

DISSERTATION I.

THE GENEALOGIES.

LITERATURE.—This subject has been often discussed in separate monographs, as well as in works on the Life of Christ, and in commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. The most important discussions are Hottinger, *Dissertationes duae de genealogia Christi*; Benham's *Reflections on the Genealogy of our Lord*; Yardley, *The Genealogy of Jesus Christ* (London, 1739); Lord A. Hervey (Bishop of Bath), *The Genealogies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (Cambridge, 1853), and his article on Genealogy in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*; Ebrard's *Gospel History*, pp. 149–163 (Edinburgh, 1863); Mill's *Vindication of the Genealogies*; a valuable article on Genealogy, by the Rev. Peter Holmes, in Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1869); Wieseler's *Beiträge zur Würdigung der Evangelien*, 1869; Andrews, *Life of our Lord*, pp. 56–70, new edition (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1893), where the subject is well stated; Greswell's *Dissertations on the Harmony of the Gospels*; Dissertation ii. On the two genealogies, vol. ii. pp. 111–118; also the commentaries of Meyer on Matthew and Luke; Farrar on Luke in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*; Godet on Luke (translation, Edinburgh, 1875); Morison on Matthew (London, 1883); Mansel on Matthew in *Speaker's Commentary*; and Schaff's *Popular Commentary on the New Testament*.

The reconciliation of the genealogies given in Matt. i. 1–17 and Luke iii. 23–38 is a matter of considerable difficulty. Both profess to be the genealogies of our Lord; that of Matthew is introduced by the words: "The book of the generation of

Jesus Christ"; whilst in the Gospel of Luke the introductory words are: "Jesus Himself, when He began to teach, was about thirty years of age, being the son (as was supposed) of Joseph"; but they are almost entirely different, being written from different points of view. In Matthew the genealogy commences with Abraham, the father of the Jewish nation, probably because his Gospel was written mainly for Hebrew Christians; whilst in Luke it closes with Adam, the father of the human race, probably because his Gospel was written for Christians generally, whether Jews or Gentiles. The genealogy of Matthew descends from Abraham to Joseph, the husband of Mary, by tracing the line of descent from father to son; whilst that of Luke ascends from Joseph to Adam, by tracing the line of ascent from son to father. Matthew uses the word *begat* (ἐγέννησε), whilst Luke uses the article τοῦ, the genitive of relationship, translated in our version *the son of*. From Abraham to David the evangelists give the same genealogical series; but after David they diverge. Matthew gives the royal lineage in the line of Solomon to the captivity, whilst Luke gives the genealogy in the line of Nathan, another of the sons of David. The genealogies meet in the middle in the persons of Shealtiel and Zerubbabel (Matt. i. 12; Luke iii. 27), but again immediately diverge, until they converge in Joseph, the husband of Mary.

Various opinions have been formed of these genealogies with reference to their diversities and apparent contradictions. Dean Alford supposes that a solution of the difficulties is impossible from want of sufficient data. "It is," he observes, "quite beside the purpose of the present commentary to attempt to reconcile the two. It has never yet been accomplished; and every endeavour to do it has violated either ingenuousness or common sense."¹ On the other hand, Professor Norton and others affirm that the genealogies, and more particularly that given by Matthew, are interpolations. The first two chapters of Matthew's Gospel, observes Professor Norton, "may have been an ancient document, written in Hebrew, originally a separate work, but which, on account of its small size and the connection of its subject, was transcribed

¹ Alford's *Greek Testament*, p. 473, last edition.

into manuscripts of the Hebrew original of Matthew.”¹ The external evidences for the exclusion of the genealogies are weak, amounting only to this, that they are omitted in the Gospel of Marcion and in the Diatessaron of Tatian;² whilst they are contained in all Greek manuscripts and versions. But the internal evidence is rather in favour of their exclusion. They may be omitted without any interruption in the narrative. Thus the Gospel of Matthew would commence with the words: “Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise” (Matt. i. 18); whilst in Luke the temptation of Christ would be directly connected, as in the other Gospels, with His baptism and the descent of the Holy Ghost (Luke iii. 22, iv. 1). Besides, the apparent or real inaccuracies in the genealogy as given by Matthew, to which we shall afterwards advert, are presumptions unfavourable to its genuineness. Still the external evidence in favour of them is so strong that, by the critical rules which must govern our judgment, their insertion, as forming an original part of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, must be admitted.

This may be the place to advert to the important recent discovery by Mrs. Lewis, in the monastery of Mount Sinai, of a Syrian manuscript of the four Gospels. Chiefly by her learning and indefatigable labour this Syrian version has been transcribed and published along with a translation.³ The manuscript is a palimpsest, the lives of female saints being written over it. Mrs. Lewis twice visited the monastery of Mount Sinai in 1892 and 1893, and, assisted by several eminent English scholars, was enabled to obtain a transcription of the manuscript. It is affirmed to be probably a variant copy of the Curetonian Syriac, fragments of which were brought to this country by Archdeacon Tattam in 1842,⁴ and which is now

¹ Norton, *The Genuineness of the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 204.

² The omission of the genealogies in the Gospel of Marcion is of no importance, as Marcion mutilated the Gospel of Luke; but it must be admitted that the omission in Tatian’s Diatessaron is of some weight, but it is unsupported.

³ *The Four Gospels in Syriac. Transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest.* Cambridge, 1894: *Translation of the Four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest*, by Agnes Smith Lewis. London, 1894.

⁴ It was not published until 1858, under the title, “Remains of a very

generally admitted to be the oldest Syriac version, of which the Peshito is only a recension, bearing the same relation to it as the Vulgate does to the old Latin.¹ If this is the case, this newly discovered manuscript must be regarded as of great importance, as supplying most of the lacunæ in the Curetonian version,² and nearly completing it. The recently discovered manuscript is of uncertain date. It agrees generally with the oldest uncials, the Vatican, and the Sinaitic; as, for example, it wants the concluding verses of Mark's Gospel and the account of the bloody sweat in Luke.

It has been suggested that this Syriac manuscript has an important bearing on the question of the genealogies, especially in regard to the genealogy in Matthew.³ In its record of the birth of Christ the new manuscript is Ebionite and heretical. Whilst it testifies to the supernatural nature of His birth in the same terms as in Matt. i. 18 and 23 of the received text, at the same time it inconsistently asserts that He was the son of Joseph. Thus ver. 16 is: "Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the virgin, begat Jesus, who is called the Christ"; ver. 21 is: "And she shall bear to thee a son, and thou shalt call His name Jesus"; and in ver. 24 it is said: "When Joseph arose from his sleep he did as the angel of the Lord commanded him, and took his wife: and she bore to him a son, and he called His name Jesus."

The genealogy in Luke is imperfect in the new manuscript, and it is difficult to say how far it agrees with or differs from the genealogy in the received text.

ancient recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe, discovered, edited, and translated by William Cureton, D.D., Canon of Westminster. London, 1858."

¹ So Ewald, Bleek, Alford, Tregelles, Hort. Scrivener, however, takes an opposite view (*Introduction to the Criticism of the N.T.* vol. ii. p. 16 ff.).

² The fragments of the Curetonian Syriac brought to England by Archdeacon Tattam contained Matt. i.-viii. 22, x. 32-xxiii. 25; Mark xvi. 17-20; Luke ii. 48-iii. 16, vii. 33-xvi. 12, xvii. 1-xxiv. 44; John i. 1-42, iii. 5-viii. 19, xiv. 10-12, 15-19, 21-23, 26-29.

³ See a series of letters in the *Academy* from November 1894 to March 1895; and an important article on the subject by Archdeacon, now Dean, Farrar in the *Expositor* for January 1895.

The importance of the manuscript on this point has, we consider, been greatly overestimated. There is no ground for suggesting that the genealogy in the new manuscript can be substituted for that contained in Matthew's Gospel.¹ Its peculiar Ebionite readings stand alone, and are supported by no manuscript nor version. Even the Curetonian Syriac is adverse, as it contains the received readings. The only manuscript which appears to favour them is the Latin Codex Bobbiensis; but even it only to the extent of omitting the words: "And knew her not till she brought forth her son." Against this overwhelming mass of evidence it is impossible to defend the peculiar readings found in this manuscript; they never could have formed a part of the original text. The genealogy of Matthew may have been a separate document incorporated into this Gospel, but it could not in its original form have contained the readings found in the Sinaitic Syriac version.

The divergences in the genealogies may be seen from the following table:—

I. ADAM TO ABRAHAM.

Not given in Matthew. Luke iii. 34-38.

II. ABRAHAM TO DAVID.

Same in both Gospels—Matt. i. 1-6; Luke iii. 32-34.

III. DAVID TO JESUS CHRIST.

MATT. I. 7-16.	LUKE III. 23-31.
Solomon by the wife of Uriah.	Nathan.
Rehoboam.	Mattatha.
Abijah.	Menna.
Asa.	Melea.
Jehoshaphat.	Eliakim.
Joram.	Jonam.

¹ The Rev. Mr. Charles, in one of his letters to the *Academy* (Dec. 1, 1894), expresses his opinion that the new manuscript furnishes the key to the problem raised by the variations in the two genealogies. If we understand him aright, he seems to think that the genealogy of Matthew as given in the new manuscript was the form of the original document, and that at a very early period it was altered in the interests of orthodoxy and attached to our canonical Gospel.

MATT. I. 7-16.

Uzziah.
 Jotham.
 Ahaz.
 Hezekiah.
 Manasseh.
 Amon.
 Josiah
 Jechoniah and his brethren.

Shealtiel.
 Zerubbabel.
 Abiud.
 Eliakim.
 Azor.
 Sadoc.
 Achim.
 Eliud.
 Eleazar.
 Matthan.
 Jacob.
 Joseph the husband of Mary.
 Jesus, who is called Christ.

LUKE III. 23-31.

Joseph.
 Judas.
 Symeon.
 Levi.
 Matthat.
 Jerim.
 Eliezer.
 Jesus.
 Er.
 Elmadam.
 Cosam.
 Addi.
 Melchi.
 Neri.
 Shealtiel.
 Zerubbabel.
 Rhesa.
 Joanan.
 Joda.
 Josech.
 Semein.
 Mattathias.
 Maath.
 Naggai.
 Esi.
 Nahum.
 Amos.
 Mattathias.
 Joseph.
 Jannai.
 Melchi.
 Levi.
 Matthat.
 Heli.
 Joseph.
 Jesus.

Before attempting the reconciliation of the genealogies, it may be advisable to consider some peculiarities and apparent mistakes or discrepancies in the genealogy given by Matthew.

The genealogy from Salmon to David is given as Salmon, Boaz, Obed, Jesse, David (Matt. i. 5), and the lineage is the same in Luke's genealogy (Luke iii. 32). Thus there are only four generations, Boaz, Obed, Jesse, and David, between

Salmon and David. Nahshon, the father of Salmon, is mentioned as the prince of the tribe of Judah in the time of Moses (Num. i. 7, vii. 17); and, accordingly, Salmon, the husband of Rahab, must have been a contemporary of Joshua. But the interval between Salmon and David, filled up by these four generations, according to the calculations made from the Book of Judges, must have been 400 or 450 years. This period is also given by St. Paul in his speech in Pisidian Antioch: "And when He had destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, He gave them their land for an inheritance for about 450 years" (Acts xiii. 19). It also corresponds with the chronology of Josephus. Either the period assigned is too long, or several names must have been omitted. The probability is that the number 450 was assumed by the Jews by adding together the years of the judges and of the servitudes as mentioned in the Book of Judges;¹ whereas it is probable that several of the judges were contemporaneous.² The community of Israel appears at that time to have been divided into three confederacies: Judah and the south, Ephraim and the north, and the land of Gilead beyond Jordan. The enumeration of four generations given by Matthew is corroborated not only by Luke, but also by the Book of Ruth (Ruth iv. 20, 21) and by the first Book of Chronicles (1 Chron. ii. 11, 12).³

In Matthew's genealogy three kings are omitted. It is stated that Joram begat Uzziah (Matt. i. 8); whereas the genealogy ought to have been Joram begat Ahaziah, and

¹ Hervey, *On the Genealogies*, pp. 220, 221, 252. The years of the judges from Othniel to Eli are 339, and of the servitudes 111: in all 450. See Biscoe, *On the Acts*, p. 605.

² This subject is very elaborately discussed by Bishop Hervey in ch. ix. on the discordance between the genealogy from Salmon to David, and the received chronology of the corresponding period, pp. 204-276. He supposes that Ehud, Gideon, and Jephthah were contemporary, and that the era of the judges, instead of lasting 450 years, extended only to four generations. This abbreviation of the time corresponds with the records of Egyptian history.

³ Another solution is that in the genealogy from Salmon to David some names are omitted; and others think that Rahab, the mother of Boaz, was a different person from the Rahab mentioned in the Book of Joshua.

