

*Suffer it, for so it behoveth that all should be accomplished."*¹

That the Gospel stood as in this latter passage quoted in the second century among the orthodox Christians of Palestine is probable, because with it agrees the brief citation of Justin Martyr, who says that when our Lord was baptized, there shone a great light around, and a voice was heard from heaven, saying, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." Both occur in the Ebionite Gospel; neither in the Canonical Gospel.²

This Gospel was certainly known to the writer of the Canonical Epistle to the Hebrews, for he twice takes this statement as authoritative. "For unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?" and more remarkably, "Christ glorified not himself to be made an high-priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee."³ In the latter passage the

¹ St. Eriph. Hæres. xxx. § 13. Τοῦ λαοῦ βαπτισθέντος, ἦλθε καὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου. Καὶ ὡς ἀνῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἠνοιχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ, καὶ εἶδε τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εἶδει ἐν περιστεράς κατελθούσης καὶ εἰσελθούσης εἰς αὐτόν. Καὶ φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, λέγουσα· Σὺ μου εἶ ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ ἠυδόκησα. Καὶ πάλιν· Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκα σε. Καὶ εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα. Ὁ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰωάννης λέγει αὐτῷ· Σὺ τίς εἶ, κύριε; Καὶ πάλιν φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν· Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐφ' ὃν ἠυδόκησα. Καὶ τότε ὁ Ἰωάννης προσπεσὼν αὐτῷ ἔλεγε· Δέομαι σου, κύριε, σὺ με βάπτισον. Ὁ δὲ ἐκώλυεν αὐτῷ, λέγων· Ἄφες, ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶ πρέπον πληρωθῆναι πάντα.

² I put them in apposition :

Justin. Καὶ πῦρ ἀνήφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ.—Dial. cum Tryph. § 88.

Eriphan. Καὶ εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα.—Hæres. xxx. § 13.

Justin. Υἱός μου εἶ συ· ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκα σε.—Dial. cum Tryph. § 88 and 103.

Eriphan. Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκα σε.—Hæres. xxx. § 13.

³ Heb. i. 5, v. 5.

author is speaking of the calling of priests being miraculous and manifest; and then he cites this call of Christ to the priesthood as answering these requirements.

The order of events is not the same in the Gospel of the Twelve and in that of St. Matthew: verses 14 and 15 of the latter, modified in an important point, come in the Ebionite Gospel after verses 16 and 17.

There is a serious discrepancy between the account of the baptism of our Lord in St. Matthew and in St. John. In the former Canonical Gospel, the Baptist forbids Christ to be baptized by him, saying, "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" But Jesus bids him: "Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." Then Jesus is baptized, and the heavens are opened. But in St. John's Gospel, the Baptist says, "I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining upon him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost. And I saw, and bare record, that this is the Son of God."¹

Now the account in the Gospel of the Twelve removes this discrepancy. John does not know Jesus till after the light and the descent of the dove and the voice, and then he asks to be baptized by Jesus.

It is apparent that the passage in the lost Gospel is more correct than that in the Canonical one. In the latter there has been an inversion of verses destroying the succession of events, and thus producing discrepancy with the account in St. John's Gospel.

With these passages from the Gospel of the Twelve may be compared a curious one from the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. It occurs in the Testament of

¹ John i. 29—34.

Levi, and is a prophecy of the Messiah. "The heavens shall open for thee, and from above the temple of glory the voice of the Father shall dispense sanctification upon him, as has been promised unto Abraham, the father of Isaac."

The passage quoted by St. Epiphanius is wholly unobjectionable doctrinally. It is not so with that quoted by St. Jerome; it is of a very different character. It exhibits strongly the Gnostic ideas which infected the stricter sect of the Ebionites.

It was precisely on the baptism of the Lord that they laid the greatest stress; and it is in the account of that event that we should expect to find the greatest divergence between the texts employed by the orthodox and the heretical Nazarenes. Before his baptism he was nothing. It was then only that the "full fount of the Holy Ghost" descended on him, his election to the Messiahship was revealed, and divine power was communicated to him to execute the mission entrusted to him. A marked distinction was drawn between two portions in the life of Jesus—before and after his baptism. In the first they acknowledged nothing but the mere human nature, to the entire exclusion of everything supernatural; while the sudden accruing of supernatural aid at the baptism marked the moment when he became the Messiah. Thus the baptism was the beginning of their Gospel.

Before that, he is liable to sin, he suggests that his believing himself to be free from sin may have precipitated him into sin, the sin of ignorance. And "*even in the prophets, after they had received the unction of the Holy Ghost, there was found sinful speech.*"¹ This quotation follows, in St. Jerome, immediately after the say-

¹ "Etiam in prophetis quoque, postquam uncti sunt Spiritu sancto, inventus est sermo peccati."—Contr. Pelag. iii. 2.

ing cited above enjoining forgiveness, but it in no way dovetails into it; the passage concerning the recommendation by St. Mary and the brethren that they should go up to be baptized of John for the remission of sins, comes in the same chapter, and there can be little doubt that this reference to the prophets as sinful formed part of the answer of the Virgin to Jesus when he spoke of his being sinless.

St. Jerome obtained his copy of the Gospel of the Hebrews from Beræa in Syria, and not therefore from the purest source. Had he copied and translated the codex he found in the library of Pamphilus at Cæsarea, instead of that he procured from Beræa, it is probable that he would have found it not to contain the passages of Gnostic tendency.

These interpolations were made in the second century, when Gnostic ideas had begun to affect the Ebionites, and break them up into more or less heretical sects.

Their copies of the Gospel of the Hebrews differed, for the Gnostic Ebionites curtailed it in some places, and amplified it in others.

In reconstructing the primitive lost Gospel of the Nazarenes, it is very necessary to note these Gnostic passages, and to withdraw them from the text. We shall come to some more of their additions and alterations presently. It is sufficient for us to note here that the heretical Gospel in use among the Gnostic Ebionites was based on the orthodox Gospel of the Hebrews. The existence of these two versions explains the very different treatment their Gospel meets with at the hands of the Fathers of the Church. Some, and these the earliest, speak of this Gospel with reverence, and place it almost on a line with the Canonical Gospels; others speak of

it with horror, as an heretical corruption of the Gospel of St. Matthew. The former saw the primitive text, the latter the curtailed and amplified version in use among the heretical Ebionites.

St. Paul, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, alludes to one of the appearances of our Lord after his resurrection, of which no mention is made in the Canonical Gospels: "After that, he was seen of James."¹ But according to his account, this appearance took place after several other manifestations, viz. after that to Cephas, that to the Twelve, and that to five hundred brethren at once. But it preceded another appearance to "all the apostles." If we take the first and second to have occurred on Easter-day, and the last to have been the appearance to them again "after eight days," when St. Thomas was present, then the appearance to St. James must have taken place between the "even" of Easter-day and Low Sunday.

Now the Gospel of the Hebrews gives a particular account of this visit to James, which however, according to this account, took place early on Easter-day, certainly before Christ stood in the midst of the apostles in the upper room on Easter-evening.

St. Jerome says, "The Gospel according to the Hebrews relates that after the resurrection of the Saviour, *'The Lord, after he had given the napkin to the servant of the priest, went to James, and appeared to him. Now James had sworn with an oath that he would not eat bread from that hour when he drank the cup of the Lord, till he should behold him rising from amidst them that sleep.'* And again, a little after, *'The Lord said, Bring a table and bread.'* And then, *'He took bread and blessed and brake, and gave it to James the Just, and said unto*

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 7.

him, *My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man is risen from among them that sleep.*"¹ *Note (?)*

This touching incident is quite in keeping with what we know about St. James, the Lord's brother.

James the Just, according to Hegesippus, "neither drank wine nor fermented liquors, and abstained from animal food;"² and though the account of Hegesippus is manifestly fabulous in some of its details, still there is no reason to doubt that James belonged to the ascetic school among the Jews, as did the Baptist before him, and as did the orthodox Ebionites after him. The oath to abstain from food till a certain event was accomplished was not unusual.³

What is meant by "the Saviour giving the napkin to the servant of the priest," it is impossible to conjecture without the context. The napkin was probably that which had covered his face in the tomb, but whether the context linked this on to the cycle of sacred sindones impressed with the portrait of the Saviour's suffering face, cannot be told. The designation of "the Just" as applied to James is for the purpose of distinguishing him from James the brother of John. He does not bear that name in the Canonical Gospels, but the title may have been introduced by St. Jerome to avoid confusion, or it may have been a marginal gloss to the text.

The story of this appearance found its way into the

¹ "Evangelium . . . secundum Hebræos . . . post resurrectionem Salvatoris refert :—Dominus autem, cum dedisset sindonem servo sacerdotis, ivit ad Jacobum et apparuit ei. Juraverat enim Jacobus, se non comesturum panem ab illa hora, qua biberat calicem Domini, donec videret eum resurgentem a dormientibus.—Rursusque post paululum : Afferte, ait Dominus, mensam et panem. Statimque additur :—Tulit panem et benedixit, ac fregit, et dedit Jacobo justo, et dixit ei : Frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit Filius hominis a dormientibus."—Hieron. De viris illustribus, c. 2.

² Euseb. H. E. lib. ii. c. 23.

³ Acts xxiii. 14.

writings of St. Gregory of Tours,¹ who no doubt drew it from St. Jerome; and thence it passed into the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacques de Voragine.

If the Lord did appear to St. James on Easter-day, as related in this lost Gospel, then it may have been in the morning, and not after his appearance to the Twelve, or on his appearance in the evening he may have singled out and addressed James before all the others, as on that day week he addressed St. Thomas. In either case, St. Paul's version would be inaccurate as to the order of manifestations. The pseudo-Abdias, not in any way trustworthy, thus relates the circumstance:

“James the Less among the disciples was an object of special attachment to the Saviour, and he was inflamed with such zeal for his Master that he would take no meat when his Lord was crucified, and would only eat again when he should see Christ arisen from the dead; for he remembered that when Christ was alive he had given this precept to him and to his brethren. That is why he, with Mary Magdalene and Peter, was the first of all to whom Jesus Christ appeared, in order to confirm his disciples in the faith; and that he might not suffer him to fast any longer, a piece of an honey-comb having been offered him, he invited James to eat thereof.”²

Another fragment of the lost Gospel of the Hebrews also relates to the resurrection:

¹ *Hist. Eccl. Francorum*, i. 21.

² The “*History of the Apostles*” purports to have been written by Abdias B. of Babylon, disciple of the apostles, in Hebrew. It was translated into Greek, and thence, it was pretended, into Latin by Julius Africanus. That it was rendered from Greek has been questioned by critics. As we have it, it belongs to the ninth century; but the publication of Syriac versions of the legends on which the book of Abdias was founded, Syriac versions of the fourth century, which were really translated from the Greek, show that some Greek originals must have existed at an early age which are now lost.

*“And when he had come to [Peter and] those that were with Peter, he said unto them, Take, touch me, and see that I am not a bodiless spirit. And straightway they touched him and believed.”*¹

St. Ignatius, who cites these words, excepting only those within brackets, does not say whence he drew them; but St. Jerome informs us that they were taken from the Gospel of the Hebrews. At the same time he gives the passage with greater fulness than St. Ignatius.

The account in St. Matthew contains nothing at all like this; but St. Luke mentions these circumstances, though with considerable differences. The Lord having appeared in the midst of his disciples, they imagine that they see a spirit. Then he says, “Why are ye troubled? and why do thoughts arise in your hearts? Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.”²

The narrative in St. Luke's Gospel is fuller than that in the Gospel of the Hebrews, and is not derived from it. In the Nazarene Gospel, as soon as the apostles see and touch, they believe. But in the Canonical Gospel of St. Luke, they are not convinced till they see Christ eat.

Justin Martyr cites a passage now found in the Canonical Gospel of St. John, but not exactly as there, evidently therefore obtaining it from an independent source, and that source was the Gospel of the Twelve,

¹ Καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν ἔφη αὐτοῖς· λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατε με, καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμί δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον. Καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο καὶ ἐπίστεύσαν.—Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. c. 3. St. Jerome also: “Et quando venit ad Petrum et ad eos qui cum Petro erant, dixit eis: Ecce palpate me et videte quia non sum dæmonium incorporale. Et statim tetigerunt eum et crediderunt.”—De Script. Eccl. 16. Eusebius quotes the passage after Ignatius. Hist. Eccl. iii. 37.

² Luke xxiv. 37—39.

the only one with which he was acquainted, the only one then acknowledged as Canonical in the Nazarene Church.

The passage is, "*Christ has said, Except ye be regenerate, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.*"¹

In St. John's Gospel the parallel passage is couched in the third person: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."² The difference stands out more clearly in the Greek than in English.

We may conjecture that the primitive Gospel of the Hebrews contained an account of the interview of Nicodemus with our Lord. When we come to consider the Gospel used by the author of the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, we shall find that the instruction on new birth made to Nicodemus was familiar to him, but not exactly in the form in which it is recorded by St. John.

St. Jerome informs us that the lost Gospel we are considering did not relate that the veil of the Temple was rent in twain when Jesus gave up the ghost, but that the lintel stone, a huge stone, fell down.³

That this tradition may be true is not unlikely. The rocks were rent, and the earth quaked, and it is probable enough that the Temple was so shaken that the great lintel stone fell.

St. Epiphanius gives us another fragment:

*"I am come to abolish the sacrifices: if ye cease not from sacrificing, the wrath of God will not cease from weighing upon you."*⁴

¹ Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν· ἂν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσελθῆτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.—1 Apolog. § 61. Oper. p. 94.

² Ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῆ ἄνωθεν, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.—John iii. 3.

³ "In Evangelio . . . legimus non velum templi scissum, sed superliminare templi miræ magnitudinis corruisse."—Epist. 120, Ad Helibiam.

⁴ Ἐλθὼν καταλῦσαι τὰς θυσίας, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ παύσασθε τοῦ θυεῖν, οὐ παύσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ ὀργή.—Epiphanius. Hæres. xxx. § 16.

In the Clementine Recognitions, a work issuing from the Ebionite anti-Gnostic school, we find that the abolition of the sacrifices was strongly insisted on. The abomination of idolatry is first exposed, and the strong hold that Egyptian idolatry had upon the Israelites is pointed out; then we are told Moses received the Law, and, in consideration of the prejudices of the people, tolerated sacrifice:

“When Moses perceived that the vice of sacrificing to idols had been deeply ingrained into the people from their association with the Egyptians, and that the root of this evil could not be extracted from them, he allowed them to sacrifice indeed, but permitted it to be done only to God, that by any means he might cut off one half of the deeply ingrained evil, leaving the other half to be corrected by another, and at a future time; by him, namely, concerning whom he said himself, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise unto you, whom ye shall hear, even as myself, according to all things which he shall say to you. Whosoever shall not hear that prophet, his soul shall be cut off from his people.”¹

In another place the Jewish sacrifices are spoken of as sin.²

This hostility to the Jewish sacrificial system by Ebionites who observed all the other Mosaic institutions was due to their having sprung out of the old sect of the Essenes, who held the sacrifices in the same abhorrence.³

That our Lord may have spoken against the sacrifices is possible enough. The passage may have stood thus: “Think not that I am come to destroy the Law and the Prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil; nevertheless, I tell you the truth, I am come to destroy the

¹ Recog. i. 36.

