

St Paul the Author of the Last Twelve Verses of the Second Gospel

by Howard Heber Evans

Evans argues, against the critics of his day, that the disputed last twelve verses of Mark's Gospel are genuine, and makes the further case that St Paul was their author. A close study of the Greek vocabulary and idiom of Mark 16:9-20 set beside the Pauline epistles.

7 Chapters

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01. From the Library of

Professor Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield

Sequeathed by him to the Library of

Princeton Theological Seminary

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From the author.

ST. PAUL

THE AUTHOR OF

THE LAST TWELVE VERSES OF

THE SECOND GOSPEL.

ST. PAUL

THE AUTHOR OF

OF

02. THE SECOND GOSPEL

BY

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Third Gospel"

"I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles. — EPH. III. 1.

"The Gospel of the Uncircumcision was committed unto me." GALL. II. 2.

"I laboured more abundantly than they all."—1 COR. XV. 10.

"Inasmuch as I am the Apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine often."

ROM. XI. 13.

"That I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles . . . so that to in Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ." ROM. XV. 16. 19.

"Paul declared particularly what things God had wrought among the

Gentiles by his ministry." ACTS XXI. 14.

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"It was Francis Bacon who gave dignity to the slow and patient processes of investigation, of experiment, of comparison, to the sacrificing of hypothesis to fact, to the single aim after Truth, which was to be the law of modern science."—J. R. GREEN, History of the English People.

"It is the comparative spirit which is at work everywhere, and which has achieved the greatest triumphs in modern times." - Professor MAX MULLER.

"Language, the great confessional of the human heart."—Rev. JAMES MARTINEAU.

"Language is Fossil History."—ARCHBISHOP TRENCH.

"To us Probability is the very guide of Life.

"From these things it follows that in questions of difficulty, or such as are thought so, where more satisfactory evidence cannot be had, or is not seen; if the result of examination be, that there appears upon the whole any the lowest presumption on one side, and none on the other, or a greater presumption on one side, though in the lowest degree greater, this determines the question, even in matters of speculation."—BISHOP BUTLER, The Analogy.

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ST. PAUL

THE AUTHOR OF

03. THE LAST TWELVE VERSES OF

THE SECOND GOSPEL.

I.

THESE LAST TWELVE VERSES ORIGINALLY DID

NOT FORM PART OF THE SECOND GOSPEL.

THE Revisers make this statement with reference to St. Mark xvi. 9 (margin): "The two oldest Greek MSS., and some other authorities, omit from verse 9 to the end."

Archdeacon Farrar, in the "Expositor" for October 1882, states that "Mark xvi. 9-20 formed no part of the original Apostolic autograph."

Ebrard ("Gospel History," p. 547) says that "the peculiar characteristics of Mark's style are not to be found in the section."

The late Dean Alford (quoted by Dean Burgon, "Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark," p. 136) says that these verses are "an addition to the narrative." Bishop Barry ("Teacher's Prayer Book," p. 98b), calls them "obviously a postscript to the narrative." To this distinct testimony may be added the important fact that the Roman Catholic Church regards these concluding verses of St. Mark as deuterocanonical.

Dr. Hort ("Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament," vol. ii., Appendix, p. 28) refers to "the eminent critics who have treated of this, at first sight, difficult variation," and states that "the variation itself is, moreover, almost unrivalled in interest and importance, and no other that approaches it in interest and importance stands any longer seriously in need of full discussion." II.

THE FOLLOWING FACTS RESPECTING THE AUTHOR APPEAR FROM AN EXAMINATION OF THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

(a.) The Author was a Jew familiar with the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament Scriptures.

Almost all the words of which he makes use are to be found in the LXX., e.g.—δυσιν (instead of δυοιν, dative of δυο, Winer, p. 74), 3 Kings ii. 32.

μορφη. Isaiah xlv. 13.

βυπτιζειν, 4 Kings v. 14.

κατακρινειν, Esther ii. 1.

φανερωνν, Jeremiah xl. 6.

σαββατον, 4 Kings xi. 7. (Hebraistic.)

δαιμονιον, Psalm xcv. 5. (Hebraistic.)

■ρρωστος, Malachi i. 8.

πανταχον, Isaiah xlii. 22.

σημειον, Deuteronomy xxxiv. 11. (Hebraistic.)

σκληροκαρδια (peculiar to LXX.), Deuteronomy x. 16.

Some occur in the Apocrypha (in ancient times included in the LXX.), e.g.—■νειδ■ζειν, Wisdom ii. 12.

βλαπτειν, Tobit xii. 2.

παρικολονθειν, 2 Maccabees ix. 27.

Reference to Schleusner's "Lexicon Veteris Testamenti" will establish these assertions beyond the possibility of contradiction. The only word which is not thus to be found in these Jewish writings is θανασιμος, which is used by Hippocrates, Sophocles, Euripides, and Polybius. Turning to the phrases, we find that πενθειν και κλαιειν—a thorough Hebraism, an instance of Hebraistic parallelism or reduplication like προσευχη και δεησις (Ps. liv. 1) and τρεμειν κα φοβε■σθαι (Dan. v. 19)—occurs in Nehemiah viii. 9.

μετα ταυτα, 2 Chron. xxxii. 9.

■νελημφθη (■ς) ε■ς τον ο■ρανον, 4 Kings ii. 11.

■ Κυριος—μετα το λαλησαι, Job xlii. 7.

βεβαιουν—λογος, Ps. cxviii. 28.

πορευεσθαι—■παγγελλειν, 1 Kings ix. 6.

(An example of the construction πορευθεισα ■πηγγειλε occurs in Gen. xlv. 28, πορευθεις ■ψομαι).

■πιτιθεναι χειρας ■πι, Num. xxvii. 23; 4 Kings ο■ μετ' α■του, Ezek. xxxviii. 22. [v. 11.

■ν τ■ ■νοματι μου, Ps. lxxxviii. 24.

■ μεν ο■ν, Esther ix. 1.

πορευεσθαι (■κπορευεσθαι) ε■ς ■γρον, 1 Kings xx. 11.

Verse 19 is entirely composed of phrases which occur in the LXX. :—■ Κυριος—μετα το λαλησαι, Job xlii. 7.

■νελημφθη ε■ς τον ο■ρανον, 4 Kings ii. 11.

■καθισε ■κ δεξιων, Ps. cix. 1; 1 Kings xx. 25.

The phrase καλως ■χειν is not to be found in the LXX. (although its correlative κακως ■χειν occurs in Ezekiel xxxiv. 4, and also in the New Testament). It is used by Xenophon in the "Memorabilia." Dr. Robert Young ("Lecture on the New Testament," part i. p. 4) says that the writers of the New Testament "were men of Jewish extraction, who wrote in a style of composition that no one of a later age could ever successfully attain to, namely, Hebraistic thoughts in a Greek dress." There is, then, distinct evidence that

the writer of these verses was a Greek-speaking Jew, who naturally expressed his ideas by means of the words and phrases of that version of the Scriptures with which, from childhood, he had been familiar, having heard the lessons, taken from the Law and the Prophets, regularly read in the Synagogue Sabbath after Sabbath. (b.) The Author was a Christian—a Jewish Christian.

This is evident from the fact that he insists on Christian baptism and on faith in Christ (ver. 16), while he twice refers to Christ as ■ Κυριος (vers. 19, 20), a title (= the Lord) given throughout the LXX. to Jehovah. (c.) The Author wrote for GENTILE readers.

The mere fact that these verses were added to the Second Gospel would seem to show this; for "internal evidence is very full as to the class of readers for whom Mark compiled his Gospel; the Gentile Christians are clearly pointed out" ("Alford's Greek Test.," vol. i. Proleg. p. 35). The emphatic words in ver. 15, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," are another proof of this.

