

many as from Holy Scripture, and by some ascribed to the Gospel of the Nazarenes, or the Gospel according to the Hebrews. There can be no question here that the author quotes an apocryphal Gospel.

There is, in immediate connection with both the preceding passages, another saying of Jesus quoted which is not found in our Gospels: "Why do ye not discern the good reason of the Scriptures?" "Διὰ τί οὐ νοεῖτε τὸ εὐλογον τῶν γραφῶν."¹ This passage also comes from a Gospel different from ours, and the connection and sequence of these quotations is very significant.

One further illustration and we have done. We find the following in *Hom.* iii. 55: "And to those who think that God tempts, as the Scriptures say, he said: 'The evil one is the tempter,' who also tempted himself."² This short saying is not found in our Gospels; it probably occurred in the Gospel of the *Homilies* in connection with the temptation of Jesus. It is not improbable that the writer of the Epistle of James, who shows acquaintance with a Gospel different from ours,³ also knew this saying.⁴ We are here again directed to the Ebionite Gospel. Certainly the quotation is derived from a source different from our Gospels.

These illustrations of the evangelical quotations in the *Clementine Homilies* give but an imperfect impression of the character of the extremely numerous passages which occur in the work. We have selected for our examination the quotations which have been specially cited by critics as closest to parallels in our Gospels, and have thus submitted the question to the test which is most favourable to the claims of our Synoptics. Space forbids our adequately showing the much wider divergence which exists in the great majority of cases between them and the quotations in the *Homilies*. To sum up the case: Out of more than a hundred of these quotations only four brief and fragmentary phrases really agree with parallels in our Synoptics, and these are either not used in the same context as in our Gospels, or are of a nature far from special to them. Of the rest, all without exception vary more or less from our Gospels, and many in their variations agree with similar quotations in other writers, or on repeated quotation always present the same peculiarities, whilst others, professed to be direct quotations of

Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xliv. 2, p. 382; Hieron., *Ep. ad Minerv. et Alex.*, 119 (al. 152); *Comm. in Ep. ad Ephes.*, iv.; Grabe, *Spicil. Patr.*, i., p. 13 f., 326; Cotelerius, *Patr. Ap.*, i., p. 249 f.; Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr. N. T.*, ii., p. 524.

¹ *Hom.* iii. 50.

² Τοῖς δὲ οἰομένοις ὅτι ὁ θεὸς πειράζει, ὡς αἱ Γραφαὶ λέγουσιν ἔφη. 'Ο πονηρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ πειράζων, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸν πειράσας. *Hom.* iii. 55.

³ Cf. v. 12.

⁴ Cf. i. 13.

sayings of Jesus, have no parallels in our Gospels at all. Upon the hypothesis that the author made use of our Gospels, such systematic divergence would be perfectly unintelligible and astounding. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the agreement of a few passages with parallels in our Gospels cannot prove anything. The only extraordinary circumstance is that, even using a totally different source, there should not have been a greater agreement with our Synoptics. But for the universal inaccuracy of the human mind, every important historical saying, having obviously only one distinct original form, would in all truthful histories have been reported in that one unvarying form. The nature of the quotations in the *Clementine Homilies* leads to the inevitable conclusion that their author derived them from a Gospel different from ours; at least, since the source of these quotations is never named throughout the work, and there is not the faintest direct indication of our Gospels, the *Clementine Homilies* cannot be considered witnesses of any value as to the origin and authenticity of the canonical Gospels. That this can be said of a work written at least a century and a half after the establishment of Christianity, and abounding with quotations of the discourses of Jesus, is in itself singularly suggestive.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the author of the *Homilies* has no idea of any canonical writings but those of the Old Testament, though, even with regard to these, some of our quotations have shown that he held peculiar views, and believed that they contained spurious elements. There is no reference in the *Homilies* to any of the Epistles of the New Testament.

One of the most striking points in this work, on the other hand, is its determined animosity against the Apostle Paul. We have seen that a strong anti-Pauline tendency was exhibited by many of the Fathers, who, like the author of the *Homilies*, made use of Judeo-Christian Gospels different from ours. In this work, however, the antagonism against the "Apostle of the Gentiles" assumes a tone of peculiar virulence. There cannot be a doubt that the Apostle Paul is attacked in it, as the great enemy of the true faith, under the hated name of Simon the Magician, whom Peter follows everywhere for the purpose of unmasking and confuting him. He is robbed of his title of "Apostle of the Gentiles," which, together with the honour of founding the Church of Antioch, of Laodiceæ, and of Rome, is ascribed to Peter. All that opposition to Paul which is implied in the Epistle to the Galatians and elsewhere¹ is here realised and exaggerated, and the personal difference with Peter to which Paul refers² is widened

¹ 1 Cor. i. 11, 12; 2 Cor. xi. 13, 20 f.; Philip. i. 15, 16.

² Gal. ii. 11; cf. 1 Cor. i. 11, 12.

into the most bitter animosity. In the Epistle of Peter to James, which is prefixed to the *Homilies*, Peter says, in allusion to Paul: "For some among the Gentiles have rejected my lawful preaching and accepted certain lawless and foolish teaching of the hostile man."¹ First expounding a doctrine of duality, as heaven and earth, day and night, life and death,² Peter asserts that in Nature the greater things come first; but amongst men the opposite is the case, and the first is worse, and the second better.³ He then says to Clement that it is easy, according to this order, to discern to what class Simon (Paul) belongs, "who came before me to the Gentiles; and to which I belong who have come after him, and have followed him as light upon darkness, as knowledge upon ignorance, as health upon disease."⁴ He continues: "If he had been known he would not have been believed; but now, not being known, he is wrongly believed; and though by his acts he is a hater, he has been loved; and, although an enemy, he has been welcomed as a friend; and, though he is death, he has been desired as a saviour; and, though fire, esteemed as light; and, though a deceiver, he is listened to as speaking the truth."⁵ There is much more of this acrimonious abuse put into the mouth of Peter.⁶ The indications that it is Paul who is really attacked under the name of Simon are much too clear to admit of doubt. In *Hom.* xi. 35, Peter, warning the Church against false teachers, says: "He who hath sent us, our Lord and Prophet, declared to us that the evil one.....announced that he would send, from amongst his followers, apostles⁷ to deceive. Therefore, above all, remember to avoid every apostle, or teacher, or prophet, who first does not accurately compare his teaching with that of James, called the brother of my Lord, and to whom was confided the ordering of the Church of the Hebrews in Jerusalem," etc., lest this evil one should send a false preacher to them, "as he has sent to us Simon preaching a counterfeit of truth in the name of our Lord and disseminating error."⁸ Further on he speaks more plainly still. Simon maintains that he has a truer appreciation of the doctrines and teaching of Jesus, because he has received his inspiration by supernatural vision, and not merely by the common experience of the senses,⁹ and Peter replies: "If, therefore, our Jesus, indeed, was seen in a vision, was known by thee, and conversed with thee, it was only as one

Most impo!

¹ *Epist. Petri ad Jacobum*, § 2. Dr. Westcott quotes this passage with the observation, "There can be no doubt that St. Paul is referred to as 'the enemy'" (*On the Canon*, p. 252, note 2).

² *Hom.* ii. 15.

³ *Ib.*, ii. 16.

⁴ *Ib.*, ii. 17.

⁵ *Ib.*, ii. 18.

⁶ Cf. *Hom.* iii. 59; vii. 2, 4, 10, 11.

⁷ We have already pointed out that this declaration is not in our Gospels.

⁸ *Hom.* xi. 35; cf. *Galat.* i. 7 ff.

⁹ *Ib.*, xvii. 13 ff.

angry with an adversary.....But can anyone, through a vision, be made wise to teach? And if thou sayest 'It is possible,' then, wherefore did the Teacher remain and discourse for a whole year to us who were awake? And how can we believe thy story that he was seen by thee? And how could he have been seen by thee when thy thoughts are contrary to his teaching? But if seen and taught by him for a single hour, thou becamest an apostle¹—preach his words, interpret his sayings, love his apostles, oppose not me who consorted with him. For thou hast directly withstood me who am a firm rock, the foundation of the Church. If thou hadst not been an adversary, thou wouldst not have calumniated me, thou wouldst not have reviled my teaching, in order that, when declaring what I have myself heard from the Lord, I might not be believed, as though I were condemned.....But if thou callest me condemned, thou speakest against God, who revealed Christ to me,"² etc. This last phrase, "If thou callest me condemned" ("Ἡ εἰ κατεγνωσμένον με λέγεις), is an evident allusion to Galat. ii. 11: "I withstood him to the face, because he was condemned" (ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν).

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note.

We have digressed to a greater extent than we intended, but it is not unimportant to show the general character and tendency of the work we have been examining. The *Clementine Homilies*—written certainly not earlier than the end of the second century; which never name nor indicate any Gospel as the source of the author's knowledge of evangelical history; whose quotations of sayings of Jesus, numerous as they are, systematically differ from the parallel passages of our Synoptics, or are altogether foreign to them; which denounce the Apostle Paul as an impostor, enemy of the faith, and disseminator of false doctrine, and therefore repudiate his Epistles, at the same time equally ignoring all the other writings of the New Testament—can scarcely be considered as giving much support to any theory of the early formation of the New Testament Canon, or as affording evidence even of the existence of its separate books.

Among the writings which used formally to be ascribed to Justin Martyr, and to be published along with his genuine works, is the short composition commonly known as the "Epistle to Diognetus." The ascription of this composition to Justin arose solely from the fact that in the only known MS. of the letter there is an inscription, Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Διόγνητον, which, from its connection, was referred to Justin.³ The style and contents of the work, however, soon

¹ Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 1 ff. "Am I not an Apostle? have I not seen Jesus our Lord?" Cf. Galat. i. 1; i. 12, "For neither did I myself receive it by man, nor was I taught it but by revelation of Jesus Christ."

² *Hom.* xvii. 19.

³ Otto, *Ep. ad Diognetum*, etc., 1852, p. 11 f.

convinced critics that it could not possibly have been written by Justin, and although it has been ascribed by various isolated writers to Apollos, Clement, Marcion, Quadratus, and others, none of these guesses have been seriously supported, and critics are almost universally agreed in confessing that the author of the Epistle is entirely unknown.

Such being the case, the difficulty of assigning a date to the work with any degree of certainty is extreme, if it be not absolutely impossible to do so. This difficulty is increased by several circumstances. The first and most important of these is the fact that the Epistle to Diognetus is neither quoted nor mentioned by any ancient writer, and consequently there is no external evidence to indicate the period of its composition. Moreover, it is not only anonymous but incomplete, or, at least, as we have it, not the work of a single writer. At the end of chap. x. a break is indicated, and the two concluding chapters are unmistakably by a different and later hand. It is not singular, therefore, that there exists a wide difference of opinion as to the date of the first ten chapters, although all agree regarding the later composition of the concluding portion. It is assigned by critics to various periods ranging from about the end of the first quarter of the second century to the end of the third century or later, whilst many denounce it as a mere modern forgery. Nothing can be more insecure in one direction than the date of a writing derived alone from internal evidence. Allusions to actual occurrences may with certainty prove that a work could only have been written after they had taken place. The mere absence of later indications in an anonymous Epistle only found in a single MS. of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, however, and which may have been, and probably was, written expressly in imitation of early Christian feeling, cannot furnish any solid basis for an early date. It must be evident that the determination of the date of this Epistle cannot, therefore, be regarded as otherwise than doubtful and arbitrary. It is certain that the purity of its Greek and the elegance of its style distinguish it from all other Christian works of the period to which so many assign it.

The Epistle to Diognetus does not furnish any evidence even of the existence of our Synoptics, for it is admitted that it does not contain a single direct quotation from any evangelical work. We shall hereafter have to refer to this Epistle in connection with the fourth Gospel, but in the meantime it may be well to add that in chap. xii., one of those, it will be remembered, which are admitted to be of later date, a brief quotation is made from 1 Cor. viii. 1, introduced merely by the words, ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει.

CHAPTER VI.

BASILIDES—VALENTINUS.

WE must now turn back to an earlier period, and consider any evidence regarding the synoptic Gospels which may be furnished by the so-called heretical writers of the second century. The first of these who claims our attention is Basilides, the founder of a system of Gnosticism, who lived in Alexandria about the year 125 of our era.¹ With the exception of a very few brief fragments,² none of the writings of this Gnostic have been preserved, and all our information regarding them is, therefore, derived at second-hand from ecclesiastical writers opposed to him and his doctrines; and their statements, especially where acquaintance with, and the use of, the New Testament Scriptures are assumed, must be received with very great caution. The uncritical and inaccurate character of the Fathers rendered them peculiarly liable to be misled by foregone devout conclusions.

Eusebius states that Agrippa Castor, who had written a refutation of the doctrines of Basilides, "says that he had composed twenty-four books upon the Gospel."³ This is interpreted by Tischendorf, without argument, and in a most arbitrary and erroneous manner, to imply that the work was a commentary upon our four canonical Gospels;⁴ a conclusion the audacity of which can scarcely be exceeded. This is, however, almost surpassed by the treatment of Dr. Westcott, who writes regarding Basilides: "It appears, moreover, that he himself published a Gospel—a 'Life of Christ,' as it would perhaps be called in our days, or 'The Philosophy of Christianity'⁵—but he admitted the historic truth of all the facts contained in the canonical Gospels, and used them as Scripture. For, in spite of his peculiar opinions, the testimony of Basilides to our 'acknowledged' books is comprehensive and clear. In the few pages of his writings which remain there are certain references to the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John,"⁶ etc. Now, such representations as these, made in

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv. 7, 8, 9.

² Grabe, *Spicil. Patr.*, ii., p. 39 ff., 65 ff.

³ *H. E.*, iv. 7.

⁴ *Wann wurden, u. s. w.*, p. 51 f.

⁵ These names are, of course, pure inventions of Dr. Westcott's fancy.

⁶ *On the Canon*, p. 255 f. [Since these remarks were first made, Dr. Westcott has somewhat enlarged his account of Basilides, but we still consider that his treatment of the subject is deceptive and incomplete.]

the absence of any explanation of the facts, or any statement of the reasons for such unqualified assertions, and totally ignoring the whole of the discussion with regard to the supposed quotations of Basilides in the work commonly ascribed to Hippolytus, and the adverse results of learned criticism, must be condemned as only calculated to mislead readers unacquainted with the facts of the case.

We know from the evidence of antiquity that Basilides made use of a Gospel, written by himself, it is said, but certainly called after his own name.¹ An attempt has been made to explain this by suggesting that perhaps the work mentioned by Agrippa Castor may have been mistaken for a Gospel; but the fragments of that work which are still extant² are of a character which precludes the possibility that any writing of which they formed a part could have been considered a Gospel. Various opinions have been expressed as to the exact nature of the Gospel of Basilides. Neander affirmed it to be the Gospel according to the Hebrews which he brought from Syria to Egypt;³ whilst Schneckenburger held it to be the Gospel according to the Egyptians.⁴ Others believe it to have at least been based upon one or other of these Gospels. There seems most reason for the hypothesis that it was a form of the Gospel according to the Hebrews which was so generally in use.

Returning to the passage already quoted, in which Eusebius states, on the authority of Agrippa Castor, whose works are no longer extant, that Basilides had composed a work in twenty-four books on the Gospel (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον), and to the unwarrantable inference that this must have been a work on our four Gospels, we must add that, so far from deriving his doctrines from our Gospels or other New Testament writings, or acknowledging their authority, Basilides professed that he received his knowledge of the truth from Glaucias, "the interpreter of Peter," whose disciple he claimed to be,⁵ and thus practically sets Gospels aside and prefers tradition. Basilides also claimed to have received from a certain Matthias the report of private discourses which he had heard from the Saviour for his special instruction.⁶ Agrippa Castor further stated, according to Eusebius, that in his ἐξηγητικά

¹ *Ausus fuit et Basilides scribere Evangelium et suo illud nomine titolare.* Origen, *Hom. i. in Lucam.* *Ausus est etiam Basilides Evangelium scribere quod dicitur secundum Basilidem.* Ambros., *Comment. in Luc. Proem.* Hieron., *Præf. in Matt.*

² Grabe, *Spicil. Patr.*, ii., p. 39 ff., 65 ff.; Clemens Al., *Strom.*, iv. 12.

³ *Gnost. Syst.*, p. 84; cf. *K. G.*, 1843, ii., p. 709, anm. 2.

⁴ *Ueb. d. Ev. d. Egypt.*, 1834.

⁵ Clem. Al., *Strom.*, vii. 17, § 106.

⁶ Hippolytus, *Refut. Omn. Hær.*, vii. 20; ed. Duncker et Schneidewin, 1859.

Basilides named for himself, as prophets, Barcabbas and Barcoph (Parchor¹), as well as invented others who never existed, and claimed their authority for his doctrines.² With regard to all this Dr. Westcott writes: "Since Basilides lived on the verge of the apostolic times, it is not surprising that he made use of other sources of Christian doctrine besides the canonical books. The belief in Divine Inspiration was still fresh and real,"³ etc. It is apparent, however, that Basilides, in basing his doctrines upon tradition and upon these apocryphal books as inspired, and in having a special Gospel called after his own name, which, therefore, he clearly adopts as the exponent of his ideas of Christian truth, completely ignores the canonical Gospels, and not only does not offer any evidence for their existence, but proves, on the contrary, that he did not recognise any such works as of authority. There is no ground, therefore, for Tischendorf's assumption that the commentary of Basilides "on the Gospel" was written upon our Gospels, but that idea is negatived in the strongest way by all the facts of the case. The perfectly simple interpretation of the statement is that long ago suggested by Valesius,⁴ that the Commentary of Basilides was composed upon his own Gospel, whether it was the Gospel according to the Hebrews or the Egyptians.

Moreover, it must be borne in mind that Basilides used the word "Gospel" in a peculiar sense. Hippolytus, in the work usually ascribed to him, writing of the Basilidians and describing their doctrines, says: "When therefore it was necessary, he (?) says, that we, the children of God, should be revealed, in expectation of whose revelation, he says, the creation groaned and travailed, the Gospel came into the world, and passed through every principality and power and dominion, and every name that is named," etc. "The Gospel, therefore, came first from the Sonship, he says, through the Son, sitting by the Archon, to the Archon, and the Archon learnt that he was not the God of all things, but begotten,"⁵ etc. "The Gospel, according to them, is the knowledge of supramundane matters,"⁶ etc. This may not be very intelligible, but it is sufficient to show that "the Gospel" in a technical sense⁷ formed a very important part of the system of Basilides. Now, there is nothing whatever to show that the twenty-four books which he composed "on the Gospel" were not

¹ Isidorus, his son and disciple, wrote a commentary on the prophecy of Parchor (Clem. Al., *Strom.*, vi. 6, § 53), in which he further refers to the "prophecy of Cham."

² Euseb., *H. E.*, iv. 7.

³ *On the Canon*, p. 255.

⁴ Cf. Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr. N. T.*, i., p. 343, not. m.