² Recog. i. 54.

³ Joseph. Antiq. xviii. 1, 5; Philo Judæus. Περὶ τοῦ πάντα σπουδαῖον εἶναι ἐλεύθερον. See what has been said on this subject already, p. 16.

sacrifices. But be ye approved money-changers, choose that which is good metal, reject that which is bad."

It is probable that in the original Hebrew Gospel there was some such passage, for St. Paul, or whoever was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, apparently alludes to it twice. He says, "When he cometh into the world he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not, but a body hast thou prepared me."¹ The plain meaning of which is, not that David had used those words centuries before, in prophecy, but that Jesus had used them himself when he came into the world. If the writer of the Epistle did quote a passage from the Hebrew Gospel, it will have been the second from the same source.

In the Ebionite Gospel, "by a criminal fraud," says St. Epiphanius, a protestation has been placed in the mouth of the Lord against the Paschal Sacrifice of the Lamb, by changing a positive phrase into a negative one.

When the disciples ask Jesus where they shall prepare the Passover, he is made to reply, not, as in St. Luke, that with desire he had desired to eat this Passover, but, "*Have I then any desire to eat the flesh of the Paschal Lamb with you?*"²

The purpose of this interpolation of two words is clear. The Samaritan Ebionites, like the Essenes, did not touch meat, regarding all animal food with the greatest repugnance.³ By the addition of two words they were able to convert the saying of our Lord into a sanction of their superstition. But this saying of Jesus

¹ Heb. x. 5.

² (Μὴ) ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα (κρέας) τοῦτο τό πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν; Epiph. Hæres. xxx. 22. The words added to those in St. Luke are placed in brackets; cf. Luke xxii. 15.

³ Epiphanius, Hæres. xxx. 15.

is now found only in St. Luke's Gospel. It must have stood originally without the *Mῆ* and the *κρέας* in the Gospel of the Twelve.

Another of their alterations of the Gospel was to the same intent. Instead of making St. John the Baptist eat locusts and wild honey, they gave him for his nourishment wild honey only, *ἐγχρίδας*, instead of *ἀχρίδας* and *μελί ἄγριον*.

The passage in which this curious change was made is remarkable. It served as the introduction to the Gospel in use among the Gnostic Ebionites.

“A certain man, named Jesus, being about thirty years of age, hath chosen us; and having come to Capernaum, he entered into the house of Simon, whose surname was Peter, and he said unto him, As I passed by the Sea of Tiberias, I chose John and James, the sons of Zebedee, Simon and Andrew, Thaddæus, Simon Zelotes and Judas Iscariot; and thee, Matthew, when thou wast sitting at thy tax-gatherer's table, then I called thee, and thou didst follow me. And you do I choose to be my twelve apostles to bear witness unto Israel.

“John baptized; and the Pharisees came to him, and they were baptized of him, and all Jerusalem also. He had a garment of camels' hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins, and his meat was wild honey, and the taste thereof was as manna, and as a cake of oil.”

Apparently after this announcement of his choice of the apostles there followed something analogous to the preface in St. Luke's Gospel, to the effect that these apostles, having assembled together, had taken in hand to write down those things that they remembered concerning Christ and his teaching. And it was on this account that the Gospel obtained the name of the “Recollections of the Apostles,” or the “Gospel of the Twelve.”

The special notice taken of St. Matthew, who is singled out from the others in this address, is significant of the relation supposed to exist between the Gospel and the converted publican. If we had the complete introduction, we should probably find that in it he was said to have been the scribe who wrote down the apostolic recollections.

2. *Doubtful Fragments.*

THERE are a few fragments preserved by early ecclesiastical writers which we cannot say for certain belonged to the Gospel of the Hebrews, but which there is good reason to believe formed a part of it.

Origen, in his Commentary on St. Matthew, quotes a saying of our Lord which is not to be found in the Canonical Gospels. Origen, we know, was acquainted with, and quoted respectfully, the Gospel of the Hebrews. It is therefore probable that this quotation is taken from it: "*Jesus said, For the sake of the weak I became weak, for the sake of the hungry I hungered, for the sake of the thirsty I thirsted.*"¹

That this passage, full of beauty, occurred after the words, "This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting," in commenting on which Origen quotes it, is probable. It is noteworthy that it is quoted in comment on St. Matthew's Gospel, the one to which the lost Gospel bore the closest resemblance, and one which Origen would probably consult whilst compiling his Commentary on St. Matthew.²

¹ Καὶ Ἰησοῦς γοῦν φησὶ, Διὰ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἡσθένουν, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πεινῶντας ἐπείνων, καὶ διὰ τοὺς διψῶντας ἐδίψων. In Matt. xvii. 21.

² Perhaps this passage was in the mind of St. Paul when he wrote of himself, "To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak." 1 Cor. ix. 22.

The saying is so beautiful, and so truly describes the love of our Lord, that we must wish to believe it comes to us on such high authority as the Gospel of the Twelve.

Another saying of Christ is quoted both by Clement of Alexandria and by Origen, without saying whence they drew it, but by both as undoubted sayings of the Saviour. It ran :

“*Seek those things that are great, and little things will be added to you.*” “*And seek ye heavenly things, and the things of this world will be added to you.*”¹

It will be seen, the form as given by St. Clement is better and simpler than that given by Origen. It is probable, however, that they both formed members of the same saying, following the usual Hebrew arrangement of repeating a maxim, giving it a slightly different turn or a wider expansion. In two passages in other places Origen makes allusion to this saying without quoting it directly.²

In the Acts of the Apostles, St. Luke puts into the mouth of St. Paul a saying of Christ, which is not given by any evangelist, in these words : “Remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, *It is more blessed to give than to receive.*”³ It is curious that this saying should not have been inserted by St. Luke in his Gospel. Whether this saying found its way into the Hebrew Gospel it is impossible to tell.

In the Epistle of St. Barnabas another utterance of Christ is given. This Epistle is so distinctly of a Judaizing character, so manifestly belongs to the Naza-

¹ Αἰτεῖσθε γάρ, φησί, τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται. Clemens Alex. Stromatæ, i. Καὶ αἰτεῖτε τὰ ἐπουράνια, καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται.—Origen, De Orat. 2 and 43.

² Cont. Cels. vii. and De Orat. 53.

³ Acts xx. 35. It is also quoted as a saying of our Lord in the Apostolic Constitutions, iv. 3.

rene school, that such a reference in it makes it more than probable that it was taken from the Gospel received as Canonical among the Nazarenes. The saying of St. Barnabas is, "All the time of our life and of our faith will not profit us, if we have not in abhorrence the evil one and future temptation, even as the Son of God said, *Resist all iniquity and hold it in abhorrence.*"¹ Another saying in the Epistle of St. Barnabas is, "*They who would see me, and attain to my kingdom, must possess me through afflictions and sufferings.*"²

In the second Epistle of St. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians occurs a very striking passage: "Wherefore to us doing such things the Lord said, *If ye were with me, gathered together in my bosom, and did not keep my commandments, I would cast you out, and say unto you, Depart from me, I know not whence ye are, ye workers of iniquity.*"³

We can well understand this occurring in an anti-Pauline Gospel.

Again. "The Lord said, *Be ye as lambs in the midst of wolves.* Peter answered and said unto him, *But what if the wolves shall rend the lambs?* Jesus said unto Peter, *The lambs fear not the wolves after their death; and ye also, do not ye fear them that kill you, and after that have nothing that they can do to you, but fear rather him who, after ye are dead, has power to cast your soul and body into hell fire.*"⁴

¹ Ep. 4.

² Οὔτοι, φησὶν, οἱ θέλοντές με ἰδεῖν, καὶ ἄψασθαί μου τῆς βασιλείας, ὀφείλουσι θλιβέντες καὶ παθόντες λαβεῖν με.—Ep. 7.

³ Διὰ τοῦτο τᾶντα ἡμῶν πρασόντων, εἶπεν ὁ κύριος, Ἐὰν ἦτε μετ' ἐμου συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου, καὶ μὴ ποιεῖτε τὰς ἐντολάς μου, ἀποβαλῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν, ὑπάγετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς, ἐργάται ἀνομίας.
2 Ep. ad Corinth. 4.

⁴ Λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος, ἔσεσθε ὡς ἀρνία ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει, Ἐὰν ὄντι διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἀρνία; Ἐπεὶ

This is clearly another version of the passage, Matt. x. 16—26. In one particular it is fuller than in the Canonical Gospel; it introduces St. Peter as speaking and drawing forth the exhortation not to fear those who kill the body only. But it is without the long exhortation contained in the 17—27th verses of St. Matthew.

Another saying from the same source is, "This, therefore, the Lord said, *Keep the flesh chaste and the seal undefiled, and ye shall receive eternal life.*"¹ The seal is the unction of confirmation completing baptism, and in the primitive Church united with it. It is the *σφραγίς* so often spoken of in the Epistles of St. Paul.²

Justin Martyr contributes another saying. We have already seen that in all likelihood he quoted from the Gospel of the Hebrews, or the Recollections of the Twelve, as he called it. He says, "On this account also our Lord Jesus Christ said, *In those things in which I shall overtake you, in those things will I judge you.*"³ Clement of Alexandria makes the same quotation, slightly varying the words. Justin and Clement apparently both translated from the original Hebrew, but did not give exactly the same rendering of words, though they gave the same sense.

Clement gives us another saying, but does not say

ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ. Μὴ φοβείσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀποκτείνοντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν δυναμένους ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ φοβεῖσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν πυρὸς. *Ibid.* 5.

¹ Ἄρα οὖν τοῦτο λέγει: Τηρήσατε τὴν σάρκα ἀγνήν καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα ἄσπιλον, ἵνα τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν ἀπολάβητε.—*Ibid.* 8.

² Rom. iv. 11; 2 Cor. i. 22; Eph. i. 13, iv. 30; 2 Tim. ii. 19.

³ Ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ.—Just. Mart. in Dialog. c. Trypho. Ἐφ' οἷς γὰρ ἔνρω ἡμᾶς, φησὶν, ἐπι τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ. Clem. Alex. Quis dives salv. 40.

from what Gospel he drew it. "The Lord commanded in a certain Gospel, *My secret is for me and for the children of my house.*"¹

3. *The Origin of the Gospel of the Hebrews.*

WE come now to a question delicate, and difficult to answer—the Origin of the Gospel of the Hebrews; delicate, because it involves another, the origin of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark; difficult, because of the nature of the evidence on which we shall have to form our opinion.

Because the Gospel of the Hebrews is not preserved, is not in the Canon, it does not follow that its value was slight, its accuracy doubtful. Its disappearance is due partly to the fact of its having been written in Aramaic, but chiefly to that of its having been in use by an Aramaic-speaking community which assumed first a schismatical, then a heretical position, so that the disfavour which fell on the Nazarene body enveloped and doomed its Gospel as well.

The four Canonical Gospels owe their preservation to their having been in use among those Christian communities which coalesced under the moulding hands of St. John. Those parties which were reluctant to abandon their peculiar features were looked upon with coldness, then aversion, lastly abhorrence. They became more and more isolated, eccentric, prejudiced, impracticable. Whilst the Church asserted her catholicity, organized her constitution, established her canon, formulated her creed, adapted herself to the flux of ideas, these narrow

¹ Μυστήριον ἐμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου.—Clem. Alex. Strom. v.

sects spent their petty lives in accentuating their peculiarities till they grew into monstrosities; and when they fell and disappeared, there fell and disappeared with them those precious records of the Saviour's words and works which they had preserved.

The Hebrew Gospel was closely related to the Gospel of St. Matthew; that we know from the testimony of St. Jerome, who saw, copied and translated it. That it was not identical with the Canonical first Gospel is also certain. Sufficient fragments have been preserved to show that in many points it was fuller, in some less complete, than the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew. The two Gospels were twin sisters speaking different tongues. Was the Greek of the first Gospel acquired, or was it original? This is a point deserving of investigation before we fix the origin and determine the construction of the Hebrew Gospel.

According to a fragment of a lost work by Papias, written about the middle of the second century, under the title of "Commentary on the Sayings of the Lord,"¹ the apostle Matthew was the author of a collection of the "sayings," *λόγια*, of our blessed Lord. The passage has been already given, but it is necessary to quote it again here: "Matthew wrote in the Hebrew dialect the sayings, and every one interpreted them as best he was able."² These "logia" could only be, according to the signification of the word (Rom. iii. 2; Heb. v. 12; Pet. iv. 11; Acts vii. 38), a collection of the sayings of the Saviour that were regarded as oracular, as "the words of God." That they were the words of Jesus, follows from the title given by Papias to his commentary, *Λόγια κυριακά*.

¹ *Δογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις.*

² *Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἠρμήνευσε δὲ αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.*

This brief notice is sufficient to show that Matthew's collection was not the Gospel as it now stands. It was no collection of the acts, no biography, of the Saviour; it was solely a collection of his discourses.

This is made clearer by what Papias says in the same work on St. Mark. He relates that the latter wrote not only what Jesus had *said*, but also what he *did*;¹ whereas St. Matthew wrote only what had been *said*.²

The work of Matthew, therefore, contained no doings, *πραχθέντα*, but only sayings, *λεχθέντα*, which were, according to Papias, written in Hebrew, *i.e.* the vernacular Aramaic, and which were translated into Greek by every one as best he was able.

This notice of Papias is very ancient. The Bishop of Hierapolis is called by Irenæus "a very old man,"³ and by the same writer is said to have been "a friend of Polycarp," and "one who had heard John."⁴ That this John was the apostle is not certain. It was questioned by Eusebius in his mention of the Proœmium of Papias. John the priest and John the apostle were both at Ephesus, and both lived there at the close of the first century. Some have thought the Apocalypse to have been the work of the priest John, and not of the apostle. Others have supposed that there was only one John. However this may be, it is certain that Papias lived at a time when it was possible to obtain correct information relating to the origin of the sacred books in use among the Christians.

According to the Proœmium of Papias, which Eusebius has preserved, the Bishop of Hierapolis had obtained his knowledge, not directly from the apostles, nor from

¹ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα; and οὐ ποιούμενος σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων.

² συνεγράψατο τὰ λόγια.

³ ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ.

⁴ Iren. c. Hæres. v. 33.

the apostle John, but from the mouths of men who had companied with old priests and disciples of the apostles, and who had related to him what Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John and other disciples of the Lord had said (εἶπεν). Besides the testimony of these priests, Papias appealed further to the evidence of Aristion and the priest John, disciples of the Lord,¹ still alive and bearing testimony when he wrote. "And," says Papias, "I do not think that I derived so much benefit from books as from the living voice of those that are still surviving."²

Papias, therefore, had his information about the apostles second-hand, from those "who followed them about." Nevertheless, his evidence is quite trustworthy. He takes pains to inform us that he used great precaution to obtain the truth about every particular he stated, and the means of obtaining the truth were at his disposal. That Papias was a man "of a limited comprehension"³ does not affect the trustworthiness of his statement. Eusebius thus designates him because he believed in the Millennium; but so did most of the Christians of the first age, as well as in the immediate second coming of Christ, till undeceived by events.

