

Bible N.T. French.

THE HISTORICAL NEW TESTAMENT

BEING THE LITERATURE OF THE NEW
TESTAMENT ARRANGED IN THE ORDER
OF ITS LITERARY GROWTH AND ACCORD-
ING TO THE DATES OF THE DOCUMENTS

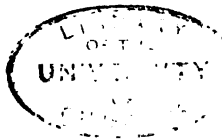
A New Translation

*EDITED WITH PROLEGOMENA, HISTORICAL TABLES,
CRITICAL NOTES, AND AN APPENDIX,*

BY

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prisoner he was," or that ver. 21 f. is a "*vaticinium ex eventu* on behalf of a tendency."¹

What is true of Acts holds true of the Apocalypse: the composite character of the writing is no longer a hypothesis, it is a postulate, of critical study. The keen and often arbitrary analysis to which the book has been subjected during the past fifteen years has yielded at least this general result, that sources have been used by the author (editor ?) to whom we owe the work in its present form. To some extent these sources can be almost disentangled. In certain chapters material lies, belonging to a date obviously older than the period of the book's final composition; here and there the heterogeneous nature of the book is evident, and with all their variations there is a remarkable amount of common ground among the competing theories. Still, the precise extent, character (Jewish or Christian), and date of these sources, even their original language, are largely matters of debate, although in recent years there has been a welcome tendency towards some agreement upon several of these matters. The main point is that no method which neglects source-criticism can satisfactorily explain the doublets, the varying climates of religion, the abrupt connections (e.g. between chaps. 3 and 4, 6 and 7, 11 and 12), the reduplications (e.g. chaps. 13 and 17), the isolation of passages like chap. 12, the conflicting standpoints (e.g. 11¹⁻³ and 21²²) in situation and feeling, now particularistic, now universal, and the occasional divergences that even the author's artistic genius could not obliterate.

At the same time, the Apocalypse is no mosaic of earlier and scattered apocalyptic pieces. The author, whoever he was, worked over his sources with a free and independent spirit. He has fused elements, often diver-

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¹ In closing these notes on the structure of Acts, one must add a couple of sentences. First, it is to be admitted that Schmiedel's remark upon the general composition of the book is amply borne out by the internal evidence: "in general, the editor has dealt with his sources in so masterful a manner that an unlucky hit in the selection and arrangement of the pieces has but rarely to be noted." But this in no way justifies the *hauteur* with which source-criticism continues to be treated in some circles. Stripped of extravagant fancies and verbal rigidity, it is a legitimate science; and its disparagement is one cause of the prevalent ineffectiveness in English efforts to reconstruct early Christian ideas. Krüger is amply justified in the recent rebuke he has administered to the subjective and arbitrary performances of literary criticism, as applied by a critic like Völter to the literature of the first and second centuries (*ThLz*, 1900, pp. 535, 536). But the warning is not urgently needed, as yet, upon this side of the channel, where the reign of timidity and superficiality lingers on in the treatment of writings such as Acts and the Apocalypse. Here it is the rights, not the limits, of analytic criticism that have still to be asserted, and Mr. Bartlet is entirely warranted in protesting, *à propos* of Knowling's commentary on Acts, that "as long as *Quellenkritik* is discounted, there will remain the element of unreality and artificial combination which haunts one's mind in reading typical English work" (*CR*, 1900, p. 440).

The other point which requires to be emphasised in dealing with such historical treatises as Acts, is that they must be taken primarily as compositions, products of a given mind in a given age. There is a constant temptation to plunge into the story, and to forget that the story exists for us as the output of an author. To understand its "why" and "how" is impossible, if we break such historical relationships either in a speech or in a story; it has ties with the age of its birth and growth in the human mind which must not be severed, and it passes to us through a medium which cannot be ignored. "The first question is not, what objective reality is possessed by this or that narrative *per se*? but rather, what is the relation of the narrative to the mind of the narrator, through the medium of which it becomes an object of historical knowledge for us?" (Baur). There are plenty of conscientious writers on the NT whose work would be doubled in value by some attention to this neglected canon of historical research.

SPITTA			ERRATA				
J ³	J ¹	U	R	CHAPTER.	An apocalypse of Caligula's age, c. 40 A.D.	An apocalypse of Nero's age, c. 62 A.D., before the destruction of the Temple.	An apocalypse of Domitian's reign, c. 80 A.D., the Jewish-Christian editor of which has worked over the previous sources.
A Jewish source (vials) dating from time of Pompey's capture of Jerusalem, c. 63 B.C.	A Jewish source (trumpets) dating from Caligula's time, c. 40 A.D.	A Christian (seals) apocalypse, composed by John Mark, c. 60 A.D.	A Christian editor working about the close of the first century, in the spirit of John.				
1 ^b , 2 ^a , 10, 11 1-12, 15, 17, 18	1 ^a , 2 ^b -7 (exc. 4) (15) 19 1-17 (exc. 6, 11) 1-18 (exc. 9, 10, 18) 1-2 ^a , 4 ^b -6 ^a , 7, 9-11 ^a	4-6, 9-19 1-29 1-32 2-11 1-14 1-17 9-17	(1-3) 7-8, 20 1 5 ^b , 7 ^b , (8) (16) 9, 15 ^b	I. II. III. IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX.	1-17 1-18 (exc. 12, 14) 9 ^b -12	4-19 1-29 1-22 1-11 1-10 (11-14) 1-17 1-8, 9-12 1-13 1-21 (exc. 12)	1-8, 20 4-8, 13-17 12
14-20 1-8 (exc. 7) 1-12, 17, 21 1-6 ^a 1-8 (exc. 4)	11-14, 16-21 1-8, 9-15 1, 3, 5, 6 ^a	9 ^b -10 8-21 (9 ^b)	2 ^a , 4, 6 ^b -8 4, 5, 7, 9, 14 ^f , 16 ^a , 18 ^b -20 ^a	X. XI. XII. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. XXIII.	1-7 (exc. 4), 13- 20-4 2-4	1-27 1-22 1-10 1-2 ^a 1-4, 9 ^b -21 1-10 (14)	1-2, 5-8 4, 8-9 ^a 12, 14
1-8 9-27						1-4 8-21 (exc. 18, 19)	5-27 1-2 (18-19)

Ranch (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1854) posited a Christian editor (c. 80 A.D.) who worked up two Jewish fragments, one dating from c. 40 (substance of chaps. 10-13), the other from c. 62, with another fragment originating c. 63 (17-19^a, 21^a), and two more of indefinite date (14-15, 15^a, 16^a, 17^a, 18^a). To the editor are due chaps. 1-3 (except 17-9) and most of chaps. 21, 22.

gent and alien, into a glowing unity which is unmistakably marked in style, structure, and conception. The whole book is a religious and artistic masterpiece of its class; and the process of analysis which scientific criticism is amply justified in applying to the completed work, merely brings out by its very success the greater synthesis dominating the author's mind amid the heated visions of earlier seers and the medley of traditional pieces, which were often impressive and enigmatic as runes.

The hypothesis which practically set in motion the modern work of analytic criticism upon this book was Völter's. His arrangement differed from time to time, especially during the controversies with Vischer and others; but the variations never affected the main outlines of the scheme as given in the second edition of his *Die Entstehung der Apokalypses* (1886). Cp. the reviews by Julicher, *GGA* (1886), pp. 25-38; Schürer, *ThLz* (1888), p. 135 f.; and Milligan, *Discussions on Apocalypse* (1893), pp. 20-34; besides the notices in the commentaries. The chief change made by Völter in the scheme as here printed, was the subsequent discovery of a new source in several parts of D (e.g. 5¹¹⁻¹⁴ 6¹⁶ 7⁹⁻¹⁷ 12¹¹ 14⁴⁻⁵ and also 14¹).

Vischer's analysis (*TU*, ii. p. 3) proceeds upon a simpler principle, and hardly requires detailed exhibition. The groundwork of the present book he finds in 4-22^s, a Jewish apocalypse dating from the years 66-70 A.D., but in part due to a period slightly later. This writing has been interpolated (e.g. in the Lamb-passages) by Christians, and issued under the name of John. Chaps. 1-3, 22⁶⁻²¹ represent the Christian prefix and appendix which were added—with a double recension of the whole—(a) in Domitian's reign, (b) in + 136 A.D. Chaps. 11, 12 form for Vischer the clue to this dissection; he is on stronger ground when he emphasises not the Jewish basis, but the final and essential unity of the whole book. Cp. approving reviews by Simcox, "Revelation" (*CGT*); *Exp.* v. pp. 425-443; Martineau, *Seat of Authority*, pp. 224-227; Overbeck, *ThLz* (1887), p. 28 f.; Ménégot, *Revue de théol. et phil.* 1887, p. 161; also Krüger, *GGA* (1887), pp. 26-35; otherwise Milligan, *op. cit.* pp. 35-44.

The Jewish element is further developed by G. J. Weyland (*Theol. Tijd.* 1886, pp. 454-470, etc.), whose scheme is printed alongside of Völter's, with which it has some distinct correspondences. Similarly Pfeleiderer (*Urc.* pp. 318-356) finds in 4-22^s a Jewish apocalypse dating from Vespasian's reign, and including (11¹⁻¹⁸ 12) a still older fragment composed between 60 and 70 A.D. The book has been twice edited, first by a Christian redactor in the age of Domitian, and later by another, not earlier than Trajan's reign, to whom are due the prefix (1-3) and appendix (22⁶⁻²¹). This general view, analogous to Vischer's, is partly shared by O. Holtzmann (in Stade's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. pp. 658-664), who finds embedded in the extant book a Jewish apocalypse of Nero's age, containing, however, an older fragment (13, 14⁴⁻¹³) dating from Caligula's age (reading *δακα* for *ἐξήκοντα*, 13¹⁸, and interpreting it as *Γάιος Καίσαρ*).¹

On a different line, Schön (*L'origine de l'apocalypse de Saint Jean*, 1887)

r	=	3	|	K	=	20
A	=	1	|	A	=	1
I	=	10	|	C	=	200
O	=	70	|	A	=	1
C	=	200	|	P	=	100
		284	+	332	=	616

Cp. Nestle, *Zinf.* 264 (ETr. 334), and Clemen (*ZNW*, 1901, 109 f.).

I strongly suspect that in its original form chap. 13 contains, more or less completely, a Caligula-apocalypse, as Erbes, O. Holtzmann, Spitta, and Zahn contend. The details suit Caligula's period so well (e.g. 3, 6, 8), that even the editorial touches do not altogether obliterate the original sketch. Bousset (-Meyer, pp. 433-435) rejects the reference, though not confidently, but J. Weiss seems to favour it (*SK*, 1892, p. 261 f.).

is disposed to regard the nucleus of the book as Christian and even apostolic, with 11¹⁻¹³ 12¹⁻⁹ 13, 18 (except 18²⁰) as Jewish insertions. Sabatier (*Les origines littéraires et la composition de l'apocalypse de St. Jean*, 1887) takes the same general view. He considers the homogeneity of the first ten chapters in style and conception to be unimpeachable, but finds Jewish passages in 11¹⁻¹³ 12, 13, 14⁹⁻²⁰ 17¹⁻¹⁹ 19¹¹⁻²⁰ 21⁹⁻²². A third French critic, Bruston, in his latest work (*Les origines de l'apocalypse*, 1888), places an apostolic apocalypse, written in Hebrew, in the latter years of Nero: another work, written in Greek, was composed thirty years later, whereupon both were united and edited by a Jewish-Christian. Bruston had already (*Le chiffre 666 et l'hypothèse du retour de Neron*, 1880) referred 13^s not to Nero himself, but to the death of Julius Caesar and the subsequent re-establishment of the empire under Augustus. Still more independently, Professor Briggs (*Messiah of Apostles*, pp. 285-461), in an elaborate discussion, finds his argument on the following analysis of the Apocalypse, which must be printed separately. It implies the successive accretion of matter to an original nucleus:—

Fourth edition, close of first, beginning of second century.						
Third edition.						
Second edition.						
ζ	First edition.			ε	δ	Redactor.
	δ	γ	α			
Letters.	Seals.	Trumpeta.	Vials.	Beasts.	Dragon.	
1 ⁹	14-8	17-8	1-3 Many notes throughout
11 ⁰⁻³	4-6	71-8	..	..	..
..	8 ¹	82-9	..	..	..
..	111 ^{b-18}	101a. 2-7	..	101 ^b . 2. 6-11	..	
..	141-5	114-16a	..	111-13	121-17	
..	79-17	119	15-17	121 ^b 13	..	
21 ^b . 7a	..	141 ^b . 17. 14-20	191-3	148-13	..	
..	..	216. 7 ^b -8	218-16. 16 ^b . 17.	..	20	
..	..	..	22-27	18, 191-21	21. 2. 16a. 18-21
2216-17	2221	2216-18	221-3 (199. 10)	..	222-5	
..	..	..	226-9	..	213-5a

α = Reign of Caligula; β shortly afterwards.
 γ Older than δ, and γ younger than both (perhaps, reign of Galba).
 ζ = Latest of series, not earlier than Nero, perhaps as late as Domitian.
 "In the main these apocalypses come from an early date, prior to the destruction of Jerusalem."

Two analyses further claim to be considered in greater detail. Spitta's (*Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1889)¹ is remarkable for its attempt to break up the book into two Jewish sources; and on this line Schmidt (*Anmerkungen über die Komposition der Offenbarung Joh.* 1891) has gone much further, finding at least three. The clue detected by Spitta is the use of "seven." From this he works back to his sources, and their date. Like O.

¹ Cp. reviews by Schmiedel (*LC*, 1888, pp. 74-76), Düsterdieck (*GGA*, 1889, pp. 554-564), and Weissäcker (*ThLz*, 1890, p. 468). Schmidt dates the final editing of the Apocalypse in Hadrian's reign, considers that the Jewish nucleus (4¹⁻⁷ 8²⁻¹¹ 10¹⁻¹¹ 12¹⁻²² 14⁹⁻²⁰ 17¹⁻¹⁹) was written originally in Hebrew, partly before and partly after the year 70 (e.g. 17¹=Vespasian), and places the Christian letters (1-3) under Domitian.

Holtzmann, he takes 616 = Γάιος Κάϊρας and discovers a Caligula-apocalypse. In the last point, though not in the Jewish character of the sources, he is followed by Erbes, whose analysis I print side by side with his (*Die Offenbarung Johannes kritisch untersucht*, 1891).