⁵ *Ib.*, vii. 26; cf. 27, etc.

⁶ *Ib.*, vii. 27.

⁷ Dr. Westcott admits this technical use of the word, of course (*On the Canon*, p. 255 f., note 4).

in elucidation of the Gospel as technically understood by him, illustrated by extracts from his own special Gospel and from the tradition handed down to him by Glaucias and Matthias.

The emphatic assertion of Dr. Westcott, that Basilides "admitted the historic truth of all the facts contained in the canonical Gospels," is based solely upon the following sentence of the work attributed to Hippolytus: "Jesus, however, was generated according to these (followers of Basilides), as we have already said.¹ But when the generation which has already been declared had taken place, all things regarding the Saviour, according to them, occurred in like manner as they have been written in the Gospel."² There are, however, several important points to be borne in mind in reference to this passage. The statement in question is not made in connection with Basilides himself, but distinctly in reference to his followers, of whom there were many in the time of Hippolytus and long after him. It is, moreover, a general observation, the accuracy of which we have no means of testing, and upon the correctness of which there is no special reason to rely. The remark, made at the beginning of the third century, that the followers of Basilides believed that the actual events of the life of Jesus occurred in the way in which they have been written in the Gospels, is no proof that either they or Basilides used or admitted the authority of our Gospels. The exclusive use by any one of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, for instance, would be perfectly consistent with the statement. No one who considers what is known of that Gospel, or who thinks of the use made of it in the first half of the second century by perfectly orthodox Fathers, can doubt this. The passage is, therefore, of no weight as evidence for the use of our Gospels. Dr. Westcott himself admits that in the extant fragments of Isidorus, the son and disciple of Basilides, who "maintained the doctrines of his father," he has "noticed nothing bearing on the books of the New Testament."³ On the supposition that Basilides actually wrote a Commentary on our Gospels, and used them as Scripture, it is indeed passing strange that we have so little evidence on the point.

We must now examine in detail all of the quotations, and they are few, alleged to show the use of our Gospels; and we shall commence with those of Tischendorf. The first passage which he points out is found in the *Stromata* of Clement of Alexandria. Tischendorf guards himself, in reference to these quotations, by merely speaking of them as "Basilidian" (Basili-

¹ He refers to a mystical account of the incarnation.

² Hippolytus, *Ref. Omn. Hæc.*, vii. 27.

³ *On the Canon*, p. 257.

dianisch),¹ but it might have been more frank to have stated clearly that Clement distinctly assigns the quotation to the followers of Basilides (οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου),² and not to Basilides himself.³ The supposed quotation, therefore, even if traced to our Gospels, could not prove anything in regard to Basilides. The passage itself, compared with the parallel in Matt. xix. 11, 12, is as follows:—

STROM. III. 1, § 1.

They say the Lord answered: All men cannot receive this saying.

For there are some who are eunuchs from birth, others by constraint.

Οὐ πάντες χωροῦσι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, εἰσὶ γὰρ εὐνοῦχοι, οἱ μὲν ἐκ γενετῆς, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης.

MATT. XIX. 11, 12.

v. 11. But he said unto them: All men cannot receive this saying, but only they to whom it is given.

v. 12. For there are eunuchs which were so born from their mother's womb: and there are eunuchs which were made eunuchs by men, etc.

Οὐ πάντες χωροῦσι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἀλλ' οἷς δέδοται· εἰσὶν γὰρ εὐνοῦχοι οἵτινες ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς ἐγεννήθησαν οὕτως, καὶ εἰσὶν εὐνοῦχοι οἵτινες εὐνουχίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κ.τ.λ.

Now, this passage, in its affinity to, and material variation from, our first Gospel, might be quoted as evidence for the use of another Gospel, but it cannot reasonably be cited as evidence for the use of Matthew. Apologists, in their anxiety to grasp at the faintest analogies as testimony, seem altogether to ignore the history of the creation of written Gospels, and to forget the existence of the πολλοί of Luke.

The next passage referred to by Tischendorf⁴ is one quoted by Epiphanius,⁵ which we subjoin in contrast with the parallel in Matt. vii. 6:—

HÆR., XXIV. 5.

And therefore he said:

Cast not ye pearls before swine, neither give that which is holy unto dogs.

Μὴ βάλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων, μηδὲ δότε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.

MATT. VII. 6.

Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.

Μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσίν, μηδὲ βάλητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων, κ.τ.λ.

Here, again, the variation in order is just what one might have expected from the use of the Gospel according to the Hebrews or a similar work, and there is no indication that the passage did

¹ Wann Wurden, u. s. w., p. 51.

² Strom. iii. 1, § 1.

³ Dr. Westcott does not refer to this quotation at all.

⁴ Wann Wurden, u. s. w., p. 51.

⁵ Hær., xxiv. 5, p. 72.

not end here, without the continuation of our first Synoptic. What is still more important, although Tischendorf does not mention the fact, nor otherwise hint a doubt than by introducing this quotation also as "Basilidianisch," instead of directly ascribing it to Basilides himself, this passage is not attributed by Epiphanius to that heretic. It is introduced into the section of his work directed against the Basilidians, but he uses, like Clement, the indefinite *φησί*; and as, in dealing with all these heresies, there is continual interchange of reference to the head and the later followers, there is no certainty who is referred to in these quotations, and, in this instance, nothing to indicate that this passage is ascribed to Basilides himself. His name is mentioned in the first line of the first chapter of this "heresy," but not again before this *φησί* occurs in chapter v. Tischendorf does not claim any other quotations.

Dr. Westcott states: "In the few pages of his (Basilides') writings which remain there are certain references to the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke,"¹ etc. One might suppose from this that the "certain" references occurred in actual extracts made from his works, and that the quotations, therefore, appeared set in a context of his own words. This impression is strengthened when we read as an introduction to the instances: "The following examples will be sufficient to show his method of quotation."² The fact is, however, that these examples are found in the work of Hippolytus, in an epitome of the views of the school by that writer himself, with nothing more definite than a subjectless *φησί* to indicate who is referred to. The only examples Dr. Westcott can give of these "certain references" to our first and third Synoptics do not show his "method of quotation" to much advantage. The first is not a quotation at all, but a mere reference to the Magi and the Star. "But that everything, he says (*φησί*), has its own seasons, the Saviour sufficiently teaches when he says:and the Magi having seen the star,"³ etc. This, of course, Dr. Westcott considers a reference to Matt. ii. 1, 2, but we need scarcely point out that this falls to the ground instantly if it be admitted, as it must be, that the Star and the Magi may have been mentioned in other Gospels than the first Synoptic. We have already seen, when examining the evidence of Justin, that this is the case. The only quotation asserted to be taken from Luke is the phrase: "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee,"⁴ which agrees with Luke i. 35. This again is introduced by Hippolytus with another subjectless "he says," and, apart from the uncertainty as

¹ *On the Canon*, p. 256.

³ Hippolytus, *Ref. Omn. Hær.*, vii. 27.

² *Ib.*, p. 256, note 3.

⁴ *Ib.*, vii. 26.

to who "he" is, this is very unsatisfactory evidence as to the form of the quotation in the original text, for it may easily have been corrected by Hippolytus, consciously or unconsciously, in the course of transfer to his pages. We have already met with this passage as quoted by Justin from a Gospel different from ours.

As we have stated, however, none of the quotations which we have considered are directly referred to Basilides himself, but they are all introduced by the utterly vague expression, "he says" (*φησὶ*), without any subject accompanying the verb. Now, it is admitted that writers of the time of Hippolytus, and notably Hippolytus himself, made use of the name of the founder of a sect to represent the whole of his school, and applied to him, apparently, quotations taken from unknown and later followers. The passages which he cites, therefore, and which appear to indicate the use of Gospels, instead of being extracted from the works of the founder himself, in all probability were taken from writings of Gnostics of his own time. Dr. Westcott admits the possibility of this, in writing of other early heretics. He says: "The evidence that has been collected from the documents of these primitive sects is necessarily somewhat vague. It would be more satisfactory to know the exact position of their authors, and the precise date of their being composed. It is just possible that Hippolytus made use of writings which were current in his own time without further examination, and transferred to the apostolic age forms of thought and expression which had been the growth of two, or even of three, generations."¹ So much as to the reliance to be placed on the work ascribed to Hippolytus. It is certain, for instance, that, in writing of the sect of Naaseni and Ophites, Hippolytus perpetually quotes passages from the writings of the school, with the indefinite *φησὶ*,² as he likewise does in dealing with the Peratici,³ and Docetæ,⁴ no individual author being named; yet he evidently quotes various writers, passing from one to another without explanation, and making use of the same unvarying *φησὶ*. In one place,⁵ where he has "the Greeks say" (*φασὶν οἱ Ἕλληνες*), he gives, without further indication, a quotation from Pindar.⁶ A still more apt instance of his method is that pointed out by Volkmar,⁷ where Hippolytus, writing of "Marcion, or some one of his hounds," uses, without further explanation, the subjectless *φησὶ* to introduce matter from the later followers of Marcion.⁸ Now, with regard to Basilides,

¹ *On the Canon*, p. 252.

² Hippolytus, *Ref. Omn. Hær.*, v. 6 ff.

³ *Ib.*, v. 16, 17.

⁴ *Ib.*, viii. 9, 10.

⁵ *Ib.*, v. 7.

⁶ Hippol., *Ref. Omn. Hær.* ed Duncker et Schneidewin not. in loc., p. 134.

⁷ *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1854, p. 108 ff.; *Der Ursprung*, p. 70.

⁸ Hippolytus, *Ref. Omn. Hær.*, vii. 30.

Hippolytus directly refers not only to the heretic chief, but also to his disciple Isidorus and all their followers¹ (καὶ Ἰσίδωρος καὶ πᾶς ὁ τούτων χορός), and then proceeds to use the indefinite "he says," interspersed with references in the plural to these heretics, exhibiting the same careless method of quotation, and leaving complete uncertainty as to the speaker's identity. On the other hand, it has been demonstrated by Hilgenfeld that the gnosticism ascribed to Basilides by Hippolytus, in connection with these quotations, is of a much later and more developed type than that which Basilides himself held,² as shown in the actual fragments of his own writings which are still extant, and as reported by Irenæus,³ Clement of Alexandria,⁴ and the work *Adversus omnes Hæreses*, annexed to the *Præscripto Hæreticorum* of Tertullian, which is considered to be the epitome of an earlier work of Hippolytus. The fact probably is that Hippolytus derived his views of the doctrines of Basilides from the writings of his later followers, and from them made the quotations which are attributed to the founder of the school. In any case there is no ground for referring these quotations with an indefinite φησί to Basilides himself.

Of all this there is not a word from Dr. Westcott,⁵ but he ventures to speak of "the testimony of Basilides to our 'acknowledged' books," as "comprehensive and clear."⁶ We have seen, however, that the passages referred to have no weight whatever as evidence for the use of our Synoptics. The formulæ (as τὸ εἰρημένον to that compared with Luke i. 35, and ὡς γέγραπται, ἡ γραφή with references compared with some of the Epistles) which accompany these quotations, and to which Dr. Westcott points as an indication that the New Testament writings were already recognised as Holy Scripture,⁷ need no special attention, because, as it cannot be shown that the expressions were used by Basilides himself, they do not come into question. If anything were required to complete the evidence that these quotations are not from the works of Basilides himself, but from later writings by his followers, it would be the use of such formulæ, for, as the writings of pseudo-Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Papias, Hegesippus, and others of the Fathers, in several ways positively demonstrate, the New Testament writings were not

¹ Hippolytus, *ib.*, vii. 20; cf. 22.

² Hilgenfeld, *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1856, p. 86 ff., 786 ff.; *Die jüd. Apok.*, 1857, p. 287 ff.; *Zeitschr. wiss. Theol.*, 1862, p. 452 ff.; 1878, p. 228 ff.

³ *Adv. Hær.*, i. 24.

⁴ *Stromata*, vi. 3.

⁵ And very little from Tischendorf. [In the 4th ed. of his work, Dr. Westcott has added some observations regarding these subjectless quotations, but still most inadequately states the case.]

⁶ *On the Canon*, p. 256.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 256.

admitted, even amongst orthodox Fathers, to the rank of Holy Scripture until a very much later period.

Much of what has been said with regard to the claim which is laid to Basilides by some apologists as a witness for the Gospels and the existence of a New Testament Canon, and the manner in which that claim is advanced, likewise applies to Valentinus, another Gnostic leader, who, about the year 140, came from Alexandria to Rome, and flourished till about A.D. 160.¹ Very little remains of the writings of this Gnostic, and we gain our only knowledge of them from a few short quotations in the works of Clement of Alexandria, and some doubtful fragments preserved by others. We shall presently have occasion to refer directly to these, and need not here more particularly mention them.

Tischendorf, the self-constituted modern *Defensor fidei*,² asserts, with an assurance which can scarcely be characterised otherwise than as an unpardonable calculation upon the ignorance of his readers, that Valentinus used the whole of our four canonical Gospels. To do him full justice, we shall, as much as possible, give his own words; and, although we set aside systematically all discussion regarding the fourth Gospel for separate treatment hereafter, we must, in order to convey the full sense of Dr. Tischendorf's proceeding, commence with a sentence regarding that Gospel. Referring to a statement of Irenæus, that the followers of Valentinus made use of the fourth Gospel, Tischendorf continues: "Hippolytus confirms and completes the statement of Irenæus, for he quotes several expressions of John, which Valentinus employed. This most clearly occurs in the case of John x. 8; for Hippolytus writes: 'Because the prophets and the law, according to the doctrine of Valentinus, were only filled with a subordinate and foolish spirit, Valentinus says: On account of this, the Saviour says: All who came before me were thieves and robbers.'"³ Now this, to begin with, is a practical falsification of the text of the *Philosophumena*, which reads: "Therefore, all the Prophets and the Law spoke under the influence of the Demiurge, a foolish God, he says, (they

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, iii. 4, § 3; Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv. 11.

² Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschr. wiss. Theol.*, 1865, p. 329.

³ "Die Angabe des Irenäus bestärkt und vervollständigt Hippolytus, denn er führt einzelne Johanneische Aussprüche an, welche Valentin benutzt hat. Am deutlichsten geschieht dies mit Joh. x. 8; denn Hippolytus schreibt: Weil die Propheten und das Gesetz, nach Valentins' Lehre, nur von einem untergeordneten und thörichten Geiste erfüllt waren, so sagt Valentin: Eben deshalb spricht der Erlöser: Alle die vor mir gekommen sind, sind Diebe und Mörder gewesen." Wann wurden, u. s. w., p. 44.

themselves being) foolish, knowing nothing. On this account, he says, the Saviour saith: All who came before me," etc.¹ There is no mention of the name of Valentinus in the passage, and, as we shall presently show, there is no direct reference in the whole chapter to Valentinus himself. The introduction of his name in this manner into the text, without a word of explanation, is highly reprehensible. It is true that in a note Tischendorf gives a closer translation of the passage, without, however, any explanation; and here again he adds, in parenthesis to the "says he," "namely, Valentinus." Such a note, however, which would probably be unread by a majority of readers, does not rectify the impression conveyed by so positive and emphatic an assertion as is conveyed by the alteration in the text.

Tischendorf continues: "And as the Gospel of John, so also were the other Gospels used by Valentinus. According to the statement of Irenæus (I. 7, § 4), he found the said subordinate spirit which he calls Demiurge, Masterworker, emblematically represented by the Centurion of Capernaum (Matt. viii. 9, Luke vii. 8); in the dead and resuscitated daughter of Jairus, when twelve years old (Luke viii. 41), he recognised a symbol of his 'Wisdom' (Achamoth), the mother of the Masterworker (I. 8, § 2); in like manner, he saw represented in the history of the woman who had suffered twelve years from the bloody issue, and was cured by the Lord (Matt. ix. 20), the sufferings and salvation of his twelfth primitive spirit (Aeon) (I. 3, § 3); the expression of the Lord (Matt. v. 18) on the numerical value of the iota ('the smallest letter') he applied to his ten æons in repose."² Now, in every instance where Tischendorf here speaks of Valentinus by the singular "he," Irenæus uses the plural "they," referring not to the original founder of the sect, but to his followers in his own day; and the text is thus again in every instance falsified by the pious zeal of the apologist. In the case of the Centurion: "they say" (λέγουσι) that he is the Demiurge;³ "they declare" (διηγούνται) that the daughter of Jairus is the type of Achamoth;⁴ "they say" (λέγουσι) that the apostasy of Judas points to the passion in connection with the twelfth æon, and also the fact that Jesus suffered in the twelfth month after his baptism; for they will have it (βούλονται) that he only preached for one year. The case of the woman with the bloody issue for twelve years, and the power which went forth from the Son to heal her, "they will have to be Horos" (εἶναι δὲ ταύτην τὸν Ὅρον θέλουσιν).⁵ In like manner they assert that the ten æons are indicated (σημαίνεισθαι λέγουσι)

¹ Hippolytus, *Ref. Omn. Hær.*, vi. 35.

³ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, i. 7, § 4.

⁵ *Ib.*, i. 3, § 3.

² *Wann wurden, u. s. w.*, p. 44.

⁴ *Ib.*, *Adv. Hær.*, i. 8, § 2.

by the letter "iota," mentioned in the Saviour's expression, Matt. v. 18.¹ At the end of these and numerous other similar references to this chapter to New Testament expressions and passages, Irenæus says: "Thus they interpret," etc. (ἐρμηνεύουσιν εἰρησθαι).² The plural "They" is employed throughout.

Tischendorf proceeds to give the answer to his statement which is supposed to be made by objectors. "They say: all that has reference to the Gospel of John was not advanced by Valentinus himself, but by his disciples. And in fact, in Irenæus, 'they—the Valentinians—say,' occurs much oftener than 'he—Valentinus—says.' But who is there so sapient as to draw the line between what the master alone says, and that which the disciples state without in the least repeating the master?"³ Tischendorf solves the difficulty by referring everything indiscriminately to the master. Now, in reply to these observations, we must remark, in the first place, that the admission here made by Tischendorf, that Irenæus much more often uses "they say" than "he says" is still quite disingenuous, inasmuch as invariably, and without exception, Irenæus uses the plural in connection with the texts in question. Secondly, it is quite obvious that a Gnostic writing about A.D. 185–195 was likely to use arguments which were never thought of by a Gnostic writing at the middle of the century. At the end of the century the writings of the New Testament had acquired consideration and authority, and Gnostic writers had therefore a reason to refer to them, and to endeavour to show that they supported their peculiar views, which did not exist at all at the time when Valentinus propounded his system. Tischendorf, however, cannot be allowed the benefit even of such a doubt as he insinuates, as to what belongs to the master and what to the followers. Such doubtful testimony could not establish anything, but it is in point of fact also totally excluded by the statements of Irenæus himself.