The statement of Papias does not justify us in supposing that Matthew wrote the Gospel in Hebrew, but only a collection of the logia, the sayings of Jesus. Eusebius did not mistake the Sayings for the Gospel, for he speaks separately of the Hebrew Gospel,⁴ without connecting it in any way with the testimony of Papias.

According to Eusebius, Papias wrote his Commentary in five books.⁵ It is not improbable, therefore, that the

¹ Scarcely actual disciples and eye-witnesses.

² Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iii. 39.

³ σφόδρα σμικρὸς τὸν νοῦν.

⁴ καθ' Ἑβραίου εὐαγγέλιον. H. E. iii. 25, 27, 39; iv. 22.

⁵ συγγράμματα πέντε.

“Logia” were broken into five parts or grouped in five discourses, and that he wrote an explanation of each discourse in a separate book or chapter.

The statement of Papias, if it does not refer to the Gospel of St. Matthew as it now stands, does refer to one of the constituent parts of that Gospel, and does explain much that would be otherwise inexplicable.

1. St. Matthew’s Gospel differs from St. Mark’s in that it contains long discourses, sayings and parables, which are wanting or only given in a brief form in the second Canonical Gospel. It is therefore probable that in its composition were used the “Logia of the Lord,” written by Matthew.

2. If the collection of “Sayings of the Lord” consisted, as has been suggested, of five parts, then we find traces in the Canonical Matthew of five groups of discourses, concluded by the same formulary: “And it came to pass when Jesus had ended these sayings” (τοὺς λόγους τούτους), or “parables,” vii. 28, xi. 1, xiii. 53, xix. 1, xxvi. 1. It is not, however, possible to restore all the “logia” to their primitive positions, for they have been dispersed through the Canonical Gospel, and arranged in connection with the events which called them forth. In the “Sayings of the Lord” of Matthew, these events were not narrated; but all the sayings were placed together, like the proverbs in the book of Solomon.

3. The “Logia” of the Lord were written by Matthew in Hebrew, *i.e.* in the vernacular Aramaic. If they have formed the groundwork, or a composite part of the Canonical Gospel, we are likely to detect in the Greek some traces of their origin. And this, in fact, we are able to do.

a. In the first place, we have the introduction of

Aramaic words, as Raka (v. 22),¹ Mammon (vi. 22),² Gehenna (v. 22),³ Amen (v. 18).⁴ Many others might be cited, but these will suffice.

β. Next, we have the use of illustrations which are only comprehensible by Hebrews, as "One jot and one tittle shall in no wise fall." The Ἰῶτα of the Greek text is the Aramaic Jod (v. 18); but the "one tittle" is more remarkable. In the Greek it is "one horn," or "stroke."⁵ The idea is taken from the Aramaic orthography. A stroke distinguishes one consonant from another, as 𐤏 and 𐤏 from 𐤏. With this the Greeks had nothing that corresponded.

γ. We find Hebraisms in great number in the discourses of our Lord given by St. Matthew.⁶

δ. We find mistranslations. The Greek Canonical text gives a wrong meaning, or no meaning at all, through misunderstanding of the Aramaic. By restoration of the Aramaic text we can rectify the translation. Thus:

Matt. vii. 6, "Give not that which is holy to dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine." The word "holy," τὸ ἅγιον, is a misinterpretation of the Aramaic 𐤏𐤏𐤏, a gold jewel for the ear, head or neck.⁷ The translator mistook the word for 𐤏𐤏𐤏, or 𐤏𐤏𐤏 without 𐤏, "the holy." The sentence in the original therefore

¹ Aram. 𐤏𐤏𐤏

² Aram. 𐤌𐤌𐤏𐤏

³ Aram. 𐤂𐤏𐤏

⁴ Aram. 𐤌𐤏

⁵ μιά κεραία, Aram. 𐤏𐤏 or 𐤏𐤏.

⁶ vi. 7, βαττολογεῖν; v. 5, κληρονομεῖν τὴν γῆν; v. 2, ἀγνοίγειν τὸ στόμα; v. 3, πτωχοί; v. 9, υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ; v. 12, μισθὸς πολὺς; v. 39, τῷ πονηρῷ; vi. 25; x. 28, 39, ψυχὴ, for life; vi. 22, 23, ἀπλοῦς and πονηρὸς, sound and sick; vi. 11, ἄρτος, for general food; the "birds of heaven," in vi. 25, &c. &c.

⁷ Targum, Gen. xxiv. 22, 47; Job xlii. 11; Exod. xxxii. 2; Judges viii. 24; Prov. xi. 22, xxv. 12; Hos. ii. 13.

ran, "Give not a gold jewel to dogs, neither cast pearls before swine."

Matt. v. 37, "Let your conversation be Yea, yea, Nay, nay." This is meaningless. But if we restore the construction in Aramaic we have *יְהוּא לְכֶם הֵן הֵן, לְאוּ לְאוּ*, and the meaning is, "In your conversation let your yea be yea, and your nay be nay." The yea, yea, and nay, nay, in the Hebrew come together, and this misled the translator. St. James quotes the saying rightly (v. 12), "Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation." It is a form of a Rabbinic maxim, "The yea of the righteous is yea, and their nay is nay." It is an injunction to speak the truth.

We have therefore good grounds for our conjecture that St. Matthew's genuine "Sayings of the Lord" form a part of the Canonical Gospel.

We have next to consider, Whence came the rest of the material, the record of the "doings of the Lord," which the compiler interwove with the "Sayings"?

We have tolerably convincing evidence that the compiler placed under contribution both Aramaic and Greek collections.

For the citations from the Old Testament are not taken exclusively from the Hebrew Scriptures, nor from the Greek translation of the Seventy; but some are taken from the Greek translation, and some are taken from the Hebrew, or from a Syro-Chaldaean Targum or Paraphrase, probably in use at the time.

Matt. i. 23, "A virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son." This is quoted as a prophecy of the miraculous conception. But it is only a prophecy in the version of the LXX., which renders the Hebrew word *παρθένος*, "virgin." The Hebrew word does not mean virgin exclusively, but "a young woman." We may therefore conclude that verses 22, 23, were additions by

the Greek compiler of the Gospel, unacquainted with the original Hebrew text.

Matt. ii. 15, "Out of Egypt have I called my son." This is quoted literally from the Hebrew text. That of the LXX. has, "Out of Egypt have I called my children," τὰ τέκνα. This made the saying of Hosea no prophecy of our Lord; consequently he who inserted this reference can have known only the Hebrew text, and not the Greek version. But in ii. 18, the compiler follows the LXX. And again, ii. 23, "He shall be called a Nazarene," Ναζωραῖος. The Hebrew is נָזִיר, of which Ναζωραῖος is no translation. The LXX. have Ναζιραῖος. The compiler was caught by the similarity of sounds.

Matt. iii. 3. Here the construction of the LXX. is followed, which unites "in the wilderness" with "the voice of one crying." The Hebrew was therefore not known by the compiler.

Matt. iv. 15. Here the LXX. is not followed, for the word γῆ is used in place of χώρα. The quotation is not, moreover, taken exactly from Isaiah, but apparently from a Targum.

Matt. viii. 17. This quotation is nearer the original Hebrew than the rendering of the LXX.

Matt. xii. 18—21. In this citation we have an incorrect rendering of the Hebrew לְתוֹרָתוֹ, "at his teaching," made by the LXX. "in his name," adopted without hesitation by the compiler. He also accepts the erroneous rendering of "islands," made "nation," "Gentiles," by the LXX.

But, on the other hand, "till he send forth judgment unto victory," is taken from neither the original Hebrew nor from the LXX., and is probably derived from a Targum.

Thus in this passage we have apparently a combina-

tion of two somewhat similar accounts—the one in Greek, the other in Aramaic.

Matt. xiii. 35. This also is a compound text. The first half is from the LXX., but the second member is from a Hebrew Targum.

Matt. xxvii. 3. In the Hebrew, the field is not a “potter’s,” nor is it in the LXX., who use *χωρευτήριον*, “the smelting-furnace.” The word in the Hebrew signifies “treasury.” The composer of the Gospel therefore must have quoted from a Targum, and been ignorant both of the genuine Hebrew Scriptures and of the Greek translation of the Seventy.

These instances are enough to show that the material used for the compilation of the first Canonical Gospel was very various; that the author had at his disposal matter in both Aramaic and Greek.

We shall find, on looking further, that he inserted two narratives of the same event in his Gospel in different places, if they differed slightly from one another, when coming to him from different sources.

The following are parallel passages :

iv. 23 And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people.

v. 29 And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish,

ix. 35 And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people.

xviii. 9 And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having

and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.

30 And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.

32 But I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery.

vi. 14 For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you:

15 But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.

vii. 16 Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?

17 Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.

18 A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

two eyes to be cast into hell fire.

8 Wherefore if thy hand or thy foot offend thee, cut them off, and cast them from thee: it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire.

xix. 9 And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery.

xviii. 35 So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses.

xii. 33 Either make the tree good, and his fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt, and his fruit corrupt: for the tree is known by his fruit.

ix. 13 But go ye and learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice.

ix. 34 But the Pharisees said, He casteth out devils through the prince of the devils.

x. 15 Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgment, than for that city.

17 But beware of men: for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues;

22 And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake.

xii. 39 But he answered and said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas.

xiii. 12 For whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance: but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath.

xiv. 5 And when he would have put him to death, he feared the multitude, because they counted him as a prophet.

xii. 7 But if ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice.

xii. 24 But when the Pharisees heard it, they said, This fellow doth not cast out devils, but by Beelzebub the prince of the devils.

xi. 24. But I say unto you, That it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment, than for thee.

xxiv. 9 Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you: and ye shall be hated of all nations for my name's sake.

xvi. 4 A wicked and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given unto it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas.

xxv. 29 For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.

xxi. 26 But if we shall say, Of men; we fear the people; for all hold John as a prophet.

xvi. 19 And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

xvii. 20 And Jesus said unto them, Because of your unbelief: for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you.

xxiv. 11 And many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many.

xxiv. 23 Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not.

xviii. 18 Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

xxi. 21 Jesus answered and said unto them, Verily I say unto you, If ye have faith, and doubt not, ye shall not only do this which is done to the fig tree, but also if ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea; it shall be done.

xxiv. 24 For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders: insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect.

xxiv. 26 Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert; go not forth: behold, he is in the secret chambers; believe it not.

The existence in the first Canonical Gospel of these duplicate passages proves that the editor of it in its present form made use of materials from different sources, which he worked together into a complete whole. And these duplicate passages are the more remarkable, because, where his memory does not fail him, he takes pains to avoid repetition.

It would seem therefore plain that the compiler of St. Matthew's Gospel made use of, first, a Collection of the Sayings of the Lord, of undoubted genuineness, drawn up by St. Matthew; second, of two or more Collections of the Sayings and Doings of the Lord, also, no doubt, genuine, but not necessarily by St. Matthew.

One of these sources was made use of also by St. Mark in the composition of his Gospel.

According to the testimony of Papias :

“John the Priest said this : Mark being the interpreter of Peter, whatsoever he recorded he wrote with great accuracy, but not, however, in the order in which it was spoken or done by our Lord, for he neither heard nor followed our Lord, but, as before said, he was in company with Peter, who gave him such instruction as occasion called forth, but did not study to give a history of our Lord's discourses ; wherefore Mark has not erred in anything, by writing this and that as he has remembered them ; for he was carefully attentive to one thing, not to pass by anything that he heard, nor to state anything falsely in these accounts.”¹

It has been often asked and disputed, whether this statement applies to the Gospel of St. Mark received by the Church into her sacred canon.

It can hardly be denied that the Canonical Gospel of Mark does answer in every particular to the description of its composition by John the Priest. John gives five characteristics to the work of Mark :

1. A striving after accuracy.²
2. Want of chronological succession in his narrative, which had rather the character of a string of anecdotes and sayings than of a biography.³

¹ Euseb. Hist. Eccl. iii. 39.

² ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, and ἐποίησατο πρόνοιαν τοῦ μηδέν παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύδασθαι.

³ Οὐ μέντοι τάξει, and ἕνια γράφας, ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν.

3. It was composed of records of both the *sayings* and the *doings* of Jesus.¹

4. It was no syntax of sayings (σύνταξις λογίων), like the work of Matthew.²

5. It was the composition of a companion of Peter.³

These characteristic features of the work of Mark agree with the Mark Gospel, some of the special features of which are :

1. Want of order: it is made up of a string of episodes and anecdotes, and of sayings manifestly unconnected.

2. The order of events is wholly different from that in Matthew, Luke and John.

3. Both the sayings and the doings of Jesus are related in it.

4. It contains no long discourses, like the Gospel of St. Matthew, arranged in systematic order.

5. It contains many incidents which point to St. Peter as the authority for them, and recall his preaching.

To this belong—the manner in which the Gospel opens with the baptism of John, just as St. Peter's address (Acts x. 37—41) begins with that event also; the many little incidents mentioned which give token of having been related by an eye-witness, and in which the narrative of St. Matthew is deficient.⁴ St. Mark's

¹ λεχθέντα καὶ πραχθέντα.

² Μαθαῖος τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο— Μάρκος . . . οὐκ ὡσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων ποιούμενος.

³ Μάρκος ἐρμηνευτῆς Πέτρου γενόμενος ἔγραφεν.

⁴ Mark i. 20, "they left their father Zebedee in the ship *with the day-labourers*;" i. 31, "*he took her by the hand*;" ii. 3, "*a paralytic borne of four*;" 4, "*they broke up the roof and let down the bed*;" iii. 10, "*they pressed upon him to touch him*;" iii. 20, "*they could not so much as eat bread*;" iii. 32, "*the multitude sat about him*;" iv. 36, "*they took him even as he was*," without his going home first to get what was necessary; iv. 38, "*on a pillow*;" v. 3—5, v. 25—34, vi. 40, the

Gospel is also rich in indications of the feelings of the people toward Jesus, such as an eye-witness must have observed,¹ and of notices of movements of the body—small significant acts, which could not escape one present who described what he had seen.²

That the composer of St. Matthew's Gospel made use of the material out of which St. Mark compiled his, that is, of the memorabilia of St. Peter, is evident. Whole passages of St. Mark's Gospel occur word for word, or nearly so, in the Gospel of St. Matthew.³

Moreover, it is apparent that sometimes the author of St. Matthew's Gospel misunderstood the text. A few instances must suffice here.