Weizsäcker (*AA*, ii. pp. 173-205) still prefers to think, not of various apocalyptic writings worked over and incorporated in one another, but of single fragmentary visions—belonging to various periods—which lay before the final author, a Jewish-Christian, who in the name of his master John gathered together into a single collection the most treasured prophecies of the last decades. Chap. 11 Weizsäcker regards as originally dating from 60-70 A.D. and, like chap. 12, referring to the Jewish war. Chap. 13 comes from Vespasian's reign, and chap. 17 somewhat later. At the same time he regards it as "hardly possible to reconstruct in any likely form whole writings as its sources." For the final composition of the whole he refuses to go much beyond the close of the first century. Jülicher (*Eint.* pp. 225-229) is similarly reticent. He takes the book as a unity in its present form, but with older apocalyptic pieces incorporated; neither the sources nor the spirit of the latter can be, as he thinks, deciphered with any accuracy.

These theories, along with some others which I have passed over as either minor or inaccessible, are discussed, with reference to the whole apocalyptic problem, by Rovers (*Apoc. Studien*, 1888, pp. 56-86). A. Meyer (*TR*, 1897, Zweites und drittes Heft), Holtzmann (*JpTh*, 1891, pp. 520-545), Baldensperger ("die neueren kritischen Forschungen über die Apok. Joh." *ZThK*, 1894, pp. 232-250), Bousset (-Meyer, pp. 127-141), and Barton (*AJT*, ii. pp. 776-801). Adverse to them more or less are the critiques by Düsterdieck (*GGA*, 1889, p. 554 f.), Beyschlag (*SK*, 1888, pp. 102-138), Bovon (*Revue de théol. et phil.* 1887, pp. 329-362), and Hilgenfeld (*ZwTh*, 1882, pp. 396 f.; 1888, p. 374 f.; 1890, pp. 385-469), although the last-named admits one or two interpolations (1¹⁻³ 16¹⁻³ 19^{8a} 10b. 13b. 22¹⁸⁻²⁰). Holtzmann's attitude to the whole problem of the sources is that of an open but cautious observer (*HC*, iv. 2; *Eint.* pp. 411-414), while Weiss (*INT*, ii. pp. 68-71; *TU*, vii. p. 1), Reuss (*Histoire de la théologie Chrétienne au Siècle Apostolique* (Eng. tr.), i. pp. 369-389), Milligan (*op. cit.* chap. ii.), and Hirscht (*Die apokalypse u. ihre neueste Kritik*, 1895), argue strongly for the essential unity of the writing.

The questions at issue really concern (a) the sources, their number, nature (Jewish or Christian), and date (Caligula, Nero, Domitian, or even later), and (b) the final editor. Was he little more than a compiler, who has rather awkwardly fitted earlier pieces together with additions of his own, or was he an author who worked with freedom and creative power, partly upon material that lay to his hand, partly upon visions and prophecies of his own?

Connected with this series of hypotheses is the important line of criticism anticipated by Dr. Barton (*Journal of Amer. Oriental Society*, xv. pp. 26, 27), but elaborately and independently worked out in Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (1895).¹ Here the Babylonian or rather Akkadian mythology is used to throw light upon the ancient traditions underlying chap. 12 of the Apocalypse, the dragon-myth

¹ Though Zahn is contented to pass by on the other side with a flippant sentence, the hypothesis in its main outline has been tentatively favoured by Cheyne (*CR*, v. pp. 264, 265), and receives more or less favourable notice from Wrede (*ThLz*, 1896, pp. 623-631), Staerk (*ZwTh*, 1896, pp. 330-334), and Clemen (*SK*, 1896, pp. 619-630, also *LC*, 1895, pp. 481-483). Vide Gunkel's similar method in his recent and masterly edition of 4th Esdras (*KAP*, ii. p. 331 f.), also Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, pp. 76-78, but especially A. S. Palmer, *Babylonian Influence on the Bible*, 1897.

furnishing the basis for its anthropomorphic development in the anti-christ legend; but it is obvious that if the principle is valid it applies to the nature, and indirectly to the origin, of many other parts of the book. It has been so applied especially by Bousset (*Der Antichrist in der Ueberlieferung d. Judenth.* 1895),¹ who has exploited these materials, often with convincing weight, in his standard edition of the *Apocalypse* (-Meyer, 1896), though quite independently of his predecessor. They differ in detail. But both work chiefly on the religious-historical line in preference to that of literary criticism, although Bousset follows Weizsäcker in the general treatment of the sources. Gunkel's sweep is narrower. He starts from a part of the *Apocalypse* so admittedly isolated as chap. 12. The key to this lies in pre-Semitic folk-lore outside both the Old and the New Testament, and has been found by different scholars in Egyptian or Greek mythology,—the former with its cycle of Hathor, her young sun-god Horus, and Typhon the seven-headed dragon; the latter with its legend of Apollo's birth and Leto's persecution by Pytho, localised in Ephesus. Gunkel, however, prefers the old Babylonian myth (mediated through Dan 7, 8) of the birth of Marduk the young sun-god, and his triumph over Tiamat the dragon-monster of the water. To these Bousset refuses to adhere; he finds the clue not even in the Jewish tradition of a pre-existent Messiah, but in an old sun-myth, Jesus taking the place of the young god of light and the woman representing idealised Israel. Bousset's method, then, is to regard the *Apocalypse* not as the mechanical compilation of sources by a redactor, but as an apocalyptic writing in which, true to the apocalyptic tradition (Gunkel, *op. cit.* p. 252 f.), the author has used traditional material and adopted pieces which lay before him in a more or less stereotyped form. Along with these an oral and possibly esoteric tradition² has to be reckoned, persisting from age to age. Thus in 11¹.² he finds an apocalyptic fragment dating from before 70 A. D. possibly Jewish in origin; in 11⁸⁻¹⁸ a fragment of tradition on the anti-christ which reached the writer in connection with the fragment on the temple (11¹.²); in chap. 13—the highest point of the apocalyptic drama—an old tradition of Nero combined with a cognate tradition of antichrist; in 14¹⁴⁻²⁰ another foreign element, or tradition of antichrist = Enoch 100¹.²; in 19⁹.¹⁰ a piece of traditional polemic against Jewish or Jewish-Christian angel-worship = Asc. Isa. 7²¹; in 20².³ (after Gunkel, 91-95) an older picture; in 20⁴⁻¹⁰ a Jewish tradition on Gog and Magog = Sibyll iii. 319 f. 663; in 21-22⁵ the combination of two traditions, (a) the favourite one of the new Jerusalem,³ existing in a written form,

¹ Cp. Schmiedel, *LC*, 1895, pp. 1545-1547; also Bousset's articles in *EBI*, I. on "Antichrist" and "Apocalypse," and the Eng. trans. of his *Antichrist* by Mr. A. H. Keane (1896), especially pp. xiv-xxiv. On the relations between the older Babylonian religion and the Jewish and later Gnostic developments, as well as on the Persian influences (Tobit), cp. Anz (*TU*, xv. pp. 4, 61-110), Schwally (*Das Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 146 f.), Beer (*KAP*, ii. p. 233 f.), and *Bible Folk-Lore*, 1884, pp. 301-318.

² 1 Th 4¹⁸ (?), 2 Th 2²⁻⁸, *ὁ μνηστικὸς ὅτι ἔτι ἐν ἀπὸς ἡμᾶς, ταῦτα λατρεῖ ἕως ἀρχῆς*. On which Bornemann quotes Origen's remark (*in Matth. Comm.*, iv. p. 329): "Forte quoniam apud Judeos erant quidam sive per scripturas profitentes de temporibus consummationis se scire, sive de secretis, ideo haec scribit."

³ The irreconcilable antipathy of the Jews to Rome's suzerainty over Palestine had, on its religious side, an undaunted hope for a new Jerusalem and for the expulsion, or even the overthrow, of the pagans. This rested on the belief in a Messiah's advent and terrestrial reign. For the annihilation of the Empire, cp. *Apoc Baruch* 10⁸ f. 63 f.). Wellhausen (*Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, vi. pp. 225-234), however, remains sceptical on Gunkel's interpretation as a whole, in regard to the *Apocalypse* (see the latter's reply in *ZwT*, 1899, pp. 581-611).

and (b) that of the heavenly Jerusalem, which sprang up only after 70 A.D. (cp. Apoc Bar and 4th Esdras). Apart from details, Gunkel and Bousset¹ have opened a fruitful line of research, parallel in some respects to that developed by Usener in another province of the NT; and any attempt to get behind the Apocalypse to its roots in the folk-lore and sagas of earlier and even foreign thought, is a much-needed corollary to the analytic methods of source-criticism. After discount is allowed for exaggeration and premature conclusions, it affords considerable aid in the tangled problem of dating the book and its various sources.

The critical basis upon which the book has been arranged in the present edition approximates substantially to that of Weizsäcker, and may be roughly outlined as follows. The seven letters to the churches are, I think, to be regarded, with the great majority of editors (despite Spitta and Bousset), as a separate section, among the latest in the whole book, and most characteristic of the author and of the crisis at which he wrote. As for the rest of the volume, chaps. 4-22, the standpoint of criticism here is practically that already adopted in the case of Acts. Both writings in their present form belong to the last decade of the first century. Both depend upon sources of more or less value and weight, reaching back to the period preceding the crisis of 70. In both, these sources have been partly submerged; but in part they rise visibly above the materials contributed by the final author. In the case of the Apocalypse, then, as of Acts, it is still feasible to mark by means of darker type one or two passages—varying from large to small paragraphs—which bear traces of earlier origin, and at the same time to note in brackets one or two phrases in which the later editor has Christianised the materials before him, even when the precise date and character of these materials slip away from a reasonable analysis.

Two interesting features become transparent in this collection of materials. The sources are neither consistent, point for point, with one another, nor are they always to be reconciled with the actual history to which they refer. The explanation of these discrepancies largely lies in the general nature of prophecy and apocalyptic, and is best summed up in the canon: "Prophecies, especially those of an apocalyptic nature, are retained as tradition, without reference to their confirmation or refutation by history, and merely on the ground of the authority they have acquired" (Weizsäcker). This may be quoted once for all as the clue to many of the familiar puzzles in the Apocalypse of John.

6¹⁶.—The suspicion that the remarkable addition *καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ ἀππίου* is an interpolation, is corroborated by the fact that *αὐτοῦ* (not *αὐτῶν*, an obvious correction²) occurs in the next verse. This may be a usage similar to that in 1 Th 3¹¹, 2 Th 2^{16, 17}, but internal evidence and the parallelism turn the scale in the opposite direction. The insertion of the reference to the Lamb was natural in a later editor or scribe, in order to definitely mark the Christian allusion of the OT passages here cited. So especially Vischer, Völter, Weyland, Pfeiderer, and Spitta.

7¹⁻⁸.—The patent duality³ in this chapter leaves only one question open: which of the two sections is the source, and which is due to the

¹ See also the latter's reply (*ThLz*, 1898, pp. 578-588) to Erbes' monograph (*Der Antichrist in den Schriften des NT*, 1897). His view is endorsed by M. R. James (*DB*, iii. pp. 228, 227).

² As Bousset points out, after Weiss, *αὐτοῦ* explains the variant *αὐτῶν*, not *vice versa*.

³ So conservative a scholar as Simcox (*CGT*, "Revelation," Appendix) is almost driven by this discrepancy to follow Vischer and regard vers. 9-17 as an interpolation.

different standpoint of the editor? Probably vers. 1-8 are to be taken as an abrupt (note the four bound winds, never unloosed afterwards) and interpolated fragment from some Jewish (?) source (so Spitta and Bousset), a hypothesis which is supported by the stylistic resemblances of vers. 9-17 to the rest of the Apocalypse. The definite eschatological horizon of vers. 1-8 comes from Jewish¹ or Jewish-Christian tradition. The author supplements it by a wider Christian outlook (the stress falling on the Gentile Christian martyrs), whose incompatibility with the former section was probably hidden from him by the semi-spiritual way in which he interpreted the language of vers. 1-8. In its original setting the latter piece may be placed before 70 A.D., as an expression of Jewish-Christianity in Jerusalem (Weizsäcker). For a good discussion cp. Bousset, *ad loc.* pp. 336-339. The impossibility of identifying both multitudes may be taken as the starting-point of critical research, and a divergence between the 144,000 here (a faithful remnant from the old faith) and in 14¹ (a nucleus of ascetics) is also axiomatic.

11¹⁻¹².—This fragment, which stands quite out of connection with the following (cp. 9¹² with 11¹⁴) section, is regarded by most editors as a Jewish source to which the author of the Apocalypse leads up by means of chap. 10, although the latter (10¹¹) serves as the prelude to an even wider outlook (chaps. 17, 18). So especially Weizsäcker, Pfeleiderer, Schmidt, Schön, Sabatier, Bousset, and McGiffert (*AA*, p. 635). It forms a sudden vision, breaking in upon the progress of the trumpet-visions with isolated contents which are neither resumed nor carried forward in the subsequent chapters. It also contains some linguistic peculiarities of its own, and represents, *e.g.*, the seer in an active capacity (not passive, as elsewhere). Some hint of the date of the passage might be found in ver. 8; but "the great city" there may be taken either as Rome (in which case, as with many scholars, *θρου και ο κύριος αυτών έστραυρώθη* is a gloss) or as Jerusalem (so strongly Bousset, who develops from it his theory of the antichrist's appearance in Jerusalem as a defiant opponent of God and a deluder of the people). It is safer to regard at least vers. 1, 2 as a separate fragment, written before 70 by a loyal Jew² who refuses to believe in the possible profanation of the temple (cp. Lk 21²⁴, Bousset). If, as is quite possible, the author was a Jewish-Christian, it is a curious instance of the fluidity and variety of such conceptions that the present idea of the temple being preserved is in flat contradiction³ to the other tradition represented by Mk 13² (= Mt 24², Lk 21⁶) and Ac 7 (the address of Stephen), which is certainly genuine. The whole passage then

"When the servants of God have been sealed in their foreheads, and we expect the wrath of God to break forth upon the rest of the world" (cp. ver. 8) then, as he complains, "we have instead a vision of God's servants already triumphant: not of the 'great tribulation,' but of those who came out of it. . . . The vision of the saints in triumph seems out of place at this stage of events." But it is prophetic.

¹ Recently Jülicher (*Bibl.* p. 226), "durch 7² t., 14¹ t., teils paralytisch, teils christlich ausgelegt."

² So Wellhausen (*Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, VI. p. 215 f.), who attributes this fragment to the Zealots (*vide* the well-known passage of Josephus), and chap. 12 to the Pharisaic circle in Jerusalem towards the end of the seventh decade, the latter of whom preserved a purely religious attitude, as distinct from the active patriotism of the sectaries. Both passages were originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic (so Gunkel and Jülicher). Here, as elsewhere, translation involved editing.