B

Dr. Townson ("Discourses on the Gospels," vol. i. p. 168) observes that :—

"In the conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel it is more openly signified that the observance of legal ordinances was no longer required. St. Matthew thus reports the words of our Lord to His Apostles: 'Go ye and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost' (Matt. xxviii. 19). Here indeed is a silence about circumcision as a rule of admission into the Christian Church, but no clear releasement from it; for baptism might not abrogate circumcision, but be joined with it, according to the practice of the Jews, who administered both to a proselyte from Paganism. "But St. Mark having related the injunction of Christ to the Apostles of preaching the Gospel to every creature, adds, 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved' (ver. 16); which in just construction is a promise of salvation without circumcision and the ceremonies of the Law." The fact that the author of these verses, although himself a Jew, wrote for the Gentiles, is of special importance as giving us a clue to his identity. St. Paul found only three Jewish Christians at Rome who helped him in his work for the GENTILES, Mark being one of these three (Col. iv. 10, 11). Cf. Gal. ii. 12. (d.) The Author wrote especially for the Gentile Christians at ROME.

Dr. Davidson says (p. 149, quoted by Dean Burgon, "The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark," p. 151):—"Not only was the document intended for Gentile converts, but there are also appearances of its adaptation to the use of Roman Christians in particular." The Dean adds: "Just so; and I venture to say that in the whole of the 'document,' Dr. Davidson will not find a more striking 'appearance of its adaptation to the use of Roman Christians' . . . than this," namely, the phrase "πρωτη σαββατον in verse 9," this being the "Greek equivalent for 'primâ sabbati'"—the phrase afterwards used by Jerome in the Vulgate—and being "introduced for the benefit of his Latin readers."

(e.) The Author must have been possessed of literary ability.

This seems clear from his having compressed the history of many years, and such a history—obviously of great importance—the Rise and Progress of a New Form of Religion—into a few verses. Not every one in that age was an author; not every author could have furnished so clear a summary of such a mass of matter—the essence of the doctrinal teaching of the Third Gospel and of the whole narrative of the Acts being condensed and compressed into twelve short verses. Cf. pp. 30-38, 78. (f.) The Author wrote many years after the first preaching of the Gospel.

This is sufficiently established by his own narrative, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. . . .

And they went forth and preached everywhere" (vers. 15 and 20). Many years must have elapsed before verse 20 could have been written.

(g.) The Author wrote in the Apostolic Age.

That these verses were added in very early times is proved by the fact that they were recognised in the second century by the Old

Latin and Syriac Versions, by Papias (a disciple of St. John), by Justin Martyr, by

Irenæus, and by Tertullian. They were also not unknown to the Coptic and Sahidic Versions, and to Codices A and C (Dean Burgon,

"The Revision Revised," p. 423).

Dr. Hort says ("Greek Test.," vol. ii., Appendix, p. 51) that the section "is apparently older than the time when the Canonical Gospels were generally received; for, though it has points of contact with them all, it contains no attempt to harmonise their various representations of the course of events;" and again

(p. 46), "The conclusion to be drawn from the documentary evidence alone is that verses 9-20 are a very early* interpolation, early and widely diffused and welcomed."

Let me add the following quotations from Dean Burgon's "brilliant monograph," as Dr. Scrivener terms it:—

"The existing Lectionary of the great Eastern Church must needs be in the main a work of extraordinary antiquity" (p. 199). "All the twelve verses in dispute are found in every known copy of the venerable Lectionary of the East. Those same twelve verses—neither more nor less—are observed to constitute one integral Lection. . . . It is found that, from the very first, St. Mark xvi. 9-20 has been everywhere, and by all branches of the Church Catholic, claimed for two of the Church's greatest Festivals—Easter and Ascension" ("The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark," p. 210). The late Dr. Tregelles says ("Printed Text of New Test.," p. 258), "It has also been

* The italics are not in the author quoted.

urged with great force that the contents of this section are such as to preclude its having been added at a post-apostolic period,* and that the very difficulties which it contains afford a strong presumption that it is an authentic history: the force of this argument is such that I do not see how it can be avoided." (h.) The Author must have been possessed of Apostolic authority, or at least he must have obtained Apostolic sanction.

How else could this account, which he added to the Second Gospel, have been (in the words of Dr. Hort quoted above), "early and widely diffused and welcomed"? The Apocryphal Gospels were written early, but they were not widely diffused, and evidently they were not widely welcomed. It is true that these verses were added for the use of the Gentiles; but the Gentiles were closely connected with the Mother Church at Jerusalem and the Apostles. * The italics are not in the author quoted.

(See Acts viii. 14; xi. 22; xv.; xvi. 4; and consider the presence of St. Peter at Corinth, 1 Cor. i., and at Antioch, Gal. ii.) This, too, was a time when "commendatory letters" (2 Cor. iii. 1; viii. 23) were demanded of Christians travelling from church to church. If persons were not received and welcomed without testimony, how could writings be received and welcomed without testimony? How then could anything be added to or taken from the written Gospel in Apostolic times without Apostolic sanction? Compare Prebendary Row ("Bampton Lectures," 3rd edit., pp. 284, 285):—

"The importance of one element in the historical inquiry has been greatly overlooked both by the opponents and defenders of Christianity: I mean the existence of the Church as a visible society, and the guarantee which this affords of the accurate transmission of the facts on which it was founded." "The facts of its Founder's life first brought the Society into being; an acquaintance with them was essential to that continuous growth which it has exhibited from the first dawn of its existence to the present hour."

And again, p. 287: "It would have been in the highest degree difficult, not to say impossible, during the brief interval between our Lord's ministry and the end of the first century, to have imposed on any community of Christians a mass of legendary matter of a character wholly different from those facts," &c. I will venture to add that this important observation holds good with regard to any matter; and that it is clear that nothing could have been permanently added, without full and proper sanction, to the authorised Christian documents, and to the commonly-received accounts current in the Church. Dr. Tregelles (p. 258, quoted above, p. 23) says that "the very difficulties which this section contains afford a strong presumption that it is an authentic history."

If, then, this last section of St. Mark is "authentic"—if it was "early and widely diffused and welcomed"—if it "could not have been added at a post-apostolic period," I do not hesitate to assert that, in the peculiar circumstances of the early Christian Church, it could only have been added to the Second Gospel by Apostolic authority. And it is obvious that this Apostolic authority—in the case of the Second Gospel (written for, and circulating amongst, Gentile readers)—must have been derived from the Apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul. III.

THERE IS A CLOSE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE LAST TWELVE VERSES OF THE SECOND GOSPEL AND THE WRITINGS OF THE AUTHOR OF THE THIRD GOSPEL AND THE ACTS.

(a.) The phraseology of these verses has a marked resemblance to the phraseology of the Third Gospel and the Acts.

Most of the words in these twelve verses are to be found in the Third Gospel or the Acts (many of them in both), including **■νοι** (for **■νων**, dative of **■νο**, Luke xvi. 13; Acts xii. 6), **βλαπτειν** (peculiar to Luke (ch. iv. 35) amongst the writers of the New Testament), and **σαββατον** (in the sense of "a week," Luke xviii. 12). **■πιστειν**, **■ναλαμβανειν**, **παρakoλoυθειν**, the simple **το ε■αγγελιον** (Mark also) are peculiar to these verses, Luke, and Paul. Reference may be made to Schmoller's "Concordance to the Greek Testament." The following phrases in these verses are used by the writer of the Third Gospel—some nowhere else—others only by St. Paul :— **μετα ταυτα**, Luke xvii. 8.

ο■ πιστευσαντες, Acts iv. 32.

■κβαλλειν δαιμονια, Luke xiii. 32.

■ναλημφθηναι ε■ς τ■ν ο■ρανον, Acts i. 11.

■ν τ■ ■νοματι (of Christ), Luke x. 17.

μετ' α■το■ γενεσθαι, Acts xx. 18.

■πιτιθεναι χειρας ■πι, Acts viii. 17.

ο■ ■νδεκα, Luke xxiv. 9 (of the Apostles).

■ μ■ν ο■ν, Acts xii. 5.

ο■ λοιπο■ (of those who were with the eleven Apostles).

πενθειν κα■ κλα■ειν (Hebraism), Luke vi. 25.

καθημαι ■κ δεξιων, Luke xxii. 69.

καθ■ζειν, Luke iv. 20.

■ Κυριος (of Christ, later than the ■ ■ησο■ς, "the Christ known after the flesh" (2 Cor. v. 16) of Matthew and Mark), Luke xvii. 5.

πορευθ■ντες—■παγγελλειν, Luke vii. 22.

λαλε■ν γλωσσαις, Acts xix. 6.

πιστευσαι—σωθηναι, Luke viii. 12.

