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logic but to experience; there will always therefore be those whom it will not convince, and such persons, as has been shewn, we are prepared to meet on intellectual grounds. But, after all, for the purpose of an appeal to men in general, we need no stronger argument. Our hearts will suffice to bear witness to the truth of the gracious revelation of the Gospel; they will assure us, in proportion as we listen in truth and simplicity to their testimony, that we have a Father in heaven, and that He has ever been, and is now, and ever will be, our gracious Guide, Preserver, and Friend.

HENRY WACE.

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## SOURCES OF ST. PAUL'S TEACHING.

### I. THE WORDS OF THE LORD JESUS.

IT is always interesting to trace out the influences that have been at work upon a man's character and writings, and their effect upon his thoughts or style of composition. Some men are, of course, more open to external influences than others; but, even in the case of original thinkers, it is often possible to trace back to some earlier teacher a thought which has been developed and expanded by the later writer in a manner that has given it a new force and a new power, and made it, in fact, almost a new truth. Take, for example, the case of the late Dr. Mozley. Some years back his volume of "University Sermons" took the world by storm, and was greeted with a chorus of praise from all quarters, the *originality* of the thoughts coming in for no small share of the admiration lavished upon the the volume. And yet many of those sermons are clearly suggested by Bishop Butler's Analogy, [and] are expansions and developments of thoughts, and even of single sentences, in that great work, which Dr. Mozley had [read and re-

read, and over every line of which he had pondered till he knew it as perhaps few others have known it. So, too, many a man can trace his first real *thought* to the influence of Carlyle; or the study of Wordsworth has opened out a new field to him, as it did to the late Archdeacon Hare, in whose memoranda, under date 1814, occur the significant words, "First read Wordsworth." Similarly we find Dean Stanley writing in the Preface to his "Essays on the Apostolic Age" as follows: "I may be permitted to take this opportunity of claiming once for all for the pupils of Arnold the privilege and pleasure of using his words and adopting his thoughts, without the necessity of specifying in every instance the source from which they have been derived."

It is proposed in this series of papers to apply to the writings and speeches of the Apostle Paul the process above described, and endeavour to trace back to their sources, ideas, thoughts, and expressions; for, whatever theory of Inspiration we hold, at least it is clear that the Divine Spirit did not overpower human freedom or destroy human personality. While recognising that St. Paul's Epistles were, in the fullest sense of the term, "inspired," we yet hold that there is also a human side to them, and that thoughts and ideas were suggested to the Apostle by what he heard and what he read, just as they are to us; and we believe it will be found that St. Paul, great and original thinker as he was, nevertheless owed much of his teaching, both as to substance and as to form, to his early training, and to the influence of the books he had studied and the teachers whom he had followed. The sources of his teaching which will be examined are the following: (1) The Words of the Lord Jesus, (2) the Old Testament Scriptures, (3) the Book of Wisdom, (4) Rabbinical Teaching, (5) Classical Literature, (6) the Speech of St. Stephen.

The present paper is concerned with the first of these:

the Words of the Lord Jesus. The passages to be examined fall into two groups :—

I. Those in which the Apostle expressly refers to our Lord's teaching.

II. Those in which our Lord's name is not mentioned, but which are marked by so striking a similarity to his recorded utterances that we seem to be justified in taking them as a reflection of his teaching.

I. The first group contains four passages.

(1) The speech to the Ephesian Elders at Miletus (Acts xx. 35) gives us a direct quotation of some words of our Lord on the subject of almsgiving: "In all things I gave you an example, how that so labouring ye ought to help the weak, and to remember *the words of the Lord Jesus, how he himself said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.*"<sup>1</sup>

As is well known, these words are found nowhere in the Gospels. They stand as an *ἄγραφον δόγμα*, an "unwritten traditional saying"; one of many which must have been current among Christians in the Apostolic age, but which, for some reason or other, were never incorporated in the written records of his earthly life. Here, then, we have a source of St. Paul's teaching on the subject of almsgiving. The thought seems to have impressed him deeply; and it is, perhaps, to the influence of this saying that we may trace the beautiful and delicate thoughts towards the close of the Epistle to the Philippians, where the Apostle thankfully acknowledges the receipt of his converts' contributions, and then adds these words: "Not that I seek for the gift; but I seek for *the fruit that increaseth to your account*" (Phil. iv. 17). He seems to say that he would win for the Philippians the blessing promised by the Saviour, and make them know by happy experience that "it is more blessed to give than to receive."

