

SWEET GOSPEL HARMONY. com Part I of IV  
Hebrews, Gospel of the

# THE GOSPEL

ACCORDING TO

# THE HEBREWS

*ITS FRAGMENTS TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED*

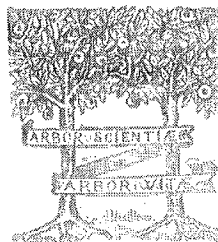
WITH A

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL  
EVIDENCE RELATING TO IT

BY

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TO THE  
REV. HENRY HALL-HOUGHTON, M.A.

(WITHOUT KNOWING HIM OR ASKING HIS LEAVE)

I Dedicate this Book

AS THE FIRST OUTCOME OF STUDIES TO WHICH I WAS LED BY HIS  
FOUNDATION, JOINTLY WITH THE LATE REV. JOHN HALL, B.D.,  
OF THE HALL-HOUGHTON PRIZES IN THE  
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



## FOREWORDS.

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IN writing an illustrative commentary (which will be published next January) upon the Gospel according to Matthew, I had to quote those fragments of the Gospel according to the Hebrews which answer to Matt. vi. 11 and xxiii. 35. This involved some notice of that work, and, as critical opinion about it was by no means unanimous, I resolved to make a full examination of it in an appendix. The appendix, however, soon became very awkwardly long, and was moreover entirely out of character with the nature of my commentary; so that I determined to put it forth as a separate book.

No apologies need be made for doing this. Hilgenfeld's edition shows that even in Germany the subject is far from worked out; while the passage of \*twenty-six lines in Professor Westcott's *Canon of the New Testament* which purports to present the opinions of antiquity about this lost Gospel, and which has been reprinted without change twice if not three times since the appearance of Hilgenfeld's edition, shows that in England even Hilgenfeld is all but unknown.

I have aimed at accuracy and logical method, and have no excuses to make if I have fallen short of these aims. As regards completeness, I have not indeed spent a lifetime in ransacking the entire body of early Christian literature, or even Syriac literature, in search of undiscovered quotations

\* See *Appendix A*, 'Prof. Westcott's Statement of the External Evidence.'

from and notices of the Gospel according to the Hebrews: nay, I have not tried to acquaint myself with what has been said by every modern, even every German writer upon the subject. I have, indeed, presumed that Hilgenfeld would have gathered from his forerunners whatever was worth gathering in the way of illustration, and theory I did not want. With these reservations I think I may claim to have studied completeness.

For the style of my translations I must ask indulgence. Scrupulous exactness was so important that I have tried to be as literal as might be without being altogether unreadable. One thing I do most earnestly beg, that no one will be prejudiced against the claims of the Fragments to genuine evangelical origin by their look in their English dress. If, however, the Greek is read as well, or the notes containing a verbal analysis, or if the equally literal translations made by me from the canonical Gospels are compared, I have no fear of any such prejudice arising.

To any one who may have read and liked a little book in which I expressed certain views about English writing, and in which I tried to carry out those views as far as I dared, I must also excuse the *general* style of the work: it was written before, though published after the other, and I have had no time to write it over again.

It is important to add in what spirit I have written. The subject is one on which it is almost impossible to be without a fore bias. One may be biased against the Gospel according to the Hebrews by its absence from the Canon or by suspicion of the sects who used it. One may be biased for it by hostility to the Canon, by belief in an Aramaic original of the Gospel according to Matthew, by prepossessions in favour of the Nazarenes, by some of the Fragments themselves, and by a wish to recover some genuine part of the lost mass of early evangelic literature. I wish to say that I have been biased by every one of this latter class of influences except the first. But I have done my best to overcome this

bias, and have been painfully anxious to state nothing as probable which was not so, and nothing as certain which was only highly probable. Nor can I see what other deductions it was possible to make from the evidence before me. If a copy of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or of either of Jerome's translations of it, should ever be recovered—which, judging from the recoveries of the last forty years, is by no means out of the question—my hypothesis might be blown to the winds. But I do not see how any other hypothesis was nearly so probable on the evidence presented by the existing Fragments taken in conjunction with the existing evidence of ancient writers.

I have had much help from the thirty-three pages given to this Gospel by Hilgenfeld in Fasciculus IV. of his *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem Receptum* (Lips. 1866). His examination of the external evidence is, however, but a sketch, while his internal evidence (scattered through the notes) is for the most part, I think, quite destitute of value. He sees almost everywhere a form of narrative earlier than that of the Greek Matthew, but his reasons seem to me in the highest degree fanciful. There is no approach to systematic verbal analysis, and the impetuosity of judgement which affirms\* that the Gospel according to the Hebrews offers to those who are investigating the origin of the canonical Gospels the long sought 'punctum Archimedis' is characteristic of the entire work. But I have had from it much help in many ways which I might not have got, at least without great trouble, from other sources, and I record the above criticisms only that those who cannot compare the two works may not suspect me of much greater indebtedness than I like to acknowledge. I must also acknowledge a heavy debt to his sections on *the Gospel according to Peter*,

\* 'Hebræorum evangelium nobis evangeliorum originem investigantibus etiam nunc Archimedis punctum præbet, quod tot viri docti in evangelio secundum Marcum frustra quaesiverunt,' p. 13.

For the verbal analysis of the Fragments I have of course used Bruder's Concordance.

Not knowing any Aramaic, I have asked of my friend the Rev. Dr. Hermann Adler, the well known Rabbi of the Bayswater Synagogue, such questions as my written authorities left me in doubt about, and I most gratefully acknowledge his unvarying readiness to give me every information, and his very kind interest in my work.

To my fellow librarians, Mr. R. Harrison of the London Library, the Rev. T. Hunter of Dr. Williams's, and the Rev. W. H. Milman of Sion College I owe thanks for many facilities accorded me.

Lastly, and very far indeed from leastly, I thank with all my heart the subscribers without whom I dared not chance the publication of my work. Specially thankful ought I to be to those many high dignitaries of the Church of England who, in the interests of critical theology, gave their patronage to a book of whose conclusions and a writer of whose religious opinions they knew nothing—simply trusting in the statement of my prospectus that I entered this field of literature 'in the cause neither of orthodox tradition nor of its impugnors.' I hope that they and all others who read the book will find nothing in it to make them suspect the sincerity of that statement, nothing to make them suspect that it has been, even unconsciously, influenced by any religious opinions whatever.

LONDON INSTITUTION,  
October, 1879.



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THE  
GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS.



I.

*THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.*

‘THE GOSPEL according to the Hebrews’ is the name of a Gospel of which only some thirty known fragments have come down to our day. It is my object to gather and examine the statements and opinions of ancient writers about this lost Gospel; to arrange, translate, and illustrate its fragments; lastly, to analyse the internal evidence presented by the fragments, and, comparing it with the external evidence, to see whether it enables us to shape any likely hypothesis as to the character and origin of the work to which they belonged.

\*IRENÆUS is the first extant writer who refers to the Gospel according to the Hebrews. To make his reference intelligible it is needful first to say that the early Church believed Matthew to have written his Gospel in ‘Hebrew,’†

\* Born and educated in Asia about 120–40 A.D., pupil of Polycarp and Papias, made Bishop of Lyon in 177, still living in 197, supposed to have been martyred in 202.

† The real Hebrew had long been a dead speech, but the name was commonly given to Syro-Chaldaic, or Aramaic—as it is now generally termed. Thus, in Acts xxi. 40 and xxii. 2, Paul is said to have spoken to the people ‘in the Hebrew tongue,’ and Jerome, who speaks of the Gospel according to the Hebrews as ‘written indeed in the Chaldee and Syriac language, but with Hebrew letters’ (*Dial. adv. Pelag.* lib. iii.), elsewhere speaks of it as ‘written in the Hebrew language’ (*Comm. in Isai.* lib. iv.—on Is. xi. 2).

that is, Aramaic. Papias, who can scarcely have written later, and may have written a good deal earlier, than 140 A.D.,\* says that 'Matthew composed the oracles in the Hebrew speech, and each interpreted them as he was able.'† All other ancient writers agree with Papias.‡ 'Of the Greek translator they say nothing, but no one suggests that it was Matthew himself,' says Tregelles (Horne's *Introduction*, iv. 420).