κ■κε■νος, Luke xi. 7.

■κε■νος, used absolutely ("The use of ■κε■νος in vers. 10, 11, and 13 (twice), in a manner synonymous with ■ δε, is peculiar" (Davidson), quoted by Burgon, p. 166), Acts xxi. 6.

μετα το σιγησαι (λαλησαι), Acts xv. 13.

I cannot help thinking that the pen that wrote, in Acts xv. 13, μετα το σιγησαι, may well have written, in Mark xvi. 19, μετα το λαλησαι.

That the pen that wrote, in Acts xii. 5, ■ μεν ο■ν ■ετρος, may well have written, in Mark xvi. 19, ■ μεν ο■ν Κυριος.

That the pen that wrote, in Luke x. 17, τα δαιμονια ■ποτασσεται ■μιν ■ν τ■ ■νοματι σου (of Christ), may well have written, in Mark xvi. 17, ■ν τ■ ■νοματι μου (of Christ) δαιμονια ■κβαλουσι. That the pen that wrote, in Luke xvii. 14, πο- ρευθεντες ■πιδειξατε, may well have writ- ten, in Mark xvi. 15, πορευθεντες κηρυξατε.

That the pen that wrote, in Luke i. 2, ο■ ■π' ■ρχης γενομενοι (cf. Acts xxvi. 4), may well have written, in Mark xvi. 10, ο■ μετ' α■το■ γενομενοι.

And that the pen that wrote, in Luke xxiv.

9, of the holy women at the Sepulchre, ■ποστρεψασαι . . . ■πηγειλαν . . . τοις λοιποις, may well have been the same pen that wrote of them, in Mark xvi.

13, ■ξελθουσαι ■πηγγειλαν τοις λοιποις.

(b.) The Author of the Third Gospel and the

Acts was familiar with the subject-matter of these verses.

1. Mary Magdalene, out of whom He had cast seven devils

(ver. 9).

St. Luke (or the Acts).

Mary, called Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils

(Luke viii. 2).

(This statement is not to be found elsewhere.)

2. And she went and told them that had been with Him, as they mourned and wept.

And they, when they had heard that He was alive, and had been seen of her, believed not (vers. 10, 11).

The eleven (ver. 14).

3. After that He appeared in another form, unto two of them, as they walked, and went into the country.
And

And they told all these things unto the eleven and to all the rest. It was Mary

Magdalene . . . and other women . . . who told these things unto the Apostles.

And their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not (Luke xxiv.

9 11).

It is St. Luke alone of all the Evangelists who records the appearance of Christ to the two disciples as "they went they went and told it unto the residue: neither believed they them (vers. 12, 13).

Bengel thought that they first believed and then doubted; other commentators have supposed that they first doubted and then believed; others again have explained the variation by supposing that some believed and some doubted. (Compare

Matt. xxviii. 17, "But some doubted;" and John xx. 24,

25, "Thomas said, 'I will not believe.'") Alford says that the statement here is not consistent with Luke xxiv. 33, 34.

Dean Burgon maint uns, however (see the note p. 71), that "there is really no inconsistency whatever between anything which St. Mark here says and what the other

Evangelists deliver. . . . If sufficient critical skill were brought to bear on the highlyelliptical portion of narrative contained in these twelve verses . . . any apparent inconsistency . . . would be found to be imaginary."

St. Luke (or the Acts).

that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs" (Luke xxiv.

13).

4. Afterwards He appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them who had seen Him after He was risen (ver. 14). (See the note p. 71, and compare, as indicating the mental attitude of the Apostles, the words in Luke xxiv. 11: "And their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not.") Compare also Luke xxiv. 37, 38, 41, wherein the writer of the Third Gospel implies that all incredulity was not at an end: "But they were terrified . . . and supposed that they had seen a spirit. . . . Why are ye troubled? . . . And while they yet believed not for joy, and wondered." . . . And ver. 45, "Then opened He their understandings, that they might understand the Scriptures." 5. And He said unto them (the eleven), Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature (ver. 15).

04. St. Luke (or the Acts)

They found the eleven gathered together. . . . And they told what things were done in the way. . . . And as they thus spake, Jesus Himself stood in the midst of them. . . . But they were terrified and affrighted. . . . And while they yet believed not for joy, and wondered, He said unto them, Have ye here any meat? . . . And He took it, and did eat before them (Luke xxiv. 33-45). And He said unto them (the eleven and them that were with them, ver. 33), . . . Thus it beloved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of

6. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved (ver. 16).

7. And these signs shall follow them that believe (ver. 17).

8. In My Name shall they cast out devils (ver. 17).

St. Luke (or the Acts).

sins should be preached in His name among all nations. . . . And ye are witnesses of these things (Luke xxiv. 46-48). Ye shall be witnesses unto me . . . unto the uttermost part of the earth (Acts i. 8).

Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins (Acts ii. 38).

Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved. And he . . . was baptized . . . straightway (Acts xvi. 31, 33).

Lest they should believe and be saved (Luke viii. 12).

(Not in the parallel passage of Matthew or Mark.)

And by the hands of the Apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people (Acts v. 12).

In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk. . . . His Name, through faith in His Name, hath made this man strong (Acts iii. 6, 16).

Paul, being grieved, turned and said to the spirit, I command thee in the Name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And he came out the same hour (Acts xvi. 18; cf. ch. v. 16; viii. 6, 7).

C

9. They shall speak with new tongues (ver. 17).

10. They shall take up serpents (ver. 18).

11. And if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them (ver. 18).

St. Luke (or the Acts).

Are not all these that speak Galilæans? And how hear we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born? . . . We do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God (Acts ii. 6-11).

Behold, I give you power to tread on serpents (Luke x. 19). (Recorded by St. Luke alone.)

There came a viper out of the heat, and fastened on Paul's hand. . . . And he shook off the beast into the fire, and felt no harm (Acts xxviii. 3-5).

Behold, I give unto you power (ἐξουσία) . . . over all the power (δύναμις) of the enemy; and nothing shall by any means hurt you (Luke x. 19).

The following noteworthy statement is made by Eusebius in his "Ecclesiastical History," p. 151 (English translation, Bagster's edition):—

"We must now show how Papias, coming to them, received a wonderful account from the daughters of Philip. . . . Another wonderful event happened respecting Justus, surnamed

Barsabas, who, though he drank a deadly poison, experienced nothing injurious, through the grace of the Lord."

Eusebius adds that this was the Justus mentioned in Acts i. 23; that Papias, who was St. John's hearer, and the associate of Polycarp, had this statement from the daughters of Philip the Evangelist, who was one of the seven, and whose tomb was, in later times, pointed out at Hierapolis in Asia (p. 142); and he further states that Luke alludes to these daughters of Philip in the Acts when he says, "We came to Cæsarea, and having entered the house of Philip the Evangelist, one of the seven, we abode with him. Now he had four daughters that prophesied" (Acts xxi. 8, 9). Whatever account, then, these daughters of Philip the Evangelist may have communicated, in after years, to Papias at Hierapolis, they might easily and naturally have told to the writer of the Acts during the "many days" which he spent under their father's roof at Cæsarea (Acts xxi. 10). It may here be observed that, obviously from the nature of the case, these verses added to St. Mark cannot be—and they do not claim to be—a verbatim account. They are clearly no more than a terse graphic summary, a brief epitomised retrospect, from which the subjectivity of the writer, and his consciousness of the reader are by no means necessarily excluded. 12. They shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover (ver. 18).

13. So then, after the Lord had spoken unto them, He was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God (ver. 19).

St. Luke (or the Acts).

The father of Publius lay sick of a fever . . . ; to whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laid his hands on him, and healed him. . . . Others also, who had diseases in the island, came and were healed (Acts xxviii. 8, 9).

And it came to pass, while He blessed them, He was parted from them, and carried up into heaven (Luke xxiv. 51). Cf. ch. xxiii. 69.

Bishop Wordsworth, on Luke xxiv. 50, observes that "in St. Luke's Gospel the transition from the Resurrection to the Ascension—without any mention of the intervening Forty Days—is quite as rapid as in St. Mark."

14. And they went forth, and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following (ver. 20).

15. The Lord working with them, and confirming the Word with signs following (ver. 20).

St. Luke (or the Acts).