Mark ii. 18: "And the disciples of John and of the Pharisees were fasting. And they came to him and said to him, Why do the disciples of John, and the disciples of the Pharisees, fast, and thy disciples fast not?" It is clear that it was then a fasting season, which the disciples of Jesus were not observing. The "they" who came to him does not mean "the disciples

ranks, the hundreds, the green grass; vi. 53—56, x. 17, there came one running, and kneeled to him; x. 50, "casting away his robe;" xi. 4, "a colt tied by the door without in a place where two ways met;" xi. 12—14, xi. 16, xiii. 1, the disciples notice the *great stones* of which the temple was built; xiv. 3, 5, 8, xiv. 31, "he spoke yet more vehemently;" xiv. 51, 52, 66, "he warmed himself at the fire;" xv. 21, "coming out of the country;" xv. 40, 41, Salome named.

¹ Mark i. 33, 45, ii. 2, 13, iii. 9, 20, 32, iv. 10, v. 21, 24, 31, vi. 31, 55, viii. 34, xi. 18.

² Mark i. 7, "he bowed himself;" iii. 5, "he looked round with anger;" ix. 38, "he sat down;" x. 16, "he took them up in his arms, and laid his hands on them;" x. 23, "Jesus looked round about;" xiv. 3, "she broke the box;" xiv. 4, "they murmured;" xiv. 40, "they knew not what to answer him;" xiv. 67, &c.

³ Compare

Mark iv. 4 sq.; viii. 1 sq.; x. 42 sq.; xiii. 28 sq.; xiv. 43 sq. &c.
Matt. xiii 4 sq.; xv. 32 sq.; xx. 28 sq.; xxiv. 32 sq.; xxvi. 47 sq. &c.

of John and of the Pharisees," but certain other persons. Καὶ ἔρχονται is so used in St. Mark's Gospel in several places, like the French "on venait."

But the compiler of St. Matthew's Gospel did not understand this use of the verb without a subject expressed, and he made "the disciples of John" ask the question.

Mark vi. 10: "Οπου ἂν εἰσέλθητε εἰς οἰκίαν, ἐκεῖ μένετε ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθητε ἐκείθεν. That is, "Wherever (*i.e.* in whatsoever town or village) ye enter into a house, therein remain (*i.e.* in that house) till ye go away thence (*i.e.* from that city or village)." By leaving out the word *house*, Matthew loses the sense of the command (x. 11), "Into whatsoever town or village ye enter—remain in it till ye go out of it."

Mark vii. 27, 28. The Lord answers the Syro-Phœnician woman, "Let the children first be filled: for it is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it unto the dogs." The woman answers, "Yes, Lord; yet the dogs under the table eat of the children's crumbs." The meaning is, God gives His grace and mercy first to the Jews (the children); and this must not be taken from the Jews to be given to the heathen (the dogs). True, answers the woman; but the heathen do partake of the blessings that overflow from the portion of the Jews.

But the so-called Matthew did not catch the signification, and the point is lost in his version (xv. 27). He makes the woman answer, "The dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from *their masters'* table."

Mark x. 13. According to St. Mark, parents brought their children to Christ, probably with some superstitious idea, to be touched. This offended the disciples. "They rebuked those that brought them." But Jesus was displeased, and said to the disciples, "Suffer the little

for R.V.

see R.V.

children to come unto me." And instead of fulfilling the superstitious wishes of the parents, he took the children in his arms and blessed them. But the text used by St. Matthew's compiler was probably defective at the end of verse 13, and ended, "and his disciples rebuked" The compiler therefore completed it with *αὐτοῖς* instead of *τοῖς προσφέρουσιν*, and then misunderstood verse 14, and applied the *ἄφετε* differently: "Let go the children, and do not hinder them from coming to me." In St. Mark, the disciples rebuke the parents; in St. Matthew, they rebuke the children, and intercept them on their way to Christ.

Mark xii. 8: "They slew him and cast him out," *i.e.* cast out the dead body. The compiler of St. Matthew's Gospel did not see this. He could not understand how that the son was killed and then cast out of the vineyard; so he altered the order into, "They cast him out and slew him" (xxi. 38).¹

Examples might be multiplied, but these must suffice. If I am not mistaken, they go far to prove that the author of St. Matthew's Gospel used the material, or some of the material, out of which St. Mark's Gospel was composed.

But there are also other proofs. The text of St. Mark has been taken into that of St. Matthew's Gospel, but not without some changes, corrections which the compiler made, thinking the words of the text in his hands were redundant, vulgar, or not sufficiently explicit.

Thus Mark i. 5: "The whole Jewish land and all they of Jerusalem," he changed into, "Jerusalem and all Judæa."

¹ For more examples, see Scholten, *Das älteste Evangelium*, Elberfeld, 1869, pp. 66—78.

Mark i. 12: "The Spirit driveth," ἐκβάλλει, he softened into "led," ἀνήχθη.

Mark iii. 4: "He saith, Is it lawful to do good on the Sabbath-days, or to do evil?" In St. Matthew's Gospel, before performing a miracle, Christ argues the necessity of showing mercy on the Sabbath-day, and supplies what is wanting in St. Mark—the conclusion, "Wherefore it is lawful to do well on the Sabbath-days" (xii. 12).

Mark iv. 12: "That seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not hear." This seemed harsh to the compiler of St. Matthew. It was as if unbelief and blindness were fatally imposed by God on men. He therefore alters the tenor of the passage, and attributes the blindness of the people, and their incapability of understanding, to their own grossness of heart (xiii. 14, 15).

Mark iv. 37: "The ship was freighted," in St. Matthew, is altered into, "the ship was covered" with the waves (viii. 34).

Mark vi. 9: "Money in the girdle," changed into, "money in the girdles" (x. 9).

Mark ix. 42: "A millstone were put on his neck," changed to, "were hung about his neck" (xviii. 6).

Mark x. 17: "Sell all thou hast;" Matt. xix. 21, "all thy possessions."

Mark xii. 30: "He took a woman;" Matt. xxii. 25, "he married."

But if it be evident that the author of St. Matthew's Gospel laid under contribution the material used by St. Mark, it is also clear that he did not use St. Mark's Gospel as it stands. He had the fragmentary memorabilia of which it was made up, or a large number of them, but unarranged. He sorted them and wove them

in with the "Logia" written by St. Matthew, and *afterwards*, independently, without knowledge, probably, of what had been done by the compiler of the first Gospel, St. Mark compiled his. Thus St. Matthew's is the first Gospel in order of composition, though much of the material of St. Mark's Gospel was written and in circulation first.

This will appear when we see how independently of one another the compiler of St. Matthew and St. Mark arrange their "memorabilia."

It is unnecessary to do more to illustrate this than to take the contents of Matt. iv.—xiii.

According to St. Matthew, after the Sermon on the Mount, Christ heals the leper, then enters Capernaum, where he receives the prayer of the centurion, and forthwith enters into Peter's house, where he cures the mother-in-law, and the same night crosses the sea.

But according to St. Mark, Christ cast out the unclean spirit in the synagogue at Capernaum, then healed Peter's wife's mother, and, not the same night but long after, crossed the sea. On his return he went through the villages preaching, and then healed the leper.

The accounts are the same, but the order is altogether different. The deuterio-Matthew must have had the material used by Mark under his eye, for he adopts it into his narrative; but he cannot have had St. Mark's Gospel, or he would not have so violently disturbed the order of events.

The compiler has been guilty of an inaccuracy in the use of "Gergesenes" instead of Gadarenes. St. Mark is right. Gadara was situated near the river Hieromax, east of the Sea of Galilee, over against Scythopolis and Tiberias, and capital of Peræa. This agrees exactly with what is said in the Gospels of the miracle performed

in the "country of the Gadarenes." The swine rushed violently down a steep place and perished in the lake. Jesus had come from the N.W. shore of the Sea to Gadara in the S.E. But the country of the Gergesenes can hardly be the same as that of the Gadarenes. Gerasa, the capital, was on the Jabbok, some days' journey distant from the lake. The deutero-Matthew was therefore ignorant of the topography of the neighbourhood whence Levi, that is Matthew, was called.

St. Mark says that Christ healed one demoniac in the synagogue of Capernaum, then crossed the lake, and healed the second in Gadara. But St. Matthew, or rather the Greek compiler of St. Matthew's Gospel, has fused these two events into one, and makes Christ heal both possessed men in the country of the Gergesenes. In like manner we have twice the healing of two blind men (ix. 27 and xx. 30), whereas the other evangelists know of only single blind men being healed on both occasions. How comes this? The compiler had two accounts of each miracle of healing the blind, slightly varying. He thought they referred to the same occasion, but to different persons, and therefore made Christ heal two men, whereas he had given sight to but one.

In the former case the compiler had not such a circumstantial account of the restoration to sound mind of the demoniac in the synagogue as St. Mark had received from St. Peter. He knew only that on the occasion of Christ's visit to the Sea of Tiberias he had recovered two men who were possessed, and so he made the healing of both take place simultaneously at the same spot.

An equally remarkable instance of the fact that St. Matthew's Gospel was made up of fragmentary "recollections" by various eye-witnesses, is that of the dumb man possessed with a devil, in ix. 32. At Capernaum,

after having restored Jairus' daughter to life and healed the two blind men, the same day the dumb man is brought to him. The devil is cast out, the dumb speaks, and the Pharisees say, "He casteth out devils through the prince of the devils."

This is exactly the same account which has been used by St. Luke (xi. 14). But in xii. 22 we have the same incident over again. There is brought unto Christ one possessed with a devil, blind and dumb; him Christ heals; whereupon the Pharisees say, "This fellow doth not cast out devils but by Beelzebub the prince of the devils." Then follows the solemn warning against blasphemy.

It is clear that the Greek compiler of St. Matthew's Gospel must have had two independent accounts of this miracle, one with the warning against blasphemy appended to it, the other without. He gives both accounts, one as occurring at Capernaum, the other much later, after Jesus had gone about Galilee preaching, and the Pharisees had conspired against him.

St. Matthew says that after the healing of Peter's wife's mother, Jesus, that same evening, cured many sick, and in the night crossed to the country of the Gergesenes. But St. Mark says that he remained that night at Capernaum, and rose early next morning before day, and went into a solitary place. According to him, this crossing over the sea did not occur till long after.

The following table will show how remarkably discordant is the arrangement of events in the two evangelists. The order of succession differs, but not the events and teaching recorded; surely a proof that both writers composed these Gospels out of similar but fragmentary accounts available to both. The following table will show this disagreement at a glance.

ST. MATTHEW.

- (At Capernaum), iv. 13.
1. Goes about preaching in the villages of Galilee (23), 1.
 2. { Sermon on the Mount (v.—vii.).
 3. Leper cleansed (viii. 2—4).
 4. Centurion's servant healed (5—13).
 5. { Peter's wife's mother healed (14, 15).
 6. At even cures the sick (16).
 7. { Same night crosses the sea (18—27).
- (In the country of Gergesenes).
8. Heals two demoniacs (28—39).
- (Returns to Capernaum), ix. 1.
9. { Sick of the palsy healed (2—8).
 10. { Calls Matthew (9).
 11. Hemorrhitess cured (20—22).
 12. { Jairus' daughter restored (18—26).
 13. { Two blind men healed (27—30).
 14. Dumb man healed (32, 33).
 15. { Warning against blasphemy (34).
- (Goes about Galilee), 35 and xi. 1.
16. Sends out the Twelve (x).
(Probably at Capernaum).
 17. John's disciples come to him (xi. 2—6).
 18. Denunciation of cities of Galilee (20—24).
 19. Plucks the ears of corn (xii. 1—9).
 20. Heals the withered hand (10—13).
 21. Consultation against Jesus (14).
(Leaves Capernaum), 15.
 22. Heals deaf and dumb man (22).
 23. Denunciation of blasphemy (24—32).

ST. MARK.

- (At Capernaum), i. 21.
- { Heals man with unclean spirit (23—28).
 5. { Peter's mother-in-law healed (30, 31).
 6. { At even heals the sick (32—34).
- Next day rises early and goes into a solitary place (35—37).
(Leaves Capernaum).
1. Goes about the villages of Galilee (38, 39).
 3. Heals the leper (40, 41).
(Outside the town of Capernaum), 45.
- (Returns to Capernaum), ii. 1.
9. { Sick of the palsy healed (2—13).
 10. { Levi called (14).
 19. Plucks the ears of corn (23—28).
 20. Heals the withered hand (iii. 1—5).
 21. Consultation against Jesus (6).
(Leaves Capernaum), 7.
 6. Heals many sick (10—12).
- Goes into a mountain and chooses the Twelve (13—19).
- 15, 23. The Pharisees blaspheme; warning against blasphemy (22—30).
 24. Mother and brethren seek him (31—35).
 25. { Teaches from the ship; parable of the sower (iv. 1—20).
 7. { Crosses the lake in a storm (35—41).
- (In the country of Gadarenes).
8. Heals the demoniac (v. 1—20).
(Returns to Capernaum), 21.
 11. { Hemorrhitess healed (25—34).
 12. { Jairus' daughter restored (22—43).

24. Mother and brethren seek Jesus (46—50). 16. Sends out the Twelve (vi. 7—13).
25. Teaches from the ship; parable of sower (xiii. 1—12).
(Returns to his own country), 53.

The order in St. Luke is again different. Jesus calls Levi, chooses the Twelve, preaches the sermon on the plain, heals the Centurion's servant, goes then from place to place preaching. Then occurs the storm on the lake, and after having healed the demoniac Jesus returns to Capernaum, cures the woman with the bloody flux, raises Jairus' daughter and sends out the Twelve.

In the Gospel of St. Mark, the parable of the sower is spoken on "the same day" on which, in the evening, Jesus crosses the lake in a storm.

In the Gospel of St. Matthew, this parable is spoken long after, on "the same day" as his mother and brethren seek him, and this is after he has been in the country of the Gadarenes, has returned to Capernaum, gone about Galilee preaching, come back again to Capernaum, but has been driven away again by the conspiracy of the Pharisees.

It would appear from an examination of the two Gospels that articles 23, 24 and 25 composed one document, for both St. Matthew and St. Mark used it as it is, in a block, only they differ as to where to build it in.

19, 20 and 21 formed another block of Apostolic Memorabilia, and was built in by the deutero-Matthew in one place and by St. Mark in another. 5 and 6, and again 9 and 10, were smaller compound recollections which the compiler of St. Matthew's Gospel and St. Mark obtained in their concrete forms. On the other hand, 3 and 16 formed recollections consisting of but one member, and are thrust into the narrative where the two compilers severally thought most suitable. We are

therefore led by the comparison of the order in which events in our Lord's life are related by St. Matthew and St. Mark, to the conclusion, that the author of the first Gospel as it stands had not St. Mark's Gospel in its complete form before him when he composed his record.

We have yet another proof that this was so.

St. Matthew's Gospel is not so full in its account of some incidents in our Lord's life as is the Gospel of St. Mark.

The compiler of the first Gospel has shown throughout his work the greatest anxiety to insert every particular he could gather relating to the doings and sayings of Jesus. This has led him into introducing the same event or saying over a second time if he found more than one version of it. Had he all the material collected in St. Mark's Gospel at his disposal, he would not have omitted any of it.

But we do not find in St. Matthew's Gospel the following passages :

Mark iv. 26—29, the parable of the seed springing up, a type of the growth of the Gospel without further labour to the minister than that of spreading it abroad. The meaning of this parable is different from that in Matt. xii. 24—30, and therefore the two parables are not to be regarded as identical.