Irenaeus, then, writing about 180–90 A.D., says of the Ebionites, a Palestinian sect, that 'they use that Gospel only which is according to Matthew.'§ We shall hereafter see that *the* Gospel of the Ebionites was the Gospel according to the Hebrews, that it was in Aramaic, was attributed to Matthew, and was in existence at the time when Irenaeus wrote. In a second place Irenaeus again speaks of the Ebionites as 'using that Gospel only which is according to Matthew.'|| It is quite clear, therefor, that he believed

\* His date will be considered when we come to the evidence of Eusebius.

† Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράφετο· ἡρμήνευσεν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἠδύνατο ἕκαστος (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39). Bishop Lightfoot, in the *Contemporary Review* for August 1875, has cut the ground from under the feet of those who maintained that by λόγια a lost collection of discourses, and not the present Gospel, must be meant.

‡ Erasmus first challenged this belief. Most German critics are Erasmians, while maybe most later English writers of mark are Papiasts. Some remarks of my own from a neutral standpoint will be found in *Appendix B*, 'Papias and Matthew.'

§ Solo autem eo Evangelio quod est secundum Matthaeum utuntur (*Adv. Haer.* i. 26, § 2).

|| A rather remarkable passage:—Ebionici etenim, eo Evangelio quod est secundum Matthaeum solo utentes, ex illo ipso convincuntur non recte praesumentes de Domino. Marcion autem, id quod est secundum Lucam circumcidens, ex his quae adhuc servantur penes eum blasphemus in solum existentem Deum ostenditur (*Adv. Haer.* iii. 11, § 7)—'For the Ebionites, using that Gospel only which is according to Matthew, are convicted from that very Gospel of holding wrong views about the Lord. Marcion again, mutilating the Gospel which is according to Luke, is shown out of those parts left in his edition to be a blasphemer against the only living God.'

the Gospel according to the Hebrews to be of Matthaean authorship, and, as he nowhere says that Matthew wrote two Gospels, but, on the other hand, expressly limits the number of genuine Gospels to four, he must have regarded it as one work with the present Matthew.

¶ CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA writes—‘As Matthias in the *Traditions*, exhorting us, says, “Marvel at what is before thee,” supposing this the first step to ulterior knowledge; just as in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* it is written “He that hath marveled shall reign, and he that hath reigned shall rest.”’ The formula ‘it is written’ is, as the writer of *Supernatural Religion* says (4th ed. i. 236), ‘generally understood to indicate a quotation from Holy Scripture.’ \*\*

†† ORIGEN, after saying that ‘the Spirit also had being through the Word . . . even if certain words seem to draw us to the opposite conclusion,’ goes on thus—‘But if any one admits [indic. mood, *προσέταλ*] the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, where the Saviour Himself says *Just now my mother, the Holy Spirit, took me by one of my hairs and bore me up on to the great mountain Tabor*, he will raise a further doubt how the Holy Spirit that had being through the Word can be mother of Christ. But these words and this difficulty it is not hard to interpret. For, if he that doeth the will of the Father in the heavens is his [i.e. Christ’s] brother and

It is evident that so far as Irenaeus knew the Ebionite Gospel was not a *corrupted* Matthew. At the same time we cannot tell that Irenaeus or those from whom he drew his information knew anything more of the Ebionite Gospel than that the Ebionites themselves averred it to be the Gospel according to Matthew.

¶ Died about 213–18 A.D.

\*\* Ταύτης δὲ ἀρχὴ τὸ θαυμάσαι τὰ πράγματα, ὡς Πλάτων ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ λέγει, καὶ Μαθίας ἐν ταῖς Παραδόσεσι παραινῶν ‘Θαύμασον τὰ παρόντα,’ βαθμὸν τοῦτον πρῶτον τῆς ἐπέκεινα γνώσεως ὑποτιθέμενος· ἢ καὶ τῷ καθ’ Ἑβραίους Εὐαγγελίῳ ‘Ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει’ γέγραπται ‘καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας [ἐπ’] ἀναπαήσεται’ (*Strom.* ii. 9). The *Traditions* of Matthias would seem to be the same as the Gospel attributed to that Apostle.

†† Wrote 226–54 A.D.

sister and mother, and the name "brother of Christ" falls primarily not only on the race of men, but also on those diviner than it, it will not be more absurd than in the case of any mother of Christ so entitled because of doing the will of the Father in heaven that the Holy Spirit should be mother [of Christ].\* †

In this passage there are two things to be observed. First, that in the words 'but if any one admits'—*ἐὰν δὲ προσίεται τις*—the indicative mood is used, which according to the rules of Greek grammar implies that the Gospel in question *was* admitted by some people—these people being presumably within the circle of those whom Origen was addressing. Secondly, that Origen upholds and harmonizes to his own theory the most peculiar phrase in the most peculiar fragment of the Gospel according to the Hebrews which has come down to us: and the conclusion is that either he was disposed to admit that Gospel himself, or it was admitted by so many other people that he did not like either to disagree with it openly or to pass it by in silence.

The old Latin translator also incorporates in Origen's commentary on Matt. xix. an extract from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with the following prefix—"It is written in a certain Gospel which is called "according to the Hebrews," if, however, anyone is pleased to take that not as authoritative, but as throwing light on the question before us.† Here the formula of quotations from Scripture is used

\* Καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα διὰ τοῦ Λόγου ἐγένετο . . . εἰ καὶ λέξεις τινὲς περισπᾶν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ ἐνάντιον δοκοῦσιν. Ἐὰν δὲ προσίεται τις τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους Εὐαγγέλιον, ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ φησιν "Ἀρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐν μία τῶν τριχῶν μου καὶ ἀνήνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Ταβώρ," ἐπαπορήσει πῶς μήτηρ Χριστοῦ τὸ διὰ τοῦ Λόγου γεγενημένον Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον εἶναι δύναται. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐρμηνεύσαι. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ φθάνει τὸ 'ἀδελφὸς Χριστοῦ' ὄνομα οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τούτου θειώτερα, οὐδὲν ἄτοπον ἔσται μᾶλλον πάσης χρηματισούσης μητρὸς Χριστοῦ διὰ τὸ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς Πατρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον εἶναι μητέρα (Comm. in Jo. ii. § 63—Migne's ed. vol. iv. 133).

† Scriptum est in Evangelio quodam quod dicitur 'secundum Hebraeos'—si tamen placet alicui suscipere illud non ad auctorita-



—‘it is written’; but a reservation is permitted to anyone who doubts the authority of the work.

This prefix, and the quotation which follows it, are not, however, in our Greek text of Origen, and may therefor be due, if not to the Latin translator, at least to some Greek reader who inscribed them on the margin of his copy, whence the translator rendered them, supposing that they belonged to his author’s text.

But, if it be true, as we shall see Jerome says, that the Gospel according to the Hebrews ‘is often used by Origen,’ we are strongly impelled to accept the passage as genuine.

‡ EUSEBIUS (*Eccl. Hist.* iii. 25) mentions first the recognised books of the New Testament; then those which were disputed, but recognised by most people; and, lastly, those that were spurious. He goes on as follows—‘And nowadays some have reckoned among these *the Gospel according to the Hebrews*, which they of the Hebrews that have received the Christ love beyond any other.’§ This implies (i.) that this Gospel was the accepted textbook of the Jewish Christians in general; (ii.) that its genuineness had only lately been questioned; (iii.) that only a minority counted it spurious.