I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God (Acts vii. 56; cf. ch. ii. 32, 33, R.V., margin; also ch. iii. 21).

Therefore they . . . went everywhere preaching the Word (Acts viii. 4).

And the Word of the Lord was published throughout all the region (Acts xiii. 49).

All they who dwelt in Asia heard the Word of the Lord Jesus (Acts xix. 10).

I showed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judæa, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God. . . . Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day witnessing . . . that . . . Christ should suffer, and that He should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should show light unto the people, and to the Gentiles (Acts xxvi. 20-23; cf. Rom. xv. 16-20). Long time therefore abode they speaking boldly in the Lord, who gave testimony unto the Word of His grace, and granted signs and wonders to be done by their hands (Acts xiv. 3).

St. Luke (or the Acts).

And now, Lord, . . . grant unto Thy servants that with all boldness they may speak

Thy Word, by stretching forth

Thine hand to heal; and that signs and wonders may be done by the name of Thy holy child Jesus (Acts iv. 29,

30).

And now, behold the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind (Acts xiii.

11; cf. Acts v. 12; xvi. 18;

xix. 11, 12).

It may be briefly added that—

(c.) The Author of the Third Gospel and the

Acts was a Jew familiar with the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament.

To establish this point it is not necessary to do more than to refer to St. Luke and the

Acts, passim, in Grinfield's "Novum Testamentum Græcum, Editio Hellenistica." I have collected many instances of the writer's Hebraistic phraseology, in "St. Paul the Author of the Acts," pp. 50-52, and 165-168.

It follows, as a corollary, that any words and phrases from the LXX.—that is, all the words and phrases of these verses (with two exceptions)—might well have been known and used by the writer of the Third Gospel. Cf. § II. (a), p. 13.

(d.) The Author of the Third Gospel and the Acts was a Christian—a Jewish Christian.

This is, in fact, self-evident; see, especially, Acts vi. 7; xii. 24; xix. 17, 20.

(e.) The Author of the Third Gospel and the Acts wrote for Gentile readers.

This is clear from the general tone of the history (the two books forming one continuous history by the same author), and, especially, from such explanatory passages as, "The mount called the Mount of Olives" (Luke xix. 29); "a city of the Jews" (Luke xxiii. 51); from Acts xv.; and from the way in which "the Jews" are referred to throughout as being generally hostile to the preaching of the Gospel, e.g., Acts xiii. 42–48. "St. Luke wrote especially for the Gentiles" (Townson, "On the Gospels," i. 207).

(f.) The Author of the Third Gospel and the Acts wrote especially for Gentile Christians at ROME.

According to Zeller, "Rome is the probable birthplace of the Acts" ("The Acts of the Apostles," E. Tr. ii. p. 280).

"Luke thought it necessary to add an explanation whenever he had occasion to refer to places in Palestine (Luke xxiii. 51), or Crete, and even to the larger towns in Macedonia (Acts xvi. 12); whereas he assumes that in Sicily and Italy (particularly Lower and Middle Italy as far north as ROME) even the smaller places will be well known," e.g., the Three Taverns (Acts xxviii. 15). (Ebrard, "Gospel History," E. Tr. p. 552). (g.) The Author of the Third Gospel and the Acts was possessed of literary ability.

Jerome, quoted by the late Bishop Wordsworth, observes, that the author of the Third

Gospel was "inter omnes Evangelistas Græci sermonis eruditissimus" ("Greek Test," i. Int. to St. Luke).

"St. Luke is a consummate painter in language" (Ibid.) See also "St. Paul the Author of the Acts," Note C. ii. p. 96.

(h.) The Author of the Third Gospel and the Acts wrote many years after the first preaching of the Gospel.

This is evident from the fact that he records the arrival of St. Paul in Rome, an event which did not take place till the year 61 A.D. (Wieseler) that is, not until about thirty years after the Crucifixion.

(i.) The Author of the Third Gospel and the Acts wrote in the Apostolic Age.

The writer appears to have been a contemporary and companion of St. Paul (see the "we"-passages in the Acts), and the commonly-received tradition has assigned the work to Luke, "the beloved physician," who was with St. Paul in his imprisonment at Rome (Col. iv. 14). Moreover, the writer's use of ■ Σεβαστος, which is equivalent to "the reigning Emperor," as applied to Nero (who died A.D. 64), and the fact that such a comprehensive and minutely-detailed history (which is so full of St. Paul's life and labours) makes not the slightest allusion to the death of the Apostle, while the picture of the Church in the Acts exactly corresponds to the state of the Church depicted in St. Paul's Epistles, are proofs that the work belongs to the Apostolic age (cf. "St. Paul the Author of the Acts," pp. 60-62). See also the next section (j). (j.) The Author of the Third Gospel and the Acts was possessed of Apostolic authority, or at least he obtained

Apostolic sanction.

"Thus it was not St. Luke's name which procured for this Gospel its currency in the Church, but the authority of the Apostle Paul. . . . Under these circumstances, it is not astonishing that, in the Primitive Church, there was no opposition either to Luke's Gospel or his

Acts of the Apostles" ("Olshausen on the Gospels," i. p. xli.; cf. Row, "Bampton Lectures," 3rd edit., pp. 284-287).

I venture to affirm that a weight of evidence has now been adduced sufficient to establish an unmistakable connection between this last section of the Second Gospel and the Third Gospel (together with the Acts), and between the authors.

IV.

THERE IS A VERY CLOSE AND INTIMATE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE AUTHOR OF THE THIRD GOSPEL (AND THE ACTS) AND ST. PAUL.

THIS statement is so generally acknowledged to be correct (not, however, by Baur and Strauss), that it is needless to enlarge upon it.

Irenæus (A.D. 170) says that "Luke, the follower of Paul, set down in a book the Gospel which he (Paul) used to preach" (Westcott, "Introduction to the Gospels, 4th edit., p. 184).

Tertullian (A.D. 200) says that "the summary of Luke was generally assigned to Paul" (Ibid.)

"Origen (A.D. 220) calls St. Luke's Gospel 'the Gospel quoted by Paul,' alluding to Romans ii. 16; and Eusebius (A.D. 300) refers

Paul's words, 'according to my Gospel' (2 Tim. ii. 8), to that of Luke, in which Jerome (A.D. 390) concurs" ("Dict. of the Bible," art. Gospel of Luke).

"St. Chrysostom (A.D. 397) finds in St. Luke's Gospel the style of St. Paul" (Townson, "On the Gospels," vol. i. p. 35).

The writer of the Synopsis bearing the name of Athanasius says that "the Gospel of Luke was dictated by the Apostle Paul, and written and published by the blessed Apostle and physician Luke" (Ibid.)

That most able, acute, learned, and luminous commentator, Bengel (A.D. 1742), observes that "the Acts were undoubtedly published by Paul's desire" ("Gnomon," Acts xxviii. 30).

And as to the similarity of style he says, "Luke's lively pen, which is admirably adapted to the very joyous narrative of the Acts, seems to have caught something from his many years' intimacy with Paul" ("Gnomon," Luke i. 1).

Wetstein (A.D. 1750), on Luke i. 3, states that "some persons consider it proved that the Gospel of Luke, as it is called, is rather to be referred to St. Paul as the author."

Dr. Townson (A.D. 1777) says, "Critics remark that there is often a great affinity in their phrases" (i.e., the phrases of Luke and Paul). ("On the Gospels," vol. i. p. 205).

Bishop Wordsworth says, "The statements of Christian antiquity concerning St. Luke's connection with St. Paul . . . are confirmed by the internal evidence presented by the Gospel of St. Luke" ("Greek Test., Int. to St. Luke's Gospel").

Dean Plumptre, in "Bishop Ellicott's Commentary," says, "There is so close an agreement between the vocabulary of St. Luke's Gospel and that of St. Paul, that it is scarcely possible to come to any other conclusion than that the one writer was intimately acquainted with the other" ("Intro. to the New Test.," p. 147). I may perhaps be permitted to add, that in my work, "St. Paul the Author of the Acts," I have traced such an exact correspondence of expression and thought, of manner and matter, of style and phraseology, between the so-called writings of St. Luke and the writings of St. Paul, that the only conclusion logically admissible seems to be that the Acts must have been written (or, at least, planned and superintended) by St. Paul himself.