Ahaziah begat Joash, and Joash begat Amaziah, and Amaziah begat Uzziah. Thus three kings are omitted, namely, Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah. The most plausible explanation of this omission is that it arose from a mistake of the transcriber. The first name omitted is Ahaziah, in Greek Ὁχοζίας, which is identical in the last three syllables with Ὁζίας, the next name mentioned; and it is supposed that the transcriber, his eye catching the conclusion of the word, overlooked the first syllable, Ὁχ, and the intervening names, and so wrote Ὁζίας as following Joram.¹ But the authority of all manuscripts is against this supposition, except perhaps the Codex Bezae. In that codex the first chapter of Matthew, containing the genealogy, is wanting; but the genealogical list of Matthew from David to Joseph is incorporated in the third chapter of Luke with the names of the three omitted kings inserted. The omission of these names does not, of course, affect the validity of the genealogy: it is not necessary that all the links should be named.

Another king is omitted, namely, Jehoiakim. It is said: "Josiah begat Jechoniah and his brethren, at the time of the carrying away to Babylon. And after the carrying away to Babylon, Jechoniah begat Shealtiel" (Matt. i. 11, 12); whereas in reality Josiah was the father of Jehoiakim, and Jehoiakim the father of Jechoniah or Jehoiachin. Bishop Hervey supposes that the reading in Matthew originally was: Ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωακείμ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ. Ἰωακείμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωαχεὶμ ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετοικεσίαν Βαβυλῶνος Ἰωαχεὶμ ἐγέννησε τὸν Σαλαθιήλ. According to him, the mistake arose from the similarity of names, the transcriber having written χ in the first name instead of κ.² This reading is supported by the Codex Bezae, by two uncial manuscripts of the tenth century, M U, by thirty cursive manuscripts, by

¹ The insertion of the names of these three kings would render the number fourteen in the second division of names erroneous: and hence the common opinion is that of Jerome, that the omission was for the sake of obtaining the number fourteen in the threefold classification of the genealogies.

² Hervey, *Genealogies*, p. 73.

several Syriac manuscripts, and by Irenæus, who says: "Joseph is shown to be the son of Joachim and Jechoniah, as also Matthew sets forth in his pedigree."¹ It is inserted by Henry Stephens in his editions of the Greek Testament, published in 1576 and 1584. And in a marginal note in the Authorised Version it is said: "Some read Josias begat Jakim, and Jakim begat Jechonias." But such a reading cannot be admitted, on account of the preponderating weight of contrary testimony. Dr. Morison supposes that the Jechoniah in ver. 11 is different from the Jechoniah in ver. 12, and that the name was common to both father and son. In ver. 11 by Jechoniah is meant Jechoniah I. or Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, and in ver. 12 by Jechoniah is meant Jechoniah II. or Jehoiachin the son of Jehoiakim.²

There is also a difficulty in the classification of Matthew's genealogies. "So all the generations, from Abraham unto David, are fourteen generations; and from David, unto the carrying away to Babylon, are fourteen generations; and from the carrying away to Babylon unto the Christ, are fourteen generations" (Matt. i. 17). The genealogy is arranged in three divisions, each containing fourteen generations. The first division, from Abraham to David, is the same as the list given by Luke, and contains exactly fourteen generations. The second division, from Solomon to the Babylonish captivity, also contains fourteen names; but if the four kings omitted were included, the number would be eighteen. In the third division, from the Babylonish captivity to Christ, Jechoniah must be again included to complete the number.³ The periods are of very unequal length. The first series, from Abraham to David, includes a period of upwards of 900 years; the second series, from Solomon to the Captivity, including the reign of the four kings omitted, is 416 years; and the third series, from the Captivity to Christ, is 617

¹ *Adv. Hær.* iii. 21. 9.

² Morison's *Commentary on Matthew*, on Matt. i. 11.

³ On the arrangement of the names in these three divisions, and the necessity of including Jechoniah both in the second and third divisions, see Meyer on *Matthew*, vol. i. pp. 58, 59. If Jechoniah be reckoned only once, we have only thirteen generations in the last series.

years. It is also to be observed that supposing Shealtiel and Zerubbabel to be the same persons in both genealogies, the number of generations given in Matthew differs from that given in Luke. In Matthew the number from Solomon to Shealtiel is fourteen, or, including the omitted kings, eighteen; the number given by Luke is twenty, which, however, is not a great variation. But the number of generations from Shealtiel to Christ in Matthew is fourteen, whereas in Luke it is twenty-two, which can only be explained on the supposition that several names have been omitted by Matthew; or that Shealtiel and Zerubbabel are not the same persons in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke.

In Luke's genealogy there is only one peculiarity which requires to be noticed. The first portion, from Adam to Abraham, not given by Matthew, is the same as the genealogy given in Genesis, with the exception that Cainan is mentioned as intervening between Shelah and Arphaxad (Luke iii. 36). No such name occurs in the Hebrew or in the Samaritan Pentateuch; but it is found in the Septuagint, and as Luke wrote in Greek, his genealogical list was, doubtless, taken from that version. Of course, the Cainan here mentioned as the son of Arphaxad is different from the Cainan who is mentioned in the subsequent verse (Luke iii. 37) as the son of Enos, and whose name occurs in the Mosaic chronology (Gen. v. 9, 10).

In comparing the genealogies, a great difficulty arises from the fact that after they had branched off for at least eighteen generations, the one in the line of Solomon and the other in the line of Nathan, they meet again, after the lapse of four centuries, in the persons of Shealtiel and Zerubbabel (Matt. i. 12, 13; Luke iii. 27). It is generally taken for granted that these persons are identical in both genealogies, and are the same as those mentioned in the later books of the Old Testament. This junction of the genealogies is generally accounted for on the supposition that the royal line of Solomon became extinct in Jehoiachin at the Babylonish captivity,¹ and that Shealtiel, the son of Neri

¹ Mansel supposes that it became extinct in the time of Ahaz, and that Hezekiah, the next in succession, was adopted as his heir. The

was the next in succession in the regal line. It is asserted that, according to the prediction or statement of Jeremiah, Jehoiachin should be childless: "Thus saith the Lord, Write ye this man (Coniah, that is, Jehoiachin) childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days: for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David" (Jer. xxii. 30). But these words do not absolutely affirm that Jehoiachin should have no children, but merely that no descendant of his should sit on the throne of David. Several sons of Jehoiachin are mentioned in the Book of Chronicles, and among them Shealtiel, or, as he is otherwise named, Salathiel (1 Chron. iii. 17, 18); so that the statement that Jechoniah begat Shealtiel is corroborated by the Old Testament. Zerubbabel is called the son of Shealtiel, and this is also stated in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and in the prophecies of Haggai (Ezra iii. 2, 8; Neh. xii. 1; Hag. i. 1, 12, 14, ii. 2): whereas in the Book of Chronicles he is called the son of Pedaiiah, the brother of Shealtiel (1 Chron. iii. 19), which may be accounted for on the supposition that, as his nephew, he became his heir and successor in the royal line. The names of seven sons and two grandsons of Zerubbabel are given in the Book of Chronicles (1 Chron. iii. 19, 20), but among them occurs neither Abiud, the son of Zerubbabel, according to Matthew (Matt. i. 13), nor Rhesa, his son, according to Luke (Luke iii. 27). But the question arises, Are we justified in assuming that the Shealtiel and Zerubbabel in Matthew are the same persons as those mentioned in Luke? In Matthew they occur as members of the royal line of Solomon; in Luke, as members of the unknown line of Nathan. The Zerubbabel of Matthew is undoubtedly the governor of the Jews, the grandson of Jehoiachin mentioned in the later books of the Old Testament. Their position in the genealogical line favours their identity; as

reason for this is that Ahaz died at the age of thirty-six, so that unless there be some error in the numbers, Ahaz was but eleven years older than Hezekiah. *Speaker's Commentary* on Matthew, vol. i. p. 4. Calvin goes further, and supposes that the Solomonic line became extinct on the death of Ahaziah; and that Joash is only called the son of Ahaziah because he was his nearest relation, and the direct heir to the crown.

according to Matthew there are eighteen generations between Solomon and Shealtiel, and according to Luke twenty generations between Nathan and Shealtiel. But apart from this, and the coincidence that Shealtiel was the father of Zerubbabel, there is no reason to suppose that they are the same persons. It is altogether improbable that after eighteen generations and the lapse of four centuries the genealogies should meet in the same persons, and again immediately branch off. May it not be that we have here two entirely different persons: the Shealtiel and Zerubbabel, the descendants of Solomon, in Matthew, being those mentioned in the later books of the Old Testament; and the Shealtiel and Zerubbabel, the descendants of Nathan, in Luke, being otherwise unknown persons? This is the view adopted by Wieseler and Bleek as the most probable solution of the difficulty. The occurrence of these persons in both lists, the one the father and the other the son, and their nearly identical position in the genealogies, are certainly serious objections to this view; but whatever view we adopt there is a difficulty, and perhaps the conjecture that these names stand for different persons is after all the most probable solution.

Three theories of reconciliation have been advanced to bring these genealogies into accord: the theory of a levirate marriage, the theory that both Matthew and Luke give the genealogy of Joseph, and the theory that whilst Matthew gives the genealogy of Joseph, Luke gives the genealogy of Mary. The first and second theories may be combined.

The hypothesis of a levirate marriage proceeds on the assumption that Jacob was the father of Joseph by a levirate marriage, and that Heli was his real father; or, conversely, that Jacob was Joseph's real father, and Heli his putative or legal father. According to the Mosaic law, it was enjoined that if one of two brothers died having no children, his brother should take his wife, and the firstborn should succeed to the deceased brother (Deut. xxv. 5, 6). It is supposed that such a case occurred here. Jacob and Heli were brothers, and the one married the widow of the other; Matthew gives the genealogy of Jacob, the legal father of Joseph, and Luke that of Heli, his real father; or conversely.

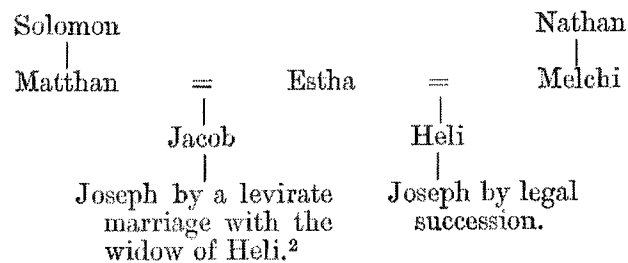
This was the early solution advanced by Julius Africanus, about the middle of the third century, as recorded by Eusebius.¹ The following is the statement of Eusebius, given in a somewhat abbreviated form: Matthew and Luke in their Gospels have given the genealogy of Christ differently, and many suppose that they are at variance. We subjoin the account of the matter which is given by Julius Africanus in his Epistle to Aristides, in which he discusses the harmony of the Gospel genealogies. After refuting the opinions of others as forced and deceptive, he gives the following account which he had received from tradition. The names of the generations were reckoned in Israel, either, according to nature, by the succession of legitimate offspring, or, according to law, whenever another raised up a child in the name of a brother dying childless. Some are inserted in the genealogical table who succeeded each other by natural descent of father and son, and some who were born of others: both the real and the reputed fathers are here mentioned. Thus neither of the Gospels has made a false statement, for the one reckons by nature and the other by law. So that both accounts are strictly true, and come down to Joseph with considerable intricacy indeed, but quite accurately. If we reckon the generations from David through Solomon, the third from the end is found to be Matthan, who begat Jacob the father of Joseph; but if, with Luke, we reckon them from Nathan the son of David, in like manner the third from the end is Melchi,² whose son Heli was the father of Joseph. It must be shown how each is recorded to be the father of Joseph, both Jacob who derived his descent from Solomon, and Heli who derived his from Nathan. Jacob and Heli were brothers, and their fathers, Matthan and Melchi, although of different families, are declared to be grandfathers of Joseph. Matthan and Melchi, having married in succession the same woman, begat children who were uterine brothers. By Estha, for this was the woman's name according to

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* i. 7.

² In our text of Luke's Gospel Matthat and Levi intervene between Melchi and Heli (Luke iii. 24). Probably the text which Julius Africanus followed omitted these names.

tradition,¹ Matthan, a descendant of Solomon, first begat Jacob; and when Matthan was dead, Melchi, who traced his descent back to Nathan, being of the same tribe but of another family, married her, and begat Heli. Thus we shall find the two, Jacob and Heli, although belonging to different families, were yet brethren by the same mother. Of these the one, Jacob, when his brother Heli had died childless, took the latter's wife, and begat by her a son, Joseph, his own son by nature. Wherefore also it is written Jacob begat Joseph (Matt. i. 16). But according to law he was the son of Heli. Accordingly Luke says: "Who was the son, as was supposed, of Joseph, the son of Heli, the son of Melchi" (Luke iii. 23, 24); for he could not more clearly express the generations according to law.

According to this explanation the genealogy would be—



Matthew gives the genealogy of Jacob, and Luke that of Heli.

This theory is intricate, and bears the aspect of a hypothesis framed to remove a difficulty. Besides, the son of a levirate marriage was always called the son of his real father, and not of his legal father. Thus, for example, Obed is called the son of Boaz, and not the son of Mahlon, whose widow he married as being next of kin. The levirate custom or law of marriage appears to have been concerned with the peculiar law of heritage among the Jews. This hypothesis may remove the difficulty arising from two distinct genealogical lines; but as both of these are connected with

¹ We know nothing more of Estha: the name was probably handed down by tradition from the grandsons of Jude, the brother of the Lord, mentioned in this passage by Julius Africanus.