<sup>1</sup> The quotations throughout are made from the Revised Version.

(2) In speaking of marriage in 1 Corinthians vii., St. Paul carefully distinguishes between the *commandment* (ἐπιταγή) of the Lord, and his own *judgment* (γνώμη). The former is contained in Verses 10, 11, and forbids divorce: "Unto the married I give charge, yea, not I, *but the Lord*, That the wife depart not from her husband . . . and that the husband leave not his wife." The other questions treated of in this Chapter, such as that of the Virgins (ver. 25), had not come before our Lord during his earthly ministry; and, therefore, on these the Apostle was left to the guidance of the Spirit, a guidance which he distinctly asserts (ver. 40). But the question of divorce had been directly decided by our Lord on two, or possibly three, separate occasions: (a) in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. 31, 32), and (b) at a later date recorded in Matthew xix. 3-12 (cf. Luke xvi. 18); and, therefore, on this subject St. Paul is content with simply handing on the Master's teaching. (It should be noted, by the way, that St. Paul agrees with St. Luke in making no allusion to the exception ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ, which is twice given by St. Matthew.)

(3) 1 Corinthians x. and xi. contain St. Paul's teaching on the subject of the Holy Communion; and towards the close of the latter Chapter, he expressly tells his readers that he had "*received of the Lord*" that which he had delivered to them (ver. 23). The passage is generally understood as containing a direct claim to a personal revelation on the subject from the risen and ascended Saviour. It may, however, be doubted whether it *necessarily* implies this (see Meyer's Commentary *in loc.*). But whether St. Paul means to say that he received what follows by a tradition descending from Christ, or by a revelation issuing from Him, is of no great importance for our present purpose. Whichever interpretation of the words be adopted, it is equally clear that St. Paul's sacramental teaching is here traced ultimately to the words of our Saviour at the

Last Supper. And it is interesting to notice (1) the difference between his account and those of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and (2) the marked similarity it bears to that of St. Luke. The following table will serve to shew this clearly :—

ST. MATTHEW.	ST. MARK.	ST. LUKE.	ST. PAUL.
And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and he gave to the disciples, and said, Take, eat ; this is my body.	And as they were eating, he took bread, and when he had blessed, he brake it, and gave to them, and said. Take ye : this is my body.	And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to them, saying, This is my body which is given for you : this do in remembrance of me.	The Lord Jesus . . . took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body, which is for you : this do in remembrance of me.
And he took a cup, and gave thanks, and gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of it ; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto the remission of sins.	And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them : and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many.	And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood : even that which is poured out for you.	In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood,  this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.

The similarity, it must not be overlooked, extends to the whole form of the narrative, and not merely to the words of the Saviour, although it is as marked there as anywhere.

(4) 1 Timothy vi. 1-3: "Let as many as are servants under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and the doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but let them serve them the rather, because they that partake of the benefit are believing and beloved. These things teach and exhort. If any man teacheth a different doctrine, and consenteth not to sound words, *even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ*, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is puffed up, etc."

This passage is remarkable because it certainly seems to imply that St. Paul's teaching on the subject of slavery was founded on the express words of the Lord Jesus. The subject was one of the utmost importance in those days, and one on which the Apostle was again and again summoned to express his opinion (see 1 Cor. vii. 21-29; Eph. vi. 5-9; Col. iii. 22-iv. 1; and the Epistle to Philemon). And yet, so far as we know, the subject never came directly before our Lord during his earthly life; in no one of the four Gospels is there a single saying of his that bears directly upon it; nor have we anywhere else the slightest indication that He was ever called upon to discuss it. Either, then, St. Paul supplies us with an additional fact in our knowledge of our Lord's earthly life, and alludes (as in No. 1) to some unwritten traditional saying; or the reference must be a more general one, to such incidents as those recorded in Luke xii. 14; xx. 25, occasions on which Christ distinctly refused to interfere with existing social and civil arrangements; the very position, it should be observed, which Christianity adopted with regard to slavery.<sup>1</sup>