In the preface to the first book of his great work, Irenæus clearly states the motives and objects for which he writes. He says: "I considered it necessary, having read the commentaries (ὑπομνήμασι) of the disciples of Valentinus, as they call themselves, and having had personal intercourse with some of them and acquired full knowledge of their opinions, to unfold to thee," etc., and he goes on to say that he intends to set forth "the opinions of those who are *now* teaching heresy; I speak particularly of the followers of Ptolemæus, whose system is an offshoot of the school of Valentinus."⁴ Nothing could be more explicit

¹ *Ib.*, i. 3, § 2.

² *Ib.*, i. 3, § 4.

³ *Wann wurden, u. s. w.*, p. 45.

⁴ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær. Præf.*, i., § 2.

than this statement that Irenæus neither intended nor pretended to write upon the works of Valentinus himself, but upon the commentaries of his followers of his own time, with some of whom he had had personal intercourse, and that the system which he intended to attack was that actually being taught in his day by Ptolemæus and his school, the offshoot from Valentinus. All the quotations to which Tischendorf refers are made within a few pages of this explicit declaration. Immediately after the passage about the Centurion, he says, "such is their system" (τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς ὑποθέσεως αὐτῶν οὐσης), and three lines below he states that they derive their views from unwritten sources (ἐξ ἀγράφων ἀναγινώσκοντες).¹ The first direct reference to Valentinus does not occur until after these quotations, and is for the purpose of showing the variation of opinion of his followers. He says: "Let us now see the uncertain opinions of these heretics, for there are two or three of them, how they do not speak alike of the same things, but contradict one another in facts and names." Then he continues: "For the first of them, Valentinus, having derived his principles from the so-called Gnostic heresy, and adapted them to the peculiar character of his school, declared this," etc.² And after a brief description of his system, in which no Scripture allusion occurs, he goes on to compare the views of the rest, and in chap. xii. he returns to Ptolemæus and his followers (Ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, κ.τ.λ.).

In the preface to Book II., he again says that he has been exposing the falsity of the followers of Valentinus (*qui sunt a Valentino*), and will proceed to establish what he has advanced; and everywhere he uses the plural "they," with occasional direct references to the followers of Valentinus (*qui sunt a Valentino*).³ The same course is adopted in Book III., the plural being systematically used, and the same distinct definition introduced at intervals.⁴ And again, in the preface to Book IV., he recapitulates that the preceding books had been written against these, "*qui sunt a Valentino*" (§ 2). In fact, it would almost be impossible for any writer more frequently and emphatically to show that he is not, as he began by declaring, dealing with the founder of the school himself, but with his followers living and teaching at the time at which he wrote.

Dr. Westcott, with whose system of positively enunciating unsupported and controverted statements we are already acquainted, is only slightly outstripped by the German apologist in his

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, i. 8, § 1.

² *Ib.*, i. 11, § 1.

³ As, for instance, ii. 16, § 4.

⁴ For instance, "*Secundum autem eos qui sunt a Valentino*," iii. 11, § 2. "*Secundum autem illos*," § 3; "*ab omnibus illos*," § 3. "*Hi autem qui sunt a Valentino*," etc., § 7, *ib.*, § 9, etc.

misrepresentation of the evidence of Valentinus. It must be stated, however, that, acknowledging, as no doubt he does, that Irenæus never refers to Valentinus himself, Dr. Westcott passes over in complete silence the supposed references upon which Tischendorf relies as his only evidence for the use of the Synoptics by that Gnostic. He, however, makes the following extraordinary statement regarding Valentinus: "The fragments of his writings which remain show the same natural and trustful use of Scripture as other Christian works of the same period; and there is no diversity of character in this respect between the quotations given in Hippolytus and those found in Clement of Alexandria. He cites the Epistle to the Ephesians as 'Scripture,' and refers clearly to the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, to the Epistles to the Romans,"¹ etc.

We shall now give the passages which he points out in support of these assertions.² The first two are said to occur in the *Stromata* of the Alexandrian Clement, who professes to quote the very words of a letter of Valentinus to certain people regarding the passions, which are called by the followers of Basilides "the appendages of the soul." The passage is as follows: "But one only is good, whose presence is the manifestation through the Son, and through Him alone will the heart be enabled to become pure, by the expulsion of every evil spirit from the heart. For many spirits dwelling in it do not allow it to be pure, but each of them, while in diverse parts they riot there in unseemly lusts, performs its own works. And, it seems to me, the heart is somewhat like an inn. For that, also, is both bored and dug into, and often filled with the ordure of men, who abide there in revelry, and bestow not one single thought upon the place, seeing it is the property of another. And in such wise is it with the heart, so long as no thought is given to it, being impure, and the dwelling-place of many demons, but as soon as the alone good Father has visited it, it is sanctified and shines through with light, and the

¹ *On the Canon*, p. 259 f. [In the 4th ed. of his work, published since the above remarks were made, Dr. Westcott has modified or withdrawn his assertions regarding Valentinus. As we cannot well omit the above passage, it is right to state that the lines quoted now read: "The few unquestionable fragments of Valentinus contain but little which points to passages of Scripture. If it were clear that the anonymous quotations in Hippolytus were derived from Valentinus himself, the list would be much enlarged, and include a citation of the Epistle to the Ephesians as 'Scripture,' and clear references to the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, to 1 Corinthians, perhaps also to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the first Epistle of St. John" (p. 295 f.). In a note he adds: "But a fresh and careful examination of the whole section of Hippolytus makes me feel that the evidence is so uncertain that I cannot be sure in this case, as in the case of Basilides, that Hippolytus is quoting the words of the Founder" (p. 295, n. 5). Under these circumstances, the statements even in the amended edition present many curious features.

² *Ib.*, p. 260, note 2.

possessor of such a heart becomes so blessed that he shall see God."¹ According to Dr. Westcott, this passage contains two of the "clear references" to our Gospels upon which he bases his statement—namely, to Matt. v. 8 and to Matt. xix. 17.

Now, it is clear that there is no actual quotation from any evangelical work in this passage from the Epistle of Valentinus, and the utmost for which the most zealous apologist could contend is that there is a slight similarity with some words in the Gospel, and Dr. Westcott himself does not venture to call them more than "references." That such distant coincidences should be quoted as evidence for the use of the first Gospel shows how weak is his case. At best such vague allusions could not prove anything; but when the passages to which reference is supposed to be made are examined, it will be apparent that nothing could be more unfounded or arbitrary than the claim of reference specially to our Gospel, to the exclusion of other Gospels then existing, which, to our knowledge, contained both passages. We may, indeed, go still further, and affirm that, if these coincidences are references to any Gospel at all, that Gospel is not the canonical, but one different from it.

The first reference alluded to consists of the following two phrases: "But one only is good (εἷς δὲ ἐστὶν ἀγαθός)the alone good Father" (ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς πατήρ). This is compared with Matt. xix. 17²: "Why askest thou me concerning good? there is one that is good" (εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός).³ Now, the passage in the epistle, if a reference to any parallel episode, such as Matt. xix. 17, indicates, with certainty, the reading: "One is good, the Father" (εἷς ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς ὁ πατήρ). There is no such reading in any of our Gospels. But, although this reading does not exist in any of the canonical Gospels, it is well known that it did exist in uncanonical Gospels no longer extant, and that the passage was one upon which various sects of so-called heretics laid great stress. Irenæus quotes it as one of the texts to which the Marcosians, who made use of apocryphal Gospels,⁴ and notably of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, gave a different colouring: εἷς ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς, ὁ πατήρ⁵. Epiphanius also quotes this reading as one of the variations of the Marcionites: εἷς ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς, ὁ θεὸς, ὁ πατήρ.⁶ Origen likewise remarks that this passage is misused by some heretics: "*Velut proprie sibi*

¹ Clem., Al. *Strom.*, ii. 20, § 114.

² Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 260, note 2.

³ Mark x. 18 and Luke xviii. 18 are linguistically more distant. "Why callest thou me good? There is none good but God only." οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός.

⁴ *Adv. Her.*, i. 20, § 1.

⁵ *Ib.*, i. 20, § 2.

⁶ Epiphanius, *Her.*, xlii.; *Schol. L. ea. Pet.*, p. 339.

datum scutum putant (hæretici) quod dixit Dominus in Evangelio : Nemo bonus nisi unus Deus pater."¹ Justin Martyr quotes the same reading from a source different from our Gospels, εἰς ἔστιν ἀγαθὸς ὁ πατήρ μου, κ.τ.λ.,² and in agreement with the repeated similar readings of the *Clementine Homilies*, which likewise derived it from an extra canonical source, ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς εἰς ἔστιν, ὁ πατήρ.³ The use of a similar expression by Clement of Alexandria,⁴ as well as by Origen, only serves to prove the existence of the reading in extinct Gospels, although it is not found in any MS. of any of our Gospels.

The second of the supposed references is more diffuse: "One is good, and through him alone will the heart be enabled to become pure (ἡ καρδία καθαρὰ γενέσθαι).....but when the alone good Father has visited it, it is sanctified and shines through with light, and the possessor of such a heart becomes so blessed that he shall see God" (καὶ οὕτω μακαρίζεται ὁ ἔχων τὴν τοιαύτην καρδίαν, ὅτι ὄψεται τὸν θεόν). This is compared⁵ with Matt. v. 8: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται). It might be argued that this is quite as much a reference to Psalm xxiv. 3-6 as to Matt. v. 8; but even if treated as a reference to the Sermon on the Mount, nothing is more certain than the fact that this discourse had its place in much older forms of the Gospel than our present canonical Gospels, and that it formed part of the Gospel according to the Hebrews and other evangelical writings in circulation in the early Church. Such a reference as this is absolutely worthless as evidence of special acquaintance with our first Synoptic.⁶

Tischendorf does not appeal at all to these supposed references contained in the passages preserved by Clement, but both the German and the English apologist join in relying upon the testimony of Hippolytus,⁷ with regard to the use of the Gospels

¹ *De Principiis*, i. 2, § 13; cf. *de Orat.*, 15; *Exhort. ad Mart.*, 7; *Contra Cels.*, v. 11; cf. Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.*, ii., pp. 305, 349, 388.

² *Apol.*, i. 16.

³ *Hom.*, xviii. 1, 3.

⁴ οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ μου, κ.τ.λ. (*Pædag.*, i. 8, § 72, cf. § 74); εἰς ἀγαθὸς ὁ πατήρ (*Strom.*, v. 10, § 64).

⁵ Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 260, note 2.

⁶ The supposed reference to the Ep. to the Romans i. 20; cf. Clem. Al., *Strom.*, iv. 13, §§ 91, 92, is much more distant than either of the preceding. It is not necessary for us to discuss it; but, as Dr. Westcott merely gives references to all of the passages without quoting any of the words, a good strong assertion becomes a powerful argument, since few readers have the means of verifying its correctness.

⁷ By a misprint, Dr. Westcott ascribes all his references of Valentinus to the N. T., except three, to the extracts from his writings in the *Stromata* of Clement, although he should have indicated the work of Hippolytus. Cf. *On the Canon*, 1866, p. 260, note 2.

by Valentinus, although it must be admitted that the former does so with greater fairness of treatment than Dr. Westcott. Tischendorf does refer to, and admit, some of the difficulties of the case, as we shall presently see, whilst Dr. Westcott, as in the case of Basilides, boldly makes his assertion, and totally ignores all adverse facts. The only Gospel reference which can be adduced even in the *Philosophumena*, exclusive of one asserted to be to the fourth Gospel, which will be separately considered hereafter, is advanced by Dr. Westcott, for Tischendorf does not refer to it. The passage is the same as one also imputed to Basilides: "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee"; which happens to agree with the words in Luke i. 35; but, as we have seen in connection with Justin, there is good reason for concluding that the narrative to which it belongs was contained in other Gospels. In this instance, however, the quotation is carried further and presents an important variation from the text of Luke. "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore the thing begotten of thee shall be called holy"¹ (διὸ τὸ γεννώμενον ἐκ σου ἅγιον κληθήσεται). The reading of Luke is: "Therefore also the holy thing begotten shall be called the Son of God" (διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον κληθήσεται υἱὸς θεοῦ). It is probable that the passage referred to in connection with the followers of Basilides may have ended in the same way as this, and been derived from the same source. Nothing can be clearer than the fact that this quotation is not taken from our third Synoptic, inasmuch as there does not exist a single MS. which contains such a passage.

We again come to the question: Who really made the quotations which Hippolytus introduces so indefinitely? We have already, in speaking of Basilides, pointed out the loose manner in which Hippolytus and other early writers, in dealing with different schools of heretics, indifferently quote the founder or his followers without indicating the precise person referred to. This practice is particularly apparent in the work of Hippolytus when the followers of Valentinus are in question. Tischendorf himself is obliged to admit this. He asks: "Even though it be also incontestable that the author (Hippolytus) does not always sharply distinguish between the sect and the founder of the sect, does this apply to the present case?"² He denies that it does in the instance to which he refers, but he admits the general fact. In the same way, another apologist, speaking of the fourth Gospel (and, as the use of that Gospel is maintained in consequence of a quotation in

¹ Hippolytus, *Adv. Her.*, vi. 35.

² *Wann wurden, u. s. w.*, p. 46.

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the very same chapter as we are now considering, only a few lines higher up, both the third and fourth are in the same position) is forced to admit: "The use of the Gospel of John by Valentinus cannot so certainly be proved from our refutation-writing (the work of Hippolytus). Certainly, in the statement of these doctrines it gives abstracts, which contain an expression of John (x. 8), and there cannot be any doubt that this is taken from some writing of the sect. But the apologist, in his expressions regarding the Valentinian doctrines, does not seem to confine himself to one and the same work, but to have alternately made use of different writings of the school, for which reason we cannot say anything as to the age of this quotation; and from this testimony, therefore, we merely have further confirmation that the Gospel was early¹ (?) used in the School of the Valentinians,"² etc. Of all this not a word from Dr. Westcott, who adheres to his system of bare assertion.

Now, we have already quoted³ the opening sentence of Book VI. 35 of the work ascribed to Hippolytus, in which the quotation from John x. 8, referred to above, occurs; and ten lines further on, with another intermediate, and equally indefinite, "he says" (*φησὶ*), occurs the supposed quotation from Luke i. 35, which, equally with that from the fourth Gospel, must, according to Weizsäcker, be abandoned as a quotation which can fairly be ascribed to Valentinus himself, whose name is not once mentioned in the whole chapter. A few lines below the quotation, however, a passage occurs which throws much light upon the question. After explaining the views of the Valentinians regarding the verse, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee," etc., the writer thus proceeds: "Regarding this there is among them (*αὐτοῖς*) a great question, a cause both of schism and dissension. And hence their (*αὐτῶν*) teaching has become divided, and the one teaching, according to them (*κατ' αὐτούς*), is called Eastern (*ἀνατολική*), and the other Italian. They from Italy, of whom is Heracleon and Ptolemæus, say (*φασὶ*) that the body of Jesus was animal, and, on account of this, on the occasion of the baptism, the Holy Spirit, like a dove, came down—that is, the Logos from the Mother above, Sophia—and became joined to the animal, and raised him from the dead. This, *he says* (*φησὶ*), is the declaration (*τὸ εἰρημένον*)"—and here, be it observed, we come to another of the "clear references" which Dr. Westcott ventures, deliberately and without a word of doubt, to attribute to Valentinus himself⁴—

¹ Why "early"? since Hippolytus writes about A.D. 225.

² Weizsäcker, *Unters. jüb. d. evang. Gesch.*, 1864, p. 234; cf. Luthardt, *Der johann. Urspr. viert. Ev.*, 1874, p. 88 f.

³ P. 330, "Therefore all the Prophets," etc.

⁴ *On the Canon*, p. 260. [He no longer does so, see back p. 334, n. 1.]

"This, he says, is the declaration: 'He who raised Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies,'¹ that is animal. For the earth has come under a curse: 'For dust, he says (*φησὶ*), thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.'² On the other hand, those from the East (*οἱ δ' αὖ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς*), of whom is Axionicus and Bardesanes, say (*λέγουσιν*) that the body of the Saviour was spiritual, for the Holy Spirit came upon Mary, that is the Sophia and the power of the Highest,"³ etc.

In this passage we have a good illustration of the mode in which the writer introduces his quotations with the subjectless "he says." Here he is conveying the divergent opinions of the two parties of Valentinians, and explaining the peculiar doctrines of the Italian school "of whom is Heracleon and Ptolemæus," and he suddenly departs from the plural "they" to quote the passage from Romans viii. 11, in support of their views, with the singular "he says." Nothing can be more obvious than that "he" cannot possibly be Valentinus himself, for the schism is represented as taking place amongst his followers, and the quotation is evidently made by one of them to support the views of his party in the schism; but whether Hippolytus is quoting from Heracleon or Ptolemæus, or some other of the Italian⁴ school, there is no means of knowing. Of all this, again, nothing is said by Dr. Westcott, who quietly asserts, without hesitation or argument, that Valentinus himself is the person who here makes the quotation.

We have already said that the name of Valentinus does not occur once in the whole chapter (vi. 35) which we have been examining and, if we turn back, we find that the preceding context confirms the result at which we have arrived, that the *φησὶ* has no reference to the Founder himself, but is applicable only to some later member of his school, most probably contemporary with Hippolytus. In vi. 21, Hippolytus discusses the heresy of Valentinus, which he traces to Pythagoras and Plato; but in ch. 29 he passes from direct reference to the Founder to deal entirely with his school. This is so manifest that the learned editors of the work of Hippolytus, Professors Duncker and Schneidewin, alter the preceding heading at that part from "Valentinus" to "Valentiniani." At the beginning of ch. 29 Hippolytus writes: "Valentinus, therefore, and Heracleon and Ptolemæus and the whole school of these (heretics).....have laid down, as the fundamental principle of their teaching, the arithmetical system. For,

¹ Cf. Rom. viii. 11.

² Cf. Gen. iii. 19.

³ Hippolytus, *Ref. Omn. Hær.*, vi. 35.

