of much value in supporting our Gospels. He is pressed into service,[1] however, because, after alluding to various circumstances of Gospel history, he says: "These things, therefore, being taken out of your own writings, we have no need of other testimony, for you fall upon your own swords";[2] and in another place he says that certain Christians "alter the Gospel from its first written form in three-fold, four-fold, and many-fold ways, and remould it in order to have the means of contradicting the arguments (of opponents)."[3] This is supposed to refer to the four canonical Gospels. Apart from the fact that Origen replies to the first of these passages that Celsus has brought forward much concerning Jesus which is not in accordance with the narratives of the Gospel, it is unreasonable to limit the accusation of "many-fold" corruption to four Gospels, when it is undeniable that the Gospels and writings long current in the Church were very numerous. In any case, what could such a statement as this do towards establishing the Apostolic origin and credibility of the fourth Gospel?

We might pass over the *Canon of Muratori* entirely as being beyond the limit of time to which we confine ourselves,[4] but the unknown writer of the fragment gives a legend with regard to the composition of the fourth Gospel which we may quote here, although its obviously mythical character renders it of no value as evidence regarding the authorship of the Gospel. The writer says:—

Quarti euangeliorum Iohannis ex decipolis
Cohortantibus condescipulis et episcopis suis
dixit conieiunate mihi hodie triduo et quid
cuique fuerit reuelatum alterutrum
nobis ennarremus eadem nocte reue
latum Andreæ ex apostolis ut recognis
centibus cunctis Iohannis suo nomine
cuncta describeret et ideo[5] licit uaria sin
culis euangeliorum libris principia
doceantur nihil tamen differt creden
tium fidei cum uno ac principali spiritu de
clarata sint in omnibus omnia de natiui
tate de passione de resurrectione
de conuersatione cum decipulis suis
ac de gemino eius aduentu
primo in humilitate dispectus quod fo.....
it[6] secundum potestate regali.....pre

[1] Cf. Tischendorf, *Wann wurden, u. s. w.*, p. 71 f.; Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 356.

[2] Origen, *Contra Cels.*, ii. 47. [3] *Ib.*, ii. 27. [4] P. 481 f.

[5] It is admitted that the whole passage from this point to "*futurum est*" is abrupt and without connection with the context, as well as most confused. Cf. Tragelles, *Can. Murat.*, p. 36; Donaldson, *Hist. Chr. Lit. and Doctr.*, iii., p. 205.

[6] Credner reads here: "*quod ratum est*" (*Zur Gesch. d. Kan.*, p. 74). Dr. Westcott reads: "*quod fuit*" (*On the Canon*, p. 478).

clarum quod futurum est[1] quid ergo
mirum si Iohannes tam constanter
sincula etiam in epistulis suis proferat
dicens in semeipsu quæ uidimus oculis
nostris et auribus audiuimus et manus
nostræ palpauerunt hæc scripsimus uobis
sic enim non solum uisurem sed et auditorem
sed et scriptorem omnium mirabilium domini per ordi
nem profetetur

"The fourth of the Gospels, of John, one of the disciples. To his fellow disciples and bishops (Episcopis) urging him he said: 'Fast with me to-day for three days, and let us relate to each other that which shall be revealed to each.' On the same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the Apostles, that, with the the supervision of all, John should relate all things in his own name. And, therefore, though various principles (principia) are taught by each book of the Gospels, nevertheless it makes no difference to the faith of believers, since, in all, all things are declared by one ruling Spirit concerning the nativity, concerning the passion, concerning the resurrection, concerning the intercourse with the disciples, and concerning his double advent; the first in lowliness of estate, which has taken place, the second in regal power and splendour, which is still future. What wonder, therefore, if John should so constantly bring forward each thing (singula) also in his Epistles, saying in regard to himself: The things which we have seen with our eyes, and have heard with our ears, and our hands have handled, these things have we written unto you. For thus he professes himself not only an eye-witness and hearer, but also a writer of all the wonders of the Lord in order."

It is obvious that in this passage we have an apologetic defence of the fourth Gospel, which unmistakably implies antecedent denial of its authority and Apostolic origin. The writer not only ascribes it to John, but he clothes it with the united authority of the rest of the Apostles, in a manner which very possibly aims at explaining the supplementary chapter xxi., with its testimony to the truth of the preceding narrative. In his zeal, the writer goes so far as to falsify a passage of the Epistle, and convert it into a declaration by the author of the letter himself that he had written the Gospel. "'The things which we have seen, etc., these things have we written unto you' *(hæc scripsimus vobis)*.[2] For thus he

[1] Dr. Tregelles calls attention to the resemblance of this passage to one of Tertullian (*Apol.*, § 21): "*Duobus enim adventibus eius significatis, primo, qui iam expunctus est in humilitate conditionis humanæ; secundo, qui concludendo seculo imminet in sublimitate divinitatis exsertæ: primum non intelligendo, secundum, quem manifestius prædicatum sperant unum existimaverunt*" (*Can. Murat.*, p. 36). This is another reason for dating the fragment in the third century.

[2] 1 John i. 1–3.

professes himself not only an eye-witness and hearer, but also a writer of all the wonders of the Lord in order." Credner argues that in speaking of John as "one of the disciples" *(ex discipulis)*, and of Andrew as "one of the Apostles," the writer intends to distinguish between John the disciple, who wrote the Gospel and Epistle, and John the Apostle, who wrote the Apocalypse, and that it was for this reason that he sought to dignify him by a special revelation, through the Apostle Andrew, selecting him to write the Gospel. Credner, therefore, concludes that here we have an ancient ecclesiastical tradition ascribing the Gospel and first Epistle to one of the disciples of Jesus different from the Apostle John.[1] Into this we need not enter, nor is it necessary for us to demonstrate the mythical nature of the narrative regarding the origin of the Gospel. We have merely given this extract to make our statement regarding it complete. Not only is the evidence of the fragment of no value, from the lateness of its date and the uncritical character of its author, but a vague and fabulous tradition recorded by an unknown writer could not, in any case, furnish testimony calculated to establish the Apostolic origin and trustworthiness of the fourth Gospel.

[1] Credner, *Gesch. N. T. Kan.*, p. 158 f.; *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1857, p. 301.

CHAPTER II.

AUTHORSHIP AND CHARACTER OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL

THE result of our inquiry into the evidence for the fourth Gospel is sufficiently decided to render further examination unnecessary. We have seen that, for a century and a half after the events recorded in the work, there is not only no testimony connecting the fourth Gospel with the Apostle John, but no certain trace even of the existence of the Gospel. There has not been the slightest evidence in any of the writings of the Fathers which we have examined even of a tradition that the Apostle John had composed any evangelical work at all, and the claim advanced in favour of the Christian miracles to contemporaneous evidence of extraordinary force and veracity by undoubted eye-witnesses so completely falls to the ground that we might here well bring this part of our inquiry to a close. There are, however, so many peculiar circumstances connected with the fourth Gospel, both in regard to its authorship and to its relationship to the three Synoptics, which invite further attention, that we propose briefly to review some of them. We must carefully restrict ourselves to the limits of our inquiry, and resist any temptation to enter upon an exhaustive discussion of the problem presented by the fourth Gospel from a more general literary point of view.

The endeavour to obtain some positive, or at least negative, information regarding the author of the fourth Gospel is facilitated by the fact that several other works in the New Testament Canon are ascribed to him. These works present such marked and distinct characteristics that, apart from the fact that their number extends the range of evidence, they afford an unusual opportunity of testing the tradition which assigns them all to the Apostle John, by comparing the clear indications which they give of the idiosyncrasies of their author with the independent data which we possess regarding the history and character of the Apostle. It is asserted by the Church that John the son of Zebedee, one of the disciples of Jesus, is the composer of no less than five of our canonical writings, and it would be impossible to select any books of our New Testament presenting more distinct features, or more widely divergent views, than are to be found in the Apocalypse on the one hand, and the Gospel and three Epistles on the other. Whilst a strong family likeness exists between the Epistles and the

Gospel, and they exhibit close analogies both in thought and language, the Apocalypse, on the contrary, is so different from them in language, in style, in religious views and terminology, that it is almost impossible to believe that the writer of the one could be the author of the other. The translators of our New Testament have laboured, and not in vain, to eliminate as far as possible all individuality of style and language, and to reduce the various books of which it is composed to one uniform smoothness of diction. It is, therefore, impossible for the mere English reader to appreciate the immense difference which exists between the harsh and Hebraistic Greek of the Apocalypse and the polished elegance of the fourth Gospel, and it is to be feared that the rarity of critical study has prevented any general recognition of the almost equally striking contrast of thought between the two works. The remarkable peculiarities which distinguish the Apocalypse and Gospel of John, however, were very early appreciated, and almost the first application of critical judgment to the canonical books of the New Testament is the argument of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, about the middle of the third century, that the author of the fourth Gospel could not be the writer of the Book of Revelation.[1] The dogmatic predilections which at that time had begun to turn against the Apocalypse, the non-fulfilment of the prophecies of which disappointed and puzzled the early Church, led Dionysius to solve the difficulty by deciding in favour of the authenticity of the Gospel; but at least he recognised the dilemma which has since occupied so much of Biblical criticism.

It is not necessary to enter upon any exhaustive analysis of the Apocalypse and Gospel to demonstrate anew that both works cannot have emanated from the same mind. This has already been conclusively done by others. Some apologetic writers—greatly influenced, no doubt, by the express declaration of the Church, and satisfied by analogies which could scarcely fail to exist between two works dealing with a similar theme—together with a very few independent critics, have asserted the authenticity of both works. The great majority of critics, however, have fully admitted the impossibility of recognising a common source for the fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse of John. The critical question regarding the two works has, in fact, reduced itself to the dilemma which may be expressed as follows, in the words of Lücke: "Either the Gospel and the first Epistle are genuine writings of the Apostle John, and, in that case, the Apocalypse is no genuine work of that Apostle, or the inverse."[2] After an elaborate

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.*, vii. 25.

[2] *Einl. Offenb. Johannes*, ii., p. 504.

comparison of the two works, the same writer, who certainly will not be suspected of wilfully subversive criticism, resumes: "The difference between the language, way of expression, and mode of thought and doctrine of the Apocalypse and the rest of the Johannine writings, is so comprehensive and intense, so individual and so radical; the affinity and agreement, on the contrary, are so vague, and in details so fragmentary and uncertain (*zurückweichend*), that the Apostle John, if he really be the author of the Gospel and of the Epistle—which we here assume—cannot have composed the Apocalypse either *before* or *after* the Gospel and the Epistle. If all critical experience and rules in such literary questions are not deceptive, it is certain that the Evangelist and Apocalyptist are two different persons of the name of John,"[1] etc.

De Wette, another conservative critic, speaks with equal decision. After an able comparison of the two works, he says: "From all this it follows (and in New Testament criticism no result is more certain) that the Apostle John, if he be the author of the fourth Gospel and of the Johannine Epistles, did not write the Apocalypse; or, if the Apocalypse be his work, that he is not the author of the other writings."[2] Ewald is equally positive: "Above all" he says, "we should err in tracing this work (the Gospel) to th'e Apostle if the Apocalypse of the New Testament were by him. That this much earlier writing cannot have been composed by the author of the latter is an axiom which I consider I have already (in 1826–28) so convincingly demonstrated that it would be superfluous now to return to it, especially as, since then, all men capable of forming a judgment are of the same opinion, and what has been brought forward by a few writers against it too clearly depends upon influences foreign to science."[3] We may, therefore, consider the point generally admitted, and proceed, very briefly, to discuss the question upon this basis.

The external evidence that the Apostle John wrote the Apocalypse is more ancient than that for the authorship of any book of the New Testament, excepting some of the Epistles of Paul, and this is admitted even by critics who ultimately deny the authenticity of the work. Passing over the very probable statement of Andrew of Cæsarea,[4] that Papias recognised the Apocalypse as an inspired work, and the inference drawn from this fact that he referred it to the Apostle, we at once proceed to Justin Martyr, who affirms in the clearest and most positive manner the Apostolic

[1] *Einl. Offenb. Joh.*, ii., p. 744 f. [2] *Einl. N. T.*, § 189 e., p. 422.
[3] *Jahrb. bibl. Wiss.*, v., p. 179.
[4] It is generally asserted both by Apologists and others that this testimony is valid in favour of the recognition by Papias of the authenticity of the Apocalypse.

origin of the work. He speaks to Tryphon of "a certain man whose name was John, one of the Apostles of Christ, who prophesied by a revelation made to him," of the millennium and subsequent general resurrection and judgment.[1] The statement of Justin is all the more important from the fact that he does not name any other writing of the New Testament, and that the Old Testament was still for him the only Holy Scripture. The genuineness of this testimony is not called in question by any one. Eusebius states that Melito of Sardis wrote a work on the Apocalypse of John,[2] and Jerome mentions the treatise.[3] There can be no doubt that had Melito thrown the slightest doubt on the Apostolic origin of the Apocalypse, Eusebius, whose dogmatic views led him to depreciate that writing, would have referred to the fact. Eusebius also mentions that Apollonius, a Presbyter of Ephesus, quoted the Apocalypse against the Montanists, and there is reason to suppose that he did so as an Apostolic work.[4] Eusebius further states that Theophilus of Antioch made use of testimony from the Apocalypse of John ;[5] but although, as Eusebius does not mention anything to the contrary, it is probable that Theophilus really recognised the book to be by John the Apostle, the uncritical haste of Eusebius renders his vague statement of little value. We do not think it worth while to quote the evidence of later writers. Although Irenæus, who repeatedly assigns the Apocalypse to John, the disciple of the Lord,[6] is cited by Apologists as a very important witness, more especially from his intercourse with Polycarp, we do not attribute any value to his testimony, both from the late date at which he wrote and from the uncritical and credulous character of his mind. Although he appeals to the testimony of those "who saw John face to face" with regard to the number of the name of the Beast, his own utter ignorance of the interpretation shows how little information he can have derived from Polycarp.[7] The same remarks apply still more strongly to Tertullian, who most unhesitatingly assigns the Apocalypse to the Apostle John.[8] It would be useless more particularly to refer to later evidence, or quote even the decided testimony in its favour of Clement of Alexandria,[9] or Origen.[10]

The first doubt cast upon the authenticity of the Apocalypse occurs in the argument of Dionysius of Alexandria, one of the disciples of Origen, in the middle of the third century. He mentions that some had objected to the whole work as without sense

[1] *Dial.* 81 ; cf. Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv. 18. [2] Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv. 26.
[3] *De Vir. Ill.*, 24. [4] Eusebius, *H. E.*, v. 18.
[5] *Ib.*, iv. 24. [6] *Adv. Hær.*, iv. 20, § 11 ; 21, § 3 ; 30, § 4, etc.
[7] *Ib.*, v. 30. [8] *Adv. Marc.*, iii. 14, 24, etc. [9] *Stromata*, vi. 13, §§ 106, 141.
[10] Eusebius, *H. E.*, vi. 25, in *Joann. Opp.*, iv., p. 17.

or reason, and as displaying such dense ignorance that it was impossible that an Apostle, or even one in the Church, could have written it, and they assigned it to Cerinthus, who held the doctrine of the reign of Christ on earth.[1] These objections, it is obvious, are merely dogmatic, and do not affect to be historical. They are, in fact, a good illustration of the method by which the Canon was formed. If the doctrine of any writing met with the approval of the early Church, it was accepted with unhesitating faith, and its pretension to Apostolic origin was admitted as a natural consequence; but if, on the other hand, the doctrine of the writing was not clearly that of the community, it was rejected without further examination. It is an undeniable fact that not a single trace exists of the application of historical criticism to any book of the New Testament in the early ages of Christianity. The case of the Apocalypse is most intelligible:—So long as the expectation and hope of a second advent and of a personal reign of the risen and glorified Christ, of the prevalence of which we have abundant testimony in the Pauline Epistles and other early works, continued to animate the Church, the Apocalypse which excited and fostered them was a popular volume; but as years passed away and the general longing of Christians, eagerly marking the signs of the times, was again and again disappointed, and the hope of a millennium began either to be abandoned or indefinitely postponed, the Apocalypse proportionately lost favour, or was regarded as an incomprehensible book misleading the world by illusory promises. Its history is that of a highly dogmatic treatise esteemed or contemned in proportion to the ebb and flow of opinion regarding the doctrines which it expresses.

The objections of Dionysius, resting first upon dogmatic grounds and his inability to understand the Apocalyptic utterances of the book, took the shape we have mentioned of a critical dilemma:—The author of the Gospel could not at the same time be the author of the Apocalypse. Dogmatic predilection decided the question in favour of the apostolic origin of the fourth Gospel, and the reasoning by which that decision is arrived at has, therefore, no critical force or value. The fact still remains that Justin Martyr distinctly refers to the Apocalypse as the work of the Apostle John, and no similar testimony exists in support of the claims of the fourth Gospel.

As another most important point, we may mention that there is probably not another work of the New Testament the precise date of the composition of which, within a very few weeks, can so positively be affirmed. No result of criticism rests upon a more secure basis and is now more universally accepted by all competent

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.*, vii. 24.

critics than the fact that the Apocalypse was written in A.D. 68–69. The writer distinctly and repeatedly mentions his name: i. 1, "The revelation of Jesus Christ.....unto his servant John"; i. 4, "John to the seven churches which are in Asia";[1] and he states that the work was written in the island of Patmos, where he was "on account of the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus."[2] Ewald, who decides in the most arbitrary manner against the authenticity of the Apocalypse and in favour of the Johannine authorship of the Gospel, objects that the author, although he certainly calls himself John, does not assume to be an Apostle, but merely terms himself the servant (δοῦλος) of Christ like other true Christians, and distinctly classes himself among the Prophets,[3] and not among the Apostles.[4] We find, however, that Paul, who was not apt to waive his claims to the Apostolate, was content to call himself "Paul, a servant (δοῦλος) of Jesus Christ, called to be an Apostle," in writing to the Romans; (i. 1) and the superscription of the Epistle to the Philippians is: "Paul and Timothy, servants (δοῦλοι) of Christ Jesus."[5] There was, moreover, reason why the author of the Book of Revelation, a work the form of which was decidedly based upon that of Daniel and other Jewish Apocalytic writings, should rather adopt the character of Prophet than the less suitable designation of Apostle upon such an occasion. It is clear that he counted fully upon being generally known under the simple designation of "John," and when we consider the unmistakable terms of authority with which he addresses the Seven Churches it is scarcely possible to deny that the writer either was the Apostle or distinctly desired to assume his personality. It is not necessary for us here to enter into any discussion regarding the "Presbyter John," for it is generally admitted that even he could not have had at that time any position in Asia Minor which could have warranted such a tone. If the name of Apostle, therefore, be not directly assumed—and it was not necessary to assume it—the authority of one is undeniably inferred.