² See Farrar *On Luke*, p. 372.

the descent of Joseph, the one his legal and the other his real descent, they cannot properly be considered as genealogies of Jesus, who was only supposed to be the son of Joseph; an objection which we shall more fully consider.

The second hypothesis is that both Matthew and Luke give the genealogy of Joseph, neither of them giving the genealogy of Mary. This hypothesis has been adopted with some variations by Calvin, Grotius, Hug, Winer, Bleek, De Wette, Meyer, Bishop Hervey, Dr. Morison, Mansel,¹ Dr. Samuel Davidson, Alford, Bishop Wordsworth, Carr,² Bishop Ellicott,³ M'Clellan, Farrar,⁴ and Geikie. According to this hypothesis, Matthew gives the royal line of succession from Solomon to Joseph, whilst Luke gives the natural or lineal line from Nathan to Joseph. Their conjunction in Shealtiel and Zerubbabel is generally explained on the supposition that the royal line failed in the person of Jehoiachin, as he, according to the prediction of Jeremiah, had no children, and that Shealtiel and Zerubbabel, descendants from Nathan, succeeded as the heirs of Solomon. This may account for the difference of names from David to Zerubbabel, but does not account for the difference of names between Zerubbabel and Joseph.⁵

The great, and to us insuperable, objection to this theory

¹ *Speaker's Commentary*.

² *Commentary on Matthew: Cambridge Bible for Schools*, p. 29.

³ *Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord*, 3rd ed. p. 96, note.

⁴ Farrar *On Luke*, Excursus ii.: "The Double Genealogies of Christ as the Son of David," pp. 369-375.

⁵ Attempts have been made to prove that several of the names that occur after Zerubbabel are merely variations of the same name. Rhesa, the son of Zerubbabel, according to Luke (iii. 26), is supposed not to be a proper name, but an appellative signifying a head or chief, applied to Zerubbabel as the prince of the Captivity. Abiud (*Ἀβιούδ*) in Matt. i. 13, and Joanna (*Ἰωάννα*) in Luke iii. 27, both reckoned as the sons of Zerubbabel, are regarded as the same name. After this it is supposed that the lines again diverge from Abiud and Joanna; Matthew gives the elder branch from Eliakim, probably the eldest son of Abiud, and Luke from Joda a younger branch. It is further supposed that the genealogies meet again in Matthan, who on the failure of Eliakim's line became the head of the house of David. See Hervey's *Genealogies*, pp. 115 ff. and p. 343.

is that neither of the genealogies gives that of Jesus. Jesus was, according to both Matthew and Luke, by reason of His miraculous birth, only the supposed son of Joseph and the real son of Mary.¹ We have then according to this theory, so far as the genealogies are concerned, no proof that Jesus was the son of David. The Davidic descent of Jesus is repeatedly affirmed in Scripture. The title which the Jews applied to the Messiah, "The son of David," and the predictions of the prophets, that "a Branch should arise from the root of David," all imply His Davidic descent; but unless Mary were descended from David, this could not be the case. Peter, in his discourse on the Day of Pentecost, affirms that of the fruit of the loins of David, according to the flesh, God would raise up Christ to sit upon his throne (Acts ii. 30). Paul, in his discourse in Pisidian Antioch, makes the same declaration, that of the seed of David, God, according to His promise, raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus (Acts xiii. 23). In his Epistles he twice affirms the Davidic descent of Jesus: "Jesus Christ our Lord was made of the seed of David according to the flesh" (Rom. i. 3). "Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, was raised from the dead" (2 Tim. ii. 8). And in the Apocalypse our Lord is called "the root and the offspring of David" (Rev. xxii. 6). But no conclusion of this nature can be drawn from the Davidic descent of Joseph, and consequently the genealogies, if they refer to Joseph only, do not prove that our Lord was descended from David. They are divested of their importance and interest. The Davidic descent of Mary is asserted by the Fathers, as Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* xlv.), Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 21. 5), Tertullian, and others. As Meyer says: "The Davidic descent of Jesus is established as certain by the predictions of the prophets, which, in reference to so essential a mark of the Messiah, could not remain without fulfilment, as well as by the unanimous testimony of the New Testament."²

This objection is thus met by Bishop Hervey: "If the

¹ Matt. i. 18; Luke iii. 35.

² Meyer's *Commentary on Matthew*, vol. i. p. 61. At the same time, Meyer asserts that there is no evidence of this from the genealogies, as according to him the genealogy in Luke is not that of Mary.

Matthan of Matthew is the same individual as the Matthat of Luke, it follows that Jacob and Heli were brothers. And if Mary were the daughter of Jacob, and Joseph the son of Heli, Joseph and Mary would be first cousins, grandchildren of the same grandfather Matthat. And if Jacob had no son, but only daughters, and his male heir and successor, as head of the tribe of Judah, were Joseph the son of his brother Heli, we are quite sure, from the constant practice of the Jews, that Joseph would marry Mary; just as the five daughters of Zelophehad married their five cousins."¹ But such an answer to the objection cannot be maintained; it is founded not on one, but on four suppositions, not one of which can be proved.

The third hypothesis is, that whilst Matthew gives the genealogy of Joseph, Luke gives that of Mary. This theory has been adopted by Luther, Dr. John Lightfoot, Hottinger, Bengel,² Kidder, Kuinoel, Michaelis, Yardley, M'Knight, Greswell,³ Lange,⁴ Auberlen, Wieseler, Ebrard,⁵ Holmes,⁶ Olshausen,⁷ Smith of Jordanhill, Dean Spence, Andrews,⁸ Plumptre, Schaff,⁹ Godet,¹⁰ and Weiss.¹¹ According to this theory, Jesus is by the genealogy of Matthew shown to be the legal heir of David's throne, whilst by the genealogy of Luke He is shown to be the seed of David according to the flesh, by His being the son of Mary. The genealogy of Matthew is the genealogy of Joseph, whilst the genealogy of Luke is that of Heli. Mary's name is omitted in the genealogy, because it was not the custom of the Jews to mention women in their genealogical tables. That in one of the genealogies the descent of Mary is

¹ Hervey's *Genealogies*, pp. 56, 57.

² Bengel's *Gnomon of the New Testament* on Matt. i. 16.

³ Greswell's *Dissertations*, vol. ii. p. 103.

⁴ Lange's *Life of Christ*, vol. i. p. 380, translation.

⁵ Ebrard's *Gospel History*, p. 159.

⁶ Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, article, "Genealogy."

⁷ Olshausen, *On the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 39.

⁸ Andrews' *Life of Christ*, p. 56.

⁹ Schaff on "Matthew" in the *Popular Commentary on the New Testament*.

¹⁰ Godet's *Commentary on Luke*, vol. i. p. 201, translation.

¹¹ Weiss' *Life of Jesus*, vol. i. p. 220, translation.

given, is affirmed by Clemens Alexandrinus, although he fixes, as we think erroneously, on that given by Matthew. "In the Gospel according to Matthew the genealogy which is begun with Abraham is continued down to Mary the mother of our Lord."¹ And it is a curious circumstance that in the Talmud, Mary the mother of Jesus is called the daughter of Heli,—a statement which could only be made from Luke's Gospel, or more probably from tradition.²

But here we are met with what appears to be a formidable objection: that as it is distinctly stated by Matthew that Joseph was the son of Jacob, so it is as distinctly stated by Luke that he was the son of Heli. It is not disputed that Joseph was the son of Jacob; the words are clear, "Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ" (Matt. i. 16). But that Joseph was the son of Heli is not so distinctly stated. According to the best attested reading, the words are: *ὦν υἱὸς ὡς ἐνομίζετο Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἠλεῖ*, rendered in the Revised Version: "Being the son (as was supposed) of Joseph the son of Heli" (Luke iii. 23). But the parenthesis may be properly extended so that the words might be read: "Being (the son as was supposed of Joseph) the son of Heli." According to this reading, the meaning might be that Jesus was the supposed son of Joseph, but through His mother Mary, omitted in the genealogy as women are, the real son or grandson of Heli. Besides, it is to be remarked that the article *τοῦ* is omitted before the name Joseph, whilst it is to be found before all the other names belonging to the genealogical series. From this it may be inferred that the name Joseph belongs to the parenthetical clause introduced by Luke; so that the genitive *τοῦ Ἠλεῖ* depends, not on Joseph, but on *ὦν*: Jesus, as was supposed, the son of Joseph, being the son of Heli. It is not uncommon in the Old Testament for the grandson to be called the son of

¹ Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* i. 21. See also Justin, *Dial. cum Trypho.* ch. cxx.

² Chagig. 77. 4. Godet *On Luke*, vol. i. p. 202. "From whence," he asks, "have Jewish scholars derived this information? If from the text of Luke, this proves that they understood it as we do: if they received it from tradition, it confirms the truth of the genealogical document Luke made use of."

his grandfather. Thus, if this explanation be adopted, the genealogy given by Luke is not that of Joseph, but of Heli the grandfather of Jesus.¹

We conclude that this is the true solution of the problem—the reconciliation of the genealogies of our Lord as given by Matthew and Luke. We have not here the genealogy of the same person, for if this were the case, the difference in the names, so far as we can see, would be irreconcilable, except by a series of improbable suppositions; whereas if they are the genealogies of different persons, then the difference in the names is not only accountable but necessary.² And, also, whereas on the hypothesis that both genealogies refer to Joseph, there is no evidence that Jesus was descended from David; on the other hypothesis that one of the genealogies refers to Mary, it is proved that Jesus was of the seed of David according to the flesh.

But it has been objected to the whole subject, that it is very improbable that there should exist such long genealogical registers, especially of persons such as Joseph and Mary, who, according to the Gospels, were of humble origin, and that both of them could trace their descent from David. But this objection is met by the fact of the scrupulous carefulness of the Jews with regard to their genealogies. We have abundant evidence of this in the First Book of Chronicles and in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Josephus frequently refers to the public tables. In the account of his life, after giving his own priestly descent, he says: "Thus have I set down the genealogy of my family as I have found it described in the

¹ See Godet, *Commentary on Luke*, vol. i. p. 199. He draws the following conclusions from the omission of *τοῦ*: 1. That this name (Joseph) belongs rather to the sentence introduced by Luke. 2. That the genealogical document which he consulted began with the name of Heli. 3. And consequently that this piece was not originally the genealogy of Jesus or of Joseph, but of Heli. Since the above was written, we have found the same theory proposed by Professor Roberts of St. Andrews in an article in the *Thinker*, January 1895.

² According to this view, the Shealtiel and Zerubbabel of Matthew, the first the son and the second the grandson of Jehoiachin, were the well-known persons in the Old Testament, whilst the Shealtiel and Zerubbabel of Luke are two unknown persons.

public tables." And he informs us that from all countries in which their priests are scattered abroad, they send to Jerusalem the names of their parents, attested by witnesses.¹ The famous Rabbi Hillel, a contemporary of our Lord, succeeded in proving by means of genealogical tables that, although a poor man, he was a descendant of David. Rabbi Levi says: There was found a book of genealogies at Jerusalem in which it was written that Hillel was of the family of David.² Anna the prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, could trace her descent from the tribe of Asher (Luke ii. 3); Paul asserted that he belonged to the tribe of Benjamin (Rom. xi. 1; Acts xiii. 21); and the grandsons of Jude, the brother of our Lord, had to appear before Domitian, because they were the descendants of David.³ Of all the registers, we may be certain that the royal register of David, from whom the Messiah was to proceed, would be kept with the most scrupulous care. These public registers would be destroyed at the destruction of Jerusalem.

From the annotations found interspersed in the genealogical list given by Matthew, as well as from its omissions, we think it not improbable that he constructed his own genealogy without having recourse to the public registers. On the other hand, Luke has none of these notes and omissions, so that it is not improbable that he extracted his genealogy from the public registers, being the genealogical table of Heli, the father of Mary, and incorporated it into his narrative with the explanatory clause, "being the son, as was supposed, of Joseph."

¹ *Vita*, § 1; *Contra Apion*. i. 7.

² Lightfoot's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 41, Pitman's edition.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 19.

DISSERTATION II.



THE CENSUS OF QUIRINIUS.

LUKE ii. 1, 2.