⁴ The quotation from an Epistle to the Romans by the Italian school is appropriate.

according to these," etc. And a few lines lower down, "There is discernible amongst them, however, considerable difference of opinion. For many of them, in order that the Pythagorean doctrine of Valentinus may be wholly pure, suppose, etc., but others," etc. He shortly after says that he will proceed to state their doctrines as they themselves teach them (*μνημονεύσαντες ὡς ἐκεῖνοι διδάσκουσιν ἐροῦμεν*). He then continues: "There is, he says (*φησί*)," etc., quoting evidently one of these followers who want to keep the doctrine of Valentinus pure, or of the "others," although without naming him, and three lines further on again, without any preparation, returning to the plural "they say" (*λέγουσιν*), and so on through the following chapters, "he says" alternating with the plural, as the author apparently has in view something said by individuals, or merely expresses general views. In the chapter (34) preceding that which we have principally been examining, Hippolytus begins by referring to "the Quaternion according to Valentinus"; but after five lines on it he continues: "This is what they say: *ταῦτά ἐστιν ἃ λέγουσιν*,"¹ and then goes on to speak of "their whole teaching" (*τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτῶν διδασκαλίαν*), and lower down he distinctly sets himself to discuss the opinions of the school in the plural: "Thus these (Valentinians) subdivide the contents of the Pleroma," etc. (*οὕτως οὗτοι, κ.τ.λ.*), and continues, with an occasional "according to them" (*κατ' αὐτοὺς*), until, without any name being mentioned, he makes use of the indefinite "he says" to introduce the quotation referred to by Dr. Westcott as a citation by Valentinus himself of "the Epistle to the Ephesians as Scripture."² "This is, he says, what is written in Scripture," and there follows a quotation which, it may merely be mentioned, as Dr. Westcott says nothing of it, differs considerably from the passage in the Epistle iii. 14-18. Immediately after, another of Dr. Westcott's quotations from 1 Cor. ii. 14 is given, with the same indefinite "he says," and, in the same way, without further mention of names, the quotations in ch. 35 compared with John x. 8 and Luke i. 35. There is, therefore, absolutely no ground for referring the *φησί* to Valentinus himself; but, on the contrary, Hippolytus shows, in the clearest way, that he is discussing the views of the later writers of the sect, and it is one of these, and not the Founder himself, whom he thus quotes.

We have been forced by these bald and unsupported assertions of apologists to go at such length into these questions, at the risk of being very wearisome to our readers; but it has been our aim as much as possible to make no statements without placing before those who are interested the materials for forming an intelligent

¹ vi. 34.

² *On the Canon*, p. 260.

opinion. Any other course would be to meet such assertion by mere denial, and it is only by bold and unsubstantiated statements, which have been simply and in good faith accepted by ordinary readers who have not the opportunity, if they have even the will, to test their veracity, that apologists have so long held their ground. Our results regarding Valentinus so far may be stated as follows: the quotations which are so positively imputed to Valentinus are not made by him, but by later writers of his school; and, moreover, the passages which are indicated by the English apologist as references to our two synoptic Gospels not only do not emanate from Valentinus, but do not agree with our Gospels, and are apparently derived from other sources.

The remarks of Dr. Westcott with regard to the connection of Valentinus with our New Testament are on a par with the rest of his assertions. He says: "There is no reason to suppose that Valentinus differed from Catholic writers on the Canon of the New Testament."¹ We might ironically adopt this sentence, for as no writer of the time of Valentinus recognised any New Testament Canon at all, he certainly did not in this respect differ from the other writers of that period. Dr. Westcott relies upon the statement of Tertullian, but even here, although he quotes the Latin passage in a note, he does not fully give its real sense in his text. He writes in immediate continuation of the quotation given above: "Tertullian says that in this he differed from Marcion, that he at least professed to accept 'the whole instrument,' perverting the interpretation, where Marcion mutilated the text." Now, the assertion of Tertullian has a very important modification, which, to anyone acquainted with the very unscrupulous boldness of the "Great African" in dealing with religious controversy, is extremely significant. He does not make the assertion positively and of his own knowledge, but modifies it by saying: "Nor, indeed, if Valentinus seems to use the whole instrument (*neque enim si Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur*),"² etc. Tertullian evidently knew very little of Valentinus himself, and had probably not read his writings at all. His treatise against the Valentinians is avowedly not original, but, as he himself admits, is compiled from the writings of Justin, Miltiades, Irenæus, and Proclus.³ Tertullian would not have hesitated to affirm anything of this kind positively, had there been any ground for it; but his assertion is at once too uncertain, and the value of his statements of this nature much too small, for such

¹ *On the Canon*, p. 259. [Dr. Westcott omits these words from his 4th ed., but he uses others here and elsewhere which imply very nearly the same assertion.]

² *De Præscrip. Hær.*, 38.

³ *Adv. Valent.*, 5.

a remark to have any weight as evidence. Besides, by his own showing, Valentinus altered Scripture (*sine dubio emendans*),¹ which he could not have done had he recognised it as of canonical authority. We cannot, however, place any reliance upon criticism emanating from Tertullian.

All that Origen seems to know on this subject is that the followers of Valentinus (τοὺς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου) have altered the form of the Gospel (μεταχαράξαντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον).² Clement of Alexandria, however, informs us that Valentinus, like Basilides, professed to have direct traditions from the Apostles, his teacher being Theodas, a disciple of the Apostle Paul.³ If he had known any Gospels which he believed to have apostolic authority, there would clearly not have been any need of such tradition. Hippolytus distinctly affirms that Valentinus derived his system from Pythagoras and Plato, and "not from the Gospels" (οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐαγγελίων), and that consequently he might more properly be considered a Pythagorean and Platonist than a Christian.⁴ Irenæus, in like manner, asserts that the Valentinians derive their views from unwritten sources (ἐξ ἀγράφων ἀναγινώσκοντες),⁵ and he accuses them of rejecting the Gospels, for, after enumerating them,⁶ he continues: "When, indeed, they are refuted out of the Scriptures, they turn round in accusation of these same Scriptures, as though they were not correct, nor of authority.....For (they say) that it (the truth) was not conveyed by written records, but by the living voice."⁷ In the same chapter he goes on to show that the Valentinians not only reject the authority of Scripture, but also reject ecclesiastical tradition. He says: "But, again, when we refer them to that tradition which is from the Apostles, which has been preserved through a succession of Presbyters in the Churches, they are opposed to tradition, affirming themselves wiser not only than Presbyters, but even than the Apostles, in that they have discovered the uncorrupted truth. For (they say) the Apostles mixed up matters which are of the law with the words of the Saviour, etc.....It comes to this, they neither consent to Scripture nor to tradition. (*Evenit itaque, neque Scripturis jam, neque Traditioni consentire eos.*)"⁸ We find, therefore, that even in the time of Irenæus the Valentinians rejected the writings of the New Testament as authoritative

¹ *De Præscrip. Hær.*, 30.

³ *Strom.*, vii. 17, § 106.

⁵ *Adv. Hær.*, i. 8, § 1.

⁷ *Cum enim ex Scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, quasi non recte habeant, neque sint ex auctoritate.....Non enim per litteras traditam illam, sed per vivam vocem, etc.* (Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, iii. 2, § 1).

⁸ *Ib.*, iii. 2, § 2.

² *Contra Cels.*, ii. 27.

⁴ *Ref. Omn. Hær.*, vi. 29; cf. vi. 21.

⁶ *Ib.*, iii. 1, § 1.

documents, which they certainly would not have done had the Founder of their sect himself acknowledged them. So far from this being the case, there was absolutely no New Testament Canon for Valentinus himself to deal with, and his perfectly orthodox contemporaries recognised no other Holy Scriptures than those of the Old Testament.

Irenæus goes still further, and states that the Valentinians of his time not only had many Gospels, but that they possessed one peculiar to themselves. "Those indeed who are followers of Valentinus," he says, "again passing beyond all fear, and putting forth their own compositions, boast that they have more Gospels than there actually are. Indeed, they have proceeded so far in audacity that they entitle their not long written work, agreeing in nothing with the Gospels of the Apostles, the Gospel of Truth, so that there cannot be any Gospel among them without blasphemy."¹ It follows clearly, from the very name of the Valentinian Gospel, that they did not consider that others contained the truth, and indeed Irenæus himself perceived this, for he continues: "For if what is published by them be the Gospel of Truth, yet is dissimilar from those which have been delivered to us by the Apostles, any may perceive who please, as is demonstrated by these very Scriptures, that that which has been handed down from the Apostles is not the Gospel of Truth."² These passages speak for themselves. It has been suggested that the "Gospel of Truth" was a harmony of the four Gospels.³ This cannot by any possibility have been the case, inasmuch as Irenæus distinctly says that it did not agree in anything with the Gospels of the Apostles. We have been compelled to devote too much space to Valentinus, and we now leave him with the certainty that in nothing does he afford any evidence even of the existence of our synoptic Gospels.

¹ *Hi vero, qui sunt a Valentino, iterum existentes extra omnem timorem, suas conscriptiones proferentes, plura habere gloriantur, quam sint ipsa Evangelia. Siquidem in tantum processerunt audaciæ, uti quod ab his non olim conscriptum est, veritatis Evangelium titulent, in nihilo conveniens apostolorum Evangeliiis, ut nec Evangelium quidem sit apud eos sine blasphemia* (Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, iii. 11, § 9).

² Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, iii. 11, § 9.

³ Bleek, *Einl. N. T.*, p. 638.

CHAPTER VII.

MARCION

WE must now turn to the great Heresiarch of the second century, Marcion, and consider the evidence regarding our Gospels which may be derived from what we know of him. The importance, and at the same time the difficulty, of arriving at a just conclusion from the materials within our reach have rendered Marcion's Gospel the object of very elaborate criticism, and the discussion of its actual character has continued with fluctuating results for nearly a century.

Marcion was born at Sinope, in Pontus, of which place his father was Bishop,¹ and although it is said that he aspired to the first place in the Church of Rome,² the Presbyters refused him communion on account of his peculiar views of Christianity. We shall presently more fully refer to his opinions, but here it will be sufficient to say that he objected to what he considered the debasement of true Christianity by Jewish elements, and he upheld the teaching of Paul alone, in opposition to that of all the other Apostles, whom he accused of mixing up matters of the law with the Gospel of Christ, and falsifying Christianity,³ as Paul himself had protested.⁴ He came to Rome about A.D. 139-142, and continued teaching for some twenty years. His high personal character and elevated views produced a powerful effect upon his time, and, although during his own lifetime and long afterwards vehemently and with every opprobrious epithet denounced by ecclesiastical writers, his opinions were so widely adopted that, in the time of Epiphanius, his followers were to be found throughout the whole world.⁵

Marcion is said to have recognised as his sources of Christian doctrine, besides tradition, a single Gospel and ten Epistles of Paul, which in his collection stood in the following order:—Epistle to Galatians, Corinthians (2), Romans, Thessalonians (2), Ephesians (which he had with the superscription “to the

¹ Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xlii. 1, ed. Petav., p. 302.

² Epiph., *Hær.*, xlii. 1.

³ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, iii. 2, § 2; cf. 12, § 12; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 2, 3; cf. i. 20; Origen, *in Joann.* v., § 4.

⁴ Gal. i. 6 ff.; cf. ii. 4 ff., 11 ff.; cf. 2 Cor. xi. 1 ff.

⁵ Epiph., *Hær.*, xlii. 1.

Laodiceans"),¹ Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon.² None of the other books which now form part of the canonical New Testament were either mentioned or recognised by Marcion. This is the oldest collection of Apostolic writings of which there is any trace, but there was at that time no other "Holy Scripture" than the Old Testament, and no New Testament Canon had yet been imagined. Marcion neither claimed canonical authority for these writings, nor did he associate with them any idea of divine inspiration. We have already seen the animosity expressed by contemporaries of Marcion against the Apostle Paul.

Before proceeding to a closer examination of Marcion's Gospel and the general evidence bearing upon it, it may be well here briefly to refer to the system of the Heresiarch, whose high personal character exerted so powerful an influence upon his own time, and whose views continued to prevail widely for a couple of centuries after his death. It was the misfortune of Marcion to live in an age when Christianity had passed out of the pure morality of its infancy, when, untroubled by complicated questions of dogma, simple faith and pious enthusiasm had been the one great bond of Christian brotherhood, into a phase of ecclesiastical development in which religion was fast degenerating into theology, and complicated doctrines were rapidly assuming that rampant attitude which led to so much bitterness, persecution, and schism. In later times Marcion might have been honoured as a reformer; in his own he was denounced as a heretic. Austere and ascetic in his opinions, he aimed at superhuman purity; and although his clerical adversaries might scoff at his impracticable doctrines regarding marriage and the subjugation of the flesh, they have had their parallels amongst those whom the Church has since most delighted to honour, and at least the whole tendency of his system was markedly towards the side of virtue.³ It would, of course, be foreign to our purpose to enter upon any detailed statement of its principles, and we must confine ourselves to such particulars only as are necessary to an understanding of the question before us.

As we have already frequently had occasion to mention, there were two broad parties in the primitive Church, and the very existence of Christianity was in one sense endangered by the national exclusiveness of the people amongst whom it originated.

¹ Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, v. 11, 17; Epiph., *Hær.*, xlii. 9; cf. 10, *Schol.* xl.

² Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, v.; Epiph., *Hær.*, xlii. 9. (Epiphanius transposes the order of the last two Epistles.)

³ Gfrörer, *Allg. K. G.*, i., p. 134 f; Hagenbach, *K. G.*, 1869, i., p. 134 f.; Hug, *Einl. N. T.*, i., p. 56 ff.; Milman, *Hist. of Chr.*, 1867, ii., p. 77 ff.; Neander, *Allg. K. G.*, ii., p. 791 ff.; Volkmar, *Das Ev. Marc.*, p. 25 ff.

The one party considered Christianity a mere continuation of the Law, and dwarfed it into an Israelitish institution, a narrow sect of Judaism; the other represented the glad tidings as the introduction of a new system applicable to all, and supplanting the Mosaic dispensation of the Law by a universal dispensation of grace. These two parties were popularly represented in the early Church by the two Apostles Peter and Paul, and their antagonism is faintly revealed in the Epistle to the Galatians. Marcion, a gentile Christian, appreciating the true character of the new religion and its elevated spirituality, and profoundly impressed by the comparatively degraded and anthropomorphic features of Judaism, drew a very sharp line of demarcation between them, and represented Christianity as an entirely new and separate system, abrogating the old and having absolutely no connection with it. Jesus was not to him the Messiah of the Jews, the son of David come permanently to establish the Law and the Prophets, but a divine being sent to reveal to man a wholly new spiritual religion, and a hitherto unknown God of goodness and grace. The Creator (*Δημιουργός*), the God of the Old Testament, was different from the God of Grace who had sent Jesus to reveal the Truth, to bring reconciliation and salvation to all, and to abrogate the Jewish God of the World and of the Law, who was opposed to the God and Father of Jesus Christ as Matter is to Spirit, impurity to purity. Christianity was in distinct antagonism to Judaism; the spiritual God of heaven, whose goodness and love were for the Universe, to the God of the World, whose chosen and peculiar people were the Jews; the Gospel of Grace to the dispensation of the Old Testament. Christianity, therefore, must be kept pure from the Judaistic elements humanly thrust into it, which were so essentially opposed to its whole spirit.

Marcion wrote a work called "Antitheses" (*Ἀντιθέσεις*), in which he contrasted the old system with the new, the God of the one with the God of the other, the Law with the Gospel, and in this he maintained opinions which anticipated many held in our own time. Tertullian attacks this work in the first three books of his treatise against Marcion, and he enters upon the discussion of its details with true theological vigour: "Now, then, ye hounds, yelping at the God of truth, whom the Apostle casts out,¹ to all your questions! These are the bones of contention which ye gnaw!"² The poverty of the "Great African's" arguments keeps pace with his abuse. Marcion objected: If the God of the Old

¹ Rev. xxii. 15.

² *Jam hinc ad quæstiones omnes, canes, quos foras apostolus expellit, latrantes in deum veritatis. Hæc sunt argumentationum ossa, quæ obroditis* (*Adv. Marc.*, ii. 5).

Testament be good, prescient of the future, and able to avert evil, why did he allow man, made in his own image, to be deceived by the devil, and to fall from obedience of the Law into sin and death?¹ How came the devil, the origin of lying and deceit, to be made at all?² After the fall, God became a judge both severe and cruel: woman is at once condemned to bring forth in sorrow and to serve her husband, changed from a help into a slave; the earth is cursed which before was blessed, and man is doomed to labour and to death.³ The law was one of retaliation and not of justice—*lex talionis*—eye for eye, tooth for tooth, stripe for stripe.⁴ And it was not consistent, for, in contravention of the Decalogue, God is made to instigate the Israelites to spoil the Egyptians, and fraudulently rob them of their gold and silver;⁵ to incite them to work on the Sabbath by ordering them to carry the ark for eight days round Jericho;⁶ to break the second commandment by making and setting up the brazen serpent and the golden cherubim.⁷ Then God is inconstant, electing men, as Saul and Solomon, whom he subsequently rejects;⁸ repenting that he had set up Saul, and that he had doomed the Ninevites,⁹ and so on. God calls out: Adam, where art thou? inquires whether he had eaten the forbidden fruit, asks of Cain where his brother was, as if he had not yet heard the blood of Abel crying from the ground, and did not already know all these things.¹⁰ Anticipating the results of modern criticism, Marcion denies the applicability to Jesus of the so-called Messianic prophecies. The Emmanuel of Isaiah (vii. 14, cf. viii. 4) is not Christ;¹¹ the "Virgin," his mother, is simply a "young woman" according to Jewish phraseology;¹² and the sufferings of the Servant of God (Isaiah lii. 13, liii. 9) are not predictions of the death of Jesus.¹³ There is a complete severance between the Law and the Gospel; and the God of the latter is the antithesis of the God of the former.¹⁴ "The one was perfect, pure, beneficent, passionless; the other, though not unjust by nature, infected by matter—subject to all the passions of man—cruel, changeable; the New Testament, especially as remodelled by Marcion,¹⁵ was holy, wise, amiable; the Old Testa-

¹ Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, ii. 5; cf. 9.

² *Ib.*, ii. 10.

³ *Ib.*, ii. 11.

⁴ *Ib.*, ii. 18.

⁵ *Ib.*, ii. 20. Tertullian introduces this by likening the Marcionites to the cuttle-fish, like which "they vomit the blackness of blasphemy" (*tenebras blasphemiae intervomunt*), *l.c.*

⁶ *Ib.*, ii. 21.

⁷ *Ib.*, ii. 22.

⁸ *Ib.*, ii. 23.

⁹ *Ib.*, ii. 24.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, ii. 25.

¹¹ *Adv. Marc.*, iii. 12.

¹² *Ib.*, iii. 13.

¹³ *Ib.*, iii. 17, 18.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, iv. 1.

¹⁵ We give this quotation as a *résumé* by an English historian and divine, but the idea of the "New Testament remodelled by Marcion" is a mere ecclesiastical imagination.

ment, the Law, barbarous, inhuman, contradictory, and detestable."¹

Marcion ardently maintained the doctrine of the impurity of matter, and he carried it to its logical conclusion, both in speculation and practice. He, therefore, asserting the incredibility of an incarnate God, denied the corporeal reality of the flesh of Christ. His body was a mere semblance and not of human substance; he was not born of a human mother; and the divine nature was not degraded by contact with the flesh.² Marcion finds in Paul the purest promulgator of the truth as he understands it, and, emboldened by the Epistle to the Galatians, in which that Apostle rebukes even Apostles for "not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel," he accuses the other Apostles of having depraved the pure form of the Gospel doctrines delivered to them by Jesus,³ "mixing up matters of the Law with the words of the Saviour."⁴

Tertullian reproaches Marcion with having written the work in which he details the contrasts between Judaism and Christianity, of which we have given the briefest sketch, as an introduction and encouragement to belief in his Gospel, which he ironically calls "the Gospel according to the *Antitheses*";⁵ and the charge which the Fathers bring against Marcion is that he laid violent hands on the canonical Gospel of Luke, and manipulated it to suit his own views. "For certainly the whole object at which he laboured in drawing up the 'Antitheses,' " says Tertullian, "amounts to this: that he may prove a disagreement between the Old and New Testament, so that his own Christ may be separated from the Creator, as of another God, as alien from the Law and the Prophets. For this purpose it is certain that he has erased whatever was contrary to his own opinion and in harmony with the Creator, as if interpolated by his partisans, but has retained everything consistent with his own opinion."⁶ The whole hypothesis that Marcion's Gospel is a mutilated version of our third Synoptic, in fact, rests upon this accusation.