Ewald argues that, on the contrary, the author could not more clearly express that he was not one of the Twelve than when he imagines (*Apoc.*, xxi. 14) the names of the "twelve apostles of the Lamb" shining upon the twelve foundation-stones of the wall of the future heavenly Jerusalem. He considers that no intelligent person could thus publicly glorify himself or

[1] Cf. i. 9; xxii. 8. [2] i. 9, διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ.....
[3] Cf. i. 1–3, 9 f.; xix. 9 f.; xxii. 6–9, 10, 16 f., 18 f.
[4] Ewald, *Die Joh. Schr.*, ii., p. 55 f.; *Jahrb. bibl. Wiss.*, v., p. 179 f.
[5] We do not refer to the opening of the Epistle to Titus, nor to that which commences "James, a servant (δοῦλος) of God," etc., nor to the so-called "Epistle of Jude," all being too much disputed or apocryphal.

anticipate the honour which God alone can bestow. "Can any one seriously believe," he indignantly inquires, "that one of the Twelve, yea, that even he whom we know as the most delicate and refined amongst them, could have written this of himself?"[1] In the first place, we must remark that in this discussion it is not permissible to speak of our knowing John the Apostle as distinguished above all the rest of the Twelve for such qualities. Nowhere do we find such a representation of him except in the fourth Gospel, if even there, but, as we shall presently see, rather the contrary, and the fourth Gospel cannot here be received as evidence. We might point out that the symbolical representation of the heavenly Jerusalem is held to be practically objective, a revelation of things that "must shortly come to pass," and not a mere subjective sketch coloured according to the phantasy of the writer. Passing on, however, it must be apparent that the whole account of the heavenly city is typical, and that in basing its walls upon the Twelve he does not glorify himself personally, but simply gives its place to the idea which was symbolised when Jesus is represented as selecting twelve disciples, the number of the twelve tribes, upon whose preaching the spiritual city was to be built. The Jewish belief in a special preference of the Jews before all nations doubtless suggested this, and it forms a leading feature in the strong Hebraistic form of the writer's Christianity. The heavenly city is simply a glorified Jerusalem; the twelve Apostles, representatives of the twelve tribes, set apart for the regeneration of Israel, are the foundation-stones of the New City with its twelve tribes of Israel,[2] for whom the city is more particularly provided. For 144,000 of Israel are first sealed, 12,000 of each of the twelve tribes, before the Seer beholds the great multitude of all nations and tribes and peoples.[3] The whole description is a mere allegory characterised by the strongest Jewish dogmatism, and it is of singular value for the purpose of identifying the author.

Moreover, the apparent glorification of the Twelve is more than justified by the promise which Jesus is represented by the Synoptics[4] as making to them in person. When Peter, in the name of the Twelve, asks what is reserved for those who have forsaken all and followed him, Jesus replies: "Verily I say unto you that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall be set upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel."[5] Ewald himself, in his distribution of the materials of our existing

[1] *Jahrb. bibl. Wiss.*, v., p. 180 f; cf. *Die. Joh. Schriften*, 1862, ii., p. 56 f.
[2] *Apoc.*, xxi. 12.
[3] *Ib.*, vii. 4–9.
[4] Matt. xix. 27, 28; Luke xii. 28–30.
[5] Matt. xix. 28.

first Synoptic to the supposed original sources, assigns this passage to the very oldest Gospel.[1] What impropriety is there, and what improbability, therefore, that an Apostle, in an apocalyptic allegory, should represent the names of the twelve Apostles as inscribed upon the twelve foundation-stones of the spiritual Jerusalem, as the names of the twelve tribes of Israel were inscribed upon the twelve gates of the city? On the contrary, it is probable under the circumstances that an Apostle should make such a representation, and, in view of the facts regarding the Apostle John himself which we have from the Synoptics, it is particularly in harmony with his character ; and these characteristics directly tend to establish his identity with the author.

"How much less is it credible of the Apostle John," says Ewald elsewhere, pursuing the same argument, "who as a writer is so incomparably modest and delicate in feeling, and does not in a single one of the writings really emanating from him name himself as the author, or even proclaim his own praise."[2] This is merely sentimental assumption of facts, to which we shall hereafter allude ; but, if the "incomparable modesty" of which he speaks really existed, nothing could more conclusively separate the author of the fourth Gospel from the son of Zebedee whom we know in the Synoptics, or more support the claims of the Apocalypse. In the first place, we must assert that, in writing a serious history of the life and teaching of Jesus, full of marvellous events and astounding doctrines, the omission of his name by an Apostle can not only not be recognised as genuine modesty, but must be condemned as culpable neglect. It is perfectly incredible that an Apostle could have written such a work without attaching his name as the guarantee of his intimate acquaintance with the events and statements he records. What would be thought of a historian who published a history without a single reference to recognised authorities, and yet who did not declare even his own name as some evidence of his truth? The fact is that the first two Synoptics bear no author's name because they are not the work of any one man, but the collected materials of many ; the third Synoptic only pretends to be a compilation for private use ; and the fourth Gospel bears no simple signature because it is neither the work of an Apostle, nor of an eye-witness of the events and hearer of the teaching it records.

If it be considered incredible that an Apostle could, even in an Allegory, represent the names of the Twelve as written on the foundation-stones of the New Jerusalem, and the incomparable modesty and delicacy of feeling of the assumed author of the fourth Gospel be contrasted with it so much to the disadvan-

[1] *Die drei ersten Evv.*, p. 23. [2] *Die Joh. Schr.*, ii., p. 56 f.

tage of the writer of the Apocalypse, we ask whether this reference to the collective Twelve can be considered at all on a par with the self-glorification of the disguised author of the Gospel, who, not content with the simple indication of himself as John, a servant of Jesus Christ, and sharing distinction equally with the rest of the Twelve, assumes to himself alone a pre-eminence in the favour and affection of his Master, as well as a distinction amongst his fellow disciples, of which we first hear from himself, and which is anything but corroborated by the three Synoptics? The supposed author of the fourth Gospel, it is true, does not plainly mention his name, but he distinguishes himself as "the disciple whom Jesus loved," and represents himself as "leaning on Jesus' breast at supper."[1] This distinction assumed for himself, and this preference over the other disciples in the love of him whom he represents as God, is much greater self-glorification than that of the author of the Apocalypse. We shall presently see how far Ewald is right in saying, moreover, that the author does not clearly indicate the person for whom, at least, he desires to be mistaken.

We must conclude that these objections have no weight, and that there is no internal evidence against the supposition that the "John" who announces himself as the author of the Apocalypse was the Apostle. On the contrary, the tone of authority adopted throughout, and the evident certainty that his identity would everywhere be recognised, denote a position in the Church which no other person of the name of John could well have held at the time when the Apocalypse was written. The external evidence, therefore, which indicates the Apostle John as the author of the Apocalypse is quite in harmony with the internal testimony of the book itself. We have already pointed out the strong colouring of Judaism in the views of the writer. Its imagery is thoroughly Jewish, and its allegorical representations are entirely based upon Jewish traditions and hopes. The heavenly City is a New Jerusalem; its twelve gates are dedicated to the twelve tribes of Israel; God and the Lamb are the Temple of it; and the sealed of the twelve tribes have the precedence over the nations, and stand with the Lamb on Mount Zion (xiv. 1) having his name and his Father's written on their foreheads. The language in which the book is written is the most Hebraistic Greek of the New Testament, as its contents are the most deeply tinged with Judaism. If, finally, we seek for some traces of the character of the writer, we see in every page the impress of an impetuous fiery spirit, whose symbol is the Eagle, breathing forth vengeance against the enemies of the Messiah and impatient till it

[1] John xiii. 23; xix. 26, 27; xx. 2 f.; cf. xxi. 20 f.

be accomplished, and the whole of the visions of the Apocalypse proceed to the accompaniment of the rolling thunders of God's wrath.

We may now turn to examine such historical data as exist regarding John, the son of Zebedee, and to inquire whether they accord better with the character and opinions of the author of the Apocalypse or of the Evangelist. John and his brother James are represented by the Synoptics as being the sons of Zebedee and Salome. They were fishermen on the sea of Galilee, and at the call of Jesus they left their ship and their father and followed him.[1] Their fiery and impetuous character led Jesus to give them the surname of Βοανηργές, "Sons of thunder,"[2] an epithet justified by several incidents which are related regarding them. Upon one occasion, John sees one casting out devils in his master's name, and in an intolerant spirit forbids him because he did not follow them, for which he is rebuked by Jesus.[3] Another time, when the inhabitants of a Samaritan village would not receive them, John and James angrily turn to Jesus and say: "Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elijah did?"[4] A remarkable episode will have presented itself already to the mind of every reader, which the second synoptic Gospel narrates as follows:—Mark x. 35. "And James and John the sons of Zebedee come unto him saying unto him: Teacher, we would that thou shouldest do for us whatsoever we shall ask thee. 36. And he said unto them: What would ye that I should do for you? 37. They said unto him: Grant that we may sit, one on thy right hand, and the other on thy left hand in thy glory. 38. But Jesus said to them: Ye know not what ye ask: can ye drink the cup that I drink? or be baptised with the baptism that I am baptised with? 39. And they said unto him: We can. And Jesus said unto them: The cup that I drink ye shall drink; and with the baptism that I am baptised withal shall ye be baptised: 40. But to sit on my right hand or on my left hand is not mine to give, but for whom it has been prepared. 41. And when the ten heard it they began to be much displeased with James and John." It is difficult to say whether the effrontery and selfishness of the request, or the assurance with which the brethren assert their power to emulate the Master, is more striking in this scene. Apparently, the grossness of the proceeding already began to be felt when our first Gospel was edited, for it represents the request as made by the mother of James and John; but that is a very slight decrease of the offence, inasmuch as the brethren are obviously consenting, if not inciting, parties to the prayer, and

[1] Matt. iv. 21 f.; Mark i. 19 f.; Luke v. 19 f.
[2] Mark iii. 17. [3] *Ib.*, ix. 38 f.; Luke ix. 49 f. [4] Luke ix. 54 f.

utter their "We can" with the same absence of "incomparable modesty."[1] After the death of Jesus, John remained in Jerusalem,[2] and chiefly confined his ministry to the city and its neighbourhood.[3] The account which Hegesippus gives of James the brother of Jesus who was appointed overseer of the Church in Jerusalem will not be forgotten,[4] and we refer to it merely in illustration of primitive Christianity. However mythical elements are worked up into the narrative, one point is undoubted fact, that the Christians of that community were but a sect of Judaism, merely superadding to Mosaic doctrines belief in the actual advent of the Messiah whom Moses and the prophets had foretold; and we find, in the Acts of the Apostles, Peter and John represented as "going up into the Temple at the hour of prayer,"[5] like other Jews. In the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians we have most valuable evidence with regard to the Apostle John. Paul found him still in Jerusalem on the occasion of the visit referred to in that letter, about A.D. 50–53. We need not quote at length the important passage, Gal. ii. 1 f., but the fact is undeniable, and stands upon stronger evidence than almost any other particular regarding the early Church, being distinctly and directly stated by Paul himself: that the three "pillar" Apostles representing the Church there were James, Peter, and John. Peter is markedly termed the Apostle of the circumcision, and the differences between him and Paul are evidence of the opposition of their views. James and John are clearly represented as sharing the views of Peter, and, whilst Paul finally agrees with them that he is to go to the Gentiles, the three στῦλοι elect to continue their ministry to the circumcision.[6] Here is John, therefore, clearly devoted to the Apostleship of the circumcision as opposed to Paul, whose views, as we gather from the whole of Paul's account, were little more than tolerated by the στῦλοι. Before leaving New Testament data, we may here point out the statement in the Acts of the Apostles that Peter and John were known to be "unlettered and ignorant men"[7] (ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται). Later tradition mentions one or two circumstances regarding John to which we may briefly refer. Irenæus states: "There are those who heard him (Polycarp) say that John, the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe at Ephesus and perceiving Cerinthus within, rushed forth from the bath-house without bathing, but crying out: 'Let us fly lest the bath-house fall down: Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, being within it.'.....So great was the care which the Apostles and their disciples took not to hold even verbal intercourse with

[1] Matt. xx. 20 f. [2] Acts i. 13; iii. 1. [3] *Ib.*, viii. 25; xv. 1 f.
[4] Eusebius, *H. E.*, ii. 23; cf. p. 268 f. [5] Acts iii. 1. f.
[6] Gal. ii. 8–9. [7] Acts iv. 13.

any of the corrupters of the truth,"[1] etc. Polycrates, who was Bishop of Ephesus about the beginning of the third century, states that the Apostle John wore the mitre and petalon of the high priest (ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορηκώς),[2] a tradition which agrees with the Jewish tendencies of the Apostle of the circumcision as Paul describes him.[3]

Now, if we compare these data regarding John the son of Zebedee with the character of John, the author of the Apocalypse, as we trace it in the work itself, it is impossible not to be struck by the singular agreement. The Hebraistic Greek and abrupt inelegant diction are natural to the unlettered fisherman of Galilee, and the fierce and intolerant spirit which pervades the book is precisely that which formerly forbade the working of miracles, even in the name of the Master, by any not of the immediate circle of Jesus, and which desired to consume an inhospitable village with fire from heaven.[4] The Judaistic form of Christianity which is represented throughout the Apocalypse, and the Jewish elements which enter so largely into its whole composition, are precisely those which we might expect from John the Apostle of the circumcision, and the associate of James and of Peter in the very centre of Judaism. Parts of the Apocalypse, indeed, derive a new significance when we remember the opposition which the Apostle of the Gentiles met with from the Apostles of the circumcision, as plainly declared by Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians ii. 1 f., and apparent in other parts of his writings.

We have already seen the scarcely disguised attack which is made on Paul in the *Clementine Homilies* under the name of Simon the Magician, the Apostle Peter following him from city to city for the purpose of denouncing and refuting his teaching. There can be no doubt that the animosity against Paul which was

[1] Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, iii. 3, § 4; Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv. 14.

[2] Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii. 31.

[3] We need not refer to any of the other legends regarding John, but it may be well to mention the tradition common amongst the Fathers which assigned to him the cognomen of "the Virgin." One *Codex* gives as the superscription of the Apocalypse: "τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ παρθένου ἠγαπημένου ἐπιστηθίου Ἰωάννου θεολόγου"; and we know that it is reported in early writings that, of all the Apostles, only John and the Apostle Paul remained unmarried; whence probably, in part, this title. In connection with this, we may point to the importance attached to virginity in the Apocalypse, xiv. 4; cf. Schwegler, *Das nachap. Zeit.*, ii., p. 254; Lücke, *Comm. üb. d. Br. Joh.*, 1836, p. 32 f.; Credner, *Einl. N. T.*, i., p. 21.

[4] The very objection of Ewald regarding the glorification of the Twelve, if true, would be singularly in keeping with the audacious request of John and his brother, to sit on the right and left hand of the glorified Jesus, for we find none of the "incomparable modesty" which the imaginative critic attributes to the author of the fourth Gospel in the John of the Synoptics.

felt by the Ebionitic party, to which John as well as Peter belonged, was extreme, and when the novelty of the doctrine of justification by faith alone, taught by him, is considered, it is very comprehensible. In the Apocalypse we find undeniable traces of it which accord with what Paul himself says, and with the undoubted tradition of the early Church. Not only is Paul silently excluded from the number of the Apostles, which might be intelligible when the typical nature of the number twelve is considered, but allusion is undoubtedly made to him in the Epistles to the Churches. It is clear that Paul is referred to in the address to the Church of Ephesus: "And thou didst try them which say that they are Apostles and are not, and didst find them false";[1] and also in the words to the Church of Smyrna: "But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the teaching of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling block before the sons of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols,"[2] etc., as well as elsewhere. Without dwelling on this point, however, we think it must be apparent to every unprejudiced person that the Apocalypse singularly corresponds in every respect—language, construction, and thought—with what we are told of the character of the Apostle John by the Synoptic Gospels and by tradition, and that the internal evidence, therefore, accords with the external in attributing the composition of the Apocalypse to that Apostle. We may without hesitation affirm, at least, that with the exception of one or two of the Epistles of Paul there is no work of the New Testament which is supported by such close evidence.

We need not discuss the tradition as to the residence of the Apostle John in Asia Minor, regarding which much might be said. Those who accept the authenticity of the Apocalypse of course admit its composition in the neighbourhood of Ephesus,[3] and see in this the confirmation of the widespread tradition that the Apostle spent a considerable period of the latter part of his life in that city. We may merely mention, in passing, that a historical basis for the tradition has occasionally been disputed, and has latterly again been denied by some able critics. The evidence for this, as for everything else connected with the early ages of Christianity, is extremely unsatisfactory. Nor need we trouble ourselves with the dispute as to the Presbyter John, to whom many ascribe the composition, on the one hand, of the Apocalypse, and, on the other, of the Gospel, according as they finally accept the one or the other alternative of the critical dilemma which we have explained.

