, and believe in thee and thy word; but do this, we pray thee, work a miracle before our eyes.

“Then Jeschu wrought before them wonders by means of the incommunicable Name.

“And on the great Day of Atonement he and his disciples ate and drank, and fasted not; and they drank of the wine wherewith was mingled the Water of Forgetfulness, and then betook themselves to rest.

“And when midnight was now come, behold! servants of the King surrounded the house, and to them Purah opened the door. And the servants broke into the room where Jeschu and his disciples were, and they cast them into chains.

“Then Jeschu directed his mind to the incommunicable Name; but he could not recall it, for all had vanished from his recollection.

“And the servants of the King led Jeschu and his disciples to the prison of the blasphemers. And in the morning they told the King that Jeschu and his disciples were taken and cast into prison. Then he ordered that they should be detained till the Feast of Tabernacles.

“And on that feast all the people of the Lord came together to the feast, as Moses had commanded them. Then the King ordered that Jeschu's disciples should be stoned outside the city; and all the Israelites looked on, and heaped stones on the disciples. And all Israel broke forth into hymns of praise to the God of Israel, that these men of Belial had thus fallen into their hands.

“But Jeschu was kept still in prison, for the King would not slay him till the men of Ai had seen that his words were naught, and what sort of a prophet he was proved to be.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 6.

“ Also he wrote letters throughout the land to the councils of the synagogues to learn from them after what manner Jeschu should be put to death, and summoning all to assemble at Jerusalem on the next feast of the Passover to execute Jeschu, as it is written, Whosoever blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall certainly stone him.<sup>1</sup>

“ But the people of Girmajesa (Germany) and all that country round, what is at this day called Wormajesa (Worms) in the land of the Emperor, and the little council in the town of Wormajesa, answered the King in this wise, Let Jesus go, and slay him not ! Let him live till he die and perish.

“ But when the feast of the Passover drew nigh, it was heralded through all the land of Judæa, that any one who had aught to say in favour, and for the exculpation, of Jeschu, should declare it before the King. But all the people with one consent declared that Jeschu must die.<sup>2</sup>

“ Therefore, on the eve of the Passover, Jeschu was brought out of the prison, and they cried before him, So may all thine enemies perish, O Lord ! And they hanged him on a tree outside of Jerusalem, as the King and elders of Jerusalem had commanded.

“ And all Israel looked on and praised and glorified God.

“ Now when even was come, Judas took down the body of Jeschu from the tree and laid it in his garden in a conduit.

“ But when the people of Ai heard that Jeschu had been hung, they became enemies to Israel. And the people of Ai attacked the Israelites, and slew of them two thousand men. And the Israelites could not go to the feasts because of the men of Ai. Therefore the King proclaimed war against Ai ; but he could not overcome it, for mightily grew the multitude of those who believed in Jeschu, even under the eyes of the King in Jerusalem.

“ And some of these went to Ai, and declared that on the third day after Jeschu had been hung, fire had fallen from

<sup>1</sup> Lev. xxiv. 16.

<sup>2</sup> This is taken from Sanhedrim, fol. 43.

heaven, which had surrounded Jeschu, and he had arisen alive, and gone up into heaven.<sup>1</sup>

“And the people of Ai believed what was said, and swore to avenge on the children of Israel the crime they had committed in hanging Jeschu. Now when Judas saw that the people of Ai threatened great things, he wrote a letter unto them, saying, There is no peace to the ungodly, saith the Lord; therefore do the people take counsel together, and the Gentiles imagine a vain thing. Come to Jerusalem and see your false prophet! For, lo! he is dead and buried in a conduit.

“Now when they heard this, the men of Ai went to Jerusalem and saw Jeschu lying where had been said. But, nevertheless, when they returned to Ai, they said that all Judas had written was false. For, lo! said they, when we came to Jerusalem we found that all believed in Jeschu, and had risen and had expelled the King out of the city because he believed not; and many of the elders have they slain. Then the men of Ai believed these words of the messengers, and they proclaimed war against Israel.

“Now when the King and the elders saw that the men of Ai were about to encamp against them, and that the numbers of these worthless men grew—they were the brethren and kinsmen of Jeschu—they took counsel what they should do in such sore straits as they were in.

“And Judas said, Lo! Jeschu has an uncle Simon, son of Kalpus, who is now alive, and he is an honourable old man. Give him the incommunicable Name, and let him work wonders in Ai, and tell the people that he does them in the name of Jesus. And they will believe Simon, because he is the uncle of Jeschu. But Simon must make them believe that Jeschu committed to him all power to teach them not to ill-treat the Israelites, and he has reserved them for his own vengeance.

“This counsel pleased the King and the elders, and they went to Simon and told him the matter.

<sup>1</sup> It is worth observing how these two false witnesses disagree in almost every particular about our blessed Lord's birth and passion.



“Then went Simon, when he had learned the Name, and drew nigh to Ai, and he raised a cloud and thunder and lightning. And he seated himself on the cloud, and as the thunder rolled he cried, Ye men of Ai, gather yourselves together at the tower of Ai, and there will I give you commandments from Jeschu.

“But when the people of Ai heard this voice, they were sore afraid, and they assembled on all sides about the tower. And lo! Simon was borne thither on the cloud; and he stepped upon the tower. And the men of Ai fell on their faces before him.<sup>1</sup> Then Simon said, I am Simon Ben Kalpus, uncle of Jeschu. Jeschu came and sent me unto you to teach you his law, for Jesus is the Son of God. And lo! I will give you the law of Jesus, which is a new commandment.

“Then he wrought before them signs and wonders, and he said to the people of Ai, Swear to me to obey all that I tell you. And they swore to him. Then said Simon, Go to your own homes. And all the people of Ai returned to their dwellings.

“Now Simon sat on the tower, and wrote the commandments even as the King and elders had decided. And he changed the Alphabet, and gave the letters new names, as secretly to protest that all he taught written in those letters was lies. And this was the Alphabet he wrote: A, Be, Ce, De, E, Ef, Cha, I, Ka, El, Em, En, O, Pe, Ku, Er, Es, Te, U, Ix, Ejed, Zet.

“And this is the interpretation: My father is Esau, who was a huntsman, and was weary; and lo! his sons believed in Jesus, who lives, as God.

“And Simon composed for the deception of the people of Ai lying books, and he called them ‘Avonkelajon’ (Evangelium), which, being interpreted, is the End of Ungodliness.

<sup>1</sup> This is probably taken from the story of Simon Magus in the Pseudo-Linus. Simon flies from off a high tower. In the Apocryphal Book of the Death of the Virgin, the apostles come to her death-bed riding on clouds. Ai is here Rome, not Capernaum.

But they thought he said, 'Eben gillajon,' which means Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. He also wrote books in the names of the disciples of Jeschu, and especially in that of Johannes, and said that Jeschu had given him these.