In c. 27 of the same book, speaking of that division of the Ebionites which did not reject the divinity of Jesus, he says that, ‘using that Gospel alone which is called *the Gospel according to the Hebrews*, they took small account of the rest.’ || From the context it looks as if he was borrowing from and explaining or correcting Irenaeus.¶

Elsewhere (*Theophan.* iv. 12) he says—‘The cause, therefore, of the divisions of soul that came to pass in houses Himself taught, as we have found in a place in the Gospel existing among the Jews in the Hebrew language, in which

tem sed ad manifestationem propositae quaestionis (Migne’s ed. vol. iii. 1294).

‡ Died 340 A.D.

§ Ἦδὲ ἔν τούτοις τινὲς καὶ τὸ καθ’ Ἑβραίου Εὐαγγέλιον κατέ-  
λεξαν, ᾧ μάλιστα Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσι.

|| Εὐαγγέλιον ἔν μόνῳ τῷ καθ’ Ἑβραίου λεγομένῳ χρώμενοι τῶν  
λοιπῶν σμικρὸν ἐποιουῦτο λόγον.

¶ See *Addenda*.

it is said, &c.'\* Here we see that Eusebius looks on the sayings attributed to Jesus in this Gospel as authentic.

In another passage in the *Theophania* he gives from 'the Gospel which is come to us in Hebrew characters' † a different version of the Parable of the Talents.

It may be remarked that both Clement and Origen had traveled in Palestine, and that Eusebius was bishop of Caesarea, in the library of which city (collected by his friend Pamphilus) there was a copy of this Gospel, as Jerome tells us.‡ We may therefor reasonably suppose that their quotations are not merely second-hand, and that, had it been on the face of it an apocryphal production, they would have designated it as such.

It must be added that Eusebius asserts that HEGESIPPUS used the Gospel according to the Hebrews. 'He also adduces some things out of *the Gospel according to the Hebrews* and the Syriac, and particularly out of the Hebrew language.'§ As the works of Hegesippus were then extant, and are quoted by Eusebius himself, we can hardly suspect this statement of being wrong. And unless it be so we have in Hegesippus a still earlier witness than Irenaeus. For we

\* This passage is quoted from p. 234 of Prof. Lee's translation of the Syriac version of the *Theophania*, not being among the scanty remnants of the original Greek.

† Τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἵκον Ἑβραϊκοῖς χαρακτῆρσιν Εὐαγγέλιον (Migne's ed. vol. iv. 155). Prof. Westcott, Mr. Dodd, and the author of *Supernatural Religion* make no mention of this fragment, which I owe to Hilgenfeld, who says that it was first noticed by Fritzsche.

‡ *Catal. Script. Eccl.* under 'Matthaeus.'

§ Ἐκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίου Εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ, καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 22). The Syriac may mean (i.) a Syriac version of the Old Testament, or of books of the New; (ii.) the Aramaic speech—Aramaic and Hebrew being on this hypothesis accurately distinguished by Eusebius in this passage as they are by Jerome (*Adv. Pelag.* iii., quoted later); (iii.) some separate Syriac Gospel. But one is also inclined to conjecture that a careless or meddling copyist has inserted the καὶ before τοῦ Συριακοῦ; omitting καὶ the sentence reads: 'He also adduces some things out of *the Gospel according to the Hebrews*, which is in Syriac, and particularly out of the Hebrew language.'

know him to have been a ripe theologian at least as early as 170 A.D., and Eusebius says that he lived 'in the first succession to the Apostles,' || which would place his birth at the very beginning of the century. ¶ Being himself a Jewish Christian, he would be fully acquainted with the book he quoted.

Eusebius also mentions PAPIAS in connexion with this Gospel. 'Eusebius,' says the author of *Supernatural Religion* (4th ed. i. 421), 'informs us that Papias narrated from the Gospel according to the Hebrews a story regarding a woman accused before the Lord of many sins.' This statement needs to be qualified: what Eusebius does say is as follows. After mentioning certain stories related by Papias, he writes \*\* 'The same historian adds other incidents as having come to him from unwritten tradition—both some unknown parables of the Saviour and teachings of his, and certain other things of a more fabulous character.†† . . . And he also transfers to his own work other accounts, by the aforesaid Aristion, of the Lord's discourses, and traditions of the Elder John. And, now that I have referred the student to these, I must perforce add to those reports of his which

|| 'Ο Ήγήςαιππος ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν Ἀποστόλων γενόμενος ἐκδοχῆς (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23).

¶ He is said to have died in the reign of Commodus, 180–92 A.D.

\*\* Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἤκουτα παρατέθεικε, ξέρας τέ τινας παραβολὰς τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τινα ἄλλα μυθικώτερα. . . . Καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἰδίᾳ γραφῇ παραδίδωσιν Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένου τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου παραδόσεις. Ἐφ' αὖς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψαντες, ἀναγκαίως εὖν προσθήσομαι ταῖς προεκτεθείσαις αὐτοῦ φωναῖς παράδοσιν ἣν περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον γεγραφότος ἐκτίθεικε διὰ τούτων (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39).

†† It is equally correct to construe 'some *strange* parables of the Saviour and teachings of his, and other things of a *somewhat* fabulous character.' But, as Eusebius quotes in example Papias's statements respecting the millennium, and attributes them to his misunderstanding the accounts of the *Apostles*, it seems natural to suppose that he distinguishes the 'fabulous' element from 'the unknown parables and teachings of Jesus.'

have been already mentioned a tradition which he has published in their name concerning Mark the writer of the Gospel.' Eusebius then gives Papias's very sober accounts of Mark and Matthew, adds that he quoted passages from the First Epistle of John and the First of Peter, and then says 'And he has published also another relation of a woman accused of many sins before the Lord, which *the Gospel according to the Hebrews* contains.' \*

Now he does *not* say that Papias quoted the story from this Gospel, but only that he told a story which it contains. Still he does not say 'which the Gospel according to the Hebrews *also* contains,' and at any rate it is clear that a story there found was at least as old as the time of a man † who can hardly have written *later* than 140 A.D., and was seemingly told by that man as authentic.

It will be seen that in the above passage Eusebius mentions the Gospel according to the Hebrews immediately after four canonical books. He *may*, however, be only giving a list of the *literature*, whether scriptural or not, with which Papias appeared to be acquainted, as contrasted with the '*unwritten* tradition' from which he drew so largely. Still even in this case we might have expected him to imply some distinction between this Gospel and the canonical books had he looked on it as spurious. But that he did not so look on it is to my mind clear enough from other passages given above.

‡ EPIPHANIUS follows Eusebius in point of date. Like

\* Ἐκτίθεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναῖκος ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἣν τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους Εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39).

† Bishop Lightfoot, in the *Cont. Rev.* for Aug. 1875, shows that the compiler of the *Chronicon Pascale* who states that Papias was martyred A.D. 164 has named him in mistake for Papyrus. From the facts that Papias was a hearer of Aristion and the Elder John, that he knew the daughters of Philip, that he is called the companion of Polycarp, and that Eusebius discusses him before Polycarp, Bishop Lightfoot fairly concludes that he 'was probably born about A.D. 60-70.'

‡ Wrote in 376 A.D.

Hegesippus he was of Jewish birth, and, like Clement, Origen, and Eusebius, he had spent much time in Palestine.

Epiphanius, then, speaking of the Nazarenes, says, § 'And they have *the Gospel according to Matthew*, very full, in Hebrew. For assuredly this is still kept among them, as it was at outset written, in Hebrew letters. But I do not know whether, || at the same time, they have taken away the genealogies from Abraham to Christ.' It will be shown by and by from the writings of Jerome that the Nazarenes used the Gospel according to the Hebrews, that this was written in Hebrew letters, and that it was regarded by 'very many' or 'most' (*plerique*) as according to Matthew.