In the words of the Literary Churchman, "Many striking analogies have been elicited between the language and sentiments in the two books, and in St. Paul's writings."

Other reviews have stated that "it has been shown how completely the Third Gospel and the Acts embody St. Paul's teaching." And that "what has been shown of the resemblance between the style of St. Paul's Epistles and these two historical works . . . is very convincing as to St. Paul having had a very great influence over the writer of these books and their composition." And also that "there is more to be said for the authorship of St. Paul than is commonly thought," and again, "The Pauline authorship has, to say the least, been made highly probable." And, lastly, Canon Hayman, in the Churchman, has acknowledged that "it has been made impossible for any candid mind to doubt that the Third Gospel and the Acts are documents of the Pauline age, and penetrated at first hand with the

Pauline spirit."

Hence, if the author of the Third Gospel and the Acts had anything to do with these additional verses of the Second Gospel—and we have seen what weighty reasons there are for such an assertion—there are equally good reasons for asserting St. Paul's connection with them. Let us now pass on to the more direct proof of this proposition.

V.

ST. PAUL HIMSELF WAS THE AUTHOR OF
THESE LAST TWELVE VERSES OF THE
SECOND GOSPEL.

(a.) The phraseology is Pauline.

Most of the words used in these verses occur in St. Paul's Epistles, including—■πιστεῖν (used twice, vers. 11, 16), Rom. iii. 3.

παρακολουθεῖν, 2 Tim. iii. 10.

■ναλαμβάνειν, 1 Tim. iii. 16.

These three important verbs are peculiar to

St. Luke, St. Paul, and these verses.

εὐαγγέλιον (used by St. Paul more than twenty times—εὐαγγελιστής (perhaps coined by St. Paul), occurs in no Greek writings

D before St. Paul's Epistles, and the history of St. Paul in the Acts).

■ Κύριος, applied to Christ (used by St. Paul fifty times, also frequently in the Third Gospel and the Acts, but never by either Matthew or Mark in his own person).

μορφή (peculiar to St. Paul; cf. μορφωσις (Rom. ii. 20), μορφουσθαι (Gal. iv. 19), συμμορφος (Rom. viii. 29), συμμορφουσθαι (Phil. iii. 10), all peculiar to St. Paul), Phil. ii. 7.

It is true that St. Paul does not happen to use the word θανάσιμος (Polybius), or the phrase καλῶς ■χριν (Xenophon). He did not use them because he had no occasion to use them; for he could not have been unacquainted with either this word or this phrase, seeing that when the LXX. is insufficient, he borrows his vocabulary from Polybius and Xenophon; as, for instance, παραχειμαζειν (1 Cor. and Polybius), ■ναπεμπειν (Philemon and Xenophon). As to phrases, we may remark, first of all, that any phrase occurring in the LXX. forms

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part, potentially, of St. Paul's vocabulary, as his Epistles show him to have been perfectly familiar with its phraseology.

The following phrases in the last twelve verses of St. Mark are actually used by St. Paul in his Epistles; and we must not forget that almost any doctrinal phrase would be due to St. Paul. As Archdeacon Farrar remarks, St. Paul to a great extent created the theological phraseology of the Church. ο■ μετ' ■μου, Titus iii. 15.

καθ■ζειν ■ν δεξι■ του Θεου, Eph. i. 20.

■πιτ■θεναι χειρας, 1 Tim. v. 22.

λαλε■ν γλωσσαις (peculiar to Luke, Paul, and these verses), 1 Cor. xiv. 18.

πασα ■ κτ■σις (peculiar to Luke, Paul, and these verses), Rom. viii. 22.

κηρυσσε■ν τ■ ε■αγγελ■ον (peculiar to Luke, Paul, and these verses), 1 Thess. ii. 9.

■ν τ■ ■νοματι (of Christ), 1 Cor. v. 4.

μεν ο■ν, 1 Cor. ix. 25.

ο■ μ■, Gal. v. 16.

κ■κε■νοι, 1 Cor. x. 6.

πιστευσαι—σωθηναι, Rom. x. 9.

■κεινοι (referring to the Apostles preaching the Gospel), 1 Cor. xv. 11.

■νελημφθη (■ν δοξ■), 1 Tim. iii. 16.

■ απ' ■ρχης γενομενος, ■ μετ' α■το■ γενομενος,

(Mark xvi. 10), μεθ' ■μων γενεσθαι, Acts xx. 18, Paul's speech;

Mark xvi. 10; nowhere else in New Testament.

ο■ πιστευσαντες, 2 Th. i. 10.

■κεινοι μεν ο■ν, 1 Cor. ix. 25.

■ μεν ο■ν, Mark xvi. 19.

There is also a (more or less) close resemblance between the following phrases taken from this section of St. Mark, and passages to be found in St. Paul's Epistles:— μετα το δειπνησαι, 1 Cor. xi. 25.

μετα το λαλησαι, Mark xvi. 19.

το ε■αγγελιον κηρισσειν

—πασα ■ κτισις, το ε■αγγελιον—πας ■ κοσμος, ■πας,

πορειθεντες ε■ς τ■ν κοσμον ■παντα, κηριζατε τ■ ε■αγγελιον πας■ τ■ κτισει, Col. i. 23. Col. i. 5, 6. Eph. vi. 13. Mark xvi. 15.

| γλωσσαις λαλειν, | 1 Cor. xiv. 18. |

| --- | --- |

| α■ γλωσσαι ε■ς σημειον ε■σιν, ο■ τοις πιστευουσιν, ■λλ■ τοις ■πιστοις, . | 1 Cor. xiv. 22. |

| σημ■α δ■ τοις πιστευσασι ταυτα παρα- κολουθησει, . . . γλωσσαις λαλησουσι καιναις, | Mark xvi. 17. |

| Θεου γ■ρ ■σμεν συνεργοι, . | 1 Cor. iii. 9. |

| συνεργο■ντες, . | 2 Cor. xi. 1. |

| του Κυριου συνεργο■ντος, | Mark xvi. 20. |

| καθ■ς τ■ μαρτυριον το■ Χριστο■, ■βε- βαιωθ■ ■ν ■μ■ν, | 1 Cor. i. 6. |

| ■ Κυριος ■μ■ν ■ησο■ς Χριστος, ■ς κα■ βεβαιωσει ■μ■ς ■ως τελο■ς, . . | 1 Cor. i. 7. 8. |

| κατειργασατο Χριστος δ■ ■μο■ (Paul), ε■ς ■πακο■ν ■θν■ν . . ■ν δυναμ■ σημει■ν, | Rom. xv. 18, 19. |

| του Κυριου συνεργο■ντος, κα■ τ■ν λ■γον βεβαιο■ντος δι■ τ■ν ■πακολουθο■ντων σημει■ν, | Mark xvi. 20. |

St. Paul's name has always been intimately associated with the Epistle to the Hebrews. It may be worth while to point out that there is a remarkable parallelism of thought (and indeed of expression) between the

concluding verse of this final section of St. Mark (Mark xvi. 20) and one passage of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ch. ii. 2-4). του Κυρίου συνεργουντος, και τον λογον βεβαιουντος δια των ■πακολουθουντων σημειων (ver.

20; cf. Acts xiv. 3).

The Epistle to the Hebrews.

■ ... λογος ■γ■νετο βεβα■ος

... σωτηρ■α, ■τις ■ρχην λαβουσα λαλεισθαι δια του Κυριου, ■πο των ■κουσαντων ε■ς ■μ■ς ■βεβαιωθη, συνεπιμαρτυρουντος του

Θεο■ σημειο■ς (ch. ii. 2-4).

(b.) The subject-matter of these verses must have been well known to St. Paul.

The greater part of the Acts—sixteen chapters out of twenty-eight, and these the last sixteen—are devoted to the history of St. Paul's great life-work in preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles. Hence any of the preceding references which belong to these chapters connect themselves at once, more or less directly, with St. Paul himself. Who could know so much about "going into all the world and preaching the Gospel to every creature" (Mark xvi. 15) as St. Paul, who, from Rome, the centre and capital of the world, writing to the Colossians, referred to "the Gospel, which is come unto you, as it is in all the world" (Col. i. 6), and to "the Gospel which was preached to every creature under heaven, whereof I Paul am made a minister" (Col. i. 23)? Compare St. Paul's words to his own son in the faith, Timothy, ■κηρυχθ■ ■ν ■θνεσιν (1 Tim. iii. 16); and also Acts xxvi. 20; Rom. xv. 18, 19.