"But with special purpose he composed the Book of Johannes (the Apocalypse), for the men of Ai thought it contained mysteries, whereas it contained pure invention. For instance, he wrote in the Book of Johannes that Johannes saw a beast with seven heads and seven horns and seven crowns, and the name of the beast was blasphemy, and the number of the beast 666. Now the seven heads mean the seven letters which compose in Hebrew the words, 'Jeschu of Nazareth.' And in like manner the number 666 is that which is the sum of the letters composing this name. In like way did Simon compose all the books to deceive the people, as the King and the elders had bidden him.

"And on the sixth day of the third month Simon sat on the cloud, and the people of Ai were gathered together before him to the tower, and he gave them the book Avonkelajon, and said to them, When ye have children born to you, ye must sprinkle them with water, in token that Jeschu was washed with the water Boleth, and ye must observe all the commandments that are written in the book Avonkelajon. And ye must wage no war against the people of Israel, for Jeschu has reserved them to avenge himself on them himself.

"Now when the people of Ai heard these words, they answered that they would keep them. And Simon returned on his cloud to Jerusalem. And all the people thought he had gone up in a cloud to heaven to bring destruction on the Israelites.<sup>1</sup>

"Not long after this, King Herod died, and was succeeded by his son in the kingdom of Israel. But when he had obtained the throne, he heard that the people of Ai had made

<sup>1</sup> The author probably saw representations of the Ascension and of the Last Judgment, with Christ seated with the Books of Life and Death in his hand on a great white cloud, and composed this story out of what he saw, associating the pictures with the floating popular legend of Simon Magus.

images in honour of Jesus and Mary, and he wrote letters to Ai and ordered their destruction; otherwise he would make war against them.

“Then the people of Ai sent asking help of the Emperor against the King of Israel. But the Emperor would not assist them and war against Israel. Therefore, when the people of Ai saw that there was no help, they burned the images and bound themselves before the sons of Israel.

“And about this time Mirjam, the mother of Jeschu, died. Then the King ordered that she should be buried at the foot of the tree on which Jeschu had hung; and there he also had the brothers and sisters of Jeschu hung up. And they were hung, and a memorial stone was set up on the spot.

“But the worthless men, their kinsmen, came and destroyed the memorial stone, and set up another in its stead, on which they wrote the words, ‘Lo! this is a ladder set upon the earth, whose head reaches to heaven, and the angels of God ascend and descend upon it, and the mother rejoices here in her children, Allelujah!’

“Now when the King heard this, he destroyed the memorial they had erected, and killed a hundred of the kindred of Jeschu.

“Then went Simon, son of Kalpus, to the King and said, Suffer me, and I will draw away these people from Jerusalem. And the King said, Be it so; go, and the Lord be with thee! Therefore Simon went secretly to these worthless men, and said to them, Let us go together to Ai, and there shall ye see wonders which I will work. And some went to Ai, but others seated themselves beside Simon on his cloud, and left Jerusalem with him. And on the way Simon cast down those who sat on the cloud with him upon the earth, so that they died.<sup>1</sup>

“And when Simon returned to Jerusalem, he told the King

<sup>1</sup> In the story of Simon the Sorcerer, it is at the prayer of Simon Peter that the Sorcerer falls whilst flying and breaks all his bones. Perhaps the author saw a picture of the Judgment with saints on the cloud with Jesus, and the lost falling into the flames of hell.

what he had done, and the King rejoiced greatly. And Simon left not the court of the King till his death. And when he died, all the Jews observed the day as a fast, and it was the 9th of the month Teboth (January).

“But those who had gone to Ai at the word of Simon believed that Simon and those with him had gone up together into heaven on the cloud.

“And when men saw what Simon had taught the people of Ai in the name of Jesus, they followed them also, and they took them the daughters of Ai to wife, and sent letters into the furthest islands with the book Avonkelajon, and undertook for themselves, and for their descendants, to hold to all the words of the book Avonkelajon.

“Therefore they abolished the Law, and chose the first day of the week as the Sabbath, for that was the birthday of Jesus, and they ordained many other customs and bad feasts. Therefore have they no part and lot in Israel. They are accursed in this world, and accursed in the world to come. But the Lord bless his people Israel with peace.

“These are the words of the Rabbi Jochanan, son of Saccai, in Jerusalem.”

That this second version of the “Life of Jeschu” is later than the first one, I think there can be little doubt. It is more full of absurdities than the first, it adopts German household tales, and exhibits an ignorance of history even more astounding than in the first Life. The preachers of the “Evangelium” marry wives, and there is a burning of images of St. Mary and our Lord. These are *perhaps* indications of its having been composed after the Reformation.

Luther did not know anything of the Life published later by Huldrich. The only Toledoth Jeschu he was acquainted with was that afterwards published by Wagenseil.

The first part of the book is devoted to a general history of the United States from its discovery to the present time. It is divided into three volumes. The first volume contains the history of the discovery and settlement of the continent, and the establishment of the first colonies. The second volume contains the history of the American Revolution, and the formation of the Constitution. The third volume contains the history of the United States from the adoption of the Constitution to the present time.

The second part of the book is devoted to a general history of the world from its discovery to the present time. It is divided into three volumes. The first volume contains the history of the discovery and settlement of the world, and the establishment of the first colonies. The second volume contains the history of the American Revolution, and the formation of the Constitution. The third volume contains the history of the United States from the adoption of the Constitution to the present time.

The third part of the book is devoted to a general history of the world from its discovery to the present time. It is divided into three volumes. The first volume contains the history of the discovery and settlement of the world, and the establishment of the first colonies. The second volume contains the history of the American Revolution, and the formation of the Constitution. The third volume contains the history of the United States from the adoption of the Constitution to the present time.

The fourth part of the book is devoted to a general history of the world from its discovery to the present time. It is divided into three volumes. The first volume contains the history of the discovery and settlement of the world, and the establishment of the first colonies. The second volume contains the history of the American Revolution, and the formation of the Constitution. The third volume contains the history of the United States from the adoption of the Constitution to the present time.

## PART II.

# THE LOST PETRINE GOSPELS.

---

Under this head are classed all those Gospels whose tendency is Judaizing, which sprang into existence in the Churches of Palestine and Syria.

These may be ranged in two sub-classes—

- α.* Those akin to the Gospel of St. Matthew.
- β.* Those related to the Gospel of St. Mark.

To the first class belong—

- 1. The Gospel of the Twelve, or of the Hebrews.
- 2. The Gospel of the Clementines.

To the second class belong, probably—

- 1. The Gospel of St. Peter.
- 2. The Gospel of the Egyptians.

THE

REPORT

OF THE

COMMISSIONERS

OF THE

LAND OFFICE

PART II.  
THE LOST PETRINE GOSPELS.