LITERATURE.—The literature on this subject is extensive, as it is discussed in all commentaries on Luke's Gospel. We give a list of the most important works arranged alphabetically: Andrews, *Life of Christ*, pp. 1 ff.; Bleek's *Synoptische Erklärung*, vol. i. pp. 66 ff.; Caspari's *Introduction to the Life of Christ*, trans. pp. 34–38; Davidson's *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, 3rd ed. vol. i. pp. 451–456; Ebrard's *Gospel History*, pp. 136 ff.; Ewald's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. v. pp. 132 ff.; trans. vol. vi. pp. 152–157; Farrar's *Life of Christ*, vol. ii. Appendix; *Date of Christ's Birth*, pp. 149–152; Gerlach, *Die römischen Statthalter in Syria und Judæa*, pp. 22–42; Godet's *Commentary on Luke's Gospel*, trans. vol. i. pp. 119–128; Greswell's *Dissertations on the Gospels*, vol. i. Dissertation xii. pp. 443–525; Huschke, *Ueber den zu der Geburt Jesu Christi gehalten Census*, a work which has not been accessible to me; Lewin's *Fasti Sacri*; Meyer's *Commentary on Luke*; Mommsen's *Provinces of the Roman Empire*; Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*; Sieffert's article, "Schatzung," in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, 2nd ed.; Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, article, "Cyrenius"; Steinmeyer, *Die Geschichte der Geburt des Jesus*; Wieseler's *Chronologische Synopse*, pp. 73 ff.; trans. by the Rev. P. Venables, pp. 45–135; Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, articles, "Quirinus" and "Schatzung"; and Zumpt, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*.

The statement of Luke concerning the census of Quirinius,

as given in the *textus receptus*, is as follows: 'Εγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου, ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην· αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου (Luke ii. 1, 2). These words are translated according to the Authorised Version: "And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed. (And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria)"; and, according to the Revised Version: "Now it came to pass in those days, there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be enrolled. This was the first enrolment made when Quirinius was governor of Syria." This decree of Cæsar Augustus was issued in those days (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις), that is, at or about the time of our Lord's birth. Πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην (that all the world) is not to be restricted to the land of Judæa or Palestine (Kuinoel, Olshausen), but denotes the Roman Empire; for such is the usual import of the expression, and is evidently its meaning here, as the decree was issued by Cæsar Augustus. 'Απογράφεσθαι does not signify "to be taxed," as in the Authorised Version, but "to be enrolled," as in the Revised Version. A census was to be made, probably to ascertain the population and resources of the empire, and, perhaps, with a view to future taxation; but it does not necessarily infer that such a taxation should follow immediately. So, also, ἀπογραφὴ does not denote taxation, but enrolment. The article ἡ before ἀπογραφὴ is omitted in our best manuscripts, & B D, and is rejected by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Westcott and Hort, but retained by Alford and Meyer. The Revisers have omitted it without any marginal note. Its omission causes a slight change in the translation. If this reading be adopted, αὕτη is the subject of ἐγένετο, and ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη the predicate, so that the words must be rendered as in the Revised Version: "This was the first enrolment made when Quirinius was governor of Syria."

The reality of this census of the Roman Empire has been questioned on the ground that there is no historical evidence, either from Josephus or from the Roman historians, that

such a census was taken at this period. But this is a mistake. Various statistical accounts were drawn up. Julius Cæsar, we are informed, had undertaken, with a view to an exact system of taxation, a great statistical work, containing a survey of the Roman Empire (*descriptio orbis*). This work was continued by Augustus, and is said to have occupied thirty-two years. Augustus, with that wisdom for which he was so distinguished, sought to consolidate his vast empire, and for this purpose several censuses were taken during his reign. Of these three are specially mentioned. Thus Suetonius says: "Augustus thrice took a census of the people, the first and the third time with a colleague, and the second by himself."¹ This statement is confirmed by the Ancyran monument,² containing a record of the actions of Augustus. On it we are informed that these three censuses were held U.C. 726, 746, and 767, corresponding with B.C. 28, 8, and A.D. 13.³ It may be that no special census is mentioned about the year of our Lord's birth, yet there is nothing against the supposition that such a census may then have been made, or that one of the censuses above mentioned may then have been carried into effect. Indeed, the second of these, which occurred in B.C. 8, according to many biblical scholars, was made in the very year in which our Lord was born. It has, indeed, been affirmed that these censuses were made only of Roman citizens; but we learn from Tacitus that they included also the allies and dependencies of Rome. We are informed by him that after the death of Augustus, Tiberius ordered the imperial register to

¹ Suetonius, *Augustus*, xxvii.

² The *Monumentum Ancyranum* is an inscription in Greek and Latin on the walls of a temple erected in honour of Augustus at Ancyra the modern Angora. It contains an account of the principal events in the life of that emperor; a great part of the inscription is still legible.

³ Much complication arises from the different methods of chronology; the one dated from the founding of Rome A.U.C., and the other our ordinarily received Christian era. The Roman era corresponding with the Christian era was A.U.C. 754. The conversion of a date B.C. or A.D. into a date A.U.C. is therefore effected by subtracting the date B.C. and by adding the date A.D. to the number 754. Thus the date of the death of Herod the Great is A.U.C. 750, that is, B.C. 4.

be produced and read. It contained a summary of the resources of the State, the number of Romans and auxiliaries in the armies, the extent of the navy, kingdoms, provinces, tributes, customs, the public expenditure and largesses. The register was all written by the hand of Augustus.¹

It has been further objected that in a general census of the Roman Empire, the kingdom of Judæa would be excluded, because at this time it formed no part of the empire, but was governed by a king of its own, and it was not until it had lost its independence by the dethronement of Archelaus, the son and successor of Herod the Great, that a census of the population with a view to taxation was made. But there is no reason to suppose that these confederate kingdoms were excluded from the census which was taken of the Roman Empire. The *reges socii* of the Romans were merely nominal rulers: they not only owned the suzerainty of Rome, but they were appointed and dethroned at the pleasure of the Roman senate and the emperor: there was no great difference between their power and that of the Roman proconsuls. The independence of Judæa was at this time only nominal: the Jews had to take an oath of allegiance to Augustus as well as to their own king.² Herod could do nothing without the permission of Cæsar. These subordinate kings certainly taxed their own people: and in this instance the enrolment mentioned in Luke's Gospel, although enjoined by the emperor, was carried out, not according to Roman, but according to Jewish procedure; besides, it must be remembered that it was not an assessment, but merely a census.

The exact year of our Lord's birth is still a matter of doubt, and different dates have been assigned to it. Our received chronology is not older than the sixth century, and was first introduced into the Christian Church by Dionysius, surnamed Exiguus, a monk who lived in the reign of Justinian, and hence it is called the Dionysian era. It is now acknowledged by almost all critics and chronologists to be erroneous; and it is considered that the date of our Lord's birth was several years earlier than is represented in our common chronology. There is no doubt whatever that

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 11.

² Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 2. 4.

Herod the Great was alive when our Lord was born. This is affirmed both by Matthew and Luke. According to Matthew, Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa in the days of Herod the king (Matt. ii. 1); and, according to Luke, it was in the days of Herod the king of Judæa (Luke i. 5) that the angel of the Lord appeared to Zacharias, the father of the Baptist. Now the date of Herod's death can be ascertained from the history of Josephus with great exactness. "Herod," he says, "died the fifth day after he had caused Antipater (his son) to be slain, having reigned, since he had procured Antigonus to be slain, thirty-four years; and since he had been declared king by the Romans, thirty-seven years."¹ Almost all chronologists have fixed upon B.C. 4, or A.U.C. 750, as the date of Herod's death.² There is also evidence that our Lord was born some time before that event, because time must be allowed for the presentation in the temple, the visit of the wise men, and the flight into Egypt; and yet it is evident that no great amount of time could have elapsed (Matt. ii. 19), perhaps one or two years. Eusebius says that it was in the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus, and the twenty-eighth year after the subjugation of Egypt and the death of Antony and Cleopatra, that our Lord was born in Bethlehem of Judæa:³ giving the approximate date of B.C. 3. The following are the opinions of some of the leading critics and chronologists: Zumpt fixes on B.C. 8; Alford and Ebrard, on B.C. 7; Kepler and Lardner, on B.C. 6; Usher, on B.C. 5; Bengel, Wieseler, Greswell, and Ellicott, on B.C. 4. Probably the most correct date is B.C. 5, a year before the death of Herod.

The enrolment is said to have been made when Quirinius was governor of Syria. Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, or as his name is elsewhere written, Quirinus,⁴ was a distinguished Roman officer. He was entrusted with many important com-

¹ Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8. 1.

² So Wieseler, Winer, Meyer, Schürer, Zumpt.

³ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 5.

⁴ In Tacitus and Suetonius the name is written Quirinus; in Strabo and Josephus, Quirinius. Quirinius is the Greek form of the Roman name. In the Vatican manuscript it is Quireinus (*Κυρεῖνου*); in the Alexandrian, Quirunius (*Κηρυνίου*); and in the Sinaitic, Quirenius (*Κυρηνίου*).

missions, and was in great favour both with Augustus and with Tiberius. He was consul, B.C. 12, along with Valerius Messala Barbatus. Our information concerning him is chiefly derived from the account given by Tacitus. "About this time Tiberius desired of the senate that the decease of Sulpicius Quirinus might be celebrated by a public funeral. Quirinus was born at Lanuvium, a municipal town, and nowise related to the ancient patrician family of the Sulpicii; but being a brave soldier was for his active services rewarded with the consulship under Augustus, and soon after with a triumph for driving the Homonadensians out of their strongholds in Cilicia. When the young Caius Cæsar (the grandson of Augustus) was sent to settle the affairs of Armenia, Quirinus was appointed his tutor, and at the same time paid court to Tiberius, then in his retirement at Rhodes. The emperor represented this to the senate; he extolled the kind offices of Quirinus, and branded Marcus Lollius as the author of the perverse behaviour of Caius Cæsar to himself, and of all the jarring between them. But the memory of Quirinus was not agreeable to the rest of the senate by reason of the danger to which he exposed Lepida,¹ as I have before related, and his sordid meanness and overbearing conduct in the latter part of his life."²

But a formidable objection to the statement regarding the census occurs, amounting to an apparent contradiction. According to Luke, Quirinius was governor of Syria, and the census or enrolment was made by him at or about the time of our Lord's birth (Luke ii. 1). But Josephus informs us that Quirinius did not receive the appointment of governor of Syria until ten years after, when Archelaus, the son of Herod, was deposed, and Judæa was annexed to the empire and incorporated with the province of Syria. Quirinius was then sent into Syria to settle the annexation of Judæa, and to take a census of the population with a view to taxation; which census gave rise to that memorable outbreak of the Jews headed by Judas of Galilee. "Archelaus' country," says

¹ For the conduct of Quirinius toward his wife Lepida, see Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 22.

² Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 48.

Josephus, "was annexed to the province of Syria; and Quirinius, who had been consul, was sent by Cæsar to take account of the effects of the people."¹ And again: "Quirinius came himself into Judæa, which was now added to the province of Syria, to take an account of their substance and to dispose of the money of Archelaus."² Besides, according to Josephus, it was not Quirinius who was governor of Syria at the time of the death of Herod the Great, which occurred shortly after the birth of Christ, but Varus, afterwards notorious in Roman history for his defeat and the destruction of his legions by the Germans. He informs us that Varus, the governor of Syria, came to Jerusalem, and presided at the trial of Antipater, the son of Herod, who was put to death by his father five days before his own death.³ Varus continued for some time longer, for he quelled the disturbances which arose after the death of Herod.

There is thus an apparent discrepancy in these accounts. Luke states that Quirinius was governor of Syria about the time of our Lord's birth; and Josephus, that this was not until ten years later, and that it was then that he made the census. Some suppose that Luke has committed an error in stating that the census of Quirinius occurred ten years before it actually happened. But it is very improbable that such a mistake should be committed by a historian whose extreme accuracy has, in other points, been testified to and verified. Luke was well acquainted with the census of Quirinius which gave rise to the revolt of Judas of Galilee, and alludes to it in his Acts of the Apostles: "After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the enrolment, and drew away some of the people after him" (Acts v. 37).

When we turn to the statements of the Fathers we have apparently two different accounts. Justin Martyr agrees with Luke that the census was made by Quirinius about the time of our Lord's birth. He makes three allusions to it. In his first Apology he says: "There is a village in the land of the Jews five and thirty stadia from Jerusalem, in which Jesus Christ was born, as you can ascertain from the registers of

¹ Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 13. 5.

² *Ibid.* xviii. 1. 1.

³ *Ibid.* xvii. 5. 2.

the enrolment under Quirinius, the first procurator in Judæa." "Christ was born one hundred and fifty years ago under Quirinius." And in his *Dialogue with Trypho* he says: "On the occasion of the first census which was taken in Judæa under Quirinius, Joseph went from Nazareth, where he lived, to Bethlehem, to which he belonged, to be enrolled."¹ Justin here corroborates the statement of Luke, that the census was made under Quirinius; and for the truth of this he appeals to the public registers. The same statement is made by Eusebius: "Christ was born the same year when the first census was taken, and Quirinius was governor of Syria."²

Tertullian, on the other hand, affirms that when the census mentioned in Luke's Gospel was taken, Sentius Saturninus was governor of Syria. "It is certain," he observes, "that at this very time (when our Lord was born) a census had been taken in Judæa by Sentius Saturninus, which might have satisfied their inquiry respecting the family and descent of Christ."³ Caius Sentius Saturninus filled the office of governor of Syria, B.C. 10-6, and was succeeded by Quintilius Varus, B.C. 6-4. It is too hastily supposed that Tertullian here commits a historical blunder. Many critics affirm that our Lord was born when Saturninus was governor of Syria. This, however, is not asserted by Tertullian: he merely affirms that under the government of Saturninus a census was taken in Judæa; and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that such a census was appointed or commenced during the last year of the proconsulship of Saturninus, B.C. 6, and was continued and completed by his successor Varus, perhaps with the assistance of Quirinius.