What is "he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved" (Mark xvi. 16), but the terse expression of St. Paul's special doctrine of Justification by Faith (Rom. v. 1)—Luther's test of a standing or falling Church? Compare St. Paul's words in 1 Cor. i. 21, "It pleased God by the foolishness of the preaching" (το κηρυγμα, St. Paul himself being the κηρυξ, 2 Tim. i. 11) "to save them that believe." Does not the statement in Mark xvi. 16, "Saved—condemned," closely correspond to St. Paul's own words in 2 Cor. ii. 15, "They that are saved—they that perish"?

Who could know so much about speaking with tongues as St. Paul, who wrote to the Corinthian disciples that he was thankful to say that "he spoke with tongues more than they all" (1 Cor. xiv. 18)?

The historian of St. Paul's career in the

Acts more than once mentions his casting out devils (Acts xvi. 18; xix. 11, 12; Mark xvi. 17).

Who could write so naturally about taking up serpents without suffering injury (Mark xvi. 17) as St. Paul, who, after his shipwreck at Melita, when a viper fastened on his hand, "shook off the beast into the fire, and felt no harm" (Acts xxviii. 3-5)?

And St. Paul, during his stay of "many days" in the house of Philip the Evangelist at Cæsarea (Acts xxi. 8, 10), had, at least, the opportunity of hearing that account of Justus Barsabas and the cup of poison (Mark xvi. 17) afterwards related by Philip's daughters to Papias, as recorded by the Church historian Eusebius. (See above, p. 34.) Who could be so conscious of the Lord working with him (Mark xvi. 20) as St. Paul, who once said, "I laboured more abundantly than they all," i.e., than the Twelve Apostles (1 Cor. xv. 10);

and of whom it was said that "the Lord gave testimony to the Word of His grace, and granted signs and wonders to be done by Paul's hands" (Acts xiv. 3; xix. 11)? Compare St. Paul's words to Herod Agrippa: "Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day witnessing," &c. (Acts xxvi. 22); and to the Corinthians, "We are fellow-workers (συνεργοι) with God" (1 Cor. iii. 9). It may be added, the word συνεργειν is used in these verses of St. Mark, thrice by St. Paul, and besides only once; συνεργος is used twelve times by St. Paul, and besides only once in the New Testament. In the words of the Dean of Chichester ("The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark," p. 162), "'Had not St. Paul himself cast out devils?'—'spoken with tongues more than they all?'—and at Melita, not only 'shaken off the serpent into the fire and felt no harm,' but also 'laid hands on the sick' father of Publius, 'and he had recovered'?" (c.) St. Paul fulfilled the other conditions of Authorship, for he was a Jewish Christian writing in the Apostolic Age to the Gentile Christians at Rome.

(d.) St. Paul, assuredly, had the literary ability.

We may easily satisfy ourselves on this point by a comparatively slight examination of St. Paul's Epistles, with their varying phraseology, structure, substance, and style.

(e.) St. Paul had the motive for writing.

This Gospel of St. Mark, "compiled for Gentile Christians" (Alford), ended, for whatever reason, abruptly at the Resurrection, without giving the least account of the work of the Apostles in fulfilling their mission, and especially without giving any account of the great and successful work of Paul "the Apostle of the Gentiles" (Rom. xi. 13), in the triumphant preaching of the Gospel, in spite of bitter hostility and fierce opposition, far and wide among the heathen. How natural for St. Paul, "the Preacher, Apostle, and Teacher of the Gentiles," "the Prisoner of Jesus Christ for the Gentiles,"—how natural for St. Paul, "to whose trust the Gospel had been committed," "to magnify his office," and to write such an account! (2 Tim. i. 11; Eph. iii. 1; 1 Tim. i. 11; Rom. xi. 13). How natural, then, for St. Paul to append to this Gentile Gospel this epitome of doctrine and summary of events, the events of his own life-work, bringing the history and development of the Church down to his own day! How natural, especially when we call to mind the persistent way in which the Judaisers denounced his doctrinal teaching, disputed his Apostolic authority, and disparaged his Evangelistic efforts! (Col. iv. 10, 11; Gal. v. 11; 1 Cor. ix. 1-3). (Cf. texts on title-page.)

(f.) St. Paul certainly possessed the necessary materials.

St. Paul had laboured more abundantly than all the other Apostles (1 Cor. xv. 10), and some of the subject-matter of these verses related to his own personal experiences. (Acts xxviii. 3-6, 8, 9). See p. 54.

(g.) St. Paul had the opportunity of writing these concluding verses, and of adding them to the Second Gospel.

The active mind of St. Paul could not be idle—even though his body was chained—during his two years' imprisonment at Rome. He had always regarded Rome as the great goal of his labours, and, so to speak, as the climax of his efforts. "Paulus Romæ apex Evangelii" (Bengel; cf. Renan, "Hibbert Lectures," p. 60). Like John Bunyan in Bedford gaol, or Sir Walter Raleigh in the Tower, St. Paul turned his enforced inactivity to good account, and where he could not make his voice heard, he caused his practised and powerful pen to carry the message. (h.) St. Paul possessed the needful authority.

Who could have had the requisite authority to write such an account for the Gentile Christians, if St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, who had founded almost all the Gentile Churches (1 Cor. iv. 15), had not this

authority? As I have elsewhere pointed out, there is a certain analogy between St. Paul and Ezra as regards their position and their influence, as well as their contribution to, and their supervision of, the Scriptures. So great was St. Paul's influence and authority (Gal. ii. 7-9), that nothing could have been added during his lifetime without his sanction to any authorised document circulating among the Gentiles. Those Gentile Christians at Rome who came forth to meet and to greet with so warm a welcome Paul the prisoner on his arrival at Appii Forum (Acts xxviii. 11, compared with Col. iv. 11), how ready would they be to warmly welcome, and to widely circulate, any historic document written by him for their benefit, relating to "that Gospel" which St. Paul had so long "preached among the Gentiles"! (Gal. ii. 2.) Had he not "the mind of Christ" (1 Cor. ii. 16)? Was not "the Gospel committed to his trust" (1 Tim. i. 11)? Was he not, with regard to the Gospel, "appointed the Herald, the Apostle, and the Teacher of the Gentiles" (2 Tim. i. 11)? Had not "the Lord given him authority for edification" (2 Cor. x. 8)?

See also "Olshausen on the Gospels," i. p. xli., quoted above, iii. (j), p. 42.

Is it not, then, as the Bishop of Durham, Dr. Lightfoot, says, "worthy of notice that the two Evangelists, St. Mark and St. Luke, are mentioned together?" (Col. iv. 10, 14). St. Mark and St. Luke are thus mentioned together by St. Paul as being associated with him, as being fellow-workers * with him during his imprisonment at Rome. Could any fact be more highly suggestive? Moreover, St. Mark is named in the Acts, and St. Luke, besides using two-thirds of his words, constantly agrees with St. Mark (more or less closely) in those common sections in which St. Mark differs from St. Matthew. Take, for instance, the case of Jairus, mentioned by name (Luke viii. 41; Mark v. 22; Matt. ix. 18), and of the one * St. Paul calls St. Mark his συνεργος (= fellow-worker) εις την βασιλειαν του Θεου (Col. iv. 10, 11). Cf. p. 57.

demoniac of Gadara (Luke viii. 26; Mark v. 1; Matt. viii. 28). "There is not a single instance of a verbal agreement, in the common sections of the Synoptic Gospels, between St. Matthew and St. Luke only" (Westcott, "Int. to the Study of the Gospels," p. 194, note). This weighty fact certainly seems to indicate a close connection between the two Evangelists, St. Luke and St. Mark, the clue to which—bearing in mind that both Mark and Luke write for Gentile readers, while Matthew writes for Jewish readers—is their presence, both together, with St. Paul at Rome. St. Paul, a prisoner at Rome, wrote to his dearly-beloved son Timothy, his own son in the faith, entreating him to come quickly to him, as "the time of his departure"—that is, the time of St. Paul's martyrdom—"was at hand, and only Luke was with him" (2 Tim. iv. 6, 11).