II. We now come to the second class of passages. And here it must be noticed, at the outset, that we are now left to *inference*. In the passages already quoted St. Paul has

See Lightfoot's Colossians, p. 389.

himself told us the source of his teaching: in those now to be discussed it is merely the similarity of thought and expression which leads us to infer that his statements are suggested by the teaching of our Lord. The inference is, of course, not a *certain* one; but only those passages will be quoted in which it appears to the writer that there is a strong *probability* that it is correct; and while he is ready to admit that the probability is stronger in some cases than in others, yet in some he believes that it rises to a moral certainty that St. Paul's words are but the echo of those of the Saviour Himself.

(1) 1 Thessalonians v. 1-8. "But concerning *the times and seasons* (περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν), brethren, ye have no need that ought be written unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord *so cometh as a thief in the night* (ὡς κλέπτῃς ἐν νυκτὶ οὕτως ἔρχεται). When they are saying, Peace and safety, then *sudden destruction cometh upon them* (αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς ἐπίσταται ὄλεθρος), as *travail* (ἢ ὠδίν) upon a woman with child; and they shall in no wise *escape* (ἐκφύγωσιν). . . . So then, *let us not sleep* (μὴ καθεύδωμεν) as the rest, but *let us watch* (γρηγορῶμεν) and be sober. For they that sleep, sleep in the night, and *they that be drunken* (οἱ μεθυσκόμενοι) are drunken in the night. But let us, since we are of the day, be sober."

Who can fail to be struck with the general similarity, both of the ideas and of the very words, to the teaching of our Lord on the subject of his return to judgment? We need not lay much stress on the fact that the opening phrase, "times and seasons," recalls Acts i. 7: "It is not for you to know the times and seasons (χρόνους ἢ καιρούς); but the comparison of the day of the Lord to the coming of a thief must surely have been suggested by the words of Luke xii. 39: "But know this, that if the master of the house had known in what hour *the thief was coming*

(ὁ κλέπτῃς ἔρχεται) he would have *watched* (ἐγρηγόρησεν αὐν), and not have left his house to be broken through. Be ye also ready, for in an hour that ye think not the Son of man cometh" (cf. Matt. xxiv. 43). The figure is so bold, and so startling, that an Apostle would hardly have dared to use it, had it not first received the sanction of the Master Himself, who thus used it, as we have seen, in his earthly life, and again after his Ascension, in his message to the Church through St. John in the Revelation (Rev. iii. 3; xvi. 15); and it reappears also in the teaching of St. Peter (2 Pet. iii. 10). Equally remarkable is the parallel between the next words of St. Paul, and those of our Lord towards the close of the discourse on the Mount of Olives as recorded by St. Luke (xxi. 34-36): "But take heed to yourselves lest haply your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness (μέθη) and cares of this life, and that day *come on you suddenly* (ἐπισητή ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αἰφνίδιος) as a snare; for so it shall come on all them that dwell on the face of all the earth. But watch ye at every season, making supplication that ye may prevail to *escape* (ἐκφυγεῖν) all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man." Here we find the very same ideas common to both passages: (1) the suddenness of the coming (and it should be noted that the word αἰφνίδιος common to both occurs nowhere else in the New Testament); (2) the need of watchfulness; (3) the danger of carelessness from rioting and drunkenness; (4) salvation figured as an escape; while two other ideas found in this passage of St. Paul, (5) the figure of a woman in travail, and (6) the thought of sleep, though not found in St. Luke's account of our Lord's discourse, are yet probably suggested by it, as they appear in the version given by St. Mark, chapter xiii. verse 8 (ἀρχαὶ ὠδίνων ταῦτα) "these things are the beginning of *travail*," and verse 35: "Watch, therefore (γρηγορεῖτε) for ye know not