Epiphanius fancied that the genealogies *might* be wanting, because he had found them absent from Ebionite copies, and it is not creditable to him that at his see of Salamis in Cyprus he did not take the trouble of getting information on this point from his friends in Syria.

It is clear that, if he had ever seen a Nazarene copy of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, he had not examined it properly, and his evidence must be taken as mere hearsay. Still it is the hearsay of a man who must have heard the Nazarene Gospel many times spoken of in the countries in which his life was spent, and who was so bitter a foe to

§ Ἐχουσι δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον πληρέστατον Ἑβραϊστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς γὰρ σαφῶς τοῦτο, καθὼς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγράφη, Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἔτι σώζεται. Οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ τὰς γενεαλογίας τὰς ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ ἄχρι Χριστοῦ περιεῖλον (*Haer.* xxix. 9).

|| Καὶ, 'also.' 'They too' (like the Ebionites) would of course require καὶ αὐτοὶ. I was tempted to render 'And I do not know whether they have even &c.,' but καὶ cannot mean 'so much as,' which would be the meaning of 'even' in this case: Madvig's *Greek Syntax* and Winer's *Grammar* give no such instance. Bishop Ellicott (quoted in a note by Dr. Moulton on p. 544 of his 1877 edition of Winer) does indeed reckon among the uses of καὶ in the New Testament a 'descensive' use—referring to Gal. iii. 4 and Eph. v. 12. But in Gal. iii. 4 this interpretation is needless and is rejected by (for example) Bishop Lightfoot, while in Eph. v. 12 καὶ λέγειν, 'even to speak of,' although it can be paraphrased by 'so much as to speak of,' means at its root 'not only to take part in and witness, but ALSO to speak of.'

sectarians that he would not have failed to remember and record anything which he had heard to its prejudice.

He goes on to speak of the Ebionites: 'And these too receive the *Gospel according to Matthew*; for this they too, as also the Kerinthians and Merinthians, use to the exclusion of the rest. And they call it "according to the Hebrews," to tell the truth because Matthew alone in the New Covenant set both the exposition and preaching of the Gospel in Hebrew speech and Hebrew characters.' \*

Presently he goes off at a tangent into a long story of a Jew named Joseph, who found in a library '*the Gospel according to John* translated from Greek into Hebrew speech, and *the Acts of the Apostles*—nevertheless after these reading also that according to Matthew, which was an original Hebrew work.' † He then observes that he has been led into this digression by the mention of Matthew's Gospel, and comes back to speak of the Ebionites.

Epiphanius, therefor, although he knew of two books of the New Testament having been translated into Hebrew, never for a moment had any idea that the Gospel according to the Hebrews was a translation from the Greek.

It is in connexion with these two passages that we shall find it most convenient to consider the question of the lan-

\* Καὶ ἔχονται μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον· τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοί, ὡς καὶ οἱ κατὰ Κήρινθον καὶ Μήρινθον, χρῶνται μόνῳ. Καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ 'κατὰ Ἑβραίους,' ὡς τὰ ἀληθῆ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι Ματθαῖος μόνος Ἑβραῖστὶ καὶ Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ ἐποίησατο τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔκθεσιν τε καὶ κήρυγμα (*Haer.* xxx. 3).

† Τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ Ἑλλάδος εἰς Ἑβραῖδα φωνὴν μεταληφθὲν ἤρπαστο καὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀποστόλων Πράξεις, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Ἑβραϊκὸν φύσει ὃν ἐκ τούτων ἀραγνούς (*Haer.* xxx. 6). The correct reading φύσει ὃν is kept only in the Codex Marcianus (V), which is 247 years older than any other known MS. of Epiphanius, and has been thoroughly collated by Dindorf. All editions before his give φόνον, 'the Hebrew PLANT according to Matthew,' where 'plant' was supposed to mean genealogical 'tree' or 'stem'—a sense however of which no other example was known in the entire range of Greek literature.

guage of Epiphanius's Ebionite Gospel according to the Hebrews.

In two passages which will be hereafter quoted, Epiphanius seems to treat two readings of the Ebionite Gospel as if they were corruptions of a Greek text. This may be explained by supposing either that Epiphanius forgot himself to be quoting from an Aramaic text, and not a Greek one, or that the Ebionites used a Greek translation side by side with the Aramaic.

Hilgenfeld and Prof. Westcott however overlook, or at least disregard these possibilities, and rush to the conclusion that the Ebionite Gospel was simply a Greek one. Hilgenfeld, in addition, brings forward two very curious arguments in favour of this view.

The first I translate in full: 'For he [Epiphanius] has indeed called their Gospel "according to Matthew" and "according to the Hebrews," but he has not reported that it was written in Hebrew. And so, beside that more ancient and Hebrew (or Aramaic) Gospel of Matthew, he has borne witness also to a Greek Gospel called "according to Matthew" and "according to the Hebrews," though of later age. Hegesippus seems already to have mentioned a Greek version of the Gospel of the Hebrews; for Eusebius has reported that he adduced some things "from *the Gospel according to the Hebrews* and the Syriac," i.e. from the same Gospel in Greek and Syriac (or Aramaic).'<sup>†</sup>

Nothing can be weaker than this mode of inference. To be consistent, Hilgenfeld should have applied his argument from the silence of Epiphanius to the Nazarene Gospel. Epiphanius has told us that the Ebionite Gospel was called

<sup>†</sup> horum enim evangelium appellavit quidem κατὰ Ματθαῖον et καθ' Ἑβραίους, sed hebraice scriptum esse non tradidit. itaque praeter illud antiquius et hebraicum (vel aramaicum) Matthaei evangelium Epiphanius etiam graecum evangelium dictum secundum Matthaeum et secundum Hebraeos, senioris quidem aetatis, testatus est. graece versum Hebraeorum evangelium iam Hegesippus indigitasse videtur, quem ἐκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ, i.e. ex eodem evangelio, graeco et syriaco (vel aramaeo), nonnulla protulisse Eusebius tradidit.—*N. T. extra Can. Recept.* iv. 7.

‘according to the Hebrews’; he has not told us that the Nazarene Gospel was so called: therefor he ‘has borne witness’ that it was not! Fortunately we have the plain witness of Jerome that it *was*.

The deduction from Eusebius must fare equally ill. It involves three assumptions—(i.) that ‘the Syriac’ means ‘the Syriac Gospel’; (ii.) that, although both the Ebionite and the Nazarene Gospels were called ‘according to the Hebrews,’ Eusebius limited the name to the former, which, being (according to Hilgenfeld) in Greek, had the less right to it; (iii.) that, besides this Greek ‘Gospel according to the Hebrews’ mentioned in three other places by Eusebius, he speaks twice of a separate Aramaic Gospel (Hilgenfeld’s ‘Syriac’) which he describes as ‘the Gospel existing among the Jews in the Hebrew language,’ and ‘the Gospel which is come to us in Hebrew characters,’ neither taking the trouble to tell his readers by what name this other Gospel was known, nor to give them the explanation needed to prevent them from confounding the two!

We shall hear by and by from Jerome that the Ebionites used the same Aramaic Gospel as the Nazarenes. But, even if we were able to explain away his definite statement, the inference from Epiphanius would be that the Ebionite Gospel was in Aramaic. He has said that the Nazarenes ‘have the Gospel according to Matthew, very full, in Hebrew. For assuredly this is still preserved among them, as it was first written, in Hebrew letters.’ He has gone straight from the Nazarenes to the Ebionites, whose founder, he says, had held the same opinions.\* ‘And these too,’ he has written, ‘receive the Gospel according to Matthew. . . . And they call it “according to the Hebrews,” to tell the truth because Matthew alone in the New Covenant set both the exposition and preaching of the Gospel in Hebrew speech and Hebrew characters.’ He has gone on to tell of a man who read the Gospel according to Matthew, ‘an original Hebrew work,’ and has then reverted to the Ebionites. He does not in so many words say that the Ebionite Gospel was in ‘Hebrew,’ but surely no one would suspect from the tenor of his narrative that it was in Greek.