³ A point that is almost fatal to the hypothesis that John the apostle composed the book. The attempt to escape from this conclusion by the surmise that the author is spiritualising, is quite inadequate to meet the facts and evidence. Whatever may have been the final sense in which the editor read these and some other passages, their original meaning was certainly literal. [*EBI*, ii. 1887-1888.]

(vers. 1-13) represents an expectation that the Jewish people would be converted or destroyed by means of a catastrophe which would be due to their treatment of Enoch and Elijah, the God-sent messengers of Messiah. If vers. 3-10 hang with 1, 2, the whole passage falls into the years 67-70,¹ when the crisis was viewed as a sharp measure for inducing national repentance. If not, they may be brought down somewhat later; and this is perhaps easier, as vers. 3-10 do not of themselves imply that crisis.

12.—This, as the large majority of editors admit, forms an isolated and distinct section, which introduces chap. 13, but stands out of all relation to the rest of the Apocalypse. To recapitulate the birth of the Messiah at this stage (11¹⁹) is almost out of keeping with the solemn series of visions which it interrupts.

Its date depends on the principle used to unlock its meaning—(a) historical or (b) mythological. In the former case, it is either Christian or Jewish; to be referred to the persecution and flight of the primitive Christians from Jerusalem to Pella in the seventh decade, or to the ideal Jewish church (Hos 1¹⁻³, 4 Esdras 9³⁸⁻⁴²) from which the Messiah sprang, in its troubles under Caligula or Titus. No construction on these lines is without its difficulties, and it is impossible to press the details of the dragon's manoeuvre into historical references either to Herod or to any of the Roman emperors. "The pictures . . . seem to shift like a dissolving view" (Simcox). Certainly the absence of all reference to the crucifixion and the general colours of the sketch favour a Jewish origin (Pharisaic, 66-69 A.D.; Jülicher, *Einl.* 227). On (b) (see p. 683),² an exact determination of the source's date becomes less possible than ever. In this case the groundwork of the source, possibly an old sun-myth, is found originally outside both Jewish and Christian territory; but the Christian author has taken it from a primarily Jewish application, and used it here to explain the life of Jesus and the fortunes of his followers. On the Babylonian groundwork of 3 $\frac{1}{2}$, especially the Babylonian divinity Adapa, a semi-mortal *Doppelgänger* of Marduk, who in his capacity of

¹ Lagarde (*GGA*, 1891, pp. 498-520) even placed Dan 7 in this period (67 A.D.), interpreting the "small horn" as Vespasian.

² In *The Homeric Centones* (1898), Prof. Rendel Harris points to another source which, he thinks, the author of this saga had in mind, namely, the vision in *Iliad* 2²⁰⁶ c, where a blood-red serpent swallows a brood of little sparrows and the mother-bird. Here also (in Apoc 12) the mother has wings and more children (12¹⁷) than one, but otherwise the parallelism is not so striking as that of the similar myths already cited. The storming of heaven (= Eph 6¹²) by the dragon, as Cheyne points out (*EBi*, i. p. 1131), is a replica of Tiāmat's rebellion, and the flood of water occurs in the myth narrated in *Addit. Esther* (11⁵⁻¹¹). Jensen (apud Wildeboer, *Kurzer Hand-Comm. A. T.*, "Esther," pp. 173-176) explains Esther (*EBi*, ii. 1404-5) from a similar Babylonian myth. Purim, he holds, is merely a Judaized allegorical edition of the Babylonian new-year festival, which in turn derived from the Babylonian version of the epics of Gilgamesh, with its account of the defeat of the Elamites and their national god Humman (= Haman) by their hereditary foes the Babylonians under Marduk (= Mordecai). We have cuneiform evidence that Assurbanipal recovered from the Elamites an image of Ištar (= Esther). J. H. Moulton (*Exp. Ti.* xi. pp. 257-260), founding in part upon a hint of Prof. Rendel Harris (*The Story of Ahikar*, 1898, pp. vii-lxxxviii; *AT*, 1899, p. 541 f.), similarly conjectures that Tobit represents a Jewish edition of some old Iranian piece of folk-lore, which applies and adapts the older myth to specially Hebrew needs. This current of influence as a factor in pre-Christian Judaism is also worked out by E. Stade: *Ueber den Einfluss d. Parsismus auf. d. Judentum* (1898), p. 145 f.; he discusses the relation of Jewish angelology to the NT conceptions (*ibid.* pp. 227 f.), identifying, e.g., the "angels" of Apoc 1-3 with the Parsee Fravashis, and pointing out a background to Eph 6¹¹ c. in the atmospheric battles of Parsee genii.

nir-amilāti ("seed of mankind") is conjectured to have been a prototype of the Messianic conception of *bar-nāshā* ("son of man"), cp. Hommel, *Exp. Ti.* xi. pp. 341-345.

Both Pfeleiderer and Bousset find traces of the editor's hand, particularly in vers. 10-11 (where the reasons for the victory resemble 7¹⁴, and have no relation to the reason already adduced by the source, *i.e.* Michael's power, ver. 7)¹, also in 17 (where the "rest of the seed" must refer to Christians, and cannot have had a place in the original Jewish document), which is introduced partly to bridge the gap between chaps. 12 and 13. Wellhausen finds Christian additions also in vers. 11 and 17 (*καὶ ἐχ. τ. μ. Ἰησοῦ*), and takes vers. 1-6, 7-14 as variants of one idea. But the fact is, this fragment is one of several in the apocalyptic literature, and even beyond it (*e.g.* 4 Mac 18^{6b-19}), where an interpolation cannot be sharply assigned with any conclusiveness to a Christian or a Jewish source. Both religions had much common matter in those days, and they cannot be strictly kept apart: cp. Gunkel's luminous remarks on Paul and the author of 4th Esdras, *KAP*, ii. pp. 343-349.

13⁶.—*τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου* is, as most editors rightly detect (Vischer, Völter, Spitta, Weyland, Schön, Sabatier, Pfeleiderer, Bousset), a gloss. The point of the passage² is that the loyal remnant are predestined and enrolled in the book of life from the first; *ἀπο κ. κ.* goes with *γέγραπται* in any case (17⁸), and the natural interpolation of *τ. δ. τ. ε.* is, like the similar case of 6¹⁶, due to the later editor or to a scribe. The idea that a list and record of the faithful was preserved in heaven, formed a commonplace of Jewish apocalyptic. This gloss definitely connected it with Jesus. A similar process has been detected by some critics in 5¹³ and 14⁴, besides 14¹⁰, 15³, where the introduction of a reference to "the Lamb" is either awkward or inappropriate. Suidas has this note upon *ἀρνίον*. (*Ἀρνίον*) ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ὡς φασιν, ἀνθρωπίει φωνῇ ἐλάλησεν. εὐρέθη δὲ ἔχον βασιλεῖον δράκοντα ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ περωτόν, ἔχοντα μῆχος πήχεων δ. καὶ τινὶ λελάληκε τὰ μέλλοντα.

14.—Leaving aside as unproved the analyses of vers. 6-13, which converge upon vers. 12, 13 as a Christian interpolation in what was originally a Jewish source (so Pfeleiderer, Schmidt, Vischer, Simcox, and Weyland), we may take vers. 14-20 with little hesitation as an earlier fragment which graphically but irrelevantly represents a final judgment of the earth. This is still to come, according to the Apocalypse. Upon this point criticism³ is practically unanimous, though there is difference of opinion as to its Jewish or Christian origin. Bousset, comparing Enoch 100^{2,2}, etc., finds that the primitive tradition merely described a fight of the angels against antichrist in the wilderness outside Jerusalem, which was

¹ Simcox solves this breach of continuity in ver. 11 by referring the verse proleptically to ver. 17, as ver. 6 to ver. 14.

² On the question of this section (13¹⁻¹⁰) and its historical origin, cp. above, p. 680. That it originally referred to Caligula is quite a tenable theory (Spitta, Erbes, O. Holtzmann, Zahn), but it is impossible to separate source and editor precisely, owing to the freedom with which the latter has treated his materials at this point. All that we can be sure of is, that the passage in its present form belongs to the author of the whole book, while its roots lie some decades earlier in Caligula's reign; the two beasts, as they are represented in the present text, probably symbolise the cult and the provincial priesthood of the Caesar-worship.

³ Even Simcox admits that "if one might venture to discard as an interpolation any part of the attested text of the Apocalypse, it would be this passage." You expect, he urges, the *dénouement* of the harvest. But nothing occurs. "The earth goes on just as before."

the headquarters of antichrist. The apocalyptist has altered this in two ways: he has assigned an important rôle to the Messiah himself (ver. 14), and interpreted the city as Rome. "Ein hässliches Bild, dessen wilden Blutdurst jedenfalls aus keinem christlichen Herzen kommt, und von dem also zu wünschen wäre, dass es auch nicht von einem Christen verfasst sei" (Pfleiderer). The ghastly hyperbole¹ of ver. 20 occurs also in Enoch 100³, and is applied in the rabbinical legends to the bloody massacres at Bether during the war against Bar-Kokhba (Schürer, *HJP*, I. 2, p. 311 n.; Wabnitz, *JpTh*, 1889, pp. 478-480).

16¹⁶.—This may be an ejaculation of the author, cast in the form of a divine oracle (= Lk 12²⁷), as 22⁷.¹².³⁰; but the interruption is immensely harder to understand here. It is better to expunge it as an interpolation which has crept into the text (so Vischer, Pfeleiderer, Simcox).

17.—The episodical character of chap. 17 is recognised on all sides. "This chapter is one that can most easily, nay advantageously, be spared, if once we call in question the unity and integrity of the book" (Simcox). At the same time, the clue to its origin is found in its relation to chap. 13 (see especially Weizsäcker's discussion on this, *AA*, ii. pp. 178, 179, 184-193); both edit the same symbol of the beast as the Roman power. This duplicate section, chap. 17, restates the main ideas of chap. 13, and like it rests on independent and earlier sources. The writer of the original fragment lived probably under Vespasian (ver. 11), and expected the return of Nero (ὁ θηρίον) along with the Parthian satraps (βασιλεῖς, 17¹² ¹)—an idea which is historically located in the eighth and ninth decades of the first century both by Tacitus and Suetonius, and also by the Sibylline oracles of the period (iv-v). Such a campaign would form a just vengeance of Providence for the cruelties of Rome to the Christians under Nero, or (if the source be Jewish) to the Jews at the end of the seventh decade, and the thought of this prompts the magnificent doom-song of chap. 18. Whatever general historical justification may be found for this attitude is stated best by Renan, *Les Apôtres*, chap. xvii. The persistence of a Nero-cult, which seems to the modern mind a psychological aberration, was probably due to the fact that the emperor not merely was successful in his foreign policy, but also possessed the same combination of personal attractiveness and brutality that marked our own King John.

But this earlier prophecy has been redacted so thoroughly that it is hardly possible to separate it from the editor's Christian incorporations, except in an obvious gloss like that of ver. 6 (καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν μαρτύρων Ἰησοῦ). The later writer's conception (ver. 9^a) is of a war against the Lamb, and of the spectral Nero as a beast from the abyss. As Nero did not appear, his saga became transformed towards the close of the century into that of Nero redivivus. Its first form was based on the belief that Nero had not actually died. When facts became too strong for this, it broke out in a new fantastic form. He had died, so men believed, but from the underworld he was to return once more, a weird and gloomy potentate.

¹ During a yachting cruise the late Marquis of Bute saw the bay of Patmos at sunset, "as it were a bath of blood; and there in its midst were rocks with something of the form of horses, and from their necks hung immemorial sea-weed, as it were bridles that surged to and fro upon that crimson flood." *A propos of 217*, he also noticed the white pebbles on the beach of the island, with "their red veins forming themselves into names and words at the bidding of the finder's fancy" (*Academy*, Oct. 13, 1900, pp. 312, 313).

Compared also with chap. 13, chap. 17 presents—as Weissäcker acutely proves—a later edition of the saga, introducing more definite historical applications, and re-arranging the figures of the beast and his associates.

18¹⁴.—As Vitringa saw long ago, this passage has fallen out of its true place somewhere between vers. 23 and 24 (so recently Volkmar and Weiss). Its present position is extremely awkward, and unnecessarily interrupts the continuity of the context. But I conjecture further that 18²⁴ either is displaced from its original position (between vers. 19 and 20⁷) or is (more probably, see 11⁸) a marginal gloss.

19¹⁰.—ἡ γὰρ . . . προφητείας is, as editors and critics almost unanimously agree (cp. also Hilgenfeld, *ZwTh*, 1890, p. 459), a gloss. It is introduced to explain that the previously mentioned μαρτυρία Ἰ. is not equivalent to the Christian revelation—which it is, in the original source—but the special prophetic gift. Bousset finds the hand of the apocalypticist already in τῶν ἔχ. τ. μ. Ἰ., and attributes the gloss to a scribe who wished to conform the passage to 22⁸.

19¹⁸.—καὶ κέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ. A further interpolation, possibly added (cp. ver. 16) under the influence of the Johannine school. So again a great consensus of scholars, including Vischer, Spitta, Pfeleiderer, Weyland, Völter, Ménégos, Hilgenfeld (*ZwTh*, 1890, p. 460), and Holtzmann (*HC*, iv. 2, p. 354, and *NTTh*, i. p. 471), who find this Logos-idea naturally inconsistent with the rôle assigned to the Messiah in the Apocalypse (see Addenda). Was the similar addition in Enoch 90³⁸ made by the same hand (Pfeleiderer)? The recrudescence of evil genii immediately before their doom is one of the features which Stave traces back to Parseeism and its eschatology.

21.—The attempts to separate (as in 5^{b-8}) the editorial interpolations from the Jewish source which evidently (cp. the doublets, 21²=21¹⁰ 21²³=22^{5b} 21²⁵=22^{5a} 21²⁷=22⁸) underlies 21²-22⁸, cannot be pronounced successful, although in some passages (e.g. the reference to the Lamb, and to the twelve apostles, 21¹⁴), the distinction is plain. Bousset marks 21^{19.20} as a purely prosaic gloss, and rather needlessly rejects also 21^{21b} and 21²⁷. The whole passage in its extant condition is a Jewish ideal conceived *sub specie Christianâ*. Hardy (*Der Buddhismus nach den älteren Paläwerken*, p. 118) quotes from a pre-Christian Buddhist tract a striking account (parallel to 21¹⁹⁻²¹) of a city of the great King, with seven walls of precious stones.