Still the difficulty confronts us that whilst, according to Luke, the census was taken at the birth of Christ, when Quirinius was governor of Syria; according to Josephus it was not made until ten years later, when at that time Quirinius was appointed governor. Several attempts have been made to solve the difficulty, either by giving different interpretations to the words of the evangelist, or by an

¹ Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. ch. xxxiv. and ch. xlvi.; *Dial. c. Tryph.* ch. lxxviii.

² Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 5.

³ *Adv. Marcion.* iv. 19.

examination into the historical circumstances of the times.

Some attempt the solution of the difficulty by conjectural readings and emendations. Beza, Olshausen, and Kuinoel call in question the integrity of the text. They suppose it to be a gloss by some ignorant transcriber; perhaps a marginal note which found its way into the text. Others have recourse to conjectures; for example, that instead of *Κυρηνίου* the original reading was *Κυντιλίου*, referring to Quintilius Varus, or *Σατουρνίνου*, referring to Sentius Saturninus. Michaelis proposes to read *πρὸ τῆς ἡγεμονεύοντος κ.τ.λ.*: the first enrolment which took place before Quirinius was governor of Syria. All these and similar suppositions must be rejected as at variance with critical authorities.

Some critics, putting stress on *αὐτή*, suppose that the parenthetic clause, "and this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria,"¹ was added for the purpose of drawing a distinction between this enrolment and the census made ten years afterwards by Quirinius: this enrolment was the prelude of that more celebrated enrolment made by Quirinius when actual taxation took place. This view of the matter was suggested by Ehrard. "When," he observes, "Luke speaks of a census which was taken at the time of Christ's birth, he must have made a distinction between this and the later census of Quirinius, which he calls in Acts v. 37, *ἡ ἀπογραφή*, the census *κατ' ἐξοχήν*."² Calvin appears to have adopted a similar view: "The words of Luke," he observes, "bear this sense, that about the time of our Lord's birth an edict came out to have the people registered, but that the registration could not take place till after a change of the kingdom, when Judæa had been annexed to another province. This clause is accordingly added by way of correction: This first registration was made when Quirinius was governor of Syria; that is, it was then first carried into effect."³ But such a view necessitates a different meaning to the verb *ἀπογράφεσθαι* and the noun *ἀπογραφή*: in the one case the word signifies to be enrolled; in the other, actual taxation. Besides, according to Luke, the decree was

¹ Authorised Version.

² Ehrard's *Gospel History*, p. 141.

³ Calvin on Luke ii. 2.

not only issued, but actually carried into effect, as is evident from the journey of Joseph and Mary from Nazareth to Bethlehem in order that their names might be registered in the public census.

Other critics, putting stress on the word *πρώτη*, "the first enrolment," suppose that it stands for the comparative *προτέρα*, and that the words *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου* are dependent upon it, being governed by it in the genitive. They translate the passage: "This enrolment was made before Quirinius was governor of Syria." Thus the enrolment in the text is distinguished from that subsequently made by Quirinius. This view has been adopted by Tholuck, Ewald, Wieseler,¹ Greswell,² and Dr. Samuel Davidson³ in his first *Introduction to the New Testament*. In support of this view it is affirmed that the superlative *πρώτος* is frequently used for the comparative *πρότερος* in the sense of *before*. As when the Baptist says: "This is He of whom I said, He that cometh after me is become before me: for He was before me" (*ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν*, John i. 15, 30); and when our Lord says: "If the world hateth you, ye know that it hath hated Me before *it hated* you" (*πρῶτον ὑμῶν*, John xv. 18). But such an interpretation is here hardly admissible. It not only assumes that the superlative *πρώτη*, *first*, is used in the sense of the comparative *προτέρα*, *before*; but it causes it to govern the words *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου*, which are naturally to be taken as a genitive absolute. This has been regarded as inadmissible by all our distinguished grammarians. Thus Winer says: "If such were Luke's meaning, his language would be not only ambiguous, but also awkward if not ungrammatical. Huschke has not succeeded in finding an example which is really parallel: he merely illustrates the very familiar construction of *πρώτος* with the genitive of a noun."⁴

Other critics fix on the word *ἐγένετο*, and give it the

¹ Wieseler, *Synopsis of the Gospels*, pp. 101 ff.

² Greswell's *Dissertation*, vol. ii. p. 523.

³ Davidson's *Introduction to the N.T.* 1st ed. p. 213.

⁴ Winer's *Grammar of the N.T. Greek*, translated by Dr. Moulton, p. 306. So also Buttmann's *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, p. 84.

sense of *was done or completed*: "This enrolment was completed, as the first enrolment, when Quirinius was governor of Syria." According to this view the evangelist distinguishes between the enrolment begun at the birth of Christ and the enrolment completed under Quirinius. This opinion has been adopted by Hofmann and Canon Cook.¹ This supposes that no less than ten years elapsed between the issuing of the decree and its completion, which is altogether at variance with the rapid procedure of the Romans. Others distinguish between the enrolment or placing on the register and the levying of the taxation which took place under Quirinius, an opinion to which we have previously alluded.

A more plausible explanation is that the title *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας* was here conferred on Quirinius because he was at this time entrusted with an extraordinary commission in Syria. Quirinius, as we know, was then in the East as an officer of high distinction, and invested with powers. He defeated the Homonadensians, a Cilician tribe, and shortly afterwards was appointed tutor or governor to Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, probably about A.D. 1. It has been supposed, not without some grounds, that, in consequence of his distinguished rank and abilities, he was employed as chief commissioner of Syria to carry into effect the census appointed by Augustus, and was for this purpose invested with an authority equal to that of the governor of Syria, who was then either Sentius Saturninus or Quintilius Varus. He might even for this purpose have been appointed joint governor.² This opinion has been adopted by Grotius, Beza, Hug, Winer, Neander, and Gerlach. The great objection to it arises from the silence of history; but as, according to the view here taken, the appointment was only temporary for a definite purpose, its historical omission may easily be accounted for. But the title *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας*

¹ *Speaker's Bible*, N.T. vol. i. pp. 326-329, note: On the Census of Cyrenius.

² It is very doubtful if there were ever joint governors of Syria. Josephus indeed speaks of Saturninus and Volumnius as governors of Syria, *Ant.* xvi. 9. 1. But Volumnius, of whom elsewhere we know nothing, may have acted only as legate to Saturninus.

can only denote "the governor of Syria": if merely an extraordinary commissioner, a different title would have been employed.

Another possible solution is that Quirinius is here called governor of Syria, because this was the name by which he was best known when Luke wrote his Gospel; although at the time when he made this early census, at the birth of our Lord, he was not actually governor. When a man has occupied with distinction an important office, he is often spoken of by the title conferred on him in mentioning events which happened even prior to his occupation of that office. Thus Cato Major is known in Roman history as Cato the censor; so Quirinius may have been known as Quirinius the governor of Syria. But there is no ground for this opinion, especially as the words are quite clear, Quirinius being governor of Syria:¹ it is adopted by few, and need not occupy our attention.

Hitherto the solutions of the difficulty have been drawn chiefly from the text, and are derived from the different meanings attached to the words *αὐτή*, *πρώτη*, *ἐγένετο*, and *ἡγεμονεύοντος*. We now come to a much more important solution of a different character, resting on different grounds, and founded on an exact examination of the historical circumstances of the times. A. W. Zumpt, nephew of the celebrated grammarian of the same name, in a monograph of great learning and research,² has undertaken to prove that Quirinius was twice governor of Syria—first, close upon the period usually assigned by biblical critics for the birth of our Lord, B.C. 5 or 4; and a second time, ten years afterwards, when Judæa was annexed to the province of Syria, as mentioned by Josephus. His reasoning is most ingenious, and is considered to be convincing by many distinguished critics and historians.

Zumpt makes a very careful inquiry into the succession of the governors of Syria and the duration of their governments; and he makes the discovery that there is an interval close upon the time of our Lord's birth which is not accounted for. About B.C. 10 (Dionysian era, B.C. 14), Titius was

¹ *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου.*

² *Das Geburtsjahr Christi.*

appointed governor of Syria: he was succeeded by Sentius Saturninus, who held the office for three years, B.C. 9-6. His successor—Quintilius Varus—was appointed B.C. 6, and was governor of Syria B.C. 4, the year in which Herod the Great died. After him there is a gap, and no further mention of the governors of Syria is made until we come to Quirinius, A.D. 6 (Dionysian era, A.D. 10), except that Volusius Saturninus is mentioned as governor of Syria on a coin of Antioch about A.D. 4. The question then is, Can we determine who was governor of Syria from B.C. 4, when Varus departed, to A.D. 4, when Volusius Saturninus was appointed? Zumpt, as the result of several most ingenious investigations, arrives at the conclusion that this was Quirinius.

The arguments which he uses in support of this conclusion, if not absolutely convincing, are at least so highly plausible, that they have obtained the assent of our most distinguished Roman historians. Tacitus, in his *Annals*, informs us that Quirinius, shortly after his consulship, obtained a triumph for his victory over the Homonadensians, having driven them out of their strongholds in Cilicia.² This war is also mentioned by Strabo. "Quirinius," he says, "reduced them (the Homonadensians) by famine, and took four thousand prisoners, whom he settled as inhabitants in the neighbouring cities."³ It occurred at the very time in question (B.C. 4 to A.D. 1), for Tacitus informs us that it was before Quirinius was appointed tutor or governor to Caius Cæsar (A.D. 1). The question arises, In what capacity did

¹ The governors of Syria are thus given by Zumpt—

M. Titius, about B.C. 10.

C. Sentius Saturninus, B.C. 9-6.

P. Quintilius Varus, B.C. 6-4.

P. Sulpicius Quirinius, B.C. 4-1 ?

M. Lollius, B.C. 1 to A.D. 2.

C. Marcius Censorinus, A.D. 2-4.

L. Volusius Saturninus, A.D. 4-6.

P. Sulpicius Quirinius, A.D. 6-11.

Zumpt's *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 71. See also Schürer's *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. i. vol. i. pp. 351-357.

² Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 48: "Consulatam sub divo Augusto, mox expugnatu per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis insignia triumphu adeptus."

³ Strabo, xii. 6. 5.

Quirinius carry on this war? It must have been as governor of that province to which the Homonadensians belonged, and that province must have been a proconsular province; for it was only the governor of a proconsular province who could possess an army and make war, and to whom the peace of the province he governed was entrusted. Now, Zumpt proves by an exhaustive process that this province could not have been Asia, Bithynia, Pontus, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, or Galatia, which were pretorian or senatorial provinces, and possessed no army; but must have been Cilicia, especially as the Homonadensians had their strongholds within that country. But at this time the province of Cilicia was reduced in size, and its eastern half was assigned to Syria. It appears to have had no governor of its own; so that the conclusion at which Zumpt arrives is that Quirinius, at the time of that war with the Homonadensians, was governor of Syria. This conclusion has been adopted by the distinguished Roman historian Mommsen: "The Syrian army," he says, "carried out the chastisement of the Homonadensians; the governor, Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, advanced some years later into their territory, cut off their supplies, and compelled them to submit *en masse*, whereupon they were distributed among the surrounding townships, and their former territory was laid waste."¹

This view is supposed to be supported by the fragment of a sepulchral inscription found at Tibur (Tivoli)² in 1764, and now placed in the Vatican Museum. The inscription states that the person whom it commemorates was proconsul of Asia and twice governor of Syria and Phœnicia. Although the name Quirinius does not appear on it, yet it is supposed that it refers to his official appointments, supposing that he was twice governor of Syria. Of course such an opinion is liable to great uncertainty, but it has been adopted by such distinguished historians as Mommsen³ and Merivale. The

¹ Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, vol. i. p. 336, translated by Professor Dickson of Glasgow University.

² Canon Cook, in the *Speaker's Commentary*, is mistaken in supposing that this inscription was found in the Tiber.