\* Τὰ ὅμοια τοῦτοις φερήσας (*Hoer.* xxx. 1).



Let us go on to what else Epiphanius has to say about the Ebionite Gospel. A little further on he tells us that 'in their Gospel according to Matthew as it is named, yet not entirely complete, but corrupted and docked—and they call it [the] Hebrew [Gospel]—it is contained that†'—and he proceeds to quote what was clearly the Preface to their Gospel, which the reader will find at the beginning of the Fragments.

At the end of it he goes on as follows, without the least break—‡ “And John began baptizing, and there came out unto him Pharisees and were baptized, and all Jerusalem. And John had raiment of camel’s hair and a leathern girdle about his loins, and his food [was] wild honey, whereof the taste was of the manna, like a cake [made] with oil”—that forsooth they may pervert the account of the truth into falsehood, and in place of “locusts” [ἀκρίδων, *akridón*] may put “cakes [ἐγκρίδας, *egkridas*] [made] with honey.”’ §

On this Hilgenfeld says ‘It is clear that the Gospel of the Ebionites was written at the first in Greek’; || Prof. Westcott (*Introduction*, 466, note 2) that ‘the variation shows that the Gospel was in *Greek*’; and Mr. Dodd (*Sayings ascribed to our Lord*, 78, note 38) that ‘they put ἐγκρίδας for ἀκρίδας.’

This view of the meaning of Epiphanius seems to me just doubtful. In the Greek text of Matthew the word is

† Ἐν τῷ γοῦν παρ’ αὐτοῖς Εὐαγγελίῳ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ὀνομαζομένῳ, οὐχ ὅλῳ δὲ πληρεστάτῳ, ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένῳ καὶ ἡκρωτηριασμένῳ—Ἑβραϊκὸν δὲ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν—ἐμφέρεται ὅτι κ.τ.λ. (*Haer.* xxx. 13).

‡ The Greek is given in a note to Fragment 5. Hilgenfeld reproves Dindorf for editing Καὶ ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης ‘“And John began.”’ He says that it should be καὶ ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης ‘and—“John began,”’ connecting ‘and’ with the words ‘it is contained that’ which introduce the Preface. But after so long an intervening quotation as the Preface a longer connecting link would have been used for clearness—such as ‘and then it says.’ We shall see moreover that this ‘and’ seems to have a connexion with Matt. iii. 1.

§ In the passage which he has just quoted he gives the word as ‘oil,’ not ‘honey.’ This variation is explained in a note to Fr. 5.

|| Ebionacorum evangelium primitus gracee scriptum esse apparet (36).

ἀκρίδης, *akrides* (nom. pl.), in the passage given by Epiphanius it is ἐγκρίς, *egkris* (nom. sing.): the two are not so *very* much alike after all, and Epiphanius may merely have meant that one thing was substituted for another thing, and not one word for another word. Yet I confess to thinking that the latter interpretation is the more likely.

But, in a passage quoted in the note to Fr. 25, he accuses the Ebionites of having interpolated in a certain verse not only the word μῆ, but the two letters μ and η. Here at least his meaning is clear, and we must either believe that he was criticizing his own translated quotations as if they were the original, or else that the Ebionite Gospel according to the Hebrews existed in a Greek form.

I do not regard the former of these alternatives as altogether absurd,\* but the latter is of course the more likely—especially as we know that the Ebionites put forward lengthy works in Greek two centuries before the time at which Epiphanius wrote.

Epiphanius goes on to say: ‘And the beginning of their Gospel has it that “It came to pass in the days of Herod the King of Judaea there came John baptizing a baptism of repentance in the Jordan river; who was said to be of the family of Aaron the priest, son of Zacharias and Elisabet. And all men came out to him.” And after much more it adds that “when the people had been baptized”’†—the rest of the quotation will be found under Fr. 7.

Epiphanius presently quotes the beginning of the Ebionite

\* Let the voice of the encyclopaedias be heard. The *Enc. Britannica* says that Epiphanius ‘was utterly destitute of critical and logical power’; the *English Enc.* that ‘as a bitter controversialist, he often resorts to untrue arguments for the refutation of heretics’; and *Chambers’s Enc.* that his ‘want of honesty’ is ‘excessive.’

† Ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῖς Εὐαγγελίου ἔχει ὅτι ‘Ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἦλθεν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ, ὃς ἐλέγεται εἶναι ἐκ γένους Ἀαρὼν τοῦ ἱερέως, παῖς Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἐλισάβετ· καὶ ἐξήρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες.’ Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλὰ ἐπιφέρει ὅτι ‘Τοῦ λαοῦ βαπτισθέντος’ κ.τ.λ. (*Haer.* xxx. 13).

Gospel again with some variations: ‘“ It came to pass in the days of Herod King of Judaea, Caiaphas being high priest, there came one John by name, baptizing a baptism in the river Jordan,” and so on.’ ‡

As Prof. Westcott says, ‘ a comparison of the two quotations illustrates the carelessness of Epiphanius ’ (*Introduction*, 466). Anyone must see moreover that, if there were only one Ebionite version of the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the above were the beginning of it, no room is left for the passage before quoted by Epiphanius ‘ and John began baptizing &c.’

It is clear that different copies of the Ebionite Gospel had different beginnings; but it by no means follows that there were different versions of the body of it.

It is indeed easy to give an explanation of these different beginnings. Those of the Nazaraeo-Ebionite body who denied to Jesus a Divine birth, and rejected the first two chapters of Matthew, found themselves left with a narrative answering to Matt. iii. 1, ‘ And § in those days.’ This had to be altered, because ‘ those days ’ would have no antecedent. Accordingly, some omitted them altogether—their copies commenced || ‘ And John began baptizing,’ the conjunction being retained, apparently, as a link between the ¶ Preface and the Gospel proper. Others altered ‘ those days ’ into ‘ the days of Herod the King of Judaea,’ wrongly imagining the days in question to be those of Herod and Archelaus (Matt. ii. 22), instead of those of the dwelling at Nazareth (Matt. ii. 23): at the same time, in order to give a more important form to the beginning of the docked Gospel, some added a further specification of time, ‘ Caiaphas being high priest,’ some a fuller notice of John—‘ who was said to be of the family of Aaron the priest, the son of Zacharias and Elisabet.’

‡ ‘ Εγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Καϊάφα, ἦλθε τις Ἰωάννης ὀνόματι, βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, ’ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς (*Haer.* xxx. 14).

§ The received text omits ‘ and,’ but the best editors insert it.

|| See above, p. 13.

¶ See above, p. 13.

We have yet to consider a statement of Epiphanius with regard to \*TATIAN: 'And the "Gospel through Four" is said to have been made by him, which some call "according to the Hebrews." '†

That Tatian can have written the Gospel according to the Hebrews is out of the question. Irenaeus, who mentions Tatian and his doctrines, and was his younger contemporary, is not likely to have been led to believe that the Ebionite Gospel was the Gospel according to Matthew when it was really a compilation made out of four Gospels by Tatian. Nor is it likely that Clement of Alexandria, who quotes Tatian, would have cited one of his works as Scripture, not knowing that it was from the pen of a late heresiarch. But the fact that Hegesippus, a Jewish Christian himself, who lived ‡ 'in the first succession to the Apostles,' and died not

\* Tatian was a pupil of Justin Martyr, whose death is placed variously between 148 and 167 A.D., the former being the date assigned by the latest investigator, Prof. Hort. After Justin's death, but how long we do not know, he went to Syria, where he became a sectarian leader.