---

I.

THE GOSPEL OF THE HEBREWS.

1. *The Fragments extant.*

EUSEBIUS quotes Papias, Irenæus and Origen, as authorities for his statement that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel first in Hebrew.

Papias, a contemporary of Polycarp, who was a disciple of St. John, and who carefully collected all information he could obtain concerning the apostles, declares that "Matthew wrote his Gospel in the Hebrew dialect,<sup>1</sup> and that every one translated it as he was able."<sup>2</sup>

Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp, and therefore also likely to have trustworthy information on this matter, says, "Matthew among the Hebrews wrote a Gospel in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel at Rome, and founding the Church there."<sup>3</sup>

In a fragment, also, of Irenæus, edited by Dr. Grabe, it is said that "the Gospel according to Matthew was written to the Jews, for they earnestly desired a Messiah

<sup>1</sup> Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* lib. v. c. 8.



of the posterity of David. Matthew, in order to satisfy them on this point, began his Gospel with the genealogy of Jesus.<sup>1</sup>

Origen, in a passage preserved by Eusebius, has this statement: "I have learned by tradition concerning the four Gospels, which alone are received without dispute by the Church of God under heaven, that the first was written by St. Matthew, once a tax-gatherer, afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, who published it for the benefit of the Jewish converts, composed in the Hebrew language."<sup>2</sup> And again, in his Commentary on St. John, "We begin with Matthew, who, according to tradition, wrote first, publishing his Gospel to the believers who were of the circumcision."

Eusebius, who had collected the foregoing testimonies on a subject which, in that day, seems to have been undisputed, thus records what he believed to be a well-authenticated historical fact: "Matthew, having first preached to the Hebrews, delivered to them, when he was preparing to depart to other countries, his Gospel composed in their native language."<sup>3</sup>

St. Jerome follows Papias: "Matthew, who is also Levi, from a publican became an apostle, and he first composed his Gospel of Christ in Judæa, for those of the circumcision who believed, and wrote it in Hebrew words and characters; but who translated it afterwards into Greek is not very evident. Now this Hebrew Gospel is preserved to this day in the library at Cæsarea which Pamphilus the martyr so diligently collected. I also obtained permission of the Nazarenes of Beræa in Syria, who use this volume, to make a copy of it. In which it is to be observed that, throughout, the Evangelist when

<sup>1</sup> Spicileg. Patrum, Tom. I.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. vi. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 24.

quoting the witness of the Old Testament, either in his own person or in that of the Lord and Saviour, does not follow the authority of the Seventy translators, but the Hebrew Scriptures, from which he quotes these two passages, 'Out of Egypt have I called my Son,' and, 'Since he shall be called a Nazarene.'"<sup>1</sup> And again: "That Gospel which is called the Gospel of the Hebrews, and which has lately been translated by me into Greek and Latin, and was used frequently by Origen, relates," &c.<sup>2</sup> Again: "That Gospel which the Nazarenes and Ebionites make use of, and which I have lately translated into Greek from the Hebrew, and which by many is called the genuine Gospel of Matthew."<sup>3</sup> And once more: "The Gospel of the Hebrews, which is written in the Syro-Chaldaic tongue, and in Hebrew characters, which the Nazarenes make use of at this day, is also called the Gospel of the Apostles, or, as many think, is that of Matthew, is in the library of Cæsarea."<sup>4</sup>

St. Epiphanius is even more explicit. He says that the Nazarenes possessed the most complete Gospel of St. Matthew,<sup>5</sup> as it was written at first in Hebrew;<sup>6</sup> and "they have it still in Hebrew characters; but I do not know if they have cut off the genealogies from Abraham to Christ." "We may affirm as a certain fact, that Matthew alone among the writers of the New Testament wrote the history of the preaching of the Gospel in Hebrew, and in Hebrew characters."<sup>7</sup> This Hebrew Gospel, he adds, was known to Cerinthus and Carpocrates.

The subscriptions of many MSS. and versions bear

<sup>1</sup> St. Hieron. De vir. illust., s. v. Matt.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* s. v. Jacobus.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* in Matt. xii. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Contra. Pelag. iii. 1.

<sup>5</sup> \*Ἐχουσι δὲ (οἱ Ναζαραῖοι) τὸ κατὰ Μαθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον πληρέστατον ἰβραϊστί.—Hær. xxix. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Καθὼς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγράφη.—*Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* xxx. 3.

the same testimony. Several important Greek codices of St. Matthew close with the statement that he wrote in Hebrew; the Syriac and Arabic versions do the same. The subscription of the Peschito version is, "Finished is the holy Gospel of the preaching of Matthew, which he preached in Hebrew in the land of Palestine." That of the Arabic version reads as follows: "Here ends the copy of the Gospel of the apostle Matthew. He wrote it in the land of Palestine, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, in the Hebrew language, eight years after the bodily ascension of Jesus the Messiah into heaven, and in the first year of the Roman Emperor, Claudius Cæsar."

The title of Gospel of the Hebrews was only given to the version known to Jerome and Epiphanius, because it was in use among the Hebrews. But amongst the Nazarenes it was called "The Gospel of the Apostles,"<sup>1</sup> or "The Gospel of the Twelve."<sup>2</sup> St. Jerome expressly says that "the Gospel used by the Nazarenes is also called the Gospel of the Apostles."<sup>3</sup> That the same Gospel should bear two names, one according to its reputed authors, the other according to the community which used it, is not surprising.

Justin Martyr probably alludes to it under a slightly different name, "The Recollections of the Apostles."<sup>4</sup> He says that these Recollections were a Gospel.<sup>5</sup> He adopted the word used by Xenophon for his recollections of Socrates. What the Memorabilia of Xenophon were

<sup>1</sup> *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους.*

<sup>2</sup> *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ τοὺς δώδεκα.* Origen calls it "The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles," Homil. i. in Luc. St. Jerome the same, in his Proœm. in Comment. sup. Matt.

<sup>3</sup> Adv. Pelag. iii. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων.*

<sup>5</sup> "Ἐν τοῖς γεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται *Εὐαγγέλια.*" And "ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ *Εὐαγγελίῳ,*" when speaking of these Reminiscences, Dialog. cum Tryphon. § 11. Just. Mart. Opera, ed. Cologne, p. 227.

concerning the martyred philosopher, that the *Memorabilia* of the Apostles were concerning the martyred Redeemer.

It is probable that this Hebrew Gospel of the Twelve was the only one with which Justin Martyr was acquainted.