The principal interest, in connection with the collection of Marcion, centres in his single Gospel, the nature, origin, and identity of which have long been actively and minutely discussed by learned men of all shades of opinion with very varying results. The work itself is unfortunately no longer extant, and our only knowledge of it is derived from the bitter and very inaccurate opponents of Marcion. It seems to have borne much the same analogy to our third canonical Gospel as existed between the Gospel

¹ Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, 1867, ii., p. 77 f.

² Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, iii. 8 ff.

³ *Ib.*, iv. 3.

⁴ *Apostolos enim admisicuisse ea quæ sunt legalia salvatoris verbis* (Irenæus, *Adv. Her.*, iii. 2, § 2; cf. iii. 12, § 12).

⁵ *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 1.

⁶ *Ib.*, iv. 6.

according to the Hebrews and our first Synoptic. The Fathers, whose uncritical and, in such matters, prejudiced character led them to denounce every variation from their actual texts as a mere falsification, and without argument to assume the exclusive authenticity and originality of our Gospels, which towards the beginning of the third century had acquired wide circulation in the Church, vehemently stigmatised Marcion as an audacious adulterator of the Gospel, and affirmed his evangelical work to be merely a mutilated and falsified version of the "Gospel according to Luke."¹

This view continued to prevail, almost without question or examination, till towards the end of the eighteenth century, when Biblical criticism began to exhibit the earnestness and activity which have ever since characterised it. Semler first abandoned the prevalent tradition, and, after analysing the evidence, he concluded that Marcion's Gospel and Luke's were different versions of an earlier work,² and that the so-called heretical Gospel was one of the numerous Gospels from amongst which the Canonical had been selected by the Church.³ Griesbach about the same time also rejected the ruling opinion, and denied the close relationship usually asserted to exist between the two Gospels.⁴ Löffler⁵ and Carrodi⁶ strongly supported Semler's conclusion, that Marcion was no mere falsifier of Luke's Gospel, and J. E. C. Schmidt⁷ went still further, and asserted that Marcion's Gospel was the genuine Luke, and our actual Gospel a later version of it with alterations and additions. Eichhorn,⁸ after a fuller and more exhaustive examination, adopted similar views; he repudiated the statements of Tertullian regarding Marcion's Gospel as utterly untrustworthy, asserting that he had not that work itself before him at all, and he maintained that Marcion's Gospel was the more original text and one of the sources of Luke.⁹ Bolten, Bertholdt,¹⁰

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, i. 27, § 2; iii. 12, § 12; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 2-6; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xlii. 9, 11; Origen, *Contra Cels.*, ii. 27; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, i. 24.

² Vorrede zu Townson's *Abhandl. üb. d. vier Evv.*, 1783.

³ *Neuer Versuch, die Gemeinnützige Auslegung u. anwend. der N. T. zu befördern*, 1786, p. 162 f.; cf. *Prolegg. in Ep. ad Galatas*.

⁴ *Curæ in hist. textus epist. Pauli*, 1799, sect. iii., *Opuscula Academica*, ii., p. 124 ff.

⁵ *Marcionem Pauli epist. et Lucæ evang. adulterasse dubitatur*, 1788, in *Velthusen Kuinöl et Ruperti Comment. Theologica*, 1794, i., pp. 180-218.

⁶ *Versuch einer Beleuchtung d. Gesch. des jüd. u. Christl. Bibelkanons*, 1792, ii., p. 158 ff. 169.

⁷ *Ueber das ächte Evang. des Lucas*, in *Henke's Mag. für Religions-philos.*, u. s. w., iii., 1796, p. 468 ff., 482 f., 507 f.

⁸ *Einl. N. T.*, 1820, i., pp. 43-84.

⁹ *Bericht des Lucas von Jesu dem Messia* (Vorbericht, 1796, p. 29 f.).

¹⁰ *Einl. A. u. N. T.*, 1813, iii., p. 1293 ff.

Schleiermacher,¹ and D. Schulz² likewise maintained that Marcion's Gospel was by no means a mutilated version of Luke, but, on the contrary, an independent original Gospel. A similar conclusion was arrived at by Gieseler;³ but later, after Hahn's criticism, he abandoned it, and adopted the opinion that Marcion's Gospel was constructed out of Luke.⁴

On the other hand, the traditional view was maintained by Storr,⁵ Arneth,⁶ Hug,⁷ Neander,⁸ and Gratz,⁹ although with little originality of investigation or argument; and Paulus¹⁰ sought to reconcile both views by admitting that Marcion had before him the Gospel of Luke, but denying that he mutilated it, arguing that Tertullian did not base his arguments on the actual Gospel of Marcion, but upon his work, the *Antithesis*. Hahn,¹¹ however, undertook a more exhaustive examination of the problem, attempting to reconstruct the text of Marcion's Gospel¹² from the statements of Tertullian and Epiphanius, and he came to the conclusion that the work was a mere version, with omissions and alterations made by the Heresiarch in the interest of his system, of the third canonical Gospel. Olshausen¹³ arrived at the same result, and, with more or less of modification but no detailed argument, similar opinions were expressed by Credner,¹⁴ De Wette,¹⁵ and others.

Not satisfied, however, with the method and results of Hahn and Olshausen, whose examination, although more minute than any previously undertaken, still left much to be desired, Ritschl¹⁶ made a further thorough investigation of the character of Marcion's Gospel, and decided that it was in no case a mutilated version of Luke, but, on the contrary, an original and independent work, from which the canonical Gospel was produced by the introduction

¹ *Sämmtl. Werke*, viii.; *Einl. N. T.*, 1845, p. 64 f., 197 f., 214 f.

² *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1829, 3, pp. 586-595.

³ *Entst. schr. Evv.*, 1818, p. 24 ff.

⁴ *Recens. d. Hahn's Das Ev. Marcion's in Hall. Allg. Litt. Z.*, 1823, p. 225 ff.; *K. G.*, i., § 45.

⁵ *Zweck d. Evang. Gesch. u. Br. Johan.*, 1786, pp. 254-265.

⁶ *Ueber d. Bekanntschaft Marcion's mit. u. Kanon, u. s. w.*, 1809.

⁷ *Einl. N. T.*, 1847, i., p. 64 ff.

⁸ *Genet. Entwickl. d. vorn. Gnost. Syst.*, 1818, p. 311 ff.; cf. *Allg. K. G.*, 1843, ii., pp. 792-816.

⁹ *Krit. Unters. iib. Marcion's Evang.*, 1818.

¹⁰ *Theol. exeg. Conserv.*, 1822, *Lief. i.*, p. 115 ff.

¹¹ *Das. Evang. Marcion's in seiner ursprüngl. Gestalt*, 1823.

¹² The reconstructed text is in *Thilo's Cod. Apocr. N. T.*, 1832, pp. 403-486.

¹³ *Die Echtheit der vier kan. Evv.*, 1823, pp. 107-215.

¹⁴ *Beiträge*, i., p. 43.

¹⁵ *Einl. N. T.*, 6th ausg., 1860, p. 119 ff.

¹⁶ *Das Evangelium Marcion's*, 1846.

of anti-Marcionitish passages and readings. Baur¹ strongly enunciated similar views, and maintained that the whole error lay in the mistake of the Fathers, who had, with characteristic assumption, asserted the earlier and shorter Gospel of Marcion to be an abbreviation of the later canonical Gospel, instead of recognising the latter as a mere extension of the former. Schwegler² had already, in a remarkable criticism of Marcion's Gospel, declared it to be an independent and original work, and in no sense a mutilated Luke, but, on the contrary, probably the source of that Gospel. Köstlin,³ while stating that the theory that Marcion's Gospel was an earlier work and the basis of that ascribed to Luke was not very probable, affirmed that much of the Marcionitish text was more original than the canonical, and that both Gospels must be considered versions of the same original, although Luke's was the later and more corrupt.

These results, however, did not satisfy Volkmar,⁴ who entered afresh upon a searching examination of the whole subject, and concluded that whilst, on the one hand, the Gospel of Marcion was not a mere falsified and mutilated form of the canonical Gospel, neither was it, on the other, an earlier work, and still less the original Gospel of Luke, but merely a Gnostic compilation from what, so far as we are concerned, may be called the oldest codex of Luke's Gospel, which itself is nothing more than a similar Pauline edition of the original Gospel. Volkmar's analysis, together with the arguments of Hilgenfeld, succeeded in convincing Ritschl,⁵ who withdrew from his previous opinions, and, with those critics, merely maintained some of Marcion's readings to be more original than those of Luke,⁶ and generally defended Marcion from the aspersions of the Fathers on the ground that his procedure with regard to Luke's Gospel was precisely that of the canonical Evangelists to each other;⁷ Luke himself being clearly dependent both on Mark and Matthew.⁸ Baur was likewise induced by Volkmar's and Hilgenfeld's arguments to modify his views;⁹ but, although for the first time he admitted that Marcion had altered the original of his Gospel frequently for dogmatic reasons, he still maintained that there was an older form of the Gospel without the earlier chapters, from which both Marcion and Luke directly constructed their Gospels—both of them stood in the same line in regard to the original; both

¹ *Krit. Unters. kan. Evv.*, 1847, p. 397 ff.

² *Das nachap. Zeit.*, 1846, i., p. 260 ff.

³ *Der Ursprung d. synopt. Evv.*, 1853, p. 303 ff.

⁴ *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1850, pp. 110-138, pp. 185-235.

⁵ *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1851, p. 528 ff.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 529.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 530 ff.

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 534 ff.

⁹ *Das Markusevang. Anhang üb. das Ev. Marcion's*, 1851, p. 191 ff.

altered it; the one abbreviated, the other extended it.¹ Encouraged by this success, but not yet satisfied, Volkmar immediately undertook a further and more exhaustive examination of the text of Marcion in the hope of finally settling the discussion; and he again, but with greater emphasis, confirmed his previous results.² In the meantime, Hilgenfeld³ had seriously attacked the problem, and, like Hahn and Volkmar, had sought to reconstruct the text of Marcion, and, whilst admitting many more original and genuine readings in the text of Marcion, he had also decided that his Gospel was dependent on Luke, although he further concluded that the text of Luke had subsequently gone through another, though slight, manipulation before it assumed its present form. These conclusions he again fully confirmed after a renewed investigation of the subject.⁴

This brief sketch of the controversy which has so long occupied the attention of critics will, at least, show the uncertainty of the data upon which any decision is to be based. We have not attempted to give more than the barest outlines, but it will appear as we go on that most of those who decide against the general independence of Marcion's Gospel at the same time admit his partial originality and the superiority of some of his readings over those of the third Synoptic, and justify his treatment of Luke as a procedure common to the Evangelists, and warranted not only by their example, but by the fact that no Gospels had in his time emerged from the position of private documents in limited circulation.

Marcion's Gospel not being any longer extant, it is important to establish clearly the nature of our knowledge regarding it and the exact value of the data from which various attempts have been made to reconstruct the text. It is manifest that the evidential force of any deductions from a reconstructed text is almost wholly dependent on the accuracy and sufficiency of the materials from which that text is derived.

The principal sources of our information regarding Marcion's Gospel are the works of his most bitter denouncers, Tertullian and Epiphanius, who, it must be borne in mind, wrote long after his time—the work of Tertullian against Marcion having been composed about A.D. 208,⁵ and that of Epiphanius a century later.

¹ *Ib.*, p. 225 f.

² *Das Evang. Marcion's*, 1852.

³ *Ueb. die Evv. Justin's der Clem. Hom. und Marcion's*, 1850, p. 389 ff.

⁴ *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1853, pp. 192–244. [A remarkably able and interesting work, *The Origin of the Third Gospel*, by P. C. Sense, M.A., 1901, may be advantageously referred to. Mr. Sense maintains that the third Gospel was compiled from the writing used by the Marcionites, known as the Marcionite Gospel, and other apocryphal Gospels.]

⁵ Cf. Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, i. 15.

We may likewise merely mention here the "*Dialogus de recta in deum fide*," commonly attributed to Origen, although it cannot have been composed earlier than the middle of the fourth century. The first three sections are directed against the Marcionites, but only deal with the late forms of their doctrines. As Volkmar admits that the author clearly had only a general acquaintance with the *Antitheses* and principal proof passages of the Marcionites, but, although he certainly possessed the Epistles, had not the Gospel of Marcion itself,¹ we need not now more particularly consider it.

We are, therefore, dependent upon the "dogmatic and partly blind and unjust adversaries"² of Marcion for our only knowledge of the text they stigmatise; and, when the character of polemical discussion in the early centuries of our era is considered, it is certain that great caution must be exercised, and not too much weight attached to the statement of opponents who regarded a heretic with abhorrence and attacked him with an acrimony which carried them far beyond the limits of fairness and truth. Their religious controversy bristles with misstatements, and is turbid with pious abuse. Tertullian was a master of this style, and the vehement vituperation with which he opens³ and often interlards his work against "the impious and sacrilegious Marcion" offers anything but a guarantee of fair and legitimate criticism. Epiphanius was, if possible, still more passionate and exaggerated in his representations against him. Undue importance must not, therefore, be attributed to their statements.⁴

Not only should there be caution exercised in receiving the representations of one side in a religious discussion, but more particularly is such caution necessary in the case of Tertullian, whose trustworthiness is very far from being above suspicion, and whose inaccuracy is often apparent. "*Son christianisme*," says Reuss, "*est ardent, sincère, profondément ancré dans son âme. L'on voit qu'il en vit. Mais ce christianisme est âpre, insolent, brutal, ferrailleur. Il est sans onction et sans charité, quelquefois même sans loyauté, dès qu'il se trouve en face d'une opposition quelconque. C'est un soldat qui ne sait que se battre et qui oublie, tout en se battant, qu'il faut aussi respecter son ennemi. Dialecticien subtil et rusé, il excelle à ridiculiser ses adversaires. L'injure, le sarcasme, un langage qui rappelle parfois en vérité le genre de Rabelais, une effronterie d'affirmation dans les moments de faiblesse qui frise et*

¹ *Das Ev. Marcion's*, p. 53.

² Volkmar, *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1850, p. 120.

³ *Adv. Marc.*, i. 1.

⁴ Reuss, *Hist. du Canon*, p. 71 ff.; Gieseler, *Entst. schr. Ew.*, p. 25; Scholten, *Die ält. Zeugnisse*, p. 75; Volkmar, *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1850, p. 120; Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 276; De Wette, *Einl. N. T.*, p. 122.

*atteint même la mauvaise foi, voilà ses armes. Je sais ce qu'il faut en cela mettre sur le compte de l'époque.....Si, au second siècle, tous les partis, sauf quelques gnostiques, sont intolérants, Tertullian l'est plus que tout le monde."*¹

The charge of mutilating and interpolating the Gospel of Luke is first brought against Marcion by Irenæus,² and it is repeated with still greater vehemence and fulness by Tertullian³ and Epiphanius;⁴ but the mere assertion by Fathers at the end of the second and in the third centuries, that a Gospel different from their own was one of the canonical Gospels falsified and mutilated, can have no weight in itself in the inquiry as to the real nature of that work. Their arbitrary assumption of exclusive originality and priority for the four Gospels of the Church led them, without any attempt at argument, to treat every other evangelical work as an offshoot or falsification of these. The arguments by which Tertullian endeavours to establish that the Gospels of Luke and the other canonical Evangelists were more ancient than that of Marcion⁵ show that he had no idea of historical or critical evidence. We are, however, driven back upon such actual data regarding the text and contents of Marcion's Gospel as are given by the Fathers, as the only basis, in the absence of the Gospel itself, upon which any hypothesis as to its real character can be built. The question therefore is: Are these data sufficiently ample and trustworthy for a decisive judgment from internal evidence—if, indeed, internal evidence in such a case can be decisive at all.

All that we know, then, of Marcion's Gospel is simply what Tertullian and Epiphanius have stated with regard to it. It is undeniable and, indeed, is universally admitted, that their object in dealing with it at all was entirely dogmatic, and not in the least degree critical. The spirit of that age was so essentially uncritical that not even the canonical text could waken it into activity. Tertullian very clearly states what his object was in attacking Marcion's Gospel. After asserting that the whole aim of the Heresiarch was to prove a disagreement between the Old Testament and the New, and that, for this purpose, he had erased from the Gospel all that was contrary to his opinion, and retained all that he had considered favourable,

¹ Reuss, *Rev. de Théol.*, xv., 1857, p. 67 f. Cf. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, 1875, p. 250, p. 259 f.

² *Et super hæc, id quod est secundum Lucam Evangelium circumcidens.....* (Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, i. 27, § 2; cf. iii. 11, § 7; 12, § 12; 14, § 4).

³ *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 1, 2, 4 et passim.

⁴ *Hær.*, xlii. 9, 10 et passim.

⁵ *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 5.

Tertullian proceeds to examine the passages retained,¹ with the view of proving that the heretic has shown the same "blindness of heresy," both in that which he has erased and in that which he has retained, inasmuch as the passages which Marcion has allowed to remain are as opposed to his system as those which he has omitted. He conducts the controversy in a free and discursive manner, and, whilst he appears to go through Marcion's Gospel with some regularity, it will be apparent, as we proceed, that mere conjecture has to play a large part in any attempt to reconstruct, from his data, the actual text of Marcion. Epiphanius explains his aim with equal clearness. He had made a number of extracts from the so-called Gospel of Marcion, which seemed to him to refute the heretic, and, after giving a detailed and numbered list of these passages, which he calls *σχόλια*, he takes them consecutively, and to each adds his "Refutation." His intention is to show how wickedly and disgracefully Marcion has mutilated and falsified the Gospel, and how fruitlessly he has done so, inasmuch as he has stupidly, or by oversight, allowed much to remain in his Gospel by which he may be completely refuted.²

As it is impossible within our limits fully to illustrate the procedure of the Fathers with regard to Marcion's Gospel, and the nature and value of the materials they supply, we shall, as far as possible, quote the declarations of critics, and more especially of Volkmar and Hilgenfeld, who, in the true and enlightened spirit of criticism, impartially state the character of the data available for the understanding of the text. As these two critics have, by their able and learned investigations, done more than any others to educe and render possible a decision of the problem, their own estimate of the materials upon which a judgment has to be formed is of double value.