If we proceed to compare the character of the Apostle John, as we have it depicted in the Synoptics and other writings to which

[1] *Apoc.*, ii. 2. [2] *Ib.*, ii. 14, iii. 9. [3] *Ib.*, i. 9.

we have referred, with that of the author of the fourth Gospel, and to contrast the peculiarities of both, we have a very different result. Instead of the Hebraistic Greek and harsh diction which might be expected from the unlettered and ignorant fisherman of Galilee, we find, in the fourth Gospel, the purest and least Hebraistic Greek of any of the Gospels (some parts of the third Synoptic, perhaps, alone excepted), and a refinement and beauty of composition whose charm has captivated the world, and in too many cases prevented the calm exercise of judgment. Instead of the fierce and intolerant temper of the Son of thunder, we find a spirit breathing forth nothing but gentleness and love. Instead of the Judaistic Christianity of the Apostle of Circumcision who merely tolerates Paul, we find a mind which has so completely detached itself from Judaism that the writer makes the very appellation of "Jew" equivalent to that of an enemy of the truth. Not only are the customs and feasts of the Jews disregarded and spoken of as observances of a people with whom the writer has no concern, but he anticipates the day when neither on Mount Gerizim nor yet at Jerusalem men shall worship the Father, but when it shall be recognised that the only true worship is that which is offered in spirit and in truth. Faith in Jesus Christ and the merits of his death is the only way by which man can attain to eternal life, and the Mosaic Law is practically abolished. We venture to assert that, taking the portrait of John the son of Zebedee, which is drawn in the Synoptics and the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, supplemented by later tradition, to which we have referred, and comparing it with that of the writer of the fourth Gospel, no unprejudiced mind can fail to recognise that there are not two features alike.

It is the misfortune of this case that the beauty of the Gospel under trial has too frequently influenced the decision of the judges, and men who have, in other matters, exhibited sound critical judgment, in this abandon themselves to sheer sentimentality, and indulge in rhapsodies when reasons would be more appropriate. Bearing in mind that we have given the whole of the data regarding John the son of Zebedee furnished by New Testament writings—excluding merely the fourth Gospel itself, which, of course, cannot at present be received in evidence—as well as the only traditional information possessing, from its date and character, any appreciable value, it will become apparent that every argument which proceeds on the assumption that John was the beloved disciple, and possessed of characteristics quite different from those we meet with in the writings to which we have referred, is worthless and a mere *petitio principii*. We can, therefore, appreciate the state of the case when, for instance, we find an able man like Credner commencing his inquiry as to who

was the author of the fourth Gospel with such words as the following: "Were we entirely without historical data regarding the author of the fourth Gospel, who is not named in the writing itself, we should still, from internal grounds in the Gospel itself—from the nature of the language, from the freshness and perspicacity of the narrative, from the exactness and precision of the statements, from the peculiar manner of the mention of the Baptist and of the sons of Zebedee, from the love and fervour rising to ecstasy which the writer manifests towards Jesus, from the irresistible charm which is poured out over the whole ideally-composed evangelical history, from the philosophical considerations with which the Gospel begins—be led to the result: that the author of such a Gospel can only be a native of Palestine, can only be a direct eye-witness, can only be an Apostle, can only be a favourite of Jesus, can only be that John whom Jesus held captivated to himself by the whole heavenly spell of his teaching, that John who rested on the bosom of Jesus, stood beneath his cross, and whose later residence in a city like Ephesus proves that philosophical speculation not merely attracted him, but that he also knew how to maintain his place amongst philosophically cultivated Greeks."[1] It is almost impossible to proceed further in building up theory on baseless assumption; but we shall hereafter see that he is kept in countenance by Ewald, who outstrips him in the boldness and minuteness of his conjectures. We must now more carefully examine the details of the case.

The language in which the Gospel is written, as we have already mentioned, is much less Hebraic than that of the other Gospels, with the exception of parts of the Gospel according to Luke, and its Hebraisms are not on the whole greater than was almost invariably the case with Hellenistic Greek; but its composition is distinguished by peculiar smoothness, grace, and beauty, and in this respect it is assigned the first rank among the Gospels. It may be remarked that the connection which Credner finds between the language and the Apostle John arises out of the supposition that long residence in Ephesus had enabled him to acquire that facility of composition in the Greek language which is one of its characteristics. Ewald, who exaggerates the Hebraism of the work, resorts nevertheless to the conjecture, which we shall hereafter more fully consider, that the Gospel was written from dictation by young friends of John in Ephesus, who put the aged Apostle's thoughts, in many places, into purer Greek as they wrote them down.[2] The arbitrary nature of such an explanation, adopted in one shape or another by many apologists,

[1] Credner, *Einl. N. T.*, i., p. 208.

[2] *Die Joh. Schr.*, i. p. 50 f.

requires no remark; but we shall at every turn meet with similar assumptions advanced to overcome difficulties. Now, although there is no certain information as to the time when, if ever, the Apostle removed into Asia Minor, it is at least pretty certain that he did not leave Palestine before A.D. 60.[1] We find him still at Jerusalem about A.D. 50–53, when Paul went thither, and he had not at that time any intention of leaving; but, on the contrary, his dedication of himself to the ministry of the circumcision is distinctly mentioned by the Apostle.[2] The "unlettered and ignorant" fisherman of Galilee, therefore, had obviously attained an age when habits of thought and expression have become fixed, and when a new language cannot without great difficulty be acquired. If we consider the Apocalypse to be his work, we find positive evidence of such markedly different thought and language actually existing when the Apostle must have been between sixty and seventy years of age, that it is quite impossible to conceive that he could have subsequently acquired the language and mental characteristics of the fourth Gospel. It would be perfectly absurd, so far as language goes, to find in the fourth Gospel the slightest indication of the Apostle John, of whose language we have no information except from the Apocalypse, a composition which, if accepted as written by the Apostle, would at once exclude all consideration of the Gospel as his work.

There are many circumstances, however, which seem clearly to indicate that the author of the fourth Gospel was neither a native of Palestine nor a Jew, and to some of these we must briefly refer. The philosophical statements with which the Gospel commences, it will be admitted, are anything but characteristic of the Son of thunder, the ignorant and unlearned fisherman of Galilee who, to a comparatively advanced period of life, continued preaching in his native country to his brethren of the circumcision. Attempts have been made to trace the Logos doctrine of the fourth Gospel to the purely Hebraic source of the Old Testament, but every impartial mind must perceive that here there is no direct and simple transformation of the theory of Wisdom of the Proverbs and Old Testament Apocrypha, and no mere development of the later Memra of the Targums, but a very advanced application to Christianity of Alexandrian philosophy, with which we have become familiar through the writings of Philo, to which reference has so frequently been made. It is quite true that a decided step beyond the doctrine of Philo is made when the Logos is

[1] It is almost certain that John did not remove to Asia Minor during Paul's time. There is no trace of his being there in the Pauline Epistles (cf. de Wette, *Einl. N. T.*, p. 221).

[2] Gal. ii. 9.

represented as σὰρξ ἐγένετο in the person of Jesus; but this argument is equally applicable to the Jewish doctrine of Wisdom, and that step had already been taken before the composition of the Gospel. In the Alexandrian philosophy everything was prepared for the final application of the doctrine, and nothing is more clear than the fact that the writer of the fourth Gospel was well acquainted with the teaching of the Alexandrian school, from which he derived his philosophy, and its elaborate and systematic application to Jesus alone indicates a late development of Christian doctrine, which we maintain could not have been attained by the Judaistic son of Zebedee.[1]

We have already on several occasions referred to the attitude which the writer of the fourth Gospel assumes towards the Jews. Apart from the fact that he places Christianity generally in strong antagonism to Judaism, as light to darkness, truth to a lie, and presents the doctrine of a hypostatic Trinity in the most developed form to be found in the New Testament, in striking contrast to the three Synoptics, and in contradiction to Hebrew Monotheism, he writes at all times as one who not only is not a Jew himself, but has nothing to do with their laws and customs. He speaks everywhere of the feasts "of the Jews," "the passover of the Jews," "the manner of the purifying of the Jews," "the Jews' feast of tabernacles," "as the manner of the Jews is to bury," "the Jews' preparation day," and so on.[2] The Law of Moses is spoken of as "your law," "their law," as of a people with which the writer was not connected.[3] Moreover, the Jews are represented as continually in virulent opposition to Jesus, and seeking to kill him; and the word "Jew" is the unfailing indication of the enemies of the truth, and the persecutors of the Christ.[4] The Jews are not once spoken of as the favoured people of God, but they are denounced as "children of the devil," who is "the father of lies and a murderer from the beginning."[5] The author makes Caiaphas and the chief priests and Pharisees speak of the Jewish people not as ὁ λαός, but as τὸ ἔθνος, the term employed by the Jews to designate the Gentiles.[6] We need scarcely point out that the Jesus of the fourth

[1] Most critics agree that the characteristics of the fourth Gospel render the supposition that it was the work of an old man untenable.

[2] John ii. 6, 13; v. 1; vi. 4; vii. 2; xix. 40, 42, etc.

[3] *Ib.*, viii. 17; x. 34; xv. 25, etc.

[4] *Ib.*, v. 16, 18; vii. 23, 19 f.; viii. 40, 59; ix. 22, 28; xviii. 31 f.; xix. 12 f.

[5] *Ib.*, viii. 44.

[6] τὸ ἔθνος is applied to the Jewish people fourteen times in the New Testament. It is so used five times in the fourth Gospel (xi. 48, 50, 51, 52, xviii. 35), and elsewhere, with one exception, only by the author of the third Synoptic and Acts (Luke vii. 5, xxiii. 2; Acts x. 22, xxiv. 3, 10, 17, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 19), who is almost universally believed to have been a Gentile convert and not a

Gospel is no longer of the race of David, but the Son of God. The expectation of the Jews that the Messiah should be of the seed of David is entirely set aside, and the genealogies of the first and third Synoptics tracing his descent are not only ignored, but the whole idea absolutely excluded.

Then the writer calls Annas the high priest, although at the same time Caiaphas is represented as holding that office.[1] The expression which he uses is: "Caiaphas being the high priest that year" (*ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου*). This statement, made more than once, indicates the belief that the office was merely annual, which is erroneous. Josephus states with regard to Caiaphas that he was high priest for ten years, from A.D. 25–36.[2] Ewald and others argue that the expression "that year" refers to the year in which the death of Jesus, so memorable to the writer, took place, and that it does not exclude the possibility of his having been high priest for successive years also.[3] This explanation, however, is quite arbitrary and insufficient, and this is shown by the additional error in representing Annas as also high priest at the same time. The Synoptists know nothing of the preliminary examination before Annas, and the reason given by the writer of the fourth Gospel why the soldiers first took Jesus to Annas: "for he was father-in-law to Caiaphas, who was high priest that same year,"[4] is inadmissible. The assertion is a clear mistake, and it probably originated in a stranger, writing of facts and institutions with which he was not well acquainted, being misled by an error equally committed by the author of the third Gospel and of the Acts of the Apostles. In Luke iii. 2 the word of God is said to come to John the Baptist, "in the high priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas" (*ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα*); and again, in Acts iv. 6, Annas is spoken of as the high priest when Peter and John healed the lame man at the gate of the Temple which was called "Beautiful," and Caiaphas is mentioned immediately after: "And Annas the high priest, and Caiaphas, and John, and Alex-

Jew. The exception referred to is 1 Pet. ii. 9, where, however, the use is justified: *ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν*. The word *λαός* is only twice used in the fourth Gospel, once in xi. 50, where *ἔθνος* occurs in the same verse, and again in xviii. 14, where the same words of Caiaphas, xi. 50, are quoted. It is found in viii. 2, but that episode does not belong to the fourth Gospel, but is probably taken from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Ewald himself points out that the saying of Caiaphas is the purest Greek, and this is another proof that it could not proceed from the son of Zebedee. It could still less be, as it stands, an original speech in Greek of the high priest to the Jewish Council—a point which does not require remark (cf. Ewald, *Die Joh. Schr.*, i., p. 325, anm. 1).

[1] John xi. 49, 51; xviii. 13, 16, 19, 22, 24.

[2] *Antiq.* xviii. 2, § 2; 4, § 3; cf. Matt. xxvi. 3, 57.

[3] *Die Joh. Schr.*, i., p. 326, anm. 1; Lücke, *Comment. Ev. Joh.*, ii., p. 484.

[4] John xviii. 13.

ander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high priest." Such statements, erroneous in themselves and not understood by the author of the fourth Gospel, may have led to the confusion in the narrative. Annas had previously been high priest, as we know from Josephus,[1] but nothing is more certain than the fact that the title was not continued after the office was resigned; and Ishmael, Eleazar, and Simon, who succeeded Annas and separated his term of office from that of Caiaphas, did not subsequently bear the title. The narrative is a mistake, and such an error could not have been committed by a native of Palestine, and much less by an acquaintance of the high priest.[2]

There are also several geographical errors committed which denote a foreigner. In i. 28 the writer speaks of a "Bethany beyond Jordan, where John was baptising." The substitution of "Bethabara," mentioned by Origen, which has erroneously crept into the vulgar text, is, of course, repudiated by critics, "Bethany" standing in all the older codices. The alteration was evidently proposed to obviate the difficulty that, even in Origen's time, there did not exist any trace of a Bethany beyond Jordan in Peræa. The place could not be the Bethany near Jerusalem, and it is supposed that the writer either mistook its position or, inventing a second Bethany, which he described as "beyond Jordan," displayed an ignorance of the locality improbable either in a Jew or a Palestinian.[3] Again, in iii. 23, the writer says that "John was

[1] *Antiq.*, xviii. 2, § 1.

[2] John xviii. 15. The author says, in relating the case of restoration of sight to a blind man, that Jesus desired him: (ix. 7) "Go wash in the pool of Siloam," and adds: "which is by interpretation: Sent." The writer evidently wishes to ascribe a prophetical character to the name, and thus increase the significance of the miracle; but the explanation of the Hebrew name, it is contended, is forced and incorrect (Bretschneider, *Probabilia*, p. 93; Davidson, *Int. N. T.*, ii., p. 428; cf. Gesenius, *Lex. Hebr.*, 1847, p. 925), and betrays a superficial knowledge of the language. At the best, the interpretation is a mere conceit, and Lücke (*Ev. Joh.*, ii., p. 381) refuses to be persuaded that the parenthesis is by John at all, and prefers the conjecture that it is a gloss of some ancient allegorical interpreter introduced into the text. Other critics (Kuinoel, *Com. in N. T.*, 1817, iii., p. 445; Tholuck, *Com. Ev. Joh. 5te Aufl.*, 1837, p. 194; cf. Neander, *Leben J. C. 7te Ausg.* p. 398, anm. 1; Farrar, *Life of Christ*, ii., p. 81, n. 3) express similar views; but this explanation is resisted by the evidence of MSS. As the balance of opinion pronounces the interpretation within grammatical *possibility*, and the interpolation of the phrase may be equally possible, the objection must not be pressed.

[3] Baur, *Unters. kan. Evv.*, p. 331; Bretschneider, *Probabilia*, p. 95 f.; Davidson, *Int. N. T.*, ii., p. 427; Schenkel, *Das Charakt. Jesu*, p. 354; Scholten, *Het Ev. Joh.*, p. 207. Keim (*Jes. v. Naz.*, i., p. 495, iii., p. 66, anm. 2) does not consider the events connected with the place historical. The reference is suggestively discussed by Bleek, *Einl. N. T.*, p. 210 f.; *Beiträge*, p. 256 f.; Caspari, *Chron. Geogr. Einl.*, 1869, p. 79 f.; Ebrard, *Ev. Joh.*, p. 68 f.; Ewald, *Gesch. V. Isr.*, v., p. 262, anm. 1; Farrar, *Life of Christ*, i., p. 140, n. 1; Grove, in Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, i., p. 194 f.; Hengstenberg, *Ev.*

baptising in Ænon, near to Salim, because there was much water there." This Ænon, near to Salim, was in Judæa, as is clearly stated in the previous verse. The place, however, was quite unknown even in the third century, and the nearest locality which could be indicated as possible was in the north of Samaria, and, therefore, differed from the statements in iii. 22, iv. 3.[1] Ænon signifies "springs," and the question arises whether the writer of the fourth Gospel, not knowing the real meaning of the word, did not simply mistake it for the name of a place.[2] In any case, there seems to be here another error into which the author of the fourth Gospel, had he been the Apostle John, could not have fallen.

The account of the miracle of the pool of Bethesda is a remarkable one for many reasons. The words which most pointedly relate the miraculous phenomena characterising the pool are rejected by many critics as an interpolation. In the following extract we put them in italics: v. 3.—"In these (five porches) lay a multitude of the sick, halt, withered, *waiting for the moving of the water.* 4. *For an angel went down at certain seasons into the pool and was troubling the water: he, therefore, who first went in after the troubling of the water was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.*" We maintain, however, that the obnoxious passage is no spurious interpolation, but that there is ample evidence, external and internal, to substantiate its claim to a place in the text. It is true that the whole passage is omitted by the Sinaitic and Vatican Codices, and by C; that A^1, L, 18, and others, omit the last phrase of verse 3, and that D, 33, which contain that phrase, omit the whole of verse 4, together with 157, 314 and some other MSS.; that in many codices in which the passage is found it is marked by an asterisk or obelus, and that it presents considerable variation in readings. It is also true that it is omitted by Cureton's Syriac, by the Thebaic, and by most of the Memphitic versions. But, on the other hand, it exists in the Alexandrian Codex, C^3, E, F. G, H, I, K, L, M, U, V, Γ, Δ, and other MSS.,[3] and it forms part of the Peschito, Jerusalem Syriac, Vulgate, Watkin's Memphitic, Æthiopic, and Armenian versions. More important still is the

Joh., i., p. 83 f.; Holtzmann, in Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.*, i., p. 420 f.; Meyer, *Ev. Joh.*, p. 103 f.; Winer, *Bibl. Realwörterb.*, i., p. 167. The itinerary indicated in the following passages should be borne in mind: John i. 18, 43, ii. 1, x. 40, xi. 1–18. The recent apologetic attempt to identify this Bethany with Tell Anihje, "*närrische weise*" as Keim contemptuously terms Caspari's proceeding, has signally failed.

[1] According to Eusebius and Jerome, it was shown in their day, near Salem and the Jordan, eight miles south of Scythopolis; but few critics adopt this site, which is, in fact, excluded by the statements of the evangelist himself.

[2] Scholten, *Het Ev. Joh.*, p. 435.