Justin Martyr was a native of Samaria, and his acquaintance with Christianity was probably made in the communities of Nazarenes scattered over Syria. By family he was a Greek, and was therefore by blood inclined to sympathize with the Gentile rather than the Jewish Christians. This double tendency is manifest in his writings. He judges the Ebionites, even the narrowest of their sectarian rings, with great tenderness; but he proclaims that Gentiledom had yielded better Christians than Jewdom.<sup>1</sup> Justin distinguishes between the Ebionites. There were those who in their own practice observed the Mosaic Law, believing in Christ as the flower and end of the Law, but without exacting the same observance of believing Gentiles; and there were those who not only observed the Law themselves, but imposed it on their Gentile converts. His sympathies were with the former, whom he regards as the true followers of the apostles, and not with the latter.

Justin's conversion took place circ. A.D. 133. He is a valuable testimony to the divisions among the Nazarenes or Ebionites in the second century, just when Gnostic views were infiltrating among the extreme Judaizing section.

Justin Martyr's Christian training took place in the Nazarene Church, in the orthodox, milder section. He no doubt inherited the traditional prejudice against St. Paul, for he neither mentions him by name, nor quotes any of his writings. That he should have omitted to

<sup>1</sup> 1 Apol. ii.

quote St. Paul in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew is not surprising; but one cannot doubt that had he seen the Epistles of the Apostle of the Gentiles, he would have cited them, or shown that they had influenced the current of his thoughts in his two Apologies addressed to Gentiles. He quotes "the book that is called the Gospel" as if there were but one; but what Gospel was it? It has been frequently observed that the quotations of Justin are closer to the parallel passages in St. Matthew than to those of the other Canonical Gospels. But the only Gospel he names is the Gospel of the Twelve.

Did Justin Martyr possess the Gospel of St. Matthew, or some other?

It is observable that he diverges from the Gospel narrative in several particulars. It is inconceivable that this was caused by defect of memory. Two or three of those texts in which he differs from our Canonical Gospels occur several times in his writings, and always in the same form.<sup>1</sup> Would it not be strange that his memory should fail him each time, and on each of these passages? But though his memory may have been inaccurate in recording exact words, the differences that have been noticed between the citations of Justin Martyr and the Canonical Gospel of St. Matthew are not confined to words; they extend to particulars, to facts. Verbal differences are accountable for by lapse of memory, but it is not so with facts. One can understand how in quoting by memory the mode of expressing the same facts may vary, but not that the facts themselves should be different. If the facts cited are different, we are forced to conclude that the citations were derived from another source. And such is the case with Justin.

<sup>1</sup> Justin Mart. Opp. ed. Cologne; 2 Apol. p. 64; Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 301; *ibid.* p. 253; 2 Apol. p. 64; Dial. cum Tryph. p. 326; 2 Apol. pp. 95, 96.

Five or six times does he say that the Magi came from Arabia;<sup>1</sup> St. Matthew says only that they came from the East.<sup>2</sup>

He says that our Lord was born in a cave<sup>3</sup> near Bethlehem; that, when he was baptized, a bright light shone over him; and he gives words which were heard from heaven, which are not recorded by any of the Evangelists.

That our Lord was born in a cave is probable enough, but where did Justin learn it? Certainly not from St. Matthew's Gospel, which gives no particulars of the birth of Christ at Bethlehem. St. Luke says he was born in the stable of an inn. Justin, we are warranted in suspecting, derived the fact of the stable being a cave from the only Gospel with which he was acquainted, that of the Hebrews.

The tradition of the scene of Christ's nativity having been a cave was peculiarly Jewish. It is found in the Apocryphal Gospels of the Nativity and the Protevangelium, both of which unquestionably grew up in Judæa. That Justin should endorse this tradition leads to the conclusion that he found it so stated in his Gospel.

I shall speak of the light and voice at the baptism presently.

St. Epiphanius says that the Ebionite Gospel began with, "In the days of Herod, Caiaphas being the high-priest, there was a man whose name was John," and so on, like the 3rd chap. St. Matthew. But this was the mutilated Gospel of the Hebrews used by the Gnostic Ebionites, who were heretical on the doctrine of the

<sup>1</sup> Οἱ ἐξ Ἀραβίας μάγοι, or μάγοι ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας.—Dialog. eum Tryph. pp. 303, 315, 328, 330, 334, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. ii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐν σπηλαίῳ τινὶ σύνεγγυς τῆς κώμης κατέλυσε.—Dialog. eum Tryph. pp. 303, 304.

nativity of our Lord, and whom Justin Martyr speaks of as rejecting the supernatural birth of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Nazarenes, orthodox and heretical, but one Gospel was recognized, and that the Hebrew Gospel of the Twelve; but the Gospel in use among the Gnostic Ebionites became more and more corrupt as they diverged further from orthodoxy.

But the primitive Hebrew Gospel was held "in high esteem by those Jews who received the faith."<sup>2</sup> "It is the Gospel," says St. Jerome, "that the Nazarenes use at the present day."<sup>3</sup> "It is the Gospel of the Hebrews that the Nazarenes read," says Origen.<sup>4</sup>

Was this Gospel of the Twelve, or of the Hebrews, the original of St. Matthew's Canonical Greek Gospel, or was it a separate compilation? This is a question to be considered presently.

The statement of the Fathers that the Gospel of St. Matthew was first written in Hebrew, must of course be understood to mean that it was written in Aramaic or Palestinian Syriac.

Now we have extant two versions of the Gospels, St. Matthew's included, in Syriac, the Peschito and the Philoxenian. The latter needs only a passing mention; it was avowedly made from the Greek, A.D. 508. But the Peschito is much more ancient. The title of "Peschito" is an emphatic Syrian term for that which is "simple," "uncorrupt" and "true;" and, applied from the beginning to this version, it strongly indicates the veneration and confidence with which it has ever been regarded by all the Churches of the East.<sup>5</sup> When this

<sup>1</sup> Dial. cum Tryph. p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iii. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Adv. Pelag. iii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Comm. in Ezech. xxiv. 7.

<sup>5</sup> "De versione Syriacâ testatur Sionita, quod ut semper in summâ veneratione et auctoritate habita erat apud omnes populos qui Chaldaicâ sive Syriacâ utuntur linguâ, sic publicè in omnibus eorum ecclesiis anti-

version was made cannot be decided by scholars. A copy in the Laurentian Library bears so early a date as A.D. 586 ; but it existed long before the translation was made by Philoxenus in 508. The first Armenian version from the Greek was made in 431, and the Armenians already, at that date, had a version from the Syriac, made by Isaac, Patriarch of Armenia, some twenty years previously, in 410. Still further back, we find the Peschito version quoted in the writings of St. Ephraem, who lived not later than A.D. 370.<sup>1</sup>

Was this Peschito version founded on the Greek canonical text, or, in the case of St. Matthew, on the "Hebrew" Gospel? I think there can be little question that it was translated from the Greek. There can be no question that the Gospels of St. Mark, St. Luke, St. John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of St. Paul, and those of the other Epistles contained in this version,<sup>2</sup> are from the Greek, and it is probable that the version of St. Matthew was made at the same time from the received text. The Syrian churches were separated from the Nazarene community in sympathy ; their acceptance of St. Paul's Epistles is a proof that they were so ; and these Epistles were accepted by them at a very early age, as we gather from internal evidence in the translation.