He begs Timothy, moreover, to "take Mark and to bring him" also, "for he would be profitable to St. Paul for service" (εἰς διακονίαν, ver. 11), adding that he was to bring, at the same time, "the books, but especially the parchments" (ver. 13). In the second chapter of this same Epistle to Timothy, at the 8th verse, St. Paul refers to the substance of his preaching as "my Gospel." That St. Paul's Gospel was not in all respects necessarily identical with that taught by other teachers—not to mention false apostles (2 Cor. xi. 13)—is sufficiently evident from Gal. ii. 2 and 1 Tim. i. 3, 4; and that at this very time St. Paul was revolving in his mind a plan for preserving the Gospel in its purity, after his own day, appears from the 2nd verse of the second chapter of this Second Epistle to Timothy written from Rome. When we remember (1) that St. Paul was at Rome with Luke; (2) that Timothy, his own son in the faith, received an urgent summons to attend him; (3) that Mark's personal services were expressly asked for; (4) that books and parchments (not too common in those days) denoting some literary undertaking were specially named; (5) that St. Paul had a presentiment that he had finished his course, and that the day of his death was close at hand;

(6) that St. Paul's mind was exercised as to the best means of preserving, after his own impending death, the Gospel of Grace for the

Gentiles free from corruption by the Judaizing party; and when we further call to mind the fact (7) that St. Paul, although a prisoner, debarred from all missionary enterprise, had full liberty (and also undisturbed leisure) "to preach the kingdom of God, and to teach those things which concern the Lord Jesus

Christ" (Acts xxviii. 31); when (8) we recall his own words, that "to him to live was Christ"

(Phil. i. 21), and that "he, the prisoner of

Jesus Christ for the Gentiles" (Eph. iii. 1),

"was set for the defence of the Gospel" (Phil.

i. 17);—when we consider all these converging lines of proof, and remember Bishop Butler's maxim, how can we avoid coming to the conclusion that, at this time, St. Paul carried out the idea he had in his mind by writing, with the help of Timothy, Luke, and Mark, the history of the Rise and Progress of the Kingdom of God, the full account of which (associated

E with the name of St. Luke) is to be found in the Third Gospel and the Acts, and the brief summary, the compendious epitome of which (associated with the name of St. Mark) is to be found in these last twelve verses of the Second Gospel—both for the Gentiles?

Does not this sufficiently agree with the words of Dr. Hort (though I must not, in any way claim his authority)? "An intermediate view, which has found favour with some critics, is that vers. 9-20 are a supplement added by the Evangelist (St. Mark) at a later time to the work previously left for some reason unfinished. This . . . is not altogether inconsistent with the documentary evidence" ("Greek Test.," vol. ii., Appendix, p. 50); only I venture to add that St. Mark did not write these verses *proprio motu*. Seeing that his influential kinsman, Barnabas, was dead (Col. iv. 10 and Acts xi. 24), St. Mark himself would scarcely have possessed sufficient weight and authority to ensure their reception by the Church. St. Mark did not write these verses *proprio motu*, but he wrote them at the request and under the supervision, if not at the actual dictation, of the Apostle Paul.

This result, obtained by an analytical, microscopic examination of the facts, does not seriously militate against the concluding words of Dean Burgon (p. 252) when he says, "I have proved that St. Mark must needs be thought to have written them."

To hear the conclusion of the whole matter. Dr. Hort says of this last section of the Second Gospel ("Greek Test.," vol. ii., Appendix, p. 51): "Its authorship and its precise date must remain unknown. . . . It manifestly cannot claim any Apostolic authority." I venture, with all due respect, but at the same time with all the confidence inspired by a careful examination of the facts, to challenge these dogmatic statements. I venture to say that these verses can claim Apostolic authority. I venture to say that the place is known, namely, Rome—that the time is approximately known, A.D. 62—and that the author is known, for he is none other than the great Apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul. VI.

RESULTS.

WHAT then are the results of these researches?

They appear to be as follows, and they certainly seem to be not devoid of interest and importance :—

I. The Gospel according to St. Mark must have been in existence some considerable time before St. Paul's death in the year 64 A.D. (Renau, "Hibbert Lectures," p. 90).

II. The prophecy in St. Mark xiii. as to the destruction of Jerusalem (which event did not take place until the year 70 A.D.) must have been in existence (must have been both written and read) several years—probably ten years at least—before it was fulfilled.

III. St. Mark's Gospel being an abridged adaptation of St. Matthew's Gospel (with which it is constantly in the closest correspondence, though there is ample proof that it is the work of an independent authority and witness), the prophecy in St. Matthew xxiv. relative to the capture of Jerusalem must have been in existence still earlier—that is, this prophecy must have been in circulation considerably more than ten years before the event. In fact, there seems every reason to suppose that St. Matthew's Gospel was in use some years before A.D. 50, the date of the Conference at Jerusalem described in the 15th chapter of the Acts. IV. The contents of St. Mark's Gospel must have received the general sanction and approval of St. Paul.

V. The Gospel according to St. Mark must have been in existence before the Gospel according to St. Luke was written. It follows, therefore, that the three Synoptic Gospels stand in our New Testament in their right and proper order—the order of time—St. Matthew having been the earliest, and St. Luke the latest, to appear. They represent successive interpretations (so to speak) of the same series of events, fresh adaptations of the same narrative (with corrections and additions), put forth to meet the needs of the changed circumstances of the growing and developing Christian Church. (Cf. "Towuson on the Gospels," vol. i. p. 208.) NOTE

05. ON THE ALLEGED DISCREPANCY

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THE late Dean Alford, on St. Mark xvi. 9-20, referred to the "inconsistency" of the narrative "with the accounts in the other Gospels," which had been pointed out in early times by some of the Fathers, including Gregory of Nyssa and Jerome. (Cf. p. 23.)

Dean Bargon, however ("The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark," p. 189), says: "What would be gained by demonstrating (as I am, of course, prepared to do) that there is really no inconsistency whatever between anything which St. Mark here says and what the other Evangelists deliver? . . . It is only one of many places where a *primâ facie* discrepancy, though it does not fail to strike, yet (happily) altogether fails to distress faithful readers.

. . . . If sufficient critical skill were brought to bear on the highly elliptical portion of narrative contained in these twelve verses, any apparent inconsistency would be found to be imaginary."

The following quotations may be added, as having a more or less direct bearing on the subject :—

Zeller ("The Acts of the Apostles Critically Investigated," vol. ii. p. 199): "Little as the Ascension, in our book (the Acts), can be reconciled with that in Luke's Gospel, we must not infer from this circumstance a diversity of authorship." Compare Alford, "Greek Testament," vol. i., on St. Luke xxiv. 50, and "Prolegomena," chap. iv. sect. 4, par. 2; and Bishop Wordsworth, "Greek Testament," on St. Luke xxiv. 50.

Zeller (vol. ii. p. 197): "It is true that, in the accounts (in the Acts) of St. Paul's conversion and the period immediately subsequent to that event, variations exist which we found of sufficient importance in estimating its historical value. Yet how little these variations justify us in attributing a different origin to the narratives concerned, is incontrovertibly proved by the circumstance, that between the three accounts of St. Paul's conversion, especially between those in the 9th and 22d chapters, there is an accordance, in a great measure verbal, which renders it impossible to attribute them to different authors."

Subjoined are the observations of the late Dean Howson, in his "Bohlen Lectures," p. 94 ff., as to these varying accounts of St. Paul's conversion :—

"There are three accounts of St. Paul's conversion—one given directly by St. Luke in the 9th chapter, the others by St. Paul himself, as related in the 22d and 26th chapters, under apologetic conditions, but conditions extremely different from one another. . . . If they were true to the circumstances under which they are alleged to have been uttered, and true likewise to the character of the speaker as a man of good judgment and fine tact, they must exhibit corresponding variations."

"Speaking to the angry mob in the Temple court, it was essential that St. Paul should be conciliatory, by presenting his subject as much as possible on the Jewish side. . . . This he does with remarkable skill. . . . He speaks in Hebrew."

"Our part as critics, in the scrutiny of this speech (Acts xxii.), is to observe how all the omissions, the additions, the variations of emphasis, on comparison with the direct narrative, fit the occasion, and also

harmonise with what we know from other sources of St. Paul's versatility, tact, and presence of mind."