Jn^{15^{b-4}}.—ἐκδεχομένων . . . νοσήματι. Upon the verdict (*WH*, ii. p. 77) of textual evidence this passage is to be regarded as an interpolation in the Johannine narrative; it dates in all probability from the latter half of the second century, as Tertullian (*De Bapt.* 5) appears to have been

¹ The transposition of 4^b to a place between 4^{ab} and 4^{ac} is found in Syr-Cur Syr-Sin, and gives a more satisfactory sense than the ordinary textual arrangement.

On the grounds which are considered fatal to the genuineness of 5^{ab.20}, cp. Wendt, *LJ*, i. pp. 249-251, *Joh. Evnglm.* p. 122 f., and Charles, *EBi*, ii. 1379, *Eschatology*, p. 370 f., with Fries (*ZNW*, 1900, 295), Beyschlag, *NTTh*, i. 297, and Schmiedel, *EBi*, ii. 2531.

Besides the hypotheses which involve the excision of 6¹⁻²⁸ (20) (e.g. Delf and Dräseke, apud Wendt) as interpolated, internal considerations have suggested to several critics that the speech in chap. 6 is a compilation. Wendt (*Joh. Evnglm.* pp. 70-79, 127-132) finds parts of his source in vers. 27-58 (substantially), 60, 61, 63-64*, 65-69. Chastand (*L'apôtre Jean et le quatrième évangile*, p. 243) distinguishes a speech in the synagogue (vers. 28-30, 36-40, 43-46) from another by the seaside (vers. 26, 27, 31-35, 41, 42, 47-53), while Spitta (*Urc.* i. pp. 218-221) regards vers. 51-59 as an addition to the original speech, introduced in order to illustrate the last supper. Against the latter, involving Mk 14¹²⁻¹⁸, see Schmiedel, *EBi*, ii. 2523, 2525.

acquainted with it. The internal evidence of style and contents corroborates this opinion. Though some editors (e.g. O. Holtzmann) still regard it as an integral portion of the text, the passage is certainly an early gloss from ver. 7, quite in the Jewish manner (Apoc 16^s), and with the sub-apostolic love of the marvellous. Zahn conjectures that it originated with Papias (*Eiul.* ii. p. 557); Blass (*PG*, p. 228 f.) agrees that as a man of "very little understanding" (so Eusebius characterised him) he "was quite capable of commenting in this way," and proceeds to conjecture that this spurious gloss was not interpolated but substituted at an early date for the genuine text, which has unaccountably disappeared. But ver. 7 is quite intelligible as it stands, without any previous reference such as is here imagined. 4⁸⁰⁻⁵ is unfortunately amissing in Syr-Sin.

7¹⁸⁻²⁴.—For the displacement of this passage from its original position at the close of chap. 5, see especially Bertling (*SK*, 1880, p. 351 f.) for 7¹⁹⁻²⁴ before 5¹⁷, Wendt (*LJ*, I. pp. 228 f., 266 f.; *Joh. Evglm.* pp. 79–86), Spitta (*Urc.* i. pp. 199–203), also Blass¹ (*PG*, p. 239: "a highly probable conjecture"). The passage in its ordinary place seriously interrupts the narrative, which flows on smoothly and naturally when it is removed: cp. 7¹⁴ with 7²⁸ (Jesus enters the temple and teaches in public; this sets some of the people talking, not upon the subject of vers. 15–24, but on his openness [ver. 14] and unhindered action). On the other hand, its contents—faith in Christ's teaching, his authority and relation to Moses, his healing work on the Sabbath—directly fit in with the argument of chap. 5, and when the passage is restored to this position after 5⁴⁷ its congruity is very striking (e.g. 7¹⁹ with 5¹⁸ and the naturalness of 7^{20, 23} immediately after 5¹⁶⁻¹⁸). The cause of the displacement, here as elsewhere in this book, must have been the accidental shifting of a leaf in the MSS., which somehow slipped out of its true position, unless we suppose with Wendt² that the displacement was due to the redactor of a source. Any such mechanical alterations have occurred previous to all extant copies of the work, although our ignorance of the literary history of this, or indeed of any other Christian document, prevents a clear conception of how the mistake arose. On this point Spitta (p. 182 f.) has most interesting evidence, while on the internal phenomena of the passage Wendt's argu-

¹ "Inverted order seems to be a special feature in the textual condition of John; carelessness in copying, and the leaving out of sentences, which were afterwards supplied in the margin, and from thence came again into the text, but at a wrong place, may have been the early causes of this damage"; cp. Bacon, *Journ. Bibl. Lit.* (1894) pp. 64–76, and Addenda below. Even greater textual disorder is shown in 4 Macc 17, 18, and Bickell has attempted to solve the problem of Ecclesiastes by conjecturing that the MS leaves were accidentally transposed after the author's death. Delf would place 7⁴⁸⁻⁵² between 7²⁶ and 7²⁷, while Becker (*SK*, 1889, pp. 117–140). in an essay on the composition of John, regards chaps. 5, 7, 15, 16 as inserted by the author after the whole work had been once written. So Verg. *Georg.* iv. 203–5 after 196.

² He refers to similar instances in the synoptists (e.g. Mt 11³⁰⁻³⁴, Lk 16²⁸⁻³² 18¹⁰⁻¹⁴, etc.). In this case the evangelist missed the irony of the question in 7¹⁵, and consequently failed to see its connection with 5⁴⁷; finding the speech (except vers. 20, 21^a) in his Logia-source, he took 7¹⁻¹² 26^c as a suitable setting for its contents. But the mechanical explanation is quite as credible (Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen*, p. 240 f.). In a roll, leaves of papyri (plagulae) often stuck together, or subsequently fell apart by accident. Besides, they were also used by themselves for short letters, or even for larger works. In the latter case the loose leaves would afterwards be glued together; but during the interval between composition and binding, particularly if any copying was required, they would be readily liable to get disarranged ("libri perscripti nondum conglutinati vel emendati," "membranae nondum consutae," Ulpian); vide Holtzmann, *Eiul.* pp. 17–19.

ment for an inverted order is fairly decisive. As the latter points out, the reference in 7²¹ to the healing of the man (6¹²) requires both situations to be neighbours in time, whereas upon the traditional arrangement the length of interval makes the allusion stiff and abrupt. Also the murderous attitude of the crowd as a whole (7^{19, 20, 23}) contradicts the statement in 7¹², but follows more naturally upon 5¹⁶⁻¹⁸, while the question of 7²⁵ is pointless if—as Bertling argues rightly—Jesus had just spoken these words (7¹⁹⁻²¹); “*τί με ζητεῖτε ἀπ.—*wird 23 durch *ἐμοὶ χολᾶτε* nach Mt. 5²² erklärt und findet seine Bestätigung sowohl 5^{16, 18} worauf Jesus hier zurückgreift, als auch nachher 8³⁷⁻⁴⁰. Auch sachlich gehört das Folgende zu 5¹⁷” (Holtzmann, after remarking on chap. 5, “die Anklage auf Sabbatverletzung 16 nur 17 deutlich gestreift, alles Weitere aber, was zu sagen wäre, auf 7²¹⁻²⁴ verspart wird”). See Addenda.

7²⁵-8¹¹.—The pericopé, an early fragment of tradition (“das vornehmste Agraphon,” Jülicher), un-Johannine in tone and style, which first drifted as a marginal note¹ into the MSS (perhaps as an illustration introduced to explain 7⁶¹ or 8¹², *ἐγὼ οὐ κρίνω οὐδένα*), and came to be inserted subsequently in the text, towards the end of the fourth (Westcott) or even the third (Jülicher) century. There is little or no evidence, internal or external, to determine the date of its composition, beyond the fact that the incident seems to have been known to Papias, if not to the gospel of the Hebrews. Its origin has been variously guessed, the same source as that of the fragment preserved by D, etc., at Lk 6⁵, the Hebrew-Gospel, the gospel of Peter (Volkmar), the original Aramaic “Matthew” (Resch), the original synoptic tradition (Holtzmann), or—as most critics, including recently Zahn (*Einkl.* ii. pp. 557, 558), prefer—the collected materials of Papias. A like uncertainty besets its position in the MSS. As it stands between 7²⁵ and 8¹², it breaks the narrative fatally. But it occurs elsewhere in John (after 7²⁶ (44) or at the close of the book), after Lk 21 (cp. *ἄρθρον* (Jn 8²) = *ἄρθριζε* (ver. 38 of Luke), also ver. 37 and the mention of the hill of Olives)²; possibly it lay between Lk 20²⁶ and 20²⁷ (Holtzmann, *ThLz*, 1898, p. 536 f.), or, as Rendel Harris conjectures, between Jn 5 and 6, adjacent to the discussion on the Mosaic law. Wittichen, like Hitzig and Keim³ (v. pp. 165-169), even suggests that it was originally placed between Mk 12¹⁷ and 12¹⁸ (*JpTh*, 1881, p. 366 f.; 1891, pp. 484, 509), while Spitta supposes (*Urc.* i. pp. 194-199) that, as a leaf or two of the gospel of John went amissing at this point, the fragment (7²⁵-8¹¹) was inserted⁴ by some

¹ On the textual evidence and internal features, which are decisive, cp. *WH*, ii. pp. 82-83; Nestle, *Einf.* p. 232 f. (ETr. p. 282 f.); Schanz's excursus, *Comm. über d. Evglm. d. heil. Johannes*, pp. 327-330, and Warfield, *Text. Crit. of NT*, pp. 196-199. The retention of the passage as an integral part of the gospel, by Thoma, Jacobsen, and Pfeiderer, after Strauss and Hilgenfeld, is quite perverse.

² So, following the Ferrar group of MSS, Westcott and Blass (in his edition of *Luke*, p. xlviii; *PG*, p. 155 f.). The latter upholds its Lucan character, but omits 7²⁵, placing the section after ver. 36. (So Bacon, *INT*, 214.) Syr-Sin entirely omits.

³ Who depreciates its claim to historicity and regards it merely as “a very transparent clothing of an idea,” artificial and exaggerated despite its affecting beauty. Sir John Seeley showed truer historical sense in pointing out that the passage is differentiated from the ordinary legendary tales by “the fact that the conduct attributed to Christ in it is left half-explained, so that, as it stands, it does not satisfy the impulses which lead to the invention and reception of fictitious stories” (*Ecce Homo*, preface to 5th edition). Cp. Burkitt (*Two Lect.* 81-89).

⁴ Hausrath had already guessed that the space was filled by an account of some miraculous gift of water (7²⁶) by Jesus, which was afterwards omitted.

early editors to fill up the blank space thus conveniently left unoccupied (cp. Conybeare, *Exp.*⁵ ii. p. 405 f.).

If, in the absence of any sure position for it, the passage was originally written at the close of the canonical four gospels, as there is some evidence to suggest, then in the course of time it would naturally be supposed to belong to the last of the four, John, although its contents quite forbid such a hypothesis.

12⁴⁴⁻⁵⁰.—In its common position after ver. 43 and at the close of the public ministry of Jesus, this passage forms a recapitulation or compact summary of his preaching, which does not altogether stand out of connection with the preceding historical paragraph (cp. vers. 37, 42 with 44, 40 with 46). At the same time there is an undoubted awkwardness in ver. 44 coming after 36^b (the cry does not suit the secrecy), and indeed after 40 f. The section, in fact, has the appearance of being "quite isolated and introduced without locality, without one fresh idea" (Keim). Literary workmanship and psychological fitness would be satisfied were the passage restored to what is conjectured to have been its original position, *i.e.* between vers. 36^a and 36^b (so Wendt, *LJ*, i. p. 236 f.; *Joh. Evglm.* pp. 90-93). The ideas of faith and light thus are carried forward without any indefiniteness or interruption. Christ's public utterances close with a sonorous completeness, and this section of the gospel is rounded off by a historical résumé (vers. 36^b-43), preparatory to the opening of the new section.

13-16.—That chap. 14 originally followed chaps. 15, 16 is a hypothesis which depends upon purely internal evidence. The canonical arrangement, however, has always been felt to leave some difficulties for which satisfactory answers are not easily found, *e.g.* the apparent climax and final tone of chap. 14 (especially the *ἐγείρεσθε, ἀγωνεῖν ἐνταῦθεν* of ver. 31), followed unexpectedly by chap. 15 and by the long subsequent discourse (in contrast to what Jesus says¹ in 14³⁰), and the contradiction between 16⁵ and 13³⁶ or 14⁵.⁶ (when the latter occur earlier). To obviate this, it has been plausibly proposed to read chaps. 15 and 16 at one or other of three different places in chap. 13. (i.) Between vers. 35 and 36 (Wendt, *Joh. Evglm.* pp. 95-101). This, however, breaks up the evident reference in 13³⁶ to 13³³, and reduces 16²⁹⁻³³ and 13³⁶⁻³⁸ to mere episodes lying between 16^{27, 28} and 14¹⁻². (ii.) Between vers. 20 and 21 (Bacon, *op. cit.*). This again breaks the dramatic and natural juxtaposition of vers. 1-11 and 21-30 in chap. 13, the intervening passage (vers. 12-20) being obviously a transition. (iii.) Between vers. 31^a and 31^b (Spitta, *Urc.* i. pp. 168-193). Of the three variants of the hypothesis, this last seems ("sehr verlockend," A. Meyer) to be the most attractive and intelligible. The course of development then runs as follows:—After the withdrawal of Judas, Jesus—*à propos* of the wine at table (Lk 22¹⁸, Mk 14²⁵, Didachê 9²)—utters the parable of the vine, with a particular reference to the recent apostasy of his friend (15².⁶ = 13^{27, 30}); cp. also 13^{10, 11} with 15².⁸, 13^{17, 18} with 15^{4, 5}, 13¹⁸ with 15¹⁶, 13¹⁶ with 15³⁰. The stream of counsel and warning flows on till 16²⁵⁻³³, when Jesus closes with a word on his departure and triumph, which is carried² (13^{31b-35}) to its climax by a renewed appeal for mutual love among his followers on earth. Then follows Peter's question suggested by ver. 33, with Christ's rejoinder to

¹ In the subsequent narrative only two brief words are spoken to disciples (18^{11, 19}).