The Syrian churches would be likely, moreover, when seeking for copies of the Christian Scriptures, to ask for them from churches which were regarded as orthodox, rather than from a dwindling community which was thought to be heretical.

*quissimis, constitutis in Syriâ, Mesopotamiâ, Chaldæâ, Ægypto, et denique in universis Orientis partibus dispersis ac disseminatis accepta ac lecta fuit.*"—Walton : London Polyglott, 1657.

<sup>1</sup> In Matt. iii. 17 ; Luke i. 71 ; John i. 3 ; Col. iii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> It omits the 2nd and 3rd Epistles of St. John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse.



The Peschito version of St. Matthew follows the canonical Greek text, and not the Gospel of the Hebrews, in such passages as can be compared;<sup>1</sup> not one of the peculiarities of the latter find their echo in the Peschito text.

The Gospel of the Hebrews has not, therefore, been preserved to us in the Peschito St. Matthew. The translations made by St. Jerome in Greek and Latin have also perished. It is not difficult to account for the loss of the book. The work itself was in use only by converted Jews; it was in the exclusive possession of the descendants of those parties for whose use it had been written. The Greek Gospels, on the other hand, spread as Christianity grew. The Nazarenes themselves passed away, and their cherished Gospel soon ceased to be known among men.

Some exemplars may have been preserved for a time in public libraries, but these would not survive the devastation to which the country was exposed from the Saracens and other invaders, and it is not probable that a solitary copy survives.

But if the entire Gospel of the Hebrews has not been preserved to us, we have got sufficiently numerous fragments, cited by ancient ecclesiastical writers, to permit us, to a certain extent, to judge of the tendencies and character of that Gospel.

It is necessary to observe, as preliminary to our quotations, that the early Fathers cited passages from this Gospel without the smallest prejudice against it either historically or doctrinally. They do not seem to have considered it apocryphal, as open to suspicion, either

<sup>1</sup> As in the food of the Baptist, in the narrative of the baptism, in the mention of Zacharias, son of Barachias, in place of Zacharias, son of Jehoiada, the instruction to Peter on fraternal forgiveness, &c. It interprets the name Emmanuel.

because it contained doctrine at variance with the Canonical Greek Gospels, or because it narrated circumstances not found in them. On the contrary, they refer to it as a good, trustworthy authority for the facts of our Lord's life, and for the doctrines he taught.

St. Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Smyrnians,<sup>1</sup> has inserted in it a passage relative to the appearance of our Lord to his apostles after his resurrection, not found in the Canonical Gospels, and we should not know whence he had drawn it, had not St. Jerome noticed the fact and recorded it.<sup>2</sup>

St. Clement of Alexandria speaks of the Gospel of the Hebrews in the same terms as he speaks of the writings of St. Paul and the books of the Old Testament.<sup>3</sup> Origen, who makes some quotations from this Gospel, does not, it is true, range it with the Canonical Gospels, but he speaks of it with great respect, as one highly esteemed by many Christians of his time.<sup>4</sup>

In the fourth century, no agreement had been come to as to the value of this Gospel. Eusebius tells us that by some it was reckoned among the Antilegomena, that is, among those books which floated between the Canonical and the Apocryphal Gospels.<sup>5</sup>

The Gospel of St. Matthew and the Gospel of the Hebrews were not identical. It is impossible to doubt this when we examine the passages of the latter quoted by ecclesiastical writers, the majority of which are not to be found in the former, and the rest differ from the Canonical Gospel, either in details or in the construction of the passages which correspond.

Did the difference extend further? This is a ques-

<sup>1</sup> Ignat. Ad. Smyrn. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Catal. Script. Eccl. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Hom. xv. in Jerem.

<sup>5</sup> Hist. Eccl. iii. 25. Some of those books of the New Testament now regarded as Canonical were also then reckoned among the Antilegomena.

tion it is impossible to answer positively in one way or the other, since we only know those passages of the Gospel of the Nazarenes which have been quoted by the early Fathers.

But it is probable that the two Gospels did not differ from each other except in these passages; for if the divergence was greater, one cannot understand how St. Jerome, who had both under his eyes, could have supposed one to have been the Hebrew original of the other. And if both resembled each other closely, it is easy to suppose that the ecclesiastical writers who quoted from the Nazarene Gospel, quoted only those passages which were peculiar to it.

Let us now examine the principal fragments of this Gospel that have been preserved.

There are some twenty in all, and of these only two are in opposition to the general tone of the first Canonical Gospel.

With one of these I shall begin the series of extracts.

*“And straitway,”* said Jesus, *“the Holy Spirit [my mother] took me, and bore me away to the great mountain called Thabor.”*<sup>1</sup>

Origen twice quotes this passage, once in a fuller form. *“(She) bore me by one of my hairs to the great mountain called Thabor.”* The passage is also quoted by St. Jerome.<sup>2</sup> Origen and Jerome take pains to give this passage an orthodox and unexceptionable meaning. Instead of rejecting the passage as apocryphal, they labour to explain it away—a proof of the high estimation in which the Gospel of the Twelve was held. The

<sup>1</sup> Ἄρτι ἔλαβε μέ ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου, καὶ ἀνήνεγκε μέ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβώρ.—Origen : Hom. xv. in Jerem., and in Johan.

<sup>2</sup> “Modo tulit me mater mea Spiritus Sanctus in uno capillorum meorum.”—Hieron. in Mich. vii. 6.

words, "my mother," are, it can scarcely be doubted, a Gnostic interpolation, as probably are also the words, "by one of my hairs;" for on one of the occasions on which Origen quotes the passage, these words are omitted. Probably they did not exist in all the copies of the Gospel.

Our Lord was "led by the Spirit into the wilderness" after his baptism.<sup>1</sup> Philip was caught away by the Spirit of the Lord from the road between Jerusalem and Gaza, and was found at Azotus.<sup>2</sup> The notion of transportation by the Spirit was therefore not foreign to the authors of the Gospels.

The Holy Spirit was represented by the Elkesaites as a female principle.<sup>3</sup> The Elkesaites were certainly one with the Ebionites in their hostility to St. Paul, whose Epistles, as Origen tells us, they rejected.<sup>4</sup> And that they were a Jewish sect which had relations with Ebionitism appears from a story told by St. Epiphanius, that their supposed founder, Elxai, went over to the Ebionites in the time of Trajan.<sup>5</sup> They issued from the same fruitful field of converts, the Essenes.