when the Lord of the house cometh, whether at even, or at midnight, or at cock crowing, or at morning; lest coming suddenly he find you *sleeping*" (*καθεύδοντας*). The coincidences certainly appear far too close to be accidental; and the conclusion is forced upon us that in this passage, written in St. Paul's earliest Epistle, he is basing his "Eschatology" on that great discourse delivered by our Lord on the Mount of Olives just before his Passion: and the conclusion is confirmed when we remember that, in 2 Thessalonians, the Apostle (1) declares that "the day" cannot come "except the falling away (*ἡ ἀποστασία*) come first;" and (2) cautions his readers, "let no man beguile you in any way" (ii. 2, 3); two points which are emphatically set forth by our Lord at the beginning of the same discourse: "Take heed that no man lead you astray:" and "Many shall come in my name, saying, I am he; and shall lead many astray" (Mark xiii. 5, 6).

(2) In Romans xii. 13, seq. we find what is very probably a reminiscence of the Sermon on the Mount: (a) "Communicating to the necessities of the saints; given to hospitality. (b) Bless them that persecute you (*εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας*), bless and curse not (*μὴ καταρᾶσθε*). (c) Rejoice with them that rejoice; weep with them that weep. Be of the same mind one towards another . . . (d) Render to no man evil for evil . . . (e) If thine enemy hunger feed him, if he thirst give him drink."

The resemblance, it will be seen, is very close between this passage and Luke vi. 27, seq.: "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, (b) bless them that curse you (*εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς*), pray for them that despitefully use you (cf. the parallel passage in Matt. v. 44, 'that persecute you,' *τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς*). (d) To him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other; and from him that taketh away thy cloke withhold not thy coat also. (a) Give to every one that asketh

thee ; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again. (c) And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise. . . . (e) But love your enemies, and do them good."

The order in the two passages is slightly different, but the letters prefixed will serve to shew the particular sentences that should be compared together ; and the chief point to notice is the *number* of ideas within the compass of a very few verses in our Lord's discourse, which reappear, sometimes in the very same words, in the exhortation of St. Paul. The thoughts are identical, and it is hard to resist the conclusion that the one passage was suggested by the other. Here, too, as in other cases, it is well to observe that the resemblance is considerably closer to the Sermon as recorded by St. Luke than to the parallel passage in St. Matthew, as any one may easily see for himself by turning to Matthew v. 38-48.

(3) Romans xiii. 7 : "Render (*ἀπόδοτε*), therefore, to all their dues : tribute (*φóρον*) to whom tribute is due ; custom to whom custom ; fear to whom fear ; honour to whom honour." These words are generally allowed to contain an allusion to our Lord's answer to the Pharisees and Herodians concerning the tribute money : "Render (*ἀπόδοτε*) to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's (Luke xx. 25 ; cf. Matt. xxii. 21 ; Mark xii. 17) ; but it is not so generally noticed that the resemblance is, as usual, closer to St. Luke's version than to those of St. Matthew and St. Mark ; for while the first two Evangelists use for "tribute" the word *κῆνος*, St. Luke alone has *φóρος*, which is the very word used here by St. Paul, and which occurs in no other passage in the New Testament, except Luke xxiii. 2, which evidently alludes to the earlier incident.

(4) We now come to a passage about which there has been considerable discussion, viz. 1 Timothy v. 18 : "The

Scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn. And, the labourer is worthy of his hire." As the words are printed in the Revised Version, it seems as if the last sentence, "the labourer is worthy of his hire," is intended, like the one before it, to be a quotation from "the Scripture." If so, as there is no passage in the Old Testament containing the words, we must suppose that St. Paul actually speaks of St. Luke's Gospel as Scripture, and quotes from it; for the words in question are found in precisely the same form in chapter x. 7 of that Gospel, the parallel passage in St. Matthew x. 10 having "food" (*τροφή*) instead of "hire" (*μισθός*). There are, however, grave objections to the view that St. Paul is here quoting one of the written Gospels as Scripture (see the Commentaries of Bishop Ellicott, and Dean Alford), and hence the majority of commentators suppose that the words are merely some "popular and well-known saying" referred to both by our Lord and by St. Paul. They fail, however, to bring forward the slightest proof that the saying ever was a proverbial one; and in Wetstein's great collection of parallel and illustrative passages there are none that throw any light upon this. But if I have carried my readers along with me so far, and convinced them that St. Paul not infrequently alludes to sayings of our Lord without directly mentioning their source, I think that we shall feel little difficulty in supposing that he is doing the same thing here. Thus we shall be able, with most of the best commentators, to take *γραφή* as referring only to the first quotation, which is drawn from Deuteronomy xxv. 4, and yet shall see in the following clause a distinct allusion to the teaching of our Saviour. We shall be confirmed in this view by referring to 1 Corinthians ix. 14, where St. Paul, shortly after quoting this very same passage from Deuteronomy, reminds his readers that

"the Lord ordained that they that preach the gospel should live of the gospel."

(5) One more passage shall be examined, 2 Timothy ii. 24-26. "And the Lord's servant must not strive, but be gentle towards all, apt to teach, forbearing, in meekness correcting them that oppose themselves; if peradventure God may give them repentance unto the knowledge of the truth, and they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, having been taken captive (*ἐξωργημένοι*) by the Lord's servant unto the will of God."

Readers of this Magazine will not need to have it pointed out to them that the Revisers have put an entirely new construction on the last verse, nor will they fail to be aware of all that may be said against the rendering thus proposed for our acceptance. But supposing that they are right in their translation, there is a possible source of the remarkable expression *ἐξωργημένοι* which will give the passage a new interest and force of meaning to us all. The word is a special one, and means to take or preserve *alive* (see its use in the LXX. Num. xxxi. 15; Josh. ii. 13, etc.); hence it hardly seems to me likely that it would be used of a captivity of the devil, which is one not of life but of death. In the New Testament it occurs in only one other passage besides that before us, and here (Luke v. 10) it is clearly used of taking alive and for life: "From henceforth thou shalt catch men" (*ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζῶγρῶν*). The words were spoken at the call of the first disciples, and are sure therefore to have sunk deep in their memories, and likely to have been often on their lips, though they are recorded only by the third Evangelist. And it scarcely seems strained or fanciful to see a reference to them in this passage of St. Paul's latest Epistle, when he speaks of those who are "taken captive by the Lord's servant unto the will of God."

There are several other passages which might be quoted, e.g., St. Paul's directions about the treatment of "a man

that is heretical" in Titus iii. 10 (cf. 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14, 15) are perhaps founded on our Lord's rule given in Matthew xviii. 15-17; but it is believed that all the most striking ones have been considered, and that they are sufficient to establish the fact, that no inconsiderable portion of the Apostle's teaching was directly drawn from the words of the Lord Jesus; and that Dr. Westcott understates the case when he says in his "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels" that "scarcely any clear references to the recorded discourses of the Lord are contained in the Epistles."

In conclusion, the examination of these passages may lead to the following reflections. (1) St. Paul does not quote from the written Gospels. The verbal coincidences are sometimes with one Gospel and sometimes with another; and where the parallel is on the whole closer with one, clauses and expressions have generally to be supplied from another to complete the parallel. (2) The coincidences are, however, far closer with St. Luke's than with the other Gospels: a fact which is interesting from the light it throws on the sources of the third Gospel. If we are not to believe that St. Paul is quoting from it, then it is almost certain that many of the similarities may be traced to its author's companionship with him, and that this Gospel has thus embodied the oral teaching of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Lastly (3), when we remember that we have no mention in the four Gospels certainly of *one*, and very probably of *two* out of the *four* passages contained in our first list (viz. those where St. Paul himself has specified the source of his teaching), we cannot fail to perceive how probable it is that a number of allusions to unrecorded sayings of our Lord may lie hid in the pages of the New Testament, scattered about through the various Apostolic Epistles, although they can never now be recovered.

EDGAR C. S. GIBSON.

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