² Exegetes like Ewald and O. Holtzmann, who adhere to the traditional order, frankly recognise that 16³³ refers to the passage 13³¹.

him, and the general discourse of chap. 14, which contains the Master's final words (14²⁷) to his followers. The gathering then broke up. What follows (chap. 17) is a prayer spoken in presence of the disciples; probably the author means us to conceive that the company had now risen to their feet, and that in the solemn pause before the exit (18¹)—a pause too short for such a discourse as chaps. 15, 16 contain—Jesus uttered this magnificent rhapsody of faith, which could not be followed by anything short of a heroic death. Even although the tone of chap. 17 differs naturally from that of chap. 14 (but no more than from that of chap. 16), threads of connection with the earlier context are to be traced (cp. 14³⁰ with 17¹, 14⁶¹ (*ωη*) with 17²¹, 14¹³ with 17⁴).

18¹⁸⁻²⁶.—The well-known inconsistencies of this narrative, not merely with the synoptic account but also with itself (who was high-priest? and where did Peter deny Jesus?) are to be explained either by rather forced interpretations of the text as it stands, or by the hypothesis that the narrative has become dislocated in course of transmission. The former line of argument is variously worked out by the editors, chiefly Westcott, Weiss, and Holtzmann. The latter takes several forms, of which the principal are—

- (a) 13, 24, 14, 15, 19-23, 16-18, 25^b-28: Syr-Sin, Blass (*PG*, 57-59), Bacon.
 (b) 13, 19-24, 14, 15, 16-18, 25^a-28: Spitta (*Urc.* i. pp. 158-168), ver. 25^a, a copyist's repetition of 18^b, inserted for the sake of the narrative.
 (c) 13, 14, 24, 15-23, 25-28: J. N. Farquhar (*Exp. T.* vi. pp. 284-288, 429-431), ver. 24 omitted perhaps by a copyist's error from its true place, then written in the margin and erroneously inserted in the text.
 (d) 13, 14, 19-24, 15-18, 25^b-28: G. G. Findlay (*Exp. T.* vi. pp. 335-336, 478-479), agreeing with Farquhar that vers. 13 and 14 are inseparable.

The slightest change would be to suppose that ver. 24 is either to be read in its present position as parenthetical, an intercalated remark, or to be placed after ver. 14. The former method has found good support, from Erasmus to Edersheim. The latter, as Professor Findlay points out, is a solution as old as Cyril of Alexandria, and was adopted by Luther; nor is it quite destitute of textual support. But Spitta's theory, as modified by Findlay (i.e. placing vers. 19-24 after instead of before ver. 14), seems, upon the whole, the least unsatisfactory method of straightening out a narrative which Blass is hardly too severe in attributing to "blundering scribes." It gives a good and continuous sense,¹ requires little textual change, and comes from quite a credible slip on the part of a copyist (see Spitta's clever arguments on this point). The man who copied out the exemplar of the fourth gospel (vers. 12-14, 19-24, 15-18, 25^b-28, *ex hypothesi*) must have passed from ver. 14 to 15 by a slip, only discovering it afterwards in time to insert the passage vers. 19-24 after ver. 18, and catching up the last words of that verse in ver. 25^a to ease the transition and recover the thread of the narrative. There is no reason

¹ The *flow* of ver. 25 gets a satisfactory subject, the high priest is Kaiaphas (as throughout John, 11⁴⁹, 18²⁴), the narratives of Jesus and Peter flow on consecutively, the former being resumed in ver. 28 after the latter has been rounded off, and the despatch of Jesus to Kaiaphas does not become purposeless (as in the traditional order).

to suspect that the similar order in Syr-Sin was due to harmonising tendencies. [See further evidence and instances in Addenda.]

21.—An appendix, added to the gospel (which naturally closes with 20^{20, 31}). Either John himself added the passage as a deliberate finale (Westcott, Lightfoot, Plummer, Godet, Luthardt, Schanz, and Salmon), or the author of the gospel thus incorporated fresh materials in a work which he had already finished (Renan, Hilgenfeld, Thoma, Jacobsen, Abbott, Jülicher, Harnack¹ (*Chron.* pp. 676, 677), Wendt, *Joh. Evglm.* pp. 228–233), or a pupil² of the Johannine school wrote it (Chastand, Weiss, Eberhardt, Reuss, etc.) as an epilogue for the work of his dead master. It is only a variation of the last-named hypothesis when the fourth gospel, as a whole, is regarded as a posthumous work edited by the author's friends. The piece implies (a) the death of Peter, his mission to the Gentiles, and a certain traditional dignity assigned to him in the Christian circles of Asia Minor; (b) a prevalent belief with regard to John, which the writer is anxious to prove is a misunderstanding; (c) an attempt to conform the fourth gospel and the synoptists upon the Resurrection appearances. The date of the passage—if appreciably different from that of the gospel—must have been early enough to allow of its incorporation into the archetype of all existing texts. Several of those who insist that it formed an integral part³ of the gospel, however, use this conclusion in order to bring the whole work down pretty far into the second century (particularly Thoma and Jacobsen), and Keim dates its composition c. 160 A.D., previous to 2 P 1⁴, in the age when the cult of John was rising in Asia Minor. But probably it is to be dated not long after the fourth gospel itself, in the first quarter of the second century. Although composed in fairly Johannine style, and obviously intended to supplement the gospel and certify it as Johannine, it has features that mark it off with a certain distinctiveness. The disciples are mentioned with quite a unique definiteness (the sons of Zebedee, Peter as a fisherman); the miracle attaches itself rather to the synoptic tradition, the fourth gospel having its own cycle of seven signs; the appearance of Jesus in Galilee contrasts strangely with chap. 20, which is unconscious of any appearances save those in Jerusalem; while the objective standpoint of vers. 24, 25 in reference

¹ Except ver. 24, a marginal gloss which "painfully imitates" the style of the evangelist. Loofs also (*Die Auferstehungsberichte und ihr Wert*, p. 31 f.) detaches this chapter from the gospel; but he takes the first part (vers. 1–14) as based originally on a pre-Resurrection story, that has been misplaced and combined with a post-Resurrection appearance of Jesus to Peter (vers. 15–19), which had no connection with Galilee in the tradition. This theory forms part of the defence which he offers for the historicity of the Resurrection-appearances in Jerusalem, as these are narrated in the third and fourth gospels (cp. Resch, *TU*, x. 4, pp. 47 f., 195 f.).

² Zahn (in an exhaustive discussion, *Eint.* ii. pp. 483–498) holds that the post-script was written after Peter's death but during John's lifetime, not by the apostle himself, but by some of his circle and disciples who completed the gospel with his sanction and from information supplied by him. One can readily accept, at least, his proof that the chapter was not written by John the apostle, or by the author of the gospel (1–20). After 20²⁹ any further incident like that described in chap. 21 would be superfluous, and would break the symmetry which is so distinctive a feature of the whole work. Cp. *EBi*, ii. 2543–2544.

³ Especially when its contents are interpreted allegorically as representations of the latter church and its experiences, as e.g. by Keim (vi. pp. 313–318) and Pfeiderer (*Urc.* pp. 741, 742). Chastand (*L'Apôtre Jean*, pp. 98–104) regards it as the work of a later hand, but a fruit of the apostle's oral teaching: "Nous en faisons comme le codicille qui accompagne le testament de l'apôtre." Its total historicity is defended in Eberhardt's monograph, *Ev. Joh. Cap. 21* (1897).

to the writer, and the obvious motive of authentication (for though the *raïra* includes, it is not exhausted by, the incidents of chap. 21), are both alien to the spirit of chaps. 1-20. In fact, on the presupposition that chap. 21 is a unity, to make it an integral part of the gospel seriously discredits the Johannine authorship, and necessitates a somewhat advanced date for the whole book. An escape from this is generally sought on the line of vers. 24, 25, or on a quasi-collective¹ theory of chap. 21 as a whole. The latter has some basis in tradition, and it would ease many difficulties if the fourth gospel and the so-called first epistle of John could be regarded as manifestoes of a school, the collective utterances of men² who shared the same tradition and trend of thought. The "begetter" of the tradition would then be the apostle John, whose authority is naturally claimed for the writings. This seems to give a feasible solution of the dilemma with which modern criticism is confronted over this book; only, it is becoming more and more impossible to believe that John the apostle actually composed it, and less possible than ever to deny that he had some connection with its inception or ideas.

The particular ideas underlying the appendix are the unity, the universality, and the mission of the church, all of which are pictorially expressed in a vivid and impressive manner (cp. Klöpffer's study, *ZwTh*, 1899, pp. 337-381), together with the rehabilitation of Peter.

21^{24, 25}.—These are often taken to be separate notes added by an editor, less probably by the Ephesian elders, as a sort of ecclesiastical stamp or imprimatur. A later generation vouches for the authenticity not for the authorship of the gospel, upholds the truth of the writer's treatment (Baldensperger, *Prolog*, pp. 110-112), and emphasises the largeness of his subject. Thus Weizsäcker, though from a different standpoint (*AA*, ii. pp. 209, 210), treats these verses as the work of one who was a critical successor of the fourth evangelist, and to whom 19²⁵ is probably³ due as

¹ Zahn's theory (reproduced in part by Bartlet, *AA*, p. 437 f.) that some friend or friends of the apostle wrote it during his lifetime and with his knowledge and approval, is incredibly stiff. It clears the apostle, indeed, from the charge of self-praise to which he is liable as he drops the veil of anonymity and more clearly indicates his personality. But why could he not have spoken for himself? Why adopt this round-about, allusive method? Surely this tender and delicate experience would be best told by the man himself, especially as speech about oneself and one's religious feelings is not necessarily incompatible with genuine modesty. "What need of an editor" or of a coterie "to formulate and accredit his own deepest personal experiences?" (Martineau). Besides, if this co-operative principle be admitted into chap. 21, it is impossible to exclude it from the preceding chapters. In this case, it might be fairly extended to cover the composition of the work even after the apostle's death by one who believed he was reproducing his master's spirit and memories, so that the substance of what is historical would then be traced back to a Johannine source and circle, while the general shape and colour remained the work of the unknown genius who composed the whole (cp. M. Arnold, *God and the Bible*, chap. v.). Similarly but more elaborately Bacon, *INT*, pp. 269 f.

² The final redaction must have been the work of a single author, possibly, as M. Arnold suggests (*God and the Bible*, pp. 145-147), a Greek Christian of Ephesus who possessed literary talent, and was accustomed to theological teaching, "an earlier and a nameless Origen," but "not a consummate artist." It is tempting to think that the author of chap. 21 had some connection with one (Hausrath, 1 John) or more of the Johannine epistles, particularly II., III., or that he preserves in some form the lost ending of Mark's gospel (Rohrbach). See Addenda.

³ Blass (*PG*, p. 225 f.) also regards this verse as an interpolation in the gospel, the comment of a later disciple. Not only, however, does this necessitate the change of $\gamma\alpha\iota$ into $\delta\iota$ in ver. 36, but it leaves unexplained the writer's motive for inserting the gloss at this particular point. Besides, the authority of Nonnus(!), upon which Blass relies, can hardly be taken with much seriousness on a matter of this kind.

well. Their atmosphere appears to be the local patriotism and reverence felt by the Asia Minor communities for the memory of their apostolic head. (Ver. 25 "seems an inflated version of 20²⁴": Dods, *ExGT*, i. p. 867. The same idea is more moderately put in 1 Macc 9²³). An instance of this habit of adding notes to a volume is afforded by Eccles 13⁹⁽¹³⁾⁻¹⁴, although the spirit of that epilogue is corrective rather than confirmatory. Thoma, who attributes 21¹⁻²³ to the author of the gospel (*i.e.* the Presbyter, of 2, 3 John), gives 21^{24, 25} to the author of 1 John as being a later insertion; while Chastand attributes chap. 21, like 7²²⁻⁸ 11^{1-6, 12-15}, to a pupil of John who wrote after his death.

But when the whole chapter is taken as a unity, it falls into the age and spirit (Klöpfer) of vers. 24, 25, so that there is hardly any need of separating these. The gospel could not have ended with 21²³, and consequently it seems rather artificial to take vers. 24, 25 as notes added before publication (O. Holtzmann). Wetzel (*Echtheit u. Glaubwürdigkeit des Ev. Joh.* p. 15 f.) keeps 24^a for John, but even he has to relegate 24^b to another hand. At the same time, it must be allowed that ver. 25 stands on a slightly separate footing, owing to its omission in \aleph^* . Against Tischendorf's consequent rejection of the verse, cp., however, Zahn, *Einvl.* ii. pp. 495, 496.¹ A few MSS contain a scholion upon it, according to which it was inserted ($\mu\pi\rho\sigma\theta\eta\kappa\eta$) by $\tau\iota\upsilon\sigma\varsigma\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \phi\iota\lambda\omega\sigma\phi\acute{\omega}\nu$ upon the margin, and afterwards brought into the text by ignorance and accident ($\delta\gamma\omega\iota\alpha\ \tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\nu$). The appendix may have probably ended with ver. 24, to which ver. 25 was added as a natural and somewhat rhetorical flourish, in keeping not merely with the close of this gospel, but with its position at the close of the four gospels. How apt a remark for a scribe or editor to make as the finale of a volume containing the evangelic narratives!

Apart from these more or less obvious interpolations (to which Scholten adds 2¹ 22 7²⁹ 12²³ 18⁹ 21¹⁹, as added by the author of the epistles), the book appears to be essentially and thoroughly of one piece, narratives and discourses inseparably woven together, the style fairly homogeneous, form and substance equally pointing to a compact unity. Practically this has been and remains a postulate of the best Johannine criticism. By liberal and conservative scholars alike, up till lately, it has been almost unfalteringly held that the fourth gospel, whatever be its date, character, and author, is an organic whole (the few and unimportant exceptions are noted by Holtzmann, *Einvl.* pp. 435, 437; Watkins, *Bampton Lectures* (1890), pp. 246 f.; and Weiss, *INT*, ii. pp. 396-398).

Two recent theories, however, fall to be seriously noticed. Both use the partition-method in order to reach back to the document of an original eye-witness, pretty much as Matthew and Luke go back to the Logia, and both favour the excision of the Galilean episodes. One is Wendt's, explained in his *Die Lehre Jesu* (1886), i. p. 215 f.; ii. (Eng. tr. i.)