The term by which the Holy Spirit is designated in Hebrew is feminine, and lent itself to a theory of the Holy Spirit being a female principle, and this rapidly slid into identification of the Spirit with Mary.

The Clementines insist on the universe being compounded of the male and the female elements. There are two sorts of prophecy, the male which speaks of the world to come, the female which deals with the world that is; the female principle rules this world, the body,

<sup>1</sup> Matt. iv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Acts viii. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Τὴν δε θήλειαν καλεῖσθαι ἅγιον πνεῦμα.—Hippolyt. Refut. ix. 13, ed. Dunker, p. 462. So also St. Epiphanius, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα θηλείαν.—Hæres. xix. 4, liii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vi. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Hæres. xix. 1, xxx. 17.

all that is visible and material. Beside this female principle stands Christ, the male principle, ruling the spirits of men, and all that is invisible and immaterial.<sup>1</sup> The Holy Spirit, brooding over the deep and calling the world into being, became therefore the female principle in the Elkesaite Trinity.

In Gnosticism, this deification of the female principle, which was represented as Prounikos or Sophia among the Valentinians, led to the incarnation of the principle in women who accompanied the heresiarchs Simon and Apelles. Thus the Eternal Wisdom was incarnate in Helena, who accompanied Dositheus and afterwards Simon Magus,<sup>2</sup> and in the fair Philoumena who associated with Apelles.

The same influence seems imperceptibly to have been at work in the Church of the Middle Ages, and in the pictures and sculptures of the coronation of the Virgin. Mary seems in Catholic art to have assumed a position as one of the Trinity.

In the original Gospel of the Hebrews, the passage probably stood thus: "And straightway the Holy Spirit took me, and bore me to the great mountain Thabor;" and Origen and Jerome quoted from a text corrupted by the Gnostic Ebionites. The words "bore me by one of my hairs" were added to assimilate the translation to that of Habbacuc by the angel, in the apocryphal addition to the Book of Daniel.

We next come to a passage found in the Stromata of Clement of Alexandria, who compares it with a sentence

<sup>1</sup> Homilies, iii. 20—27.

<sup>2</sup> In the "Refutation of Heresies" attributed by the Chevalier Bunsen and others to St. Hippolytus, Helena is said in Simonian Gnosticism to have been the "lost sheep" of the Gospels, the incarnation of the world principle—found, recovered, redeemed, by Simon, the incarnation of the divine male principle.

from the Theætetus of Plato: "*He who wondereth shall reign, and he who reigneth shall rest.*"<sup>1</sup>

This, like the preceding quotation, has a Gnostic hue; but it is impossible to determine its sense in the absence of the context. Nor does the passage in the Theætetus throw any light upon it. The whole of the passage in St. Clement is this: "The beginning of (or search after) truth is admiration," says Plato. "And Matthias, in saying to us in his Traditions, Wonder at what is before you, proves that admiration is the first step leading upwards to knowledge. Therefore also it is written in the Gospel of the Hebrews, He who shall wonder shall reign, and he who reigns shall rest."

What were these Traditions of Matthias? In another place St. Clement of Alexandria mentions them, and quotes a passage from them, an instruction of St. Matthias: "If he who is neighbour to one of the elect sins, the elect sins with him; for if he (the elect) had conducted himself as the Word requires, then his neighbour would have looked to his ways, and not have sinned."<sup>2</sup> And, again, he says that the followers of Carpocrates appealed to the authority of St. Matthias—probably, therefore, to this book, his Traditions—as an excuse for giving rein to their lusts.

These Traditions of St. Matthias evidently contained another version of the same passage, or perhaps a portion of the same discourse attributed to our Lord, which ran somehow thus: "*Wonder at what is before your eyes*

<sup>1</sup> Ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει, γεγράφται, καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαύσεται. Clem. Alex. Stromata, i. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Strom. lib. vii. This was exaggerated in the doctrine of the Albigenses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The "Perfects," the ministers of the sect, "reconciled" the converted. But if one of the Perfect sinned (*i.e.* ate meat or married), all whom he had reconciled fell with him from grace, even those who were dead and in heaven.

(i.e. the mighty works that I do); *for he that wondereth shall reign, and he that reigneth shall rest.*"

It is not impossible that this may be a genuine reminiscence of part of our Lord's teaching.

Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, says that Jesus exercised the trade of a carpenter, and that he made carts, yokes, and like articles.<sup>1</sup>

Where did he learn this? Not from St. Matthew's Gospel; probably from the lost Gospel which he quotes.

St. Jerome quotes as a saying of our Lord, "*Be ye proved money-changers.*"<sup>2</sup> He has no hesitation in calling it a saying of the Saviour. It occurs again in the Clementine Homilies<sup>3</sup> and in the Recognitions.<sup>4</sup> It is cited much more fully by St. Clement of Alexandria in his Stromata: "*Be ye proved money-changers; retain that which is good metal, reject that which is bad.*"<sup>5</sup> Neither St. Jerome, St. Clement of Alexandria, nor the author of the Clementines, give their authority for the statement they make, that this is a saying of the Lord; but we may, I think, fairly conclude that St. Jerome drew it from the Hebrew Gospel he knew so well, having translated it into Greek and Latin, and which he looked upon as an unexceptionable authority.

Whence the passage came may be guessed by the use made of it by those who quote it. It probably followed our Lord's saying, "I am not come to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it." "Nevertheless, be ye proved exchangers; retain that which is good metal, reject that which is bad."

<sup>1</sup> Dial. cum Tryph. § 88.

<sup>2</sup> "Sicut illud apostoli libenter audire: Omnia probate; quod bonum est tenete; et Salvatoris verba dicentis: Esto probati nummularii."—Epist. ad Minervium et Alexandrum.

<sup>3</sup> Homil. ii. 51, iii. 50, xviii. 20. Γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δόκιμοι.

<sup>4</sup> Recog. ii. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Stromat. i. 28.

Another passage is not given to us verbatim by St. Jerome; he merely alludes to it in one of his Commentaries, saying that Jesus had declared him guilty of a grievous crime who saddened the spirit of his brother.<sup>1</sup> It probably occurred in the portion of the Gospel of the Hebrews corresponding with the 18th chapter of St. Matthew, and may be restored somewhat as follows: "Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; *but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh, and the soul of his brother be made sore.* Wherefore if thy hand or thy foot offend thee," &c.