Mark viii. 22—26. By omitting the narrative of what took place at Bethsaida, an apparent gap occurs in the account of St. Matthew after xvi. 4—12. The journey across the sea leads one to expect that Christ and his disciples will land somewhere on the coast. But Matthew, without any mention of a landing at Bethsaida, translates Jesus and the apostolic band to Cæsarea Philippi. But in Mark, Jesus and his disciples land at Bethsaida, and after having performed a miracle of healing there on a blind man—a miracle, the particulars of

which are very full and interesting—they go on foot to Cæsarea Philippi (viii. 27). That the compiler of the first Gospel should have left this incident out deliberately is not credible.

Mark ix. 38, 39. In St. Matthew's collection of the Logia of our Lord there existed probably the saying of Christ, "He that is not with me is against me" (Matt. xii. 30). St. Mark narrates the circumstances which called forth this remark. But the deutero-Matthew evidently did not know of these circumstances; he therefore leaves the saying in his record without explanation.¹

Mark xii. 41—44. The beautiful story of the poor widow throwing her two mites into the treasury, and our blessed Lord's commendation of her charity, is not to be found in St. Matthew's Gospel. Is it possible that he could have omitted such an exquisite anecdote had he possessed it?

Mark xiv. 51, 52. The account of the young man following, having the linen cloth cast about his naked body, who, when caught, left the linen cloth in the hands of his captors and ran off naked—an account which so unmistakably exhibits the narrative to have been the record of some eye-witness of the scene, is omitted in St. Matthew. On this no stress, however, can be laid. The deutero-Matthew may have thought the incident too unimportant to be mentioned.

¹ Mark ix. 37—50 is another instance of difference of order of sayings between him and St. Matthew.

With Mark ix. 37 corresponds Matt. x. 40.

„	„	40	„	„	xii. 30.
„	„	41	„	„	x. 42.
„	„	42	„	„	xviii. 6.
„	„	43	„	„	v. 29 and xviii. 8.
„	„	47	„	„	xvii. 9.
„	„	50	„	„	v. 13.

Enough has been said to show conclusively that the deutero-Matthew, if we may so term the compiler of the first Canonical Gospel, had not St. Mark's Gospel before him when he wrote his own, that he did not cut up the Gospel of Mark, and work the shreds into his own web.

Both Gospels are mosaics, composed in the same way. But the Gospel of St. Mark was composed only of the "recollections" of St. Peter, whereas that of St. Matthew was more composite. Some of the pieces which were used by Mark were used also by the deutero-Matthew. This is patent: how it was so needs explanation.

It is probable that when the apostles founded churches, their instructions on the sayings and doings of Jesus were taken down, and in the absence of the apostles were read by the president of the congregation. The Epistles which they sent were, we know, so read,¹ and were handed on from one church to another.² But what was far more precious to the early believers than any letters of the apostles about the regulation of controversies, were their recollections of the Lord, their Memorabilia, as Justin calls them. The earliest records show us the Gospels read at the celebration of the Eucharist.³ The ancient Gospels were not divided into chapters, but into the portions read on Sundays and festivals, like our "Church Services." Thus the Peschito version in use in the Syrian churches was divided in this manner: "Fifth day of the week of the Candidates" (Matt. ix. 5—17), "For the commemoration of the Dead" (18—26), "Friday in the fifth week in the Fast" (27—38), "For the commemoration of the Holy Apostles" (36—38, x. 1—15), "For the commemoration of Martyrs" (16—33), "Lesson for the Dead" (34—42), "Oblation for the beheading of

¹ Col. iv. 16; 1 Thess. v. 27.

² Col. iv. 16.

³ Apost. Const. viii. 5.

John" (xi. 1—15), "Second day in the third week of the Fast" (16—24).

To these fragmentary records St. Luke alludes when he says that "many had taken in hand to arrange in a consecutive account (*ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν*) those things which were most fully believed" amongst the faithful. These he "traced up from the beginning accurately one after another" (*παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς*). Here we have clearly the existence of records disconnected originally, which many strung together in consecutive order, and St. Luke takes pains, as he tells us, to make this order chronological.

Some Churches had certain Memorabilia, others had a different set. That of Antioch had the recollections of St. Peter, that of Jerusalem the recollections of St. James, St. Simeon and St. Jude. St. Luke indicates the source whence he drew his account of the nativity and early years of the Lord,—the recollections of St. Mary, the Virgin Mother, communicated to him orally. He speaks of the Blessed Virgin as keeping the things that happened in her heart and pondering on them.¹ Another time it is contemporaries, Mary certainly included.² On both occasions it is in reference to events connected with our Lord's infancy. Why did he thus insist on her having taken pains to remember these things? Surely to show whence he drew his information. He narrates these events on the testimony of her word; and her word is to be relied on; for these things, he assures us, were deeply impressed on her memory.

The "Memorabilia" in use in the different Churches founded by the apostles would probably be strung together in such order as they were generally read. How early the Church began to have a regulated order of seasons, an ecclesiastical year, cannot be ascertained

¹ Luke ii. 19, 51.

² Luke i. 66.

with certainty; but every consideration leads us to suspect that it grew up simultaneously with the constitution of the Church. With the Church of the Hebrews this was unquestionably the case. The Jews who believed had grown up under a system of fasts and festivals in regular series, and, as we know, they observed these even after they were believers in Christ. Paul, who broke with the Law in so many points, did not venture to dispense with its sacred cycle of festivals. He hastened to Jerusalem to attend the feast of Pentecost.¹ At Ephesus, even, he observed it.² St. Jerome assures us that Lent was instituted by the apostles.³ The Apostolic Constitutions order the observance of the Sabbath, the Lord's-day, Pentecost, Christmas, Epiphany, the days of the Apostles, that of St. Stephen, and the anniversaries of the Martyrs.⁴ Indeed, the observance of the Lord's-day, instituted probably by St. Paul, involves the principle which would include all other sacred commemorations; for if one day was to be set apart as a memorial of the resurrection, it is probable that others would be observed in memory of the nativity, the passion, the ascension, &c.

As early as there was any sort of ecclesiastical year observed, so early would the "Memorabilia" of the apostles be arranged as appropriate to these seasons. But such an arrangement would not be chronological; therefore many took in hand, as St. Luke tells us, to correct this, and he took special care to give the succession of events as they occurred, not as they were read, by obtaining information from the best sources available.

It is probable that the "Recollections" of St. Peter, written in disjointed notes by St. Mark, were in circulation through many Churches before St. Mark composed

¹ Acts xx. 16.

² 1 Cor. xvi. 8.

³ Epist. xxvii. ad Marcellam.

⁴ Apost. Const. viii. 33.

his Gospel out of them. From Antioch to Rome they were read at the celebration of the divine mysteries; and some of them, found in the Churches of Asia Minor, have been taken by St. Luke into his Gospel. Others circulating in Palestine were in the hands of the deutero-Matthew, and grafted into his compilation. But as St. Luke, St. Mark, and the composer of the first Gospel, acted independently, their chronological sequences differ. Their Gospels are three kaleidoscopic groups of the same pieces.¹

Had St. Matthew any other part in the composition of the first Canonical Gospel than contributing to it his "Syntax of the Lord's Sayings"? Of that we can say nothing for certain. It is possible enough that many of the "doings" of Jesus contained in the Gospel may be memorabilia of St. Matthew, circulating in *anecdota*.

A critical examination of St. Matthew's Gospel reveals *four* sources whence it was drawn, three threads of different texture woven into one. These are:

1. The "Memorabilia" of St. Peter, used afterwards by St. Mark. These the compiler of the first Gospel attached mechanically to the rest of his material by such formularies as "in those days," "at that time," "then," "after that," "when he had said these things."

2. The "Logia of the Lord," composed by St. Matthew.

3. Another series of sayings and doings, from which the following passages were derived: iii. 7—10, 12, iv. 3—11, viii. 19—22, ix. 27, 32—34, xi. 2—19. Some of these were afterwards used by St. Luke.² Were these by St. Matthew? It is possible.

¹ St. Luke, however, has much that was not available to the deutero-Matthew, and St. Mark rigidly confined himself to the use of St. Peter's recollections only.

² St. Luke's Gospel contains Hebraisms, yet he was not a Jew (Col. iv. 11, 14). This can only be accounted for by his using Aramaic texts which he translated. From these the Acts of the Apostles are free.

4. To the fourth category belong chapters i. and ii., iii. 3, xiv. 15, the redaction of iv. 12, 13, 14, 15, v. 1, 2, 19, vii. 22, 23, viii. 12, 17, x. 5, 6, xi. 2, xii. 17—21, xiii. 35—43, 49, 50, the redaction of xiv. 13*a*, xiv. 28—31, xv. 24, xvii. 24*b*—27, xix. 17*a*, 19*b*, 28, xx. 16, xxi. 2, 7, xxi. 4, 5, xxiii. 10, 13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29, 35, the redaction of xxiv. 3, 20, 51*b*, xxv. 30*b*, xxvi. 2, 15, 25, xxvii. 51—53, xxvii. 62—66, xxviii. 1*a*, 2—4, 8, 9, 11—15.

Was this taken from a collection of the recollections of St. Matthew, and the series 3 from another set of Apostolic Memorabilia? That it is not possible to decide.

Into the reasons which have led to this separation of the component parts 3, 4, the peculiarities of diction which serve to distinguish them, we cannot enter here; it would draw us too far from the main object of our inquiry.¹

The theory that the Synoptical Gospels were composed of various disconnected materials, variously united into consecutive biographies, was accepted by Bishop Marsh, and it is the only theory which relieves the theologian from the unsatisfactory obligation of making "harmonies" of the Gospels. If we adopt the received popular conception of the composition of the Synoptical Gospels, we are driven to desperate shifts to fit them together, to reconcile their discrepancies.

The difficulty, the impossibility, of effecting such a harmony of the statements of the evangelists was felt

¹ Cf. Scholten: *Das älteste Evangelium*; Elberfeld, 1869. See also on St. Matthew's and St. Mark's Gospels, Saunier: *Ueber der Quellen des Evang. Marc.*, Berlin, 1825; De Wette: *Lehrb. d. Hist. Krit. Einleit. in d. N.T.*, Berl. 1848; Baur: *Der Ursprung der Synop. Evang.*, Stuttg. 1843; Köstlin: *Das Markus Evang.*, Leipz. 1850; Wilke: *Der Urevang.*, Dresd. 1838; Réville: *Etudes sur l'Evang. selon St. Matt.*, Leiden, 1862, &c.

by the early Christian writers. Origen says that the attempt to reconcile them made him giddy. Among the writings of Tatian was a Diatessaron, or harmony of the Gospels. Eusebius adventured on an explanation "of the discords of the Evangelists." St. Ambrose exercised his pen on a concordance of St. Matthew with St. Luke; St. Augustine wrote "De consensu Evangelistarum," and in his effort to force them into agreement was driven to strange suppositions—as that when our Lord went through Jericho there was a blind man by the road-side leading into the city, and another by the road-side leading out of it, and that both were healed under very similar circumstances.

Apollinaris, in the famous controversy about Easter, declared that it was irreconcilable with the Law that Christ should have suffered on the great feast-day, as related by St. Matthew, but that the Gospels disagreed among themselves on the day upon which he suffered.¹ The great Gerson sought to remove the difficulties in a "Concordance of the Evangelists," or "Monotessaron."

Such an admission as that the Synoptical Gospels were composed in the manner I have pointed out, in no way affects their incomparable value. They exhibit to us as in a mirror what the apostles taught and what their disciples believed. Faith does not depend on the chronological sequence of events, but on the verity of those events. "See!" exclaimed St. Chrysostom, "how through the contradictions in the evangelical history in minor particulars, the truth of the main facts transpires, and the trustworthiness of the authors is made manifest!"

In everything, both human and divine, there is an

¹ Chron. Paschale, p. 6, ed. Ducange. Τῆδε μεγάλη ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων αὐτος ἔπαθεν, καὶ διηγοῦνται Ματθαῖον οὕτω λέγειν· ὅθεν ἀσύμφωνος, τῷ νόμῳ ἢ νόησις αὐτῶν, καὶ στασιάζειν δοκαῖν κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ εὐαγγέλια.

union of infallibility in that which is of supreme importance, and of fallibility in that which concerns not salvation. The lenses through which the light of the world shone to remote ages were human scribes liable to error. *Θεία πάντα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα πάντα*, was the motto Tholuck inscribed on his copy of the Sacred Oracles.

Having established the origin of the Gospel of St. Matthew, we are able now to see our way to establishing that of the Gospel of the Twelve, or Gospel of the Hebrews.

No doubt it also was a mosaic made out of the same materials as the Gospel of St. Matthew. There subsisted side by side in Palestine a Greek-speaking and an Aramaic-speaking community of Christians, the one composed of proselytes from among the Gentiles, the other of converts from among the Jews. This Gentile Church in Palestine was scarcely influenced by St. Paul; it was under the rule of St. Peter, and therefore was more united to the Church at Jerusalem in habits of thought, in religious customs, in reverence for the Law, than the Churches of "Asia" and Greece. There was no antagonism between them. There was, on the contrary, close intercourse and mutual sympathy.

Each community, probably, had its own copies of Apostolic Memorabilia, not identical, but similar. Some of the "recollections" were perhaps written only in Aramaic, or only in Greek, so that the collection of one community may have been more complete in some particulars than the collection of the other. The necessity to consolidate these Memorabilia into a consecutive narrative became obvious to both communities, and each composed "in order" the scraps of record of our Lord's sayings and doings they possessed and read in their sacred mysteries. St. Matthew's "Logia of the Lord" was used in the compilation of the Hebrew Gospel; one of the

translations of it, which, according to Papias, were numerous, formed the basis also of the Greek Gospel.

The material used by both communities, the motive actuating both communities, were the same; the results were consequently similar. That they were not absolutely identical was the consequence of their having been compiled independently.

Thus the resemblance was sufficient to make St. Jerome suppose the Hebrew Gospel to be the same as the Greek first Gospel; nevertheless, the differences were as great as has been pointed out in the preceding pages.

II.

THE CLEMENTINE GOSPEL.

WE have now considered all the fragments of the Gospel of the Hebrews that have been preserved to us in the writings of Justin Martyr, Origen, Jerome and Epiphanius.

But there is another storehouse of texts and references to a Gospel regarded as canonical at a very early date by the Nazarene or Ebionite Church. This storehouse is that curious collection of the sayings and doings of St. Peter, the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies.

That the Gospel used by the author or authors of the Clementines was that of the Hebrews cannot be shown; but it is probable that it was so.

The Clementines were a production of the Judaizing party in the Primitive Church, and it was this party which, we know, used the Gospel of the Twelve, or of the Hebrews.