† Λέγεται δὲ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων Εὐαγγέλιον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ὅπερ κατὰ Ἑβραίους τινὲς καλοῦσι (*Haer.* xlv. 1). The printed text reads Εὐαγγελίον. On first turning to it (from Hilgenfeld's mere reference) I at once saw that we ought to read Εὐαγγέλιον, and I since find that Prof. Westcott (*Canon*, 290 n.) says, 'Some perhaps may be inclined to change εὐαγγελίον into εὐαγγέλιον,' and that the author of *Supernatural Religion*, and Dr. Sanday (from Credner) so read without remark. Cf. Theodoret, *Haer. Fab.* i. 20, 'He also put together the so-called "Gospel through Four" '—Οὗτος καὶ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων καλούμενον συντέθεικεν Εὐαγγέλιον. There can be no doubt that the full title of the work called in short τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων was τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων Εὐαγγέλιον, 'the Gospel through Four,' i.e. the Gospel as published through the mouths of Four (cf. the common phrase in Matthew τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφητοῦ, 'that which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet'). I know of no other explanation of the title 'Dia-tessaron' at once grammatical and rational. Prof. Westcott (*Canon*, 290 n.) says 'The term διὰ τεσσάρων was used in music to express the concord of the fourth (συνλλαβή). This sense may throw some light upon the name.' But a concord of the fourth is not a concord of four notes, but only of two.

‡ See above, p. 7.

later than 192 A.D. and possibly as early as 180 A.D., § ‘ad-duced some things’ from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, is of itself proof enough that this cannot have been written by Tatian.

The learning of JEROME, his long residence in Syria and Palestine, and the fact that he first copied the Gospel according to the Hebrews and afterwards translated it into two languages, render his evidence of paramount importance. I shall take his notices of the Gospel in order of time. ||

(1) Writing in 387 A.D. upon Ephes. v. 3, he says ¶ ‘As also in the Hebrew Gospel we read of the Lord speaking to his disciples: saith he &c.’

(2) Writing before 392 A.D. upon Mic. vii. 6, he says \*\* “*And the daughter-in-law riseth up against her mother-in-law.*” Which seems difficult to be understood metaphorically. But he who has read *the Song of Songs* and has understood the spouse of the soul to be the Word of God, and has believed the Gospel published according to the Hebrews which we have lately translated, in which it is said in the person of the Saviour, “*Just now my mother, the Holy Spirit, took me by one of my hairs,*” will not hesitate to say that the Word of God is sprung from the Spirit, and that the soul, which is the spouse of the Word, has for mother-in-law the Holy Spirit, who among the Hebrews is called in the feminine gender *Rua*.’

§ See above, p. 6.

|| I have followed Clinton’s chronology of these writings of Jerome.

¶ Ut in Hebraico quoque Evangelio legimus Dominum ad discipulos loquentem: *Et nunquam, inquit, laeti sitis, nisi quum fratrem vestrum videritis in caritate* (*Comm. in Ephes. lib. iii.*).

\*\* *Et nurus consurgit adversus soerum suam.* Quod iuxta tropologiam intellectu videtur difficile. Sed qui legerit *Canticum Canticorum* et sponsum animae Dei Sermonem intellexerit, credideritque Evangelio quod secundum Hebraeos editum nuper transtulimus, in quo ex persona Salvatoris dicitur *Modo tulit me mater mea, Sanctus Spiritus, in uno capillorum meorum*, non dubitabit dicere Sermonem Dei ortum esse de Spiritu, et animam, quae sponsa Sermonis est, habere soerum Sanctum Spiritum, qui apud Hebraeos genere dicitur feminino *Rua* (*Comm. in Mich. lib. ii.*).

It is pretty clear that Jerome thinks people *ought* to believe the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

(3) Writing his account of Matthew (*Catal. Script. Eccl.*) in 392, he says \* ‘Matthew, who is also Levi, and who from a tax-gatherer came to be an Apostle, first of all the Evangelists composed a Gospel of Christ in Judaea in the Hebrew language and characters, for the benefit of those of the circumcision who had believed: who translated it into Greek is not sufficiently ascertained. Furthermore, the Hebrew itself is preserved to this day in the library at Caesarea which the martyr Pamphilus so diligently collected. † I also was allowed by the Nazarenes who use this volume in the Syrian city of Beroea to copy it. ‡ In which it is to be remarked that, wherever the Evangelist, either speaking in his own person or in that of our Lord and Saviour, makes use of the testimonies of the old Scripture, he does not follow the authority of the Seventy translators, but that of the Hebrew; of which testimonies are those two, *Out of Egypt have I called my Son*, and *that he shall be called Nazarene*.’

And in his account of James he speaks of it as § ‘the Gospel which is called “according to the Hebrews,” and was

\* Matthaeus, qui et Levi, ex publicano Apostolus, primus in Judaea propter eos qui ex circumcisione crediderant Evangelium Christi Hebraicis litteris verbisque composuit: quod quis postea in Graecum transtulerit non satis certum est. Porro ipsum Hebraicum habetur usque hodie in Caesariensi bibliotheca quam Pamphilus martyr studiosissime confecit. Mihi quoque a Nazaraeis qui in Beroea urbe Syriae hoc volumine utuntur describendi facultas fuit. In quo animadvertendum quod, ubique Evangelista, sive ex persona sua, sive ex persona Domini Salvatoris, veteris Scripturae testimoniis abutitur, non sequatur Septuaginta translatorum auctoritatem sed Hebraicam; e quibus illa duo sunt, *Ex Aegypto vocavi filium meum* et *Quoniam Nazaraeus vocabitur*.

† Probably before 379 A.D., after which date he is not known to have been in the neighbourhood of Beroea.

‡ In notes to Fr. 2 and Fr. 3 the question whether the rest of the passage refers to the Nazarene Gospel in particular, or to the Gospel of Matthew at large, is fully discussed.

§ Evangelium quoque quod appellatur ‘secundum Hebraeos’ et a me nuper in Graecum Latinumque sermonem translatum est, quo et Origenes saepe utitur.

lately translated by me into the Greek language and the Latin, which also Origen often uses.'

The statement that Origen frequently quotes the Gospel according to the Hebrews is most important. It is quoted by name once only in his Greek text, and once also in a Latin translation of his *Homilies on Matthew*. Jerome, however, who was a devoted student of Origen and had translated his commentaries on the Song of Songs, on Jeremiah, on Ezekiel, and on Luke, can scarcely be mistaken. There is no need to suppose that Origen's quotations from the Gospel were in || books now lost, for his extant works contain several sayings attributed by him to Jesus of which the source is unknown: these will be given among the 'Probable and Possible Fragments' (*Appendix H*).

(4) Writing his *Commentaries on Matthew* in 398 A.D., he compares five passages in the Gospel according to the Hebrews with corresponding passages in the Greek Matthew. In these instances he speaks of it (i.) as ¶ 'the actual Hebrew,' *Matt. ii. 5*; (ii.) as \*\* 'the Gospel which is called "according

|| It is, however, worth noting that all of Origen's *Homilies on Matthew* previous to c. xiii. 6 is lost. The missing portion may well have contained references to the Gospel according to the Hebrews: as has been said, the Latin translation of the extant part of the Greek text actually does give one quotation from it, though whether the translator found that in his MS. or interpolated it himself is unknown.