Another passage is in perfect harmony with the teaching of our Lord, and, like that given last, may very possibly have formed part of his teaching. It is also given by St. Jerome, and therefore in Latin: "*Be never glad unless ye are in charity with your brother.*"<sup>2</sup>

St. Jerome, in his treatise against Pelagius, quotes from the Gospel of the Hebrews the following passage: "*If thy brother has sinned in word against thee, and has made satisfaction, forgive him unto seven times a day. Simon, his disciple, said unto him, Until seven times! The Lord answered, saying, Verily I say unto thee, until seventy times seven;*" and then probably, "*for I say unto thee, Be never glad till thou art in charity with thy brother.*"<sup>3</sup>

The Gospel of the Nazarenes supplied details not found in that of St. Matthew. It related of the man with the withered hand, healed by our Lord,<sup>4</sup> that he

<sup>1</sup> "Inter maxima ponitur crimina qui fratris sui spiritum contristaverit." St. Hieron. Comm. in Ezech. xvi. 7.

<sup>2</sup> "Nunquam læti sitis nisi cum fratrem vestrum videritis in charitate."

<sup>3</sup> "Si peccaverit frater tuus in verbo, et satis tibi fecerit, septies in die suscipe eum. Dixit illi Simon discipulus ejus: Septies in die? Respondit Dominus et dixit ei: Etiam ego dico tibi, usque septuagies septies."—Adv. Pelag. i. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. xxvii. 16.



was a mason,<sup>1</sup> and gave the words of the appeal made to Jesus by the man invoking his compassion: "*I was a mason, working for my bread with my hands. I pray thee, Jesus, restore me to soundness, that I eat not my bread in disgrace.*"<sup>2</sup>

It relates, what is found in St. Mark and St. Luke, but not in St. Matthew, that Barabbas was cast into prison for sedition and murder;<sup>3</sup> and it gives the interpretation of the name, "Son of a Rabbi."<sup>4</sup> These particulars may be correct; there is no reason to doubt them. The interpretation of the name may be only a gloss which found its way into the text.

Eusebius says that Papias "gives a history of a woman who had been accused of many sins before the Lord, which is also contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews."<sup>5</sup> Of this we know nothing further, for the text is not quoted by any ancient writers; but probably it was the same story as that of the woman taken in adultery related in St. John's Gospel.<sup>6</sup> But then, why did not Eusebius say that Papias gave "the history of the woman accused of adultery, which is also related in the Gospel of St. John"? Why does he speak of that story as being found in a Gospel written in the Syro-Chaldæan tongue, with which he himself was unacquainted,<sup>7</sup> when the same story was in the well-known Canonical Greek Gospel of St. John? The conclusion one must arrive at is, either that the stories were suffi-

<sup>1</sup> "Homo iste qui aridam habet manum in Evangelio quo utuntur Nazaræi cæmentarius scribitur."—Hieron. Comm. in Matt. xii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> "Homo iste . . . scribitur istius modi auxilium precans, Cæmentarius eram, manibus victum quæritans; precor te, Jesu, ut mihi restituas sanitatem, ne turpiter manducem cibos."—*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xxvii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> "Filius Magistri eorum interpretatus."—*Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Hist. Eccl. iii. 39.

<sup>6</sup> viii. 3—11.

<sup>7</sup> He probably knew it through a translation.

ciently differently related for him not to recognize them as the same, or that the incident in St. John's Gospel is an excerpt from the Gospel of the Hebrews, or rather from a translation of it, grafted into the text of the Canonical Gospel. The latter opinion is favoured by some critics, who think that the story of the woman taken in adultery did not belong to the original text, but was inserted in it in the fourth or fifth century.

Those passages of the Gospel of the Nazarenes which most resemble passages in the Gospel of St. Matthew are not, however, identical with them; some differ only in the wording, but others by the form in which they are given.

And the remarkable peculiarity about them is, that the lessons in the Gospel of the Hebrews seem preferable to those in the Canonical Gospel. This was apparently the opinion of St. Jerome.

In chap. vi. ver. 11 of St. Matthew's Gospel, we have the article of the Lord's Prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread." The words used in the Greek of St. Matthew are, τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον. The word ἐπιούσιος is one met with nowhere else, and is peculiar. The word οὐσία means originally that which is essential, and belongs to the true nature or property of things. In Stoic philosophy it had the same significance as ὕλη, matter; ἐπιούσιον ἄρτον would therefore seem most justly to be rendered by *supersubstantial*, the word employed by St. Jerome.

"Give us this day our supernatural bread." But in the Gospel of the Nazarenes, according to St. Jerome, the Syro-Chaldaic word for ἐπιούσιον was ܐܘܪܝܫܐ, which signifies "to-morrow's," that is, our "future," or "daily" bread. "Give us this day the bread for the morrow,"<sup>1</sup> certainly was synonymous with, "Give us this day our

<sup>1</sup> Comm. in Matt. i. 6.

daily bread." It is curious that the Protestant Reformers, shrinking from translating the word ἐπιούσιον according to its apparently legitimate rendering, lest they should give colour to the Catholic idea of the daily bread of the Christian soul being the Eucharist, should have adopted a rendering more in accordance with an Apocryphal than with a Canonical Gospel.

In St. Matthew, xxiii. 35, Jesus reproaches the Jews for their treatment of the prophets, and declares them responsible for all the blood shed upon the earth, "from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the Temple and the altar."

Now the Zacharias to whom our Lord referred was Zechariah, son of Jehoiada, and not of Barachias, who was stoned "in the court of the house of the Lord" by order of Joash.<sup>1</sup> Zacharias, son of Barachias, was not killed till long after the death of our Lord. He was massacred by the zealots inside the Temple, shortly before the siege, *i.e.* about A.D. 69.

Either, then, the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew was not written till after the siege of Jerusalem, and so this anachronism passed into it, or the error is due to a copyist, who, having heard of the murder of Zacharias, son of Barachias, but who knew nothing of the Zacharias mentioned in Chronicles, corrected the Jehoiada of the original into Barachias, thinking that thereby he was rectifying a mistake.

Now in the Gospel of the Nazarenes the name stood correctly, and the passage read, "*from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, the son of Jehoiada.*"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. xxiv. 20.

<sup>2</sup> "In Evangelis quo utuntur Nazareni, pro filio Barachiaë, filium Jojadæ reperimus scriptum."—Hieron. in Matt. xxiii. 35.

In both these last quoted passages, the preference is to be given to the Nazarene Gospel, and probably also in that relating to forgiveness of a brother. The lost Gospel in that passage requires the brother to make satisfaction. It is no doubt the higher course to forgive a brother, whether he repent or not, seventy times seven times in the day; but it may almost certainly be concluded that our Lord meant that the forgiveness should be conditional on his repentance, for in St. Luke's Gospel the repentance of the trespassing brother is distinctly required. "If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him. And if he trespass against thee seven times a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee, saying, I repent; thou shalt forgive him."<sup>1</sup> In St. Luke this is addressed to all the disciples; in St. Matthew, to Peter alone; but there can be little doubt that both passages refer to the same instruction, and that the fuller accounts in St. Luke and the Gospel of the Hebrews are the more correct. There may be less elevation in the precept, subject to the two restrictions, first, that the offence should be a verbal one, and secondly, that it should be apologized for; but it brings it more within compass of being practised.