³ *Res gestæ divi Augusti*, p. 121. Mommsen believes that Quirinius was proconsul of Syria A.U.C. 751, 752, that is, B.C. 3, 2.

inscription, indeed, proves that the person referred to was twice governor of Syria, but there is no proof that Quirinius was ever proconsul of Asia. As Schürer observes: "The theory that Quirinius was twice governor of Syria is not to be based on the inscription; but, on the contrary, the application of the inscription to Quirinius is based upon the proof, elsewhere obtained, that he held the governorship a second time."¹

From these investigations of Zumpt, and the discovery made by him that Quirinius was twice governor of Syria, the first time shortly after the birth of Christ, and the second time ten years later, the following result may be said to have been obtained. Our Lord was born about B.C. 5, when Varus was governor of Syria.² The census of the empire, ordered by a decree of Augustus, was, according to the statement of Tertullian, commenced by Saturninus, B.C. 6, or, perhaps, rather a year later by Varus, B.C. 5, and completed by Quirinius, who entered upon his first government B.C. 4. Quirinius was not appointed governor until after the death of Herod, and consequently after the birth of Christ; but the census was called after him, because he carried it into effect. Ten years after this he was a second time appointed governor of Syria, and made a second census with a view to taxation. This gives a satisfactory interpretation to the whole passage: the two censuses are distinguished. Luke says: "This was the first enrolment, when Quirinius was governor of Syria," implying that there was a second enrolment by Quirinius, which occurred ten years later, during his second government. This view of Zumpt has been accepted by the two great Roman historians, Mommsen and Merivale. "A remarkable light," observes Merivale, "has recently been thrown upon this point—the year of our Lord's birth—by the demonstration, as it seems to be, of Augustus Zumpt, that Quirinius was *first* governor of Syria from B.C. 4 to B.C. 1. Accordingly, the enumeration begun or appointed under his predecessor Varus, and before the death of Herod, was completed after that event

¹ Schürer, *History of the People of Israel*, vol. i. p. 354.

² Zumpt fixes on B.C. 8, when Saturninus was governor of Syria; but this appears to be too early.

by Quirinius. It would appear from hence that our Lord's birth was A.U.C. 750, or 749 at the earliest,"¹ that is, B.C. 4 or 5.

¹ Merivale's *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. iv. p. 428, note.

LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED OR REFERRED TO.



- ABBOTT'S, Dr. Edwin, Article on the Gospels in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Fourth Edition. Vol. x.
- Abbott and Rushbrooke's *Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels*. London, 1884.
- Alford's *Greek Testament*. Vol. i. Fourth Edition. London, 1889. Last Edition, 1894.
- Andrews' *Life of our Lord*. London, 1869. New and Enlarged Edition. Edinburgh (T. & T. Clark), 1892.
- Ante-Nicene Library. Edinburgh, 1867-1872.
- Badham's *Formation of the Four Gospels*. London, 1892.
- Baring-Gould, *Lost and Hostile Gospels*. London, 1874.
- Barnes' *Canonical and Uncanonical Gospels*. London, 1891.
- Baur's *Marcus-Evangelium*. Tübingen, 1851.
- Bengelii *Gnomon Novi Testamenti*. Editio tertia. Tübingen, 1850. Translated by Fletcher. Edinburgh, 1859.
- Bleek's *Einleitung in das neue Testament*. Translated by Urwick. Edinburgh, 1869.
- Bleek's *Synoptische Erklärung der drei ersten Evangelien*. Leipzig, 1862.
- Bruce's *Kingdom of God*. Edinburgh, 1889.
- Bryennios' *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. Translated by Hitchcock and Brown. New York, 1884.
- Burton on the Last Twelve Verses in St. Mark's Gospel. Oxford, 1871.
- Calvin's *Commentaries: The Gospels*. Calvin Translation Society.
- Campbell, Principal, *On the Gospels*. Edinburgh, 1821.

- Campbell, Dr. Colin, *Critical Studies in St. Luke*. Edinburgh, 1891.
- Carpenter, *The First Three Gospels*. Second Edition. London, 1890.
- Carr on Matthew. *Cambridge Bible for Schools*. Cambridge, 1890.
- Caspari's *Life of Christ*. Translation. Edinburgh (T. & T. Clark), 1876.
- Cave's *Lives of the Apostles*. Oxford, 1840.
- Charteris' *Canonicity*. Edinburgh, 1880.
- Credner's *Einleitung in das neue Testament*. Halle, 1836.
- Davidson's *Biblical Criticism: New Testament*. Edinburgh, 1852.
- Davidson's *Introduction to the New Testament*. First Edition. London, 1849.
- Davidson's *Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*. London, 1868. Third Edition, 1894.
- De Wette's *Einleitung in das N. T.* Sechste Ausgabe. Berlin, 1860.
- Dods' *Introduction to the New Testament*. London, 1868.
- Ebrard, *The Gospel History*. Translation. Edinburgh, 1869.
- Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus*. London, 1886.
- Eichhorn's *Einleitung in das N. T.* Leipzig, 1804.
- Ellicott's *Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord*. Hulsean Lectures. Third Edition. London, 1862.
- Encyclopedia Britannica*. Ninth Edition.
- Essays and Reviews: Jowett's Essay*. Eighth Edition. London, 1881.
- Eusebii *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*. Edited by Heinichen. Leipzig, 1827.
- Ewald's, Heinrich, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*. Dritte Ausgabe. Göttingen, 1864. Translation. London, 1876-1886.
- Ewald's, Paul, *Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage*. Leipzig, 1890.
- Expositor. Various Articles.
- Farrar on Luke. *Cambridge Bible for the Schools*. Cambridge, 1882.
- Farrar's *Early Days of Christianity*. London, 1882.

- Farrar's Life of Christ. Thirteenth Edition. London.
Farrar's Messages of the Books. London, 1884.
Geikie's Life of Christ. Eleventh edition. London, 1879.
Godet's Studies on the New Testament. Edited by the Rev.
W. H. Lyttelton. Eighth Edition. London, 1888.
Godet's Commentary on St. Luke. Translation. Edinburgh,
1875.
Greswell's Dissertations. Oxford, 1830.
Greswell's Harmonia Evangelica. Third Edition. Oxford,
1840.
Griesbach's Greek Testament. Second Edition. London,
1818.
Guericke's Neutestamentliche Isagogik. Dritte Auflage.
Leipzig, 1868.
Harris, The newly-recovered Gospel of St. Peter. London,
1894.
Harris on the Diatessaron of Tatian. London, 1890.
Hase's Life of Jesus. Translation. Boston, 1860.
Hemphill, Rev. S., The Diatessaron of Tatian. London, 1888.
Hervey, Lord A., The Genealogies of our Lord. Cambridge,
1853.
Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie. Zweite Auflage.
Hilgenfeld's Einleitung in das neue Testament. Jena, 1875.
Holtzmann's Einleitung in das neue Testament. Freiburg,
1885.
Holtzmann's Die synoptischen Evangelien. Leipzig, 1863.
Holtzmann's Kommentar zum N. T. Die Synoptiker. Frei-
burg, 1889.
Horne's Introduction to the Scriptures. Tenth Edition.
London, 1857. Fourteenth Edition edited by Dr.
Tregelles and Rev. John Ayre. London, 1877.
Hug's Introduction to the N. T. Translation. London, 1827.
Jolley, The Synoptic Problem. London, 1893.
Jones on the Canon. Oxford Edition, 1827.
Josephus, Works of. Translation by Whiston.
Keim's Jesus of Nazara. Translation. London, 1876-1883.
Kerr's Introduction to the New Testament Study. New
York, 1892.
Kirchhofer's Quellensammlung. Zurich, 1842.

- Kitto's Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature. Third Edition. Edinburgh, 1869.
- Kuinoel, *Novi Testamenti Libri Historii*. London, 1835.
- Lachmann's *Novum Testamentum Graece*. Berlin, 1842.
- Lange's Life of Christ. Translation. Edinburgh, 1864.
- Lardner's Works. Octavo Edition, 1788. Quarto Edition, 1815.
- Lechler's *Das apostolische Zeitalter*. Zweite Auflage. Stuttgart, 1857. Translation of the Third Edition. Edinburgh, 1886.
- Lewis, Mrs., *The Four Gospels*. Translated from the Sinaitic Palimpsest. London, 1894.
- Lightfoot's (Dr. John) Works. Edited by Pitman. London, 1825.
- Lightfoot's, Bishop, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*. London, 1889.
- Lightfoot's, Bishop, *Apostolic Fathers: St. Clement of Rome*. London, 1890.
- Lightfoot, Bishop, *Ignatius and Polycarp*. London, 1885.
- Macknight's *Harmony of the Gospels*. London, 1763.
- Maclear on Mark. Cambridge Bible for Schools. Cambridge, 1886.
- McClellan on the Gospels. London, 1878.
- Mangold's Edition of Bleek's *Einleitung in das N. T.* Vierte Auflage. Berlin, 1886.
- Marcion's Gospel. Translated by J. Hamlyn Hill. Guernsey, 1891.
- Meyer's Commentaries on Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Translation. Edinburgh (T. & T. Clark), 1877.
- Michaelis' Introduction to the New Testament. Edited by Marsh. Second Edition. London, 1802.
- Morison's Commentary on Matthew. Second Edition. London, 1883.
- Morison's Commentary on Mark. Third Edition. London, 1882.
- Neander's Life of Christ. Bohn's Edition.
- Neander's Church History. Bohn's Edition.
- Nicholson, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*. London, 1879.

- Norton's Genuineness of the Gospels. London, 1847.
- Olshausen on the Gospels. Translation. Edinburgh, 1863.
- Pfleiderer's Philosophy and Development of Religion. Gifford Lectures. Edinburgh, 1894.
- Pulpit Commentary : The Gospels ; Matthew, Mark, and Luke.
- Ramsay's, Christianity and the Roman Empire. Second Edition. London, 1893.
- Renan's Life of Jesus.
- Resch's Agrapha. Leipzig, 1889.
- Reuss' Geschichte der heiligen Schriften N. T. Vierte Auflage. Braunschweig, 1866. Translation. London, 1884.
- Roberts' Greek, the Language of Christ and His Apostles. London, 1888.
- Roediger's Synopsis Evangeliorum. Halle, 1839.
- Row's Jesus of the Evangelists. London, 1865.
- Row's Bampton Lectures. 1877.
- Rushbrooke's Synopticon. London, 1880.
- Salmon's Introduction to the N. T. London, 1885. Fourth Edition, 1889. Seventh Edition, 1894.
- Sanday's Articles on the Synoptic Problem in the Expositor. Vol. iv. Fourth Series.
- Sanday's Gospels of the Second Century. London, 1876.
- Schaff's Encyclopedia of Biblical Theology. Edinburgh, 1883.
- Schaff's History of the Christian Church : Apostolic Christianity. Edinburgh, 1887.
- Schaff's Oldest Church Manual. 1883.
- Schaff's Popular Commentary : The Gospels. Edinburgh, 1879.
- Schleiermacher on Luke's Gospel. Translation by Thirlwall. London, 1825.
- Schmid, Biblical Theology of the New Testament. Translation. Edinburgh, 1882.
- Schürer's Jewish People in the Time of Christ. Translation. Edinburgh, 1885, 1886.
- Scrivener's Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T. First Edition. Cambridge, 1861. Third Edition, 1883. Fourth Edition. London, 1894.
- Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography.

- Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. London, 1863. Second Edition of the First Volume, 1893.
- Smith of Jordanhill, Dissertations on the Gospels. Edinburgh, 1883.
- Speaker's Commentary: The Gospels. 1878.
- Stanley's Sermons on the Apostolic Age. Third Edition. London, 1874.
- Stroud's Greek Harmony of the Four Gospels. London, 1883.
- Swete's Apocryphal Gospel of Peter. Cambridge, 1893.
- Tatian's Diatessaron. Translated by J. Hamlyn Hill. Edinburgh, 1894.
- Thilo, Codex Apocryphus N. T. Leipzig, 1832.
- Tholuck on the Sermon on the Mount. Translation. Edinburgh, 1860.
- Tischendorf's Novum Testamentum Græce. Editio Septima.
- Tischendorf, Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?
- Tischendorf, Synopsis Evangelica. Leipzig, 1864.
- Tregelles' Novum Testamentum Græce. 1857-1879.
- Tregelles' Printed Text of the Greek Testament. London, 1854.
- Turpie, The Old Testament in the New. London, 1868.
- Turpie, The New Testament View of the Old. London, 1872.
- Volkmar's Marcus und die Synopse der Evangelien. Zürich, 1876.
- Weiss' Einleitung in das N. T. Berlin, 1886. Translation. London, 1887.
- Weiss' Life of Christ. Translation. Edinburgh, 1883.
- Weizsäcker's Apostolisches Zeitalter. Freiburg, 1890. Translation. London, 1894.
- Wendt's Lehre Jesu. Göttingen, 1886.
- Westcott on the Canon of the N. T. Second Edition. London, 1866.
- Westcott's Introduction to the Study of the New Testament. Cambridge, 1860.
- Westcott and Hort, The New Testament in Greek. Cambridge, 1881.

- Wieseler's Chronologische Synopsis d. Evangelien. Hamburg, 1843. Translated by Venables. Cambridge, 1854.
- Winer's Biblisches Wörterbuch. Leipzig, 1833.
- Winer's Grammar of N. T. Greek. Translated by Moulton. Second Edition. Edinburgh, 1877.
- Wright's Composition of the Four Gospels. London, 1890.
- Zeller's Apostelgeschichte. Stuttgart, 1854. Translation. London, 1875.
- Zumpt's Das Geburtsjahr Christi. Leipzig, 1869.

INDICES.