The doctrine in the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies bears close relations to that of the Jewish Essenes. The sacrificial system of the Jewish Church is rejected. It was not part of the revelation to Moses, but a tradition of the elders.¹

Distinction in meats is an essential element of religion. Through unclean meats devils enter into men, and produce disease. To eat of unclean meats places men in the power of evil spirits, who lead them to

¹ Homil. iii. 45.

idolatry and all kinds of wickedness. So long as men abstain from these, so long are the devils powerless against them.¹

The observance of times is also insisted on—times at which the procreation of children is lawful or unlawful; and disease and death result from neglect of this distinction. “In the beginning of the world men lived long, and had no diseases. But when through carelessness they neglected the observance of the proper times . . . they placed their children under innumerable afflictions.”² It is this doctrine that is apparently combated by St. Paul.³ He relaxes the restraints which Nazarene tradition imposed on marital intercourse.

The rejection of sacrifices obliged the Nazarene Church to discriminate between what is true and false in the Scriptures; and, with the Essenes, they professed liberty to judge the Scriptures and reject what opposed their ideas. Thus they refused to acknowledge that “Adam was a transgressor, Noah drunken, Abraham guilty of having three wives, Jacob of cohabiting with two sisters, Moses was a murderer,” &c.⁴

The moral teaching of the Clementines is of the most exalted nature. Chastity is commended in a glowing, eloquent address of St. Peter.⁵ Poverty is elevated into an essential element of virtue. Property is, in itself, an evil. “To all of us possessions are sins. The deprivation of these is the removal of sins.” “To be saved, no one should possess anything; but since many have possessions, or, in other words, sins, God sends, in love, afflictions . . . that those with possessions, but yet having some measure of love to God, may, by temporary inflictions, be saved from eternal punishments.”⁶

¹ Homil. ix. 9—12.

³ Gal. iv. 10.

⁵ Homil. xiii. 13—21.

² Homil. xix. 22.

⁴ Homil. ii. 38, 50, 52.

⁶ Homil. xv. 9; see also 7.

“Those who have chosen the blessings of the future kingdom have no right to regard the things here as their own, since they belong to a foreign king (*i.e.* the prince of this world), with the exception only of water and bread, and those things procured by the sweat of the brow, necessary for the maintenance of life, and also one garment.”¹

Thus St. Peter is represented as living on water, bread and olives, and having but one cloak and tunic.² And Hegesippus, as quoted by Eusebius, describes St. James, first bishop of Jerusalem, as “drinking neither wine nor fermented liquors, and abstaining from animal food. A razor never came upon his head, he never anointed himself with oil, and never used a bath. He never wore woollen, but linen garments.”³

The Ebionites looked upon Christ as the Messiah rather than as God incarnate. They gave him the title of Son of God, and claimed for him the highest honour, but hesitated to term him God. In their earnest maintenance of the Unity of the Godhead against Gnosticism, they shrank from appearing to divide the Godhead. Thus, in the Clementines, St. Peter says, “Our Lord neither asserted that there were gods except the Creator of all, nor did he proclaim himself to be God, but he pronounced him blessed who called him the Son of that God who ordered the universe.”⁴

The Ebionitism of the Clementines is controversial. It was placed face to face with Gnosticism. Simon Magus, the representative of Gnosticism, as St. Peter is the representative of orthodoxy, in the Recognitions and Homilies, contends that the God of the Jews, the Demiurge, the Creator of the world, is evil. He attempts to prove this by showing that the world is full of pain

¹ Homil. xv. 7.

² Homil. xii. 6.

³ Hist. Eccl. ii. 23.

⁴ Homil. xvi. 15.

and misery. The imperfections of the world are tokens of imperfection in the Creator. He takes the Old Testament. He shows from texts that the God of the Jews is represented as angry, jealous, repentant; that those whom He favours are incestuous, adulterers, murderers.

This doctrine St. Peter combats by showing that present evils are educative, curative, disguised blessings; and by calling all those passages in Scripture which attribute to God human passions, corruptions of the sacred text in one of its many re-editions. "God who created the world has not in reality such a character as the Scriptures assign Him," says St. Peter; "for such a character is contrary to the nature of God, and therefore manifestly is falsely attributed to Him."¹

From this brief sketch of the doctrines of the Ebionite Church from which the Clementines emanated, it will be seen that its Gospel must have resembled that of the Hebrews, or have been founded on it. The "Recollections of the Twelve" probably existed in several forms, some more complete than others, some purposely corrupted. The Gospel of the Hebrews was in use in the orthodox Nazarene Church. The Gospel used by the author of the Clementines was in use in the same community. It is therefore natural to conclude their substantial identity.

But though substantially the same, and both closely related to the Canonical Gospel of St. Matthew, they were not completely identical; for the Clementine Gospel diverged from the received text of St. Matthew more widely than we are justified in concluding did that of the Gospel of the Hebrews.

That it was in Greek and not in Hebrew is also probable. The converts to Christianity mentioned in the Recognitions and Homilies are all made from Heathen-

¹ Homil. xviii. 22.

ism, and speak Greek. It is at Cæsarea, Tripolis, Laodicæa, that the churches are established which are spoken of in these books,—churches filled, not with Jews, but with Gentile converts, and therefore requiring a Gospel in Greek.

The Clementine Gospel was therefore probably a sister compilation to that of the Hebrews and of St. Matthew. The Memorabilia of the Apostles had circulated in Hebrew in the communities of pure Jews, in Greek in those of Gentile proselytes. These Memorabilia were collected into one book by the Hebrew Church, by the Nazarene proselytes, and by the compiler of the Canonical Gospel of St. Matthew. This will explain their similarity and their differences.

From what has been said of the Clementines, it will be seen that their value is hardly to be over-estimated as a source of information on the religious position of the Petrine Church. Hilgenfeld says: "There is scarcely any single writing which is of such importance for the history of the earliest stage of Christianity, and which has yielded such brilliant disclosures at the hands of the most careful critics, with regard to the earliest history of the Christian Church, as the writings ascribed to the Roman Clement, the Recognitions and the Homilies."¹

No conclusion has been reached in regard to the author of the Clementines. It is uncertain whether the Homilies and the Recognitions are from the same hand. Unfortunately, the Greek of the Recognitions is lost. We have only a Latin translation by Rufinus of Aquileia (d. 410), who took liberties with his text, as he informs Bishop Gaudentius, to whom he addressed his

¹ Hilgenfeld: Die Clementinischen Recognitionen und Homilien; Jena, 1848. Compare also Uhlhorn: Die Homilien und Recognitionen; Göttingen, 1854; and Schliemann: Die Clementinen; Hamburg, 1844.

preface. He found that the copies of the book he had differed from one another in some particulars. Portions which he could not understand he omitted. There is reason to suspect that he altered such quotations as he found in it from the Gospel used by the author, and brought them, perhaps unconsciously, into closer conformity to the received text. In examining the Gospel employed by the author of the Clementines, we must therefore trust chiefly to those texts quoted in the Homilies.

Various opinions exist as to the date of the Clementines. They have been attributed to the first, second, third and fourth centuries. If we were to base our arguments on the work as it stands, the date to be assigned to it is the first half of the third century. A passage from the Recognitions is quoted by Origen in his Commentary on Genesis, written in A.D. 231; and mention is made in the work of the extension of the Roman franchise to all nations under the dominion of Rome, an event which took place in the reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211). The Recognitions also contain an extract from the work *De Fato*, ascribed to Bardesanes, but which was really written by one of his scholars. But it has been thought, not without great probability, that this passage did not originally belong to the Recognitions, but was thrust into the text about the middle of the third century.¹

I have already pointed out the fact that the Church in the Clementines is never called "Christian;" that the word is never employed. It belonged to the community established by Paul, and with it the Church of Peter had

¹ Merx, Bardesanes von Edessa, Halle, 1863, p. 113. That the "Recognitions" have undergone interpolation at different times is clear from Book iii., where chapters 2—12 are found in some copies, but not in the best MSS.

no sympathy. To believe in the mission of Christ is, in the Clementine Homilies, to become a Jew. The convert from Gentiledom by passing into the Church passes under the Law, becomes, as we are told, a Jew. But the convert is made subject not to the Law as corrupted by the traditions of the elders, but to the original Law as re-proclaimed by Christ.

The author of the Recognitions twice makes St. Peter say that the only difference existing between him and the Jews is in the manner in which they view Christ. To the apostles he is the Messiah come in humility, to come again in glory. But the Jews deny that the Messiah was to have two manifestations, and therefore reject Christ.¹

Although we cannot rely on the exact words of the quotations from the Gospel in the "Recognitions," there are references to the history of our Lord which give indications of narratives contained in the Gospel used by the pseudo-Clement, therefore by the Ebionite Christians whose views he represents. We will go through all such passages in the order in which they occur in the "Recognitions."

The first allusion to a text parallel to one in the Canonical Gospels is this: "Not only did they not believe, but they added blasphemy to unbelief, saying he was a gluttonous man and slave of his belly, and that he was influenced by a demon."² The parallel passage is in St. Matthew xi. 18, 19. It is curious to notice that in the Recognitions the order is inverted. In St. Matthew, "they say, He hath a devil. . . . They say, Behold a man gluttonous, and a wine-bibber;" and that the term "wine-bibber" is changed into "slave of his belly." Probably therefore in this instance the author of the

¹ *Recog.* i. 43, 50.

² *Ibid.* i. 40.

Clementines borrowed from a different text from St. Matthew.

In the very next chapter the Recognitions approaches St. Matthew closer than the lost Gospel. For in the account of the crucifixion it is said that "the veil of the Temple was rent," whereas the Gospel of the Hebrews stated that the lintel of the Temple had fallen. But here I suspect we have the hand of Rufinus the translator. We can understand how, finding in the text an inaccuracy of quotation, as he supposed, he altered it.

Note | The next passage relates to the resurrection. "For some of them, watching the place with all care, when they could not prevent his rising again, *said that he was a magician*; others pretended that he was stolen away."¹ The Canonical Gospels say nothing about this difference of opinion among the Jews, but St. Matthew states that it was commonly reported among them that his disciples had stolen his body away. Not a word about any suspicion that he had exercised witchcraft, a charge which we know from Celsus was brought against Christ later.

The next passage is especially curious. It relates to the unction of Christ. "He was the Son of God, and the beginning of all things; he became man; *him God anointed with oil that was taken from the wood of the Tree of Life*; and from this anointing he is called Christ."² Then St. Peter goes on to argue: "In the present life, Aaron, the first high-priest, was anointed with a composition of chrism, which was made after the pattern of that spiritual ointment of which we have spoken before But if any one else was anointed with the same ointment, as deriving virtue from it, he became either king, or prophet, or priest. If, then, this temporal grace, compounded by men, had such efficacy, *consider*

¹ *Recogn.* i. 42.

² *Ibid.* 45.

how potent was that ointment extracted by God from a branch of the Tree of Life, when that which was made by men could confer so excellent dignities among men." *note (1)*

Here we have trace of an apparent myth relating to the unction of Jesus at his baptism. Was there any passage to this effect in the Hebrew Gospel translated by St. Jerome? It is hard to believe it. Had there been, we might have expected him to allude to it.

But that there was some unction of Christ mentioned in the early Gospels, I think is probable. If there were not, how did Jesus, so early, obtain the name of Christ, the Anointed One? That name was given to him before his divinity was wholly believed in, and when he was regarded only as the Messiah—nay, even before the apostles and disciples had begun to see in him anything higher than a teacher sent from God, a Rabbi founding a new school. It is more natural to suppose that the surname of the Anointed One was given to him because of some event in his life with which they were acquainted, than because they applied to him prophecies at a time when certainly they had no idea that such prophecies were spoken of him.

If some anointing did really accompany the baptism, then one can understand the importance attached to the baptism by the Elkesaites and other Gnostic sects; and how they had some ground for their doctrine that Jesus became the Christ only on his baptism. It is remarkable that, according to St. John's Gospel, it is directly after the baptism that Andrew tells his brother Simon, "We have found the Messias, which is . . . the Anointed."¹ Twice in the Acts is Jesus spoken of as the Anointed: "Thy holy child Jesus, whom Thou hast anointed."² The second occasion is remarkable, for it again apparently associates the anointing with the baptism.

¹ John i. 41.

² Acts iv. 27.

St. Peter "opened his mouth and said The word which God sent unto the children of Israel that word ye know, which was published throughout all Judæa, and began from Galilee after the baptism which John preached; how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power."¹ I do not say that such an anointing did take place, but that it is probable it did. When Gnosticism fixed on this anointing as the communication to Christ of his divine mission and Messiahship, then mention of it was cut out of the Gospels in possession of the Church, and consequently the Canonical Gospels are without it to this day. But the Christian ceremonial of baptism, which was founded on what took place at the baptism of the Lord, maintained this unction as part of the sacrament, in the Eastern Church never to be dissociated from the actual baptism, but in the Western Church to be separated from it and elevated into a separate sacrament—Confirmation.

But if in the original Hebrew Gospel there was mention of the anointing of Jesus at or after his baptism, as I contend is probable, this mention did not include an account of the oil being expressed from the branch of the Tree of Life; that is a later addition, in full agreement with the fantastic ideas which were gradually permeating and colouring Judaic Christianity.

After the baptism, "*Jesus put out, by the grace of baptism, that fire which the priest kindled for sins; for, from the time when he appeared, the chrism has ceased, by which the priesthood or the prophetic or the kingly office was conferred.*"² The Homilies are more explicit: "He put out the fire on the altars."³ There was therefore in the Gospel used by the author of the

¹ Acts x. 34—38.

² Recog. i. c. 48.

³ Πῦρ βώμων ἐσβέννυσεν, Homil. iii. 26.

What does this mean?

Clementines an account of our Lord, after his anointing, entering into the Temple and extinguishing the altar fires.

In St. John's Gospel, on which we may rely for the chronological sequence of events with more confidence than we can on the Synoptical Gospels, the casting of the money-changers out of the Temple took place not long after the baptism. In St. Matthew's account it took place at the close of the ministry, in the week of the Passion. That this exhibition of his authority marked the opening of his three years' ministry rather than the close is most probable, and then it was, no doubt, that he extinguished the fires on the altar, according to the Gospel used by the author of the Clementines. Whether this incident occurred in the Gospel of the Hebrews it is not possible to say.

We are told that "James and John, the sons of Zebedee, had a command not to enter into their cities (*i.e.* the cities of the Samaritans), nor to bring the word of preaching to them."¹ "And when our Master sent us forth to preach, he commanded us, But into whatsoever city or house we should enter, we should say, Peace be to this house. And if, said he, a son of peace be there, your peace shall come upon him; but if there be not, your peace shall return unto you. Also, that going from house to city, we should shake off upon them the very dust which adhered to our feet. But it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgment than for that city or house."² The Gospel of the Clementines, it is plain, contained an account of the sending forth of the apostles almost identical with that in St. Matthew, x.

"And Jesus himself declared that John was

¹ Recog. i. c. 57.