With regard to Tertullian, Volkmar explains that his desire is totally to annihilate the most dangerous heretic of his time—first (Books I. to III.), to overthrow Marcion's system in general as expounded in his *Antithesis*, and then (Book IV.) to show that even the Gospel of Marcion only contains Catholic doctrine (he concludes, *Christus Jesus in Evangelio tuo meus est*, c. 43); and therefore he examines the Gospel only so far as may serve to establish his own view and refute that of Marcion. "To show," Volkmar continues, "wherein this Gospel was falsified or mutilated—i.e., varied from his own—on the contrary, is in no way his design,

¹ *Hæc conveniemus, hæc amplectemur, si nobiscum magis fuerint, si Marcionis præsumptionem percusserint. Tunc et illa constabit eodem vitio hæreticæ cæcitatæ erasa quo et hæc reservata. Sic habebit intentio et forma opusculi nostri, etc.* (Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 6).

² Epiphanius, *Hæc.*, xlii. 9 f.

note. for he perceives that Marcion could retort the reproach of interpolation, and in his time proof from internal grounds was hardly possible, so that only exceptionally, where a variation seems to him remarkable, does he specially mention it."¹ On the other hand, Volkmar remarks that Tertullian's Latin rendering of the text of Marcion which lay before him—which, although certainly free and having chiefly the substance in view, is still in weightier passages verbally accurate—directly indicates important variations in that text. He goes on to argue that the silence of Tertullian may be weighty testimony for the fact that passages which exist in Luke, but which he does not mention, were missing in Marcion's Gospel, though he does so with considerable reservation. "But his silence *alone*," he says, "can only under certain conditions represent with diplomatic certainty an omission in Marcion. It is indeed probable that he would not lightly have passed over a passage in the Gospel of Marcion which might in any way be contradictory to its system, if one altogether similar had not preceded it, all the more as he frequently drags in by force such proof passages from Marcion's text, and often plainly, but with a certain sophistry, tries to refute his adversary out of the words of his own Gospel. But it remains always possible that in his eagerness he has overlooked much; and, besides, he believes that by his replies to particular passages he has already sufficiently dealt with many others of a similar kind; indeed, avowedly, he will not willingly repeat himself. A certain conclusion, therefore, can only be deduced from the silence of Tertullian when special circumstances enter."² Volkmar, however, deduces with certainty from the statements of Tertullian that, whilst he wrote, he had not before him the Gospel of Luke, but intentionally laid it aside, and merely referred to the Marcionitish text, and further that, like all the Fathers of the third century, he preferred the Gospel according to Matthew to the other Synoptics, and was well acquainted with it alone, so that in speaking of the Gospel generally he only has in his memory the sense, and the sense alone, of Luke except in so far as it agrees, or seems to agree, with Matthew.³

fact. //

With regard to the manner in which Tertullian performed the work he had undertaken, Hilgenfeld remarks: "As Tertullian, in going through the Marcionitish Gospel, has only the object of refutation in view, he very rarely states explicitly what is missing from it; and as, on the one hand, we can only venture to conclude from the silence of Tertullian that a passage is wanting, when it is altogether inexplicable that he should not have made use of it

¹ Volkmar, *Das Evang. Marcion's*, p. 29.

² *Ib.*, p. 29 f.; cf. *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1855, p. 237.

³*Ib.*, p. 30 f

for the purpose of refutation; so, on the other, we must also know how Marcion used and interpreted the Gospel, and should never lose sight of Tertullian's refutation and defence."¹

Hahn substantially expresses the same opinions. He says: "Inasmuch as Tertullian goes through the Marcionitish text with the view of refuting the heretic out of that which he accepts, and not of critically pointing out all variations, falsifications, and passages rejected, he frequently quotes the falsified or altered Marcionitish text without expressly mentioning the variations.²..... Yet he cannot refrain—although this was not his object—occasionally, from noticing amongst other things any falsifications and omissions which, when he perhaps examined the text of Luke or had a lively recollection of it, struck and too grievously offended him."³

Volkmar's opinion of the procedure of Epiphanius is still more unfavourable. Contrasting it with that of Tertullian, he characterises it as "more superficial," and he considers that its only merit is its presenting an independent view of Marcion's Gospel. Further than this, however, he says: "How far we can build upon his statements, whether as regards their completeness or their trustworthiness, is not yet made altogether clear."⁴ Volkmar goes on to show how thoroughly Epiphanius intended to do his work, and yet that, although from what he himself leads us to expect, we might hope to find a complete statement of Marcion's sins, the Father himself disappoints such an expectation by his own admission of incompleteness. He complains generally of his free and misleading method of quotation, such, for instance, as his alteration of the text without explanation; alteration of the same passage on different occasions in more than one way; abbreviations, and omissions of parts of quotations; the sudden breaking off of passages just commenced with the indefinite καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς or καὶ τὸ λοιπόν, without any indication how much this may include.⁵

Volkmar, indeed, explains that Epiphanius is only thoroughly trustworthy where, and *so far as*, he wishes to state in his *Scholia* an omission or variation in Marcion's text from his own canonical Gospel, in which case he minutely registers the smallest point; but this is to be clearly distinguished from any charge of falsification brought against Marcion in his *Refutations*; for only while drawing up his *Scholia* had he the Marcionitish Gospel before him and compared it with Luke; but in the case of the *Refutations*, on the contrary, which he wrote later, he did not

¹ *Die Evv. Justin's*, p. 397.

² *Das Ev. Marcion's*, p. 96.

³ *Ib.*, p. 98.

⁴ Volkmar, *Das Ev. Marcion's*, p. 32, cf. p. 43.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 33 ff.; cf. Hahn, *Das Ev. Marcion's*, p. 123 ff.

again compare the Gospel of Luke. "It is, however, altogether different," continues Volkmar, "as regards the statements of Epiphanius concerning the part of the Gospel of Luke which is preserved in Marcion. Whilst he desires to be *strictly literal* in the account of the *variations*, and also with two exceptions *is* so, he so generally adheres *only to the purport* of the passages retained by Marcion that altogether literal quotations are quite exceptional; *throughout*, however, where passages of greater extent are referred to, these are not merely abbreviated, but also are quoted *very freely*, and nowhere can we reckon that the passage in Marcion ran verbally as Epiphanius quotes it."¹ And to this we may add a remark made further on: "We cannot in general rely upon the accuracy of his statements in regard to that which Marcion had in common with Luke."² On the other hand, Volkmar had previously said: "Absolute completeness in regard to that which Marcion's Gospel did not contain is not to be reckoned upon in his *Scholia*. He has certainly not intended to pass over anything, but in the eagerness which so easily renders men superficial and blind much has escaped him."³

Hahn bears similar testimony to the incompleteness of Epiphanius. "It was not his purpose," he says, "fully to notice all falsifications, variations, and omissions, although he does mark most of them, but merely to extract from the Gospel of Marcion, as well as from his collection of Epistles, what seemed to him well suited for refutation."⁴ But he immediately adds: "When he quotes the passage from Marcion's text, however, in which such falsifications occur, he generally—but not always—notes them more or less precisely, and he had himself laid it down as a subsidiary object of his work to pay attention to such falsifications."⁵ A little further on he says: "In the quotations of the remaining passages which Epiphanius did not find different from the Gospel of Luke, and where he, therefore, says nothing of falsification or omission, he is often very free, neither adhering strictly to the particular words, nor to their arrangement; but his favourite practice is to give their substance and sense for the purpose of refuting his opponent. He presupposes the words as known from the Gospel of Luke."⁶

It must be stated, however, that both Volkmar⁷ and Hilgenfeld⁸ consider that the representations of Tertullian and Epiphanius supplement each other, and enable the contents of Marcion's Gospel to be ascertained with tolerable certainty. Yet a few pages earlier

¹ Volkmar, *Das Ev. Marcion's*, p. 43 f.; cf. p. 34.

² *Ib.*, p. 45.

³ *Ib.*, p. 33.

⁴ Hahn, *Das Ev. Marcion's*, p. 121.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 122.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 123 f.

⁷ Volkmar, *Das Ev. M.*, p. 45 ff.

⁸ *Die Ev. Justin's*, p. 397 f.

Volkmar had pointed out that "The ground for a certain fixture of the text of the Marcionitish Gospel seems completely taken away by the fact that Tertullian and Epiphanius, in their statements regarding its state, not merely repeatedly seem to, but in part actually do, directly contradict each other."¹ Hahn endeavours to explain some of these contradictions by imagining that later Marcionites had altered the text of their Gospel, and that Epiphanius had the one form and Tertullian another;² but such a doubt only renders the whole of the statements regarding the work more uncertain and insecure. That it is not without some reason, however, appears from the charge which Tertullian brings against the disciples of Marcion: "For they daily alter it (their Gospel) as they are daily refuted by us."³ In fact, we have no assurance whatever that the work upon which Tertullian and Epiphanius base their charge against Marcion of falsification and mutilation of Luke was Marcion's original Gospel, and we certainly have no historical evidence on the point.

The question even arises whether Tertullian and Epiphanius had Marcion's Gospel in any shape before them when they wrote, or merely his work the *Antitheses*. In commencing his onslaught on Marcion's Gospel, Tertullian says: "Marcion seems (*videtur*) to have selected Luke to mutilate it."⁴ This is the first serious introduction of his "mutilation hypothesis," which he thenceforward presses with so much assurance; but the expression is very uncertain for so decided a controversialist, if he had been able to speak more positively. We have seen that it is admitted that Epiphanius wrote without again comparing the Gospel of Marcion with Luke, and it is also conceded that Tertullian, at least, had not the canonical Gospel, but in professing to quote Luke evidently does so from memory, and approximates his text to Matthew, with which Gospel, like most of the Fathers, he was better acquainted. This may be illustrated by the fact that both Tertullian and Epiphanius reproach Marcion with erasing passages from the Gospel of Luke which never were in Luke at all. In one place Tertullian says: "Marcion, you must also remove this from the Gospel: 'I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel,'⁵ and 'It is not meet to take the children's bread and give it to dogs,'⁶ in order, be it known, that Christ may not

¹ Volkmar, *Das Ev. Marcion's*, p. 22 f., p. 46 ff.; *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1854, p. 106.

² Hahn, *Das Ev. Marcion's*, p. 130 f., p. 169, p. 224 ff.; cf. Neudecker, *Einl. N. T.*, p. 82.

³ *Nam et quotidie reformant illud, prout a nobis quotidie revincuntur. Adv. Marc.*, iv. 5; cf. *Dial. de recta in deum fide*, § 5; Orig., *Opp.*, i., p. 867.

⁴ *Nam ex iis commentatoribus, quos habemus, Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse, quem caederet (Adv. Marc., iv. 2).*

⁵ Matt. xv. 24.

⁶ *Ib.*, xv. 26.

seem to be an Israelite.¹ The "Great African" thus taunts his opponent, evidently under the impression that the two passages were in Luke, immediately after he had accused Marcion of having actually expunged from that Gospel, "as an interpolation,"² the saying that Christ had not come to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them,³ which likewise never formed part of it. He repeats a similar charge on several other occasions.⁴ Epiphanius commits the same mistake of reproaching Marcion with omitting from Luke what is only found in Matthew.⁵ We have, in fact, no certain guarantee of the accuracy or trustworthiness of their statements.

We have said enough, we trust, to show that the sources for the reconstruction of a text of Marcion's Gospel are most unsatisfactory, and no one who attentively studies the analysis of Hahn, Ritschl, Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, and others, who have examined and systematised the data of the Fathers, can fail to be struck by the uncertainty which prevails throughout, the almost continuous vagueness and consequent opening, nay, necessity, for conjecture, and the absence of really sure indications. The Fathers had no intention of showing what Marcion's text actually was, and, their object being solely dogmatic and not critical, their statements are very insufficient for the purpose. The materials have had to be ingeniously collected and sifted from polemical writings whose authors, so far from professing to furnish them, were only bent upon seeking in Marcion's Gospel such points as could legitimately, or by sophistical skill, be used against him. Passing observations, general remarks, as well as direct statements, have too often been the only indications guiding the patient explorers, and in the absence of certain information the silence of the angry Fathers has been made the basis for important conclusions. It is evident that not only is such a procedure necessarily uncertain and insecure, but that it rests upon assumptions with regard to the intelligence, care, and accuracy of Tertullian and Epiphanius, which are not sufficiently justified by that part of their treatment of Marcion's text which we can examine and appreciate. And when all these doubtful landmarks have failed, too many passages have been left to the mere judgment of critics, as to whether they were too opposed to Marcion's system to have been retained by him, or too favourable to have been omitted. The reconstructed texts, as might be expected, differ from each other, and one Editor finds

¹ *Marcion, aufer etiam illud de evangelio: non sum missus, nisi ad oves perditas domus Israel; et: non est auferre panem filiis et dare eum canibus, ne scilicet Christus Israelis videretur* (*Adv. Marc.*, iv. 7).

² *Hoc enim Marcion ut additum erasit* (*Adv. Marc.*, iv. 7).

³ *Matt.* v. 17.

⁴ *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 9, 12; ii. 17, iv. 17, 36.

⁵ *Her.*, xlii., p. 322 f., *Ref.* 1; cf. *Luke* v. 14; *Matt.* viii. 4.

the results of his predecessors incomplete or unsatisfactory, although naturally, at each successive attempt, the materials previously collected and adopted have contributed to an apparently more complete result. After complaining of the incompleteness and uncertainty of the statements of Tertullian and Epiphanius, Ritschl affirms that they furnish so little solid material on which to base a hypothesis that rather by means of a hypothesis must we determine the remains of the Gospel from Tertullian.¹ Hilgenfeld quotes this with approval, and adds that at least Ritschl's opinion is so far right that all the facts of the case can no longer be settled from external data, and that the general view regarding the Gospel only can decide many points.² This means, of course, that hypothesis is to supply that which is wanting in the Fathers. Volkmar, in the introduction to his last comprehensive work on Marcion's Gospel, says: "And, in fact, it is no wonder that critics have for so long, and substantially to so little effect, fought over the protean question, for there has been so much uncertainty as to the very basis (Fundament) itself—the precise text of the remarkable document—that Baur has found full ground for rejecting, as unfounded, the supposition on which that finally-attained decision (his previous one) rested."³ Critics of all shades of opinion are forced to admit the incompleteness of the materials for any certain reconstruction of Marcion's text, and consequently for an absolute settlement of the question from internal evidence, although the labours of Volkmar and Hilgenfeld have materially increased our knowledge of the contents of his Gospel.

In the earlier editions of this work,⁴ we contended that the theory that Marcion's Gospel was a mutilated form of our third Synoptic had not been established, and that more probably it was an earlier work, from which our Gospel might have been elaborated. Since the sixth edition of this work was completed, however, a very able examination of Marcion's Gospel has been made by Dr. Sanday,⁵ which has convinced us that our earlier hypothesis is untenable; that the portions of our third Synoptic excluded from Marcion's Gospel were really written by the same pen which composed the mass of the work, and, consequently, that our third Synoptic existed in his time, and was substantially in the hands of Marcion. This conviction is mainly the result of the linguistic analysis,

¹ Ritschl, *Das Evv. Marcion's*, p. 55.

² Hilgenfeld, *Die Evv. Justin's*, p. 445.

³ Volkmar, *Das Ev. Marcion's*, 1852, p. 19 f.

⁴ For the arguments, omitted here, see the complete edition, 1879, vol. ii., pp. 108–138.

⁵ *Fortnightly Review*, 1875, p. 855 ff.; *The Gospels in Second Century*, 1876, p. 204 ff.

sufficiently indicated by Dr. Sanday and, since, exhaustively carried out for ourselves. We still consider the argument based upon the dogmatic views of Marcion, which has hitherto been almost exclusively relied on, quite inconclusive by itself; but the linguistic test, applied practically for the first time in this controversy by Dr. Sanday, must, we think, prove irresistible to all who are familiar with the comparatively limited vocabulary of New Testament writers. Throughout the omitted sections peculiarities of language and expression abound which clearly distinguish the general composer of the third Gospel, and it is, consequently, not possible reasonably to maintain that these sections are additions subsequently made by a different hand, which seems to be the only legitimate course open to those who would deny that Marcion's Gospel originally contained them.

Here, then, we find evidence of the existence of our third Synoptic about the year 140, and it may of course be inferred that it must have been composed at least some time before that date.¹ It is important, however, to estimate aright the facts actually before us and the deductions which may be drawn from them. The testimony of Marcion does not throw any light upon the authorship or origin of the Gospel of which he made use. Its superscription was simply "The Gospel," or "The Gospel of the Lord" (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, or εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Κυρίου),² and no author's name was attached to it. The Heresiarch did not pretend to have written it himself, nor did he ascribe it to any other person. Tertullian, in fact, reproaches him with its anonymity. "And here already I might make a stand," he says at the very opening of his attack on Marcion's Gospel, "contending that a work should not be recognised which does not hold its front erect.....which does not give a pledge of its trustworthiness by the fulness of its title, and the due declaration of its author."³ Not only did Marcion himself not in any way connect the name of Luke with his Gospel, but his followers repudiated the idea that Luke was its author.⁴

¹ With regard to this, the considerations, advanced in connection with the Acts of the Apostles, as to the author's use of the works of Josephus should be referred to.

² *Marcion Evangelio suo nullum adscribit auctorem* (Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 2; *Dial. de recta fide*, § 1).

³ *Et possem hic jam gradum figere, non agnoscendum contendens opus, quod non erigat frontem, quod nullam constantiam præferat, nullam fidem repromittat de plenitudine tituli et professione debita auctoris* (Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 2).

⁴ *Dial. de recta fide*, § 1. Cf. Bertholdt, *Einl.*, iii., p. 1295, 1218 ff.; Eichhorn, *Einl. N. T.*, i., p. 79 f.; Gieseler, *Entst. schr. Evv.*, p. 25; Holtzmann, in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, viii., p. 563. The later Marcionites affirmed their Gospel to have been written by Christ himself, and the particulars of the Crucifixion, etc., to have been added by Paul.

In admitting the substantial identity of Marcion's Gospel and our third Synoptic, therefore, no advance is made towards establishing the authorship of Luke. The Gospel remains anonymous still. On the other hand, we ascertain the important fact that, so far from its having any authoritative or infallible character at that time, Marcion regarded our Synoptic as a work perverted by Jewish influences, and requiring to be freely expurgated in the interests of truth. Amended by very considerable omissions and alterations, Marcion certainly held it in high respect as a record of the teaching of Jesus, but beyond this circumstance, and the mere fact of its existence in his day, we learn nothing from the evidence of Marcion. It can scarcely be maintained that this does much to authenticate the third Synoptic as a record of miracles and a witness for the reality of Divine Revelation.