[3] The italicised words in verse 3, as we have already pointed out, are only by the second hand in A, but they are originally given in D and 33.

fact that it existed in the ancient Latin version of Tertullian, who refers to the passage ;[1] and it is quoted by Didymus, Chrysostom, Cyril, Ambrose, Theophylact, Euthymius, and other Fathers. Its presence in the Alexandrian Codex alone might not compensate for the omission of the passage by the Sinaitic and Vatican Codices and C, D; but when the Alexandrian MS. is supported by the version used by Tertullian, which is a couple of centuries older than any of the other authorities, as well as by the Peschito, not to mention other codices, the balance of external evidence is distinctly in its favour.

The internal evidence is altogether on the side of the authenticity of the passage. It is true that there are a considerable number of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in the few lines: ἐκδέχεσθαι, κίνησις, ταραχή, νόσημα, κατέχεσθαι, and perhaps δήποτε; but it must be remembered that the phenomena described are exceptional, and may well explain exceptional phraseology. On the other hand, ὑγιής is specially a Johannine word, used v. 4 and six times more in the fourth Gospel, but only five times in the rest of the New Testament; and ὑγιής with γίνεσθαι occurs in v. 4, 6, 9, 14, and with ποιεῖν in v. 11, 15, vii. 23, and nowhere else. ταράσσειν also may be indicated as employed in v. 4, 7, and five times more in other parts of the Gospel, and only eleven times in the rest of the New Testament; and the use of ταραχή in v. 4 is thus perhaps naturally accounted for. The context, however, forbids the removal of this passage. It is in the highest degree improbable that verse 3 could have ended with "withered" (ξηρῶν); and although many critics wish to retain the last phrase in verse 3, in order to explain verse 7, this only shows the necessity, without justifying the arbitrary maintenance of these words; whilst verse 4, which is still better attested, is excluded to get rid of the inconvenient angel. It is evident that the expression, "when the water was troubled" (ὅταν ταραχθῇ τὸ ὕδωρ), of the undoubted verse 7 is unintelligible without the explanation that the angel "was troubling the water" (ἐτάρασσε τὸ ὕδωρ) of verse 4, and also that the statement of verse 7, "but while I am coming, another goeth down before me" (ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἔρχομαι ἐγὼ, ἄλλος πρὸ ἐμοῦ καταβαίνει), absolutely requires the account: "he, therefore, who first went in, etc." (ὁ οὖν πρῶτος ἐμβάς κ. τ. λ.) of verse 4. The argument that the interpolation was made to explain the statement in verse 7 is untenable, for that statement necessarily presupposes the account in the verses under discussion, and cannot be severed from it. Even if the information that the water

[1] *Angelum aquis intervenire, si novum videtur, exemplum futuri praecucurrit. Piscinam Bethsaidam angelus interveniens commovebat. Observabant, qui valetudinem querebantur; nam si quis praevenerat descendere illuc, queri post lavacrum desinebat* (*De Baptismo*, § 5).

was "troubled" at certain seasons only could have been dispensed with, it is obvious that the explanation of the condition of healing, given in verse 4, is indispensable to the appreciation of the lame man's complaint in verse 7, for without knowing that priority was essential the reason for the protracted waiting is inconceivable. It is also argued that the passage about the angel may have been interpolated to bring out the presence of supernatural agency; but it is much more reasonable to believe that attempts have been made to omit these verses, of which there is such ancient attestation, in order to eliminate an embarrassing excess of supernatural agency, and get rid of the difficulty presented by the fact, for which even Tertullian[1] endeavoured to account, that the supposed pool had ceased to exhibit any miraculous phenomena. This natural explanation is illustrated by the alacrity with which Apologists at the present day abandon the obnoxious passage.[2] The combined force of the external and internal evidence cannot, we think, be fairly resisted.[3]

Now, not only is the pool of Bethesda totally unknown at the present day, but, although possessed of such miraculous properties, it was not known even to Josephus, or any other writer of that time. It is inconceivable that, were the narrative genuine, the phenomena could have been unknown and unmentioned by the Jewish historian.[4] There is here evidently the narrative neither of an Apostle nor of an eye-witness.

Another very significant mistake occurs in the account of the conversation with the Samaritan woman, which is said to have taken place (iv. 5) near "a city of Samaria which is called Sychar." It is evident that there was no such place—and apologetic ingenuity is severely taxed to explain the difficulty.

[1] *Adv. Judæos*, § 13.

[2] "The Biblical critic is glad that he can remove these words from the record, and cannot be called upon to explain them" (Rev. H. W. Watkins, M.A., in *A New Test. Commentary for English Readers*, edited by Charles John Ellicott, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, i., p. 416).

[3] Without pretending to give an exhaustive list, we may mention the views of the following critics:—*In favour of the authenticity:* Von Ammon, Bengel, Burton, Baumgarten-Crusius, Grotius, Hahn, Hengstenberg, Hilgenfeld, Hofmann, Lachmann, Lampe, Lange, McClellan, Reuss, Scholz, Scrivener (doubtful), Sepp, Stier, Strauss, Tittmann, Webster and Wilkinson, Weisse, Wetstein, Wordsworth. Ebrard and Ewald are disposed to accept verse 3, and to reject verse 4 only. *Against the authenticity:* Alford, Bæumlein, Brückner, Davidson, Farrar, Godet, Griesbach, Kuinoel, Lightfoot, Lücke, Luthardt, Meyer, Milligan, Neander, Olshausen, Sanday, Scholten, Semler, Späth, Stemler, Storr, Tischendorf, Tholuck, Tregelles, Trench, Weizsäcker, Westcott, and Hort. The following are *doubtful:* Holtzmann, Schulz, Theile, de Wette.

[4] Cf. Lücke, *Com. Ev. Joh.*, ii., p. 16 f.; Ewald, *Die Joh. Schr.*, i., p. 200 f.

The common conjecture has been that the town of Sichem is intended, but this is rightly rejected by Delitzsch[1] and Ewald.[2] Credner,[3] not unsupported by others, and borne out in particular by the theory of Ewald, conjectures that Sychar is a corruption of Sichem, introduced into the Gospel by a Greek secretary to whom this part of the Gospel was dictated, and who mistook the Apostle's pronunciation of the final syllable. We constantly meet with this elastic explanation of difficulties in the Gospel, but its mere enunciation displays at once the reality of the difficulties and the imaginary nature of the explanation. Hengstenberg adopts the view, and presses it with pious earnestness, that the term is a mere nickname for the city of Sichem, and that, by so slight a change in the pronunciation, the Apostle called the place a city of Lies—a play upon words which he does not consider unworthy.[4] The only support which this latter theory can secure from internal evidence is to be derived from the fact that the whole discourse with the woman is ideal. Hengstenberg[5] conjectures that the five husbands of the woman are typical of the Gods of the five nations with which the King of Assyria peopled Samaria, 2 Kings xvii. 24–41, and which they worshipped instead of the God of Israel; and as the actual God of the Samaritans was not recognised as the true God by the Jews, nor their worship of him on Mount Gerizim held to be valid, he considers that under the name of the City of Sychar their whole religion, past and present, was denounced as a lie. There can be little doubt that the episode is allegorical, but such a defence of the geographical error, the reality of which is everywhere felt, whilst it is quite insufficient on the one hand, effectually destroys the historical character of the Gospel on the other. The inferences from all of the foregoing examples are strengthened by the fact that, in the quotations from the Old Testament, the fourth Gospel in the main follows the Septuagint version, or shows its influence, and nowhere can be shown directly to translate from the Hebrew.

These instances might be multiplied, but we must proceed to examine more closely the indications given in the Gospel as to the identity of its author. We need not point out that the writer nowhere clearly states who he is, nor mentions his name; but expressions are frequently used which evidently show the desire that a particular person should be understood. He

[1] *Talmudische Stud. Zeitschr. gesammt. luth. Theol. u. Kirche*, 1856, p. 240 f.
[2] *Die Joh. Schr.*, i., p. 181, anm. 1; *Gesch. V. Isr.*, v., p. 348, anm. 1; *Jahrb. bibl. Wiss.*, viii., p. 255 f.
[3] *Einl. N. T.*, i., p. 264.
[4] *Das Ev. des heil. Joh.*, 1867, i., p. 244.
[5] *Ib.*, i., p. 262 f.

generally calls himself "the other disciple," or "the disciple whom Jesus loved."[1] It is universally understood that he represents himself as having previously been a disciple of John the Baptist (i. 35 f.), and also that he is "the other disciple" who was acquainted with the high priest (xviii. 15, 16), if not an actual relative, as Ewald and others assert.[2] The assumption that the disciple thus indicated is John rests principally on the fact that, whilst the author mentions the other Apostles, he seems studiously to avoid directly naming John, and also that he never distinguishes John the Baptist by the appellation ὁ βαπτιστής, whilst he carefully distinguishes the two disciples of the name of Judas, and always speaks of the Apostle Peter as "Simon Peter," or "Peter," but rarely as "Simon" only. Without pausing to consider the slightness of this evidence, it is obvious that, supposing the disciple indicated to be John the son of Zebedee, the fourth Gospel gives a representation of him quite different from the Synoptics and other writings. In the fourth Gospel (i. 35 f.) the calling of the Apostle is described in a peculiar manner. John (the Baptist) is standing with two of his disciples, and points out Jesus to them as "the Lamb of God," whereupon the two disciples follow Jesus, and, finding out where he lives, abide with him that day and subsequently attach themselves to his person. In verse 40 it is stated: "One of the two which heard John speak, and followed him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother." We are left to imagine who was the other, and the answer of critics is, John. Now, the "calling" of John is related in a totally different manner in the Synoptics—Jesus, walking by the Sea of Galilee, sees "two brethren, Simon called Peter and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea, for they were fishers, and he saith unto them: Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men. And they straightway left their nets and followed him. And when he had gone from thence, he saw other two brethren, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, in the ship with Zebedee their father mending their nets; and he called them. And they immediately left the ship and their father and followed him."[3] These accounts are in complete contradiction to each other, and both cannot be true. We see, from the first introduction of "the other disciple" on the scene, in the fourth Gospel, the evident design to give him the precedence before Peter and the rest of the Apostles. We have above given the account of the first two Synoptists of the calling of

[1] John i. 35 f.; xiii. 23; xix. 26, 35; xx. 2.

[2] Ewald, *Die. Joh. Schr.*, i., p. 400; Bleek, *Einl. N. T.*, p. 151. Ewald considers the relationship to have been on the mother's side. Hengstenberg contradicts that strange assumption (*Das Ev. heil. Joh.*, iii., p. 196).

[3] Matt. iv. 18–22; Mark i. 16–20.

Peter, according to which he is the first of the disciples who is selected, and he is directly invited by Jesus to follow him and become, with his brother Andrew, "fishers of men." James and John are not called till later in the day, and without the record of any special address. In the third Gospel the calling of Peter is introduced with still more important details. Jesus enters the boat of Simon and bids him push out into the Lake and let down his net, and the miraculous draught of fishes is taken: "When Simon Peter saw it, he fell down at Jesus's knees saying: Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord. For he was astonished, and all that were with him, at the draught of fishes which they had taken." The calling of the sons of Zebedee becomes even less important here, for the account simply continues: "And so were also James and John, the sons of Zebedee, who were partners with Simon." Jesus then addresses his invitation to Simon, and the account concludes: "And when they had brought their boats to land, they forsook all, and followed him."[1] In the fourth Gospel the calling of the two disciples of John is first narrated, as we have seen, and the first call of Peter is from his brother Andrew, and not from Jesus himself. "He (Andrew) first findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him: We have found the Messias (which is, being interpreted, Christ), and he brought him to Jesus. Jesus looked on him and said: Thou art Simon, the son of Jonas;[2] thou shalt be called Cephas (which is, by interpretation, Peter)."[3] This explanation of the manner in which the cognomen Peter is given, we need not point out, is likewise contradictory to the Synoptics, and betrays the same purpose of suppressing the prominence of Peter.

The fourth Gospel states that "the other disciple," who is declared to be John, the author of the Gospel, was known to the high priest, another trait amongst many others elevating him above the son of Zebedee as he is depicted elsewhere in the New Testament. The account which the fourth Gospel gives of the trial of Jesus is in very many important particulars at variance with that of the Synoptics. We need only mention here the point that the latter know nothing of the preliminary examination by Annas. We shall not discuss the question as to where the denial of Peter is represented as taking place in the fourth Gospel, but may merely say that no other disciple but Peter is mentioned in the Synoptics as having followed Jesus; and Peter

[1] Luke v. 1–11.

[2] The author apparently considered that Jonas and John were the same name—another indication of a foreigner. Although some of the oldest codices read John here and in xxi. 15–17, there is great authority for the reading Jona, which is considered by a majority of critics the original.

[3] John i. 41–42.

enters without difficulty into the high priest's palace.[1] In the fourth Gospel, Peter is made to wait without at the door until John, who is a friend of the high priest and freely enters, obtains permission for Peter to go in—another instance of the precedence which is systematically given to John. The Synoptics do not in this particular case give any support to the statement in the fourth Gospel, and certainly in nothing that is said of John elsewhere do they render his acquaintance with the high priest in the least degree probable. It is, on the contrary, improbable in the extreme that the young fisherman of Galilee, who shows very little enlightenment in the anecdotes told of him in the Synoptics, and who is described as an "unlettered and ignorant" man in the Acts of the Apostles, could have any acquaintance with the high priest. Ewald, who on the strength of the word γνωστός,[2] at once elevates him into a relation of the high priest, sees in the statement of Polycrates that late in life he wore the priestly πέταλον—a confirmation of the supposition that he was of the high priest's race and family.[3] The evident Judaistic tendency which made John wear the priestly mitre may distinguish him as author of the Apocalypse, but it is fatal to the theory which makes him author of the fourth Gospel, in which there is so complete a severance from Judaism.

A much more important point is the designation of the author of the fourth Gospel, who is identified with the Apostle John, as "the disciple whom Jesus loved." It is scarcely too much to say that this suggestive appellation alone has done more than any arguments to ensure the recognition of the work, and to overcome doubts as to its authenticity. Religious sentimentality, evoked by the influence of this tender epithet, has been blind to historical incongruities, and has been willing to accept, with little question, from the "beloved disciple" a portrait of Jesus totally unlike that of the Synoptics, and to elevate the dogmatic mysticism and artificial discourses of the one over the pure morality and simple eloquence of the other. It is impossible to reflect seriously upon this representation of the relations between one of the disciples and Jesus without the conviction that every record of the life of the great Teacher must have borne distinct traces of the preference, and that the disciple so honoured must have attracted the notice of every early writer acquainted with the facts. If we seek for any evidence, however, that John was distinguished with such special affection—that he lay on the breast of Jesus at supper—that even the Apostle Peter recognised his superior

[1] Matt. xxvi. 58, 69; Mark xiv. 54, 56; Luke xxii. 54 f.
[2] John xviii. 15.
[3] *Die Joh. Schr.*, i., p. 400, anm. 1; Bleek, *Einl. N. T.*, p. 15.

intimacy and influence,[1] and that he received at the foot of the cross the care of his mother from the dying Jesus,[2] we seek in vain. The synoptic Gospels, which minutely record the details of the last supper and of the crucifixion, so far from reporting any such circumstances or such distinction of John, do not even mention his name; and Peter everywhere has precedence before the sons of Zebedee. Almost the only occasions upon which any prominence is given to them are episodes in which they incur the Master's displeasure, and the cognomen of "Sons of thunder" has certainly no suggestion in it of special affection, nor of personal qualities likely to attract the great Teacher. The selfish ambition of the brothers who desire to sit on thrones on his right and on his left, and the intolerant temper which would have called down fire from heaven to consume a Samaritan village, much rather contradict than support the representation of the fourth Gospel. Upon one occasion, indeed, Jesus, in rebuking them, adds: "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of."[3] It is perfectly undeniable that John nowhere has any such position accorded to him in the Synoptics as this designation in the fourth Gospel implies. In the lists of the disciples he is always put in the fourth place,[4] and in the first two Gospels his only distinguishing designation is that of "the brother of James," or one of the sons of Zebedee. The Apostle Peter, in all of the Synoptics, is the leader of the disciples. He it is who alone is represented as the mouthpiece of the Twelve, or as holding conversation with Jesus; and the only occasions on which the sons of Zebedee address Jesus are those to which we have referred, upon which his displeasure was incurred. The angel who appears to the women after the resurrection desires them to tell his disciples "and Peter" that Jesus will meet them in Galilee;[5] but there is no message for any "disciple whom he loved." If Peter, James, and John accompany the Master to the mount of transfiguration, and are witnesses of his agony in the garden, regarding which, however, the fourth Gospel is totally silent, the two brethren remain in the background, and Peter alone acts a prominent part. If we turn to the Epistles of Paul, we do not find a single trace of acquaintance with the fact that Jesus honoured John with any special affection, and the opportunity of referring to such a distinction was not wanting when he writes to the Galatians of his visit to the "Pillar" Apostles

[1] John xiii. 23–26. [2] *Ib.*, xix. 25–27.

[3] Luke ix. 55. These words are omitted from some of the oldest MSS., but they are in *Cod. D (Bezæ)* and many other very important texts, as well as in some of the oldest versions, besides being quoted by the Fathers. They were probably omitted after the claim of John to be the "beloved disciple" became admitted.

[4] Matt. x. 2–4; Mark iii. 16–19; Luke vi. 14-16. [5] Mark xvi. 7.

in Jerusalem. Here again we find no prominence given to John, but the contrary, his name still being mentioned last and without any special comment. In none of the Pauline or other Epistles is there any allusion, however distant, to any disciple whom Jesus specially loved. The Apocalypse, which, if any book of the New Testament can be traced to him, must be ascribed to the Apostle John, makes no claim to such a distinction. In none of the Apocryphal Gospels is there the slightest indication of knowledge of the fact, and, if we come to the Fathers even, it is a striking circumstance that there is not a trace of it in any early work, and not the most remote indication of any independent tradition that Jesus distinguished John, or any other individual disciple, with peculiar friendship. The Roman Clement, in referring to the example of the Apostles, only mentions Peter and Paul.[1] Polycarp, who is described as a disciple of the Apostle John, apparently knows nothing of his having been especially loved by Jesus. Pseudo-Ignatius does not refer to him at all in the Syriac Epistles, or in either version of the seven Epistles.[2] Papias, in describing his interest in hearing what the Apostles said, gives John no prominence: "I inquired minutely after the words of the Presbyters: What Andrew or what Peter said, or what Philip or what Thomas or James, or what John or Matthew, or what any other of the disciples of the Lord, and what Aristion and the Presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord, say,"[3] etc.