² *Ibid.* ii. 30, also ii. 3.

greater than all men and all the prophets.”¹ The corresponding passage is in St. Matthew.²

The Beatitudes, or some of them, were in it. “He said, *Blessed are the poor*; and promised earthly rewards; and promised that those who maintain righteousness shall be satisfied with meat and drink.”³ “Our Master, inviting his disciples to patience, impressed on them the blessing of peace, which was to be preserved with the labour of patience. . . . He charges (the believers) to have peace among themselves, and says to them, *Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the very sons of God.*”⁴ “The Father, whom only those can see who are pure in heart.”⁵ Again strong similarity with slight difference. “He said, *I am not come to send peace on earth, but a sword; and henceforth you shall see father separated from son, son from father, husband from wife, and wife from husband, mother from daughter, and daughter from mother, brother from brother, father-in-law from daughter-in-law, friend from friend.*”⁶ This is fuller than the corresponding passage in St. Matthew.⁷

“*It is enough for the disciple to be as his master.*”⁸ “He mourned over those who lived in riches and luxury, and bestowed nothing upon the poor; showing that they must render an account, because they did not pity their neighbours, even when they were in poverty, whom they ought to love as themselves.”⁹ “In like manner he charged the Scribes and Pharisees during the last period of his teaching . . . with hiding the key of knowledge which they had handed down to them from Moses, by which the gate of the heavenly kingdom might be

¹ Recog. i. c. 60.

³ Recog. i. c. 61, ii. c. 28.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 22, 28.

⁷ Matt. x. 34—36.

⁹ *Ibid.* 29.

² Matt. xi. 9, 11.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 27, 29.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 28, 32.

⁸ Recog. ii. 27; Matt. x. 25.

opened.”¹ The key of knowledge occurs only in St. Luke’s Gospel. Had the author of the Clementines any knowledge of that Gospel? I do not think so, or we should find other quotations from St. Luke. St. Matthew says, “Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up (κλείετε) the kingdom of heaven.”² St. Luke says, “Ye have taken away the key (τὴν κλεῖδα) of knowledge.”³ The author of the Clementines says, “Ye have hidden the key,” not “taken away.” I do not think, when the expression in St. Matthew suggests the “key,” that we need suppose that the author of the Recognitions quoted from St. Luke; rather, I presume, from his own Gospel, which in this passage resembled the words in St. Luke rather than those in St. Matthew, without, however, being exactly the same.⁴

“*Every kingdom divided against itself shall not stand.*”⁵
 “*Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added to you.*”⁶ The writer knew, in the same terms as St. Matthew, our Lord’s sayings: “*Give not that which is holy to dogs, neither cast your pearls before swine.*”⁷ “*Whosoever shall look upon a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her in his heart. . . . If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members perish, rather than thy whole body be cast into hell-fire.*”⁸

¹ Recog. ii. 30.

² Matt. xxiii. 13.

³ Luke xi. 52.

⁴ Recog. ii. c. 46: “They must seek his kingdom and righteousness which the Scribes and Pharisees, having received the key of knowledge, have not shut in but shut out.” The same Syro-Chaldaic expression has been variously rendered in Greek by St. Matthew and St. Luke. See Lightfoot: *Horæ Hebraicæ* in Luc. xi. 52.

⁵ Recog. ii. 31, 35.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 41, 37, 20.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii. i.

⁸ *Ibid.* vii. 37.

The woes denounced on the Scribes and Pharisees,¹ and the saying that the Queen of the South should "rise in judgment against this generation,"² are given in the Recognitions as in St. Matthew, as also that "the harvest is plenteous,"³ "that no man can serve two masters,"⁴ and the saying on the power of faith to move mountains.⁵

We have the parables of the goodly pearl,⁶ of the marriage supper,⁷ and of the tares,⁸ but also that of the sower,⁹ which does not occur in St. Matthew, but in St. Luke. This therefore was found in the Gospel used by the author of the Recognitions. There are two other apparent quotations from St. Luke: "*I have come to send fire on the earth, and how I wish that it were kindled;*"¹⁰ and the story of the rich fool.¹¹ The first, however, is differently expressed from St. Luke. There are just two more equally questionable quotations: "*Be ye merciful, as also your heavenly Father is merciful, who makes his sun to rise upon the good and the evil, and rains upon the just and the unjust.*"¹² We have the Greek in one of the Homilies.¹³ In St. Luke it runs, "Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful."¹⁴ In St. Matthew, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and

¹ Recog. vi. 11.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.* v. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.* iv. 35.

⁹ *Ibid.* iii. 14.

¹¹ *Ibid.* x. 45.

¹³ Hom. iii. 57.

² *Ibid.* vi. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.* v. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 62.

⁸ *Ibid.* iii. 38.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* vi. 4.

¹² *Ibid.* v. 13, iii. 38.

¹⁴ Luke vi. 36.

sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.”¹ Is it not clear that either the pseudo-Clement condensed the direction, “Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you,” into the brief maxim, “Be ye good and merciful,”—or that, and this is more probable, there were concurrent traditional accounts of our Lord’s saying, and that St. Matthew, St. Luke, and the writer of the Gospel used by the pseudo-Clement, made use of independent texts in their compilations?

The next passage is a saying of our Lord on the cross, which is given in the Recognitions: “*Father, forgive them their sin, for they know not what they do.*”² In the Homilies we have the original Greek: “Father, forgive them their sins, for they know not what they do.”³ Rufinus has unconsciously altered the text in translating it by making “sins” singular instead of plural.

It is not necessary to note the insignificant difference of the word *ἁ* in the Homily and the word *τί* in the Gospel. But who cannot see that the addition of the words, “their sins,” completely changes the thought of the Saviour? Jesus prays God to forgive the Jews the crime they commit in crucifying him, and not to pardon all the sins of their lives that they have committed. The addition of these two words not merely modify the thought; they represent another of an inferior order. They would not have been introduced into the text if the author of the Gospel used by the pseudo-Clement had had the Gospel of St. Luke before him. These words were certainly not derived from St. Luke; they are due

¹ Matt. v. 44—46.

² Recog. vi. 5.

³ Πάτερ ἄφες αὐτοῖς τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν ἢ ποιοῦσιν. Hom. xi. 20. In St. Luke it runs, Πάτερ ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἶδασι τί ποιοῦσι.—Luke xxiii. 34.

to a separate recollection or tradition of the sayings of the Saviour on the cross. Those sayings we may well believe were cherished in the memory of the early disciples. Tradition always modifies, weakens, renders commonplace the noblest thoughts and most striking sayings, and colours the most original with a tint of triviality.¹

We find in both the Recollections and Homilies a passage which has been thought to be a quotation from St. John: "*Verily I say unto you, That unless a man is born again of water, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.*"² Here, again, the hand of Rufinus is to be traced. The same quotation is made in the Homilies, and it stands there thus: "*Verily I say unto you, Unless ye be born again of the water of life (or the living water) in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.*"³

That the narrative of the interview with Nicodemus was in the Gospel of the Hebrews, we learned from Justin Martyr quoting it. We will place the parallel passages opposite each other:

GOSPEL OF THE HEBREWS.

JUSTIN MARTYR, 1 Apol. 61.

"Christ said, Except ye be born again, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."

* * *

GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN,

c. iii. 3, 5.

"3. Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

* * *

¹ M. Nicolas: *Études sur les Évangiles Apocryphes*, pp. 72, 73.

² *Recog.* vi. 9.

³ Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε ὕδατι ζωῆς (in another place ὕδατι ζῶντι), εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς, υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ εἰσελθῆτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.—Homil. xi. 26.

PSEUDO-CLEMENT, Hom. xi. 26.

“*And Christ said (with an oath),¹ Verily I say unto you, Unless ye are born again of the water of life (in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost), ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.*”

“5. Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.”

The fragment in the Homilies clearly belongs to the same narrative as the fragment in Justin's Apology. Both are addressed in the second person plural, “Except ye be born again;” in the Gospel of St. John the first is, “Except a man be born again;” the second, “Except a man be born of water and spirit;” both in the third person singular. The form of the first answer in Justin differs from that in St. John: “he cannot enter the kingdom,” “he cannot see the kingdom.”

That these are independent accounts I can hardly doubt. The words, “in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,” are an obvious interpolation, perhaps a late one, in the text of the Homilies; for Rufinus would hardly have omitted to translate this, though he did allow himself to make short verbal alterations.

There is another apparent quotation from St. John in the fifth book of the Recognitions: “*Every one is made the servant of him to whom he yields subjection.*”² But here again the quotation is very questionable. St. John's version of our Lord's saying is, “Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin.” St. Paul is much nearer:

¹ Recognitions vi. 9: “For thus hath the true prophet testified to us with an oath: Verily I say unto you,” &c. The oath is, of course, the Ἀμήν, ἀμήν.

² Recog. v. 13; John viii. 34.

“ Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness ?”¹

The quotation in the Recognitions is not from St. Paul, for the author expressly declares it is a saying of our Lord. St. Paul could not have had St. John's Gospel under his eye when he wrote, for that Gospel was not composed till long after he wrote the Epistle to the Romans. He gives no hint that he is quoting a saying of our Lord traditionally known to the Roman Christians. He apparently makes appeal to their experience when he says, “ Know ye not.” Yet this fragment of an ancient lost Gospel in the Clementine Recognitions gives another colour to his words; they may be paraphrased, “ Know ye not that saying of Christ, To whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are ?” It appears, therefore, that this is an earlier recorded reminiscence of our Lord's saying than that of St. John.

There is one, and only one, apparent quotation from St. Paul in the Recognitions: “ In God's estimation, he is not a Jew who is a Jew among men, nor is he a Gentile that is called a Gentile, but he who, believing in God, fulfils his law and does his will, though he be not circumcised.”² St. Paul's words are: “ He is not a Jew which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter.”

There is no doubt a resemblance between these passages. But it is probable that the resemblance is due solely to community of thought in the minds of both

¹ Rom. vi. 16.

² Recog. v. 34; Rom. ii. 28.

writers. It would be extraordinary if this were a quotation, for the author of the Recognitions nowhere quotes from any Epistle, not even from those of St. Peter; and that he, an Ebionite, should quote St. Paul, whose Epistles the Ebionites rejected, is scarcely credible.

The Recognitions mention the temptation: "The prince of wickedness presumed that he should be worshipped by him by whom he knew that he was to be destroyed. Therefore our Lord, confirming the worship of one God, answered him, It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve. And he, terrified by this answer, and fearing lest the true religion of the one and true God should be restored, hastened straightway to send forth into this world false prophets and false apostles and false teachers, who should speak, indeed, in the name of Christ, but should accomplish the will of the demon."¹ Here we have Christ indicated as the one who was to restore that true worship of God which Moses had instituted, but which the Ebionites, with their Essene ancestors, asserted had been defaced and corrupted by false traditions. And in opposition to this, the devil sends out false apostles, false teachers, to undo this work, calling themselves, however, apostles of Christ. There can be little doubt who is meant. The reference is to St. Paul, Silas, and those who accepted his views, in opposition to those of St. James and St. Peter.

In Homily xii. is a citation which seems to indicate the use of the third Canonical Gospel. At first sight it appears to be a combination of a passage of St. Matthew and a parallel passage of St. Luke. It is preceded in the Homily by a phrase not found in the Canonical Gospels, but which is given, together with what follows,

¹ Recog. iv. 34. The same in the Homilies, xi. 35.

as a declaration of the Saviour. The three passages are placed side by side for comparison :

HOMILY xii. 19.	MATT. xviii. 7.	LUKE xvii. 1.
<p><i>“It must be that good things come, and happy is he by whom they come. In like manner it must be that evil things come, but woe to him by whom they come.”</i>¹</p>	<p>“It must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.”</p>	<p>“It is impossible but that offences will come; but woe to him through whom they come.”</p>

The passage in the Homily is more complete than those in St. Matthew and St. Luke. The two Canonical Evangelists made use of imperfect fragments destitute of one member of the sentence. One cannot but wish to believe that our Lord pronounced a benediction on those who did good in their generation.

“There is amongst us,” says St. Peter in his second Homily, “one Justa, a Syro-Phœnician, a Canaanite by race, whose daughter was oppressed with a grievous disease. And she came to our Lord, crying out and entreating that he would heal her daughter. But he, being asked by us also, said, ‘*It is not lawful to heal the Gentiles, who are like unto dogs on account of their using various meats and practices, while the table in the kingdom has been given to the sons of Israel.*’ But she, hearing this, and begging to partake as a dog of the crumbs that fall from this table, having changed what she was (*i.e.* having given up the use of forbidden food), by living like the sons of the kingdom, obtained healing for her

¹ Τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐλθεῖν δεῖ, μακάριος δὲ δι’ οὗ ἔρχεται ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἀνάγκη ἐλθεῖν, οὐαὶ δὲ δι’ οὗ ἔρχεται.

daughter as she asked. For she being a Gentile, and remaining in the same course of life, he would not have healed her had she persisted to live as do the Gentiles, on account of its not being lawful to heal a Gentile."¹

That the Ebionites perverted the words of our Lord to make them support their tenets on distinction of meats is obvious.

In the Clementine Homilies we have thrice repeated a saying of our Lord which we know of from St. Jerome and St. Clement of Alexandria, who speak of it as undoubtedly a genuine saying of Christ, "*Be ye good money-changers.*"²

This text is used by the author of the Clementines to prove the necessity of distinguishing between the gold and the dross in Holy Scripture. And to this he adds the quotation, "*Ye do therefore err, not knowing the true things of the Scriptures; and for this reason ye are ignorant also of the power of God.*"³

The following are some more fragments from the Clementine Homilies:

"*He said, I am he of whom Moses prophesied, saying, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise unto you of your brethren, like unto me: him hear ye in all things; and whosoever will not hear the prophet shall die.*"⁴ This saying of Moses is quoted by both St. Peter and St. Stephen in their addresses, as recorded in the Acts. It is probable, therefore, that our Lord had claimed this prophecy to have been spoken of him. But St. Luke had never heard that he had done so, as he makes no allusion to it in his Gospel or in the speeches he puts in the mouths of Peter and Stephen in the Acts.

¹ Hom. ii. 19.

² *Ibid.* ii. 51.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 51, xviii. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 53.

*"It is thine, O man, said he, to prove my words, as silver and money are proved by the exchangers."*¹

*"Give none occasion to the evil one."*²

Twice repeated we have the text, *"Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."*³

In St. Matthew's Gospel (iv. 10) it runs, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

In the Clementines: "He alleged that it was right to present to him who strikes you on one cheek the other also, and to give to him who takes away your cloak your hood also, and to go two miles with him who compels you to go one."⁴ This differs from the account in St. Matthew, by using for the word *χιτῶνα*, "tunic," of the Canonical Gospel, the word *μαφόριον*, "hood."

There are other passages identical with, or almost identical with, the received text in St. Matthew's Gospel, which it is not necessary to enter upon separately.

They are: Matt. v. 3, 8, 17, 18, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, vi. 8, 13, vii. 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 21, viii. 11, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, ix. 13, x. 28, 34, xi. 25, 27, 28, xii. 7, 26, 34, 42, xiii. 17, 39, xv. 13, xvi. 13, 18, xix. 8, 17, xxii. 2, 32, xxiii. 25, xxiv. 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, xxv. 41. In all, some fifty-five verses, almost and often quite the same as in St. Matthew's Gospel.