There is no evidence whatever that Marcion had any knowledge of the other canonical Gospels in any form. None of his writings are extant, and no direct assertion is made even by the Fathers that he knew them, although from their dogmatic point of view they assume that these Gospels existed from the very first, and therefore insinuate that, as he only recognised one Gospel, he rejected the rest.¹ When Irenæus says: "He persuaded his disciples that he himself was more veracious than were the Apostles who handed down the Gospel, though he delivered to them not the Gospel, but part of the Gospel,"² it is quite clear that he speaks of the Gospel—the good tidings, Christianity—and not of specific written Gospels. In another passage which is referred to by Apologists, Irenæus says of the Marcionites that they have asserted "That even the Apostles proclaimed the Gospel still under the influence of Jewish sentiments; but that they themselves are more sound and more judicious than the Apostles. Wherefore also Marcion and his followers have had recourse to mutilating the Scriptures, not recognising some books at all, but curtailing the Gospel according to Luke and the Epistles of Paul; these, they say, are alone authentic which they themselves have abbreviated."³ These remarks chiefly refer to the followers of Marcion, and as we have shown, when treating of

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, i. 27, § 2; cf. iii. 2; 12, § 12; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 3; cf. *De Carne Christi*, 2, 3.

² *Semetipsum esse veraciorem, quam sunt hi, qui Evangelium tradiderunt, apostoli, suasit discipulis suis; non Evangelium, sed particulam Evangelii tradens eis* (*Adv. Hær.*, i. 27, § 2).

³ *Et apostolos quidem adhuc quæ sunt Judæorum sentientes, annuntiasse Evangelium; se autem sinceriores, et prudentiores apostolis esse. Unde et Marcion, et qui ab eo sunt, ad intercidendas conversi sunt Scripturas, quasdam quidem in totum non cognoscentes, secundum Lucam autem Evangelium, et Epistolas Pauli decurtantes, hæc sola legitima esse dicunt, quæ ipsi minora-verunt* (*Adv. Hær.*, iii. 12, § 12).

Valentinus, Irenæus is expressly writing against members of heretical sects living in his own day, and not of the founders of those sects.¹ The Marcionites of the time of Irenæus no doubt deliberately rejected the Gospels, but it does not by any means follow that Marcion himself knew anything of them. As yet we have not met with any evidence even of their existence.

The evidence of Tertullian is not a whit more valuable. In the passage usually cited he says: "But Marcion, lighting upon the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, in which he reproaches even Apostles for not walking uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, as well as accuses certain false Apostles of perverting the Gospel of Christ, tries with all his might to destroy the status of those Gospels which are put forth as genuine and under the name of Apostles, or at least of contemporaries of the Apostles, in order, be it known, to confer upon his own the credit which he takes from them."² Now here again it is clear that Tertullian is simply applying, by inference, Marcion's views with regard to the preaching of the Gospel by the two parties in the Church, represented by the Apostle Paul and the "pillar" Apostles whose leaning to Jewish doctrines he condemned, to the written Gospels recognised in his day, though not in Marcion's. "It is uncertain," says even Dr. Westcott, "whether Tertullian in the passage quoted speaks from a knowledge of what Marcion may have written on the subject, or simply from his own point of sight."³ Any doubt is, however, removed on examining the context, for Tertullian proceeds to argue that if Paul censured Peter, John, and James, it was for changing their company from respect of persons; and similarly, "if false apostles crept in," they betrayed their character by insisting on Jewish observances. "So that it was *not on account of their preaching*, but of their conversation, that they were pointed out by Paul";⁴ and he goes on to argue that if Marcion thus accuses Apostles of having depraved the Gospel by their dissimulation, he accuses Christ in accusing those whom Christ selected.⁵ It is palpable, therefore, that Marcion, in whatever he may have written, referred to the preaching of the Gospel, or Christianity, by Apostles who retained their Jewish prejudices in favour of

¹ Cf. *Adv. Hær.*, i., *Præf.*, § 2; iii. *Præf.*, etc.

² *Sed enim Marcion nactus epistolam Pauli ad Galatas, etiam ipsos apostolos suggillantis ut non recto pede incedentes ad veritatem evangelii, simul et accusantis pseudapostolos quosdam pervertentes evangelium Christi, connititur ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum, quæ propria et sub apostolorum nomine eduntur, vel etiam apostolicorum, ut scilicet fidem, quam illis adimit, suo conferat* (*Adv. Marc.*, iv. 3; cf. *de Carne Christi*, 2, 3).

³ *On the Canon*, p. 276, note 1.

⁴ *Adeo non de prædicatione, sed de conversatione a Paulo denotabantur* (*Adv. Marc.*, iv. 3).

⁵ *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 3.

circumcision and legal observances, and not to written Gospels. Tertullian merely assumes, with his usual audacity, that the Church had the four Gospels from the very first, and therefore that Marcion, who had only one Gospel, knew the others and deliberately rejected them.

CHAPTER VIII.

TATIAN—DIONYSIUS OF CORINTH

FROM Marcion we now turn to Tatian, another so-called heretic leader. Tatian, an Assyrian by birth,¹ embraced Christianity and became a disciple of Justin Martyr² in Rome, sharing with him, as it seems, the persecution excited by Crescens the Cynic³ to which Justin fell a victim. After the death of Justin, Tatian, who till then had continued thoroughly orthodox, left Rome and joined the sect of the Encratites, of which, however, he was not the founder, and became the leading exponent of their austere and ascetic doctrines.⁴

The only one of his writings which is still extant is his *Oration to the Greeks* (λόγος πρὸς Ἑλληνας). This work was written after the death of Justin, for in it he refers to that event,⁵ and it is generally dated between A.D. 170–175. Tischendorf does not assert that there is any quotation in this address taken from the synoptic Gospels;⁶ and Dr. Westcott only affirms that it contains a “clear reference” to “a parable recorded by St. Matthew,” and he excuses the slightness of this evidence by adding: “The absence of more explicit testimony to the books of the New Testament is to be accounted for by the style of his writing, and not by his unworthy estimate of their importance,”⁷ a remark which is not very pertinent, as we know nothing whatever with regard to Tatian’s estimate of any such books.

The supposed “clear reference” is as follows: “For by means of a certain hidden treasure (ἀποκρύφου θησαυροῦ) he made himself lord of all that we possess, in digging for which though we were covered with dust, yet we give it the occasion of falling into our hands and abiding with us.”⁸ This is claimed as a reference to Matt. xiii. 44: “The kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure hidden (θησαυρῷ κεκρυμμένῳ) in the field, which a man found and hid, and for his joy he goeth and selleth all that he hath and buyeth that field.” So faint a similarity could not prove anything, but it is evident that there are decided differences here, and the passage does not warrant the deduction that he

¹ *Oratio ad Græcos*, ed. Otto, § 42.

² *Ib.*, § 18.

³ *Ib.*, § 19.

⁴ Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv. 29; Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, i. 28; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xlv. 1; Hieron., *De Vir. Illustr.*, 29; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, i. 20.

⁵ *Orat. ad Gr.*, § 19.

⁶ Cf. Wann wurden, u. s. w., p. 16 f.

⁷ *On the Canon*, p. 278.

⁸ *Orat. ad Gr.*, § 30.

must have derived it from our Matthew, and not from any other of the numerous Gospels which we know to have early been in circulation. Ewald ascribes the parable in Matthew originally to the *Spruchsammlung* or collection of Discourses, the second of the four works out of which he considers our first Synoptic to have been compiled.¹

Although neither Tischendorf nor Dr. Westcott thinks it worth while to refer to it, some writers claim another passage in the Oration as a reference to our third Synoptic. "Laugh ye: nevertheless you shall weep."² This is compared with Luke vi. 25: "Woe unto you that laugh now: for ye shall mourn and weep."³ Here, again, it is not possible to trace a reference in the words of Tatian specially to our third Gospel. If there be one part of the Gospel which was more known than another in the first ages of Christianity, it was the Sermon on the Mount, and there can be no doubt that many evangelical works now lost contained versions of it. Ewald likewise assigns this passage of Luke originally to the *Spruchsammlung*,⁴ and no one can doubt that the saying was recorded long before the writer of the third Gospel undertook to compile evangelical history as so many had done before him.

Further on, however, Dr. Westcott says: "It can be gathered from Clement of Alexandria.....that he (Tatian) endeavoured to derive authority for his peculiar opinions from the Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians, and probably from the Epistle to the Ephesians, and the Gospel of St. Matthew."⁵ The allusion here is to a passage in the *Stromata* of Clement, in which reference is supposed by Dr. Westcott to be made to Tatian. No writer, however, is named, and Clement merely introduces his remark by the words, "a certain person" (τις), and then proceeds to give his application of the injunction, "not to treasure upon earth where moth and rust corrupt" (ἐπὶ γῆς μὴ θησαυρίζειν ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζει).⁶ The parallel passage in Matthew vi. 19 reads: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt," etc. (μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, κ.τ.λ.). Dr. Westcott, it is true, merely suggests that "probably" or "perhaps" this may be ascribed to Tatian, but it is almost certain that it was not attributed to him by Clement. Tatian is several times referred to in the course of the same

¹ *Die drei ersten Evv.*, l. c.

² Γελάτε δὲ ὑμεῖς, ὡς καὶ κλαύσονται. *Orat. ad. Gr.*, § 32.

³ οὐαὶ ὑμῖν οἱ γελῶντες νῦν· ὅτι πενθήσετε καὶ κλαύσετε. Luke vi. 25.

⁴ *Die drei ersten Evv.*, l. c.

⁵ *On the Canon*, p. 279. [In the 4th edition Dr. Westcott has altered the "probably" of the above sentence to "perhaps," and in a note has added: "These two last references are from an anonymous citation (τις) which has been commonly assigned to Tatian." Page 318, n. 1.]

⁶ *Strom.*, iii. 12, § 86.

chapter, and his words are continued by the use of *φησί* or *γράφει*, and it is in the highest degree improbable that Clement should introduce another quotation from him in such immediate context by the vague and distant reference, "a certain person" (*τις*). On the other hand, reference is made in the chapter to other writers and sects, to one of whom with much greater propriety this expression applies. No weight, therefore, could be attached to any such passage in connection with Tatian. Moreover, the quotation not only does not agree with our Synoptic, but may more probably have been derived from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. It will be remembered that Justin Martyr quotes the same passage, with the same omission of "*θησαυρούς*," from a Gospel different from our Synoptics.¹

Tatian, however, is claimed as a witness for the existence of our Gospels, principally on the ground that he is said to have compiled a Gospel which was generally called *Diatessaron* (*διὰ τεσσάρων*) or "by four," and it is assumed that this was a harmony of our four Gospels.

Our information regarding this Gospel in the writings of the Fathers is, as we shall see, of the scantiest and most unsatisfactory description, and critics have arrived at very various conclusions with regard to its composition. Some of course affirm, with more or less of hesitation, that it was nothing else than a harmony of our four canonical Gospels; many of these, however, are constrained to admit that it was also partly based upon the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Others maintain that it was a harmony of our three Synoptics together with the Gospel according to the Hebrews; whilst many deny that it was composed of our Gospels at all, and either declare it to have been a harmony of the Gospel according to the Hebrews with three other Gospels whose identity cannot be determined, or that it was simply the Gospel according to the Hebrews itself, by which name, as Epiphanius states, it was called by some in his day.²

Before proceeding to discuss this work we must consider the date which must be assigned to Tatian's literary career. According to Eusebius, Justin suffered martyrdom A.D. 165,³ and the generally-received theory is that his death may be set about A.D. 163-165. Tatian's literary activity seems to have begun after his master's death, "and after this we have to allow for his own career, first as an orthodox Christian and then as a heretic."⁴ It is argued by some that Tatian was no longer living

¹ Justin, *Apol.*, i. 15; see p. 222 f., p. 232 f.

² Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xlv. 1.

³ *H. E.*, iv. 16; *Chron. Pasch.*

⁴ Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 274.

when Irenæus wrote of him in the first book of his great work, which, it is said, must be dated between A.D. 178-190; but this is far from certain, and the expressions used by no means necessarily convey such an inference. Nor does the mention of the "Assyrian" by the Alexandrian Clement as one of his teachers,¹ in the first book of the *Stromata*, written not earlier than A.D. 195, throw much light upon the date, nor, indeed, the fact of Rhodon having been one of his disciples. The *Address to the Greeks*, the only one of Tatian's works which has been preserved, was written, as has already been said, after the death of Justin, and is generally dated about A.D. 170-175. This work was certainly written before he had adopted the heretical views which led to his separation from the Church, so that, at least, the date assigned to this composition is some slight indication of the phases of his career. If, therefore, we assume even A.D. 170 as the date of the *Address*, the *Diatessaron*, which was condemned and destroyed as heretical, must, at least, be assigned to a still later period. Dr. Lightfoot, who, without arguing the point, thought the date A.D. 170-175 "probably some years too late" for the *Address*,² assigns the *Diatessaron* to A.D. 170;³ but, unless good reasons can be given for dating the *Address* earlier than A.D. 170-175—and these have not been forthcoming—it is probable that the *Diatessaron* must have been compiled at a later date. The *Address* is completely orthodox, and no one who has attacked Tatian's later views has, apparently, been able to discover even a heretical tendency in its vigorous arguments. Some years must, therefore, reasonably be allowed to elapse before Tatian's opinions changed and led him to arrange a Harmony of Gospels in accordance with them. Probably the date assigned to it should not be earlier than A.D. 175-180,⁴ and the later part of this term may be considered the more reasonable. We have no information whatever as to the date of Tatian's death.

If we examine contemporary writings, or such extracts as have come down to us, for information regarding the works of Tatian, we meet with references to several of his compositions. His pupil—Rhodon—as quoted by Eusebius, promises to write a work in answer to one by Tatian, in which he professes to explain certain obscurities in the sacred writings.⁵ Irenæus denounces some of his heretical views in no measured terms.⁶ His disciple—Clement of Alexandria—refers to his treatise *On Perfection according to the Saviour*,⁷ and likewise attacks his peculiar

¹ *Strom.*, i. 1, 11. ² *Essays*, 275. ³ *The Fourth Gospel*, 1892, p. 132.

⁴ Zahn dates it soon after A.D. 172 (*Forschungen*, p. 290 f.).

⁵ *H. E.*, v. 13. ⁶ *Adv. Her.*, i. 28, 1; iii. 23, 8. ⁷ *Strom.*, iii. 12, 80 f.

opinions, but makes at the same time copious use of his *Address to the Greeks*. The author of the work against the heresy of Artemon, quoted by Eusebius, cites Tatian as an apologist along with men like Justin and Clement, and as maintaining the divinity of Christ.¹ Tertullian,² Hippolytus,³ and Origen⁴ refer to him, and combat his opinions. None of these writers, however, make any mention of a Harmony of Gospels in connection with Tatian, nor does any writer prior to Eusebius.

The first time, then, that we hear anything of a Harmony of Gospels ascribed to Tatian, or meet with any trace of such a work, is in the mention of it by Eusebius, writing some century and a half after the Harmony is supposed to have been composed. Eusebius says in the well-known passage: "Tatian, however, their former chief, having put together a certain amalgamation and collection, I know not how, of the Gospels, named this the *Diatessaron*, which even now is current with some."⁵ Beyond the mere statement that Tatian made some kind of Harmony of Gospels, which was called *Diatessaron*, nothing could be less explicit than this passage. It seems to be based upon mere hearsay, and the expression "I know not how" (οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως) does not indicate any personal acquaintance with the composition to which Eusebius refers. Dr. Lightfoot argues, on the contrary, that, "so far from implying that Eusebius had no personal knowledge of the work, it" (the expression) "is constantly used by writers in speaking of books where they are perfectly acquainted with the contents, but do not understand the principles or do not approve the method. In idiomatic English it signifies 'I cannot think what he was about,' and is equivalent to 'unaccountably,' 'absurdly,' so that, if anything, it implies knowledge rather than ignorance of the contents."⁶ Dr. Lightfoot gives references to a number of examples of its use in the treatise of Origen against Celsus, but when examined they do not in the least prove his point. It is certain that οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως is frequently used to express partial, as well as complete, ignorance—ignorance of something in a book, as well as absence of acquaintance with a book itself; but it always indicates ignorance, real or assumed. If we look at the passage in Eusebius itself, there is nothing to indicate that the words are intended to express anything but imperfect knowledge, or that Eusebius wished to indicate disapproval of such a work. In his *Epistle to*

¹ *H. E.*, v. 28.

² *De Jejuniis*, 15.

³ *Philosoph.* viii. 4, 16; x. 18.

⁴ *C. Cels.*, i. 16, etc.

⁵ Ὁ μὲντοι γε πρότερος αὐτῶν ἀρχηγὸς ὁ Τατιανὸς συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθεῖς, τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν, ὃ καὶ παρὰ τισιν εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται. *H. E.*, iv. 29.

⁶ *Essays*, p. 278.

Carpianus, Eusebius writes of a similar Harmony of Gospels by Ammonius not only without censure, but with approval. If his purpose had been to condemn the *Diatessaron*, he would have said more than this. As it is, he has chronicled the existence of the work without a detail evincing acquaintance with it; but, on the contrary, with a distinct expression of ignorance. The best critics on both sides, amongst whom may be mentioned Credner, Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, Reuss, Scholten, Zahn, and others, are agreed in inferring that Eusebius had no personal acquaintance with the *Diatessaron*.

It must be admitted that the words of Eusebius give a very scant account of a work of which not a trace has been found in the extant literature of a hundred and fifty years after its supposed composition. Not only are we not told anything of the peculiarities or arrangement of its contents, but we are left in total ignorance even of the language in which it was written. This absence of information is particularly to be regretted in the case of such a work as a Harmony of the Gospels, which, from its very nature, cannot have borne an author's name, and the identification of which inevitably became more difficult as time went on. Continuing our search for information regarding it, we find the rapidly increasing Christian literature a complete blank so far as any Harmony of Gospels by Tatian is concerned. Neither Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, nor Jerome, who refer to other works of Tatian, make any reference to it. We have mentioned incidentally that, in his *Epistle to Carpius*, Eusebius refers to a similar Harmony of Gospels by Ammonius. No writer mentions the *Diatessaron* again until we come to Epiphanius, writing about the end of the fourth century, or some two hundred years after its compilation. He makes the following remarkable statement: "It is said that the *Diatessaron* Gospel owes its origin to him (Tatian), which some call the Gospel according to the Hebrews."¹

It is almost universally agreed that Epiphanius, the second writer who refers to the *Diatessaron*, had as little personal knowledge of the work as the first (Eusebius); but several important points are to be deduced from the report which he chronicles. In the first place, it is quite clear that, as has been suggested above, the name of Tatian was not attached to the *Diatessaron*. Had it been so, the expression, "it is said," could not have been used. By the time of Epiphanius the connection of Tatian with his Harmony had already become merely conjectural. How is the fact that some called it the Gospel according to the Hebrews to be explained? It is unnecessary to press the possibility that what

¹ Λέγεται δὲ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ὅπερ κατὰ Ἑβραίους τινὲς καλοῦσι. *Haer.*, 46, 1.

had been understood to be Tatian's *Diatessaron* was 'nothing but the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which, from having matter common to our Gospels, was mistaken for a Harmony. The Gospel according to the Hebrews was, we know, used by the Encratites, the sect to which Tatian belonged, and at least nothing can be more probable than the hypothesis that, in a Harmony compiled after he had separated himself from the Church, he must have made use of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, to which his followers were attached. Two facts which we know should be borne in mind in connection with this confusion, if confusion it be, of the *Diatessaron* with the Gospel according to the Hebrews, that this Gospel was constructed on the lines of our first Synoptic, and that it omitted the genealogies, both of which peculiarities are said to be characteristic of the *Diatessaron*.