¹ On its textual authenticity cp. *WH*, ii. pp. 90, 91, also Weiss (-Meyer) *ad loc.* Both verses, 19²³ and 20²⁴, are explicit instances, with many others throughout the gospel, that the writer expected a not unnatural scepticism in regard to his conception of Jesus. These verses really indicate and anticipate a charge of novelty and untrustworthiness, which would arise from the Christian consciousness having been hitherto nourished mainly upon the synoptic tradition; hence author and editors alike do their best to remove the grounds for this opposition. But it is a sign of late development. Mark, *e.g.*, does not insist that his picture of Jesus is lifelike. He lets it speak for itself. Its humanity constitutes its evidence of genuineness, and forms its appeal to the conscience and mind. The fourth evangelist asserts, and the very assertion speaks of a later and more complex situation.

pp. 22-28, and, with a detailed account, in his *Joh. Evglm.* (1900); cp. reviews by Holtzmann (*ThLz*, 1886, pp. 197-200), Haupt (*SK*, 1893, II. pp. 217-250), Beyschlag (*GGA*, 1886, 15), Iverach (*Exp.*⁴ iv. pp. 161-178). The other is by Dr. H. Delff in *Das vierte Evangelium* (1890), *Neue Beiträge zur Kritik u. Erklärung d. vierten Evangelium* (1890), and *SK* (1892), I. pp. 72-104, "Noch einmal das vierte Evangelium und seine Authenticität," although Wendt prefers to class this and the earlier attempt by Schweizer as theories of interpolation rather than as source-hypotheses. Cp. reviews of Delff by Sanday in his series of articles on "The Present Position of the Johannine Question" (*Exp.*⁴ iv. v., especially iv., p. 328 f., v. 375 f.), A. Meyer (*TR*, 1899, pp. 255 f., 295 f., 333 f.) in his similar survey, Holtzmann (*ZwTh*, 1893, pp. 503-506; also *ThLz*, 1890, pp. 588 f.), and Zahn (*Eint.* II. pp. 482, 483).

Wendt's aim (anticipated a century ago by C. R. Eckermann) is to disentangle a written source, from the same apostolic hand as the first epistle of John. This, he considers, is often interrupted (e.g. 1¹⁵ 13^{18, 19}) in its flow of discourses, and consequently points to another series of narrative-interpolations apparently introduced to provide a setting for the dialogues and discourses of Jesus. Remove these intrusive additions, and then materials are presented for discovering genuine Logia of Jesus, especially as they now are seen to fall naturally at the close of Christ's life and into his Judaean ministry. By the sacrifice of some of the historical interludes and connections, Wendt thus finds himself free to seek valuable apostolic tradition for the teaching of Jesus in the Johannine discourses. These even in their extant form, however, have been worked over by the author: they demand sifting and rearrangement in order that their witness to the mind of Christ may be accurately ascertained, and their implicit harmony with the synoptic type of tradition unfolded. While the fourth gospel thus is a post-apostolic composition, especially in its historical framework, upon the other hand it contains an apostolic tradition of Jesus which represents with essential trustworthiness the spirit and substance of his teaching. These Johannine "logia" are related to the extant gospel of John somewhat as the Aramaic logia of Matthew to the (canonical) first gospel. The two main clues followed with much ingenuity by Wendt in his work of disentangling the sources are (a) the interruptions and lack of connection at various points, e.g. 13^{18, 19}; and (b) the existence side by side of different conceptions of Christ's work and person, e.g. the prominence of *ἔργα* (synonymous with *ῥήματα*) in the discourses, and of *σημεῖα* (=miraculous acts) in the narratives; also the idea of faith in the former as the practical confession of Christ the divine Saviour, in the latter as the theoretical conviction produced by Christ who is the divine worker of miracles (*Lehre Jesu*, I. pp. 215-342; *Das Johannes-Evangelium*, 1900, p. 54 f.). See Bahnsen's review, *PM* (1900), pp. 377-382, and *EBi*, II. 2554 f.

Delff with papal confidence ("Meine Auffassung ist also keine Hypothese . . . sondern ein historischer Fund") attributes the gospel to a Jewish-Christian author, "the high priest John" (*HE*, v. 24, III. 31, *ὁ ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκώς*), afterwards known as "the presbyter."¹

¹ Bousset (-Meyer, *Offenbar. Joh.* pp. 41-48; *TR*, 1897, p. 12 f.) similarly conjectures that the disciple whom Jesus loved was not the son of Zebedee, but the presbyter John, a member of the inner circle of Christ's adherents at Jerusalem, who was of priestly lineage, and who preserved a particular tradition of the Master's work and experiences in the capital. Founding on not very stable evidence from Philippus Sidetes († 430) and Georgios Hamartolos, a chronicler of the ninth century, he further

Chiefly narratives interpolated.	WANDT.	The Discourses, containing a written, apostolic, source—the Johanneic Logia—redacted by the author of the gospel.
6-8, 15, 19-34 (witness of John), 35-52	Chap. i.	1-5 (prologue), 9-14 (<i>ibid.</i>), 16-18 (<i>ibid.</i>).
1-12 (miracle at Kana), 17, 21 (comment)	ii.	13-16 (substance), 18-20 (Jesus in Jerusalem).
2 ^b (<i>οὐδεις . . . αυτου</i>) 5 (<i>ιδαντες και</i>) 22-36 (witness of John)	iii.	1-2 ^a , 3-21 (Jesus and Nikodemus).
1-3 (John's ministry), 10, 11, 15-18, (25), 26, 27 ^a -30, 35 ^b , 39-42, 43-54	iv.	4-9, 12-14, 19-25 (Jesus and Samaritan woman), 27 ^a , 31-35 ^a , 36-38.
1-16 (modified from original and Mk 2 ¹⁰ c), 28, 29 (resurrection of body), 33, 34 ^a (embassy to John)	v.	17-27, 30-32, 34 ^a , 35-47 (discourse on work and witness of Son), 1-3 and 5-7 (substance).
1-26 (miracle of loaves), 39, 40, 44, 54 (<i>καιρω . . . τειμα</i>), 59 (Kapharnahum), 62 (ascension), 64 ^b , 70, 71 (Judas)	vi.	27-69 (discourse on bread of life, etc.) [except passages noted on other side].
8-14 [expanded], 20, 21 ^a , 30-32, 35-37 ^a , 39, 44-52, 53	vii.	1, 2 (f), 3-7, 15-19, 21 ^b -29, 33-34, 35 (f), 37 ^b -38, 40-43.
1-11 (pericopè), 20 ^b 30-31 ^a (belief of Jews)	viii.	12-20 ^a (discourse), 21-29, 31 ^b -59 (discourse).
2, 3, 6-38 (narrative of blind man)	ix.	1, 4-5, 39-41.
21 ^b -22, 39-42 (paragraph on John)	x.	1-18 (discourse), 19-21 ^a (substance), 23, 24-38 (discourse), 40 (substance).
1-7 ^a , 11-15, 17-20, 24, 28-46 (narrative of Lazarus), 47-57 (plot of Pharisees, etc.)	xi.	7 ^b -10, 16, 21-23, 25-27 (1, 3, 5, 6, substance).
1-19 (Bethany, entry into Jerusalem), 28 ^b -30 (heavenly voice), 33, 37, 39-43, 47 ^b , 48 (<i>iv. r. i. i. m.</i>)	xii.	20-28 ^a (visit of Greeks), 31-36, 44-47 ^a , 48, 49, 50.
11, 18, 19, 21-31 ^a (narrative of Judas) 36	xiii.	1-10, 12-17, 20, 31 ^b -35, 37-38.
	xiv.	whole.
	xv.	whole.
	xvi.	whole.
	xvii.	whole.
whole	xviii.	33-38 ^a (the King and the kingdom).
whole	xix.	9-11 (Pilate and Jesus).
whole	xx.	
	xxi.	

Interpolated and later passages.	DELF.	The original and earlier gospel.
1-5 (prologue on Logos), 9-18 . . .	Chap. i.	6-8, 10-end.
1-11 (miracle at Kana), 17, 21, 22 (comments)	ii.	12-16, 18-20, 23-25.
	iii.	whole.
44, 46-54 (miracle at Kana) . . .	iv.	1-43, 45.
(4) 17-29 (judgment and resurrection)	v.	1-16, 30-47.
1-29 (miracle of loaves), 37-40 (judgment and resurrection), 44, 54 (<i>ἰσχυρῶς</i> . . . <i>ἰμῖπε</i>), 59 (Kapharnahum)	vi.	30-36, 41-58, 60-71.
39 (comment), 53 . . .	vii.	whole [37-44 following 45-52].
1-11 (pericopé)	viii.	12-end.
	ix.	whole.
	x.	whole.
	xi.	whole.
16 (comment), 25-30 (heavenly voice), 33 (comment), 38-41 (Isaianic prophecy)	xii.	1-15, 17-24, 31, 32, 34-37, 42-50.
20	xiii.	1-19, 21-38.
	xiv.	whole.
	xv.	whole.
	xvi.	whole.
	xvii.	whole.
19†	xviii.	whole.
(20), 35-38	xix.	1-34, 39-end.
9-10, 11-18 (Mary at grave) . . .	xx.	1-8, 19-end.
whole	xxi.	

This connection with the ecclesiastical society of the capital illustrates passages like 3¹² 7⁴⁵⁻⁵² 11⁴⁷⁻⁵³ 12^{42. 43} 16¹⁵ 19³⁹ †, but necessitates—upon

resupposes (like Réville, I. 394, II. 147) that both the sons of Zebedee suffered a martyr's death in Palestine (Mk 10³⁹, Mt 20²³). Consequently the only John in Asia Minor at the beginning of the second century was John the Presbyter. However, even though the fourth gospel were given up as anonymous, no reasonable objection could be taken to the critical position. The anonymity of treatises so different and weighty as Matthew and Hebrews helps materially to illustrate the possibility that a writer of such genius in the philosophy of religion as the fourth evangelist might have passed away without leaving any trace of his name or of his character.

Delf's hypothesis, partially followed by Fries¹—the excision of a series of passages (including those upon the Logos, the Galilean ministry, and the eschatology) which were interpolated ("by Cerinthus," Fries) in the original document, in order to harmonise it with the Alexandrian philosophy of religion, the prevailing synoptic tradition, and the chiliastic tendencies current toward the close of the first century. The original document itself was written by a Jewish Christian named John, for the benefit of Jewish priests; its locus was Jerusalem, its date the years immediately preceding 70 A.D.

The Pastoral Epistles.—It has been already pointed out that the most reasonable criticism assigns these writings to a post-Pauline date, and at the same time recognises that a genuine element of the apostle's mind and spirit exists in their pages. The solution of the problem offered by this dual characteristic is probably² to be found in a modified application of the interpolation- and compilation-theories. The author, a devoted Paulinist, not only possessed some knowledge of the apostle's life and ideas, but also in all likelihood notes from his hand or fragments of his letters. These had been originally addressed to Timotheus and Titus. Subsequently they came to be incorporated in the substance of the extant pastorals, and attempts have been made by several critics to extricate them from their matrix. This may no longer be possible, with any degree of certainty. But the abrupt connections and apparent inconsistencies give some aid; and it is interesting to notice that the various attempts agree in one or two passages at least with a fair measure of unanimity. The following sections may be taken, roughly speaking, as containing considerable Pauline fragments according to the interpolation-theories: they are to be classified as (c) certain, and (p) probable.

(c) 2 Ti 1¹⁵⁻¹⁸ 4⁶⁽⁹⁾⁻²² (practically the whole, except vers. 3, 4, and minor additions).

Tit 3^{12, 12(13)}

(p) 2 Ti 2¹⁻¹³ 3¹⁰⁻¹³

Tit 1¹⁻³

(1 Ti 1¹²⁻¹⁷).

Special examples of this criticism are appended, chiefly as they bear upon the question of the date at which either the fragments or the main writings were composed. The composite character, especially of 2 Timotheus, and partly even of Titus, is widely felt, but the schemes of reconstruction vary in many details.

Hilgenfeld (*ZwTh*, 1897, pp. 1-86), e.g., working along the line of Hesse, detects in 1 Timotheus a coherent letter, "Eine wohl zusammenhängende und abgeschlossene Empfehlung der neuen Gestaltung christlicher Ge-

¹ *Det fjärde Evangeliet och Hebreerevang.* (Stockholm, 1898). Cp. *TR* (1899), 377 f.

² So Renan, Sabatier, Ménégoz, Boyschlag, Spitta, Réville, Krüger, and, besides Clemen (*Einheit*, 1894, pp. 142-175), who subjects the letters to a detailed discussion, McGiffert (*AA*, pp. 404-413). Holtzmann (*Past.* pp. 119-126) rigorously objects to all such analyses, and O. Holtzmann also treats this line of criticism too unfavourably (in a review of Lemme's work, *ZwTh*, 1883, pp. 45-72). The chief special works are by Lemme (*Das echte Ermahnungs Schreiben des Apostels Paulus an Timotheus*, 1882), Hesse (*Die Entstehung der neutestamentlichen Hirtenbriefe*, 1889), and Knoke (*Praktisch-theologischer Commentar zu den Pastoralbriefen*). The last-named finds Titus genuine, except 1^{7-9, 12, 13}. In 1 Timotheus he disentangles a Pauline letter (*επιστολή*) to Timotheus, dating from Corinth = 1^{2, 4, 18-20, 21-10} 4¹² 5^{1-4, 11-15, 19-23}; another, written from his imprisonment in Caesarea = 1¹²⁻¹⁷ 3¹⁴⁻¹⁶ 4^{1-11, 12-16} 2¹²⁻¹⁵ 5^{7, 8} 6^{17-19, 19-11, 6²⁻¹⁶}; and finally another church-document written in the Pauline spirit, 3^{1-10, 12, 13} 2¹¹ 5^{9, 10, 16, 17} 6^{1, 2}. All compiled by a later editor!

meindeverfassung, deren Kern der monarchische Episkopat mit dem zu ihm gehörenden Diakonate, die Zurücksetzung des Presbyteriums als der leitenden Behörde ist." This consists of 1¹⁻² 2¹³⁻¹⁷ 2^{1-6a} 3⁸⁻¹³ 3¹⁻¹⁶ 4⁹⁻¹¹ 4¹²⁻⁵ 5^{12a} 5¹⁹⁻²² 24. 25. The rest of the canonical epistle consists of additions made by another editor (p. 32 f.) who had a slightly different conception of Paul, and who (after 136 A.D.) may have changed an original *Βασιλέως* (2²) into *βασιλέων* (!). Titus has been only slightly re-edited (1¹⁻² 12. 13a 2¹⁸ 3¹⁰. 11 in parts), under a similar tendency to emphasise soundness and sureness of doctrine. 2 Timotheus again represents an interpolated letter, in which the respective limits of the original and the additions are worked out in most elaborate and unconvincing detail, the redactor, according to Hilgenfeld, being responsible for passages reflecting the view that the battle of the faith is against erroneous doctrine, not (as in the original) against the heathen world: "Der Bearbeiter steht in der Hitze der gnostischen Bewegung und kämpft namentlich gegen jene Antithese des Christentums und der alttestamentlichen Religion, welche Marcion vertrat." See below, p. 708, for Prof. Bacon's reconstruction.