As a fact, it is undenied and undeniable that the representation of John, or of any other disciple, as specially beloved by Jesus is limited solely and entirely to the fourth Gospel, and that there is not even a trace of independent tradition to support the claim; whilst, on the other hand, the total silence of the earlier Gospels and of the other New Testament writings on the point, and indeed their data of a positive and unmistakable character oppose rather than support the correctness of the later and mere personal assertion. Those who abandon sober criticism, and indulge in sentimental rhapsodies on the impossibility of the author of the fourth Gospel being any other than "the disciple whom Jesus loved," strangely ignore the fact that we have no reason whatever, except the assurance of the author himself, to believe that Jesus specially loved any disciple, and much less John, the son of Zebedee. Indeed, the statements of the fourth Gospel itself on the subject are so indirect and intentionally vague that it is not absolutely

[1] *Ad Corinth.*, v.

[2] Indeed, in the universally-repudiated Epistles, beyond the fact that two are addressed to John, in which he is not called "the disciple whom Jesus loved," the only mention of him is the statement, "John was banished to Patmos" (*Ad Tars.*, iii.).

[3] Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii. 39.

clear what disciple is indicated as "the beloved," and it has even been maintained that not John the son of Zebedee, but Andrew the brother of Simon Peter, was "the disciple whom Jesus loved," and consequently the supposed author of the fourth Gospel.[1]

We have hitherto refrained from referring to one of the most singular features of the fourth Gospel, the chapter xxi., which is by many cited as the most ancient testimony for the authenticity of the work, and which requires particular consideration. It is obvious that the Gospel is brought to a conclusion by verses 30, 31 of chapter xx., and critics are universally agreed at least that, whoever may be its author, chapter xxi. is a supplement only added after an interval. By whom was it written? As may be supposed, critics have given very different replies to this important question. Many affirm, and with much probability, that chapter xxi. was subsequently added to the Gospel by the author himself. A few, however, exclude the last two verses, which they consider to have been added by another hand. A much larger number assert that the whole chapter is an ancient appendix to the Gospel by a writer who was not the author of the Gospel. A few likewise reject the last two verses of the preceding chapter. In this supplement (v. 20) "the disciple whom Jesus loved, who also leaned on his breast at the supper and said: Lord, which is he that betrayeth thee?" is (v. 24) identified with the author of the Gospel.

We may here state the theory of Ewald with regard to the composition of the fourth Gospel, which is largely deduced from considerations connected with the last chapter, and which, although more audaciously minute in its positive and arbitrary statement of details than any other with which we are acquainted, introduces more or less the explanations generally given regarding the composition of chapter xxi. Out of all the indications in the work, Ewald decides:—

"1. That the Gospel, completed at the end of chapter xx., was composed by the apostle about the year 80, with the free help of friends, not to be immediately circulated throughout the world, but to remain limited to the narrower circle of friends until his death, and only then to be published as his legacy to the whole of Christendom. In this position it remained ten years, or even longer.

"2. As the preconceived opinion regarding the life or death of the Apostle (xxi. 23) had perniciously spread itself throughout the whole of Christendom, the Apostle himself decided, even before his death, to counteract it in the right way by giving a correct statement of the circumstances. The same friends, therefore,

[1] Lützelberger, *Die kirchl. Tradition über d. Apost. Joh.*, p. 199 f.

assisted him to design the very important supplement, chapter xxi., and this could still be very easily added, as the book was not yet published. His friends proceeded, nevertheless, somewhat more freely in its composition than previously in writing the book itself, and allowed their own hand more clearly to gleam through, although here, as in the rest of the work, they conformed to the will of the Apostle, and did not, even in the supplement, openly declare his name as the author. As the supplement, however, was to form a closely connected part of the whole work, they gave at its end (verses 24 f.), as it now seemed to them suitable, a new conclusion to the augmented work.

"3. As the Apostle himself desired that the preconceived opinion regarding him, which had been spread abroad to the prejudice of Christendom, should be contradicted as soon as possible, and even before his death, he now so far departed from his earlier wish that he permitted the circulation of his Gospel before his death. We can accept this with all certainty, and have therein trustworthy testimony regarding the whole original history of our book.

"4. When the Gospel was thus published it was for the first time gradually named after our Apostle, even in its external superscription: a nomination which had then become all the more necessary and permanent for the purpose of distinction, as it was united in one whole with the other Gospels. The world, however, has at all times known it only under this wholly right title, and could in no way otherwise know it and otherwise name it."[1]

In addressing ourselves to each of these points in detail, we shall be able to discuss the principal questions connected with the fourth Gospel.

The theory of Ewald, that the fourth Gospel was written down with the assistance of friends in Ephesus, has been imagined solely to conciliate certain phenomena presented throughout the Gospel, and notably in the last chapter, with the foregone conclusion that it was written by the Apostle John. It is apparent that there is not a single word in the work itself explaining such a mode of composition, and that the hypothesis proceeds purely from the ingenious imagination of the critic. The character of the language, the manner in which the writer is indirectly indicated in the third person, and the reference, even in the body of the work (xix. 35), to the testimony of a third person, combined with the similarity of the style of the supplementary chapter, which is an obvious addition intended, however, to be understood as written by a different hand, have rendered these conjectures necessary to reconcile such obvious incongruities with the ascription of the work to the Apostle. The substantial identity of the style and

important if read.

[1] *Die Joh. Schr.*, i., p. 56 f.; cf. *Jahrb. bibl. Wiss.*, iii., p. 171 f.

vocabulary of chapter xxi. with the rest of the Gospel is asserted by a multitude of the most competent critics. Ewald, whilst he recognises the great similarity, maintains at the same time a real dissimilarity, for which he accounts in the manner just quoted. The language, Ewald admits, agrees fully in many rare *nuances* with that of the rest of the Gospel, but he does not take the trouble to prove the decided dissimilarities which, he asserts, likewise exist. A less difference than that which he finds might, he thinks, be explained by the interval which had elapsed between the writing of the work and of the supplement, but "the wonderful similarity, in the midst of even greater dissimilarity, of the whole tone and particularly of the style of the composition is not thereby accounted for. This, therefore, leads us," he continues, "to the opinion: The Apostle made use, for writing down his words, of the hand and even of the skill of a trusted friend who later, on his own authority *(für sich allein)*, wrote the supplement. The great similarity, as well as dissimilarity, of the style of both parts in this way becomes intelligible: the trusted friend (probably a Presbyter in Ephesus) adopted much of the language and mode of expression of the youthful old Apostle, without, however, where he wrote more in his own person, being carefully solicitous of imitating them. But even through this contrast, and the definite declaration in v. 24, the Apostolical origin of the book itself becomes all the more clearly apparent; and thus the supplement proves from the most diverse sides how certainly this Gospel was written by the trusted disciple."[1] Elsewhere Ewald more clearly explains the share in the work which he assigns to the Apostle's disciple: "The proposition that the Apostle composed in a unique way our likewise unique Gospel is to be understood only with the important limitation upon which I have always laid so much stress; for John himself did not compose this work quite so directly as Paul did most of his Epistles, but the young friend who wrote it down from his lips, and who, in the later appendix, chapter xxi., comes forward in the most open way, without desiring in the slightest to conceal his separate identity, does his work at other times somewhat freely, in that he never introduces the narrator speaking of himself and his participation in the events with 'I' or 'we,' but only indirectly indicates his presence at such events, and, towards the end, in preference refers to him, from his altogether peculiar relation to Christ, as 'the disciple whom the Lord loved,' so that, in one passage, in regard to an important historical testimony (xix. 35), he even speaks of him as of a third person." Ewald then maintains that the agreement between the Gospel and the Epistles, and more especially the first, which he affirms, without

[1] *Jahrb. bibl. Wiss.*, iii., 1850–51, p. 173.

vouchsafing a word of evidence, to have been written down by a different hand, proves that we have substantially only the Apostle's very peculiar composition, and that his friend as much as possible gave his own words.[1]

It is obvious from this elaborate explanation, which we need scarcely say is composed of mere assumptions, that, in order to connect the Apostle John with the Gospel, Ewald is obliged to assign him a very peculiar position in regard to it: he recognises that some of the characteristics of the work exclude the supposition that the Apostle could himself have written the Gospel, so he represents him as dictating it, and his secretary as taking considerable liberties with the composition as he writes it down, and even as introducing references of his own; as, for instance, in the passage to which he refers, where, in regard to the statement that at the Crucifixion a soldier pierced the side of the already dead Jesus and that forthwith there came out blood and water (xix. 35), it is said: "And he that saw it hath borne witness, and his witness is true; and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye may believe."[2] It is perfectly clear that the writer refers to the testimony of another person—the friend who is writing down the narrative, says Ewald, refers to the Apostle who is actually dictating it. Again, in the last chapter, as elsewhere throughout the work, "the disciple whom Jesus loved," who is the author, is spoken of in the third person, and also in verse 24: "This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things" (καὶ γράψας ταῦτα). This, according to Ewald, is the same secretary, now writing in his own person. The similarity between this declaration and the appeal to the testimony of another person, in xix. 35, is certainly complete, and there can be no doubt that both proceed from the same pen; but beyond the assertion of Ewald there is not the slightest evidence that a secretary wrote the Gospel from the dictation of another, and ventured to interrupt the narrative by such a reference to testimony, which, upon the supposition that the Apostle John was known as the actual author, is singularly out of place. If John wrote the Gospel, why should he appeal in utterly vague terms to his own testimony, and upon such a point, when the mere fact that he himself wrote the statement was the most direct testimony in itself? An author who composed a work which he desired to ascribe to a "disciple whom Jesus loved" might have made such a reference as xix. 35, in his anxiety to support this affirmation, without supposing

[1] *Jahrb. bibl. Wiss.*, x., 1859–60, p. 87 f.

[2] We do not go into any discussion on the use of the word ἐκεῖνος. We believe that the reference is distinctly to another; but even if taken to be to himself in the third person, the passage is not less extraordinary, and the argument holds.

that he had really compromised his design, and might have naturally added such a statement as that in the last two verses; but nothing but the foregone conclusion that the Apostle John was the real author could have suggested such an explanation of these passages. It is throughout assumed by Ewald and others that John wrote in the first instance, at least, specially for a narrow circle of friends, and the proof of this is considered to be the statement of the object with which it was written: "that ye may believe,"[1] etc.—a phrase, we may remark, which is identical with that of the very verse (xix. 35) with which the secretary is supposed to have had so much to do. It is very remarkable, upon this hypothesis, that in xix. 35 it is considered necessary even for this narrow circle, who knew the Apostle so well, to make such an appeal, as well as to attach at its close (xxi. 24), for the benefit of the world in general as Ewald will have it, a certificate of the trustworthiness of the Gospel.

Upon no hypothesis which supposes the Apostle John the author of the fourth Gospel is such an explanation credible. That the Apostle himself could have written of himself the words in xix. 35 is impossible. After having stated so much that is more surprising and contradictory to all experience without reference to any witness, it would indeed have been strange had he here appealed to himself as to a separate individual; and, on the other hand, it is quite inadmissible to assume that a friend to whom he is dictating should interrupt the narrative to introduce a passage so inappropriate to the work, and so unnecessary for any circle acquainted with the Apostolic author. If, as Ewald argues, the peculiarities of his style of composition were so well known that it was unnecessary for the writer more clearly to designate himself either for the first readers or for the Christian world, the passages we are discussing are all the more inappropriate. That any guarantee of the truth of the Gospel should have been thought desirable for readers who knew the work to be composed by the Apostle John, and who believed him to be "the disciple whom Jesus loved," is inconceivable, and that any anonymous and quite indirect testimony to its genuineness should either have been considered necessary or of any value is still more incredible. It is impossible that nameless Presbyters of Ephesus could venture to accredit a Gospel written by the Apostle John; and any intended attestation must have taken the simple and direct course of stating that the work had been composed by the Apostle. The peculiarities we are discussing seem to us explicable only upon the supposition that the unknown writer of the Gospel desired that it should be understood to be written by a certain

[1] John xx. 31.

disciple whom Jesus loved, but did not choose distinctly to name him or directly to make such an affirmation.

It is, we assert, impossible that an Apostle who composed a history of the life and teaching of Jesus could have failed to attach his name, naturally and simply, as testimony of the trustworthiness of his statements, and of his fitness as an eye-witness to compose such a record. As the writer of the fourth Gospel does not state his name, Ewald ascribes the omission to the "incomparable modesty and delicacy of feeling" of the Apostle John. We must further briefly examine the validity of this explanation. It is universally admitted, and by Ewald himself, that although the writer does not directly name himself, he very clearly indicates that he is "the other disciple" and "the disciple whom Jesus loved." We must affirm that such a mode of indicating himself is incomparably less modest than the simple statement of his name, and it is indeed a glorification of himself beyond anything in the Apocalypse. But not only is the explanation thus discredited, but, in comparing the details of the Gospel with those of the Synoptics, we find still more certainly how little modesty had to do with the suppression of his name. In the Synoptics a very marked precedence of the rest of the disciples is ascribed to the Apostle Peter; and the sons of Zebedee are represented in all of them as holding a subordinate place. This representation is confirmed by the Pauline Epistles and by tradition. In the fourth Gospel a very different account is given, and the author studiously elevates the Apostle John—that is to say, according to the theory that he is the writer of the Gospel, himself—in every way above the Apostle Peter. Apart from the general pre-eminence claimed for himself in the very name of "the disciple whom Jesus loved," we have seen that he deprives Peter in his own favour of the honour of being the first of the disciples who was called; he suppresses the account of the circumstances under which that Apostle was named Peter, and gives another and trifling version of the incident, reporting elsewhere indeed in a very subdued and modified form, and without the commendation of the Master, the recognition of the divinity of Jesus, which, in the first Gospel, is the cause of his change of name.[1] He is the intimate friend of the Master, and even Peter has to beg him to ask at the Supper who was the betrayer. He describes himself as the friend of the High Priest, and while Peter is excluded, he not only is able to enter into his palace, but he is the means of introducing Peter. The denial of Peter is given without mitigation, but his bitter repentance is not mentioned. He it is who is singled out by the dying Jesus and entrusted with the charge of his mother. He outruns

[1] Matt. xvi. 13–19; cf. Mark viii. 29, Luke ix. 20.

Peter in their race to the Sepulchre, and in the final appearance of Jesus (xxi. 15) the more important position is assigned to the disciple whom Jesus loved. It is, therefore, absurd to speak of the incomparable modesty of the writer, who, if he does not give his name, not only clearly indicates himself, but throughout assumes a pre-eminence which is not supported by the authority of the Synoptics and other writings, but is heard of alone from his own narrative.

Ewald argues that chap. xxi. must have been written, and the Gospel as we have it, therefore, have been completed, before the death of the Apostle John. He considers the supplement to have been added specially to contradict the report regarding John (xxi. 23). "The supplement must have been written whilst John still lived," he asserts, "for only before his death was it worth while to contradict such a false hope: and if his death had actually taken place, the result itself would have already refuted so erroneous an interpretation of the words of Christ, and it would then have been much more appropriate to explain afresh the sense of the words, 'till I come.' Moreover, there is no reference here to the death as having already occurred, although a small addition to that effect in verse 24 would have been so easy. But if we were to suppose that John had long been dead when this was written, the whole rectification as it is given would be utterly without sense."[1] On the contrary, we affirm that the whole history of the first two centuries renders it certain that the Apostle was already dead, and that the explanation was not a rectification of false hopes during his lifetime, but an explanation of the failure of expectations which had already taken place, and probably excited some scandal. We know how the early Church looked for the immediate coming of the glorified Christ, and how such hopes sustained persecuted Christians in their sorrow and suffering. This is very clearly expressed in 1 Thess. iv. 15–18, where the expectation of the second coming within the lifetime of the writer and readers of the Epistle is confidently stated, and elsewhere, and even in 1 John ii. 18, the belief that the "last times" had arrived is expressed. The history of the Apocalypse in relation to the Canon illustrates the case. So long as the belief in the early consummation of all things continued strong, the Apocalypse was the favourite writing of the early Church; but when time went on, and the second coming of Christ did not take place, the opinion of Christendom regarding the work changed, and disappointment, as well as the desire to explain the non-fulfilment of prophecies upon which so much hope had been based, led many to reject the Apocalypse as an unintelligible and fallacious book. We venture to conjecture

[1] *Jahrb. bibl. Wiss.*, iii., 1850–51, p. 173.

that the tradition that John should not die until the second coming of Jesus may have originated with the Apocalypse, where that event is announced to John as immediately to take place, xxii. 7, 10, 12, and the words with which the book ends are of this nature, and express the expectation of the writer, 20: "He which testifieth these things saith: Surely I come quickly. Amen. Come, Lord Jesus." It was not in the spirit of the age to hesitate about such anticipations, and so long as the Apostle lived such a tradition would scarcely have required or received contradiction from anyone, the belief being universal that the coming of Jesus might take place any day, and assuredly would not be long delayed. When the Apostle was dead, however, and the tradition that it had been foretold that he should live until the coming of the Lord exercised men's minds, and doubt and disappointment at the non-fulfilment of what may have been regarded as prophecy produced a prejudicial effect upon Christendom, it seemed to the writer of this Gospel a desirable thing to point out that too much stress had been laid upon the tradition, and that the words which had been relied upon in the first instance did not justify the expectations which had been formed from them. This also contradicts the hypothesis that the Apostle John was the author of the Gospel.