We come next to a much longer fragment, which shall be placed parallel with the passage with which it corresponds in St. Matthew.

THE GOSPEL OF THE HEBREWS.

*"Another rich man said unto him: Master, what good thing shall I do that I may live? He said unto him: O man, fulfil the Laws and the Prophets. And he answered*

ST. MATTHEW xix. 16—24.

*"And, behold, one came and said unto him, Good Master, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life?"*

*"And he said unto him,*

<sup>1</sup> Luke xvii. 3, 4.

him, *I have done so. Then said he unto him, Go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and come, follow me.*

*“Then the rich man began to smite his head, and it pleased him not. And the Lord said unto him, How sayest thou, I have fulfilled the Law and the Prophets, when it is written in the Law, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; and lo! many of thy brethren, sons of Abraham, are covered with filth, and dying of hunger, and thy house is full of many good things, and nothing therefrom goeth forth at any time unto them.*

*“And turning himself about, he said unto Simon, his disciple, sitting near him, Simon, son of Jonas, it is casier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.”<sup>1</sup>*

Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is, God: but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.

“He saith unto him, Which? Jesus said, Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness,

“Honour thy father and thy mother: and, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

“The young man saith unto him, All these things have I kept from my youth up: what lack I yet?

“Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me.

“But when the young man heard that saying, he went away sorrowful: for he had great possessions.

<sup>1</sup> “Dixit ad eum alter divitum: Magister, quid bonum faciens vivam? Dixit ei: Homo, leges et prophetas fac. Respondit ad eum: Feci. Dixit ei: Vade, vende omnia quæ possides et divide pauperibus, et veni, sequere me. Cæpit autem dives scalpere caput suum et non placuit ei. Et dixit ad eum Dominus: Quomodo dicis: Legem feci et prophetas, quoniam scriptum est in lege: Dilige proximum tuum sicut teipsum, et ecce multi fratres tui filii Abrahamæ amicti sunt stercore, morientes præ fame, et domus tua plena est multis bonis et non egreditur omnino aliquid ex ea ad eos. Et conversus dixit Simoni discipulo suo sedenti apud se: Simon fili Joannæ, facilius est camelum intrare per foramen acus quam divitem

“ Then said Jesus unto his disciples, Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven.

“ And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.”

The comparison of these two accounts is not favourable to that in the Canonical Gospel. It is difficult to understand how a Jew could have asked, as did the rich young man, what commandments he ought to keep in order that he might enter into life. The Decalogue was known by heart by every Jew. Moreover, the narrative in the lost Gospel is more connected than in the Canonical Gospel. The reproach made by our Lord is admirably calculated to bring home to the rich man's conscience the truth, that, though professing to observe the letter of the Law, he was far from practising its spirit; and this leads up quite naturally to the declaration of the difficulty of a rich man obtaining salvation, or rather to our Lord's repeating a proverb probably common at the time in the East.<sup>1</sup>

And lastly, in the proverb addressed aside to Peter, instead of to the rich young man, that air of harshness which our Lord's words bear in the Canonical Gospel, as spoken to the young man in his sorrow, entirely dis-

in regnum cœlorum.”—Origen, Tract. viii. in Matt. xix. 19. The Greek text has been lost.

<sup>1</sup> It is found in the Talmud, Beracoth, fol. 55, *b*; Baba Metsia, fol. 38, *b*; and it occurs in the Koran, Sura vii. 38.

appears. The proverb is uttered, not in stern rebuke, but as the expression of sad disappointment, when the rich man has retired.

Another fragment from the Gospel of the Hebrews relates to the baptism of our Lord.

The Gospel of St. Matthew gives no explanation of the occasion, the motive, of Jesus coming to Jordan to the baptism of John. It says simply, "Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John, to be baptized of him."<sup>1</sup> But the Nazarene Gospel is more explicit.

*"Behold, his mother and his brethren said unto him, John the Baptist baptizeth for the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized of him. But he said unto them, What sin have I committed, that I should be baptized of him, unless it be that in saying this I am in ignorance?"*<sup>2</sup>

This is a very singular passage. We do not know the context, but we may presume that our Lord yields to the persuasion of his mother. Such is the tradition preserved in another apocryphal work, the "Preaching of St. Paul," issuing from an entirely different source, from a school hostile to the Nazarenes.<sup>3</sup>

Another fragment continues the account after a gap.

*"And when the Lord went up out of the water, the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit descended and rested upon him, and said unto him, My Son, I looked for thee in all the prophets, that thou mightest come, and that I might*

<sup>1</sup> Matt. iii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> "In Evangelio juxta Hebræos . . . . narrat historia: Ecce, mater Domini et fratres ejus dicebant ei, Joannes Baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum, eamus et baptizemur ab eo. Dixit autem eis; quid peccavi, ut vadam et baptizer ab eo? Nisi forte hoc ipsum, quod dixi, ignorantia est."—Cont. Pelag. iii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Ad accipiendum Joannis baptismum pæne invitum a Matre sua Maria esse compulsus."—In a treatise on the re-baptism of heretics, published by Rigault at the end of his edition of St. Cyprian.

*rest upon thee. For thou art my rest, thou art my first-begotten Son, who shalt reign throughout eternity.*"<sup>1</sup>

But this is not the only version we have of the narrative in the Gospel of the Hebrews. St. Epiphanius gives us another, which shall be placed parallel with the corresponding account in St. Matthew.

## GOSPEL OF THE HEBREWS.

*"The people having been baptized, Jesus came also, and was baptized by John. And as he came out of the water, the heavens opened, and he saw the Holy Spirit of God descending under the form of a dove, and entering into him. And a voice was heard from heaven, Thou art my beloved Son, and in thee am I well pleased. And again, This day have I begotten thee. And suddenly there shone a great light in that place. And John seeing it, said, Who art thou, Lord? Then a voice was heard from heaven, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. Thereat John fell at his feet and said, I pray thee, Lord, baptize me. But he would not, saying,*

## ST. MATTHEW iii. 13—17.

*"Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John, to be baptized of him.*

*"But John forbad him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and cometh thou to me?"*

*"And Jesus answering, said unto him, Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him.*

*"And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water; and, lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him:*

*"And lo a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."*

<sup>1</sup> "Factum est autem cum ascendisset Dominus de aqua, descendit fons omnis Spiritus Sancti, et requievit super eum et dixit illi, Fili mi, in omnibus prophetis expectabam te, ut venires et requiescerem in te. Tu es enim requies mea, tu es filius meus primogenitus, qui regnas in sempiternum."—In Mich. vii. 6.