[Reuss (pp. 120-129) dates 2 Tim wholly from the Roman imprisonment.]

2 Ti 1¹⁵ 4¹⁸⁻¹⁷ 4^{30-32a}.—A genuine letter of Paul, written in 58 A.D. from Caesarea (Hitzig, *Ueber Joh. Marcus*, 1843, p. 154 f.). At any rate, as 4³⁰ stands in its extant setting, it is very plainly an isolated fragment of alien origin.

4⁶⁻¹² 4¹⁹ 1¹⁶⁻¹⁸ 4^{23b}.—Another genuine letter, written from Rome in 63 A.D. (Hitzig). As 4^{12a} contradicts 4²¹, and 4³⁰. 21 is apparently a doublet of 4⁹⁻¹⁵, Jülicher formerly thought that possibly in this chapter passages from two separate letters to Timotheus had been combined, which the editor only possessed in fragmentary shape. This is at least better than Holtzmann's solution of "tendenziöse Wiederholung."

Krenkel (*Beiträge zur Aufhellung der Geschichte und der Briefe des Apostels Paulus*, 1890, pp. 395-468) finds genuinely Pauline fragments in three letters:—

Tit 3¹², 2 Ti 4³⁰, Tit 3¹⁵.—(a) Written during Paul's second journey (Ac 20¹⁻³) to Corinth (from Illyricum ?); addressed to Titus at Crete.

[Reuss (pp. 80, 81) with great hesitation suggests that the whole epistle to Titus may have been written at Corinth, 57-59 A.D., and then taken by Apollos to Crete. This hazardous scheme he regards as the only possible alternative to abandoning the epistle as non-genuine. Bartlet (*AA*, pp. 182 f.) also fixes it in 59 (60), addressed to Titus, whom Paul had left at Laesa (Ac 27⁸).]

2 Ti 4⁹⁻¹⁸.—(b) Written during his Caesarean captivity, later than Coloss-Philemon; addressed to Timotheus at Troas.

2 Ti 4¹⁹ 1¹⁶. 17 1^{18b} 4³¹.—(c) Written from Rome during his imprisonment; addressed to Ephesus.

[Bartlet (*AA*, pp. 192 f., 198 f.), places 2 Ti 4⁹⁻¹⁸. 21. 22a between Col-Eph and Philippians, and the rest of 2 Ti later than Philippians, as Paul's very last word; while Spitta (*Urc. i.* pp. 39-46) labours hard to prove that 2 Ti 4¹⁶⁻¹⁸ cannot spring from the first imprisonment of the apostle.]

2 Ti 1¹²⁻¹⁴.—Later than Paul, with
6b. } McGiffert (*AA*, p. 404 f.);
2¹⁴-3¹⁷, etc.—Most un-Pauline part } though "it is impossible to decide
of the epistle, in great part from } with any degree of accuracy."
another hand. } Lemme also takes 2¹¹⁻⁴⁵ as an
4³⁻⁴ . . . —An interpolation. } insertion, 1¹⁻² 1¹⁰ 4⁶⁻⁸ as inter-
polations.

1¹⁵⁻¹⁸.—An original Pauline fragment.

4 represents or contains a Pauline fragment. [Hase, verses 6-22; Ewald, 9-15, 19-22; Pfeleiderer, 9-18; Immer, 9-21; Lemme, 9-22.]

2 Ti 11-12 21-22 41-2. 5-8. 10-12. 21b. 10 11¹⁵⁻¹⁸.—A letter written from Rome to Timotheus after the extant epistles, as the apostle's dying testament (McGiffert).

4⁹. 11-12. 20-21a.—Another note written shortly before 2 Corinthians (McGiffert); in response to it, Timotheus joined him soon (2 Co 1¹).

Tit 17⁹ . . . 1¹⁰⁻¹⁶ mostly, 2 mostly, 17⁹ is clearly an interpolation interrupting the thought . . . ἡ ἀνοσιότατα (6) . . . εἰς τὴν γὰρ πολλοὶ ἀνοσιότατοι (10), and partly a reproduction of 6^a (Harnack, *Chron.* pp. 710, 711).

31-7. 12-13.—Undoubtedly Pauline (McGiffert); a note written to Titus, before Paul wintered for three months at Corinth (Ac 20³).

31²⁻¹⁵.—Genuine Pauline fragment.

Hausrath and Pfeleiderer (*Ura.* p. 822 n.). Clemen dates it 61, from Rome; McGiffert (adding 1⁹⁻¹¹), at the close of Paul's Roman imprisonment. Similarly von Soden (*ad loc.*) dates 11¹⁵⁻¹⁸ 4⁹⁻²² shortly after Philippians, and (like that epistle) written from Rome, except 20-21^a, which are unauthentic. Clemen puts 41⁹⁻²¹ into c. 56 A.D., before Paul's imprisonment in Jerusalem; 4⁹⁻¹⁸ he regards as composed a year or two later.

Hausrath's (iv. pp. 160-163) letter to Timotheus, which he discovers in the extant 2 Timotheus, is composed of 1¹. 2. 12-12. 4⁹⁻¹².

For an elaborate note on 2 Ti 4¹³ and the papyrus-rolls of Paul, cp. Zahn, *GK*, ii. pp. 938-942.

3⁵⁻¹¹. 14 unauthentic (McGiffert).

Weisse (*Philos. Dogmatik*, i. p. 146) (adding 2 Ti 4⁹⁻²²). Cp. Jülicher (p. 127). Clemen dates 31²⁻¹⁴ in 52, 53 A.D., during Paul's winter residence at Nikopolis; while von Soden (*EBi*, i. p. 812) admits that this "undoubtedly authentic" note (31²⁻¹⁴) may have been addressed to Titus about the year 54 (58), although the plan was not carried out.

1 Ti 31-13 517-20, with Tit 17⁹, later fragments added after 138 A.D. (Harnack, *Chron.* pp. 482-484), betraying their origin in the regulations for ecclesiastical offices and the quotation of an evangelic word as γραφή. Indeed, the whole passage 51-22a is out of connection (*ibid.* pp. 710, 711) with the context, which reads much more smoothly when it is omitted. [Reuss, pp. 82-85, again, conjectures that 1 Tim as a whole may have arisen out of the same situation as that which gave rise to Titus; and Bartlet (*AA*, p. 180f.) fixes it in 55 (56), written on board ship by Paul after leaving Miletus. But how could Paul hope to rejoin Timotheus at Ephesus (1 Ti 314 413) in face of what he had just told the Ephesians (Ac 20²⁸. 29)? The same critic finds in 2 Ti 4²⁰ a private postscript originally attached to this epistle.]

617-21.—The references to riches, as in Hermas and James, in vers. 17-19,

and to heresies in vers. 20-21 (Marcion's *ἀντιθέσεις*), standing at the close and out of connection (von Soden) with the rest of a letter which ends naturally with ver. 16, suggest to Harnack (*Chron.* pp. 481 f., 711) a date for this passage not earlier than the fifth decade of the second century (*HD*, i. p. 270 n.). On the other hand, Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 139 f.) finds that the Marcionite reference of the *ἀντιθέσεις* is "merely a seductive verbal coincidence," and interprets the word as an allusion to frivolous and casuistical discussions which correspond to the Halacha as do *μῦθοι* and *γενεαλογίαί* to the Haggada.

Harnack sums up the postulates of criticism upon the pastorals in four points—(1) They contain a genuinely Pauline element; (2) as they stand, they cannot have been written by Paul; (3) the substantial part of them was known to Polykarp (c. 115 A.D.); (4) the letters reveal one or two sections which can hardly have been written before the middle of the second century. Upon the first two of these points there is practical unanimity, and (3) is largely accepted. On the other hand, (4) is less certain. If admitted, it either contradicts (3) or else involves the application of the interpolation-theory (as with Harnack).¹ Certainly, when each is taken as a literary whole, the three documents lie close together. They cannot be separated, as they stand, by any considerable length of time—a fact which, together with the utterly different tone of 2 Corinthians and Romans, wrecks any attempt to convey them back into the apostle's life previous to 60 A.D.

In the printed text, clarendon type indicates those passages which appear to the present editor to rest upon genuinely Pauline tradition, although in their extant form they must have been edited with more or less freedom. 2 Ti 1⁵⁻¹⁸ parts easily from its context, but neither in the earlier part of this chapter nor in the second is it possible to distinguish with any literary precision the Pauline and sub-Pauline strata. In the fourth chapter, vers. 9-22^a reproduce with great exactness personal details and motives of the apostle which point to their authenticity (as against Holtzmann, "In Wahrheit ist gerade hier Alles Copie"); but the section is not homogeneous, and must include notes of various dates and moods. In Tit 1¹⁻⁶ a Pauline note has been embedded, but the clearest fragment occurs in 3^{12, 18 (14, 18)}. Upon the other hand, whatever sources may have been still at the disposal of the author in 1 Ti have been used in such a free fashion that their original form cannot be made out. Hesse's analysis is by far the most plausible, but the details cannot be pressed.

As to the dates of the above pieces, one can only offer a conjecture, partly owing to the fragmentary condition in which they have been preserved, partly owing to the inadequate information which we possess upon large spaces of Paul's life (e.g. 2 Co 11^{23 2}). But 2 Ti 1⁵⁻¹⁸

¹ Dr. Hort's remark that "the theory of large early interpolations does not work out at all well in detail" (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 180), sounds like a colloquial expression of opinion rather than a conclusion based upon investigation of the facts in question; at any rate, it represents an attitude prior to recent movements of thought upon the whole subject. It is surprising, however, to find this *obiter dictum* echoed by writers upon all sides, as if its repetition absolved them from any fresh investigation into the evidence upon which it rests.

Bartlet (*AA*, pp. 511-515), who follows Zahn in the main, candidly admits, however, that a large Pauline basis, consisting of all the personal matter and much else, underlies the epistles; he also agrees that the possibility of interpolation "is a real one with letters so inorganic as those made up of counsels and exhortations. Such may easily grow by an almost insensible process of accretion."

4⁶⁻¹², 16-19 are probably from a late note, written after Philippians, when Tychicus had gone (Eph 6²¹) to Asia Minor. Timotheus, who had been with him at an earlier stage (Col 1¹, Ph 1¹), is now absent, and Demas has relapsed. The sky is overcast and threatening; and Paul in loneliness wearies for his younger comrade. So much is clear. 2 Ti 4¹³⁻¹⁵, 21, 22^a again are earlier, and cannot be dated very much later than Paul's journey from Troas. They may have been written from Caesarea during his imprisonment. 4²⁰ cannot (Ac 21²⁹) belong to this period, as Trophimus seems to have accompanied Paul to Jerusalem; its origin therefore must be earlier, possibly in the period Ac 18¹⁸ ². Of these passages at least one may say with Mr. G. A. Simcox (*Exp. Ti.* x. p. 431), "all these commissions and cautions are unlike a dying man; the writer is in a hurry for Timothy to come, simply because he is old and lonely." Finally, the fragment Tit 3^{12, 13} falls somewhere in Paul's second mission-tour, written from Corinth or on his way to that city (Ac 20¹²). The plan of wintering at Nikopolis seems to have been abandoned, but Titus afterwards (2 Ti 4¹⁰) appears in connection with the neighbouring district.

This attempt at reconstruction, however, is quite provisional and hypothetical, for it is easier to feel the presence of Pauline fragments than to trace them to their birth and native soil. But no analytic theory of this kind works out so badly in details, or inflicts such a strain upon the general evidence, as the traditional hypothesis which compresses the three letters, as they stand, into the lifetime of the apostle Paul.

James.—An attempt to find a pre-Christian origin for James has been independently made by Spitta (*Urc.* ii. pp. 1-239) and M. L. Massebieau ("L'épître de Jacques, est-elle l'oeuvre d'un Chrétien?" *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1896, pp. 249-283). On this theory¹ James becomes almost like the Test. XII Patr., 4th Esdras, or the Didachê, an originally Jewish work written by a Jewish scholar and then revised by a Christian editor, who made certain additions in order to adapt the book to his later audience. The strength of this hypothesis lies in the obviously meagre Christianity of James, as well as in the rich series of parallels between it and the older Jewish literature of the day.² These, it is held, point to a purely Jewish environment for the author and his readers. The interpolations necessitated by this theory are as follows:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 ¹ .—καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
(Spitta) | } interpolations by a Christian, in a writing, originally Jewish, which became a favourite with the early Christian writers of the NT. |
| 2 ¹ .—ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ | |

But, even apart from the absence of allusions, natural in Jewish writing, to ritual or legal usages, the genuinely Christian elements elsewhere (1³⁷ *καρπὶ*, 2⁷ 3⁹, perhaps 1¹⁸), the resemblance to the gospels, and the

¹ Spitta goes on to apply it also to Hermas (*Urc.* ii. pp. 240-347), where, however, he had been anticipated (as Krüger points out) by Schwegler (*Nach-apostolische Zeitalter*, i. p. 333 f.). Massebieau finds its origin in Essene influences (*op. cit.* p. 270 f.): "l'auteur de l'épître est un juif helléniste, lettré, atteint par la philosophie grecque, universaliste, connaissant le milieu théologique de la Dispersion." Admittedly the letter often seems a Jewish island in the Christian stream.

² But this dependence upon the Wisdom-conceptions and the Wisdom-literature had always been marked in early Christianity. Apart from the epistle to the Hebrews and Paul's letters, the synoptic gospels occasionally use the Wisdom-idea to present the very tradition of Jesus himself (e.g. Mt 11¹⁹, 26-30, Lk 7³⁵ 11⁴⁹, Oxyrhynchite Logia, No. 3). Against the above theories of James cp. Jülicher, *Einl.* 178-179.

un-Jewish ideas of the writing (e.g. *πίστις* in 1³, the *βλασφημεῖν* 2⁶,⁷, and the passage 5⁷ α.), it may be argued that the attempt to transform a Judaistic writing into a Christian document would certainly have gone further. The two phrases¹ do not suffice even yet to give a distinctive, specific, Christian character to the book (in Luther's phrase, it does not preach and urge Christ), and, as McGiffert urges, it is hard to understand how the editor could have contented himself with their addition, instead of inserting further references to Christ's life and death (p. 583 n.). The latter course would have been perfectly easy and—from a modern standpoint—natural. Besides, as Zahn hints, the cases adduced by Spitta—Sibyllines, etc.—are no true parallels, for in these cases interpolations were made, not to give the writings a Christian appearance and colour, but to transpose them into prophecies or corroborations of Christian truth. For these and other reasons, Spitta's view is rejected by Mayor (*Exp.*⁵ vi. pp. 1-14, 321-338, and in 2nd ed. of his *James*, pp. cliv-clxxviii), Harnack (*Chron.* pp. 489, 490 n.), Zahn (*Einh.* i. pp. 101 f., 107 f.), von Soden (*HC, ad loc.* 3rd ed. 1899; also in *ThLz*, 1897, pp. 581-584), Adeney (*CR*, 1896, pp. 277-283), Wrede (*LC*, 1896, pp. 450, 451), and by Haupt in an appreciative but adverse review (*SK*, 1896, iv. pp. 747-777). The last-named attaches cardinal importance to the linguistic features of the epistle, its Grecisms, use of the *ΛXX*, etc. These suggest to him a Christian author, familiar with the older Jewish literature, and resident in the Diaspora.