Such a passage as xix. 35, received in any natural sense, or interpreted in any way which can be supported by evidence, shows that the writer of the Gospel was not an eye-witness of the events recorded, but appeals to the testimony of others. It is generally admitted that the expressions in ch. i. 14 are of universal application, and capable of being adopted by all Christians, and, consequently, that they do not imply any direct claim on the part of the writer to personal knowledge of Jesus. We must now examine whether the Gospel itself bears special marks of having been written by an eye-witness, and how far in this respect it bears out the assertion that it was written by the Apostle John. It is constantly asserted that the minuteness of the details in the fourth Gospel indicates that it must have been written by one who was present at the scenes he records. With regard to this point we need only generally remark that in the works of imagination of which the world is full, and the singular realism of many of which is recognised by all, we have the most minute and natural details of scenes which never occurred, and of conversations which never took place, the actors in which never actually existed. Ewald admits that it is undeniable that the fourth Gospel was written with a fixed purpose, and with artistic design; and, indeed, he goes further, and recognises that the Apostle could not possibly so long have recollected the discourses of Jesus and verbally reproduced them, so that, in fact, we have only, at best, a substantial

report of the matter of those discourses coloured by the mind of the author himself.[1] Details of scenes at which we were not present may be admirably supplied by imagination, and, as we cannot compare what is here described as taking place with what actually took place, the argument that the author must have been an eye-witness because he gives such details is without validity. Moreover, the details of the fourth Gospel in many cases do not agree with those of the three Synoptics, and it is an undoubted fact that the author of the fourth Gospel gives the details of scenes at which the Apostle John was not present, and reports the discourses and conversations on such occasions with the very same minuteness as those at which he is said to have been present; as, for instance, the interview between Jesus and the woman of Samaria. It is undeniable that the writer had other Gospels before him when he composed his work, and that he made use of other materials than his own.

It is by no means difficult, however, to point out very clear indications that the author was not an eye-witness, but constructed his scenes and discourses artistically and for effect. We shall not, at present, dwell upon the almost uniform artifice adopted in most of the dialogues, in which the listeners either misunderstand altogether the words of Jesus, or interpret them in a foolish and material way, and thus afford him an opportunity of enlarging upon the theme. For instance, Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews, misunderstands the expression of Jesus, that in order to see the kingdom of God a man must be born from above, and asks: "How can a man be born when he is old? can he enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born?"[2] Now, as it is well known, and as we have already shown, the common expression used in regard to a proselyte to Judaism was that of being born again, with which every Jew, and more especially every "ruler of the Jews," must have been well acquainted. The stupidity which he displays in his conversation with Jesus, and with which the author endowed all who came in contact with him, in order by the contrast to mark more strongly the superiority of the Master, even draws from Jesus the remark, "Art thou the teacher of Israel, and understandest not these things?"[3] There can be no doubt that the scene was ideal, and it is scarcely possible that a Jew could have written it. In the Synoptics, Jesus is reported as quoting against the people of his own city, Nazareth, who rejected him, the proverb, "A prophet has no honour in his own country."[4] The appropriateness of the remark here is obvious. The author of the fourth Gospel, however, shows clearly that he was neither

[1] *Jahrb. bibl. Wiss.*, x., p. 91 f. [2] *Ib.*, iii. 4. [3] *Ib.*, iii. 10.
[4] Matt. xiii. 57; Mark vi. 4; Luke iv. 24.

an eye-witness nor acquainted with the subject or country when he introduces this proverb in a different place. Jesus is represented as staying two days at Sychar after his conversation with the Samaritan woman. "Now after the two days he departed thence into Galilee. For (γάρ) Jesus himself testified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country. When, therefore (οὖν), he came into Galilee, the Galilæans received him, having seen all the things that he did in Jerusalem at the feast—for they also went unto the feast."[1] It is manifest that the quotation here is quite out of place, and none of the ingenious but untenable explanations of apologists can make it appropriate. He is made to go into Galilee, which was his country, because a prophet has no honour in his country, and the Galilæans are represented as receiving him, which is a contradiction of the proverb. The writer evidently misunderstood the facts of the case or deliberately desired to deny the connection of Jesus with Nazareth and Galilee, in accordance with his evident intention of associating the Logos only with the Holy City. We must not pause to show that the author is generally unjust to the Galilæans, and displays an ignorance regarding them very unlike what we should expect from the fisherman of Galilee.[2] We have already alluded to the artificial character of the conversation with the woman of Samaria, which, although given with so much detail, occurred at a place totally unknown (perhaps allegorically called the "City of Lies"), at which the Apostle John was not present, and the substance of which was typical of Samaria and its five nations and false gods. The continuation in the Gospel is as unreal as the conversation.

Another instance displaying personal ignorance is the insertion into a discourse at the Last Supper, and without any appropriate connection with the context, the passage: "Verily, verily, I say unto you: he that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me."[3] In the Synoptics this sentence is naturally represented as part of the address to the disciples who are to be sent forth to preach the Gospel;[4] but it is clear that its insertion here is a mistake.[5] Again, a very obvious slip, which betrays that what was intended for realistic detail is nothing but a reminiscence of some earlier

[1] John iv. 43–45.

[2] We may merely refer to the remark of the Pharisees: Search the Scriptures and see, "for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet" (vii. 52). The Pharisees could not have been ignorant of the fact that the prophets Jonah and Nahum were Galilæans, and the son of Zebedee could not have committed such an error (cf. Bretschneider, *Probabilia*, p. 99 f.).

[3] John xiii. 20. [4] Matt. x. 40; cf. xviii. 5; Luke x. 16, cf. ix. 48.

[5] This is recognised by de Wette (*Einl. N. T.*, p. 211 c).

Gospel misapplied, occurs in a later part of the discourses very inappropriately introduced as being delivered on the same occasion. At the end of xiv. 31 Jesus is represented, after saying that he would no more talk much with the disciples, as suddenly breaking off with the words: "Arise, let us go hence" (Ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν). They do not, however, arise and go thence, but, on the contrary, Jesus at once commences another long discourse: "I am the true vine," etc. The expression is merely introduced artistically to close one discourse, and enable the writer to begin another; and the idea is taken from some earlier work. For instance, in our first Synoptic, at the close of the Agony in the Garden, which the fourth Gospel ignores altogether, Jesus says to the awakened disciples: "Rise, let us go" (Ἐγείρεσθε ἄγωμεν).[1] We need not go on with these illustrations, but the fact that the author is not an eye-witness recording scenes which he beheld and discourses which he heard, but a writer composing an ideal Gospel on a fixed plan, will become more palpable as we proceed.

It is not necessary to enter upon any argument to prove the fundamental difference which exists in every respect between the Synoptics and the fourth Gospel. This is admitted even by Apologists, whose efforts to reconcile the discordant elements are totally unsuccessful. "It is impossible to pass from the synoptic Gospels to that of St. John," says Dr. Westcott, "without feeling that the transition involves the passage from one world of thought to another. No familiarity with the general teaching of the Gospels, no wide conception of the character of the Saviour, is sufficient to destroy the contrast which exists in form and spirit between the earlier and later narratives."[2] The difference between the fourth Gospel and the Synoptics, not only as regards the teaching of Jesus but also the facts of the narrative, is so great that it is impossible to harmonise them, and no one who seriously considers the matter can fail to see that both cannot be accepted as correct. If we believe that the Synoptics give a truthful representation of the life and teaching of Jesus, it follows of necessity that, in whatever category we may decide to place the fourth Gospel, it must be rejected as a historical work. The theories which are most in favour as regards it may place the Gospel in a high position as an ideal composition, but sober criticism must infallibly pronounce that they exclude it altogether from the province of history. There is no option but to accept it as the only genuine report of the sayings and doings of Jesus,

[1] Matt. xxvi. 46; Mark xiv. 42. De Wette likewise admits this mistaken reminiscence (*Einl. N. T.*, p. 211 c).

[2] *Introd. to Study of the Gospels*, p. 249.

rejecting the Synoptics, or to remove it at once to another department of literature. The Synoptics certainly contradict each other in many minor details, but they are not in fundamental disagreement with each other, and evidently present the same portrait of Jesus and the same view of his teaching derived from the same sources.

The vast difference which exists between the representation of Jesus in the fourth Gospel and in the Synoptics is too well recognised to require minute demonstration. We must, however, point out some of the distinctive features. We need not do more here than refer to the fact that, whilst the Synoptics relate the circumstances of the birth of Jesus (two of them at least), and give some history of his family and origin, the fourth Gospel, ignoring all this, introduces the great Teacher at once as the Logos who from the beginning was with God and was himself God. The keynote is struck from the first, and in the philosophical prelude to the Gospel we have the announcement to those who have ears to hear, that here we need expect no simple history, but an artistic demonstration of the philosophical postulate. According to the Synoptics, Jesus is baptised by John, and as he goes out of the water the Holy Ghost descends upon him like a dove. The fourth Gospel says nothing of the baptism, and makes John the Baptist narrate vaguely that he saw the Holy Ghost descend like a dove and rest upon Jesus, as a sign previously indicated to him by God by which to recognise the Lamb of God.[1] From the very first, John the Baptist, in the fourth Gospel, recognises and declares Jesus to be "the Christ,"[2] "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world."[3] According to the Synoptics, John comes preaching the baptism of repentance, and so far is he from making such declarations, or forming such distinct opinions concerning Jesus, that even after he has been cast into prison and just before his death—when, in fact, his preaching was at an end—he is represented as sending disciples to Jesus, on hearing in prison of his works, to ask him: "Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?"[4] Jesus carries on his ministry and baptises simultaneously with John, according to the fourth Gospel; but his public career, according to the Synoptics, does not begin until after the Baptist's has concluded, and John is cast into prison.[5] The Synoptics clearly represent the ministry of Jesus as having been limited to a single year,[6] and his preaching

[1] John i. 32–33. [2] *Ib.*, i. 15–27. [3] *Ib.*, i. 29.
[4] Matt. xi. 2 f.; cf. Luke vii. 18 f.
[5] John iii. 22; Matt. iv. 12, 17; Mark i. 14; Luke iii. 20, 23; iv. 1 f.
[6] Apologists discover indications of a three years' ministry in Matt. xiii. 37, Luke xiii. 34: "How often," etc.; and also in Luke xiii. 32 f., "to-day, to-morrow, and the third day."

Without dwelling upon such details of miracles, however, we proceed with our slight comparison. Whilst the fourth Gospel from the very commencement asserts the foreknowledge of Jesus as to who should betray him, and makes him inform the Twelve that one of them is a devil, alluding to Judas Iscariot,[1] the Synoptists represent Jesus as having so little foreknowledge that Judas should betray him that, shortly before the end, and indeed, according to the third Gospel, only at the last supper, Jesus promises that the disciples shall sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel,[2] and it is only at the last supper, after Judas has actually arranged with the chief priests, and apparently from knowledge of the fact, that Jesus, for the first time, speaks of his betrayal by him.[3] On his way to Jerusalem, two days before the Passover,[4] Jesus comes to Bethany, where, according to the Synoptics, being in the house of Simon the leper, a woman with an alabaster box of very precious ointment came and poured the ointment upon his head, much to the indignation of the disciples, who say: "To what purpose is this waste? For this might have been sold for much, and given to the poor."[5] In the fourth Gospel the episode takes place six days before the Passover,[6] in the house of Lazarus, and it is his sister Mary who takes a pound of very costly ointment, but she anoints the feet of Jesus and wipes them with her hair. It is Judas Iscariot, and not the disciples, who says: "Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor?" And Jesus makes a similar reply to that in the Synoptics, showing the identity of the occurrence described so differently.[7]

The Synoptics represent most clearly that Jesus on the evening of the 14th Nisan, after the custom of the Jews, ate the Passover with his disciples,[8] and that he was arrested in the first hours of the 15th Nisan, the day on which he was put to death. Nothing can be more distinct than the statement that the last supper was the Paschal feast. "They made ready the Passover (ἡτοίμασαν τὸ πάσχα), and, when the hour was come, he sat down and the Apostles with him, and he said to them: With desire I desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer" (Ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με

[1] John vi. 64, 70, 71; cf. ii. 25.

[2] Matt. xix. 28; cf. xvii. 22 f.; cf. Mark ix. 30 f., x. 32 f.; Luke xxii. 30; cf. ix. 22 f., 44 f.; xviii. 31 f.

[3] Matt. xxvi. 21 f., cf. 14 f.; Mark xiv. 18 f., cf. 10 f.; Luke xxii. 21 f., cf. 3 f.

[4] Mark xiv. 1.

[5] Matt. xxvi. 6–13; Mark xiv. 3–9.

[6] John xii. 1.

[7] *Ib.*, xii. 1 f.; cf. xi. 2.

[8] Matt. xxvi. 17 f., 19, 36 f., 47 f.; Mark xiv. 12 f., 16 f.; Luke xxii. 7 f., 13 f.

παθεῖν).[1] The fourth Gospel, however, in accordance with the principle which is dominant throughout, represents the last repast which Jesus eats with his disciples as a common supper (δεῖπνον), which takes place not on the 14th, but on the 13th Nisan, the day "before the feast of the Passover" (πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα),[2] and his death takes place on the 14th, the day on which the Paschal lamb was slain. Jesus is delivered by Pilate to the Jews to be crucified about the sixth hour of "the preparation of the Passover" (ἦν παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα),[3] and because it was "the preparation," the legs of the two men crucified with Jesus were broken that the bodies might not remain on the cross on the great day of the feast.[4] The fourth Gospel totally ignores the institution of the Christian festival at the last supper, but, instead, represents Jesus as washing the feet of the disciples, enjoining them also to wash each other's feet: "For I gave you an example that ye should do according as I did to you."[5] The Synoptics have no knowledge of this incident. Immediately after the warning to Peter of his future denial, Jesus goes out with the disciples to the Garden of Gethsemane, and, taking Peter and the two sons of Zebedee apart, began to be sorrowful and very depressed, and, as he prayed in his agony that if possible the cup might pass from him, an angel comforts him. Instead of this, the fourth Gospel represents Jesus as delivering, after the warning to Peter, the longest discourses in the Gospel: "Let not your heart be troubled," etc.; "I am the true vine,"[6] etc.; and although said to be written by one of the sons of Zebedee who were with Jesus on the occasion, the fourth Gospel does not mention the agony in the garden, but, on the contrary, makes Jesus utter the long prayer xvii. 1–26, in a calm and even exulting spirit very far removed from the sorrow and depression of the more natural scene in Gethsemane. The prayer, like the rest of the prayers in the Gospel, is a mere didactic and dogmatic address for the benefit of the hearers.

The arrest of Jesus presents a similar contrast. In the Synoptics, Judas comes with a multitude from the chief priests and elders of the people armed with swords and staves, and, indicating his Master by a kiss, Jesus is simply arrested, and, after the slight resistance of one of the disciples, is led away.[7] In the fourth Gospel the case is very different. Judas comes with a band of men from the chief priests and Pharisees, with lanterns and torches and weapons, and Jesus—"knowing all things which were coming

[1] Luke xxii. 13, 15; cf. Matt. xxvi. 19 f.; Mark xiv. 16 f.
[2] John xiii. 1.
[3] *Ib.*, xix. 14.
[4] *Ib.*, xix. 31 f.
[5] *Ib.*, xiii. 12, 15.
[6] *Ib.*, xiv. 1–31; xv. 1–27; xvi. 1–33; xvii. 1–26.
[7] Matt. xxvi. 47 f.; Mark xiv. 43 f.; Luke xxii. 47 f.

to pass"—himself goes towards them and asks: "Whom seek ye?" Judas plays no active part, and no kiss is given. The fourth Evangelist is, as ever, bent on showing that all which happens to the Logos is predetermined by himself and voluntarily encountered. As soon as Jesus replies, "I am he," the whole band of soldiers go backwards and fall to the ground—an incident thoroughly in the spirit of the early apocryphal Gospels still extant, and of an evidently legendary character. He is then led away first to Annas, who sends him to Caiaphas, whilst the Synoptics naturally know nothing of Annas, who was not the high priest and had no authority. We need not follow the trial, which is fundamentally different in the Synoptics and fourth Gospel; and we have already pointed out that, in the Synoptics, Jesus is crucified on the 15th Nisan, whereas in the fourth Gospel he is put to death—the spiritual Paschal lamb—on the 14th Nisan. According to the fourth Gospel, Jesus bears his own cross to Calvary,[1] but the Synoptics represent it as being borne by Simon of Cyrene.[2] As a very singular illustration of the inaccuracy of all the Gospels, we may point to the circumstance that no two of them agree even about so simple a matter of fact as the inscription on the cross, assuming that there was one at all. They give it respectively as follows: "This is Jesus the King of the Jews"; "The King of the Jews"; "This (is) the King of the Jews"; and the fourth Gospel: "Jesus the Nazarene the King of the Jews."[3] The occurrences during the Crucifixion are profoundly different in the fourth Gospel from those narrated in the Synoptics. In the latter, only the women are represented as beholding afar off,[4] but "the beloved disciple" is added in the fourth Gospel, and, instead of being far off, they are close to the cross; and for the last cries of Jesus reported in the Synoptics we have the episode in which Jesus confides his mother to the disciple's care. We need not at present compare the other details of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, which are differently reported by each of the Gospels.

We have only indicated a few of the more salient differences between the fourth Gospel and the Synoptics, which are rendered much more striking, in the Gospels themselves, by the profound dissimilarity of the sentiments uttered by Jesus. We merely point out, in passing, the omission of important episodes from the fourth Gospel, such as the Temptation in the wilderness; the Trans-

[1] John xix. 17. [2] Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 21; Luke xxii. 26.

[3] Οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Matt xxvii. 37; Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Mark xv. 26; Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος. Luke xxiii. 38; Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. John xix. 19.