¶ *Bethleem Iudaeae* . . . . Librariorum hic error est. Putamus enim ab Evangelista primum editum, sicut in ipso Hebraico legimus, *Iudae*—non *Iudaeae*.—'Bethleem of Judaea' . . . Here is a mistake of the copyists. For we think that the Evangelist originally gave, as we read in the actual Hebrew, *of Juda*—not *of Judaea*.' I am most anxious not to impress doubtful evidence; but to me this passage seems most strongly to point to the Hebrew original of Matthew and not merely the Hebrew of the Old Testament. So Prof. Westcott and the author of *Supernatural Religion*, with De Wette (doubtfully), Schweigler, and Ewald; against Delitzsch, Credner, Hilgenfeld, and Dr. Sanday. In the notes on Fr. 2 and Fr. 3 I have fully discussed the question whether *Matt. i. 18–ii. 23* were present in or absent from Jerome's copy of the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

\*\* In Evangelio quod appellatur 'secundum Hebraeos.'

to the Hebrews," *Matt.* vi. 11; (iii.) as \* 'the Gospel which the Nazarenes and Ebionites use, which we lately translated from the Hebrew language into Greek, and which is called by very many [*or most, 'plerisque']* the original of Matthew,' *Matt.* xii. 13; † 'the Gospel which the Nazarenes use,' *Matt.* xxiii. 35; ‡ 'the Gospel which is written according to the Hebrews,' *Matt.* xxvii. 16; § 'the Gospel of which we often make mention,' *Matt.* xxvii. 51.

The third of the above references is important as showing, first, that the Nazarenes and Ebionites used the same Aramaic Gospel; secondly, that the popular opinion of this Gospel was that it was the original of Matthew.

(5) Writing to Hedybia, at some date after 398 A.D., Jerome speaks of ¶ 'the Gospel which is written in Hebrew letters,' referring to it for a variation on the narrative of the Crucifixion.

(6) Writing about 410 A.D. upon *Is.* xi. 2, he calls it ¶¶ 'the Gospel, written in the Hebrew language, which the Nazarenes read.' He quotes from it the account of the descent of the Spirit and the voice from heaven at the

\* In Evangelio quo utuntur Nazaræi et Ebionitæ, quod nuper in Græcum de Hebræo sermone transtulimus, et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum.

† In Evangelio quo utuntur Nazareni.

‡ In Evangelio quod scribitur iuxta Hebræos.

§ In Evangelio cuius sæpe facimus mentionem.

¶ In Evangelio autem quod Hebræicis litteris scriptum est (*Ep. ad Hedyb.* viii.).

¶¶ Super hunc igitur florem, qui de trunco et de radice Iesse per Mariam Virginem repente consurget, requiescet Spiritus Domini, quia in ipso complacuit omnem plenitudinem divinitatis habitare corporaliter—nequaquam per partes, ut in ceteris sanctis, sed, iuxta Evangelium quod Hebræo sermone conscriptum legunt Nazaræi 'Descendet super eum omnis fons Spiritus Sancti' (*Comm. in Is.* lib. iv.)—'Upon this flower therefor, which shall suddenly arise from the trunk and from the root of Jesse through the Virgin Mary, the Spirit of the Lord shall rest, because it hath pleased him that in him the entire fulness of the Godhead should dwell bodily—in no wise partially, as in the rest of the saints, but, according to the Gospel, composed in the Hebrew language, which the Nazarenes read, "The entire fountain of the Holy Spirit shall descend upon him."'



baptism of Jesus, in illustration and confirmation of the prophecy before him.

(7) Writing in 413 A.D. on Ezek. xviii. 7, he calls it \*\* '*the Gospel according to the Hebrews* which the Nazarenes are wont to read,' and refers to it, immediately after the 'Apostolic authority' of Paul, as confirming the moral injunction of Ezekiel.

(8) Writing in 416 A.D. against the Pelagians, he says †† '*In the Gospel according to the Hebrews*, which is written indeed in the Chaldee and Syriac language, but in Hebrew letters; which the Nazarenes use to this day—according to the Apostles, or, as very many [*or most*, '*plerique*'] deem, according to Matthew—which is also contained in the library at Caesarea—the history tells &c.'

If the reader will turn to Fr. 1, the Preface to Ebionite copies of this Gospel, he will see that it implies that the Gospel was written *either* by the Apostles generally or by Matthew—but does not clearly state which. We can understand, therefor, how some people, though seemingly not most, fancied it to be the product of common Apostolic authorship.††

After the above passage, Jerome quotes Fr. 6 and Fr. 9,

\*\* Quod autem iuxta Hebraicum dicitur, *Et hominem non contristaverit*, Apostolico congruit testimonio, *Nolite contristare Spiritum Sanctum qui habitat in vobis*. Et in Evangelio quod iuxta Hebraeos Nazaraei legere consueverunt inter maxima ponitur crimina, qui fratris sui spiritum contristaverit (*Comm. in Ezech. lib. vi.*)—'*But the reading of the Hebrew text, And hath not grieved a man, agrees with the witness of the Apostle, Grieve not the Holy Spirit that dwelleth in you. And in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which the Nazarenes are wont to read, he who hath grieved the spirit of his brother is put among the greatest criminals.*'

†† In *Evangelio iuxta Hebraeos*, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone sed Hebraicis litteris scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni—secundum Apostolos, sive, ut plerique autumant, iuxta Matthaeum—quod et in Caesariensi habetur bibliotheca—narrat historia &c. (*Dial. adv. Pelag. lib. iii.*).

‡‡ On the theory set up from this passage that Justin's '*Memoirs of the Apostles*' were nothing more nor less than the Gospel according to the Hebrews, see *Appendix B*, '*Justin's "Memoirs of the Apostles."*'

adding a statement from Ignatius to the effect that the Apostles when chosen were sinners above all men. He then says, \* ‘If thou usest not these testimonies for authority, use them at least for antiquity, as to what all churchmen have felt.’ The contents of the Fragments in question are so bold that, unless Jerome had had a very firm faith in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, it is most unlikely that he would have not only adopted them but stamped them with his approbation in a controversial work.

We now pass to two of Jerome’s contemporaries and adversaries—Julian the Pelagian, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, who both mention him in connexion with the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

JULIAN the Pelagian in his controversy with Augustine† uses the last-mentioned passage of Jerome against Augustine, saying that Jerome ‘even tries by the testimony of a (or the) fifth Gospel, which he says has been translated by himself, to show &c.’‡

THEODORE§ of Mopsuestia is reported by PHOTIUS to have said that Jerome ‘had forged an additional fifth Gospel, pretending that he had found it in the bookcases of Eusebius of Palestine.’||

These passages of course only show that their authors knew nothing whatever about the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

Next comes THEODORET,¶ who states first of the Ebionites

\* Quibus testimoniis si non uteris ad auctoritatem, utere saltem ad antiquitatem, quid omnes ecclesiastici viri senserint.

† Not later than 430 A.D., when Augustine died.

‡ Cum ille in Dialogo illo . . . etiam quinti Evangelii, quod a se translutum dicit, testimonio nitatur ostendere &c. (Augustini *Opus Imperfectum contra Iulianum*, lib. iv. c. 88.) I owe this reference to Prof. Westcott.

§ Born about 350 A.D., died 428 or 429 A.D.

|| Τοῦτον (i.e. Jerome) δὲ πέμπτον Εὐαγγέλιον προσαιπλάσαι λέγει (i.e. Theodore), ἐν ταῖς Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παλαιστίνου βιβλιοθήκαις ὑποπλαττόμενον εὑρεῖν (*Bibl. clxxvii.*) Photius died about 891 A.D.

¶ Writing between 451 and 458 A.D.

in general that 'they receive only the Gospel according to the Ebionites,'\*\* and afterwards, speaking of particular Ebionites, that 'they use only the Gospel according to Matthew.'††

BÆDA,‡‡ at the beginning of the eighth century, does not seem to have known any more of this Gospel than what he learnt from Jerome. After speaking of Apocryphal Gospels, he says 'Here it must be noted that the Gospel according to the Hebrews, as it is called, is not to be reckoned among apocryphal but among ecclesiastical histories: for it seemed good even to the very translator of Holy Scripture, Jerome, to use very many evidences from it, and to translate it into the Latin and Greek language.'§§ The words *ecclesiastical* and *histories* are doubtless borrowed from our last passage of Jerome.