More than half a century passes before we meet with any fresh mention of Tatian's work, and then we come to a more detailed statement regarding it than we have yet discovered. Writing about A.D. 453, Theodoret gives the following account of what took place in his diocese:—

"He [Tatian] composed the Gospel which is called *Diatessaron*, cutting out the genealogies and such other passages as show the Lord to have been born of the seed of David after the flesh. This work was in use not only among persons belonging to his sect, but also among those who follow the apostolic doctrine, as they did not perceive the mischief of the composition, but used the book in all simplicity on account of its brevity. And I myself found more than two hundred such copies held in respect in the churches in our parts. All these I collected and put away, and I replaced them by the Gospels of the Four Evangelists."¹

It will be observed that Theodoret does not say that the Gospel of Tatian was a Harmony of four Gospels, but merely that it was "called *Diatessaron*," and it is difficult to suppose that, if it merely omitted "the genealogies and such other passages as show the Lord to have been born of the seed of David after the flesh," a bishop, even in the fifth century, could confiscate two hundred copies of a book when books were so scarce and precious. What could be expected from a Harmony of Gospels but omission of some matter contained in them? One is tempted to think that when Theodoret speaks of "the mischief of the composition," he had in his mind more than these omissions, though he does not enter into full detail. In any case, the omissions specified are all that is added to our knowledge of the *Diatessaron* by the statement of Theodoret.

It may be well to refer here to an apocryphal Syriac work, called the *Doctrine of Addai*, giving a copy of correspondence alleged to

¹ Theodoret, *De Fab. Hær.*

have taken place between "the Lord Jesus Christ and Abgar, King of Edessa." A very early date is assigned to it by many, but Dr. Lightfoot "cannot place it much earlier than the middle of the third century,"¹ and it might safely be set much later. In this little work an account is given of the Church at Edessa, and it is said that the people assembled for prayer and to hear read, along with the Old Testament, the "New of the *Diatessaron*."² This might well be explained as a mere reading of four Gospels, but there are certain reasons for believing that it really means a Harmony. Zahn has quoted the following rule from the Canons of Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa (A.D. 412-435): "Let the presbyters and deacons have a care that in all the churches there be provided and read a copy of the distinct Gospel." This "distinct" Gospel is understood to be opposed to the Harmony of four Gospels, and light is thrown upon the point by the fact that, in the Syriac Gospels of Cureton, the first Gospel is described as the "Distinct Gospel of Matthew," meaning, probably, the Gospel in a separate form. Taking this with the statement of Theodoret, it is probable that the *Diatessaron* referred to was that which he confiscated in his diocese. Be this as it may, however, it is clear that, beyond the fact that the *Diatessaron* was read, we have no further information from the *Doctrine of Addai* as to the contents of the *Diatessaron*, the particular Gospels from which it was compiled, their reputed authors, or even the name of the person who prepared the Harmony.

The next reference to the *Diatessaron* which has to be considered comes from Victor of Capua, about the middle of the sixth century. Victor met with a harmony entitled *Diatessaron*, which, as we have already shown to be naturally the case with all such compilations, was anonymous, and he consequently endeavoured to discover a probable author for it. He went to Eusebius for information, and in his *Ecclesiastical History* he found the mention of a *Diatessaron* attributed to Tatian, which has been quoted above; and in his *Epistle to Carpius*, prefixed to the Canons, he met with the account of another ascribed to Ammonius. The description of the *Diatessaron* of Ammonius of Alexandria given by Eusebius may now be quoted: "He placed by the side of the Gospel according to Matthew the corresponding passages of the other Evangelists, so that, as a necessary result, the sequence in the three was destroyed so far as regards the order of reading."³ Victor, however, read the passage of Eusebius with a singular variation from that which we have, and cites him as saying that the Gospel which Tatian composed out of four was entitled

¹ *Essays*, p. 279.

² Phillips, *Doctr. Add.*, c. 35.

³ Eusebius, *Op.* (ed. Migne), iv., p. 1276.

Diapente, or "by five."¹ Whether the copy of Eusebius before him had this reading, or whether he corrected Eusebius from the contents or from the title of his Harmony, cannot now be definitely settled; but there is the distinct statement, and it is all the more curious since he has just said "*unum ex quatuor*," and it is, therefore, difficult to explain the immediate statement of *Diapente* as the title, which contradicts the description, except as a copy of something before him which he records. Dr. Lightfoot argues that Victor, who knew Greek, can hardly have written *Diapente* himself, and attributes the curious reading to the blundering or officiousness of some later scribe.² But to write *Diapente* for *Diatessaron* is scarcely like a slip of the pen, and the discrepancy between the Harmony and the name must have been very striking to render probable the theory of officiousness. I will let Dr. Lightfoot's own words state the result of Victor's investigation: "Assuming that the work which he had discovered must be one or other, he decides in favour of the latter (Tatian), because it does not give St. Matthew continuously and append the passages of the other Evangelists, as Eusebius states Ammonius to have done."³ A little later, Dr. Lightfoot adds: "Thus, Victor gets his information directly from Eusebius, whom he repeats. He knows nothing about Tatian's *Diatessaron* except what Eusebius tells him." We have seen that this was little enough. Dr. Lightfoot expresses a very decided opinion (which he afterwards modifies) that Victor was mistaken in ascribing the authorship to Tatian, but the discussion of this point must be reserved for a more appropriate place further on.

In seeking for mention of the *Diatessaron* of Tatian in extant literature, we have already had to make wide strides through time, but these must now be increased. In a Glossary of Bar-ali, written about the end of the ninth century, we have the next reference to the work: "*Diastarsun* (otherwise *Diakutrum*); the Gospel which is the *Diatessaron*, made by Tatian, the compiled Gospel. A gospel made sense for sense on the sense of the combined four apostolic Gospels. It contains neither the natural nor the traditional genealogy of our Lord Christ; and he who made it—namely, Tatian—has on this account been anathematised."⁴ There can be little doubt that Bar-ali derives his information from Theodoret, and does not know the work himself.

¹ "Ex historia quoque ejus [i.e. Eusebii] comperi quod Tatianus vir eruditissimus et orator illius temporis clarus unum ex quatuor compaginaverit Evangelium cui titulum *Diapente* imposuit."

² *Essays*, p. 286 f.

³ *Ibid*, p. 286.

⁴ Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syr.*, i. 869; Zahn, *Forsch.*, i. 98; Harnack, *Gesch. altchristl. Lit.*, i. 2 Hälfte, 1893, p. 494.

We have to pass over a long period before we again hear anything of the *Diatessaron*. We receive some important information regarding it from Dionysius Bar-Salibi, who died A.D. 1207. He wrote a Commentary on the Gospels, in which there is the following statement:—

“Tatian, the disciple of Justin, the philosopher and martyr, selected and patched together from the four Gospels and constructed a Gospel, which he called *Diatessaron*—that is, Miscellanies. On this work Mar Ephrem wrote an exposition; and its commencement was: ‘In the beginning was the Word.’ Elias of Salamia, who is also called Aphthonius, constructed a Gospel after the likeness of the *Diatessaron* of Ammonius, mentioned by Eusebius in his prologue to the Canons which he made for the Gospel. Elias sought for that *Diatessaron*, and could not find it, and, in consequence, constructed this after its likeness. And the said Elias finds fault with several things in the Canons of Eusebius, and points out errors in them, and rightly. But this copy [work] which Elias composed is not often met with.”¹

Mar Ephrem of Edessa, who is here referred to, is said to have died about A.D. 373, and it is a very curious fact that we hear of such a commentary, upon which the whole argument regarding the *Diatessaron* of Tatian has recently turned, a thousand years after the composition of the Harmony, and some eight centuries from the date of the alleged commentary. About eighty years later than Bar-Salibi, another Syrian father, Gregory Bar-Hebraeus, tells us: “Eusebius of Cæsarea, seeing the corruptions which Ammonius of Alexandria introduced into the Gospel of the *Diatessaron*, that is Miscellanies, which commenced, ‘In the beginning was the Word,’ and which Mar Ephrem expounded, kept the four Gospels in their integrity, but pointed out the agreement of the words by Canons written in red.”²

Mr. J. Rendel Harris has recently pointed out that this apparent contradiction, which arises from a use of the fragment given by Assemani, does not really exist, and that the MSS. of Bar-Hebraeus, which are accessible to us in England, continue the foregoing passage as follows: “And he (*i.e.*, Eusebius) confessed as a lover of truth that he took his cue from the labours of that man (*i.e.*, Ammonius). For Tatian, also the disciple of Justin, the Philosopher and Martyr, patched and composed the Gospel of the Combined, and because the sequence of Mark, Luke, and John was lost, he defined the ten Canons only,” etc.³

The important question may still be put: Was the *Diatessaron* upon which Mar Ephrem commented really that of Tatian? The

¹ This is the rendering of Dr. Lightfoot, *Essays*, p. 280.

² Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, i. 57.

³ *Contemp. Rev.*, Aug. 1893, p. 274 f. Mr. Harris quotes many Syriac writers showing use of Ephrem's Commentary. Cf. *Fragments of the Comment. of Ephrem Syrus*, 1895.

mere statement that it began with the sentence, "In the beginning was the Word," does not afford much help for identifying the special *Diatessaron*, because many other Harmonies may have adopted the same obviously appropriate opening; and we must all the more regret that the *Diatessaron* which, according to the *Doctrine of Addai*, was publicly read at Edessa, is not more clearly identified, for it might naturally be the work upon which a Churchman of Edessa may have written a commentary.

So little is really known of the *Diatessaron* of Tatian that there is no certainty even as to the language in which it was composed. Zahn and the majority of modern critics are of opinion that the original was written in Syriac, but Harnack states strong reasons for maintaining a Greek original.

We now come to comparatively recent times. The Armenian monks of St. Lazaro published, in 1834, four volumes of translations into Armenian of works of Ephrem Syrus, which contained a Harmony of the Gospels apparently beginning with the passage John i. 1. Aucher, the editor of Ephrem, made a Latin translation of the Commentary in 1841, which, being amended by Professor Mössinger, was published in 1876.¹ This is said to be the commentary which Ephrem is reported to have written upon Tatian's *Diatessaron*. The editors state their opinion that the Armenian version was written about the fifth century, and that it is a translation from the Syriac. Zahn long ago pointed out that the Commentary is evidently based upon exegetical lectures, probably delivered to theological classes, perhaps the subsequent record of a student.² Ephrem, moreover, or the writer of the "Commentary," whoever he may be, never himself calls the work upon which he is commenting the *Diatessaron*, nor mentions Tatian, but sometimes *Scriptura*, and occasionally *Evangelium*. There is, in fact, nothing whatever apart from the tradition preserved by Bar-Salibi and the note of the translator, written long after the time of Ephrem, to indicate that this is a commentary upon the *Diatessaron* of Tatian. The order is not always the same in the passages selected for comment as that of the Harmony of Victor, or of the Arabic *Diatessaron*, of which we shall presently speak, and the texts of all have been so manipulated that no literal importance can be attached to them.

We may now conveniently return to the Latin Harmony of Victor of Capua. It will be remembered that he was completely in doubt as to the authorship of the compilation which had come

¹ This work did not come to notice in this country till after the complete edition of *S. R.* was published in 1879, and of course we need not add that the still later works presently to be noticed could not before be discussed.

² *Forsch.*, p. 51; Resch, *Aussercan. Parallel-texte*, p. 43.

in his way, and as to whether he should ascribe it to Ammonius or to Tatian. Finally, upon mere conjecture, he decided in favour of Tatian. Regarding this Dr. Hemphill writes:—

“Victor of Capua himself is an important witness; for he was skilled in both Greek and Latin, and was a man of considerable eminence as a scholar and controversialist. And his solitary reason for attributing his discovery to Tatian is that he found one passage in Eusebius which spoke of Tatian having compiled a patchwork Gospel, which he judged to be the same, substantially, as that which accidentally came into his hands. Not one other allusion to Tatian’s work does Victor mention; and the conclusion is that, but for the statement of Eusebius, he would have remained perfectly ignorant that such a work had ever existed.....The Latin Harmony, as it now exists in the *Codex Fuldensis*, represents not the harmony as it was found by Victor, but the Harmony as it was modified and edited under his direction. The index, which somehow escaped revision, does not in all cases agree with the body of the Codex, from which we gather that the latter may have been to some extent changed in order, and interpolated as in the case of the genealogies; while the text which Victor found has been changed piece by piece into the Vulgate of St. Jerome.”¹

Victor, making perfectly free use of the Latin Harmony which he had found, and altering it to suit his orthodox views, had it transcribed, and his fine manuscript has come down to us in the *Codex Fuldensis*, which is admitted to be almost the best authority for the text of the Vulgate version of the Gospels. It is no evidence, however, for the text of Tatian’s *Diatessaron*, with which, in the first place, it cannot be identified, and to which, if it could, it no longer bears any likeness.

It must be apparent that the theory that the original of this Harmony, which was done into Latin, was that of Tatian, and not the *Diatessaron* of Ammonius or some one else who may have compiled a *Diatessaron* in the course of the four centuries between Tatian and Victor, rests upon a most unsubstantial basis. The most striking characteristic of Tatian’s work, as we have seen, was the omission of the genealogies, an omission which led to its being anathematised by the Church. In the index which is cited to prove that the original Latin Harmony began with John i. 1 we also find the genealogy, *V. de generatione vel nativitate Christi*. It is not possible, upon any real grounds of evidence, to identify this Harmony with the *Diatessaron* of Tatian.

We now come to the last and most important document connected with this discussion. It had long been known that an Arabic manuscript existed in the Vatican Library purporting to be the *Diatessaron* of Tatian. This work, which had been brought to the library by Joseph Assemani, is described by him as *Tatiani Diatessaron seu quatuor Evangelia in unum redacta*.² It did not

¹ Hemphill, *The Diatessaron of Tatian*, pp. xi., xxiv. f.

² *Bibl. Orient.*, i. 619.

attract any attention till some years ago, when Agostino Ciasca, in 1883, published a pamphlet describing it, promising at some future time, if possible, to publish the manuscript. He did not find an opportunity of doing so, nor did Lagarde, who also thought of attempting it, till 1888, when Ciasca was able to produce an edition of the *Diatessaron* based upon this manuscript (XIV.), and a still more perfect one, which was presented to the Borgian Library in 1886 by Catholic Copts in Egypt, with a Latin translation by himself.¹ The latter manuscript, generally called the Borgian Codex, contains notes at the beginning and end, stating that this is a translation of Tatian's *Diatessaron* from a Syriac manuscript written by Isa ibn Ali el Mutatabbib, a disciple of Honain ibn Ishaq, by Abû-l-Faraj Abdullah Ibn-at-Tayyib. Honain is believed to have died A.D. 873, and the death of Abdullah Ibn-at-Tayyib is set down by Bar-Hebræus as having taken place A.D. 1043. The existing manuscript is assigned to the fourteenth century. The Syriac manuscript was, therefore, written seven centuries after Tatian's time, and the Arabic translation made some nine centuries after it. Beyond the notes of the scribe, we have no external evidence that the original *Diatessaron* was the work ascribed to Tatian and, as has already been fully stated, nothing could be more difficult than the identification of an anonymous compilation of this kind.

So little does the Arabic Harmony agree with what we are actually told of the *Diatessaron* of Tatian that elaborate explanation and conjecture are necessary to support the statement of the Arab translator or scribe that we have here that mysterious work. The *Diatessaron* of Tatian was said to have commenced with the passage: "In the beginning was the Word." Now, in the Vatican MS. XIV. the *Diatessaron* does not begin with these words, but with the opening words of the second Synoptic, "The Gospel of Jesus, the Son of the living God." This formerly convinced scholars that the Arabic Harmony was not that of Tatian, but Ciasca suggested that the words from Mark were added by another hand to supply the lack of a title. When the Borgian manuscript arrived, it was found that the introductory words from the second Synoptic are separated by a space from the text which follows. Which of these was the original form of the work from which the Arabic version was made cannot now be determined, or whether the separation in the Borgian manuscript was the result of a preconceived theory that the Harmony, being understood to be Tatian's, ought to open with the words of the fourth Gospel. Then the fact which we learn from Theodoret, that the genealogies and the passages showing Jesus to have been born of the seed of

¹ *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniæ Arabice.*

David, after the flesh, were omitted from the *Diatessaron*, in consequence of which he resorted to the strong measure of "putting away" a couple of hundred copies of the work, is a still stronger obstacle to the identification of the Arabic Harmony with it, for these passages (Matt. i. 1-17 and Luke iii. 23-38) are contained in MS. XIV. In the Borgian manuscript, however, these genealogies are removed from the text and put as an appendix, under the title, "The Book of the Generation of Jesus." It is argued from this that we have here the passages in the first stage of insertion—they have got into the appendix on their way into the text. But may it not with greater probability be argued that they are in the first stage of omission—excluded from an inconvenient position in the text, where they clashed with the theory of the Harmony being by Tatian, and relegated to the appendix by the translators, who did not like to go so far as to exclude such scriptural matter altogether? One fact which seems to support the latter view is that in the index to the Latin Harmony of Victor—which Zahn regards as representative of the original Latin version of a Syriac *Diatessaron* which became transformed into the *Codex Fuldensis*—the fifth chapter is given as "*de generatione vel nativitate Christi*." In connection with these difficulties it must never be forgotten that, to identify the Arabic Harmony with the work of Tatian, we have really nothing but the note of almost unknown Arab scholars, writing nearly a thousand years after the time of Tatian, of a work which had no specific mark of authorship.

Another indication may be given, valuable in the almost complete absence of information regarding Tatian's *Diatessaron*, which likewise opposes the identification of the Arabic Harmony with that work. Dean Burgon¹ quotes an ancient Scholion which he met with while examining the Harleian manuscript 5,647 (of Evan. 72, published by Wetstein), which states that, in Tatian's *Diatessaron*, the verse of the fourth Gospel, "And another took a spear and pierced his side, and there came out water and blood," was inserted in Matt. xxvii. 48, and the writer adds that it is also introduced into the Evangelical History of Diodorus and divers other Holy Fathers, and "this also Chrysostom says." The only one of these assertions which can be tested now is that regarding Chrysostom, and it is found to be correct, for in Homily 88 the text occurs against a clear summary of v. 48. Now, this is not found either in the *Codex Fuldensis* or in the Arabic *Diatessaron*.

The doubts which exist as to the identification of these MSS. with the *Diatessaron* of Tatian are intensified when we consider

¹ *Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark*, 1871, p. 316 f.