"If next we turn to the speech before Festus and Agrippa, we find the story of his conversion told with what might be termed a strong Gentile colouring; and this was in harmony with the occasion, and quite according to the tone and habit of St. Paul's mind and character."

It may be added that there is an apparent discrepancy between Acts xv. and Galatians ii., and yet both chapters are more or less due to St. Paul. St. Paul himself states that he made himself "all things to all men" (1 Cor. ix. 22); and, as I have pointed out in "St. Paul the Author of the Acts" (Second Part, p. 189, note), a striking illustration of this is afforded by "St. Paul calling out, 'I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee,' before the Sanhedrin (some members of which he perceived to be Pharisees, Acts xxiii. 6). To the mob at Jerusalem he proclaims in the Hebrew tongue that he is a Jew (Acts xxii. 3). To the chief captain (who is a Roman) he states that he also is a Roman (Acts xxii. 25, 27)."

It is obvious that, in such a rapid retrospect, such a brief condensed summary, as these last twelve verses of St. Mark, the main object of the writer (who had not specially in view the Nineteenth Century with its searching negative criticism) would be, not so much to insist on critical accuracy of detail, as to give, at a glance, a comprehensive and impressive picture. It must not be forgotten that the same artist can paint two different pictures of the same scene, and that the same events present a different appearance when viewed in a different light. A narrator may, in two accounts of the same events, emphasize or pass over different facts according to the didactic purpose of his narrative.

That there must be some didactic purpose in this terse and graphic, thorough and complete epitome is obvious. Let us examine a little more closely. In verse 15 we find a very emphatic declaration that the Gospel was graciously intended for all mankind, and was to be freely offered, without distinction, to Jew and Gentile alike throughout the whole world—a confirmation of St. Paul's statement that "the God of the Jews was the God of the Gentiles also" (Rom. iii. 29). Again, in verse 16 we find another emphatic assertion that salvation is not of Works, but of Faith, that there is no need for the believer "to be circumcised after the manner of Moses, and to keep the Law" (Acts xv. 1, 24)—a confirmation of St. Paul's statement that "a man is justified by Faith without the deeds of the Law . . . seeing that it is one God who shall justify the Circumcision by Faith, and the Uncircumcision through Faith" (Rom. iii. 28, 30). "For there is no difference between the Jew and the Gentile" (Rom. x. 12).

Now, as I have observed before, St. Paul's form of the Gospel was not precisely the same as that preached by the other Apostles; St. Paul's Gospel (Rom. xvi. 25; Gal. ii. 2) differed from this, not as to historical facts, but with regard to doctrine and practice. Writing to the Ephesians (ch. iii. 3, 6), he says, "By revelation God made known unto me the mystery . . . that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of His promise in Christ by the Gospel."

These words are the keynote of the doctrinal Gospel preached by St. Paul. And here in these concluding verses of St. Mark, few and short as they are, we find the two marked features of St. Paul's own peculiar form of the doctrinal Gospel prominently displayed; namely, the doctrine of God's Free Grace, and the doctrine of man's Justification by Faith. St. Paul mentions these two great doctrines together in his Epistle to the Ephesians (ch. ii. 8), when he says, "By Grace are ye saved through Faith, and that not of yourselves; it—i.e., your salvation (Alford)—is the gift of God." We find precisely the same doctrinal teaching in the Third Gospel, which, as we have seen, reflects the mind of St. Paul as it is everywhere exhibited to us in his Epistles. Alford ("Greek Test," vol. i. Proleg., p. 43) points out "Luke's carefulness (in

the Third Gospel) to record the sayings of our Lord which were assertive of His unrestricted love for Jew and Gentile alike. We may observe, too, in Luke those parables and sayings are principally found, which most directly regard the great doctrine of man's free justification by grace through faith: e.g., ch. xv. 11 ff.; xvii. 10; xviii. 14, in which latter place the use of δεδικαιώθη■νος is remarkable."

It is, moreover, an important fact, which must never be lost sight of, that St. Paul "suffered persecution," at the hands of the Judaisers, "for the Cross of Christ," because he would not "preach circumcision" (Gal. v. 11; vi. 12). These persecuting Judaisers proclaimed his inferiority to the original Apostles (2 Cor. xi. 5), and indeed went so far as to deny that he was an Apostle at all (1 Cor. ix. 1-3), doubtless making the most and the worst of his past career as persecutor, to disparage his Apostolic claims (Acts ix. 26). It was, indeed, too true that St. Paul had once "persecuted the Church of God"—he himself, humbled by this recollection, was the first to confess that "he was not meet to be called an Apostle" (1 Cor. xv. 9)—but he had "obtained mercy" and had "received grace and apostleship," inasmuch as he had done this "ignorantly in unbelief" (Rom. i. 5; 1 Tim. i. 13).

Now, in these last verses of St. Mark, there certainly appears to be special emphasis laid on the unbelief of the eleven Apostles. Thus, in verse 11, the reader is told that "they believed not," and again, in verse 13, "neither believed they them," and, once more, in verse 14, the very next verse, "He upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them who had seen Him after He was risen." We must not forget that in St. Paul's view no faith in Christ, which fell short of faith in the Resurrection of Christ, could possibly be of the slightest efficacy or value. Thus, he writes to the Romans, "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved" (Rom. x. 9). Compare also the impressive statement of St. Paul to his Corinthian converts, "If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain . . . ye are yet in your sins" (1 Cor. xv. 14, 17). The Resurrection of Christ was the foundation-stone of the Pauline Gospel—faith in the Resurrection of Christ its one essential article. We gather, therefore, from the above emphatic statement of their unbelief, that the chosen eleven Apostles, to whom the Gospel was first intrusted, were originally just as incredulous as St. Paul himself of the testimony of others; and that as St. Paul was in no respect "behind the very chiefest Apostles, in all the signs of apostleship" (2 Cor. xii. 11, 2), so these very chiefest Apostles were not one whit better than St. Paul in this matter of want of faith.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, it seems not impossible that the didactic purpose—and this may throw some light on the alleged discrepancy—of these last twelve verses of St. Mark may have been to impress on the Gentile reader that these chosen

Apostles, "who had known Christ after the flesh" (2 Cor. v. 16), were, notwithstanding all their advantages, in no way superior to St.

Paul himself, and that although they might claim, as the circumcised children of Abraham, all the privileges of the favoured Jews, yet at first they were just as destitute of that Faith in Christ, which St. Paul preached as the one thing needful, as the most untaught and outcast Gentile could possibly be—so destitute of faith, indeed, as to have been "upbraided with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not." Hence the lesson seems to be that the Apostles no less than St. Paul, the Jews no less than the Gentiles everywhere, for there was "no difference" (Rom. x. 12), were all, by nature, unbelieving—they were all alike suffering from "hardness of heart"—all alike "concluded under unbelief" (Rom. xi. 32)—that all alike might be suitable subjects for the mercy of God. All alike were "concluded under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe" (Gal. iii. 22). All alike needed to be justified by

faith, and to receive salvation as the free gift of God—to accept by faith that free and universal Gospel of which St. Paul was the appointed preacher (2 Tim. i. 11).

Thus the didactic purpose of these verses may have been to vindicate St. Paul's Apostleship, and, by contrast with the dark background of original unbelief, to bring out all the more prominently, and to illuminate all the more brightly, those great cardinal doctrines of the Gospel of the grace of God (Acts xx. 24), everywhere preached by St. Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles.

It may be added that these narratives in St. Mark and St. Luke may have passed through the hands of,—may have been copied, modified, touched and retouched by,—more than one amanuensis before assuming the final forms in which they now perplex critics. At all events, the difficulty, on account of the alleged discrepancy, in accepting the authorship (or, perhaps it should be, the editorship) of St. Paul (who was not an eye-witness), will not be appreciably greater than in accepting the authorship of St. Mark, which Dean Burgon (p. 254) claims to have so thoroughly demonstrated as to leave remaining "not a particle of doubt, not an atom of suspicion." And the quotations given above prove incontestably that an apparent discrepancy between two documents does not by any means necessarily involve a diversity of authorship—especially when the author concerned is St. Paul.

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