Harnack (*Chron.* pp. 485-491) once threw out the suggestion that "James" like 2 Clem. consisted originally of a collection of anonymous addresses by some early Christian prophet, afterwards published under the name and title of "James" (*TU*, II. ii. pp. 106-109; above, pp. 618 f.). Following out this suggestion, McGiffert regards it as possible that *Ἰάκωβος Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (1¹) were added in the second century to an anonymous epistle composed by some Hellenistic Jew before the close of the first century. The argument is ingenious but of very moderate size. Upon Harnack's hypothesis, the *χαίρειν* and *χαρὰν* of vers. 1 and 2 would be torn apart, whereas they are evidently linked together. Besides, if, as is urged, the general contents of the epistle have no affinity to the character and position of James, it is not easy to imagine how his name should have been affixed at all to this particular document, which fails to correspond with his traditional portrait. Here, as in the case of 1 Peter, the address seems isolated; in fact, it may be fairly held that, were it removed, the contents of neither writing would suggest James or Peter respectively as their authors. But the argument cuts both ways, and makes it improbable that any scribe or later editor would add so incongruous a title. Deissmann (*Bibel-Studien*, pp. 245-247) explains the lack of personal touches throughout the epistle by emphasising its oecumenical character. It is a letter only in form, he thinks: "Aber so wenig *Diaspora* ein geographischer Einzelbegriff ist, so wenig schreibt 'Jacobus' einen Brief. . . . In der Jakobusepistel redet weniger ein bedeutender Mann als eine bedeutende Sache, mehr das Christentum als ein Christenmensch." This ideal and general character of the epistle, he argues, is preferable to the conception (Feine,² *Der Jacobusbrief untersucht*) of a

¹ As Zahn correctly points out, the very difficulty of 2¹ is a proof of its originality. An interpolator would have taken pains to make his meaning clear and distinct.

² Who regards the homily as originally addressed to the Palestinian church, and afterwards issued in letter-form to Christian Jews of the Dispersion (pp. 63-100). This is a plausible theory, but it becomes unnecessary so soon as the early date is abandoned. Bacon (*Journ. Bibl. Lit.*, 1900, p. 12 f.) dates it 75-95 A.D., not later.

homily. But the writing is more than formally a letter. It presupposes some personal acquaintance on the author's part with some circle which he is primarily addressing. The loose connection of the various paragraphs, which often resemble groups of aphorisms with as little cohesion as a handful of pearls, is due here as in the Wisdom of Solomon to the writer's gnomic style,¹ although at the same time it must be admitted that the cognate and much more elaborate "Shepherd" of Hermas bears, in its extant form, some traces of having been put together from previous fly-leaves of prophetic addresses. The analogous abruptness with which Ecclus (51^{29, 30}) and Wisd Sol (19²²) close, is rather unfavourable to the allied conjecture that the original conclusion of James has been lost; especially as the letter itself gives but little evidence of close or continuous intercourse between the writer and his readers at the time of writing.

At the same time, while unable to accept Spitta's theory in its entirety, I strongly suspect that in 2¹ the words ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ represent a gloss originally written on the margin by a later editor or copyist, and subsequently incorporated in the text. The grammatical explanations of the text as it stands (for which cp. Mayor and Beyschlag) are more or less strained: τῆς δόξης does not go satisfactorily with either πίστιν or κυρίου, and the most simple view, which regards it as in opposition to 'I. X., has little in its favour. On the other hand, ὁ κύριος τῆς δόξης is not merely a phrase for God in Enoch (cp. Spitta, pp. iv, 4, 60 f.), but applied by Paul to Christ (1 Co 2⁸, οὐκ ἄν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν). Whether the author of James intended it for God (as 1²⁷ 2⁶ suggest) or Christ, it is hardly possible to determine. But as the book came to be used, it would be natural for some editor or reader, who had 1 Pet 1¹⁷⁻²¹ before him, to append the gloss ἡμ. 'I. X., either to explain the ambiguous phrase or to definitely bring it into line with 1 Co 2⁸.

The linguistic coincidences between Judas and 2 Peter cannot, any more than those between Colossians and Ephesians, be indicated in print. But a tabular résumé,² such as is given e.g. by Spitta, brings out with sufficient clearness the fact that the similarities of expression in the two writings are not coincidences, nor due to the use of a common source, but reminiscences and adaptations. One writing depends upon the other. Now this involves undoubtedly the priority of Judas, chiefly on the following grounds. (a) The style of Judas is pregnant, original, and energetic;

¹ Like Wordsworth's poems of 1831, the various paragraphs of James are semi-detached and end abruptly; yet they too

"Have moved in order, to each other bound
By a continuous and acknowledged tie,
Though unapparent."

It is not, as I think, necessary to regard even the comparatively isolated passages 4¹⁻¹⁰ and 5¹⁻⁶ as interpolated fragments of polemic against the unbelieving Jews (Jacoby, *NT Ethik*, pp. 170 f.). In this class of literature a certain detachment inevitably belongs to many sections. The Wisdom of Seirach is an example itself, though there also compilation and interpolation have been occasionally suggested.

² The parallel in Ecclus 35¹²⁻¹⁵ is most remarkable: there, however, as in Ps 81¹⁻³ (ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶν ἐλεηθεῖς) the order is reversed; charity to widows and the fatherless is a proof of genuine religion, but it follows the conception of God's impartiality. The writer's devotion to the Wisdom-literature and the OT generally, carries him past not only Jesus (Heb 12¹⁻³) but Paul, in his search for examples of ὑπερηβία (5^{10 f.}), although even Clem. Rom. (5) had already found an illustration of that virtue in the apostle of the Gentiles (Παῦλος ὑπερηβίως βραβίτιον ὑπέδειξεν . . . εἰς τὸν ἀγιον τόπον ἱερουσόλα, ὑπερηβίως γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπερηβιάς).

³ Had Judas used 2 Peter, it is incredible that he should have selected one or two passages—and these not the most characteristic—besides passing over much of equal

that of 2 Peter is looser in expression, and occasionally indistinct for all its diffuseness. 2 Peter has "echoes" in it. The special and concrete examples of Judas are present to the writer, but are sometimes dropped, sometimes abbreviated, sometimes flattened out into fairly general descriptions. The words of Judas become now and again consciously modified (*σπιλάδες, σπιλοι, e.g.*): his threefold rhythm is lost; his images are used for different ends. (b) Judas, too, is a unity; from first to last it throbs with a single spirit. On the other hand, the section in 2 Peter which incorporates it stands in a peculiar relation to the calmer and less passionate portions of the epistle; here the polemic is more of an interlude. (c) Further, the author of 2 Peter has borrowed and used his materials in such a way that the later reproduction would be in parts almost unintelligible, unless the original were extant (*e.g.* 2 P 2¹⁷=Jud 12. 13, 2 P 2¹¹=Jud 9, 2 P 2⁴=Jud 6). Features like these point to one conclusion, that the more compact and original writing has been obviously worked over by another writer, who has in the process toned down, omitted, and expanded: no other theory does anything like justice to the literary characteristics of both letters. It is of course no objection to this position that 2 Peter speaks of the errorists in the future tense, while in Judas they are present actually to the writer. Judas is thus true to the immediate situation, while the author of 2 Peter, though living in a similar set of conditions, desires to represent his polemic as a prophecy of Peter, and consequently speaks of the libertines as a future danger—though even this attitude is not kept up consistently (*e.g.* 2¹⁸ & 2²³). While the data thus prove the priority of Judas, and indirectly the pseudonymity of the later epistle,¹ they do not, however, afford any reliable clue to the interval which elapsed between the former's composition and its subsequent use by the author of 2 Peter.

Judas 1.—*ἀδελφός δὲ Ἰακώβου*, an interpolation inserted during the second century before 170 A.D., by an editor who supposed the author to be a brother of the great James. So McGiffert (p. 588), along with Harnack (*Chron.* p. 465 f.), who suggests that the whole phrase, *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, ἀδελφός δὲ Ἰακώβου* was added between 150 and 180 A.D., for the sake of increasing its authority. Not very differently, Bacon (*INT*, pp. 166 f.).

2 Peter.—Grotius, besides attributing the epistle to Symeon, the successor of James in the bishopric of Jerusalem, held the composite² nature of the writing; chaps. 1, 2, and 3 being different letters by the same author. Doubts upon the second chapter as an integral part of the writing have been more than once expressed, but without leading to any decisive conclusions (Bertholdt, Lange, and Kübel).³ Matthew Arnold (*God*

weight. Also, if he had intended to remind the reader of 2 Peter, it is strange how he never alludes explicitly to it or to its writer.

¹ As Prof. Adeney insists, comparing 1 Peter and 2 Peter on the score of literary dependence, "it is one thing to lean upon Paul and even James, and another thing to absorb and utilise virtually the whole of the short epistle of so obscure a writer as Jude" (*BI*, p. 449). Cp. Bacon, *INT*, pp. 170-174.

² He finally conjectured that Πέτρος καὶ . . . ἀπόστολος (1¹¹), ἡ ἀγάπη, ἡμῶν ἀδελφός (3¹⁸), and 1¹⁷ were interpolations. Bartlet (*AA*, pp. 518-521) similarly tries to detach 2¹-3⁷ (1²) as an apocalyptic section added to an originally Petrine note of 62-68 A.D.

³ In this way, if 1²⁰⁻³² could be taken as an interpolation, some part of the epistle might be saved as genuinely Petrine. But the hypothesis is an untenable compromise, and has rightly met with scant acceptance (cp. Usteri's ed. of 1 *Peter*, p. 315 f.), though Gess (*Das Apost. Zeugnis von Christi Person*, II. 2. p. 414 f.) holds that 1^{20b-32} certainly forms an unauthentic insertion.

and the Bible, pp. 227, 228) suggested that phrases like 1¹⁰ (σπουδάσατε βεβαίαν ὑμῶν τὴν κλήσιν καὶ ἐκλογὴν ποιῆσθαι) and 3⁸⁻¹³ may have really been Petrine phrases which survived and floated in men's memories, though the context had been lost. But this is highly improbable. The phrases are perfectly natural and can be paralleled elsewhere; the words of 2¹ follow 1²¹ without serious jolting; and a pseudonymous writer required no hint or occasion, beyond the existence of a genuine 1 Peter and a Petrine tradition, to speak in the apostle's name. Besides, as Chase (*DB*, iii. p. 814 f.) shows, the coincidences with Apoc. Pet. extend over chap. 1 as well as over chap. 2. Kühl (-Meyer), however, still holds to his hypothesis that a genuine Petrine letter is preserved in this epistle, less 2¹-3² which represents a later interpolation.

N.B.—In connection with the survey of constructions and analyses on pp. 700-704, it ought to have been observed that Professor B. W. Bacon, in his acute and trustworthy summary of Pauline chronology (*Exp* x. pp. 351 f., 412-430), already referred to on page 133, approximates in part to Dr. McGiffert, regarding 2 Tim 4⁹. 11-18. 20. 21 a-c, with fragments of 1 Tim, as genuinely Pauline material which dated from the period of 2 Corinthians (end of 54 A.D.) and originated in Macedonia; the rest of 2 Tim (less 1¹³. 14, 2¹-3¹⁷, 4³⁻⁴, which contain interpolations) falls into the period of Philippians, which is the latest of the Captivity-epistles. Fragments from Titus are to be placed, with some hesitation, along with 2 Co 10¹-13¹⁰, which Professor Bacon identifies with the intermediate letter to Corinth (as above, p. 177), written in 54 A.D., perhaps after a visit to Crete (?), but certainly subsequent to the fragment 2 Co 6¹⁴-7¹ (as above, pp. 623, 629). After Zahn he places (*INT*, 56 f.) Gal in the spring of 50, written from Corinth, possibly before 1 Thess. In regard to the general chronology, however, Professor Bacon proceeds upon rather an independent road (*vide* above, pp. 134-136). He fixes the conversion of Paul, 31 (34 ?) A.D.; his first visit to Jerusalem, 33 (36 ?); his first mission tour, 44-46; his arrival at Corinth, 50 (early spring); his flight from Ephesus, 54 (July-Aug.); his arrest in Jerusalem, 55 (May); his arrival at Rome, 58 (February); and his defence before Nero, 60. Such an outline of events obviously involves some important modifications of the "new" chronology as well as of the traditional scheme. More recently (*INT*, pp. 127-140) the same critic judges all three pastoral epistles, and especially 1 Tim, to be "characterised in part by the desultory, general, sometimes incoherent structure of ecclesiastical compilations," but admits that they have undergone processes of accretion and adaptation previous to their incorporation into the Canon. 2 Tim 4⁹. 11-18. 20-21a. 22b, is a note which might originate, he suggests, shortly after Ac 24¹⁻²¹ (cp. 17-18 = Ac 23¹¹, 14 = Ac 21²⁷, 24¹⁸), written to some friend in Macedonia, especially if Ac 21²⁹ be an erroneous tradition. It is less easy to explicate 1 Tim and Titus, although considerations of style prove that these epistles most markedly contain an unPauline element. "A wise conservatism will yield so much as this, while refusing as yet to commit itself to any special scheme of documentary analysis, or even to the possibility of extricating the Pauline from the traditional and editorial material." It is noticeable that Clemen, reviewing the first edition of the present volume (*ThLz*, 1901, 291-293), announces the abandonment of his view of Galatians ("ich stelle ihn jetzt nicht mehr hinter den Römer-, sondern sogar noch vor die Thess-briefe"), and also of his doubts as to the integrity of Philippians (above, pp. 634-636).