I. TEXTS IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS ILLUSTRATED OR EXPLAINED.

		PAGE			PAGE
MATTHEW.			MARK.		
i. 1-17		249 ff	x. 46-52		80
i. 8		255	xiv. 52		175
ii. 1, 2		130-134	xvi. 9-20		187-201
ii. 15		151-153	LUKE.		
ii. 16		135	i. 1-3		225
ii. 17, 18		153-155	ii. 1, 2		270 ff
ii. 23		155-158	ii. 14		238-241
vi. 13		137	iii. 23-38		249 ff
xx. 29-34		80, 81	iii. 23		266
xxiii. 35		142	iii. 36		258
xxvii. 9, 10		158-166	xi. 2-4		240
xxvii. 51-53		102	xviii 35-43		80
			xxii. 43, 44		241-244

II. INDEX OF AUTHORS AND SUBJECTS.

ABBOTT's Article on the Gospels in Encyclopedia Britannica, 59, 197.	problem, 56 ; impossibility of a harmony of the Synoptics, 86 ; on the star of the wise men, 134 ; on the Gospel of Mark, 187 ; rejection of Mark xvi. 9-20, 188, 196 ; the genealogies, 250.
Abbott and Rushbrooke, Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels, 46, 59.	Ancyran monument, the, 271.
Academy, the, Letters on the Sinaitic Syriac MS., 252.	Andrews' Life of our Lord, 249, 265.
Africanus, Julius, on the Genealogies, 261.	Antioch, the birthplace of Luke, 222.
Alexander, Dr. Lindsay, Connection of the Old and New Testament, 152.	Apologies of Justin, 17.
Alford, Dean, Fragmentary nature of the Gospels, 9 ; their independence of each other, 46 ; independence of Matthew and Luke, 50 ; the Synoptic	Apostolic Constitutions, quoted, 195.
	Arabic version of Tatian's Diatessaron, 15.
	Aramaic supposed to be the language of Christ, 126.

- Aramaic Gospel, theory of, 60.
 Assemani, Biblioth. Orient., 15.
 Athanasius, Gospel symbols, 10.
 Augustine, Gospel symbols, 10 ; dependence of Mark on Matthew, 44 ; Matthew wrote in Hebrew, 112.
 Augustus, decree of, 270, 271.
 Authenticity, *see* Genuineness.
 Authors of the Synoptic Gospels, 9.
- BADHAM'S Formation of the Four Gospels, 37.
 Bacon, Lord, on Prophecy, 153.
 Baring-Gould, Lives of the Saints, 224 ; Lost and Hostile Gospels, 7, 213, 217, 219.
 Barnabas, Epistle of, 94.
 Barnes' Canonical and Uncanonical Gospels, 67.
 Basilides, referred to, 97.
 Baur's theory of the origin of the Gospels, 21.
 Bengel's Gnomon, 156, 265.
 Bertholdt's Einleitung, 58.
 Beyschlag's Leben Jesu, 62.
 Birk's Hore Evangelicæ, 206.
 Biscoe on the Acts, 255.
 Bleek's Introduction to the N.T. : dependence of Mark on Matthew, 44 ; Mark's Gospel a compilation from Matthew and Luke, 47 ; on Papias' use of the term *λόγια*, 66 ; on Matthew's quotations from the O.T., 149 ; on Marcion's Gospel, 220.
 Blind Bartimeus restored to sight at Jericho, 80.
 Bloody, the, sweat, 241-243.
 Bruce's Apologetics, 83 ; Kingdom of God, 39.
 Burgon's Last twelve verses of Mark, 187 ff.
 Bryennios' Didachè, 91.
- CÆSAR, Julius, his survey of the Roman Empire, 271.
 Cæsarea, the Gospel of Luke supposed to be written from, 245.
 Calvin : on Christ being called a Nazarene, 157 ; mistake committed in attributing a prophecy of Zechariah to Jeremiah, 165 ; supposes that the line of Solomon failed in Ahaziah, 259 ; on the census of Quirinius, 277.
 Campbell, Principal, referred to, 201.
 Campbell, Dr. Colin, Critical Studies in Luke's Gospel, 220.
 Candour, necessity of, in interpretation, 75.
 Canonical and Apocryphal Gospels, 7.
 Carr on Matthew's Gospel, 101, 263.
- Caspari's Life of Christ, 89, 269.
 Catechetical schools, 53.
 Cave's Life of the Apostles : St. Matthew, 106 ; St. Luke, 224.
 Celsus refers to the genealogies, 211.
 Census of the Roman Empire, 270.
 Census of Quirinius, 269-284.
 Characteristics of Mark's Gospel, 185 ; of Luke's Gospel, 231-233.
 Charles, Rev. Mr., on the Sinaitic Syriac, 253.
 Charteris' Canonicity, 7, 14.
 Chronological order in the Synoptics, 42, 87.
 Ciasca, Agostino, on Tatian's Diatesaron, 15.
 Cilicia joined to the province of Syria and under the governorship of Quirinius, 282.
 Clemens Alexandrinus : number of the Gospels, 7 ; genuineness of the Synoptic Gospels, 11 ; distinguishes between Matthew and Levi, 105 ; on the Gospel according to the Hebrews, 121 ; date of Mark's Gospel, 203.
 Clemens Romanus, testimony to Matthew's Gospel, 93.
 Codices B and κ , connection between them, 190.
 Codex Brixianus, 138, 241.
 Codex Bobbiensis, 191, 253.
 Codex Regius Parisiensis or uncial MS., L., 190.
 Contents of Matthew's Gospel, 144 ; of Mark's, 207 ; of Luke's, 247.
 Cook, Canon, Revised version of the first three Gospels, 244.
 Conybeare, Aristion the author of the last verses of Mark, 199.
 Credner's Einleitung, 4, 41, 100, 128, 181, 230.
 Curetonian Syriac, 21.
 Cureton on the Ignatian Epistles, 95.
 Cyrenius, governor of Syria, *see* Quirinius.
- DATE of Matthew's Gospel, 139-144 ; of Mark's Gospel, 202-206 ; of Luke's Gospel, 244-247.
 Date of our Lord's birth, 272.
 Davidic descent of Christ, 263-267.
 Davidson's Hermeneutics, 147, 149, 162.
 Davidson's Introduction to the Study of the N.T. ; on the want of graphic description in Matthew's Gospel, 101 ; on the repetitions in Matthew's Gospel, 103 ; number of quotations in Matthew's Gospel, 147 ; linguistic peculiarities in Luke's Gospel, 230.
 Design of Matthew's Gospel, 108 ; of

- Mark's Gospel, 181; of Luke's Gospel, 228.
- De Wette's *Einleitung*, 7, 45, 99, 212.
- Diatessaron of Tatian, 14-16.
- Didachè, references in it to the Gospel of Matthew, 91-93.
- Differences between the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel, 5.
- Dionysian era, on the, 272.
- Discrepancies, alleged, in the Gospels, 78.
- Documents employed by Luke, 227, 228.
- Doddridge's *Family Expositor*, 86, 160.
- Dods', Dr. Marcus, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 99, 178.
- Doxology to the Lord's prayer, 137.
- EBIONITES, the, 122, 123.
- Ebrard's *Gospel History*, 64, 134, 277.
- Eichhorn's Synoptic theory, 56; supposes Luke's Gospel to be an enlargement of Marcion's Gospel, 213.
- Ellicott's *Hulsean Lectures*: on the peculiarities of the Gospels, 85; on the star of the wise men, 134; defends the genuineness of Mark xvi. 9-20, 201.
- Ephræm, Syrus, his *Commentary on Tatian*, 15.
- Epiphanius asserts that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, 112; his account of Mark, 176; and of Luke, 224.
- Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, 211.
- Essays and Reviews: Dr. Jowett's essay, 73.
- Eusebius' *Church History*, *passim*.
- Evanson's *Dissonance of the Four Evangelists*, 237.
- Expositor Articles: article by Wace on Tatian, 16; articles by Professor Sanday on the Synoptic problem, 49, 64, 99; article by Professor Marshall on an original Hebrew Gospel, 60; article by Conybeare on Aristion, the author of Mark xvi. 9-20, 199; article by Dean Farrar on Mra. Lewis' Sinaitic manuscript, 252.
- Extra-canonical sayings of Christ, 125.
- FAIRBAIRN'S, A. M., *Christ in Modern Theology*, 21, 83.
- Fairbairn's, Dr. Patrick, *Hermeneutic Manual*, 163.
- Farrar's *Commentary on Luke*, 263.
- Farrar supports the theory of an oral gospel, 52; his description of Matthew's Gospel, 110; rejects Mark xvi. 9-20, 196; value of Luke's Gospel, 236.
- Farrar's *Life of Christ*, 147.
- GENEALOGY from Salmon to David, 254.
- Genealogies, the, in Matthew and Luke, 249-268.
- Genealogies among the Jews, 267.
- Genuineness of the Synoptic Gospels, 10-22; of Matthew's Gospel, 91-104; of Mark's Gospel, 167-172; of Mark xvi. 9-20, 187-191; of Luke's Gospel, 209-221.
- Gethsemane, the agony and bloody sweat: its authenticity, 241-244.
- Gieseler's theory of an oral gospel, 51.
- Gloag, *Introduction to the Johannine Writings*, 5; *Introduction to the Pauline Epistles*, 75; *Introduction to the Catholic Epistles*, 143.
- Gnosticism of Marcion, 215.
- Godet's *Biblical Studies*, 40, 108; *Commentary on Luke*, 50, 266, 267.
- Goethe's *Testimony to the Gospels*, 22.
- Gospels: meaning of the word gospel, 3; their fragmentary nature, 8; symbols, 9; relation of the Synoptic Gospels to each other, 22; points of agreement, 23; sections common to all three, 24-28; sections common to Matthew and Mark, 28-30; sections common to Mark and Luke, 30; sections common to Matthew and Luke, 30-33; summary of coincidences, 35; points of difference, 38.
- Gospel according to the Hebrews, 120-126.
- Greek Testament, critical editions of, 72.
- Gresswell's *Dissertations*, referred to, 80, 88, 113, 119, 174.
- Griesbach's *New Testament*, 72; theory of dependence, 44.
- Guericke, *Isagogik*, referred to, 7, 133, 178.
- HAHN'S *Evangelium Marcion*, 213, 220.
- Halcomb: *What think ye of the Gospels?* 83.
- Harmony of the Gospels, 85-89.
- Harnack's *History of Dogma*, 215.
- Harris, J. Rendel, on the Gospel of Peter, 14.
- Hausrath's *History of the New Testament Times*, 76.
- Hebrew Christians, Matthew's Gospel written for, 108.
- Hebrew the original language of Matthew's Gospel, 110-120.
- Hegesippus, quoted, 121.
- Hemphill's *Diatessaron of Tatian*, 16.
- Henderson, *Commentary on Zechariah*, 165.

- Herod the Great: his cruelties, 135; year of his death, 273.
- Hervey's Genealogies of Jesus Christ, referred to, 249, 255, 260.
- Herzog's Encyclopädie, article on Tatian, 17.
- Hesychius of Jerusalem, his evidence on the concluding paragraph of Mark's Gospel, 193.
- Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, quoted, 241.
- Hill's Divinity Lectures, referred to, 152.
- Hill, Rev. J. Hamlyn, translation of Tatian's Diatessaron, 16; Marcion's Gospel, 217.
- Hippolytus, quoted, 195, 242.
- Hobart, Medical Language of St. Luke, 223.
- Holtzmann's *Einleitung*, 2, 24, 39, 55, 63, *Kommentar*, 22; his two document hypothesis, 63.
- Hort, Dr.: Critical edition of N. T., 72; rejects the doxology of the Lord's prayer, 139; considers Mark xvi. 9-20 not genuine, 200; his remarks on Luke iv. 14, 239.
- Hug's Introduction to the New Testament, 126.
- IGNATIUS: his testimony to the Gospel of Matthew, 95; alludes to the star of Bethlehem, 131.
- Inspiration of the Synoptic Gospels, 77, 81, 82.
- Integrity of Matthew's Gospel, 128-139; of Mark's Gospel, 187-201; of Luke's Gospel, 237-244.
- Interpretation of the Synoptic Gospels, 71-85.
- Irenæus: on the number of the Gospels, 7; the Gospel symbols, 9-10; testimony to the genuineness of the Synoptic Gospels, 10; of Matthew's Gospel, 96; mentions the visit of the magi, 132; testimony to Mark's Gospel, 169; to Luke's Gospel, 211; mentions the bloody sweat in Gethsemane, 242; asserts the Davidic descent of Mary, 264.
- JAMES, Epistle of: apparent references in it to the Sermon on the Mount, 91.
- Jehoiakim: omitted in the genealogy given by Matthew, 256.
- Jerome: on the Gospel symbols, 10; on the language in which Matthew wrote his Gospel, 112; supposes that the reference in Matthew xxvii. 9, 10 is to a lost prophecy of Jeremiah, 160; on Mark as the interpreter of Peter, 173; attests the existence of manuscripts terminating Mark's Gospel at xvi. 9, 193.
- Jones' Canon of the New Testament, 97, 103.
- Josephus: on the language of Judæa, 127; no reference in his history to the massacre of the infants of Bethlehem, 135; on the Jewish genealogical tables, 267; the Jews had to take an oath of allegiance to Augustus, 272.
- Jowett on the interpretation of Scripture, 73.
- Judæa, the language of, 126.
- Justin Martyr: his use of the term Gospel, 4; his testimony to the Synoptic Gospels, 17; to Matthew's Gospel, 96; mentions the visit of the Magi, 131; testimony to Mark's Gospel, 168; to Luke's Gospel, 210; mentions the bloody sweat in Gethsemane, 242; alludes to the census of Quirinius, 275.
- KEPLER on the star of the wise man, 133.
- Kerr's Introduction to New Testament Study, 203.
- Kidder's Dissertation on the Messiah, 162.
- Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*, 10, 97.
- Kitto's Cyclopaedia, 265.
- Kuinoel, *Novi Testamenti Libri Historici*, 201.
- LACHMANN'S *Testamentum Græcum*, 72, 189.
- Language of Matthew's Gospel, 110-128; of Mark's Gospel, 183-187; of Luke's Gospel, 230, 231.
- Language of Judæa in the time of Christ, 126.
- Latin expressions in Mark's Gospel, 181.
- Latin version (the old Italic), 20.
- Lee, Archdeacon, Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, referred to, 118.
- Levi, supposed to be different from Matthew, 105.
- Lewis, Mrs., the Sinaitic Palimpsest, 251.
- Lightfoot, Dr. John, quoted, 162, 175, 268.
- Lightfoot's Essays on Supernatural Religion, 65; the Apostolic Fathers, 94.
- Logia, meaning of the term as used by Papias, 65.
- Lord's prayer, the, as given in Luke's Gospel, 240.
- Luke, Gospel of: its genuineness, 209-221; its relation to Marcion's Gospel,