[4] Matt. xxvii. 55 f.; Mark xv. 40 f.; Luke xxiii. 49. In this last place all his acquaintance are added.

figuration, at which, according to the Synoptics, the sons of Zebedee were present; the last Supper; the agony in the garden; the mournful cries on the cross; and, we may add, the Ascension; and if we turn to the miracles of Jesus, we find that almost all of those narrated by the Synoptics are ignored, whilst an almost entirely new series is introduced. There is not a single instance of the cure of demoniacal possession in any form recorded in the fourth Gospel. Indeed, the number of miracles is reduced in that Gospel to a few typical cases; and although at the close it is generally said that Jesus did many other signs in the presence of his disciples, these alone are written with the declared purpose: "that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God."[1]

We may briefly refer in detail to one miracle of the fourth Gospel—the raising of Lazarus. The extraordinary fact that the Synoptists are utterly ignorant of this the greatest of the miracles attributed to Jesus has been too frequently discussed to require much comment here. It will be remembered that, as the case of the daughter of Jairus is, by the express declaration of Jesus, one of mere suspension of consciousness,[2] the only instance in which a dead person is distinctly said, in any of the Synoptics, to have been restored to life by Jesus is that of the son of the widow of Nain.[3] It is, therefore, quite impossible to suppose that the Synoptists could have known of the raising of Lazarus and wilfully omitted it. It is equally impossible to believe that the authors of the synoptic Gospels, from whatever sources they may have drawn their materials, could have been ignorant of such a miracle had it really taken place. This astounding miracle, according to the fourth Gospel, created such general excitement that it was one of the leading events which led to the arrest and crucifixion of Jesus.[4] If, therefore, the Synoptics had any connection with the writers to whom they are referred, the raising of Lazarus must have been personally known to their reputed authors either directly or through the Apostles who are supposed to have inspired them, or even if they have any claim to contemporary origin the tradition of the greatest miracle of Jesus must have been fresh throughout the Church, if such a wonder had ever been performed. The total ignorance of such a miracle displayed by the whole of the works of the New Testament, therefore, forms the strongest presumptive evidence that the narrative in the fourth Gospel is a mere imaginary scene, illustrative of the dogma, "I am the resurrection and the life," upon which it is based. This conclusion is confirmed by the peculiarities of the narrative itself. When Jesus

[1] John xx. 30 f.
[2] Matt. ix. 24; Mark v. 39; Luke viii. 52.
[3] Luke vii. 11 f.
[4] John xi. 45 f., 53; xii. 9 f., 17 f.

first hears, from the message of the sisters, that Lazarus whom he loved was sick, he declares, xi. 4: "This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God, that the Son of God may be glorified thereby"; and v. 6: "When, therefore (οὖν), he heard that he was sick, at that time he continued two days in the place where he was." After that interval he proposes to go into Judæa, and explains to the disciples, v. 11: "Our friend Lazarus is fallen asleep; but I go that I may awake him out of sleep." The disciples reply, with the stupidity with which the fourth Evangelist endows all those who hold colloquy with Jesus, v. 12: "Lord, if he is fallen asleep, he will recover. Howbeit, Jesus spake of his death; but they thought that he was speaking of the taking of rest in sleep. Then said Jesus unto them plainly: Lazarus is dead, and I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, to the intent that ye may believe." The artificial nature of all this introductory matter will not have escaped the reader, and it is further illustrated by that which follows. Arrived at Bethany, they find that Lazarus has lain in the grave already four days. Martha says to Jesus (v. 21 f.): "Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. And I know that even now whatsoever thou shalt ask of God, God will give thee. Jesus saith unto her: Thy brother shall rise again." Martha, of course, as usual, misunderstands this saying as applying to "the resurrection at the last day," in order to introduce the reply: "I am the resurrection and the life," etc. When they come to the house, and Jesus sees Mary and the Jews weeping, "he groaned in spirit and troubled himself," and on reaching the grave itself (v. 35 f.), "Jesus wept: Then said the Jews: Behold how he loved him!" Now this representation, which has ever since been the admiration of Christendom, presents the very strongest marks of unreality. Jesus, who loves Lazarus so much, disregards the urgent message of the sisters, and, whilst openly declaring that his sickness is not unto death, intentionally lingers until his friend dies. When he does go to Bethany, and is on the very point of restoring Lazarus to life and dissipating the grief of his family and friends, he actually weeps and groans in his spirit. There is so total an absence of reason for such grief at such a moment that these tears, to any sober reader, are unmistakably mere theatrical adjuncts of a scene elaborated out of the imagination of the writer. The suggestion of the bystanders (v. 37), that he might have prevented the death, is not more probable than the continuation (v. 38): "Jesus, therefore, again groaning in himself, cometh to the grave." There, having ordered the stone to be removed, he delivers a prayer avowedly intended merely for the bystanders (v. 41 f.): "And Jesus lifted up his eyes and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me, and I knew that thou hearest me always: but for the sake of the

multitude which stand around I said this, that they may believe that thou hast sent me." This prayer is as evidently artificial as the rest of the details of the miracle; but, as in other elaborately arranged scenic representations, the charm is altogether dispelled when closer examination shows the character of the dramatic elements. A careful consideration of the narrative and of all the facts of the case must, we think, lead to the conclusion that this miracle is not even a historical tradition of the life of Jesus, but is wholly an ideal composition by the author of the fourth Gospel. This being the case, the other miracles of the Gospel need not detain us.

If the historical part of the fourth Gospel be in irreconcilable contradiction to the Synoptics, the didactic is infinitely more so. The teaching of the one is totally different from that of the others in spirit, form, and terminology; and, although there are undoubtedly fine sayings throughout the work, in the prolix discourses of the fourth Gospel there is not a single characteristic of the simple eloquence of the Sermon on the Mount. In the diffuse mysticism of the Logos we can scarcely recognise a trace of the terse practical wisdom of Jesus of Nazareth. It must be apparent even to the most superficial observer that, in the fourth Gospel, we are introduced to a perfectly new system of instruction, and to an order of ideas of which there is not a vestige in the Synoptics. Instead of short and concise lessons, full of striking truth and point, we find nothing but long and involved dogmatic discourses of little practical utility. The limpid spontaneity of that earlier teaching, with its fresh illustrations and profound sentences, uttered without effort and untinged by art, is exchanged for diffuse addresses and artificial dialogues, in which labour and design are everywhere apparent. From pure and living morality, couched in brief, incisive sayings which enter the heart and dwell upon the ear, we turn to elaborate philosophical orations without clearness or order, and to doctrinal announcements unknown to the Synoptics. To the inquiry, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" Jesus replies, in the Synoptics, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself.....this do, and thou shalt live."[1] In the fourth Gospel, to the question, "What must we do that we may work the works of God?" Jesus answers, "This is the work of God, that ye should believe in him whom he sent."[2] The teaching of Jesus in the Synoptics is almost wholly moral, and in the fourth Gospel it is almost wholly dogmatic. If Christianity consist of the doctrines preached in the fourth Gospel, it is not too much to say that the Synoptics do not

[1] Luke x. 25–28; cf. Mark xix. 16 f.; xxii. 36–40. [2] John vi. 28, 29.

teach Christianity at all. The extraordinary phenomenon is presented of three Gospels, each professing to be complete in itself, and to convey the good tidings of salvation to man, which have actually omitted the doctrines which are the condition of that salvation. The fourth Gospel practically expounds a new religion. It is undeniable that morality and precepts of love and charity for the conduct of life are the staple of the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptics, and that dogma occupies so small a place that it is regarded as a subordinate and secondary consideration. In the fourth Gospel, however, dogma is the one thing needful, and forms the whole substance of the preaching of the Logos. The burden of his teaching is, "He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life, but he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him."[1] It is scarcely possible to put the contrast between the Synoptics and the fourth Gospel in too strong a light. If we possessed the Synoptics without the fourth Gospel, we should have the exposition of pure morality based on perfect love to God and man. If we had the fourth Gospel without the Synoptics, we should have little more than a system of dogmatic theology without morality. Not only is the doctrine and the terminology of the Jesus of the fourth Gospel quite different from that of the Jesus of the Synoptics, but so is the teaching of John the Baptist. In the Synoptics he comes preaching the Baptism of repentance,[2] and, like the Master, inculcating principles of morality;[3] but in the fourth Gospel he has adopted the peculiar views of the author, proclaims "the lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world,"[4] and bears witness that he is "the Son of God."[5] We hear of the Paraclete for the first time in the fourth Gospel.

It is so impossible to ignore the distinct individuality of the Jesus of the fourth Gospel, and of his teaching, that even Apologists are obliged to admit that the peculiarities of the author have coloured the portrait, and introduced an element of subjectivity into the discourses. It was impossible, they confess, that the Apostle could remember verbally such long orations for half a century, and at best that they can only be accepted as substantially correct reports of the teaching of Jesus. "Above all," says Ewald, "the discourses of Christ and of others in this Gospel are clothed as by an entirely new colour: on this account also scepticism has desired to conclude that the Apostle cannot have composed the Gospel; and yet no conclusion is more unfounded. When the Apostle at so late a period determined to compose the work, it was certainly impossible for him to reproduce all the

[1] John iii. 36.
[2] Matt. iii. 1 f.; Mark i. 4 f.; Luke iii. 2 f.
[3] Luke iii. 8, 10 f.
[4] John i. 29, 36.
[5] *Ib.*, i. 34.

words exactly as they were spoken, if he did not perhaps desire not merely to recall a few memorable sentences, but, in longer discussions of more weighty subjects, to charm back all the animation with which they were once given. So he availed himself of that freedom in their revivification which is quite intelligible in itself, and sufficiently warranted by the precedent of so many great examples of antiquity; and where the discourses extend to greater length, there entered involuntarily into the structure much of that fundamental conception and language regarding the manifestation of Christ which had long become deeply rooted in the Apostle's soul. But as certainly as these discourses bear upon them the colouring of the Apostle's mind, so certainly do they agree in their substantial contents with his best recollections—because the Spruchsammlung proves that the discourses of Christ in certain moments really could rise to the full elevation, which in John surprises us throughout more than in Matthew. To deny the apostolical authorship of the Gospel for such reasons, therefore, were pure folly, and in the highest degree unjust. Moreover, the circumstance that, in the drawing up of such discourses, we sometimes see him reproduce or further develop sayings which had already been recorded in the older Gospels, can prove nothing against the apostolical origin of the Gospel, as he was indeed at perfect liberty, if he pleased, to make use of the contents of such older writings when he considered it desirable, and when they came to the help of his own memory of those long passed days: for he certainly retained many or all of such expressions also in his own memory."[1] Elsewhere, he describes the work as "glorified Gospel history," composed out of "glorified recollection."[2]

Another strenuous defender of the authenticity of the fourth Gospel wrote of it as follows: "Nevertheless, everything is reconcilable," says Gfrörer, "if one accept the testimony of the elders as true. For as John must have written the Gospel as an old man, that is to say not before the year 90–95 of our era, there is an interval of more than half a century between the time when the events which he relates really happened and the time of the composition of his book—space enough certainly to make a few mistakes conceivable, even pre-supposing a good memory and unshaken love of truth. Let us imagine, for instance, that to-day (in 1841) an old man of eighty to ninety years of age should write down from mere memory the occurrences of the American War (of Independence), in which he himself in his early youth played

[1] *Jahrb. bibl. Wiss.*, x., p. 90 f.

[2] "*Verklärte evangelische Geschichte*"—"*verklärte erinnerung*" (*Jahrb. bibl. Wiss.*, iii., pp. 163, 166).

a part. Certainly in his narrative, even though it might otherwise be true, many traits would be found which would not agree with the original event. Moreover, another particular circumstance must be added in connection with the fourth Gospel. Two-thirds of it consist of discourses, which John places in the mouth of Jesus Christ. Now, every day's experience proves that oral impressions are much more fleeting than those of sight. The happiest memory scarcely retains long orations after three or four years; how, then, could John with verbal accuracy report the discourses of Jesus after fifty or sixty years! We must be content if he truly render the chief contents and spirit of them, and that he does this, as a rule, can be proved. It has been shown above that already, before Christ, a very peculiar philosophy of religion had been formed among the Egyptian Jews, which found its way into Palestine through the Essenes, and also numbered numerous adherents amongst the Jews of the adjacent countries of Syria and Asia Minor. The Apostle Paul professed this: not less the Evangelist John. Undoubtedly, the latter allowed this Theosophy to exercise a strong influence upon his representation of the life-history of Jesus,"[1] etc.

All such admissions, whilst they are absolutely requisite to explain the undeniable phenomena of the fourth Gospel, have one obvious consequence: The fourth Gospel, by whomsoever written—even if it could be traced to the Apostle John himself—has no real historical value, being at best the "glorified recollections" of an old man, written down half a century after the events recorded. The absolute difference between the teaching of this Gospel and of the Synoptics becomes perfectly intelligible when the long discourses are recognised to be the result of Alexandrian philosophy artistically interwoven with developed Pauline Christianity, and put into the mouth of Jesus. It will have been remarked that along with the admission of great subjectivity in the report of the discourses, and the plea that nothing beyond the mere substance of the original teaching can reasonably be looked for, there is, in the extracts we have given, an assertion that there actually is a faithful reproduction in this Gospel of the original substance. There is not a shadow of proof of this, but, on the contrary, the strongest reason for denying the fact; for, unless it be admitted that the Synoptics have so completely omitted the whole doctrinal part of the teaching of Jesus, have so carefully avoided the very peculiar terminology of the Logos Gospel, and have conveyed so unhistorical and erroneous an impression of the life and religious system of Jesus that, without the fourth Gospel, we should not actually have had

[1] Gfrörer, *Allg. K. G.*, 1841, i., p. 172 f.

an idea of his fundamental doctrines, we must inevitably recognise that the fourth Gospel cannot possibly be a true reproduction of his teaching. It is impossible that Jesus can have had two such diametrically opposed systems of teaching—one purely moral, the other wholly dogmatic ; one expressed in wonderfully terse, clear, brief sayings and parables ; the other in long, involved, and diffuse discourses ; one clothed in the great language of humanity, the other concealed in obscure philosophic terminology—and that these should have been kept so distinct as they are in the Synoptics on the one hand, and the fourth Gospel on the other. The tradition of Justin Martyr applies solely to the system of the Synoptics : "Brief and concise were the sentences uttered by him, for he was no Sophist, but his word was the power of God."[1]

We have already pointed out the evident traces of artificial construction in the discourses and dialogues of the fourth Gospel, and the more closely these are examined the more clear does it become that they are not genuine reports of the teaching of Jesus, but mere ideal compositions by the author of the fourth Gospel. The speeches of John the Baptist, the discourses of Jesus, and the reflections of the Evangelist himself,[2] are marked by the same peculiarity of style and proceed from the same mind. It is scarcely possible to determine where the one begins and the other ends.[3] It is quite clear, for instance, that the author himself without a break continues the words which he puts into the mouth of Jesus, in the colloquy with Nicodemus, but it is not easy to determine where. The whole dialogue is artificial in the extreme, and is certainly not genuine ; and this is apparent not only from the replies attributed to the "teacher of Israel," but to the irrelevant manner in which the reflections loosely ramble from the new birth to the dogmatic statements in the thirteenth and following verses, which are the never-failing resource of the Evangelist when other subjects are exhausted. The sentiments and almost the words attributed to Jesus, or added by the writer, to which we are now referring, iii. 12 f., we find again in the very same chapter, either put into the mouth of John the Baptist, or as reflections of the author, verses 31–36, for again we add that it is difficult anywhere to discriminate the speaker. Indeed, while the Synoptics are rich in the abundance of practical counsel and profound moral insight, as well as in variety of illustrative parables, it is remarkable how much sameness there is in all the discourses of the fourth Gospel, a very few ideas being constantly reproduced. Whilst the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptics is singularly universal and impersonal, in the fourth Gospel it is purely personal, and rarely passes beyond the declaration

[1] *Apol.*, i. 14. [2] John i. 1–18, etc. [3] Cf. *ib.*, i. 15 f.; iii. 27 f., 10–21.

of his own dignity, and the inculcation of belief in him as the only means of salvation. There are certainly some sayings of rare beauty which tradition or earlier records may have preserved, but these may easily be distinguished from the mass of the work. A very distinct trace of ideal composition is found in xvii. 3: "And this is eternal life, to know thee the only true God and him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ." Even Apologists admit that it is impossible that Jesus could speak of himself as "Jesus Christ." We need not, however, proceed further with such analysis. We believe that no one can calmly and impartially examine the fourth Gospel without being convinced of its artificial character. If some portions possess real charm, it is of a purely ideal kind, and their attraction consists chiefly in the presence of a certain vague but suggestive mysticism. The natural longing of humanity for any revelation regarding a future state has not been appealed to in vain. That the diffuse and often monotonous discourses of this Gospel should ever have been preferred to the grand simplicity of the teaching of the Synoptics, illustrated by such parables as the wise and foolish virgins, the sower, and the Prodigal Son, and culminating in the Sermon on the Mount, each sentence of which is so full of truth and beauty, is little to the credit of critical sense and judgment.

The elaborate explanations by which the phenomena of the fourth Gospel are reconciled with the assumption that it was composed by the Apostle John are in vain, and there is not a single item of evidence within the first century and a half which does not agree with internal testimony in opposing the supposition. To one point we must briefly refer in connection with this statement. It is asserted that the Gospel and Epistles—or at least the first Epistle—of the Canon ascribed to the Apostle John are by one author, although this is not without contradiction, and very many of those who agree as to the identity of authorship by no means admit the author to have been the Apostle John. It is argued, therefore, that the use of the Epistle by Polycarp and Papias is evidence of the apostolic origin of the Gospel. We have, however, seen that not only is it very uncertain that Polycarp made use of the Epistle at all, but that he does not in any case mention its author's name. There is not a particle of evidence that he ascribed the Epistle, even supposing he knew it, to the Apostle John. With regard to Papias, the only authority for the assertion that he knew the Epistle is the statement of Eusebius already quoted and discussed, that "He used testimonies out of John's first Epistle."[1] There is no evidence, even supposing the statement of Eusebius to be correct, that he

[1] *H. E.*, v. 8.

ascribed it to the Apostle. The earliest undoubted references to the Epistle, in fact, are by Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, so that this evidence is of little avail for the Gospel. There is no name attached to the first Epistle, and the second and third have the superscription of "the Presbyter," which, applying the argument of Ewald regarding the author of the Apocalypse, ought to be conclusive against their being written by an Apostle. As all three are evidently by the same writer, and intended to be understood as by the author of the Gospel, and that writer does not pretend to be an Apostle but calls himself a simple Presbyter, the Epistles likewise give presumptive evidence against the Apostolic authorship of the Gospel.