There is just one text supposed to be taken from St. Mark's Gospel, four from St. Luke's, and two from St. John's. But I do not think we are justified in concluding that these quotations are taken from the three last-named Canonical Gospels. That they are not taken

¹ Homil. ii. 61

² *Ibid.* xix. 2.

³ *Ibid.* viii. 21. In the Hebrew *לִפְנֵי*, rendered by the LXX. *φοβηθήση*. The word in St. Matthew is *προσκυνήσεις*.

⁴ *Ibid.* xv. 5.

from St. Luke we may be almost certain, for that Gospel was not received by the Judaizing Christians. When we examine the passages, the probability of their being quotations from the Canonical Gospels disappears.

We find, "He, the true Prophet, said, *I am the gate of life; he that entereth through me entereth into life.*"¹ The words in St. John's Gospel are, "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved."² The idea is the same, but the mode of expression is different.

"Again he said, *My sheep hear my voice.*"³

The quotation from St. Mark is too brief for us to be able to form any well-founded opinion upon it. It is this: "But to those who were misled to imagine many gods, as the Scriptures say, he said, *Hear, O Israel; the Lord your God is one Lord.*"⁴

No prejudice would exist among the Ebionites against the Gospel of St. Mark, but the Christology of the Johannine Gospel, its doctrine of the Logos, would not accord with their low views of Christ. The Ebionites who denied the Godhead of Jesus could hardly acknowledge as canonical a Gospel which contained the words, "And the Word was with God, and the Word was God."

HOM. xix. 22.

"Our Master replied to those who asked him concerning him that was born blind, and to whom he restored sight, if it was he or his parents who had sinned, in that he was born blind. *It is not that he hath sinned in anywise, nor his parents; but in order that*

JOHN ix. 1—3.

"And as Jesus passed by, he saw a man which was blind from his birth.

"And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?"

"Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his

¹ Homil. iii. 52.² John x. 9.³ Homil. iii. 52; cf. John x. 16.⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 57; Mark xii. 29.

*the power of God may be manifested, who healeth sins of ignorance."*¹ parents: but that the works of God should be made manifest in him."

The resemblance is striking. Nevertheless I do not think we have a right to conclude that this passage in the Clementine Homilies is necessarily a citation from St. John.

The text is quoted in connection with the peculiar Ebionite doctrine of seasons and days already alluded to. When our Lord says that he heals the sins of ignorance, he is made in the Clementine Gospel to assert that the blindness of the man was the result of disregard by his parents of the new moons and sabbaths, not wilfully, but through ignorance. "The afflictions you mentioned," says St. Peter in connection with this quotation, "are the result of ignorance, but assuredly not of wickedness. Give me the man who sins not, and I will show you the man who suffers not."

But though this is the interpretation put on the words of our Lord by the Clementine Ebionite, it by no means flows naturally from them; it is rather wrung out of them.

The words, I think, mean that the blindness of the man is symbolical; its mystical meaning is ignorance. Our Lord by opening the eyes of the blind exhibits himself as the spiritual enlightener of mankind. He is come to unclothe men's eyes to the true light that he sheds abroad in the world.

In St. John's Gospel, after having declared that blindness was not the punishment of sin in the man or his

¹ HOMIL. IX. 27.

Οὔτε οὗτος τι ἥμαρτεν, οὔτε οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ φανερωθῇ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς ἀγνοίας ἰωμένῃ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα.

JOAN. IX. 3.

Οὔτε οὗτος ἥμαρτεν, οὔτε οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἵνα φανερωθῇ τα ἔργα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἃ ἐν αὐτῷ.

parents, our Lord continues, "I must work the works of Him that sent me, while it is day; the night cometh, when no man can work. As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world."

Put this last declaration in connection with the saying, "I am come to heal the sins of ignorance," and the connection of ideas is at once apparent. The blindness of the man is symbolical of the ignorance of the world. "I am the light of the world, and I have come to dispel the darkness of the ignorance of the world." And so saying, "he spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and he anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay."

A few important words in Christ's teaching had escaped the memory of St. John. But they had been noted down by some other apostle, and the recollections of the latter were embodied in the Gospel in use among the Ebionites.

The texts resembling passages in St. Luke are four, but all of them are found in St. Matthew's Gospel as well.

*"Blessed is that man whom his Lord shall appoint to the ministry of his fellow-servants."*¹

"The Queen of the South shall rise up with this generation, and shall condemn it; because she came from the extremities of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold, a greater than Solomon is here, and ye do not believe him."

*"The men of Nineveh shall rise up with this generation and shall condemn it, for they heard and repented at the preaching of Jonas: and behold, a greater is here, and no one believes."*²

¹ Homil. iii. 64; cf. Luke xii. 43, but also Matt. xxiv. 46.

² *Ibid.* xi. 33; cf. Luke xi. 31, 32, but also Matt. xii. 42, 41. The order in Matt. reversed.

The compiler of St. Matthew's Gospel had this striking passage in an imperfect condition. St. Luke had it with both its members. So had also the compiler of the Clementine Gospel. The wording is not exactly identical with that in St. Luke, but the difference is not material. "Ye do not believe him," "And no one believes," exist in the Ebionite, not in the Canonical text.

*"For without the will of God, not even a sparrow can fall into a gin. Thus even the hairs of the righteous are numbered by God."*¹

¹ Homil. xii. 31; cf. Matt. x. 29, 30; Luke xii. 6, 7.

III.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. PETER.

SERAPION, Bishop of Antioch, in 190, on entering his see, learned that there was a Gospel attributed to St. Peter read in the sacred services of the church of Rhosus, in Cilicia. Taking it for granted, as he says, that all in his diocese held the same faith, without perusing this Gospel, he sanctioned its use, saying, "If this be the only thing that creates difference among you, let it be read."

But he was speedily made aware that this Gospel was not orthodox in its tendency. It favoured the opinions of the Docetæ. It was whispered that if it had an apostolic parentage, it had heretical sponsors. Serapion thereupon borrowed the Gospel, read it, and found it was even as had been reported. "Peter," said he, "we receive with the other apostles as Christ himself," but this Gospel was, if not apocryphal as to its facts, at all events heretical as to its teaching.

Thereupon Serapion, regretting his precipitation in sanctioning the use of the Gospel, wrote a book upon it, "in refutation of its false assertions."¹

This book unfortunately has been lost, so that we are not able to learn much more about the Gospel. What was its origin? Was it a forgery from beginning to end? This is by no means probable.

The Gospel of St. Mark, as we have seen, was due to St. Peter, and by some went by the name of the Gospel

¹ Euseb. Hist. Eccl. vi. 12.

*A genuine work
has not been
discovered.*

of St. Peter. It was a Gospel greatly affected by the Docetæ and Elkesaites. "Those who distinguish Jesus from Christ, and who say that Christ was impassible, but that Jesus endured the sufferings of his passion, prefer the Gospel of Mark," says Irenæus.¹

It was likely that they should prefer it, for it began at the baptism, and this event it stated, or was thought to state, was the beginning of the Gospel; to Docetic minds an admission, an assertion rather, that all that preceded was of no importance; Jesus was but a man as are other men, till the plenitude of the Spirit descended on him. The early history might be matter of curiosity, but not of edification.

That matter is evil is a doctrine which in the East has proved the fertile mother of heresies. Those infected with this idea—and it is an idea, like Predestinarianism, which, when once accepted and assimilated, pervades the whole tissue of belief and determines its form and complexion—could not acknowledge frankly and with conviction the dogma of the Incarnation. That God should have part with matter, was as opposed to their notions as a concord of light with darkness. Carried by the current setting strongly that way, they found themselves landed in Christianity. They set to work at once to mould Christianity in accordance with their theory of the inherent evil in matter. Christ, an emanation from the Pleroma, the highest, purest wave that swept from the inexhaustible fountain of Deity, might overshadow, but could not coalesce with, the human Jesus. The nativity and the death of our Lord were repugnant to their consciences. They evaded these facts by considering that he was born and died as man, but that the

¹ "Qui Jesum separant a Christo et impassibilem perseverasse Christum, passum vero Jesum dicunt, id quod secundum Marcum est præferunt Evangelium."—Iren. adv. Hæres. iii. 2. The Greek is lost.

bright overshadowing cloud of the Divinity, of the Christ, reposed on him for a brief period only; it descended at the baptism, it withdrew before the passion.

Such were the party—they were scarcely yet a sect—who used the Gospel of St. Peter. Was this Gospel a corrupted edition of St. Mark? Probably not. We have not much ground on which to base an opinion, but there is just sufficient to make it likely that such was not the case.

To the Docetæ, the nativity of our Lord was purely indifferent; it was not in their Gospel; that it was miraculous they would not allow. To admit that Christ was the Son of God when born of Mary, was to abandon their peculiar tenets. It was immaterial to them whether Jesus had brothers and sisters, or whether James and Jude were only his cousins. The Canonical Gospels speak of the brothers and sisters of Christ, and we are not told that they were not the children of Mary.¹ When the Memorabilia were committed to writing, there was no necessity for doing so. The relationship was known to every one. Catholics, maintaining the perpetual virginity of the mother of Jesus, asserted that they were children of Joseph by a former wife, or cousins. The Gospel of St. Peter declared them to be the children of Joseph by an earlier marriage. Origen says, "There are persons who assure us that the brothers of Jesus were the sons whom Joseph had by his first wife, before he married Mary. They base their opinion on either the Gospel entitled the Gospel of Peter, or on the Book of James (the Protevangelium)."²

Such a statement would not have been intruded into the Gospel by the Docetæ, as it favoured no doctrine of

¹ Matt. xii. 47, 48, xiii. 55; Mark iii. 32; Luke viii. 20; John vii. 5.

² Origen, Comment. in Matt. c. ix.

theirs. It must therefore have existed in the Gospel before it came into their hands.

We know how St. Mark's Gospel was formed. After the death of his master, the evangelist compiled all the fragmentary "Recollections" of St. Peter concerning our Lord. But these recollections had before this circulated throughout the Church. We have evidence of this in the incorporation of some of them into the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. Others, besides St. Mark, may have strung these fragments together. One such tissue would be the Gospel of St. Peter. It did not, perhaps, contain as many articles as that of St. Mark, but it was less select. Like those of St. Matthew and St. Luke, on the thread were probably strung memorabilia of other apostles and disciples, but also, perhaps, some of questionable authority.

This collection was in use at Rhodus. It may have been in use there since apostolic days; perhaps it was compiled by some president of the church there. But it had not been suffered to remain without interpolations which gave it a Docetic character.

Its statement of the relationship borne by the "brothers and sisters" to our Lord is most valuable, as it is wholly unprejudiced and of great antiquity. The Gospel, held in reverence as sacred in the second century at Rhodus, was probably brought thither when that church was founded, not perhaps in a consecutive history, but in paragraphs. The church was a daughter of the church of Antioch, and therefore probably founded by a disciple of St. Peter.

IV.

THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS.

THE Gospel known by this name is mentioned by several of the early Fathers.¹ It existed in the second half of the second century; and as it was then in use and regarded as canonical by certain Christian sects, it must have been older. We shall not be far out if we place its composition at the beginning of the second century.

To form an idea of its tendency, we must have recourse to two different sources, the second Epistle of Clemens Romanus, the author of which seems to have made use of no other Gospel than that of the Egyptians, and Clement of Alexandria, who quotes three passages from it, and refutes the theories certain heretics of his time derived from them.

The second Epistle of St. Clement of Rome is a Judaizing work, as Schneckenburg has proved incontestably.² It is sufficient to remark that the Chiliast belief which transpires in more than one place, the analogy of ideas and of expressions which it bears to the Clementine Homilies, and finally the selection of Clement of Rome, a personage as dear to the Ebionites as the apostles James and Peter, to place the composition under his venerated name, are as many indications of

¹ Τὸ αἰγύπτιον Εὐαγγέλιον; Epiphan. Hæres. lxii. 2; Evangelium secundum Ægyptios; Origen, Hom. i. in luc.; Evangelium juxta Ægyptios; Hieron. Prolog. in Comm. super Matth.

² Schneckenburg, Ueber das Evangelium der Ægypter; Berne, 1834.

the Judæo-Christian character and origin of this apocryphal work.

The Gospel cited by the author of this Epistle, except in two or three phrases which are not found in any of our Canonical Gospels, recalls that of St. Matthew. Nevertheless, it is certain that the quotations are from the Gospel of the Egyptians, for one of the passages cited in this Epistle is also quoted by Clement of Alexandria, who tells us whence it comes—from the Egyptian Gospel. We may conclude from this that the Gospel of the Egyptians presented great analogy to our first Canonical Gospel, without being identical with it, and consequently that it was related closely to the Gospel of the Hebrews.

If the second Epistle of Clement of Rome determines for us the family to which this Gospel belonged, the passages we shall extract from the *Stromata* of Clement of Alexandria will determine its order. There are three of these passages, and very curious ones they are.

The first is cited by both Clement of Rome and Clement of Alexandria, by one more fully than by the other.

*“The Lord, having been asked by Salome when his kingdom would come, replied, When you shall have trampled under foot the garment of shame, when two shall be one, when that which is without shall be like that which is within, and when the male with the female shall be neither male nor female.”*¹

¹ CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

Stromat. iii. 12.

Πυνθανομένης τῆς Σαλωμῆς πότε γνωσθήσεται τὰ περὶ ὧν ἠρετο, ἔφη ὁ κύριος· ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἐνδύμα πατήσητε, καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἓν, καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ.

CLEMENT OF ROME.

2 *Epist.* c. 12.

Ἐπερωτηθεὶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὑπὸ τινος πότε ἤξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία; ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἓν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ.

The explanation of this singular passage by Clement of Rome is, "Two shall be one when we are truthful with each other, and when in two bodies there will be but one soul, without dissimulation and without disguise. That which is without is the body; that which is within is the soul. Just as your body appears externally, so should your soul manifest itself by good works." The explanation of the last member of the phrase is wanting, as the Epistle has not come down to us entire.

But this is certainly not the real meaning of the passage. Its true signification is to be found in the bloodless, passionless exaltation at which the ascetic aimed who held all matter to be evil, the body to be a clog to the soul, marriage to be abominable, meats to be abstained from. It points to that condition as one of perfection in which the soul shall forget her union with the body, and, sexless and ethereal, shall be supreme.

It was in this sense that the heretics took it. Julius Cassianus, "chief of the sect of the Docetæ,"¹ invoked this text against the union of the sexes. This interpretation manifestly embarrassed St. Clement of Alexandria, and he endeavours to escape from the difficulty by weakening the authority of the text.

He does this by pointing out that the saying of our Lord is found only in the Gospel of the Egyptians, and not in those four generally received. But as Julius Cassianus appealed at the same time to a saying of St. Paul, the authenticity of which was not to be contested, the Alexandrine doctor did not consider that he could avoid discussing the question; and he gives, on his side, an interpretation of the saying of Jesus in the Apocryphal Gospel, and of that of St. Paul, associated with it by Julius Cassianus. The words of St. Paul quoted by the

² "Ὁ τῆς δοκίσεως ἐξάρχων.—Stromat. iii. 13.