- 218 ; its author, 221 ; sources, 225 ; design, 228 ; language, 230 ; characteristics, 231 ; integrity, 237 ; date, 244 ; contents, 247.
- Luke, the Evangelist : notices of, in Scripture, 222-224 ; in Church history, 225.
- MACLEAR'S Commentary on Mark, 178, 187.
- M'Clellan's New Testament, 80, 134, 161, 193.
- Magi, visit of the, 133.
- Mansel's Commentary on Matthew's Gospel, 158, 263 ; Gnostic heresies, 215.
- Manuscripts of the New Testament, 72, 73.
- Marcion : Gospel of, 8 ; sketch of his life, 213 ; works in relation to his Gospel, 213 ; his views, 215 ; relation of his Gospel to that of Luke, 218.
- Mark, Gospel of : literature, 167 ; genuineness, 167-172 ; author, 172 ; sources, 177 ; design, 181 ; characteristics, 185 ; integrity, 187-191 ; date, 202-208 ; contents, 207.
- Mark, the Evangelist : notices in Scripture, 172 ; supposition of two Marks, 174 ; supposed to be the young man who followed Christ, 175 ; notices in ecclesiastical history, 176.
- Marsh, Bishop, his theory of the formation of the Gospels, 57.
- Marshall, Professor, on the Aramaic Gospel, 60.
- Mary, Luke gives the genealogy of, 265-267.
- Massacre of the infants of Bethlehem, 135.
- Matthew, Gospel of : literature, 90 ; genuineness, 90-104 ; author, 104 ; sources, 106 ; design, 108 ; language, 111-128 ; integrity, 129-139 ; date, 139-144 ; contents, 144.
- Matthew, the Evangelist : notices in Scripture, 104 ; supposed to be different from Levi, 105 ; notices in ecclesiastical history, 106.
- Matthew and Luke's Gospels independent of each other, 50.
- Messiahship of Jesus, proofs of, in Matthew's Gospel, 109.
- Merivale's History of the Romans, 283.
- Meyer's Commentary on Matthew, 99, 117, 129, 165, 257 ; Commentary on Mark, 172 ; Commentary on Luke, 228, 243.
- Michaelis' Introduction to the New Testament by Bishop Marsh 57, 143, 155, 161, 197.
- Milligan, Professor, maintains the genuineness of the Epistle of Barnabas, 94.
- Mommsen's Provinces of the Roman Empire, 282.
- Morison's Commentary on Matthew, 119, 166, 257.
- Morison's Commentary on Mark, 201.
- Muratorian canon, 14, 168, 211.
- Mutual relations of the Synoptic Gospels, 22-42.
- Mythical incidents supposed to be in Matthew's Gospel, 102.
- NARRATIVE, the threefold, 24 ; the twofold narrative : Matthew and Mark, 28 ; Mark and Luke, 30 ; Matthew and Luke, 30 ; the single narrative : Matthew, 32 ; Mark, 33 ; Luke, 33.
- Nazarenes and Ebionites distinguished, 122.
- Nazarites, the, 157.
- Neander's Life of Christ, 135.
- Nicephorus, Hist. Eccl., 177, 224.
- Nicholson's Gospel according to the Hebrews, 123.
- Norton's Genuineness of the Gospels : on the early diffusion of the Gospels, 12 ; on the verbal agreements in the Gospels, 36 ; supports the theory of oral tradition, 52 ; supposes that there are mythical additions to Matthew's Gospel, 102 ; denies the authenticity of the first two chapters of Matthew's Gospel, 129 ; considers the visit of the magi to be legendary, 133 ; rejects Luke's account of the bloody sweat, 242 ; considers the genealogy given by Matthew to be an interpolation, 250.
- OBJECTIONS to the genuineness of Matthew's Gospel, 98-104 ; of Mark's Gospel, 170-172 ; of Luke's Gospel, 213-221.
- Olshausen on the Gospels, 40, 213.
- Origen distinguishes between Matthew and Levi, 105 ; testimony to a Hebrew Matthew, 111 ; on the Gospel according to the Hebrews, 122 ; connection between Luke and Paul, 224.
- Osiander's Harmonia evangeliorum, 85.
- PALEY'S Evidences, 18.

- Pantænus, his testimony to a Hebrew Matthew, 111.
- Papias, extract from, 18; his references to Matthew and Mark, 62; meaning of the *logia* of Matthew, 65; allusion to the Gospel of Matthew, 96; Matthew composed his works in the Hebrew language, 107, 111; his testimony to Mark's Gospel, 168; Mark did not write in order the things said or done by Christ, 170.
- Parables of our Lord, 82; those peculiar to Luke's Gospel, 248.
- Parallels between the Sermon on the Mount and the sayings of our Lord recorded by Luke, 39.
- Paul, his relation to Luke, 224.
- Peter, the Gospel of, 12, 13.
- Peter, connection between him and Mark, 177-180.
- Pfleiderer's Gifford Lectures, 63.
- Philippi's Commentary on the Romans, 65.
- Place of composition of Matthew's Gospel, 143; of Mark's Gospel, 205; of Luke's Gospel, 247.
- Polycarp: testimony to Matthew's Gospel, 96; his encounter with Marcion, 214.
- Pritchard, Rev. Charles, on the star of the wise men, 133.
- QUIRINIUS, census of, 269-284.
- Quotations from the Old Testament in Matthew's Gospel, 140-166; in Mark's Gospel, 184, 185.
- RAMSAY, The Church and the Roman Empire, 95.
- Resch's *Agrapha*, 60, 64, 70, 124.
- Reuss' History of the New Testament, 62.
- Revised Version, 74.
- Roberts, Greek the Language of Christ and His Apostles, 126, 149, 151; article in the *Thinker* on the genealogy of Christ, 267.
- Row, Jesus of the Evangelists, 46; Bampton Lectures, 78, 81.
- Rushbrooke's Synopticon, 24, 39, 86.
- SALMON's Introduction to the New Testament, referred to, 14, 24, 48, 68, 77, 171, 219.
- Sanday: articles in the *Expositor*, 49, 64, 99; Bampton Lectures, 13, 62, 78, 161; his views on the sources of the Synoptics, 64.
- Saturninus Sentius, supposed to be governor of Syria when Christ was born, 276.
- Sayings of Jesus, collection of, 68.
- Schaff, Dr.: independence of the Gospels, 46; sources of the Synoptic Gospels, 52; two editions of Matthew's Gospel, 118; style of Matthew, 128; language of Luke, 231.
- Schaff's Oldest Church Manual, 91.
- Schleiermacher, hypothesis of, 58; critical essay on Luke's Gospel, 227.
- Schmid's Biblical Theology of the New Testament, 91.
- Schürer, Jewish People in the Time of Christ, 76, 127, 281, 283.
- Scribner: on Matthew vi. 13, 138; on Mark xvi. 9-20, 187-201; on Luke ii. 14, 239; on Luke xxiii. 43, 44, 244.
- Septuagint, use of, 149.
- Serapion, on the Gospel of Peter, 12.
- Sermon on the Mount, the, 29, 82-84.
- Sinaitic Syrian manuscript, 251-253.
- Sinaitic and Vatican manuscripts, relation of, 189, 190.
- Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 55, 64, 113.
- Smith of Jordanhill, Dissertation on the Gospels, 59.
- Socrates' Church History, 106.
- Sources of the Synoptic Gospels, 42-71; of Matthew's Gospel, 106-108; of Mark's Gospel, 177-181; of Luke's Gospel, 225-228.
- Speaker's Commentary, 35, 149, 190.
- Spiritual discernment necessary for interpretation, 81.
- Spiritual songs in Luke's Gospel, 236.
- Stanley, Dean, Sermons on the Apostolic Age, 174.
- Star of the wise men, 133.
- Strabo on Quirinius, 281.
- Strauss' mythical theory, 21.
- Stroud's Greek harmony of the Gospels, 35, 45, 86.
- Stuart, Moses, Greek the original language of Matthew's Gospel, 116.
- Style and diction of Matthew's Gospel, 127; of Mark's Gospel, 183; of Luke's Gospel, 230, 231.
- Suetonius, quoted, 273.
- Swete on the Gospel of Peter, 13.
- Synoptic, meaning of the term, 5.
- Synoptic Gospels: their number, 6; authors, 9; symbols, 9, 10; genuineness, 10-22; relation to each other, 22-43; points of agreement, 23; points of difference, 38; sources, 42-71; interpretation, 71-84; peculiarities, 84.

- Syriac version, 20.
 Syria, governors of, 281.
- TACITUS, quoted, 272, 274, 281.
 Tatian's Diatessaron, 14-17; omits the genealogies, 130; contains Mark xvi. 9-20, 194.
 Teaching in the Synoptic Gospels compared with the teaching in the other books of Scripture, 83, 84.
 Tertullian: genuineness of the Synoptic Gospels, 11; Gospel of Mark called the Gospel of Peter, 177, 180; on Mark's Gospel, 218; statement concerning the census of Quirinius, 276.
 Theodoret, quoted, 15.
 Theophilus, Luke's Gospel addressed to, 228, 229.
 Theories, Synoptic: theory of mutual dependence, 44-81; of an oral gospel, 51-56; of an original document or documents, 56-61; the two document theory, 61-66.
 Theories of reconciliation of the two genealogies: a levirate marriage, 260-263; both give the genealogy of Joseph, 263-265; Luke gives the genealogy of Mary, 265-267.
 Thirlwall, translation of Schleiermacher's Luke, 58.
 Tholuck's Sermon on the Mount, 40, 83.
 Tischendorf's Greek Testament, 72, 188.
 Townson, hypothesis of a Greek and Hebrew edition of Matthew, 118.
 Tregelles, Canon Muratorianus, 14; Greek Testament, 72; Hebrew the original language of Matthew, 113; Printed Text of the New Testament, 188, 191; rejects Mark xvi. 9-20, 188, 196.
 Turpie, The Old Testament in the New, 146 ff; The New Testament View of the Old, 162.
- UR-MARCUS, the hypothesis of an, 66, 71, 171.
- VATICAN and Sinaitic manuscripts, their connection, 190; the Lord's prayer as given in the Vatican manuscript, 240.
 Volkmar, Das Evangelium Marcion, 219.
- WACE's articles on Tatian's Diatessaron, 15.
 Warfield, Professor, quoted, 203.
 Weiss, Bernard, Einleitung, 63.
 Weizsäcker's Apostolisches Zeitalter, 50, 62.
 Wendt, Lehre Jesu, 64, 69.
 Westcott on the Canon, 20.
 Westcott's Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, 35, 42, 52, 69, 113, 188.
 Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament, 21, 72, 187, 198.
 Wieseler's Synopsis of the Four Gospels, 86, 134, 137, 278.
 Winer's Biblisches Wörterbuch, 134, 269.
 Winer's Grammar of N.T. Greek, 278.
 Wiseman, Cardinal, 76.
 Women, prominence given to, in Luke's Gospel, 235.
 Wordsworth's Greek Testament, 164.
 Wright, Rev. A., Composition of the Four Gospels, 53.
 Wright's Bampton Lectures, 165.
- YEAR of our Lord's birth, 272, 283.
- ZECHARIAH, the son of Barachiah, murder of, 142.
 Zahn's Tatian's Diatessaron, 16.
 Zeller's Acts of the Apostles, 212, 219.
 Zerubbabel in the Genealogies, 258-260, 267.
 Zumpt's investigations concerning the governorship of Quirinius, 280-284.