There is another important testimony against the Johannine origin of the fourth Gospel to which we must briefly refer. We have pointed out that, according to the fourth Gospel, Jesus did not eat the Paschal Supper with his disciples, but that, being arrested on the 13th Nisan, he was put to death on the 14th, the actual day upon which the Paschal lamb was sacrificed. The Synoptics, on the contrary, represent that Jesus ate the Passover with his disciples on the evening of the 14th, and was crucified on the 15th Nisan. The difference of opinion indicated by these contradictory accounts actually prevailed in various Churches, and in the second half of the second century a violent discussion arose as to the day upon which "The true Passover of the Lord" should be celebrated, the Church in Asia Minor maintaining that it should be observed on the 14th Nisan—the day on which, according to the Synoptics, Jesus himself celebrated the Passover and instituted the Christian festival; whilst the Roman Church as well as most other Christians—following the fourth Gospel, which represents Jesus as not celebrating the last Passover, but being himself slain upon the 14th Nisan, the true Paschal lamb—had abandoned the day of the Jewish feast altogether, and celebrated the Christian festival on Easter Sunday, upon which the Resurrection was supposed to have taken place. Polycarp, who went to Rome to represent the Churches of Asia Minor in the discussions upon the subject, could not be induced to give up the celebration on the 14th Nisan, the day which, according to tradition, had always been observed, and he appealed to the practice of the Apostle John himself in support of that date. Eusebius quotes from Irenæus the statement of the case: "For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe it (the 14th Nisan), because he had ever observed it with John the disciple of our Lord, and with the rest of the Apostles with whom he consorted."[1] Towards the end of

[1] *Οὔτε γάρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πεῖσαι ἐδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν, ἅτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων οἷς συνδιέτριψεν, ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα, κ.τ.λ.* Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, iii. 3, § 4; Eusebius, *H. E.*, v. 24.

the century Polycrates, the Bishop of Ephesus, likewise appeals to the practice of "John who reclined upon the bosom of the Lord," as well as of the Apostle Philip and his daughters, and of Polycarp and others, in support of the same day. "All these observed the 14th day of the Passover, according to the Gospel, deviating from it in no respect, but following according to the rule of the faith."[1] Now it is evident that, according to this undoubted testimony, the Apostle John, by his own practice, ratified the account of the Synoptics, and contradicted the data of the fourth Gospel; and upon the supposition that he so long lived in Asia Minor it is probable that his authority largely contributed to establish the observance of the 14th Nisan there. We must, therefore, either admit that the Apostle John by his practice reversed the statement of his own Gospel, or that he was not its author, which of course is the natural conclusion. Without going further into the discussion, which would detain us too long, it is clear that the Paschal controversy is opposed to the supposition that the Apostle John was the author of the fourth Gospel.

We have seen that, whilst there is not one particle of evidence during a century and a half after the events recorded in the fourth Gospel that it was composed by the son of Zebedee, there is, on the contrary, the strongest reason for believing that he did not write it. The first writer who quotes a passage of the Gospel with the mention of his name is Theophilus of Antioch, who gives the few words, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God," as spoken by "John," whom he considers amongst the divinely inspired (*οἱ πνευματοφόροι*),[2] though even he does not distinguish him as the Apostle. We have seen the legendary nature of the late traditions regarding the composition of the Gospel, of which a specimen was given in the defence of it in the Canon of Muratori, and we must not further quote them. The first writer who distinctly classes the four Gospels together is Irenæus; and the reasons which he gives for the existence of precisely that number in the Canon of the Church illustrate the thoroughly uncritical character of the Fathers, and the slight dependence which can be placed upon their judgment. "But neither can the Gospels be more in number than they are," says Irenæus, "nor, on the other hand, can they be fewer. For as there are four quarters of the world in which we are, and four general winds (*καθολικὰ πνεύματα*), and the Church is disseminated throughout all the world, and the Gospel is the pillar and

[1] *Οὗτοι πάντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, μηδὲν παρεκβαίνοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τῆς πίστεως ἀκολουθοῦντες.* Eusebius, *H. E.*, v. 24.

[2] *Ad Autolyc.*, ii., 22. Tischendorf dates this work about A.D. 180 (*Wann wurden, u. s. w.*, p. 16, anm. 1).

prop of the Church and the spirit of life, it is right that she should have four pillars on all sides breathing out immortality and revivifying men. From which it is manifest that the Word, the maker of all, he who sitteth upon the Cherubim and containeth all things, who was manifested to man, has given to us the Gospel four-formed but possessed by one spirit; as David also says, supplicating his advent: 'Thou that sittest between the Cherubim, shine forth.' For the Cherubim also are four-faced, and their faces are symbols of the working of the Son of God.....and the Gospels, therefore, are in harmony with these amongst which Christ is seated. For the Gospel according to John relates his first effectual and glorious generation from the Father, saying: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,' and 'all things were made by him, and without him nothing was made.' On this account also this Gospel is full of all trustworthiness, for such is his person.[1] But the Gospel according to Luke, being as it were of priestly character, opened with Zacharias the priest sacrificing to God..... But Matthew narrates his generation as a man, saying: 'The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham,' and 'the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise.' This Gospel, therefore, is anthropomorphic, and on this account a man, humble and mild in character, is presented throughout the Gospel. But Mark makes his commencement after a prophetic Spirit coming down from on high unto men, saying: 'The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet'; indicating the winged form of the Gospel; and for this reason he makes a compendious and precursory declaration, for this is the prophetic character.....Such, therefore, as was the course of the Son of God, such also is the form of the living creatures; and such as is the form of the living creatures, such also is the character of the Gospel. For quadriform are the living creatures, quadriform is the Gospel, and quadriform the course of the Lord. And on this account four covenants were given to the human race.....These things being thus: vain and ignorant and, moreover, audacious are those who set aside the form of the Gospel, and declare the aspects of the Gospels as either more or less than has been said."[2] As such principles of criticism presided over the formation of the Canon, it is not singular that so many of the decisions of the Fathers have been reversed. Irenæus himself mentioned the existence of heretics who rejected the fourth

[1] The Greek of this rather unintelligible sentence is not preserved. The Latin version reads as follows: *Propter hoc et omni fiducia plenum est Evangelium istud; talis est enim persona ejus.*

[2] Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, iii. 11, §§ 8, 9.

Gospel,[1] and Epiphanius[2] refers to the Alogi, who equally denied its authenticity; but it is not needful for us further to discuss this point. Enough has been said to show that the testimony of the fourth Gospel is of no value towards establishing the truth of miracles and the reality of Divine Revelation.

[1] *Adv. Hær.*, iii. 2, § 9.

[2] *Hær.*, li. 3, 4, 28.

PART IV.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

CHAPTER I.

THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

Before we proceed to examine the evidence for miracles and the reality of Divine Revelation which is furnished by the last historical book of the New Testament, entitled the "Acts of the Apostles," it is well that we should briefly recall to mind some characteristics of the document, which most materially affect the value of any testimony emanating from it. Whilst generally asserting the resurrection of Jesus, and his bodily ascension, regarding which indeed it adds fresh details, this work presents to us a new cycle of miracles, and so profusely introduces supernatural agency into the history of the early Church that, in comparison with it, the Gospels seem almost sober narratives. The Apostles are instructed and comforted by visions and revelations, and they, and all who believe, are filled with the Holy Spirit and speak with other tongues. The Apostles are delivered from prison and from bonds by angels or by an earthquake. Men fall dead or are smitten with blindness at their rebuke. They heal the sick, raise the dead, and handkerchiefs brought from their bodies cure diseases and expel evil spirits.

As a general rule, any document so full of miraculous episodes and supernatural occurrences would, without hesitation, be characterised as fabulous and incredible, and would not, by any sober-minded reader, be for a moment accepted as historical. There is no other testimony for these miracles. Let the reader endeavour to form some conception of the nature and amount of evidence necessary to establish the truth of statements antecedently so incredible, and compare it with the testimony of this solitary and anonymous document, the character and value of which we shall now proceed more closely to examine.

It is generally admitted, and indeed it is undeniable, that no distinct and unequivocal reference to the Acts of the Apostles, and to Luke as their author, occurs in the writings of Fathers before one by Irenæus[1] about the end of the second century. Passages are, however, pointed out in early writings as indicating the use and consequent existence of our document, all of which we shall now examine.

Several of these occur in the *Epistle to the Corinthians*, ascribed to Clement of Rome. The first, immediately compared with the passage to which it is supposed to be a reference, is as follows :—

Epistle, c. ii.	Acts xx. 35.
Ye were all humble-minded, not boasting at all, subjecting yourselves rather than subjecting others, more gladly giving than receiving. Πάντες τε ἐταπεινοφρονεῖτε, μηδὲν ἀλαζονευόμενοι, ὑποτασσόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἢ ὑποτάσσοντες, ἥδιον διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες.....	.....and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, that he himself said: It is more blessed to give than to receive. .....μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν· Μακάριόν ἐστιν μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν.

The words of the Epistle are not a quotation, but merely occur in the course of an address. They do not take the form of an axiom, but are a comment on the conduct of the Corinthians, which may have been suggested either by written or oral tradition, or by moral maxims long before current in heathen philosophy.[2] It is unnecessary to enter minutely into this, however, or to indicate the linguistic differences between the two passages, for one point alone settles the question. In the Acts the saying, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," is distinctly introduced as a quotation of "words of the Lord Jesus," and the exhortation "to remember" them conveys the inference that they were well known. They must either have formed part of Gospels now no longer extant, as they are not found in ours, or have been familiar as the unwritten tradition of sayings of the Master. In either case, if the passage in the Epistle be a reference to these words at all, it cannot reasonably be maintained that it must necessarily have been derived from a work which itself distinctly quotes the words from another source. The slight coincidence in the expression, without indication that any particular

[1] *Adv. Hær.*, iii. 14, §§ 1, 2.

[2] Εὖ ποιεῖν ἥδιόν ἐστι τοῦ πάσχειν. Epicur. ap. Plut., *Mor.*, p. 778 c. *Errat enim si quis beneficium libentius accipit quam reddit.* Seneca, *Epist.*, lxxxi. 17. Μᾶλλόν ἐστι τοῦ ἐλευθερίου τὸ διδόναι οἷς δεῖ ἢ λαμβάνειν ὅθεν δεῖ, καὶ μὴ λαμβάνειν ὅθεν οὐ δεῖ. τῆς γὰρ ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν ἢ τὸ εὖ πάσχειν. Aristotle, *Eth. Nicom.*, iv. 1. Δωρεῖσθαι καὶ διδόναι κρεῖττον ἢ λαμβάνειν. Artemidor., *Oneirocr.*, iv. 3. Cf. Wetstein, *N. T. Gr.*, *l. c.*

passage is in the mind of the author, and without any mention of the Acts, is no evidence of the existence of that work.

A few critics point to some parts of the following passage as showing acquaintance with Acts: "Through jealousy Paul also pointed out the way to the prize of patience, having borne chains seven times, having been put to flight, having been stoned; having become a preacher both in the East and in the West, he gained the noble renown due to his faith; having taught the whole world righteousness, and come to the extremity of the West, and having suffered martyrdom by command of the rulers, he was thus removed from the world and went to the holy place, having become a most eminent example of patience."[1] The slightest impartial consideration, however, must convince any one that this passage does not indicate the use of the Acts of the Apostles. The Epistle speaks of seven imprisonments, of some of which the Acts make no mention, and this must, therefore, have been derived from another source. The reference to his "coming to the extremity of the West" (*τέρμα τῆς δύσεως*), whatever interpretation be put upon it, and to his death, obviously carries the history further than the Acts, and cannot have been derived from that document.

The last passage which, it is affirmed, shows acquaintance with the Acts of the Apostles is the following: "But what shall we say regarding David who hath obtained a good report (*ἐπὶ τῷ μεμαρτυρημένῳ Δανείδ*)? unto whom (*πρὸς ὃν*) God said: 'I found a man after mine own heart, David the son of Jesse: in everlasting mercy I anointed him.'"[2] This is said to be derived from Acts xiii. 22: "And when he removed him he raised up to them David for king; to whom also he gave testimony (*ᾧ καὶ εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας*): I found David the son of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, who will do all my will."[3] The passage, however, is compounded of two quotations loosely made from the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, from which all the quotations in the Epistle are taken. Ps. lxxxviii. 20: "I found David my servant; in holy mercy I anointed him."[4] And 1 Sam. xiii. 14: "A man after his own heart."[5] Clement of Alexandria quotes this passage from the Epistle, and for "in everlasting mercy" reads "with holy oil" (*ἐν ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ*) as in the Psalm.[6] Although, therefore,

[1] C. v.

[2] C. xviii.

[3] *Καὶ μεταστήσας αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν τὸν Δαυεὶδ αὐτοῖς εἰς βασιλέα, ᾧ καὶ εἶπεν μαρτυρήσας· Εὗρον Δαυεὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου.* Acts xiii. 22.

[4] *Εὗρον Δαυὶδ τὸν δοῦλόν μου, ἐν ἐλέει ἁγίῳ ἔχρισα αὐτόν.* The Alexandrian MS. reads *ἐν ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ μου.* The quotation given is the reading of the *Vatican Codex.*

[5] *ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ.*

[6] *Stromata*, iv. 17.

our Alexandrian MS. of the Epistle has the reading which we have given above, even if we suppose that the Alexandrian Clement may have found a more correct version in his MS., the argument would not be affected. The whole similarity lies in the insertion of "the son of Jesse," but this was a most common addition to any mention of David, and by the completion of the passage from the Psalm, the admission of "who will do all my will," the peculiar phrase of the Acts, as well as the difference of introductory expressions, any connection between the two is severed, and it is apparent that the quotation of the Epistle may legitimately be referred to the Septuagint, with which it agrees much more closely than with the Acts. In no case could such slight coincidences prove acquaintance with the Acts of the Apostles.[1]

Only one passage of the *Epistle of Barnabas* is referred to by any one as indicating acquaintance with the Acts. It is as follows, c. 7: "If therefore the son of God, being Lord, and about to judge quick and dead (*καὶ μέλλων κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς*), suffered," etc. This is compared with Acts x. 42....."and to testify that it is he who has been appointed by God judge of quick and dead" (*ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ὡρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν*). Lardner, who compares the expression of the Epistle with Acts, equally compares it with that in 2 Tim. iv. 1..... "and Christ Jesus who is about to judge the quick and dead" (*μέλλοντος κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς*), to which it is more commonly referred,[2] and 1 Pet. iv. 5....."to him who is ready to judge quick and dead" (*κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς*). He adds, however: "It is not possible to say what text he refers to, though that in Timothy has the same words. But perhaps there is no proof that he refers to any. This was an article known to every common Christian; whereas this writer (whoever he be) was able to teach the Christian religion, and that without respect to any written gospels or epistles."[3] It is scarcely necessary to add anything to this. There is, of course, no trace of the use of Acts in the Epistle.

It is asserted that there is a "clear allusion"[4] to Acts in the

[1] Alford, *Greek Test.*, ii., *Proleg.*, p. 20; Eichhorn, *Einl. N. T.*, p. 72 f.; Hilgenfeld, *Ap. Väter*, p. 108; Neudecker, *Einl. N. T.*, p. 357, anm. 2; Zeller, *Apg.*, p. 9. Dr. Westcott does not claim any (*On the Canon*, 1875, p. 48, note 2). Dr. Lightfoot simply assigns the reference to the Psalm and 1 Sam. xiii. 14.

[2] Cf. Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 48, n. 2. (The references to Dr. Westcott's work on the Canon up to the present point are always to the 2nd ed., 1866, and those henceforward to the 4th ed., 1875, except where otherwise specified.)

[3] *Credibility*, etc., *Works*, 1788, ii., p. 17. Dr. Lightfoot does not suggest any reference here to Acts.

[4] Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 198 f.

Shepherd of Hermas. The passages may be compared as follows :—

Vis. iv. 2.	Acts iv. 12.
.....and didst open thy heart to the Lord, believing that by no other couldst thou be saved than by the great and glorious name.	And there is salvation in no other : for neither is there any other name under the heaven that has been given among men whereby we must be saved.
.....καὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἤνοιξας πρὸς τὸν κύριον, πιστεύσας ὅτι δι' οὐδενὸς δύνῃ σωθῆναι εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος.	*καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἡ σωτηρία· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἕτερον ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸ δεδομένον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς.*

The slightest comparison of these passages suffices to show that the one is not dependent on the other. The Old Testament is full of passages in which the name of the Lord is magnified as the only source of safety and salvation. In the Pauline Epistles likewise there are numerous passages of a similar tenour. For instance, the passage from Joel ii. 32 is quoted Rom. x. 13 : "For whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσηται τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου σωθήσεται).[1] There was, in fact, no formula more current either amongst the Jews or in the early Church ; and there is no legitimate ground for tracing such an expression to the Acts of the Apostles.

The only other passage which is quoted[2] as indicating acquaintance with Acts is the following, which we at once contrast with the supposed parallel :—

Simil. ix. 28.	Acts v. 41.
But ye who suffer on account of the name ought to praise God, that God deemed ye worthy to bear his name, and that all your sins may be redeemed.	So they departed rejoicing from the presence of the council that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for the name.
ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ πάσχοντες ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος δοξάζειν ὀφείλετε τὸν θεόν, ὅτι ἀξίους ὑμᾶς ἠγήσατο ὁ θεὸς ἵνα τούτου τὸ ὄνομα βαστάζητε, καὶ πᾶσαι ὑμῶν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ἰαθῶσιν.	*οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπορεύοντο χαίροντες ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ συνεδρίου, ὅτι κατηξιώθησαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀτιμασθῆναι.*

Here again a formula is employed which is common throughout the New Testament, and which, applied as it is here to those who were persecuted, we have reason to believe was in general use in the early Church. It is almost unnecessary to point out any examples. Everywhere "the name" of God or of Jesus is the

[1] The same passage is quoted, Acts ii. 21. Cf. Ephes. i. 20, 21 ; Philip. ii. 9 f.; 1 John v. 13 f.

[2] Lardner, *Works*, ii., p. 56. This is not advanced by Kirchhofer, nor does Dr. Westcott refer to it. Even Hefele does not suggest a reference.