At the end of the eighth, or beginning of the ninth, century NIKEPHORUS |||| puts the Gospel according to the Hebrews in his list of the disputed books of the New Testament—together with the Apocalypse of John, the (lost) Apocalypse of Peter, and the Epistle of Barnabas. He has a separate list of *apocryphal* books. Credner, who has given much pains to these lists, argues, not without reason, that they are derived from some very much earlier Syriac authority, of about the fifth century (*Geschichte des Kanons*, 1847, pp. 100 seqq.).

About the same time SEDULIUS SCOTUS ¶¶ refers to the oath

\*\* Μόνον δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ἑβραίων Εὐαγγέλιον δέχονται (*Haer. Fab.* ii. 1).

†† Εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον κέχρηται μόνῳ (*ib.*).

‡‡ Born about 672 A.D., died 735 A.D.

§§ Inter quae notandum quod dicitur *Evangelium iuxta Hebraeos* non inter apocryphas sed inter ecclesiasticas numerandum historias: nam et ipsi Sacrae Scripturae interpreti Hieronymo pleraque ex eo testimonia usurpare, et ipsum in Latinum Graecumque visum est transferre sermonem (*In Luc.* I. i.).

|||| Patriarch of Constantinople, born about 758 A.D., died 828 A.D.

¶¶ Flourished about 800 A.D.

of James (Fr. 29) with the words ‘according as it is read in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.’\* As the incident is related by Jerome, and Sedulius also wrote Explanations of Jerome’s Prefaces to the Gospels, there is little doubt that this reference is only borrowed from him.

Finally, CODEX TISCHENDORFIANUS III. (A), a Greek MS. of the Gospels, dating from about the beginning of the ninth century, contains in Matthew four marginal quotations of corresponding passages in ‘the Jewish (τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν),’ one of which is identical with one of Jerome’s quotations from the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

We have seen that in one passage Jerome speaks of ‘*the Gospel according to the Hebrews*’ which the Nazarenes use to this day—after the Apostles, or, as † most deem, according to Matthew.’ Accordingly Hilgenfeld, the writer of *Supernatural Religion*, and others identify it with the Gospel according to the Twelve Apostles spoken of by Origen, Ambrose, Jerome himself, and Theophylact. If this be so, it tends to show that not one of these four believed in the Matthaean origin of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. ORIGEN says ‘The Church has four Gospels, the heresies very many, out of which a certain one is written according to the Egyptians, another according to the Twelve Apostles &c. &c.’‡ AMBROSE, writing before 400 A.D., says ‘And there is current indeed another Gospel which the Twelve Apostles are said to have written.’§ JEROME himself, writ-

\* Sicut in Evangelio secundum Hebraeos legitur (*In 1 Cor.* xv. 7).

† In Evangelio iuxta Hebraeos quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni—secundum Apostolos, sive, ut plerique autamant, iuxta Matthaeum (*Adv. Pelag.* iii. 2). Plerique may mean only ‘very many.’

‡ Ecclesia quatuor habet Evangelia, haereses plurima, e quibus quoddam scribitur secundum Aegyptios, aliud juxta Duodecim Apostolos &c. &c. (*Hom. i. in Luc.*—extant in the Latin translation only).

§ Et aliud quidem fertur Evangelium quod Duodecim Apostolos scripsisse dicuntur (*Comm. in Luc.*—*proem.*).

ing 398 A.D., says that many of the Gospels spoken of by Luke remain, 'which, published by diverse authors, have been the starting-points of diverse heresies; as is that according to the Egyptians, and Thomas, and Matthias, of the Twelve Apostles also &c.'|| Lastly, THEOPHYLACT, writing at the beginning of the seventh century, speaks of the Gospel inscribed 'of the Twelve.'¶

This identification I cannot accept. Jerome does not state that the Gospel according to the Hebrews was *called* 'after (according to) the Apostles,' he is only giving different views as to its origin, and he expressly states that a common opinion attributed it to Matthew. If anyone should fancy that '*secundum* Apostolos,' as compared with '*iuxta* Hebraeos' and '*iuxta* Matthaeum,' implies that the title is being given, he will find that Jerome elsewhere (*Comm.* on Micah vii. 6 and Matt. vi. 11) calls it also '*secundum* Hebraeos,' the object of *secundum* in the passage before us being therefor only to prevent the awkwardness of three *iuxta*'s so close together. Whenever (four times) he expressly gives the name of the Gospel it is 'according to the Hebrews' (*Comm.* on Micah vii. 6, Matt. vi. 11 and xxvii. 16, *Catal. Script. Eccl.* under 'Iacobus'). That he would speak of the 'Gospel of the Twelve Apostles' in the preface to his commentary on Matthew, and twice in that Commentary say that this same Gospel was 'called' 'according to the Hebrews,' is most unlikely. Nor is it less unlikely that he would twice in that Commentary (on Matt. ii. 5 and xii. 13) uphold the Matthaean origin of the Gospel according to the Hebrews and yet in the preface to the same Commentary mention it as one of a number of Gospels 'which, having been published by diverse authors, have been the starting-points of diverse heresies.'

Of the remaining three authors, neither Ambrose nor Theophylact, nor yet Origen, says a word to lead us to identify the two Gospels; Origen indeed once, if not twice, quotes the Gospel according to the Hebrews by its usual name. From the time of Irenaeus, who lived before Origen,

|| Quae a diversis auctoribus edita diversarum haerescon fuere principia; ut est illud iuxta Aegyptios, et Thomam, et Matthiam, Duodecim quoque Apostolorum, &c. (*Comm. in Matth.—proem.*).

¶ Τὸ ἐπιγραφόμενον τῶν Δώδεκα (*In Luc.—proem.*).

to that of Jerome, who outlived Ambrose, the authorship of the Gospel according to the Hebrews seems to have been generally assigned to Matthew, and from the time of Clement, Origen's master, to Nikephorus, who lived 200 years after Theophylact, its popular title seems to have been 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews.' It is therefor most unlikely that this should be the work of which, without any further explanation, Origen, Ambrose, and Theophylact speak as the Gospel according to the Twelve Apostles.

We may now sum up the external evidence regarding this Gospel. We find that there existed among the Nazarenes and Ebionites a Gospel commonly called the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews,' written in Aramaic, but with Hebrew characters. That its authorship was attributed by some to the Apostles in general, but by very many or most—including clearly the Nazarenes and Ebionites themselves—to Matthew. That it is spoken of as the Gospel according to Matthew by Irenaeus about 190 A.D., and by Epiphanius and its translator Jerome in the fourth century, though Epiphanius mentions that the Ebionite copies were corrupted. That Papias narrated a story found in it, if he did not quote it; that Hegesippus quoted it; that it was cited as Scripture by Clement of Alexandria; and was quoted by Origen—all of whom wrote before the middle of the third century. That some people were counting it spurious in the middle of the fourth century, but that we do not know who they were or whether their opinion was merely the result of prejudice against a work circulating almost exclusively amongst sectarians. That at the same time the Apocalypse of John was also counted spurious by some. That in a list of about 800 A.D., but derived, maybe, from one of about the fifth century, the Gospel according to the Hebrews is called a disputed book, but is not called spurious—the Apocalypse of John being again classed with it.

It must be said that this Gospel is not found in any list of accepted books: the omission would, however, be natural if it was looked on as a mere Aramaic edition of the Gospel according to Matthew. On the other hand, neither is it found in any list of disputed books, save those of Eusebius

and Nikephorus above-mentioned.\* Nor were its popular claims to be looked on as an authentic Gospel coming from Matthew challenged by a single ancient writer except Theodore of Mopsuestia, who accused Jerome of 'having forged an additional fifth Gospel, pretending that he had found it in the bookcases of Eusebius of Palestine'—a statement which of course shows that he knew nothing whatever of the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

I shall now give an annotated rendering of the Fragments, after which, in Part III., I shall estimate the internal evidence afforded by them, and shall consider whether the external and internal evidence combine to render likely any conclusion about the origin of this Gospel.

\* See, however, *Addenda*.